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The Dynamics of Islamophobia after the September 11 Tragedy in the United States Society on Terrorism

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Abstract

Nationalism can be seen as a double-edged sword, which functions as a binding of a nation's identity but can also trigger Islamophobia and terrorism. After the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States, the country began accusing various groups and countries of being involved in acts of terrorism through Islamophobia by promoting its nationalist spirit. This research aims to explore the side of nationalism that can contribute to the rise of Islamophobia and terrorism in the United States. The methods used in this study are historical methods and radical hermeneutics with a qualitative approach. The September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States indicate the existence of four stages that affect the development of Islamophobia and terrorism in the United States, namely: Events that create deep fear and trauma in American society, agents and mass media who began to spread fear excessively, so that the American people increasingly felt threatened and sought protection, the emergence of a figure who is considered a savior by the people of the United States, who then instigates other groups with the spirit of nationalism so that there is a division in the society of the United States; and the incited people of the United States began to demand revenge against a person or group, namely Muslims.

Keywords: Islamophobia, nationalism, terrorism, september 11 attacks

Abstrak

Nasionalisme dapat dipandang sebagai pisau bermata dua, yaitu berfungsi sebagai pengikat identitas suatu bangsa, namun juga dapat memicu terjadinya Islamophobia dan terorisme. Setelah insiden Serangan 11 September 2001 di Amerika Serikat, negara tersebut mulai menuduh berbagai kelompok dan negara yang dianggap terlibat dalam aksi terorisme melalui Islamophobia dengan mengedepankan semangat nasionalismenya. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi terkait nasionalisme yang dapat berkontribusi terhadap peningkatan Islamophobia dan terorisme di Amerika Serikat. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode sejarah dan hermeneutika radikal dengan pendekatan kualitatif. Insiden Serangan 11 September 2001 di Amerika Serikat mengindikasikan adanya empat tahapan dalam yang mempengaruhi perkembangan Islamophobia dan terorisme di Amerika Serikat, yaitu: Peristiwa yang menciptakan ketakutan dan trauma yang mendalam di masyarakat Amerika Serikat, agen dan media massa yang mulai menyebarkan ketakutan secara berlebihan, sehingga masyarakat Amerika Serikat semakin merasa terancam dan mencari perlindungan, munculnya sosok yang dianggap sebagai penyelamat oleh masyarakat Amerika Serikat, yang kemudian sosok tersebut menghasut kelompok lain dengan semangat nasionalisme sehingga terjadi perpecahan di masyarakat Amerika Serikat, dan Masyarakat Amerika Serikat yang terhasut mulai menuntut balas dendam terhadap seseorang atau kelompok, yaitu umat Islam.

Katakunci: Islamophobia, nasionalisme, terorisme, serangan 11 september

Introduction

The issue of Aqidah in the context of the dynamics of Islamophobia After the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States is a complex issue, closely related to religious beliefs and understanding, as well as social reactions to Islam and the Muslim community, especially among the people of the United States (Bonikowski, Luo, & Stuhler, 2022). Aqidah in Islam emphasizes values such as tolerance, peace, and respect for others (Atabik & Muhtador, 2023). However, there are individuals who have a wrong interpretation of the teachings of Islam, which has the potential to lead to negative stereotypes and Islamophobia. After the events of September 11, 2001, many people associated Islam with acts of terrorism, which led to a bad stigma against Muslims, who are often seen as a threat. One of the main causes of this phenomenon is the lack of a comprehensive understanding of Islamic teachings and the true faith (Burton, 2023).

In the framework of nationalism, there is a tendency to strengthen the identity of certain groups by placing other groups as enemies (Harnois, Bastos, & Shariff-Marco, 2022). In this context, Muslims are often subjected to discrimination, which exacerbates the issue of Aqidah, where their beliefs are considered inconsistent with the values held by Muslims in the United States. The media and politics in the country often reinforce negative narratives about Islam, which have the potential to influence public views (Migone, Howlett, & Howlett, 2024). When the Aqidah is perceived through the perspective of terrorism, it creates greater fear and distrust of Muslims in the United States. Therefore, to overcome this problem, it is very important to strengthen interreligious dialogue and increase understanding of the true Aqidah. These efforts can help reduce Islamophobia and create a more inclusive society globally.

Nationalism is often considered a force that unites a nation, but nationalism can also be extremism. As an ideology, nationalism emphasizes the importance of unity and solidarity among social groups identified with a nation (Kusumawardani & Faturochman, 2004). However, nationalism is often associated with a sense of superiority of one's own group and the inferiority of another group. Extremism in nationalism can trigger the emergence of hateful sentiments, discrimination, and violence against minority groups or those considered as threats to national identity (Arayunedya & Armandha, 2020).

