

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Problem Background

“...Nothing has ever existed like this disparity of power; nothing... Charlemagne’s empire was merely Western European in its reach. The Roman Empire stretched farther afield, but there was another great empire in Persia, and a larger one in China. There is therefore no comparison.

-Paul Kennedy¹

The war in Afghanistan is the first major and conflict of the 21st century. United States of America under the Bush Administration stated that the War in Afghanistan was a part of the Global War on Terrorism. Though the origins of the war involve the ongoing Afghan Civil War and the Soviet Invasion and occupation of the 1970’s and 1980’s, the current war began in October, 2001 in response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States of America (9/11).

The War in Afghanistan began on October 7, 2001 with allied air strikes on Taliban and Al-Qaeda targets. On the ground, American, British and other Allied special forces troops worked with the Northern Alliance to begin a military offensive to overthrow the Taliban. This alliance between the Northern Alliance and the Allies led to coordination between Allied air attacks and ground attacks by the Northern

¹ See Richard Reeves, “Why Clinton Wishes He Were JFK”, *Washington Monthly* 27, no. 9 (September 2005): 19.

Alliance. These attacks led to the fall of Kabul on Nov. 13, 2001, as the Taliban retreated from most of northern Afghanistan. As more Allied troops entered the war and the Northern Alliance forces fought their way southwards, the Taliban and Al-Qaeda retreated toward the mountainous border region between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

In the history of United States of America (USA), there are cooperation among governments, capitalists, and the army. The history of the establishment of the USA started from armed violence, aggression, invasion, and oppression. According to John McCurry, American political tradition was started from destroying lives, cultures, and civilizations. It started from the Genocide of Native American (Indian). Only in 100 years, 25 million of Native Americans were killed. The history was still running, the USA took over Texas from the Mexican peasants in 1845, later General Zachary Taylor who led the military invasion got medal from the White House. Abraham Lincoln said that war had purpose to “expand the market”, because the USA implemented “the British Free Market.” Under the self defense doctrine, Philippine, Guam, Puerto Rico, some of Cuban territories were taken over by the USA². Recent days, the USA is still continuing the aggressive-expansionist foreign policies. The USA is occupying Iraq and Afghanistan.

² “Dedicated to Preserving the U.S.A. Constitutional Republic Form of Limited Governmen”., http://dedicatedtopreserveusaconstitution.blogspot.com/2011_12_26_archive.html., Accesed May, 13 2010.

References to America's unmatched power have become commonplace, not only among those who welcome it, but especially by those who disdain it. The assessment made some years ago by a former French foreign minister is worth quoting, the more so because he spent so much of his time trying to stimulate a counterbalancing coalition, "The United States of America today predominance on the economic level, on the monetary level, on the military level, on the technological level, and in the cultural area in the broad sense of the world. It is not comparable, in terms of power and influence, to anything known in modern history".³

America's unmatched power also some made some countries and groups didn't like the USA, they were thinking that America's too arrogant, always supported Israel, neo-colonial-imperialism. No country and group can compete with the United States in conventional military power, but it is well to recall the dictum of Karl von Clausewitz that "war is the continuation of politics by other means. Because the Countries and the groups which didn't like USA realize that they couldn't fight with conventional military power, then they used "terrorist attack strategy". There were many terrorist attacks which had the goal to disturb and destroy America's interests all around the world. Actually, the World Trade Center had ever been attacked before the 9/11 tragedy.

³ The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), p. 36.

The September 11 attacks (often referred to as September 11th or 9/11) were a series of coordinated suicide attacks by Al-Qaeda upon the United States on September 11, 2001. On that morning, 19 Al-Qaeda terrorist hijacked four commercial passenger jet airliners.⁴ The hijackers intentionally crashed two of the airlines into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, killing everyone on board and many others working in the buildings. Both buildings collapsed within two hours, destroying nearby buildings and damaging others. The hijackers crashed the third airliner into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, just outside Washington, D.C. The fourth plane crashed into a field near Shanksville in rural Pennsylvania after some of its passengers and flight crew attempted to retake control of the plane, which the hijackers had redirected towards Washington, D.C. There were no survivors from any of the flights.

It was unbelievable and shock that around the world, people saw news footage of the events on September 11, 2001 of the planes-turned-missiles that saw the destruction of the World Trade Center towers and damage of the Pentagon. What is probably the worst terrorist attack on the United States, is totally inexcusable and to be condemned. Some 3000 people were killed⁵.

⁴ "September 11 Attacks", http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September_11_attacks. Accessed, May 13, 2010.

