

Chapter One

Introduction

A. Problem Background

In the recent years, terrorism has become a major concern of the United States (US), especially after 9/11 incident. In September 11, 2001, the US was attacked by a group of terrorists, called Al Qaeda. Under the command of its leader, Osama bin Laden, the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York had been hijacked two times and killed nearly 3000 people and also the Pentagon in Washington D.C was bombed in the same day. These were the biggest terrorist attacks in the US that created unrest within American society due to the feeling of being threatened. Moreover, the US status as a superpower country with the world's first rank of military strength was unable to guarantee that the state will be spared from foreign attacks.

As a respond to 9/11, President Bush declared what so called Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) or well known as War on Terror, to remove terrorism in the world, especially extremist Islamic terrorism (Robinson, 2008). In his speech on September 20, 2001, he said: "Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated." (The White House, 2001).

It indicated that Al Qaeda was officially became the primary target of the US war on terror. On the other hand, it was also the beginning of the invasions to Afghanistan, Pakistan and Yemen, as the base countries of Al Qaeda. In those

countries, the US relied on the power of the drone strikes to combat against terrorism. The official name of drone is Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV). The United States Department of Defense has defined UAVs as:

Powered, aerial vehicles that do not carry a human operator, use aerodynamic forces to provide vehicle lift, can fly autonomously or be piloted remotely, can be expendable or recoverable, and can carry a lethal or nonlethal payload(Siddique, 2013).

To fly a drone, there is no need to load a human operator because it can be operated underground. The US drone in Pakistan was operated by Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), in the hand of the US air force personnel. They could fly the drones for few hours, target the militants, and launch the missiles or bombs to kill the targeted militants just like playing a video game with controllers. They work inside an air-conditioned controlling room based inside Pakistan without any risk of being injured or killed.

The first appearance of drone was an unarmed surveillance version in June 1994. The spy function of drones still continued several years later, including in 1995's Operation Deliberate Force in Bosnia and 1999's Operation Allied Force against Serbia. The drones started to be armed in the late 2000 under a command of the head of CIA's Counter Terrorism Center and Richard Clarke, the Chief Counter Terrorism Advisor for the National Security Council. At this time, drone has been added with a new function as an assassination platform (Williams, 2010). In the same year, an unarmed drone also flew for the first time over Afghanistan and after 9/11 drones became fully armed to fight against Taliban (Sifton, 2012).

In Pakistan, the first drone strike was in 2004 to kill Nek Mohammed, the Taliban commander who fought against the US in Afghanistan (Mazzetti, 2013). In period of 2001-2009, President Bush launched about 52 drone strikes with total 410-595 people were reported killed, including 167-332 civilians(The Bureau, 2011). The rest of them were low level of militants and about 28 seniors of Al Qaeda and Taliban leaders (Roggio, 2014).

According the data above, drone strikes obviously harm the civilians which actually are protected under international humanitarian law and could not be harm in armed conflict. New York-based Human Rights Watch in January 2002 declared:

Terrorists believe anything goes in the name of their cause. The fight against terror must not buy into that logic. It must reaffirm in principle that no civilian should ever be deliberately killed or abused. But for too many countries the anti-terrorist mantra provides new reasons for ignoring human rights(Wittaker, 2004).

In fact that Human Right Watch already mentioned that no civilian should be killed or abused in the armed conflict against terrorism, the US kept going with its drone strikes. Beside the human right issues, the drone strikes in Pakistan also created several irresponsible impacts that affected the life of Pakistanis. A nine-month research by International Human Rights and Conflict Resolution Clinic of Stanford Law School (Stanford Clinic) and the Global Justice Clinic at New York University School of Law (NYU Clinic) found that there were a lot of victim stories of drone strikes in North Waziristan which is a part of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).

The drone strikes affect almost in every part of Pakistanis life such as economy, education, health, social and culture. Economically, the drone strikes

resulted property damage and mostly houses. The succeeded drone strike was not only damage the targeted house, but also three or four surrounding houses. This became a serious problem because FATA is a place where underdevelopment and poverty are rampant, so the cost to rebuild their house for around USD 10.953 is out of their reach. In the end, they end up rented a small house or lived with their families which were also in misery. Another problem was the abandoned families struggle to make their living because the drone strike killed their primary breadwinner. Moreover, for the drone strike survivors, medical cost seems became the biggest problem, because the bill of surgeries, mental health care and hospital stays could be ten times bigger than the average annual income in FATA (Standford and NYU Clinic, 2012).

