

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. PROBLEM BACKGROUND

The War on Terror, an ongoing political and military campaign led by the United States of America and United Kingdom with the support of others NATO and Non-NATO countries has proceeded for about nine years. The term "War on terror" was firstly used by the former US President George W. Bush and other US officials to convey a global military, political, legal and ideological struggle against what they call "Islamic Militant Groups" led by *Al Qaeda*. Since the campaign launched in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 attack, the issue of terrorism still becomes the main focus in the United States Government's policy today. The US foreign policy and the paradox of "terrorism" continues to shape event in every corner around the globe. Since the United States declared such a campaign, the whole world seemed to be split into either "Black or White" and there was no "grey area". The US Government gives no choices to countries around the world of either "with us or with terrorist".

From the beginning of the "War on Terror", the US Government has involved in both the battle of arms and the battle of ideas. Not only fighting their enemies on the battlefield, they also involved in political campaign in order to

... .. and shaping the mass

medias around the world. To win this war US Government had applied several long-term and short-term strategies as reported by the US National Strategy For Combating Terrorism in 2006¹. Promotion of democracy is used as the long-term approach to confront the ideology of the enemy (Al Qaeda and other Islamic militant groups). And for short-term approach, there are four priorities strategy in confronting the Islamic militants; Prevent attacks by enemy networks, deny weapons of mass destruction to rogue states and enemy's allies who seek to use them, deny enemy the support and sanctuary of rogue states deny enemy's control of any nation they would use as a base and launching pad for terror and lay the foundations and build the institutions and structures to counter the enemy.

Although the term "War on Terror" is no longer officially used by the administration of US President Barrack Obama (which instead uses the term of "Overseas Contingency Operation"), it still commonly used by politicians, in the media and officially by some aspect of government. The nature of the War on Terror - against the unknown, the uncertain, and the unexpected enemy-is becoming more complex than a simply war against *Al-Qaeda*. Recently, much attention has been devoted to the rising of "home-grown" nature of Jihadists in Western countries. This term permeates headlines, various reports and national psyches. It has been described as the "new face of terrorism" faced by the West especially The United States.

The term homegrown was firstly used to describe residents or citizens of

¹ *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, 2006.

Western countries who either "lone wolves", self-organizing group of people, or groups that have among their members some who have traveled and trained by Islamic Militants Groups outside the West and returned to their country of residence to commit "terrorist" attacks. The latter category may maintain close contacts with other transnational radical Islamic groups as well.

Homegrown Terrorist fall into three categories, the first category is those who visit or immigrate, legal or illegal, to Western nations to be seeking a better life for themselves and their children. Most immigrants are hard-working people who spend their lives attempting to adapt live in harmony with their new countrymen. Many young people from Muslim countries also attend universities in Western countries. The second category is children or grandchildren of immigrants, that is, second or third generation members of the Muslim Diaspora community. These two group may *radicalized* as an effect of the attitude of Western countries, United States and its allies and their foreign policy, toward the Muslims in Islamic world and also the US support to Israel which have negative effects to the Palestinian. The sense of one *Ummah* may affect them to be the protectors of Islam that is being assaulted in countries as Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine as well as inside countries in the West. The third category comprises people who convert to *radical* Islam. Those who convert and become *radical* through a variety of reasons, including marriage, peer pressure, and finding religion while serving prison terms.

After John Walker Lindh, a native Californian, was captured fighting alongside Taliban troops in Afghanistan shortly after 9/11, counterterrorism

forces in the U.S. spent a decade worrying about a hypothetical: what if other American citizens joined forces with militant groups and began carrying out attacks here in the United States?

This hypothetical question becomes reality. Between September 11, 2001, and the middle of 2010, the U.S. government reported forty-six incidents of "domestic radicalization and recruitment to Jihadist " that involved at least 125 people who are US's citizen². Here are profiles of some major cases that happen recent years:

Faisal Shahzad, a naturalized U.S. citizen from Pakistan, Shahzad attempted to bomb New York's Times Square with a parked car full of explosives in May 2010. He pleads guilty and was sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole.