⁵ *Ibid.*

In the other hand, the subsequent bombing of Afghanistan to attack Osama Bin Laden's Al Qaeda terrorist network and the Taliban for harboring them has also led to some 3,500 civilian deaths, according to an independent study released at the beginning of December 2001. USA bombarded Afghanistan because USA believes that Osama bin Laden lived in that country. The United States of America believes that Osama Bin Laden who masterminded the use of hijacked jumbo jets to attack the Pentagon and to destroy the twin towers of the World Trade Center were carrying out mass murder as a means of political intimidation.

The terrible terrorist attack led to a mixture of political, social and economic reaction around the world. Immediately following the shock of September 11, an extremely important development took place. In his address that night to the nation, President Bush said: "The search is under way for those who are behind these evil acts. I've directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. *We will make no distinction between the terrorist who committed these acts and those who harbor them*" (emphasis added). By the time of Bush's address to the nation at October 7, 2001, as the Afghan war opened, this thought was solidified. "Today we focus on Afghanistan but the battle is broader. *Every nation has a choice to make. In this conflict, there's no neutral ground. If any government sponsors the outlaws and killer*

*of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers, themselves. And they will take that lonely path at their own peril” (emphasis added).*⁶

As extremist Arab terrorists were believed to be the perpetrators, hatred and anti-Islam sentiment, without distinguishing the despotic militants from ordinary Muslims has increased; even though most of the Muslim communities around the world have condemned this act. While visible efforts were seen by politicians to try to separate terrorists from Muslims in general, it has not been easy. On the one hand, after years of economic and geopolitical history, there are some aspects of distrust, while on the other hand, extremists in the Muslim and Christian communities are adding to the antagonisms. For example, during the height of the shock and anger to the September attacks, extremist tendencies in the West resulted in beating and even killings of Muslims. Even non-Muslims that just happened to have long beards or in some way resembled Taliban/Al-Qaeda members were targeted. Others saw this as “proof” that Islam is inherently violent or that it is the primary threat to the rest of the world, etc. On the Muslim side, there have also been equally extreme reactions, from support of these terrorist acts to even being convinced that this was some sort of Zionist conspiracy to blame Muslims. In both cases these seem to be a minority of people with such extreme views but of course the concern is always that it will increase over time. There was no question that there was going to be some sort of retaliation and response from the United States. One could not have expected them

⁶ Stefan Halper and Jonathan Clarke, *America Alone: the Neo-Conservative and the Global Order*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. 2004. P. 31-32.

seriously to refrain from wanting to take revenge. Yet the fear was in what form this revenge would be and how it would be carried out, plus the impacts on ordinary Afghans who have suffered at the hands of the Taliban and outside forces and influences for years⁷.

In addition, some eight months after the attacks it was revealed in the mainstream press around the world that the CIA had warned George Bush of the threats weeks before September 11. This caused uproar in many places, including the United States Congress, where members are demanding more information to understand if all those deaths could have been prevented⁸.

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The United States of America under the regime of George Walker Bush accused Osama bin Laden-Al Qaeda of terrorist attacking to the USA on September 11, 2001. The United States of America also threatened all countries in this world, if they protected Osama bin Laden-Al Qaeda, they would be attacked by the USA. George Walker Bush delivered an ultimatum to the Taliban Regime to turn over

⁷ "War on Terror", <http://www.globalissues.org/issue/245/war-on-terror>, accessed May 13, 2010

⁸ *Ibid.*

Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda leaders operating in the country or face attack. In the other hand, The Taliban demanded an evidence of Osama bin Laden's link to the September 11 Attack and, if such evidence warranted a trial, they offered to handle such a trial in an Islamic Court. The USA refused to provide any evidence. Taliban regime ignored American threat, Taliban refused to give Osama bin Laden to the United States of America. As the result, the USA invaded Afghanistan and tried to destroy Taliban.

The writer believes that United States of America must have used a kind of diplomacy style to persuade the other countries for involving in Afghanistan War as the Global on Terror. United States of America exploited its allies in North Atlantic Treaty Organization and non-NATO countries to reach the American National interests in this case; to destroy Taliban and Al-Qaeda as the revenge of the terrorist attack on the United States of America (9/11).

The United States of America used their preponderance power and diplomacy to persuade many international organizations like United Nation and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the other countries to involve in the War of Afghanistan. The United States of America campaigned that the war of Afghanistan against Al-Qaeda and Taliban is a part of the Global War on Terrorism.