In educational aspect, the drone strike limited the opportunity of children to go to school. Drones were reported attack the school and killed dozens of children. These attacks created trauma to children and decreased their willingness to go to school. Some families also took their children out of school due to fear of drone strikes might kill them. In some cases, they pulled the children out of school to take care of injured families or work as young labors to replace their late breadwinners. (Standford and NYU Clinic, 2012, pp. 88-92). It is well known that education is the main factor of development and is the way to resulting the professional in different fields such as medical, education and financial, but the long term drone strikes will be endangering the students which are needed to be professionals and develop their country.

The drone strikes also created health issues, especially the mental health. The locals felt anxious because the drones could strike at anytime and anywhere. When drones are flying around the sky, locals are getting terrified, some of them hide or scream. They were afraid that the drones might attack them. This created what the mental health professional called anticipatory anxiety, is a condition when locals worry about what will happen in the future. If there was sound of the drone, locals think they would become the next victim. Even, some locals came to mental health professional with several indications such as headaches, backaches, repertory distress, indigestion and insomnia that they got from traumatic experiences. The drone terrorized men, women, children and elder that they believe no matter what they were doing: driving, eating, farming or sleeping, the drone could easily attack them (Standford and NYU Clinic, 2012, pp. 80-88).

The drone strikes also affected social and cultural activities of the locals. In the past, the locals used to participate in several activities such as wedding, funeral or simple community gathering. After the drone strikes came around, they even afraid to meet their neighbor (Standford and NYU Clinic, 2012, p. 96). Socialization among locals became really hard, especially for daily routines such as economic activities in the market and travel from place to place. It also reduced the willingness of the locals to attend a funeral which is one of the important religion activities in North Waziristan where majority locals are Muslim.

There was a phenomenon called “double tap” when the drone strikes twice in the same location as the first one. After the first strike left dead or wounded body, the people near with the location came to rescue them, but after few minutes

the second strike would attack the rescuer (Standford and NYU Clinic, 2012, p. 76). Furthermore, due to the feeling afraid to rescue the victims of the first drone strike because the second strike might be happen, this double tap phenomenon is obviously increasing the civilian death.

The US received protests from International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGO), especially from human rights organization such as Amnesty International as responses to the negative effects of drone strikes in Pakistan. Amnesty International found that the US has unlawfully killed people in drone strikes and counted to be a war crime (Amnesty International, 2013). The US drone strikes also raised several protests from the United Nation (UN) member nations. In the UN debate about the remotely piloted aircraft, three member nations: Venezuela, Brazil and China that clearly mentioned about their disagreement about the US drone strikes in Pakistan. Venezuela called drone strikes as a collective punishment because it killed more civilians than the targeted militants. And for Brazil, the drone strike's target is unclear. It killed not only targeted militants, but also civilians, including children and women. On other hand, China addressed the drone as a subject to abuse international law. China also mentioned that every single nation should respect the principles of UN charters, the sovereignty of states and the legitimate rights of the citizens of all countries (Pilkington & Devereaux, 2013).

The protests came not only from the international entities, but from the locals of Pakistan also. The dozen of Pakistanis grew up with anger toward the US after the drones killed their family. In the end, they considered the US as the

enemy of their country. The Taliban and Al Qaeda were using this chance to scout them into the team to fight against the US. Moreover, drone strikes also created a phenomenon that the small terrorist groups are joining another group into the bigger one (Siddique, 2013, p. 24). Logically, one small terrorist group in Pakistan incapable to beat a big country like the US with only relying on its members' capabilities, in order to possess more power, some small terrorist groups decided to gather their power into a big terrorist group. This combination of small terrorist groups creates bigger threat to the US and wider impact on terrorism. In short, drones perhaps succeed to kill some of militant leaders, but on the other hand it was also increasing number of militants.

