

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Problem

This thesis attempts to analytically describe a new department established by the United States to deal with the issue of terrorism which is getting stronger especially after the 9/11 case , namely the United State Department of Homeland Security. The dynamics of international politics and security in the globalization era is increasingly leads to non-traditional threats. While in the Post-Cold War, the problems that occurred was dominated by the open conflict, including border disputes, the proliferation of weaponry and others, however after entered the third millennium, the issues of politics and security is growing increasingly complex, later known as non-traditional threats, among others are money laundering, trafficking up to terrorism.¹

The existence of terrorism as a form of non-traditional threats became popular international issues since the blasting tragedy of the World Trade Centre (WTC) New York on September 11, 2001. The case was successfully opened the eyes of the world that the United States as a superpower state was still penetrable by international extremist groups. Then it managed to open a new constellation in international politics and security from the real war became the war of terrorism.²

¹ Buzan, Barry. (2008). *The World Security Dis-Order*. London: Penguin Book and Publishing, page.28.

² Ibid.

After the tragedy of WTC, the US government declared a war against terrorism. This is realized through their foreign policy in the form of the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan in 2003, the revitalization of the Guantanamo prison and foreign cooperation to domestic policies. All of which were run as a proactive and preventive step so that terrorism will not happen again. However, in the end of 2012 when there was the transformation of the leadership of George W. Bush to Barack Obama, the issue of combating terrorism cannot be solved fundamentally, which is marked by the uncompleted US mission in the Middle East countries that lead to the persistence of the potential threat.³

The threat of terrorism has steadily increased over the last 30 years. With advancement of technology, terrorist acts have become much more destructive and the perpetrators of that act are more elusive. Terrorism is universally recognized crime. A crime, which at a moment's notice can reach every facet of our lives, and later it can dominate the existences of the people. Not too long ago terrorism was an issue that did not concern about the people of the United States or its businesses, or businessmen. It was something that happens somewhere else, and to others. In the past, the first image that came into mind when one spoke about terrorism was from Arab, the Israel's ongoing conflict. Today it is entirely different. From the boardroom of multinational corporations to the farmlands of Middle America, America are a witnesses and the subject of the violence and mayhem of terrorism.

³ Berhard, Christopher. (2009). *The US Security Dilemma*. Oxford-Clarendon: Oxford University Press, page.41.

Here are described about the strength of America, from the Department of Defense, the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation), CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) and several other institutions. With such a powerful force owned by the U.S., not guarantee its sovereign territory to be fully secure and unthreaten by external threats. Because in this new era, it appeared several radical groups that we usually hear, with the term terrorist. This group inevitably become the new threat to the security of the developed countries especially America countries, because this terrorist group are willing to change the policies that have been set by the developed countries which are becoming superpower countries. The evidence of the WTC tragedy of 11 September 2001 showed that all owned by Americans until that point, can not guaranteed the safety of US citizens. Therefore, the US government is really trying to find a solution so that the security of the State American really can be guaranteed. The solution of this problem that will be described in this research. The new policy which is expected will add to the American government vigilance, to anticipate the threat of terrorism.

B. Research Question

According to the research background, the research question: *How is the US government's efforts to protect the US citizens from the threat of terrorism?*

C. Purpose of Research

The purpose of the writing of this research is to analyze and describe the efforts done by the US government in response to the new threats that threaten the

security of their country which is terrorism. Also it is to describe any efforts that have been made since the establishment of a new policy made by the US government in protecting US citizens and prevent another terrorist threats in the future. After that, the researcher will get understanding that comes from the research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis and conclusions.

D. Theoretical Framework

In answering the background problem and research question, the researcher uses several approaches, which are political system theory, the theory of counter-terrorism and counter-terrorism concept conducted by the United States. All three approaches have been able to explain about the US government's efforts to protect the US population from the threat of terrorism.

1. Political System Theory (Input-Output)

According to David Easton, Political System Theory still hold key positions in the country's political studies. By understanding the structural-functional of Gabriel Almond sharpen the concept of David Easton. The system is an unitary set of structures that have the functions to achieve specific goals. The political system is an unitary (collectivity) set of political structures that have the functions to achieve the goal of a country. Political systems approach is intended to provide a scientific explanation through the political phenomenon. Political systems approach is also intended to replace the classical approach of political science which relies only on state and power analysis. The political system

approach is inspired by systems running of living creatures (from the disciplines of biology).⁴

In the political system approach, society is the core concept because the political system is only one of the structures that build community systems such as economic system, social and cultural systems, belief systems and so forth. The political system itself is an abstraction (which was appointed to the nature of reality concepts) about the distribution of values in society.