The War on Terrorism (also known as the Global War on Terrorism or the War on Terror) is the common term for what the George W. Bush administration

perceived or presented as the military, political, legal, and ideological conflict against Islamic terrorism, Islamic militants and the regimes and organizations tied to them or that supported them, and was separate operations led by the United Kingdom and the other countries, since the September 11, 2001 attacks. It has since been expanded beyond the Bush administration, both in its scope and participating nation-states. The phrase War on Terror was used frequently by former US President George W. Bush and other high ranking the US officials to detonate a global military, political, legal, and ideological struggle against organizations designated as terrorist and regimes that were accused of having a connection to them or providing them with support or were perceived or presented as posing a threat to the US and its allies in general. It was typically used with a particular focus on militant Islamist and Al-Qaeda⁹.

The NATO Council declared that the attacks on the United States were considered an attack on all NATO nations, as such, satisfied Article 5 of the NATO charter.¹⁰ Upon returning to Australia having been on an official visit to the US at the time of the attacks, Australia Prime Minister John Howard invoked Article of the

⁹ "War on Terror", http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_on_Terror. Accessed, May 12, 2010.

¹⁰ "Statement by the North Atlantic Council". NATO. September 15, 2001. <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2001/p01-124e.htm>. Retrieved September 8, 2006. "Article 5: The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. / Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security."

ANZUS treaty. In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, the Bush administration announced a war on terrorism, with the stated goals of bringing Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda to justice and preventing the emergence of terrorist networks. These goals would be accomplished by means including economic and military sanctions against states perceived as harboring terrorist and increasing global surveillance and intelligence sharing¹¹.

The second-biggest operation of the U.S. Global War on Terrorism outside of the United States, and the largest directly connected to terrorism was the overthrow of the Taliban rule of Afghanistan by a U.S.-led coalition. The United States was not the only nation to increase its military readiness; with other notable examples are the Philippines¹² and Indonesia¹³, countries that have their own internal conflicts with Islamic terrorism.

When the Global War on Terrorism took place in Afghanistan, the United States and the Ally created the International Security Assistance Force. The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) is a NATO-led security mission in Afghanistan established by the United Nations Security Council on December 20,

¹¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_on_Terror. *op.cit.*

¹² Banlaoi, Rommel. *Radical Muslim Terrorism in the Philippines*. in Tan, Andrew. *Handbook on Terrorism and Insurgency in Southeast Asia*. London: Edward Elgar Publishing. 2006.

¹³ C. S. Kuppaswamy (November 2, 2005). “*Terrorism in Indonesia : Role of the Religious Organisation. South Asia Analysis Group*”, <http://www.saag.org/%5Cpapers16%5Cpaper1596.html>. Retrieved July 6, 2007.

2001 as envisaged by the Bonn Agreement.¹⁴ ISAF was initially charged with securing Kabul and surrounding areas from the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, and factional warlords, so as to allow for the establishment of the Afghan Transitional Administration headed by Hamid Karzai. In October 2003, the UN Security Council authorized the expansion of the ISAF mission throughout Afghanistan, and ISAF subsequently expanded the mission in four main stages over the whole of the country. Since 2006, ISAF has been involved in more intensive combat operation in southern Afghanistan, a tendency which continued in 2007 and 2008. Attacks on ISAF in other parts of Afghanistan are also mounting¹⁵. As of January its troops number around 55,100.¹⁶ There are troops from 26 NATO, 10 partner and 2 non-NATO/ non-partner countries, Troop contributors include Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, Italy, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Turkey, Poland and most members of the European Union and NATO also including Australia, New Zealand, Azerbaijan, and Singapore. The intensity of the combat faced by contributing nations varies greatly, with the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada sustaining substantial casualties in intensive combat operations¹⁷.

¹⁴“International_Security_Assistance_Force”,
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Security_Assistance_Force. Accessed, May 12, 2010.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ “IsafP Place”, http://www.nato.int/isaf/docu/epub/pdf/placemat_archive/isaf_placemat_090112.pdf. Accessed, May 12, 2010.

¹⁷ *Ibid*

B. Research Question

“What has the United States done on gaining support on the Global War on Terrorism under the Bush Administration?”