This phenomenon can be one of the factors that encourage conflict and terrorism. Terrorism is a phenomenon that attracts attention in the context of modern historical events. The complexity that arises, both from the actors involved and the actions taken, makes it difficult to formulate a single narrative about terrorism (Chaliand et al., 2007). Terrorism in modern times utilizes a variety of tactics to achieve political goals, often by using fear as a strategic tool to influence decision-making. By targeting crowded public locations, such as terminals, transportation centers, airports, shopping malls, tourist attractions, and nightlife venues, terrorists seek to create widespread insecurity, which ultimately drives policy change through psychological manipulation and undermines trust in existing security measures (Ganor, 2015).

In the early 21st century, Islam emerged as a central element that contributed to the formation of a single narrative regarding terrorism in the Western world. This triggered Islamophobia. Islam is often described as a radical ideology that is closely linked to acts of terror. This phenomenon occurred after the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States, which made Islam perceived as a threat and terrorism by various narratives among Western society (Tibi, 2012). The September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States are one of the most significant examples of how nationalism can transform into Islamophobia and terrorism. The incident not only changed global political and security dynamics but also sparked a deep debate about national identity and its impact on multicultural societies, especially Muslims.

The September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States, better known as 9/11, were a series of four terrorist suicide attacks organized by Al-Qaeda against the United States (Allan & Burrige, 2006). In the morning, 19 terrorists hijacked four commercial planes that were supposed to fly from the East Coast of the United States to California. The first and second planes were targeted to hit the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. The third plane successfully hit the Pentagon, which is the headquarters of the United States Department of Defense in Arlington County, Virginia, while the fourth plane crashed in rural Pennsylvania. The September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States resulted in the deaths of 2,977 people, making it the deadliest terrorist attack in history (Selby, 2024). In response to the incident, the United States launched a global war against terrorism that has lasted for decades. It aims to eradicate groups that are considered terrorist organizations, as well as accuse the governments of other countries of

allegedly providing support to Al-Qaeda, including Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, and several other countries (Kean, 2007). As for the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States, the spirit of nationalism and Islamophobia in American society is increasingly burning (Arayunedya & Armandha, 2020).

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States, there was a strong narrative of divisive politics among American society, which often led to the exclusion of certain groups, especially those from the Muslim community. In this context, excessive nationalism can lead to stigma and discrimination, which can ultimately trigger negative reactions from individuals or groups who feel marginalized (Arayunedya & Armandha, 2020). This shows that the negative side of nationalism can exacerbate tensions between ethnic and religious groups in a society that is supposed to be multicultural.

The United States is a country where multiculturalism is supposed to be the main force in building its nation, but it is often threatened by the narrative of nationalism that emphasizes uniformity and exclusivity. When nationalism is narrowly understood, it can trigger Islamophobia and terrorism, like a double-edged sword (Arayunedya & Armandha, 2020). As a result, some community groups feel that the only way to maintain their identity is through acts of violence. Therefore, it is important to analyze how nationalism can be a trigger for Islamophobia and terrorism, which ultimately undermines the concept of a multicultural state. This situation reflects the challenges faced by multicultural countries in maintaining social harmony in their societies, including in Indonesia, India, Australia, and China.

This research applies historical and deconstruction methods combined with radical hermeneutics through a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach serves to construct a statement of knowledge based on a constructive perspective, such as meanings arising from individual experiences, social values, and historical contexts, with the aim of formulating a specific theory or pattern of knowledge (Kusumastuti & Khoiron, 2019). This approach can also be based on a participatory perspective, which includes orientation towards politics, social issues, social collaboration, or social change, or a combination of the two (Creswell, 1992). This approach is particularly relevant when researchers seek to understand the meaning contained in social phenomena (Lune & Berg, 2017).

In addition, a qualitative approach has been applied in the fields of history and philosophy, which are complemented by historical methods (Gorman, 1992). The historical method is an approach that aims to systematically rediscover the complexity, individuals, meanings, events, and ideas from the past that have contributed to shaping the current conditions (Kuntowijoyo, 2018). Sartono Kartodirdjo (1992) explained that the historical method consists of a series of systematic steps that include (1) heuristic; (2) source criticism; (3) interpretation; and (4) historiography. The first step, which is heuristic, focuses on finding and gathering sources relevant to the topic being researched. The next step is to criticize the sources to assess the credibility and reliability of these historical sources. The next step, namely interpretation, which is in the form of analysis and synthesis of data and historical facts that have been collected, is carried out with an objective approach. The last step is historiography. Historiography is the process of writing history based on sources that have been discovered, evaluated, selected, and criticized, and it reflects the success of researchers in carrying out their research.

