THE DISCOURSE OF TERRORISM REPRESENTED IN TOM CLANCY'S *THE SUM OF ALL FEARS*

THESIS

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THESIS

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I state that the thesis entitled **"The Discourse of Terrorism Represented in Tom Clancy's The Sum of All Fears"** is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

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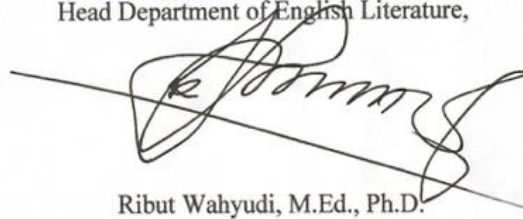
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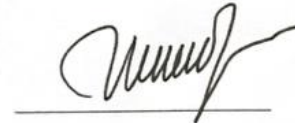2. Whida Rositama, M.Hum.
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MOTTO

"The world is 3 days: As for yesterday, it has vanished along with all that was in it.
As for tomorrow, you may never see it. As for today, it is yours, so work on it."
— Hasan Al-Basri

DEDICATION

This Thesis to be proudly dedicated to:

My dearest family who always give spirit and as my inspiration:

My beloved father, Hamidun.

My beloved mother, Alkhurriyah.

My special support system, Liza Amaliya.

My older sister, Laili Saffaanatul .F

My younger brother, Yoga Apriliyano.

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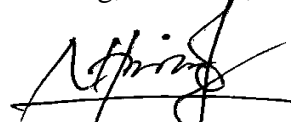
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ABSTRACT

Maksum, Mochammad N. 2022. **The Discourse of Terrorism Represented in Tom Clancy's *The Sum of All Fears***. Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Islamic State University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor : Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M.Hum.

Key Terms : Discourse, Terrorisme, Representation, The Sum of All Fears

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Terrorism issues have been more complex and much discussed in the last few decades, after 9/11. As a result, terrorism is also experiencing a shift in meaning that is inclined toward ideological values and discredits one particular (Riegler, 2010). This thesis discusses terrorism representation discourse constructed through characters who are part of the international terrorist group in *The Sum of All Fears* novel by Tom Clancy.

This research intends to identify and understand how terrorism discourse is represented and tries to discover the kind of ideology constructed from terrorism discourse in the novel. This research is a literary criticism study that utilizes the library research method. The data source is the novel *The Sum of All Fears*, written by Tom Clancy. This research uses the Critical Discourse Analysis approach by Norman Fairclough (1995) that identifies discourse into three levels of analysis; Microstructure, Mesostructure, and Macrostructure.

The study shows that the discourse of terrorism is represented as an entity that has an intercorrelation with international geopolitical power especially the influence of Superpower Countries on the Cold War. Terrorism in the novel is represented by having a strong intercorrelation with the constellation and political agendas of the U.S. and Russia. Terrorism is also represented through every terrorist character having different motives and agendas. Furthermore, the novel tries to construct an ideology of peace represented through Jack Ryan's character with his heroic actions.

ABSTRACT (Bahasa Indonesia)

ABSTRAK

Maksum, Mochammad N. 2022. **Wacana Terorisme yang Direpresentasikan pada Novel *The Sum of All Fears* Karya Tom Clancy**. Skripsi Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Dosen Pembimbing : Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M.Hum.

Kata Kunci : Wacana, Terorisme, Representasi, The Sum of All Fears

Persoalan terorisme menjadi makin kompleks dan ramai diperbincangkan pada beberapa dekade terakhir, yaitu pasca 9/11. Sebagai hasilnya, terorisme juga tentu mengalami pergeseran makna yang cenderung ideologis dan mendiskreditkan satu pihak tertentu (Riegler, 2010). Tesis ini membahas wacana representasi terorisme yang dibangun melalui tokoh-tokoh yang berperan sebagai komunitas terorisme Internasional dalam novel *The Sum of All Fears* karya Tom Clancy.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi dan untuk mengetahui bagaimana wacana terorisme direpresentasikan dan menemukan ideologi apa yang hendak dibangun dari wacana teorisme pada novel tersebut. Penelitian ini merupakan kajian kritik sastra yang menggunakan metode kajian kepustakaan. Adapun sumber yang digunakan pada penelitian ini yaitu berupa novel *The Sum of All Fears* karya Tom Clancy. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan Critical Dicourse Analsis Norman Fairclough (1995) yang mengidentifikasi wacana ke dalam tiga level analisis; Microstructure, Mesostructure, dan Macrostructure.

Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa wacana terorisme direpresentasikan sebagai suatu entitas yang memiliki keterkaitan dengan kekuatan geopolitik Internasional terutama pengaruh Negara Superpower pada perang dingin. Terorisme pada novel direpresentasikan memiliki keterkaitan erat dengan konstelasi dan agenda politik AS dan Rusia. Terorisme juga direpresentasikan bahwa setiap karakter teroris memiliki motif dan agenda yang berbeda-beda. Selain itu, novel tersebut mencoba membangun suatu ideologi perdamaian yang direpresentasikan melalui karakter Jack Ryan dengan berbagai aksi heroiknya.

ABSTRACT (Arabic)

مستخلص البحث

مكسوم, محمد, ن, 2022, خطاب الإرهاب الذي تمثّلته رواية "مجموع كل المخاوف" تأليف توم كلانسي. بحث جمعي. قسم دراسة الأدب الإنجليزي, كلية الإنسانية, جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإنسانية الحكومية مالانج.

المشرف: الدكتور موندي راهايو الماجستر

الكلمات الرئيسية: خطاب, الإرهاب, التمثيل, مجموع كل المخاوف.

لقد أصبحت قضية الإرهاب معقدة بشكل متزايد ونوقشت على نطاق واسع في العقود القليلة الماضية ، وبالتحديد بعد 11 سبتمبر. نتيجة لذلك ، يشهد الإرهاب بالتأكيد تحولًا في المعنى يميل إلى أن يكون أيديولوجيًا وتمييزيًا تجاه طرف معين(ريغلير,(2010). تناقش هذه الأطروحة خطاب تمثيل الإرهاب الذي تم بناؤه من خلال شخصيات تعمل كمجتمع الإرهاب الدولي في رواية توم كلانسي "مجموع كل المخاوف". تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحديد ومعرفة كيفية تمثيل خطاب الإرهاب ومعرفة الأيديولوجية التي يجب بناؤها من الخطاب النظري في الرواية. هذا البحث عبارة عن دراسة للنقد الأدبي تستخدم منهج مراجعة الأدبيات. هناك نوعان من المصادر المستخدمة: المصادر الأولية والثانوية. المصدر الأساسي هو رواية مجموع كل المخاوف لتوم كلانسي. المصادر الثانوية لهذا البحث هي عدة مجلات وكتب ومنشورات علمية ذات صلة بالنظريات الأدبية. تستخدم هذه الدراسة نهج التحليل النقدي للخطاب للنورمان فايكلوف (1995) والذي يحدد الخطاب في ثلاثة أبعاد ؛ البنية المجهرية والبنية المتوسطة والبنية الكلية. يتم تمثيل خطاب الإرهاب ككيان له صلات بالقوى الجيوسياسية الدولية ، وخاصة نفوذ الدول العظمى في الحرب الباردة. يتم تمثيل الإرهاب في الرواية على أنه علاقة وثيقة مع كوكبة وأجندة سياسية للولايات المتحدة وروسيا. كما يتم تمثيل الإرهاب في أن لكل شخصية إرهابية دوافع وأجندات مختلفة. بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، تحاول الرواية بناء أيديولوجية سلام تتمثل في شخصية جاك رايان بأفعاله البطولية المختلفة.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a comprehensive explanation of the background of the study, statement of the problems, objective of the study, scope and limitation, significance of the study, and definition of the key terms. In addition, the research design, data and data source, data collection, data analysis are also included in this chapter.