As already described, the public does not only consist of a structure (e.g. political system only), but consists of multiple structures. The systems which usually studied by its performance are political system, economic system, religious system, social system, or psycholog cultural system. From a variety of different systems, there are similarities and differences. Differences encompass the ontological dimension (things that are examined) while equation encompass on variables (the concept which being measured) that usually similar from one system to another.

To understand the political system, just like we understand other systems, we need to understand the key variables. Key variables in understanding a system are the structure, functions, actors, values, norms, goals, input, output, response, and feedback.

⁴ Easton, David. in Ronald, Chilcote. (2003). *Teori Perbandingan Politik: Penelusuran dan Paradigma*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Perkasa, pp. 199-200.

The structure is a political institution that has validity in running a political system functions. In the context of the country (the political system) example of this structure is the structure of input, process and output. Input structure acts as a supplier of commodities into the political system, the process structure in charge of processing the inputs from the input structure, while the structure of output acts as an expenditure mechanism. This is similar to the organism which need of food, digestion, and metabolism to survive.

The structure of input, process and output are generally run by actors who can be categorized into legislative, executive and judicial. These three actors perform tasks collectively referred as the government. However, any actor who represents the structure must have a different function: There should not be a function run by a different structure because it would create an interest conflict. This was the basis for the formulation of the concept of Trias Politica (separation of powers) as initiated by the pioneer in the enlightenment age problems, such as John Locke and Montesquieu.

Value is a major commodity that seeks distributed by structures in any political system that its form are: (1) power, (2) education or enlightenment; (3) wealth; (4) health; (4) skills; (5) affection; (6) honesty and fairness; (7) deference, respect.⁵ Those values assumed in the uneven spreading condition in the community that need the intervention of the structures that have the authority to distribute the elements of society that should be enjoyed. The structure that

⁵ Lasswell, Harold. D. on Budiardjo, Miriam Budiardjo. (2003). *Dasar-dasar Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta: Gramedia. Page. 33.

organizes the allocation of this value, for Easton, can not be handed over to an institution that does not have the authority: It must state and government as actors.

Norms are rules, written or not, that govern relations among actors in the political system. Norms is primarily codified in the constitution of a country. Each constitution has the details of power that possessed by the structure of input, process and output. The Constitution also includes a mechanism for the management of conflicts between political actors when carrying out its functions, and pointed the actor along with the institution which has the authority in conflict resolution. Every country has different norms so that the concept of this norm can also be used as a parameter in doing a comparative work of the political system of a country with other countries.

The purpose of political systems, as well as the norm, is also contained in the constitution. Generally, the purpose of a political system contained in the preamble or the opening of a state constitution. Input and output are two functions in the political system which are closely linked. Whatever the output of a political system, it will be returned to the input structure. Input structure will react to any output issued, which if positive will bring support for the system, while if it is negative will bump appears on system demands. Feedback is a situation where the political system is able to produce a decision or action which responded by output structure.

Analysis of the performance of the political system often refers to theorization compiled by David Easton. Easton Description about political

systems tend to be abstract and broad, but superior in its coverage. As a means, the theory of Easton is able to describe the performance of the political system almost holistically and therefore often referred as a grand theory. Easton description also cyclical, in a sense as a system, the political system is seen as a living organism that sufficient to the needs of his own life, experienced input, process, output, and returned as feedback to the input structure. The structure of the input and then respond back to being input into the political system. Similarly, the process goes round during political system still exist.

Research political system consists of two types of data: data of psychological and situational data. Psychological data consists of the personal characteristics and motivations of the political participants. Situational data consists of all activities arising from environmental influences. These environmental influences arise from the physical environment (topography, geography), nonhuman organic environment (flora, fauna) and social environment (people, action and reaction).

The political system should be considered to be in a disequilibrium (imbalance). Facts tend to overlap and chaotic without identification. From this chaos, science emerged as a torch that illuminates the darkness and researchers can conduct a more clear classification. Science mapping by way of explaining the relationship between fact systematically. Politics is a science and as a political science has a dimension of ontological, epistemological, and axiological. Easton refers to the theory that had built to represent the three elements of the scientific.

In the context of building science, Easton calls for a general theory that is able to accommodate the variety of institutions, functions, and characteristics of the political system, then summarizes the whole in a single overview. The working process of the political system from the beginning, the process, end, and back again to the beginning should be able to be explained by a single camera capable of recording the entire process. Like the functionalist view on the system, Easton wants the analysis done on a structure is not released from the functions that run other structures. Easton wants political system study is comprehensive and not partial. For example, observation of the increasing demands on the structure of the input is not only focus on it, but must also look at the decisions and actions taken in the structure of output.