This research not only relies on the historical method but also applies deconstruction as this research method. Deconstruction, introduced by Jacques Derrida in the realm of social philosophy, serves to question the integrity and understanding of meaning, as well as critically challenge tradition and authority through the use of texts (Izzah, 2013). Jacques Derrida argues that reality can be understood as a text, suggesting that there are various hidden meanings within the text (Caputo, 1997). Jacques Derrida also argues that every text or reality has inherent contradictions, and the discovery of such contradictions can shake the entire structure of the text or reality itself (Izzah, 2013). This thought process is called deconstruction because it aims to dismantle constructions or structures that have been considered stable and widely accepted by society (Arayunedy & Armandha, 2020).

Francisco Budi Hardiman (2015) explained that deconstruction is a form of radical hermeneutics that aims to understand the structure of meaning in texts, both to restore the original meaning and to create new meanings. However, radical hermeneutics rejects this goal, considering the text as an independent entity and open to a wide range of interpretations without restrictions. In this context, radical hermeneutics focuses on meanings that always do not find a definite answer, so deconstruction can be considered a form of radical hermeneutics (Caputo, 1997). Radical

hermeneutics emphasizes the existence of binary opposition, that is pairs of words in a particular text that have conflicting meanings, and then highlights the superiority of one of the meanings of the word (Arayunedy & Armandha, 2020). Examples of binary opposition, for example, men and women, rational and emotional, strong and weak, and good and evil. The meaning of words that are considered weaker or less favored is the main focus in radical hermeneutics (Izzah, 2013).

Francisco Budi Hardiman (2015) explained that radical hermeneutics is carried out through two stages. The first stage is to reverse and emphasize the opposite word (the word that is considered inferior or negative), as well as allowing the dominance of one of the meanings of the word. For example, the binary opposition "rational and emotional" can be reversed to "emotional and rational". In this way, new meanings and interpretations of the word that have been considered weaker, that is, emotional, can be expressed. Thus, it can be understood that the entire meaning of the text is influenced by the binary opposition. The second stage involves the elimination of binary thinking so that the terms are no longer considered, and the researcher can find the right answers and solutions (Martin, 2023).

Based on these methods, this study offers a different understanding of Islamophobia, terrorism, and nationalism. Thus, the interpretation of binary opposition in the context of Islamophobia, terrorism, and nationalism will be suspended, allowing us to explore the meaning of marginalization and know its impact on social practices in American society. The September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States were used in this study as the object of this study. Previous research on the September 11, 2001 attacks has been carried out. However, the study has not comprehensively discussed Islamophobia, nationalism, and terrorism, which are reviewed from radical hermeneutics as the research method. Therefore, this study aims to explore the contribution of nationalism as a triggering factor for Islamophobia and terrorism, focusing on the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States as the object of his research.

Definition of Islamophobia and Terrorism

Until this study was made, Islamophobia and terrorism were terms that were still the subject of debate because there was no agreement on their definitions. This can be seen from research conducted by Alex Peter Schmid, an expert in the field of Islamophobia and terrorism studies, which identified

hundreds of different definitions of Islamophobia and terrorism (Alam-Pérez, 2021). In his book entitled "Defining Terrorism", Alex Peter Schmid (2024) notes as many as 260 definitions of Islamophobia and terrorism that are diverse but still cannot provide a universally accepted meaning. One of the reasons why Islamophobia and terrorism are difficult to define is because the meaning of these terms has changed with the times.

The term terrorism became widely known in the 1980s, when President Ronald Reagan in the United States declared that terrorism was one of the biggest threats to the country (Arayunedya & Armandha, 2020). This is also what gives rise to the narrative of Islamophobia as the times develop. Since then, the term has been used more and more frequently in public discourse, although discussions of Islamophobia and terrorism have not always been a consistent topic in public conversations. Discussions on the issue of Islamophobia and terrorism began to receive serious attention after the suicide attack on the World Center Building, New York, United States, on September 11, 2001 (Heryanto, 2006). Thus, there is no global agreement on the definitions of "Islamophobia" and "terrorism" because each country tends to have different definitions (Williamson, 2024).

The definition of Islamophobia and terrorism depends on the interests of a country (Hoffman, 2017). These differences are certainly not without basis because each country has a battlefield with different political, social, economic, and cultural contexts. Each country has different perceptions and perspectives from each other, with the main difficulty when determining who is a "good person" and a "bad person" in social activities being whether that person is called a bad person because of violence so that it is labeled with the terms "Islamophobia" and "terrorism" (Simeon, 2020).

Therefore, it is very difficult to determine whether Islamophobia and terrorism stop at attacks on civilians and Muslims or whether they also include attacks on state institutions and places of worship. However, if we look at contemporary historical phenomena, the predicate of Islamophobia and terrorists can be pinned to the armed forces of a country. This is evidenced by the relationship between the United States and Iran, which has been involved in conflicts, and the two countries have labeled each other as Islamophobic and terrorist (Thomas, 2024). This also shows that the attachment of Islamophobia and terrorist titles is also political.