. In addition, a research report entitle, *Terrorist relocation and the societal consequences of US drone strikes in Pakistan*, reveals that the US drone strikes in Pakistan has caused large numbers of terrorists relocation from the heavily-targeted FATA to avoid being attacked (Aslam, 2014). It is understandable for terrorists to save their own life, but the relocation of terrorists from FATA into another place in Pakistan could endanger the new places, especially the civilians. There is always a possibility that the US will attack those new places and create new damages in wider areas in Pakistan.

Despite all of the negative results of drone strikes under President Bush administration, President Obama continued the use of drone strikes instead of stop it. On January 23, 2009, three days after his inauguration, Obama launch his second drone and killed about 7-15 people in total (The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, 2011). In May, the CIA director Leon Panetta says, "Very frankly, it's

(drone) the only game in town in terms of confronting or trying to disrupt the al Qaeda leadership,”(WEIRD, 2009). On the other words, the drone strikes will continue to play a major role in the US security policy under President Obama administration, especially in counter-terrorism strategy. In his first year in the office he already launched 52 drones which is the same number of the entire President Bush administration. And in his second year, he launched 132 drones in Pakistan (Mazhar & Goraya, 2011).

B. Research Question

It is obvious that the US drone strikes in Pakistan during President Bush administration suffered thousand civilians from death, injury and trauma. It also rose protests from international entities and the locals of Pakistanis, and created a terrorists relocation phenomenon. Based on this, it is interesting to find out: *Why did the United States continue to use the drone strikes for combating terrorism in Pakistan under President Barack Obama Administration?*

C. Research Purpose

The purpose of this research is to find out the reason of the United States related to the continuing of drone strikes to combat terrorists in Pakistan under President Obama administration. Furthermore, this research is beneficial to understand how the cost and benefit analysis works on rational actor model of decision making process.

D. Theoretical Framework

1. Foreign Policy Making Theory (Rational Actor Model)

Foreign policy making is a study of the conduct and practice of relations between different actors, primarily states, in the international system (Alden, 2011). By studying the foreign policy of particular states, the other states could predict the behavior of those states, including the reason of every single action. The foreign policy theory also can explain about the US decision to continue the drone policy to combat terrorism in Pakistan. To be more specific, the best model of foreign policy making theory to be applied in this case is rational actor model.

Rational actor model is a trademark of Graham T. Allison that was introduced in his famous book written with Philip Zelikow entitled *The Essence of Decision* in 1999. He argues that rational actor model attempts to explain international events by recounting the aims and calculations of nations or government (Kafle, 2011). There are four concepts established under this model: national interest, alternatives, consequences, and choices. To formulate one foreign policy, all of those concepts should be included in entire process.

1.1 National Interest

To be clear about national interest, Jack C Plano and Roy Olton in *The International Dictionary* mention national interest as:

The fundamental and ultimate determinant that guides the decision makers of a state is typically a highly generalize conception of those element that constitute the state most vital needs. They include self preservation, independence, territorial integrity, military security and economic well being (Plano & Olton, 1988).

As indicated above, the national interest is the foundation of foreign policy making. In the rational actor model, the decision maker is required to know what is the state must achieve before formulating any decision. For the US, after being attacked by Al Qaeda in September 11, 2001, security issues become its main concern of foreign policy making. To prevent another terrorist attack in the future, the US decided to fight against terrorist groups around the world, and it started by attacking the Al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Furthermore, the US national interest is to stop and defeat the terrorist groups in global reach, especially Al Qaeda, Taliban, and its affiliate groups.

1.2. Alternatives

According to Allison, the rational agent must choose among a set of alternatives displayed before her or him in a particular situation (Kafle, 2011). To formulate one foreign policy, there will be a set of alternatives that are considered as the perfect options to achieve the goals of state. In this term, national interest plays important role to guide the decision maker to choose which alternative needs to be prioritized.

As rational actors, before take any decision, President Obama and his administration must pass through an intelligence process of decision making with full consideration of every consequences which involve cost and benefit of each alternatives and the entire process will be ended with profitable choice for the US. Related to the US drone policy in Pakistan, President Obama administration has two alternatives, either to continue or discontinue the Bush's drone policy.

Furthermore, to continue the drone strikes in Pakistan, it is important to take the result of drone strikes under President Bush into consideration. Under President Bush, the drone resulted both bad and good impacts. Beside the increasing protest from local Pakistanis and international entities, there are more important issues occurred such as economy hardship, health issues, and civilian casualties. The good news is the drone succeed killed some of high level of terrorists and more the low level of militants.