A. Background of the Study

In mid-March 2019, the world was shocked by a series of terror attacks that attacked two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand. The brutal attack has killed as many as 50 people, and 20 people had to receive intensive care. Three terrorists were arrested by the local police (CNN Indonesia, 2019). This heinous act was carried out using semi-automatic rifles. During acting, one of the perpetrators of terrorism also had time to broadcast the massacre directly on his own Facebook account.

The cruelty of the crime of terrorism seems never-ending and everywhere, including in the State of New Zealand. New Zealand is the second safest country based on the Global Peace Index (2008-2019); New Zealand got a score of 1221 points but did not escape from terrorism attacks (Global Peace Index 2018: Measuring Peace in a Complex World, 2018). Terrorism is a movement that has a neat structure and also varied backgrounds. These movements are generally identified with the name of religion, but in the case of New Zealand, is an attack based on white supremacy ideology.

Along with the development of the times, the terrorism movement also experienced significant development, both in structure, motives, and recruitment. Frank Jackson (former co-chair, World Disarmament Campaign) argues that terrorism cannot only be eliminated through repressive or military movements, but it needs a particular strategy that can erode this movement to its roots, namely through understanding (Johnson, 2021). Although terrorism is generally full of political and ideological interests, writers can package this problem into the realm of literature. Literature can not be separated from the social aspects behind it because literature itself reflects the social circumstance of society.

Literature is a form of productive and creative activity in producing a work that has aesthetic values and reflects a social reality (Teeuw, 2013). Literature is something that could not be underestimated because literature is frequently found as things associated with a community element or group (such as Arab literature, Javanese literature, Japanese literature, Indian literature) (Semi, 2012). Therefore, a literary work can also be called a social phenomenon due to its creation process as a reaction of a writer towards the social phenomena he experiences so that it can encourage writing literary works. Moreover, studying work is the same as studying social life and all the intricacies of human life, even concerning problems that are wider and related to human life.

Over time, literary works rapidly develop marked by the emergence of many literary works in various genres. Literary works in this globalization era cannot merely

be enjoyed through printed works, but can also obtain through electronic media. The modern era can change people's mindset to understand the importance of documenting literature through the internet or social media. Facebook is one of the most chosen social networks for society to express their ideas by posting literature generally in the form of poetry in their respective accounts (Rahman, 2017). This platform also provides a space for unlimited free expression that is capable of accommodating their creative ideas. In general, their posts come from the impulse of intuition in describing ideas in their minds.

The development and production of literary works are not able to be separated by the environmental factors around them. Therefore, literature can also be a mirror or an imitation of social life. Plato stated this opinion that art is a delusion that is far from the reality, it is not able to stand alone without a visible reality and created to imitate (mimesis) or plagiarise ideas capable of being understood by the senses (Luxemburg et al., 1989). On the other hand, this opinion gained opposition from Aristotle, it provides a different understanding of the concept of mimesis. Aristotle said that a literary work did not imitate reality and also did not reflect human life. It is precisely the reality, but the author creates the world itself through the idea (Dutton, 1984). The difference in understanding this concept based on the historical and etymological background of the term. The debate aims to explore the definition of mimesis by referring to the relationship between reality and representation (Baktir, 2003). The various kinds of differences that occur in determining the definition of work literature,

due to the differences in perspective, and the variety of types of work literature — moreover, those differences caused by of socio-cultural and historical differences (Eagleton, 1996).

It is this reality and representation that can position literature as a socio-cultural document because it is based on the opinion that literary works record a social and cultural reality of the community at a particular time (Sevänen, 2018). The production of literary works is inseparable by the author's imagination in carrying out the creative process. Besides, this is because of literary work appear among the society as the results of the author's imagination and his reflection on social symptoms around him (Dubey, 2013). However, literature does not come from the emptiness; even literary culture is part of culture itself. Therefore, literature is an expression of human life which impossibly separated from the background of the community. It has been becoming the agreement of many people that literary works are not merely imaginative works and are created intentionally (Endraswara, 2006).

The amount of novels is countless; society can easily find it in bookstores, from bestseller novels, old novels until the newest novel. Bestseller novels are generally romantic and Sci-Fi genres. On the other hand, there are several unfamiliar novel genres in the community, one of which is political thrillers. The *political thriller* is one of the genres that tells about conflict around the political world, where the main character is usually a member of a political group. Moreover, the main character tries to eliminate the threat that attacks his group (Vaughn, 2008). Tom Clancy's *The Sum*

of All Fears is a compelling political novel, this novel takes the setting of Yom Kippur war so that it can make readers feel the tension of the threat of nuclear war.

The novel *The Sum of All Fears* by Tom Clancy was officially released on August 14, 1991. This novel can physically be said very thick due to consist of 44 chapters with 798 pages. Although thick, this novel was quite popular in many people. It was proven, a week after its release, this novel achieve the first position in The New York Times: *Best Seller List* on August 25, 1991 (*Best Sellers*, 1991). This success was also inseparable from the production process which was quite long for 12 years (1979-1991) (*The Sum of All Fears, 2018)*. The setting of the whole plot where the fear arose due to the loss of nuclear weapons that has inspired the author in selecting the title. Also, through this novel, Tom Clancy tries to introduce and spearhead the techno-thriller genre, which is new in the field of literature. Techno-thriller is a genre characterized by technology that has an essential role in a story and conflict arises because of the impact of technology (Vaughn, 2008).

The Sum of All Fears began when the Yom Kippur incident where Israeli soldiers began to be pressured by Egyptian soldiers during the Arab-Israeli war in 1973. Under these conditions, an Israeli fighter jet carried out operations on the border with a nuclear bomb. The Egyptian border army detected fighter jets and destroyed them with Surface Air Missile. The plane was ruined, but the atomic bomb fell and did not explode. A Jewish is looking for the existence of the bomb decades later. One day, a

Syrian farmer accidentally found this bomb then sold it to Masons. That is where the story begins to develop.

On the other hand, America, as a world police force, has been intensifying the peace campaign and also monitoring the ownership of the nuclear weapon in the world, especially Russia. However, Russia was in a political conflict, which caused much intrigue in internal government after the Soviet Union becomes Russia. It still leaves some irresponsible generals in which a general is conducting a provocation by bombing a former Soviet Union country. In this case, the Russian President to be accused of being the mastermind of the bombing. Then, he was forced to lie and admit that the incident was at his instruction. At one time, Bock and his allies had a very cunning idea by using the cold war to set the US against Russia. The atomic bomb found by Syrian farmers was modified by three Russian atomic experts in secret (the expert is also unknown to Russia) and succeeded.