Based on the existing reality, it can be concluded that the issue of Islamophobia and terrorism has a high complexity and is specific, depending on the specific context. However, there is a pattern that shows that the state functions as the main entity that has power and authority, so that the state has an important role in establishing the definition of Islamophobia and terrorism and identifying the perpetrators. In addition, the state is also the only entity that has the most effective tools and mechanisms to counter individuals or groups that are considered Islamophobic and terrorists, as well as to label "Islamophobia" and "terrorism" to anyone, be it other countries or community groups (United Nations, 2018). For example, such as the United States and Iran accusing each other of being terrorists and Islamophobes; India and Pakistan labeling each other terrorists and Islamophobes; Israel labels Palestinians terrorists, and Israel gets the international label of Islamophobia, as well as various other countries involved in similar dynamics. (Arayunedya & Armandha, 2020).

The narrative of Islamophobia and terrorism has developed into a discourse among the country's leaders. They have presented Islamophobia and terrorism to the public as a moral drama that depicts the conflict between good and evil in the context of society. The public statement of the President of the United States in 2001, namely George Bush, in the spirit of nationalism, stated that the United States is facing a new form of war, namely Islam and terrorism. This statement has an important role in international discussions on the true definition of Islamophobia and terrorism (Winkler, 2005).

Development of Nationalism

The modern internationally recognized state system began to take shape from the Osnabrück and Münster Congresses between 1644 and 1648, which was later ratified through the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 (Teschke, 1999). This agreement aims to end the protracted conflict between Protestant and Catholic countries. In addition, the influence of Church thought in the Middle Ages began to decline and was replaced by modern philosophical thought (Legrand & Leuprecht, 2021). The process of development of the modern state system is increasingly visible along with the emergence of rational thinking. The Treaty of Westphalia became the basis for the state system known as the Westphalia model, which marked a change in the political order from hierarchical to anarchic. This change marks a transition to a new era that is no longer centered on religious authority but on the people.

The rejection and rebellion against the hierarchical system in government gave rise to new countries with clear territorial sovereignty, equality between countries, and freedom from the threat of other countries (Noordegraaf, Douglas, Geuijen, & Van Der Steen, 2019). The Westphalian model of the state system is characterized by independent territorial sovereignty and the absence of a party that regulates relations between countries (Teschke, 1999). After the Treaty of Westphalia, the process of the birth of nationalism began to take place slowly in the wave of nationalism.

The French Revolution was a crucial moment in the history of mankind that provided a foundation for a person to determine their own destiny and manage their own life. At that time, society was influenced by thoughts that emphasized the importance of doubt in seeking definite answers. Blind doubt and belief must be abolished because they are used as a basic assumption when humans try to investigate things. Logic is the main tool in the modern century that builds idealism to achieve self-determination for a nation. Common sense has served as a means of legitimacy for state power in the context of modern society, which ultimately shaped the concept of nationalism (Smith, 1979).

Historians agree that the idea of nationalism began to take shape after the American Revolution and later influenced the French Revolution and triggered a reaction from various countries, such as Prussia, Russia, Spain, Britain, Austria, and Sweden, to the attempt at conquest by Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte (Smith, 1979). The period of about 40 years was an important phase in the formation of the idea of nationalism (Breliana & Budiono, 2021). The French Revolution is often considered the starting point of modern ideas about nationalism, with an emphasis on the right of the people to govern themselves and being the first wave of nationalism (Kamenka, 1973). In subsequent developments, a second wave of nationalism spread to various other European regions, including Serbia, Greece, and Poland, as well as among Latin American elites, between the 1810s and 1820s (Budianto, Widiatmoko, Afandi, Pratama, & Sasmita, 2024). The culmination of the first major wave of nationalism occurred in the Revolution of 1848 in Europe, known as the Spring of Peoples, with major achievements such as the unification of Germany under Prussia, the unification of Italy under Piedmont, and the rise of Hungary's status within the Habsburg empire (Smith, 1979).

Towards the end of the 19th century, a third wave of nationalism emerged in Eastern and Northern Europe, encompassing countries such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Finland, and Norway, as well as Jewish communities in Eastern Europe. Nationalist movements are also developing in Japan, India, Armenia, and Egypt, which is the fourth wave of nationalism. The last wave of nationalism emerged in the first decade of the 20th century, spreading to Asia, including Turkey, Arabia, Persia, Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines, Vietnam, and China (Wiratama, Budianto, & Afandi, 2021). This last wave of nationalism also includes the first nationalist movement in Africa, which includes Nigeria, Ghana, and South Africa. In the 1930s and 1940s, almost the entire world was influenced by nationalist movements (Smith, 1979).