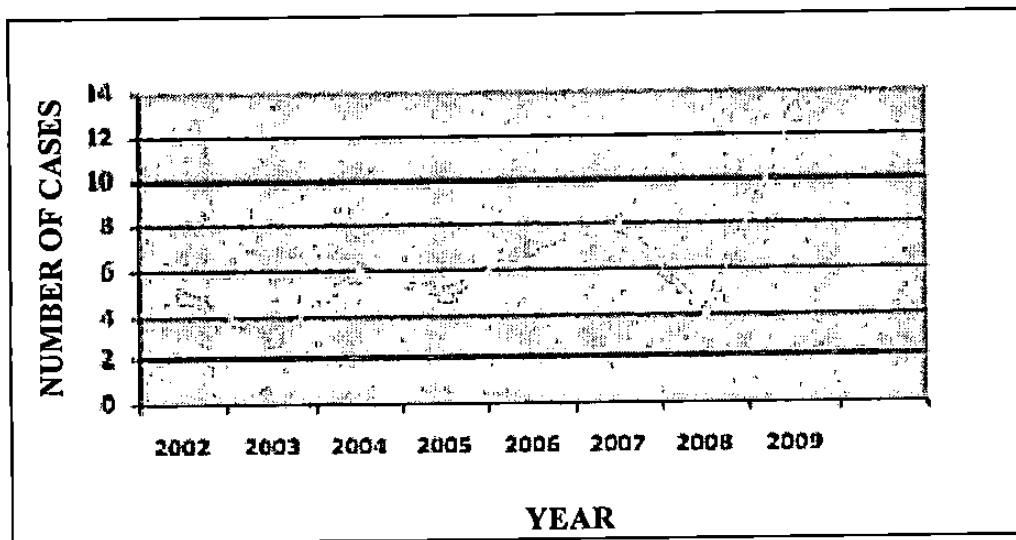
Major Nidal Hasan, Virginia-born Muslim and career military psychiatrist Hasan shot and killed thirteen people and wounded nearly thirty in November 2009 at the Fort Hood Army base where he worked. Hasan frequently argued that it was immoral for Muslim-American soldiers to fight against fellow Muslims in Iraq and Afghanistan, and found out he was being deployed shortly before his rampage. He will be tried in military court and an investigating officer has recommended capital punishment.

Ommar Hammami, a U.S. citizen born and bred in the American South, is now a leader of *Al-Shabab*, an Islamic organization in Somalia who is considered by the US Government linked with *Al-Qaeda*. Hammami was raised by a Syrian father and an American mother in a middle-class home in Daphne, where he once attended a Baptist church before converting to Islam and began, in his words, "pointing a sword" at the United States. Following Hammami, fourteen Somali-Americans were charged in August 2010 with providing material support and recruits for *Al-Shabab*.

And there is Adam Gadahn, a Muslim convert who left his Jewish grandfather and his parent's goat farm in California a decade ago to become a spokesman and senior operative for *Al Qaeda*.³

³Steve Kroft Reports on Homegrown Terrorists and Why They Have Turned Against Their Country

Figure I: Domestic Radicalization Cases In the US



Source: Jenkins, Brian Michael. "Would-Be Warriors: Incident of Jihadist Terrorist Radicalization In The United States Since 9/11, 2001.

Today The US Government is facing a big threat of homegrown terrorist, a threat that does not come from other lands but from within. Most Americans are shock by the idea of one of their own committing an act of "terrorism". A lot of surveillances have been done in order to find the solution in combating the homegrown terrorist threat. The logic of this analysis - that America now faces a homegrown terrorist threat and that Homeland Security may have to increase its surveillance of American Muslims - has proved to be too onerous for many to bear. And it's very problematic for the US Government; the fact that hundred of Americans converted to Islam every year give another challenge while the US Government has to prevent *radicalization* within Muslim communities. Predictably, some on the Left have argued that the best way to avert future

... .. at the root of the

problem: American foreign policy. Radically altering America's role in the world has long been a signature cause of the Left, and the admonition that failure to do so may result in the deaths of civil Americans ostensibly gives the argument more salience. Foreign policy that much influenced by the "Hawkish War on Terror Strategy" - a global anti-jihad that creates nonstop imagery of Americans killing Muslims - that brought negative impacts for Muslims around the world.