Furthermore, Ismael Qati and Ibrahim Ghosn (Palestinian terrorists) managed to send bombs to Denver, America. Then detonated at a stadium full of visitors and attended by the American president. A Super Bowl sports match whose opening was inaugurated directly by the president. Then, the intelligence team can evacuate the president before the bomb goes off. The American president was emotionally watching this incident and concluded that Russia was the party most responsible for this incident. This accusation is because Russia has a bad track record against the US. Then, the United States increased its security status by starting to send the F-16 Fighting Falcon

to destroy Russia's strategic warehouses. On the other hand, Russia launches a counterattack to destroy the American aircraft carrier.

Both states dignitaries argue about the war decision. Nevertheless, the Nazi successfully made this conflict grows more intense until President Fowler increased the status to *Defcon-1* (alert level to start the war) by sending sophisticated aircraft. When it starts, the ICBM missiles are ready to attack the target. Indeed, Soviet president Normanov immediately instructs by setting up *Snapcount*, status the same as *Defcon*. In the climax, Jack Ryan works hard investigating the uranium in the remnant of a nuclear explosion in Denver. The result is that the plutonium was made in America for Israel. Then, Ryan rushed to the Pentagon to share his findings. After persuading the Pentagon, the Pentagon finally agreed to Jack Ryan to contact and explain his findings to both Presidents of the US and the Soviet Union. After listening to an explanation from Jack Ryan, they finally stop the war. At the end of the story, the government executes the Nazis and their allies.

Based on the synopsis above, the novel tells us the story of a CIA agent who wants to reconcile two big states, the US and the Soviet Union, in a nuclear weapons conflict. Although this novel tells about the awful of nuclear war, there is an exciting thing from the novel in which the way of representing the group of terrorists that is the most dangerous entity in the novel *The Sum of All Fears*. Terrorists in this novel are not only pinned to Muslims but are masterminded by other groups that have a strong political influence in the era of the Second World War. That shows a particular political

message that the author wants to convey in this novel by depicting terrorists who are generally stereotyped as Muslim groups. The shift in the meaning of terrorism has not escaped the intervention of various parties to secure their political interests. By producing discourses that can clear the role of the "world political elite" so that they only focus on terrorists' 'suicide bombers'. So that, people generally understand terrorists as people who commit criminal acts on behalf of religion. Still, the media have never exposed those who become the masterminds (the top of the terrorist movement structure).

The discussion of terrorism is debatable and makes everyone curious about the intricacy. Moreover, it is endless to study from various perspectives because it always experiences developments in terms of definition, movement, motives, and networks. The claim of terrorist itself is something that is still debatable among the public. Consequently, this is why researchers use the topic of "terrorists" as a focus in this research.

Based on the above discussion, this is what underlies the researchers to examine the *Sum of All Fears* novel, where the author represents a particular group of terrorism. Moreover, this research focuses on the representation of terrorism in the novel *The Sum of All Fears* by Tom Clancy using the representation theory of Stuart Hall and analyze it by using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis. The theory explains the process of meaning through two stages, namely mental and language representation. Therefore, representation is the process of exchanging meaning produced in a

particular member of a culture that implicates the use of language, images, and signs that stand to represent the various categories (Hall, 2003).

A research certainly cannot be separated from previous studies as a reference guide for the researcher in conducting a research. Therefore, the researcher presents several previous studies that will be used in this research. The first research entitled "Representation of Islam in Post 9/11 English Novels" conducted by Anushiravani Alireza and Abolfazl Khademi, this study took a sample of 31 English novels after the 9/11 WTC bomb attack or could be said the novels released in 2001-2007. Then, all the novels were selected based on the aspects that construct the Muslim representation of the event 9/11 and compatibility with the research topic. In the end, the researchers obtained six novels by Updike, DeLillo, Ferrigno, Carolyn, Halaby, and Kalfus for research. The researcher examines the discourse of the six novels using the Foucault theory. The result of this research is that the novels represent Muslims as: all Muslims are the same; Muslims are violent and introduce violence, Zionists are innocent (Alireza & Khademi, 2015).

The second is a research conducted by Huda B. Almatrofi entitled The Representation of Arab Masculinity in The Fiction of the Arab-American Contemporary Novelist Soheir Khashoggi. This study examines how the representation of Arab men in each of her literary works. Khashoggi was known as the novelist who frequently criticises Arab culture, even though she is an Arabian who lives in America. This study took samples using three titles of fictional novels: Mirage (1996), Nadia's

Song (1999), and Mosaic (2003). From those three novels, there are some dominant things in which the masculinity of Arab men is portrayed very poorly, namely: First, unfair patriarchal culture and causes the men to act arbitrarily on women, abuse of the Qur'an for the benefit of men, punishment does not apply to man. Second, moral polygamy indicates that Arab men are traitors to their previous wives and they have a terrible sexual desire. The third is vulgar, Arab men are represented as money-wasting gamblers, parties, hiring women, and ignoring spiritual guide (Al-Matrafi, 2016).

The third previous study is a dissertation which was conducted by Mundi Rahayu entitled "Representasi Muslim Arab dalam Film-Film Hollywood; Analisis Wacana Kritis *Muslim Other* dalam Sinema Hollywood". This study took the sample from Hollywood films produced pre and post the 9/11 attack; the film includes *The Siege (1998)*, *Kingdom of Heaven (2005)* and *Syriana (2005)*. The selection of the title of the film based on the purpose of the dissertation, which is to uncover the politics of representation of Arab Muslim identity. By using a cultural study approach and critical discourse analysis, researchers found several findings in different representations of the three films. First, Arab Muslims in the film *The Siege* constructed as barbaric 'Muslim terrorists'. Secondly, *Syriana* constructs 'Muslim terrorists' as entities that are victims who resist against the neoliberalism practice of multi-national corporate. Third, in the film *Kingdom of Heaven*, cruel Muslim Arabs were presented and constructed in the form of Muslim attacker towards the Christian West defender. In

conclusion, Hollywood tries to construct Muslim Arabs as the other which is a bizarre entity (Rahayu, 2015).

By all means, the researcher believes that this study has its focus to differ from those previous or other works. For instance, the novel *The Sum of All Fears* has never been researched, so it is a new literary criticism that uses this novel. The previous studies commonly focus on the political thought of Tom Clancy by concluding his works. Nevertheless, in the discourse of terrorism, the object of research is not only to focus on microstructure but also other structures such as mesostructure and macrostructure. Thus, it will not be the same as those previous studies.

B. Problem of the Study

Based on the background above, this study aims at acknowledging the following question:

1. How is the discourse of terrorism represented in the novel Tom Clancy's *The Sum of All Fears*?
2. What ideology is constructed from the discourse of terrorism in the novel Tom Clancy's *The Sum of All Fears*?