Easton also consider that the political system can not be separated from its context. Therefore, the observation of a political system should take into account of the environmental effects. These environmental influences systematised into two types of data, psychological and situational. Although still abstract, Easton has anticipated the importance of data at the individual level. However, this level is intended at the level of social units in the community rather than the behavior of citizens (as is common in behavioralisme approach). Easton insists on political motives when a public entity conducting activities in the political system. What's interesting about this Easton idea, namely, the anticipation on inorganic environmental influences such as geographical location or topography of the area which he considered had its own influence on the political system. In addition to the social environment system (society) contained within or outside the political

system. Easton also requires a placement sees the value in a disequilibrium condition (unbalanced). This imbalance that became the fuel, so the political system can always work.

Easton identified four attributes that need to be considered in any review of the political system, comprising:⁶

1. Units and limits of a political system

Similar to the functionalist paradigm, within the framework of the political system was contained units interconnected with one another and work together to move the wheels of the political system. These units are the institutions that are authoritative for running the political system like legislative, executive, judiciary, political parties, civil society organizations, etc. These units work within the limits of the political system, for example in the coverage area of the state or the law, territory assignment, etc.

2. Input-output

Input is the inputs from the community into the political system. Input coming from the community into the political system can be in the form of demands and support. Demands can simply be referred to a set of interests that the allocation is not evenly distributed over several units of society in the political system. Support by simply is a community effort to support the existence of a political system to continue running. Output is the work of a political system coming both from the demand and community support. Output is two decisions

⁶ Ibid.

and actions that are usually done by the government. The decision is the selection of one or more selection or action as appropriate to support the entry. Meanwhile, the government's action is a concrete implementation of decisions.

3. Differentiation in the system

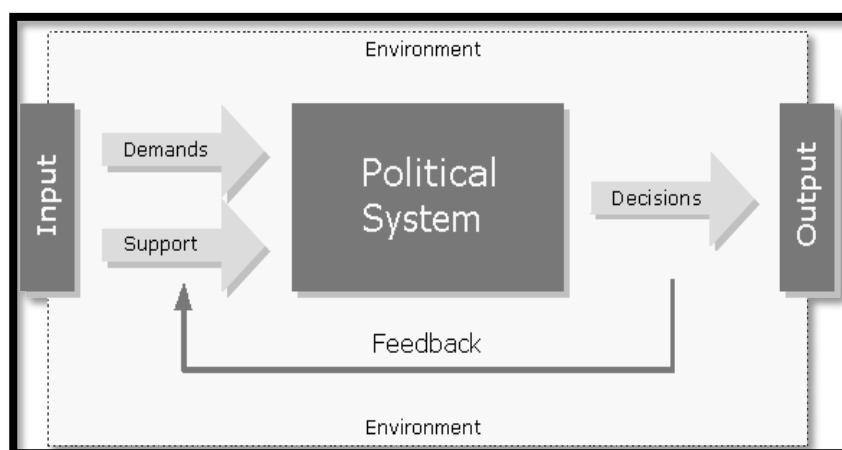
A good system should have differentiation (distinction and separation) work. In a complex modern society, it is impossible for one agency to solves the whole problem.

4. Integration in the system

Is an integration between different units working to achieve a common goal. By the existence of this integration, it could maximize the efforts of those different units to achieve a common goals.

The results of Political System Theory conducted by Easton as follows:

Figure 1. The Figure of Political System Theory



Source: Easton, David. in Ronald, Chilcote. (2003). *Teori Perbandingan Politik: Penelusuran dan Paradigma*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Perkasa.

If attributed to the efforts of the US government in protecting US citizens from the threat of terrorism then, actually it relates to some reasons / motivations. First, the threat of terrorism itself after the WTC 11 September 2001 as the threats that endanger national security and human security. Second, the incomplete security policy in dealing with terrorism because these problems can not only be dealt with only by military and repressive. Third, the campaign of war against terrorism, including the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan in 2003 Guantanamo and others that it needs a complement which is strengthening the institutional domestic.

Establishment of the United States Department of Homeland Security be the first choice because of the three inputs above relating to the lack of facilities and institutional of the United States and terrorism itself as a dangerous threat then it lead to a suggestion to the regime of George W. Bush to establish the United States Department Homeland Security. Then reality into decision also relates that the action and the threat of terrorism after the WTC was still evolving and transforming, not just to crash the plane, but also bombings, attacks and the development of terrorist organizations globally including Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and other organizations are able to build an affiliate to run resistance against US interests at home and abroad.