In a book entitled "Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History", Anthony David Stephen Smith (2010) suggests that nationalism in a country can be formed even if no nation existed before. This formation process occurred after decolonization in Africa and Asia. Examples of countries experiencing this phenomenon are Tanzania, Nigeria, and Indonesia (Smith, 2010). Nationalism in these countries not only focuses on the struggle for independence or political sovereignty but also plays a role in shaping the culture of society. The nationalism movement is directed to create an ideal cultural order as a national identity. Although nationalism emerged from secular modernism, nationalism can be understood more as a form of political religion than just a political ideology (Arayunedya & Armandha, 2020). Religion is understood as a system of beliefs and practices that are integrated into things that are considered sacred, namely norms that are set and prohibited. These beliefs and practices are united in a single moral community (Smith, 2010).

This functional approach provides insight into religion as an alternative to nationalism, as argued by Émile Durkheim (a modern sociologist) about the importance of sacred and ritual roles (Arayunedya & Armandha, 2020). Nationalism is often accompanied by memorial ceremonies to honor great leaders or heroes who have fallen in battle, who have sacrificed their lives for the sake of a country (Sasmita, Joebagio, & Sariyatun, 2018). These memorial ceremonies can be found in various countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom, Indonesia, China, and Russia. In these moments, we can see that a nation is a fellowship of citizens that has a sacred dimension. This is in line with the understanding of nationalism as a form of substitute for a religion (Smith, 2010).

Nationalism in the new countries of Asia and Africa has given birth to leaders who are considered saviors and saviors for the people. Figures such as Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Soekarno (Indonesia), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), and Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya) are seen as changemakers towards freedom and justice (Smith, 2010). This aspiration is the background for the spirit of nationalism that is strongly supported by the younger generation, who care about their own country, marginalized intellectuals, and oppressed groups in Africa and Asia (Wiratama, Afandi, Budianto, Anggraini, & Utomo, 2024). Nationalism is seen as an ideal to be realized, although it is often achieved through violence and deep suffering, including acts of Islamophobia and terrorism. This phenomenon can be seen in the context of: (1) The September 11, 2001, Attacks in the United States; (2) The July 7, 2005, London Bombings; and (3) Anti-Muslim Sentiment in Europe (Smith, 2010).

The Use of Binary Opposition to the Words "Good and Evil" in Islamophobia, Terrorism, and Nationalism

After the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States, the symbol of the United States flag was seen in various places across the country, including on vehicles, buildings, clothing, and even as a tattoo on some people (Šalamon, 2018). Various banners, posters, t-shirts, and billboards that read "United We Stand", "Proud to be a Citizen of The United States", and "God Bless The United States of America" began to appear. Many companies in the United States changed their logos with the patriotic colors of red, white, and blue associated with the event (Borradori, 2003). At that time, politicians in the United States also played the role of saviors of the nation, creating an atmosphere of cultural paranoia through various slogans, such as "war on terror", "we will fight them", "fight those who are against us", and "good vs evil" (Arayunedya & Armandha, 2020).

These slogans clearly contribute to the rise of the spirit of American nationalism at the global level. The public's response to the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States shows that US politicians and media emphasize excellence, democracy, freedom, and prosperity as the main values of the United States nation, which uses a language of an ideological nature, thus potentially dividing American society and influencing the geopolitics of the United States (Šalamon, 2018). The scope of terrorism has become part of a broader discourse on fear, which has contributed to the emergence of the politics of fear and fueled acts of Islamophobia and terrorism itself. This

influences policymakers to assume dangers, risks, and fears in order to achieve certain goals. Some academics, including Henri Lefebvre, who introduced the term "dualism of prophecy" in his book *Everyday Life in the Modern World* (1971), identified this type of divisive rhetoric as a way to divide the world into two categories: good and evil. For example, relations between the United States and the European Union are considered good, while President George Walker Bush's actions after the 2003 attack on Iran are considered evil.

Dualism of prophecy refers to a moralistic foreign policy narrative, which divides the world into two opposing forces, namely "good" and "evil", and affirms the superiority that God has given the United States over its enemies (Šalamon, 2018). The concept of dualism of prophecy is also considered a trigger that can awaken state nationalism accompanied by Islamophobia and terrorism (Arayunedy & Armandha, 2020). To analyze the use of binary opposition in the context of Islamophobia, terrorism, and nationalism, it is necessary to reverse the pairs of words "good and evil" to "evil and good" through a deconstruction approach. The deconstructed approach to the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States offers a perspective that highlights an overlooked meaning, namely "evil." This approach promotes the understanding that the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States are a crisis that has gone through various stages (Borradori, 2003).