C. Significance of the Study

Theoretically, this research is expected to be able to improve to the knowledge in the field of English Literature and provide an overview of how to see a literary work, especially novel, from the perspective of literary criticism. Also, this research will be

able to contribute to building more references related to further studies. Whereas, practically, the results of this study are expected to be able to provide benefits to the readers that terrorism has a quietly complicated structure with various interests behind. Consequently, society is also expected not to accuse other groups of terrorists easily.

D. Scope and Limitation

This study covers the analysis of textual, sociocultural, and discursive aspects of Tom Clancy's *The Sum of All Fears* about the representation of terrorism. The textual aspects consist of the lexical choice, grammatical patterns, and also the cohesion. The socio-cultural aspect consists of the situational, institutional, social. Meanwhile, discursive aspects include the production, consumption, and the intertextuality of the news text.

E. Definition of Key Term

To avoid any misunderstandings among the readers, the researcher will define several terms written in this study as follows:

1. **Representation**   : The process of exchanging meaning in depth that possibly influenced by ideology.

2. **Discourse**   : A series of related sentences that connect the proposition which or with other

propositions form a unity (Alwi et al.,
1999)

3. **Terrorism**   : The thoughts to cause anxiety and fear
accompanied by acts of threat and
violence by one person or group
(Wolfendale, 2007).

4. **Critical Discourse Analysis** : Discourse (the use of language in speech
and writing) as a form of social practice,
so that it can represent ideological effect,
produce and reproduce unequal power
relations between social classes, men,
women, as well as majority and minority
groups (Fairclough & Wodak, 2005).

5. **Ideology**   : The overall view of the ideals, values and
beliefs that want to be realized in the
concrete reality of life (Poespowardojo,
1989)

6. **Geopolitics**   : The scientific basis for a country's
political action, wants to make this insight
as a collective perspective to carry out,
and maintain the spirit of nationalism
(Gottmann, 1942).

CHAPTER II
REVIEW ON RELATED LITERATURE

In this part, the researcher will discuss representation theory, which is used to analyze the researcher object; there will be an introduction to representation and literature, terrorism, critical discourse analysis, and also the previous study.

A. Representation

Representation is generally understood as an accurate description or distorted reality. Representation is not only limited "*to present, to image,* or *to depict*." Representation is defined as a way in which to interpret what is attached to the object described. The initial concept of representation based on the premise; there is a representation gap that explains the difference in the meaning given by the representation and the meaning of the object described. Contrary to this initial understanding, Stuart Hall stated that representation must be understood from the active and creative role of interpreting the world. "*So the representation is the way which meaning is somehow given to the things which are depicted through the image or wherever it is, on screens or the words on a page which stands what we are talking about*"(Hall, 2005).

Hall explains that an image created to have a different meaning, and it could not be ensured the image, can function and work as they created. Hall said that the representation is considered as constitutive; this is because representation will not be formed before raising an accompanying event. Representation is constitutive of an

event, and representation is an object of the representation itself. Second, representation can be defined more clearly as the use of signs (images, sounds, symbols, code) to connect, describe, photograph, or produce the visible thing, sensed, imagined, with or felt in particular physical objects. In other words, the process of putting X and Y together itself. Determining the meaning of X = Y is not an easy job. The purpose of shape maker, the historical and social context when the representation created, the purpose of the making and others, are the complex factors that enter in a painting (Danesi et al., 2010).

Based on Giles & Middleton (1999) in their book *Studying Culture: A Practical Introduction,* there are three definitions of the word '*to represent*,' namely:

1. *to stand in for*. It can be exemplified in the case of a country's flag if used at a sports event, and the flag indicates the presence of the country concerned in the event.

2. *to speak/act on behalf of*. A case in point is that the Pope is a person who speaks and acts on behalf of Catholics.

3. *to re-present*. In this case, for instance, historical writings or biographies that can bring back events in the past. In practice, the three meanings of this representation can be mutual overlap. Therefore, to gain further understanding of what is the meaning of representation and how to operate in cultural society, Hall's theory will be constructive.

According to Stuart Hall (1997), in his book Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices, he said that *"Representation connects meaning and language to culture… Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of culture."* Through representation, the meaning is produced and exchanged between members of the community. So it can be said that a brief representation is one way to produce meaning.

Representation works through a representation system. This representation system consists of two critical components, namely concepts in mind and language. These two components are interrelated. The concept of something that we have in our mind makes us know the meaning of that thing. However, meaning cannot be communicated without language. As a simple example, we recognize the concept of 'glass' and know its meaning. We will not be able to communicate the meaning of 'glass' (for example, objects that people use to drink) if we cannot express it in language that can be understood by others. Therefore, the most crucial thing in this representation system is that groups that can produce and exchange meaning well are certain groups that have a common background of knowledge so that they can create an understanding of (almost) the same.

Member of the same culture must share sets of concepts, images, and ideas which enable them to think and feel about the world, and thus interpret the world, in roughly similar ways. They must share, broadly speaking, the same 'cultural codes.' In this sense, thinking and feeling are themselves 'system of representations'.

Thinking and feeling based on Hall's opinion is also a representation system. As a system of representation, it means that thinking and feeling also function to interpret something. Therefore, to be able to do this, the same background understanding of concepts, images, and ideas is needed (*cultural codes*).

The meaning of something can be very different in cultures or different groups of people because, in each culture or group of people, there are different ways of interpreting things. Groups of people who have different backgrounds in understanding specific cultural codes will not be able to understand the meanings produced by other community groups. The meaning is nothing but construction. Humans construct meaning very firmly so that a meaning looks as if it is natural and cannot be changed. The meaning is constructed through a representation system and fixed through code. This code makes people who are in the same cultural group understand and use the same name, who have passed the convention process socially. For example, when we think of 'Car', we use the word 'car' to communicate what we want to express to others. It is because the word 'car' is a code that has been agreed in our society to interpret a concept of 'car' in our minds (ground vehicles are driven by engine power and are generally four-wheeled). The code, therefore, builds a correlation between the conceptual system in our minds and the language system that we use. This representation theory uses a constructionist approach, which argues that meaning constructed through language. According to Stuart Hall (1997: 25), in his article, "*things do not* mean: *we* construct *meaning, using representational systems-concepts*

and signs." Therefore, concepts (in mind) and signs (language) become essential parts that are used in the process of construction or production of meaning. So it can be concluded that representation is a process to produce meaning from concepts that exist in our minds through language. The process of producing meaning is made possible by the presence of a representation system. However, the meaning process depends on the background knowledge and understanding of a social group to a sign. A group must have the same experience to be able to interpret something in almost the same way.

Based on the description above, it is crystal clear that there is a strong relationship between representation, meaning, and language. Eventhough, Hall has three approaches, this research will use *the constructionist approach*. This approach assumes that the meaning does not just suddenly appear, but constructed, produced.