Moreover, the option to discontinue the drone policy will bring back the traditional military actions as the main role of the US security policy. There are several types of common traditional military actions that can be performed by the US such as provide hundreds of troops in Pakistan to fight against terrorist and go to raids on terrorist base, safe havens and training camps, launch missiles from fighter jet and cruise.

1.3. Consequences

Allison also elaborate about the consequences which take rational actors to consider that “to each alternative is attached a set of consequences or outcomes of choice that will ensue if that particular alternative is chosen” (Kafle, 2011). These consequences involve benefits and costs. In foreign policy making, listing consequences become the core of entire process, because the benefits and cost of each alternative is the reason why that particular alternative should be chosen.

To start with, the costs to continue the use of drone strikes in Pakistan are really high, especially the civilian casualties. For every single drone launched, there is a possibility the drone can strikes on civilian as well. Civilian causality is

something unavoidable in armed military actions, no matter it is a drone strikes or SEAL team raids. On the other hand, the drone is not only take lives of innocent civilians, but also the militants' from the high level to the lower one.

Despite the fact about the high number of civilian casualties, the drones win one point over the other form of strikes like F-16 fighter jet strikes or Tomahawk cruise missile strikes, because the drone can hovering over the target for hours before attacking and it does not simply strike to the target without any confidence about the target real position and condition. On the other words, this absolutely prevents the civilians being hit unintentionally because they are coincidentally caught in the kill zone.

Another unavoidable cost of drone strikes is the economic hardship for families' victim who died in drone strikes. Sometimes the drone succeeded to kill the breadwinner of certain families and it forces remain family members to taking over the role. Another story applies for survivor of drone strikes. It is well known that the area of FATA and other corner areas of Pakistan have locals with really minimum income, so mostly of them are struggle to pay the medical cost for surgery, hospital stays, and mental health care due to traumatic disorder. The rising number of drone strikes also influenced the children to give up school simply because they are afraid of being hit. This is a big deal for Pakistan which needs educated generation to improve the professionals in different fields for the future of the state.

The drone strike is unpopular in Pakistan due to its negative result felt by the locals. It was raising the anger toward the US and was increasing the anti-

American terrorist group. The drone strike forced the militants to leave FATA and other targeted areas into another city that is considered safe enough to avoid being hit by the drones. In short, it was a terrorist relocation moment. Another important point of negative results of drone strike is the critics from the locals of Pakistan and the international entities related with the human right issues and sovereignty problem.

Beside the negative results, there were also a lot of positive comments about the effectiveness of drone strikes to disrupt and defeat the terrorist network, especially Al Qaeda. To Kill the terrorists was not the only positive result from drone strikes program, but it also disrupted the terrorists' plot to attack or train new recruits.

According to *Amnesty International Research on Drone Strikes in Pakistan*, the drone attacked a road where the Taliban fighter used a satellite phone couple minutes before. On the other words, one method to identify the terrorist's position is read their history signal phone. After realizing that using a phone to communicate can endanger them, the terrorists decided to discontinue it and as a result it is difficult for them to communicate without a face-to-face meeting. However, travelling from one to another point is really hard under surveillance of drones hovering in the sky. This is how the drone strikes succeeded to disrupt the terrorists' plot.

In addition, the drone strikes also eliminated the skillful terrorists such as fundraisers, recruiters, passport forgers, and bomb maker. These skills are the basic needs to execute their plan, so decreasing the number of the experts will

create a mess inside the organization. Another point for drone strikes program is financial efficiency because the cost of drones operational is quite cheap. Operating the drones does not required much money as the underground battle needs to pay the personnel foods and accommodation, dozens of weaponries and other military expenditures. It also does not need on-board pilots, means that it will not risk the US military personnel.

Furthermore, discontinue the drone strikes policy, means that the Obama administration return to the traditional military actions such as SEAL team raids, F-16 fighter jet strikes, underground battle with hundreds of military personnel, Tomahawk cruise strikes, and other military forces to combat terrorism. These options of course have the consequences as well and the most noticeably one that those operations which involve human.