B. RESEARCH QUESTION:

From the exploration of problem background above, the research question rising is that, "What is the response of the US Government on the rising of Homegrown Terrorists inside the United States?"

C. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The purposes of this research as follows:

1. To describe and explore deeply on the phenomenon of growing numbers of Jihadist in the West, especially in The United States and the reason why they become "traitors" to the west.
2. Explaining the US response on the rising of Homegrown Terrorists in United States. And implications of such phenomenon toward the American War on Terror Strategy.
3. Expanding and deepening the knowledge and ability of the writer about IRs

4. Implementing the political theories that are applicable to the related topic.

5. As a requirement to finish the writer's study in International Relations Department, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

D. FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

In conducting a research of social science, especially in International relations study, it needs a framework of analysis or theories used as a tool to analyze the research. In this paper, the writer will try to use concept of *deradicalization* to describe the problem. Concept is an abstraction that represents an object, characters of an object, or a certain phenomenon.⁴ One of the functions of concept is to organize ideas, perception and symbols in the form of classification and generalization.⁵

Since the "Global War on Terror" launched by US government in the aftermath September 11, 2001, the American grand strategy in War on Terror appeared offensive one. Bush and his "hawkish" team ran the preemptive war-fighting paradigm. Bush-style of preemptive was forward and aggressive. This strategy is what many political scientists call as "hard power", a theory that describes using military and economic means to influence the behavior or interest of other political bodies. In the context of War against Terrorism, US government used military power which consists of coercive diplomacy, war and alliance using threats and force with the aim of coercion, deterrence and protection.

⁴ *Journal of International Law and Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2000, pp. 1-10.

George W. Bush also pledged that the War on Terror "will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated". The stick and carrot term subsequently used as the main instrument of US foreign policy. Unfortunately, this strategy damaged US legitimacy. Moreover, what Bush's administration had done to the prisoners of war in Abu Gharib and Guantanamo Bay also reduced the image of US government in international arena.

After the former US president George W. Bush resigned from his position and Barack Obama took the chair of US president, the US strategy in fighting terrorism appeared "softer". It seemed that the Obama's administration was trying to rebuild the US reputation within the international community. The term of soft power arose in the public. Joseph Nye coined the phrase "soft power" as the capability of a nation to achieve the desired objectives through diplomatic persuasion by employing a deep knowledge of culture and history.

More preventive engagement strategies were done by the Obama's administration. A lot of cultural and institutional program was done to engage and eradicate *radical* view of Islam. Even though that the physical war is still going on in abroad. Seemly, Obama is trying to combine these two elements in American Grand Strategy. Like what Francis Fukuyama said that these two components of power are ultimately necessary, the United States cannot win this battle without either of them. He further adds that for this reason, the US needs to repair all its alliance relationships damaged in its one-sided use of hard power.

... ..

“smart power”.

De-radicalization

Three years before the collapsed of the Soviet Union, Daniel Pipes had predicted that such a communist state would be collapse. He reopened the lists of the US foes, and eventually an article entitled “*Fundamentalist Muslim between America and Russia*” was published in Foreign Affairs Magazine in summer 1986. He said that the hardest challenge in the future for the US government is “*Islamic Law*”. He also added “*Radical fundamentalism* group is the real threat, this threat is more dangerous for the US than the Marxists; their attempt to gain control is always become a threat for America and its allies. Why it could be a dangerous? Because Islam has ideology of jihadism, it is not only a religion (as what the west view on religion; it only deals with spiritual believe) but also a political system or ideology and its teaching should be preeminent in all facets of society including the process of legislation.