B. Terrorism

The term terrorism has shifted and developed in meaning, this is due to how the media project terrorism. At first, the terrorism movement represented the status quo of public discourse, reproducing the hegemonic idea promoted by politics, media, and war experts. This of course makes the meaning of terrorism difficult to understand because the mass cultural representation of terrorism is problematic because of the imaginary effects that tend to be ideological. According to Thomas Riegler, terrorism in Hollywood films is often represented as an entity that carries out its actions without being politicized and these actions are only pathological or criminal. Indirectly, this

representation reduces the complexity of reality regarding terrorism and makes it a simple dichotomy, the battle between good and evil (2009).

The discourse of terrorism inappropriately produces a kind of false awareness that can distort people's understanding of the meaning of terrorism and its relation to violence and political agendas. Riegler also argues that cinema and popular culture are able to indirectly depict shifts in political and ideological trends (2010). Terrorism is an issue which extensively campaigned and popularized by US government, especially post 9/11 by using slogan "War against terrorism" which led to sending US Army to many Muslim countries such as Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan. Long before, the historical roots of terrorism were closely related to geopolitical relations and constellations between the power of the West and the East. Based on historical events, since the existence the Crusade war, both of Christians and Muslims had clash for fighting the land of Jerussalem over in the first century (Rahayu & Mediyansyah, 2020, p.2). Consequently, instead of taking action to create peace through programs against terrorism, the ambiguity is evident by the damage not to the terrorists but the victims, mostly innocent civilians (Rahayu & Mediyansyah, 2020, p.9).

The word "terrorist" and terrorism come from the Latin word "*terrere*" which more or less means to make tremble or vibrate. The word terror can also cause horror. However, to date, there has been no universally accepted definition of terrorism. The term terrorism is a concept that has a sensitive connotation because terrorism results in the emergence of innocent civilian victims. In the context of Indonesia, the issue of

terrorism became a focal point at the time of the bombing in Legian, Bali, on October 12, 2002, which caused Indonesia to become an international public spotlight, considering that the majority of victims of the Bali bombing tragedy were foreigners. The existence of the explosion became an indicator that a terrorist network had entered the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. The terror that occurred was the biggest in Indonesia from a series of existing terror (Wahid et al., 2004).

Terrorism is roughly a term used to use violence against civilians/non-combatants to achieve political goals, on a smaller scale than war. In terms of language, the term terrorist originated in France in the 18th century. The word Terrorism, which means in a state of terror (under the terror), comes from the Latin "terrere" which means trembling and "detererre" which means fear.

1.   Characteristics of terrorism

Several forms of terrorism, generally known by the public, which we need to discuss from these forms, include criminal terror and political terror. When it comes to criminal terror, it is usually only for personal gain or self-enrichment. Criminal terrorists can use extortion and intimidation. They use words that can cause fear or psychological terror. Another case with political terror is that political terror does not choose victims. Political terrorists are always ready to kill civilians: men, women, adults, or children without considering political or moral judgment; political terror is an important social phenomenon (Sunardi, Wahid, & Sidik, 2004).

Whereas, based on Lodge (1988) political terrorism has the following characteristics:

    a.   Terrorism is the coercive intimidation.

    b.   Using systematic killings and destructions as a means for a particular purpose.

    c.   The victim is not a goal, but a means to create a nerve war, namely "kill one person to frighten a thousand people".

    d.   Terrorist targets are chosen, working in secret, but the aim is publicity.

    e.   The message of the action was quite clear, although the perpetrators did not always express themselves personally.

    f.   The perpetrators are mostly motivated by idealism that is quite hard, for instance, "fighting for religion and humanity", so hard-core terror groups are fanatics who are ready to die (Lodge, 1988).

Regarding the typology of terrorism, there are several explanatory versions, including typology formulated by the *"National Advisory Committee*" (US Department

of Justice, 1976) in The Report of the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism, which states as follows, there are several forms of terrorism, namely:

a. Political Terrorism, namely criminal violent behavior designed to foster a sense of fear in the community for political purposes.

b. Non-political terrorism that is trying to foster fear through violence, for personal gains, such as organized crime.

c. Quasi terrorism, described as "carried out incidentally", but has no specific ideological content, is more for payment purposes, for example, in the case of aircraft hijacking or hostage-taking in which the perpetrators are more interested in ransom than political motivation.

d. Limited political terrorism, defined as terrorists, which has political and ideological motives, but is more aimed at controlling the situation (the State).An example is a terrorist act that is a revenge killing (vendetta-type executions).

e. Terrorism State or government that is a State or government, which bases its power with fear and oppression in controlling society.

Terrorism committed by the State is one form of crime that is classified as very special. Because the State is a large organization that is pioneered by the power of the

people, but on the other hand, has the obligation to regulate, protect, and improve people's lives materially and non-materially. When the State, through its government officials involved in criminal acts vertically, horizontally, regionally, nationally, and internationally, it is automatically the people who are sacrificed (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2008).

C. Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough (1995: 37) views critical discourse as focusing attention on social institutions, not just on ordinary conversations. In its framework, it integrates micro and macro dimensions with a focus on social institutions as the highest level axis, namely social events and actions. In line with the previous opinion, Flowerdew & Jhon (2018: 2) said that the study of critical discourse is an interdisciplinary approach to examine the language used which aims to advance understanding of how discourse figures in social processes, social structures, and social change. Critical discourse draws heavily on social theories and seeks to develop a critically contextualized linguistic approach that identifies issues of ideology, power, and inequality as central to its study.

With this kind of view, discourse sees language as always involved in power relations, especially in the formation of subjects and various representational actions contained in society. Gee (2011: 4) reinforces this point by stating that forms of power influence the use of language and in terms of power can operate ideologically through language that can function to regulate certain domains. This is how critical discourse

analysis works to not only say something, but to do something. People use language to communicate, cooperate, help others, and build things like marriage, reputation, and institutions. However, language is used to lie, benefit oneself, hurt people, and destroy things like marriage, reputation, and institutions. That is, the discourse analysis approach is not closely related to the details of language alone, but concentrates on ideas, problems, and themes as expressed in speech and writing.

To develop an analytical working method to study the relationship between language, power, and ideology, a framework called critical discourse analysis was created. Where critical discourse analysis is assessed as an integration between, namely: (a) text analysis, (b) analysis of the process of text production and text consumption, and (c) socio-cultural analysis of discursive events as a whole (Fairclough, 1995: 23).

The critical aim in discourse analysis is to distinguish critical discourse analysis from the noncritical descriptive trends that are dominant in discourse analysis. The previous discourse analysis paid less attention to the explanation of how discursive practice is socially shaped or its social effects. There is a critical alternative that nationalizes the implicit proposition of the ideological character contained in the discourse. That is, the implicit propositions required to infer coherent relationships between sentences but also about the social relationships that underlie interaction practices. Fairclough emphasizes that discourse in its reproduction will have a dominating relationship (Fairclough, 1995: 24).Critical discourse deals with how language influences political texts to reinforce ideology and continues or opposes the

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tradition of inequality in societies. Fairclough (1993) states that the "critical" element of discourse analysis can reveal connections and causes hidden in the text and can provide opportunities and resources for those who might be harmed.