The first stage in this analysis is the Cold War, which was the backdrop for the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States. These "evil" hijackers were the product of U.S. support during the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan during the Cold War. Weapons and intelligence agents from the United States played a crucial role in supporting the mujahideen or Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan in the early 1980s until they managed to take control of the country. In the second stage, the deconstruction approach is used to highlight the imbalance of power between the parties to the conflict. These terrorists who are considered "evil" cannot be equated with the name of the country. In the context of the Cold War, which was characterized by two balanced powers between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, it is not appropriate to compare the country with Islamophobia and terrorism of a non-state nature.

The strength of Islamophobia and non-state terrorism cannot be measured in the same way. President George Walker Bush has accused several countries of trying to protect terrorists, especially Islamic countries. This shows the view of the United States that refuses to recognize non-state terrorist forces that cannot be compared to state power through Islamophobia, such as Iraq, which was accused of protecting Al-Qaeda and possessing weapons of mass destruction by the United States in 2003 (Borradori, 2003). In the third stage, the deconstruction approach looks at the naming, reaction, and memory of the United States public regarding the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States. This memory exacerbates the conflict between the Western media and non-state terrorists, as well as Islamophobia. This relates to the fourth stage, known as the vicious cycle. This cycle operates through continuous and repetitive repression. Declarations of war on terrorism and Islam often backfire to the detriment of a coalition of countries allied with the United States, including NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization).

Thus, this vicious cycle continues. The binary logic of distinguishing between "evil" and "good" has become dominant in thinking about Islamophobia and terrorism. This logic needs to be suspended so as not to get caught up in the dominant narrative. This will allow for interpretations of various forms of Islamophobia and other forms of terrorism. (Borradori, 2003). Since the Second World War, the term terrorist began to be used by colonial rulers to refer to nationalist fighters who fought for independence (Guelke, 2006). Nationalist movements are considered a threat because they can interfere with existing power. After the end of the Cold War, there were almost no more conflicts or colonialism between countries, which had an impact on the development of the concept of nationalism, especially in Islamophobia and terrorism.

In the context of this discourse, the debate on international security faces two main questions: (1) Can a country engage in acts of Islamophobia and terrorism?; (2) Can a person who fights for independence and religion, such as Islam, in fighting against an oppressive regime be categorized as a terrorist?; and (3) Can someone who hates the behavior of Muslims be categorized as Islamophobic? Based on historical analysis, the attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, at the World Trade Center, United States, can be understood through two conflicting perspectives. These events can be seen from both external and internal perspectives (Glišić & Vujošević, 2021). From

an external point of view, the attack reflects an attempt by a political entity to divide civilization, both at the nation-state level and among ethnic groups, such as between whites and Middle Eastern groups, as well as between Christians and Muslims. This action has the potential to cause Islamophobia and terrorism. However, from an internal point of view, the attack can be seen as an attempt to shape the image of the United States as a dominant cosmopolitan country on the world stage, which in turn reinforces a sense of nationalism among certain citizens of the United States.

Thus, the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States created a divisive political dynamic, which ultimately fueled nationalism combined with Islamophobia and terrorism. However, discussions on this issue are often ignored in the context of segregation events in multicultural countries, such as the United States, India, Indonesia, Canada, and Australia. As a result of the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, the United States invaded Afghanistan and Iraq and categorized the Islamist group as an "evil" entity, which was then used as a tool to spread Islamophobia and terrorism.

Terrorism in The Frame of Nationalism and September 11 Attacks as a Form of Reflection on the Multiculturalist State

In her book entitled *The Paranoia Switch* (2007), Martha Stout analyzes the phenomenon of terror and Islamophobia that plagues American society through the lens of neuropsychology. Martha Stout (2007) introduced the concept of limbic war, which refers to the destructive conflicts waged by the political elite of the United States that strengthened their nationalist influence after the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States by taking advantage of the collective anxiety and fear of the American people, especially against Islamophobia. According to Martha Stout (2007), there are four stages of the concept of limbic war, namely: (1) War or attack that causes excessive fear and trauma in society; (2) Agents and mass media begin to spread fear in the community excessively, so that people are increasingly afraid and tend to seek protection from someone; (3) The emergence of a person who is trusted by the community as a savior and a person who is trusted by the community will begin to incite other groups with the spirit of nationalism, so that society begins to be divided; and (4) The incited society begins to demand revenge on the person who carried out the war, the attack or the group that supported the attack or war.

Based on the concept of limbic war, the initial stage is characterized by conflict or attack, which is then followed by collective trauma as an event that causes deep fear in the minds of the community. In the second stage, there are groups that take advantage of public fear to achieve their personal goals. This group serves to maintain power and control the situation. They intensively and dramatically remind the public of the magnitude of the threat faced, which is considered significant or even real. A person who has experienced trauma tends to feel threatened and seek protection. This can be seen in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attacks, when a politician in the United States claimed danger and offered to be a protector (Šalamon, 2018). This stage is very crucial because it is an important indicator for the sustainability of limbic war, namely whether people will choose to follow the group that spreads the fear or not.