An ideology could be dangerous if it finds its space and tool. In the eyes of the US government, the “Afghan Madrasah (school)” is worrying while on another side the Islamic doctrine of Jihad could not tolerate any kinds of oppression against Muslims. The fact that the US is the main supporter of the Israel’s occupation in Palestine could not be tolerated for Muslims generally. In the aftermath of 9/11’s attack, the United States seemed get a justification to formulate its national interest, a waited-momentum for the US government to

... “ ... ” ... not only physical battle but

also a multidimensional confrontation. A battle that involves all fields including military, economic, politic, cultures and thoughts.

Since that, the term *deradicalization* became very popular terminology in US politics. The term *deradicalization* is defined as the process of abandoning *extremist* worldview in favor of more moderate, non-violent understanding of Islam.⁶ Washington developed several strategies to deal with *Islamist*. The Bush administration's strategy to undermine Islamic Militant Group relied on military engagement, assuming that it is a war in which the United States sought to undermine *fundamentalism* by engaging a preemptive violence. Such an approach was seen fail to engage *Islamist* through the so-called interactive dialogue but this strategy remained until the Bush administration comes to an over. While in the Obama administration, the US government tries to use "soft power" in undermining Islamic fundamentalism through *deradicalization*. The Obama's national strategy security appears "kinder", varying approach to "War on Terror" rather than what Bush's administration did. Even though meanwhile US troops and their increasingly disillusioned allies are still fighting brutal battles in Iraq, Afghanistan, and with alarming frequency, in Pakistan.

The rising of Homegrown Terrorists in the west especially within the US territory has become a serious threat for the US government. Since the US is the prime target of attacks by *Islamic militants*. For a long time the American authorities and commentators seemed unable to acknowledge the existence of

radicalization among small segments of the American Muslim population. Therefore *deradicalization* programs will likely remain a necessary part of larger counter-radicalization and counterterrorism strategies for the US government.

E. HYPOTHESIS

The phenomena of the growing number of Westerner Jihadist in The United States and other western countries profoundly altered American policy in a campaign called "War on terror". Combating Homegrown Terrorist is a new challenge for the US law enforcement. There are two broad context used by US counterterrorism. The first is by addressing radicalization, mostly occurs in the field of ideas where consumers weigh competing ideologies within the context of free speech. This effort is done in two method, deradicalization and disengagement. And for the second context is more operational and encompasses both terrorist plots and the police work to dismantle terrorists. This includes investigative, prevention, prosecution, and intelligence activities as well as engagement with communities to enhance collaboration.

F. RESEARCH METHOD

This is the Library Research. In this model researcher is allowed to collect the data, explaining the problem, and analyzing the hypothesis. In this model, analyzed data will be taken from books, encyclopedia, newspapers and journals and Internet. The method which used in this research will be descriptive and deductive argumentative method.

G. RANGE OF RESEARCH

It is absolutely important to draw limitation on this research. In order to prevent the subject of the research from being expanded and to keep focus the discussion on track. Therefore, in this research, the writer will focus the discussion on the growing numbers of Homegrown Terrorists since 9/11 2001 until the end of 2010. It has been ten years that such phenomenon is now becoming a new threat for The US Government. And between these periods of time, The US Government has conducted several redevelopments on both National and Foreign Policy Strategy in facing such a case.

H. SYSTEMATIC OF WRITING

Chapter I: Introduction; This chapter describes the background of the case in the research, research question will trigger the researcher to answer what are exactly problems to answer, describes the purpose of the writer to do this research, analyzes theoretical and conceptual framework which is used in this research, gives the temporary answer of the question research in the hypothesis, gives the limitation of the period since 2001-2010, and describes the method of the writer in conducting this research.

Chapter II: In this chapter the writer would try to explore the America "War on Terror" in both domestic and foreign policy and also attempt to rewind the paradox of "Terrorism".

Chapter III: This chapter will describes about the phenomenon of Homegrown Terrorists in the Western Countries as well as their motivation why they eventually against the West. It will also explain about Muslim communities in the West.

Chapter IV: This chapter will describes about the responses of the US Government on the rising of Homegrown Terrorists inside the United States

Chapter V: This chapter will be the conclusion of the research