Fairclough stated that "CDA sees the use of both spoken and written language as a form of social practice. Using discourse as a social practice causes a dialectical relationship between certain descriptive events and the situations, institutions and social structures that shape them. "CDA does not only rely on language analysis but also focuses on other things such as ideology, socio-cultural as a reflection of the writer or communicator in his work which is certainly realized by the writer or communicator (Darma, 2009:57).

Pennycook stated, "Eight principles about CDA, namely (1) CDA discusses social problems. (2) the relationship of power is discursive, meaning that the focus of the discourse is the same as the focus of how power is language. (3) Discourse is tangible as a society and culture, in the sense that discourse is not merely a reflection of social relations, but is also part of the relationship and delves into reproduction through dialectical relations. (4) The discourse is ideological. Ideology as the representation and construction of society, in which there must be domination and exploitation are often produced through discourse. The CDA's tasks include identifying the ideology. (5) Discourse is historical. CDA should study the discourse in its historical context by looking at the connection with the previous discourse. (6) CDA needs to use sociocognitive to explain how text and community relations are lived in the process of production and understanding. (7) CDA is interpretive and

explanatory and uses a systematic methodology to connect the text and its context; and (8) CDA is a scientific paradigm that has a social commitment that continuously tries to dissolve and change what is happening in a context. (Darma, 2009:57)"

According to Fairclough, the functionality of language in texts and discourse is structured socially. This is because of that the use of language is simultaneously composed of (i) social identity, (ii) social relations, and (iii) knowledge and belief systems. The use of language is a reproduction of the phenomena of composing social identities, social relations, and knowledge systems in society. Thus, discourse analysis is an analysis of the use of language and socio-cultural structures. Discursive events are marked by texts, discursive practices (acts of language), and social practices. At the textual level, first, an analysis of the form (texture) and linguistic characteristics of the text, such as vocabulary, grammar, syntax, and sentence coherence (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002:128-129).

D. Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis's Framework

Fairclough (1995: 97) suggests three dimensions, namely: text dimension (micro structure), discourse practice dimension (meso structure), and sociocultural practice dimension (macro structure). Discourse analysis methods include linguistic descriptions of language texts, interpretation of the relationship between discursive processes (productive and interpretive) with texts, and explanation of the relationship between discursive processes and social processes.

a) Text Dimensions (Micro Structure) According to Fairclough, the text here is analyzed linguistically, by looking at vocabulary, semantics, and sentence structure. It also includes coherence and coherence in discourse, how words or sentences are combined to form contradictory or mutually supportive meanings. All elements analyzed are used to look at the following three problems.

First, representation refers to what one wants to display in the text. The representation here will reveal the representation of each sentence in the discourse. This analysis basically wants to see how something is displayed in the text that may carry ideological content. Second, relation, refers to the analysis of how the relationship is constructed between the writer and the reader. Is there an equal relationship between writers and readers, writers and public participants (politicians, religious leaders, experts, etc.), and is there a relationship between the three, namely between writers, participants, and the audience? In addition, such as whether the text is delivered informally or formally or openly or closed. Third, identity refers to certain constructions of the identities of writers and readers, and how these personalities and identities are to be presented.

b) Practice of Discourse (Mesostucture)

The dimension of discourse practice seen from a three-dimensional analytical framework shows that for each discursive event, how text producers, and language power utilize socially available resources to form discourse sequences. The two main centripetal forces in any discursive event are language and discourse order. Discursive

events, on the one hand, depend on and are shaped by them (text producers), but on the other hand they are cumulatively restructured producers.

Based on this, intertextuality analysis links the text dimensions and discourse practice dimensions of a critical discourse analysis framework and shows where texts relate to social networks. In addition, the discourse order, how the text actualizes, and how the text expands the potential in the discourse order (Fairclough, 1995: 11). Discourse practices, discourse orders, and intertextuality have important mediating roles in the framework of critical discourse analysis.

A characteristic of this framework is that it combines Bakhti's theory of genres (in the analysis of discourse practice) and Gramsci's theory of hegemony (in the analysis of sociocultural practice). This theory highlights the productivity and creativity of discourse practice and its realization in texts that are heterogeneous in form and meaning, the heterogeneity that arises from their intertextuality, texts consisting of other texts that have already been produced and from potentially diverse text types (genres, discourses). Hegemony theory highlights how power relations limit and vice versa.

c) Sociocultural Practices (Macrostructure)

The dimension of sociocultural practice relates to all contexts that exist outside the text. That is, the context in question has a wider scope to the relationship between culture and society as well as politics. Relationships when dimensions are analyzed to

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reveal discourse constructs. At this stage, the dimensions of the text that will be analyzed in depth are textually at the linguistic level to reveal the ideology that is implied behind the texts contained in a discourse.

Furthermore, it relates to interpretations that can be revealed through the process of intertextuality, text production, text consumption, and text distribution. In that case, this dimension can involve all parties who contribute in making a discourse so that the background of these parties will affect the content of a discourse. The last dimension is related to sociocultural practices that reach all. Elements outside the text which are divided into three levels, namely: situational, institutional and social levels.

d) Ideology

The word ideology comes from the Greek, namely idea which means idea, and straightforward which means science, so literally, ideology means the science of ideas in accordance with the times, the development of science, and knowledge. In Sukanto's Sociology Dictionary (in Darma, 2009), ideology is defined as (a) a socially determined set of beliefs, (b) a belief system that protects the interests of elite groups, and (c) a belief system. Furthermore, Fairclough explains that ideology is a meaning that serves power (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). More precisely, he understands ideology as a construction of meaning that contributes to the production, reproduction, and transformation of relations of domination. Ideology in Thompson's view is a practice that operates in the process of producing everyday meaning, and meaning is mobilized in order to maintain power relations (Thompson, 2013). This focus contradicts the

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ideological conception of many Marxist approaches. Marxists are very much uninterested in the structure of certain ideologies, or in how ideologies are articulated in particular social contexts. However, they have treated ideology as an abstract value system that functions as a social glue, ie binding people together, and thereby confirming the coherence of the social order.

Jorgensen and Phillips explain that in cultural and communication studies, there is currently a consensus that the meaning of texts is partially created in the process of interpretation. Fairclough also has the same consensus position, that texts have several potential meanings that may conflict with each other and are opened to several different interpretations. There is a possibility of resistance even though people are not necessarily aware of the ideological dimensions of the practice. Fairclough explains that the subject is positioned ideologically, but the subject is also capable of acting creatively to create connections between the diverse practices and ideologies in which the subject is exposed and rearrange the practice and structure (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Fairclough also rejects Althusser's understanding of ideology as a whole entity. Fairclough believes that people can be positioned in different and competing ideologies and this condition can lead to uncertainty, the effect of which can create awareness of ideological effects (Flatschart, 2016). This point of view is based on Gramsci's idea that common sense contains several competing elements that are the result of negotiation meaning where all social groups participate.

CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHOD

A. Research Design

This literary criticism is utilizing descriptive qualitative research since its content puts the identification, description, and scientific explanation of the text novel in the representation analysis approach. Representation is a research method that aims to understand the meaning which is constructed by people toward every aspect of reality, for example, society, object, event, until cultural identity. This representation can be in the form of words or writing and can also be seen in the form of moving images or films. Representation does not only involve how cultural identity is presented or constructed in a text but also constructed in the production process and perceptions by the community that consumes represented cultural values. However, this research also uses Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis to analyze its representation.

B. Data Sources

The data source of this research is Tom Clancy's *The Sum of All Fears* novel. *The Sum of All Fears* is a unique novel that first pioneered the Techno-Thriller genre. Also, as Greenberg (1992) said that this is a novel written for a very long duration, which is 12 years. That was also due to another reason, in which the author must write other prequel novels to support the constructions of this novel ("The Sum of All Fears," 2018). *The Sum of All Fears* novel was published by G.P Putnam's Sons, New York. This novel consists of 798 pages with fourteen sections.

C. Data Collection

Data collection techniques in this study, namely, by using techniques to read literary works carefully. The steps for collecting data are as follows:

a. Read the novel *The Sum of All Fears* repeatedly to gain an understanding of the contents of the novel.

b. Take notes on the unit of the story related to the problem statements.

c. Explore and classify the parts of Tom Clancy's novel *The Sum of All Fears* based on the indicators.

d. Classifying the data according to the research problem.

e. Reselect each data that have followed the research data.

D. Data Analysing

The data analysis of this literary criticism is by using Stuart Hall's *Representation,* which focuses more on the meaning which is constructed by language. In Hall's framework, the concept of representation is divided into three approaches; *reflective approach, intentional approach, and constructionist approach*. However, this research focuses on *constructionist approach* which uses Norman Fairclough's *Critical Discourse Analysis* as the analyzing tools. Hence, it uses a three-dimensional framework and analyze it in micro, meso, and macro analysis. Firstly, it will be examined the rhetoric aspect of the texts and language devices. Secondly, the discursive

aspects of the texts are observed. It involves the force of the intertextuality, consumption and production of the. Lastly, the researcher identifies socio-cultural practices, which focused on the background of terrorism trough social and political context.

CHAPTER IV
FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings and discussion based on the explanation from the literature review in the previous chapter. In this chapter, the primary data is taken from a literary work in the form of a novel entitled *The Sum of All Fears*. This finding is based on the results of data analysis on the representation of terrorism that occurred in the novel.

The researcher discusses the representation of terrorism through the elements in the research source, namely Tom Clancy's *The Sum of All Fears*. The representation theory proposed by Stuart Hall was then dissected through Norman Fairclough's *Critical Discourse Analysis* approach and applied to identify the representational discourse of terrorism described in the novel.

The discussion or analysis of this research will be divided into two steps. The first step that must be done is to find the discourse of terrorism in the novel *The Sum of All Fears* by using Norman Fairclough's *Critical Discourse Analysis* approach. In this approach, the data will be analyzed in three stages; Microstructure, Mesostructure, and Macrostructure. While the second step is to explain the ideology to be conveyed and represented in the novel *The Sum of All Fears*.

A. The Discourse of Terrorism in The Novel Tom Clancy's *The Sum of All Fears*

The story is set during the Yom Kippur war and the Cold War, namely in 1973. An Israeli warplane carrying a nuclear bomb was shot down in Syria, but the bomb did not explode and then disappeared. A few years later, there were peaceful demonstrations in Jerusalem which turned into chaos when one of the leaders of the demonstration was shot dead by Israeli police. This can make the dispute between Israel and Palestine even more heated. On the other hand, America as an ally of Israel cannot defend Israel diplomatically because it risks affecting the stability of the Middle East. Therefore, Jack Ryan as DDCI's advisor has a plan to mediate in order to speed up the peace process in Palestine by changing Jerusalem to be like the Vatican by being managed by Jews, Muslims, Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox. Jack Ryan's plan appeared to have worked after meeting Israeli and Saudi Arabian officials, and obtaining the approval of the president of the Soviet Union. With the easing of conflicts or religious strife there, it makes it easier for factions in the Middle East to conduct negotiations regarding the conflicts they face.

Meanwhile, a small group of terrorists from the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine are angry because of their failure to carry out an act of jihad. Then, the terrorists find the missing Israeli bomb and reassemble it into a bomb with tremendous power with the help of the East German scientist, Manfred. Fromm. After the terrorists felt that the bomb was finished and ready to be detonated in Denver, they

immediately killed Fromm. The bomb explosion was intended to pit the two great world powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, and cancel the Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement. However, the bomb explosion did not meet their expectations because the bomb was still not completely completed by Fromm. Upon this incident, the US president was provoked by emotion and ordered to prepare for nuclear war. Then, Jack Ryan, managed to reconcile the two countries not to start a war nuclear weapon by finding evidence of the origin of the bomb content which has been blown up. In the end, all these terrorists were tried and sentenced to death, and the Middle East conflict ended peacefully.

1. Terrorism is Related to International Geopolitics Powers

In the novel The Sum of All Fears, it is told that the terrorist group that carried out the attack in America has links with geopolitical interests between the two superpowers, the US and Russia. In fact, the geopolitical interests of the two super power countries indirectly gave birth to the emergence of terrorist groups. There are five characteristics of terrorism that come from different backgrounds, but all of them are still bound by the interests of the super power state. This can be seen in Marvin Russell who is a Native American terrorist or Ismael Qati who is a terrorist and one of the PLFP commanders.

a.) Marvin Russell, a terrorist from Native America

"Life had not given him or his brother much of a chance. Their father had been an alcoholic who had worked occasionally and not well as an auto mechanic to provide money that he had transferred regularly and immediately to the nearest package store. Marvin's memories of childhood were bitter ones: shame for his father's nearly perpetual state of inebriation, and shame greater still for what his mother did while her husband was passed-out drunk in the living room" (p.51).

In Microstructure analysis, Marvin's life is represented as a Siox Indian and his fate is very concerning. At the beginning of the sentence it is explained "*Life had not given him or his brother much of a chance*" that they do not have many opportunities

in their lives. This is because the environmental conditions around them are very bad. His father is just an ordinary mechanic who is not good enough at work and likes to get drunk, which makes the condition of Marvin Russell's family worse. The mother who should be a person who is able to give love, in fact cannot do anything about the condition of her broken family. Even Marvin Russell also mentioned the word "*shame*" several times to his father and mother. The phrase indicates that he feels ashamed to have parents who make his life miserable. Microstructure analysis explains Marvin Russell's personal life about how he got involved in the terrorism movement.

> *"Food came from the government dole, after the family had returned from Minnesota to the reservation. Schooling came from teachers who despaired of accomplishing anything. His neighborhood had been a scattered collection of government-built plain block houses that stood like specters in perpetual clouds of blowing prairie dust. Neither Russell boy had ever owned a baseball glove. Neither had known a Christmas as much other than a week or two when school was closed. Both had grown in a vacuum of neglect and learned to fend for themselves at an early age"* (p: 51-52).