The third stage is known as scapegoatism, where leaders and political elites shift the blame to a certain group or race as the cause of the crisis, as well as using hatred as a tool. In the phase of scapegoatism, certain groups that are considered guilty, even if they are only symbolically connected, will always be used as scapegoats for disasters (wars and attacks) that cause trauma to their nation and state in the early stages of limbic war. After identifying the target to be scapegoated, the process continues to the fourth stage, namely the demand for revenge and increased intolerance. The atmosphere at this stage creates a "we fight them" narrative, which encourages a wave of patriotism among traumatized citizens. This stage is similar to the Cold War-era dynamics that divided the world into two powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, which then evolved into "our view versus their view".

In an effort to uncover the phenomenon of fear that arose as a result of limbic war conflicts in the mass media, Martha Stout analyzed a number of headlines published in the Los Angeles Times between December 1941 and February 1942, as well as surveyed the headlines published by The New York Times between September 2001 and December 2002 (Šalamon, 2018). The results of the comparison show similar findings. Martha Stout argues that the narratives commonly presented by the mass media in the United States tend to cause psychological fear among the public (Šalamon, 2018). This phenomenon occurs as a result of political practices that take advantage of public fear through the presentation of frightening data, thus creating excessive assumptions about the risks of Islamophobia and terror.

The use of this politics of fear is seen in the analysis of propaganda content designed to evoke emotions, with a special emphasis on the role of the media and imagery related to the possibility of war and the end times (Heller, 2011). This propaganda is a clear attempt by the political and military elites to manipulate public opinion. The use of visual images of the enemy as well as propaganda content designed to instill fear is an integral part of this strategy (Heller, 2011). Thus, propaganda serves as an external influence that is explicitly designed to arouse fear and create hostility, in line with the effects posed by the threat, namely Islamophobia and terrorism (Huddy, 2004).

Acts of violence related to terrorism are a phenomenon in the context of communication. The symbolism of terrorism is not limited to the use of bombs, kidnappings, or other brutal acts. Today, terrorism is designed to signal to victims and instill widespread fear in someone who is not at the scene. This increased Islamophobia in the United States. In today's era of communication media, small acts of terrorism can be dramatically presented by the mass media and spread to the public space (Tilly, 2005). The psychological impact is a major aspect of terror, not only for a person or group who experiences it directly but can also spread to many people in other locations through messages or images (Bruce, 2013). This is in line with the views of Bruce Hoffman (2017) in his book "Inside Terrorism", which defines terrorism as the deliberate use of fear through Islamophobia or the threat of violence in the context of political struggle.

In the context of power in the modern era, state control is the main principle (Khan et al., 2019). A small number of rulers take advantage of nationalism and mobilize communities to strengthen the dominance of political elites. The political elite managed to integrate themselves with the tradition of nationalism so that their power could be maintained by utilizing nationalist movements. The success of nationalist movements in responding to the grievances of people marginalized by the hierarchical system is an important condition for the mobilization of the movement (Khan et al., 2019). However, success in spreading subversive ideologies and mobilizing the people is often used by political elites as a tool to fulfill their ambitions in overhauling the social and political order (Smith, 2000). Over time, nationalism is understood as an ideology that puts the interests of a nation as the main focus in efforts to achieve the welfare of the people (Smith, 2010). These efforts generally have three main goals, namely sovereignty, unity, and national identity.

For nationalists, the sustainability of a nation depends heavily on the achievement of these three goals. Thus, nationalism can be defined as an ideology that constantly strives to maintain and maintain national sovereignty, unity, and identity. The concept of a nation has been instilled in Asia and Africa through the practice of imperialism and colonialism that causes hatred. Poverty, as well as the psychological and physical effects of colonialism, which persisted long after World War II, can be linked to imperialism. European explorers, inspired by the Renaissance era, flocked to the African continent and Asia in search of natural resources and raw materials to meet the economic needs of the European continent. Colonialism began in the early 15th century, which fueled Islamophobia, hatred, and terror in colonized countries (Antonsich, 2023).

Hatred, Islamophobia, and terror with binary opposition and binary logic between "us" and "them" or "good" and "evil", were further reinforced during the Cold War. The events that occurred in the first half of the 20th century left a deep imprint on the founders and leaders of the country and the ideas they brought to their country. The hatred instilled by imperialism also contributed to the occurrence of other violence. Hard-earned sovereignty, unity, and national identity are often disrupted by the intervention of other countries or domestic turmoil, which in turn triggers the escalation of conflicts. Gradually, nationalism developed into a more exclusive and aggressive form, namely Islamophobia and terrorism (Jensen, 2016).