President Obama has mentioned several times that his main responsibility is to protect American citizen, both civilian and military personnel, inside and outside the US territory. So, endanger the US military personnel in manned military actions becomes less preferable.

Put hundreds of military personnel inside Pakistan to combat terrorism and raids in the terrorist training camps or compounds is expensive. On the other hand, the result of this kind of military actions can be inefficient because Pakistan is highly dangerous related to the conflict and unstable state status. Despite the risk, sometimes the raids also bring huge success result. Take the example of SEAL team raids to Osama bin Laden's compound that succeeded to kill him and obtained some important documents related to organization activities.

Instead of kill the target, for lower level of militants, it could be work if captured them alive to question them about the organization activities, the compound location and other useful information. This can be less controversial than lethal operation. However, it is followed by another problem: prosecuting detainees in a federal or military court is difficult because often the intelligence against terrorist is inadmissible or using it risk jeopardizing source and method (Byman, 2013).

Compared to the drone strikes, the F-16 fighter jet strikes and Tomahawk cruise strikes create bigger structural damage and casualties. These alternatives also rarely used, so the casualties of the strikes are quite less than drone strikes in total. Beside the casualties problem, the sovereignty issue is also raising if these military actions are applied, because putting US military personnel on the ground or conducting a large-scale of air campaign violates Pakistani sovereignty more than drone strikes.

In conclusion, both alternatives to continue or discontinue the drone strikes in Pakistan to combating terrorism are followed by a set of consequences that becomes the main consideration of decision maker during the decision making process. Above discussion would lead the decision maker to the policy that they should choose to be applied as a foreign policy.

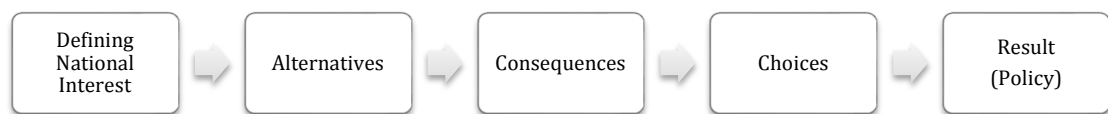
1.4. Choices

The last concept is choices. To put an Allison's version in terms of choice-rationality, "rational choice consists simply of selecting that alternative

whose consequences ranks highest in the decision maker's payoff function; value maximizing choice with special constraints" (Kafle, 2011). Each alternative is expected to produce benefits and costs. The rational actor must select the most profitable alternative to achieve the goals with maximum benefit and minimum cost for the state.

To choose the right decision, the decision maker must consider three concepts, they are: national interest, alternative, and consequences. The whole process of decision making process under rational actor model can be described as follow:

Figure 1. Rational Actor Model



According to the figure, the concept of choices is the last step of decision making process, like a conclusion of the whole process. In this part, the decision maker already know about what the state want to achieve, with kind of what tools the goals will be achieved, and what consequences of each alternatives that probably applied if particular alternative is chosen.

It is clear enough that the US want to get rid of terrorism in Pakistan by disrupting and defeating the terrorism network such as Al Qaeda and Taliban. From this point, there are two alternatives available to achieve the goal: First, using unmanned aerial vehicle power or in the other words continue the previous

president’s drone strikes policy, and the second is discontinue the drone strikes policy and it means that the Obama administration must deal with the traditional military actions. Each alternative is attached with consequences, then a cost and benefit analysis is needed to identify which one is the profitable alternative for the state.

Table 1. Cost and Benefit to Continue the Drone Strikes Policy in Pakistan

To Continue the Drone Policy in Pakistan	
Cost	Benefit
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. High level of civilian casualties 2. Suffered thousands of civilian from economy hardship, health and education issues. 3. Violate Pakistani sovereignty 4. Increase anti-American terrorist groups 5. Relocate terrorist to another part of Pakistan where they can save from the drone strikes. 6. Increase critics from local Pakistanis and international entities 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Loiter above the target for hours, waiting for ideal moment to strike and thus reduce the odds that civilian will be caught in the kill zone. 2. Drone causality is lower than other forms of strikes. 3. Kill militants from Al Qaeda, Taliban, and other terrorist groups. 4. Eliminate lower level of militants who boast special skills such as passport forgers, bomb makers, recruiters, and fundraisers. 5. Undercut terrorist’ ability to