2. Counter-Terrorism

In order to get better understanding the counter terrorism concept, the writer consider the need understanding the concept of terrorism. Terrorism,

according to Paul Wilkinson, is an organized crime that is working systematically through the hard command line, which form a network that goes beyond the boundaries of state (transnational) on the basis of the values of tough fanaticism idealism.⁷ Besides, terrorism is intimidation that forced to the public at the same time causing chaos as a means in order to achieve certain goals.⁸

Terrorism was originally created by the pressure of a clan, or community of greater strength. The under pressure conditions in marginalized communities / excluded make this community run acts of terrorism, as a form of resistance against greater strength and recognition of the rights and existence.

Then in dealing with terrorism, a concept of counter terrorism arisen. Counterterrorism is a difficult concept to define, especially for western democracies. Paul Wilkinson writes that: *“There is no universally applicable counter-terrorism policy for democracies. Every conflict involving terrorism has its own unique characteristics.”*⁹ Both Paul Wilkinson and Louise Richardson argue, and they are not alone, that Western democracies must make respect for civil liberties and the rule of law a staple in their counterterrorism strategies.¹⁰ While this advice to liberal democracies is admirable and complies with championed democratic principles, it does not amount to a counterterrorism strategy – these are simply highly valued principles meant to guide counterterrorism.

⁷ Wilkinson, Paul. in Marpaung, Rusdi., Araf, Al. (2003). *Terrorism Definisi, Aksi dan Regulasi*. Jakarta: Penerbit Imparsial (Koalisi Untuk Keselamatan Masyarakat Sipil), page. 2

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Wilkinson, Paul on Rinehart, Jason. (2010). *Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency*. Retrieved 11 May 2016, from: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/122/html>.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Counterterrorism is defined in the U.S. Army Field Manual as “Operations that include the offensive measures taken to prevent, deter, preempt, and respond to terrorism.”¹¹ This definition is more concrete but has its strengths and weaknesses. First, it correctly states that counterterrorism is an all-inclusive doctrine including prevention, deterrence, preemption, and responses, which would require bringing to bare all aspects of a nation’s power both domestically and internationally. Second, this definition includes everything but essentially differentiates nothing, which is a problem. If an effective counterterrorism doctrine means ‘whatever we need, whenever we need it,’ then this could create problems with developing effective counter strategies, allocating resources, and determining accountability – it might make the concept of counterterrorism rather worthless. There are, however, advantages to an all-encompassing approach to counterterrorism. It allows a government such as the United States to recognize the complexities of responding to terrorism; it also provides a rhetorical tool that reinforces the notion that there is no simple fix to America’s terrorism problem – but that does little to help our understanding of counterterrorism.

3. Counter Terrorism in the United States of America

The United States as a superpower country also can not be separated from the dynamics of foreign policy as a yardstick progress in various fields. Broadly, the U.S. foreign policy actors can be divided into two, namely:¹²

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Forsythe, David P. (2000). *US Foreign Policy and Erlarging of Democartic Community*. New York: Human Right Quartely Press, page.28.

- a. Formal actor, is a foreign policy actor that is structurally linked to the government, for example, the foreign minister, embassies, military attaches and others.
- b. Non-formal actors, is foreign policy actors who are structurally does not have any relationship with the government, among other are MNCs (multinational corporations), non-formal economic diplomats, multinational trade and others.

In the period of leadership of George W. Bush, US foreign policy is supported by the national budget were unusually large, namely:¹³

- a. Global reach areas of the economy with the amount of 14,300 billion US Dollars.
- b. Global reach defense sector which is amounted to 711 billion US dollars.

The main objective (ideological purposes) of the foreign policy of the United States, either conceptually or contextually according to the U.S. Ministry of Internal Affairs as follows:

"... According to the founders of this country (founding father), the United States need to interact with other countries, not only for domestic purposes but also all countries of the world. The goal of US foreign policy is to create a condition which more secure, democratic and prosperous for the benefit of the United States and the world. "

Then counter-terrorism continuously transformed the US side of the leadership of George W. Bush up to Barack Obama through political policies and

¹³ Ibid.

security. However, there is a difference between them, namely Bush tends to prioritize hard power actions followed with soft power, whereas Obama prioritizes soft power actions and then followed with hard power.¹⁴

However the handling of terrorism by the US government, whether Bush or Obama still using identical motifs albeit with a different pattern or percentage. This step is realized by optimizing the framework for security and defense personnel to increase the budget, legal protection (regulation), privatization, adding weapons to support defense equipment. It is all summed up in domestic policy. There is also a strategy or external efforts (overseas), namely foreign cooperation, training to military operations.¹⁵

Given the scale of security resources, a good program, budget to personnel and equipment to support the various strengths of the required basic policies that directly target the United States means of securing society itself. This means that after the WTC 11 September 2001 under the leadership of George W. Bush the United States seeks to pursue the terrorists with global terrorism campaign, but the policy that oriented towards the efforts on securing within country was still weak. This is a consideration for the United States government in establishing the Department of Homeland Security in 2002.