As researchers, we argue that nationalism in the United States contributes to the emergence of Islamophobia and terrorism through two main factors, namely: (1) the Manifest Destiny Doctrine; and (2) the history of slavery and racism in the United States in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Manifest Destiny doctrine embraced by the people of the United States, who considered that they had a divine right to expand their territory from the east coast to the west coast, had formed the view that the American nation was the most superior. This view can lead to the notion that other cultures, including Islam, are a threat to national identity in the United States. In addition, the history of slavery and racial discrimination that occurred in the United States in the 17th and 18th centuries has created a social structure that separates societies based on race. Muslims, especially those from the Middle East and North Africa, are often placed in different racial categories and are considered inferior.

Social media has a significant role in the formation of nationalism in the United States, which in turn can fuel Islamophobia and terrorism. These platforms have created a highly polarized information environment. Algorithms designed to personalize content often present information that aligns with user biases, reinforcing extreme views and conspiracy theories. The spread of fake news and propaganda related to Islam often occurs rapidly on social media, ultimately reinforcing negative stereotypes and increasing hatred of Muslims. As a result, Muslim communities in the United States are often victims of discrimination, both in the form of physical violence, verbal abuse, and systematic discrimination in the employment, education, and health sectors. In addition, Muslims are often targeted for racial profiling by law enforcement officials, which can result in human rights violations. Therefore, steps are needed to deal with the phenomenon of Islamophobia and terrorism through education, interfaith dialogue, responsible mass media, and legal advocacy.

Conclusion

The terms Islamophobia and terrorism, which often appear in the context of nationalism, have undergone a significant simplification of meaning, even it can be said to be narrowed. This is due to a view that only highlights the divisions in American society from the surface, so it seems negative. The September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States are often cited as extreme examples of divisions in a multicultural society. A general understanding of the relationship between nationalism, terrorism and Islamophobia, both from a top-down and bottom-up perspective, is rarely discussed in scientific discussion forums focused on nationalism, especially in countries that have ethnic diversity. In the context of nationalism that can fuel Islamophobia and terrorism from below, the desire of ethnic groups to build their own civilization is often easily labeled as Islamophobic and terrorist, due to nationalism's demands for national unity and identity.

Framed in the narrative of nationalism, the term terrorism is not comprehensive, contributing to the spread of wider, planned, and organized fear, including Islamophobia. These kinds of actions have the potential to develop into acts of terrorism. The concepts of Islamophobia and terrorism emerged as a response to acts of violence committed by a group. However, one-sided understanding causes this concept to be reduced only to certain groups, especially those related to certain religions. In the context of this

domination, the group has the power to determine who and what can be categorized as terrorists. Through radical hermeneutic analysis, this reduction appears to benefit the opposing party, who from the beginning constructs the meaning of "terrorism" and "Islamophobia", and has the authority to direct the meaning. The definitions of Islamophobia and terrorism have been dismantled from the binary dichotomy, which is good and evil. By not being trapped in this logic, the narrative of terrorism becomes more open to interpretation. This study highlights the role of nationalism in influencing the phenomenon of Islamophobia and terrorism.

The birth of nationalism in the modern era makes the concept of nationalism closely tied to the structure of modernism, which is often understood as progress. The structure of modernism can encourage the creation of equality, community participation, and accountability in government. On the other hand, nationalism also has the potential to foster exclusivity, aggression, and terror. Nationalism should fully support the rights of individuals to determine their own destiny. This research still focuses on the use of nationalism as a tool for acts of terrorism in order to achieve political goals through Islamophobia. In future studies, it is necessary to conduct more in-depth research on various other ideologies besides nationalism that can contribute to Islamophobia and terrorism. In addition, an understanding of how the conception of nationalism can trigger Islamophobia and terrorism is very important for further research, so that the public can obtain a balanced narrative regarding the terms Islamophobia and terrorism. This aims to increase public awareness to be more critical and reject Islamophobia and terrorism in all its forms.

This research is expected to provide new insights for multicultural countries, including Indonesia, India, China, the United States, and Australia, to always maintain national unity and avoid using nationalist narratives that can trigger Islamophobia and terrorism. In the implementation of this study, there are several limitations that affect the results, namely the focus of the research object is only on the September 11, 2001, attack in the United States. There are many other relevant events related to nationalism that can trigger Islamophobia and terrorism, such as the ban on the use of the hijab in France in 2011, Muslims in India forced to convert to Hinduism in 2014, the Moro Nation in the Philippines during the time of Ferdinand Marcos, and so on. In addition, research that highlights nationalism as a trigger for Islamophobia and terrorism also needs to consider various aspects of the bad side of

nationalism, such as syndicalism and anarchism. Therefore, it is recommended that the results of this study be used as a comparative reference so that this study can become more comprehensive.

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