	<p>communicate and to train new recruits.</p> <p>6. No-need on board pilot. Thus it protects the live of American soldier.</p> <p>7. The cost is cheap.</p>
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Table 2. Cost and Benefit to Discontinue the Drone Strikes Policy in Pakistan

To Discontinue the Drone Policy in Pakistan	
Cost	Benefit
<p>1. Traditional Military Action is expensive.</p> <p>2. Traditional Military Actions suffered the US troops from death, injury, health and psychological issues.</p> <p>3. Put US boots on the ground violates the sovereignty of Pakistan more than the drone strikes.</p> <p>4. Capturing militants is highly dangerous in the war zones or unstable country like Pakistan. Even if it is successful, capture militants often inefficient.</p> <p>5. Prosecute the detainees in a federal or military court is difficult.</p> <p>6. F-16 fighter jet or cruise Tomahawk missile strikes create bigger risk of unexpected</p>	<p>1. Capture militants alive to question them and search their compound for useful information.</p> <p>2. Raids, arrest, and interrogations can produce vital intelligence and can be less controversial than lethal operation.</p>

structural damage and casualties.	
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According to the data from table 1, in order to continue the drone strikes in Pakistan seems bring more benefit than the cost, compared to the data from table 2. Furthermore, the costs of drone strikes mostly are in the Pakistan side, except the protest from several parties that come for the US. In fact, these protests do not harm American citizens and do not endanger American soil, so, it still advantageous for the US. Furthermore, the benefit of using drone strikes if found to be financial benefit, need less time and manned power. It is also success to kill the terrorist, ruin their plot, and create a mess inside the organization. On the other words, the drone strike as a mean to help the US to achieve its goal is effective and efficient.

Meanwhile, in table 2, the benefit of using the traditional military actions such as fighter jet, cruise missile strikes, raids, and intelligence were not properly work in the Pakistan due to the unstable condition of the state. Even if the actions were successful, the cost could be too high, especially the possibility of losing the military personnel. Beside the casualties in the US side, the military budget for traditional military actions is more expensive than the drone policy. In short, it is economically disadvantageous for the US.

According to rational actor model perspective, the decision maker must choose to continue drone strike to combating terrorism in Pakistan under president Obama administration because it is more profitable for the US in term of effectiveness and efficiency. The full analysis is provided in the chapter four.

E. Hypothesis

The United States decided to continue the use of drone strikes to combating terrorism in Pakistan under President Barack Obama administration because it was efficient and effective to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat Al Qaeda, Taliban, and other terrorist networks in Pakistan, compared to the other military forces.

F. Method of Research

This is a content analysis research. The analysis made from the examination of words within the large volume of data. To write a complete analysis, the research needs a collection of data taken from written source such as books, papers, academic journals, magazines, newspapers, reports, surveys, and official documents. The oral sources such as speeches and official statements are also needed to support the analysis. To obtain the update informations related to the research topic, the internet-based source plays important role to provide the data such as pictures and videos, documents in website including articles, and reports.

G. Scope of Research

The research is limited to find out why President Obama continued the bush's drone strikes policy in Pakistan right after he is taking office in 2009 and keep going until 2013. But, to conduct proper analysis to this problem, the

important events from Bush administration are needed into consideration in decision making process.

H. System of Writing

Chapter one is introduction of the research, consist of background problem, research question, research purpose, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research method and system of writing.

Chapter two is about the US war against terrorism in Pakistan. There will be four sub-chapters: First, the US war on terrorism, consist of a discussion about how the US responded to 9/11 and war on terror as foreign policy in several countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan. Second, the use of drone strikes as a part of the US hard power in Pakistan. Third, the alternatives to drone strikes such as ground troops and SEAL Team raids, cruise missiles strikes, fighters, and bombers.

Chapter three is the analysis of the use of drone to eliminate terrorism in Pakistan. There will be two main aspects to analyze, i.e. economy and effectiveness of drones compared to the traditional military actions such as SEAL team raids and F-16 fighter jet bomb strikes, etc. The analysis is completely under rational actor model of decision making process by Graham T. Allison.

Chapter Four : Conclusion