C. Theoretical Framework

1. Foreign Policy

According to Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, foreign policy is:

“Foreign policy is a strategy or planned course of action developed by the decision makers of state vis a vis other states or international entities aimed at achieving specific goal defined in terms of national interest”.¹⁸ A country's foreign policy, called the international relations policy, consists of strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve its goals in international relations. The approaches are strategically employed to interact with other countries. In the recent time, due to the deepening level of globalization and transnational activities, the states will also have to interact with non-state actors. The aforementioned interaction is evaluated and monitored in attempts to maximize benefits of multilateral international cooperation. Since the national interests are paramount, foreign policies are designed by the government through high-level

¹⁸ Jack Plano and Roy Olton. *The International Relation Dictionary*. Cleo Press Ltd: England. p. 127

decision making processes. National interest accomplishment can occur as a result of peaceful cooperation with other nations, or through exploitation. Usually, creating foreign policy is the job of the head of government and the foreign minister (or equivalent). In some countries the legislature also has considerable oversight.¹⁹

A specific foreign policy is done by a state as an initiative or as a reaction toward initiative that's done by other states. Foreign policy involves a dynamic process of applying relatively fixed interpretation of national interest to the highly fluctuating situational factors of the international environment to develop a course of action. It is followed by efforts to achieve diplomatic implementation of the policy guidelines. Major steps in the foreign policy concept are translating national interest considerations into specific goals and objectives, determining the international and domestic situational factors related to the policy goals, analyzing the states capabilities for achieving the desire result, developing a plan or a strategy for utilizing the state's capabilities to deal with the variables in pursuit of the goals, undertaking the requisite actions and reviewing and evaluating progress made toward the achievement of the desired result periodically.

Yet, those processes above seldom proceed logically and chronologically. Several steps in the process often may be carried on simultaneously. The fundamental issues may be reopened when conditions change or setbacks occur. The policy

¹⁹ "Foreign Policy", http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_policy, accessed, May 18, 2010.

process is continuous when because the situational factors are in constant flux. Foreign policy has assumed a major role in the decision processes are carried on by most states. In general, the more powerful states devote far greater efforts and recourses to the development and implementation of foreign policy than the middle or small powers.

From the definition above, it can be concluded that foreign policy can be described as a single situation and the actions of a state to accomplish a limited objective. Foreign policies are designed to help and protect a country's national interests, national security, ideological goals, and economic prosperity. This can occur as a result of peaceful cooperation with other nations, or through exploitation. A state must pursue a number of policies, identify many goals, map out various strategies, evaluate different kind of capabilities, and initiate and evaluate specific decisions and actions. Some parallel of coordination must be maintained among policies. Therefore, all planning and actions will run within the broad framework of national interests guidelines.

2. Associative Diplomacy

According the Oxford English Dictionary, the definition of diplomacy is as international management through negotiation²⁰. Plano and Olton define diplomacy is the practice of conducting between states trough official representatives. Diplomacy

²⁰ Samendra L. Roy. *Diplomasi*. PT Raja Grafindo Persada. Jakarta. 1984. P. 2.

may involve the entire foreign relation process, policy formulation are the same.²¹ The Diplomacy is the art and practice of conducting negotiations between representatives of groups or states. It usually refers to international diplomacy, the conduct of international relations through the intercession of professional diplomats with regard to issues of peace-making, trade, war, economics, culture, environment and human rights. International treaties are usually negotiated by diplomats prior to endorsement by national politicians. In an informal or social sense, diplomacy is the employment of tact to gain strategic advantage or to find mutually acceptable solutions to a common challenge, one set of tools being the phrasing of statements in a non-confrontational or polite manner.²² Diplomacy is concern with the management of the relations between states and other actors. From a state perspective diplomacy is concern with advising, shaping and implementing foreign policy. As such it is the means by which states through their formal and other representatives, as well as other actors, articulate, coordinate and secure particular or wider interests, using correspondence, private talks, exchange of view, lobbying, visits, threats and other related activities.²³

One of the more striking aspects of the evolution of the modern diplomacy is the relations which regional organizations develop with other regional organizations,

²¹ Jack Plano and Roy Olton. *The International Relation Dictionary*. Cleo Press Ltd. England. 1982. P. 213.

²² “Diplomacy”, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diplomacy>. Accessed May 24, 2010

²³ R.P. Barston. *Modern Diplomacy*. London. Addison Wesley Longman. P. 1.

international institution, group of states and individual states. The attempts by individual states or groups to develop significant link within a treaty and institutional framework with other states or grouping beyond merely routine transactions can be described as 'associative diplomacy'. Associative diplomacy serves one or more of a number of purposes, including the creation of a larger grouping, the co-ordination of policies and mutual assistance within grouping. Other purpose are maintenance of the political, economic or security influence of the 'primary' grouping, limiting the actual or potential coercive power of other groupings (damage limitation), and enhancement of the identity of individual members in the grouping. According to Barston, there are generally four main elements in associative diplomacy, they are: the institutional and treaty framework, regular meeting of senior political leaders and official, some measure of co-ordination of policies, schemes to promote economic and relations of the groups, such as trade credits, generalized scheme of preferences (GSP) project aid and financial loans²⁴.