¹⁴ Todler, W.W., & Buklin, Amy. (2012). *US Foreign Policy : From War on Terrorism to Counter Terrorism*. London and New York: Palgrave Publishing, page.9.

¹⁵ Ibid.

E. Hypothesis

Based on the background, research questions, the framework of the above theory, the hypothesis that can be taken are: The effort of the US government in protecting US citizens from the threat of terrorism is to create a new policy, which is the creation of the United State Department of Homeland Security which is expected to mitigate, resolve and even preventing terrorism emerged in the US.

F. Methodology of Research

1. Types of Research

In accordance with what is stated in the research objectives, this study uses a descriptive analytic. This type of research is used to explain and interpret the obtained data. Through this way, there will be an objective representation to the phenomenon or existing data. Objectivity in question is a process to avoid excessive subjectivity because basically there is no absolute objectivity, so it is necessary to control themselves independently so that researchers do not act to interpret the data with excessively subjective.¹⁶ According to Barton and Lazarfed there are four important things: First, the exploration, which will help researchers to analyze the object, identify indicators, and create a classification and typologies. Second, find a pattern of relationships between variables, allowing comparisons and making of conclusions on certain factors and significant

¹⁶ Surakhmad, Winarno. (1989). *Pengantar Penelitian Ilmiah Dasar Metode Teknik*. Bandung: Tarsito, page.140-141.

relationships. Third, create an integrated construction. Fourth, to test the hypothesis.¹⁷

This study refers to some of the methodological approach which is based on theoretical principles which are different. Qualitative research usually applies data collection and analysis methods that are non-quantitative, and is intended for exploration of social relationships, and describe the social reality experienced by respondents.

2. Data Collection Techniques

The process of collecting data that writer do is to do a literature study or library research, namely research through books, journals, media, thesis which has been written before, the Internet and electronic media as well as data from other relevant sources.

3. Data Analysis Techniques

The interpretation and analysis of the data in this study uses techniques of qualitative analysis in which the data obtained in the form of words or figures which are still in the form of raw data which will advance through the selection process, and taken essence then the data is presented in writing on a case by-case factual interrelated which is then translated and linked and then reassembled so as to describe the state of the variables in the research and development is going on and the last draw conclusions or verification of patterns of regularity and

¹⁷ Barton, Allen, H., & Lazarsfeld, Paul Felix. (1955). *Some functions of qualitative analysis in social research*. Frankfurter Beiträge zur Soziologie, page. 61.

deviations that exist in these phenomena then make predictions on the possible development of next.

G. Scope of Research

In writing this thesis, the researcher will limit the scope of the discussion of 2003-2013, the first creation of the Department of Homeland Security as a continuation of the US government that has made a new paradigm that is better suited in the modern era is more focused on security in the country with ensuring security of people. At this period of time also showed some changes in policy within the Department of Homeland Security alone to secure their country from all types of threats, especially from terrorism. In addition, in this period of time, it shows the efforts of the US government to pursue all efforts of government that makes the US government can focus on neutralizing, solve and prevent acts of terrorism in their homeland. Limitations of time is used to avoid the complexity of observation and analysis.

H. Thesis Writing System

In the thesis, the writing system will consist of five chapters each as follows:

Chapter I: is a section describing the background of the US government's role in promoting and securing their homeland, the theoretical framework, hypothesis, research methodology, scope of the study, the purpose of the research and writing system.

Chapter II: is a chapter that discusses the responses from U.S. government before and after World Trade Center New York 11 September 2011

Chapter III is a chapter on the background of the establishment and the profile of the United State Department of Homeland Security, the discussion includes the discussion until the organization's profile.

Chapter IV is a chapter that will analyze about efforts of the United State Department of Homeland Security to provide protection to US citizens from terrorist threats include preventing terrorist threats; strengthening aviation security; strengthening the intelligence system and; strengthening cross-border security.

Chapter V is the conclusion of the discussion describing the previous chapters.