Associative diplomacy can involve one or major of the major sectors of public policy, including socio-cultural exchanges, economic (trade, technical and financial assistance), political and security relations. It is possible to distinguish, therefore, various of types of associative diplomacy, such as, for example, aid project dominated (e.g. EC-African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (ACP), mixed

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 116.

economic-security (e.g. ASEAN), economic (e.g. EU-associate members), security (e.g. NATO extension via Partnership for Peace).²⁵

The application of these concepts above was used to conduct diplomacy towards the countries that support the Global War on Terrorism in Afghanistan which have been done by the United States of America. United States of American needed the global support in the Global War on Terrorism in Afghanistan.

In this case, United States of America had to convince the international society that the terrorism was the common threat. United Sates of America had also to convince the international society that the War in Afghanistan was the part of the Global War on Terrorism.

In order to get support from the undisputed countries (members of NATO) in Global War on Terrorism in Afghanistan, the United States of America manipulated the fears of Al-Qaeda's threats. The 11 September attacks caused NATO to invoke Article 5 of the NATO Charter for the first time in its history. The Article says that an attack on any member shall be considered to be an attack on all. The invocation was confirmed on 4 October 2001 when NATO determined that the attacks were indeed eligible under the terms of the North Atlantic Treaty²⁶.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 116.

²⁶ "War on Terrorism : NATO in Afghanistan", http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_8189.htm. Accessed, June 1, 2010.

In order to get support from other countries in the Global War on Terrorism, the United States of America, manipulated the close relations and dependency to United States, gave aid and financial loans to the disputed countries (non-NATO members) for involving in the Global War on Terrorism. For the example, in 2003, the U.S. officially forgave US\$1 billion in Pakistani debt in a ceremony in Pakistan as one of the rewards for Pakistan joining the U.S. war on terror. "Today's signing represents a promise kept and another milestone in our expanding partnership," U.S. Ambassador Nancy Powell said in a statement, "The forgiveness of \$1 billion in bilateral debt is just one piece of a multifaceted, multibillion dollar assistance package." The new relationship between the United States and Pakistan is not just about September 11,' Powell said. "It is about the rebirth of a long-term partnership between our two countries²⁷."

D. Hypothesis

Through the approach of theoretical framework above, the writer proposes hypothesis:

²⁷ "United States Relation", http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan_-_United_States_relations. Accessed, August 11, 2010.

1. The United States of America manipulated the fears of Al-Qaeda's threats on gaining support on the Global War on Terrorism.
2. The United States of America gave aid and financial loans on gaining support on the Global War on Terrorism.
3. Coalition member's close relations and dependency to the United States of America

E. Purpose of Research

The research will describe the United States diplomacy the countries that support the global war on terrorism in Afghanistan. The research will also indentify America's Global War on Terrorism.

F. Research Methodology

This thesis is using descriptive method which describes and explains the problem based on data and information. Data collections are collected through library research that is related to content analysis and expertise concepts that are published in the articles, textbooks, journal, newspaper, official website, and the other resources.

G. Limitation of the Research

In order to get a precise analytical result, the research scope will be limited to the United States diplomacy in the Global War on Terrorism in Afghanistan under the Bush administration, and the Global War on Terrorism in general.

H. Systematic of Writing

Chapter I explains normative things and standard rule of thesis writing, Problem Background consists of why the things made as a problem in writing this thesis, Research Question consists of problem which will be explained and described, Theoretical Framework is used to analyze the problem, Hypothesis consists of general answer in this thesis, Purpose of Research consists of aim of writing the thesis, Limitation of Research consists of data analysis which is used to make thesis more specific and explicit, the System of Writing consists of the core of the thesis.

Chapter II describes United States foreign policy and diplomacy towards Afghanistan after 9/11 tragedy, the Global War on Terrorism in Afghanistan, the involvement of undisputed countries (NATO countries) and disputed countries (non NATO countries) in the Global War on Terrorism in Afghanistan.

Chapter III will describe the problem dynamic of American associative diplomacy on gaining support on the Global War on Terrorism.

Chapter IV is the chapter that proves the hypothesis that describes American associative diplomacy on gaining support in the Global War on Terrorism, include definition, manipulation of the fears of Al-Qaeda's threat, aid support, financial loan, close relations and dependency to United States of America. This chapter will also describe the shaping of International Security Assistance Force (ISAF).

Chapter V consists of conclusion and analysis that already state from Chapter I until Chapter IV. This chapter also signs the end of this thesis.