Living in an Indian reservation created by the US government makes them who live there suffer because they cannot move freely, thereby affecting their chances of improving their lives for the better or at least like white Americans in general. The living conditions of the people in the American-made Indian reserve are really very concerning, even for consumption matters, they still rely on assistance from the US government. The reservation was created to confine and confine the Native Americans. The author explains that the return of the Russell family from Minnesota to the Indian reservation caused a significant change and it was seen in the economic condition of the Russell family, which even for food still relies on government assistance.

Meanwhile, in terms of education, the people living in the Indian reserve were explained that the education system they received was very apprehensive. The teachers who teach Russell and the children who live there are described as teachers who are desperate to teach. This could be due to the lack of support from the US government and even tend to marginalize their lives. Residents there believe that the government's actions there make them unable to do anything, including carrying out social mobility in a better direction. Therefore, no matter how good the education obtained will not be able to improve their social status.

> *"Both had grown in a vacuum of neglect and learned to fend for themselves at an early age. At first this had been a good thing, for self-reliance was the way of their people, but all children need direction, and direction was something the Russell parents had been unable to provide".*
> (p.52)

The data above explains that Russell and his brother were raised without the attention of their parents, and that made them grow up to be independent children. This lack of attention is shown in the "*vacuum of neglect*", it indicates that not only are attention deprived, but they tend to be ignored. "*Self-relience was the of their people*" is one of the quotes that explains Marvin Russell's social condition, independence is the way of life of the Sioux Indians as described by the novel's author. However, independence without the attention and direction of parents turned out to have a negative impact on the development of their behavior.

> "The boys had learned to shoot and hunt before they'd learned to read. Often the dinner had been something brought home with .22-caliber holes in it. Almost as often, they had cooked the meals." (p.52)

The quote above describes how Marvin Russell's parents let their children. Marvin Russell is better at shooting than reading. He was even more familiar with firearms than reading books. Things like this are quite worrying for children who should love to study at school, instead it makes them have to learn to recognize firearms to shoot. In addition, the absence of parental supervision has the potential to make them criminals by abusing firearms in the future.

> *"In due course, they'd been caught at that, also, red-handed inside a country store, by a tribal police officer. It was their misfortune that any crime committed on federal property was a federal case, and further that the new district court judge was a man with more compassion than perception. A hard lesson at that point might—or might not—have changed their path, but instead they'd gotten an administrative dismissal and counseling. A very serious young lady with a degree from the University of Wisconsin had explained to them over months that they could never have a beneficial self-image if they lived by stealing the goods of others. They would have more personal pride if they found something worthwhile to do. Emerging from that session wondering how the Sioux Nation had ever allowed itself to be overrun by white idiots, they learned to plan their crimes more carefully."* (p.53)

In this section, based on Microstructural analysis, the Russell brothers have committed crimes since they were little, namely by stealing various items in the store. He had done the robbery many times and on this occasion, he was caught by the shop owner who was a member of his tribe, the Sioux Indians. Despite his young age, he has committed crimes that are unusual for a child his age.

In the mesostructure analysis, the data quote above also explains Marvin Russell's view of white people. He wondered why his people, the Sioux, would want to be ruled by white foreigners. The term "*over-run by by white idiots*" indicates the view that became Marvin Russell's motive for hating white people. The use of the word "*over-run*" indicates that Marvin considers white people as colonizers and oppressors

who have robbed all Native American wealth. Calling white people "*white idiots*" shows how much Russell hates white people who are considered as invaders. In the last clause it is explained that he will try to carry out the next criminal act more carefully. However, in a subsequent criminal act he was caught and sentenced to a year and a half in prison. When committing theft outside the reserve, namely in an area dominated by white residents. This could be something that could add to Russell's hatred of the white population. In this mesostructural analysis, more emphasis is placed on the influence of US entities on policies that make a lot of people miserable.

> *"Needing protection,they had almost immediately been swept into the protective arms of their fellow Native American prisoners of the American Indian Movement."* (p.53)

> *"After a layover in Frankfurt , he traveled on in a southerly direction. No fool, Russell had once participated in an international conference of sorts—he'd sacrificed a total identity-set for that trip, four years previously. At the conference he'd made a few contacts. Most importantly of all, he'd learned of contact procedures. The international terrorist community was a careful one"* (p.134)

In macrostructure analysis, described in this section, Marvin Russell first recognized a movement consisting of Native Americans who formed an American Indian Movement. In this movement, he learned a lot of things, especially all things related to hatred of white people. The second data above also explains how Marvin Russell first recognized international terrorist networks. In macro analysis, Marvin recognizes a community larger than the American Indian Movement, which can be a vehicle for him to realize his desire to take revenge on the white population of America. The author explains that in the initial process Marvin Russell intended to join the International terrorist community through an International conference he attended four years ago. The author did not explain in detail the chronology of Marvin being able to

attend the conference. "*The international terrorist community was a careful one*", the sentence indicates that the international terrorist network is described as a community that has a high level of secrecy and is full of caution in maintaining their respective identities.

> *"These are here to keep the Israelis out," he said, casting his explanation in accordance with his own beliefs. "Your country arms the Israelis, and the Russians arm us." He didn't add that this was becoming increasingly tenuous."* (p.179)

Marvin Russell's interest in taking part in disturbing the world's geopolitical conditions was when he met with Ibrahim Ghosn. Ghosn explained the state of conflict in his country, Palestine and Israel. Marvin Russell views that the conditions experienced by the Palestinian people are the same. Russell saw that the conflict there was caused by Israel's colonialism of Palestine. Therefore he felt that he had the same fate as what Ghosn had told, it made Marvin sympathize with helping to carry out acts of terrorism. In addition, Marvin found the facts presented by Ghosn that his country, America took part in helping the Israeli army weaponry. In addtion, it can be seen in Ghosn's words to Marvin Russell "*Your country arms the Israelis, and the Russians arm us.*", the phrase "*your country*" refers to the United State of America, where Marvin Russell grew up. For him, the state intervened in the protracted conflict that occurred in Palestine. With military assistance from United State to Israel, it is able to make Israel strong against Arab countries and make Israel continue to carry out its actions to seize Palestine. Therefore, it is the feeling of a Palestinian destiny that makes him want to disrupt the US condition.

b.) Ismael Qati, a terrorist and commander from PFLP

"It had started innocently enough. His stomach was unsettled when he awoke. The morning jogs became a little more tiresome. He didn't feel quite himself. You're over thirty, he told himself. You're not a boy anymore. Besides, he'd always been vigorous. Maybe it was just a cold, a virus, the lingering effects of bad water, some stomach bug. He'd just work his way out of it. He added weight to his pack, took to carrying a loaded magazine in his rifle. He'd gotten lazy, that's all. That was easily remedied. He was nothing if not a determined man." (p.35)

At the beginning of the story, Ismael feel bad for himself. In the data quoted above, he tries to ignore the pain he feels by considering it as an ordinary and harmless disease. For several months he ignored the disease that attacked him and did not treat it at all. However, as time went on, his condition was explained as not getting better from the illness "…his condition worsened—well, not exactly worsened, but did not improve a bit". Then, on the advice of his junior, he decided to treat his illness to a doctor. After a few days of recovery, Qati felt her illness recur and then came back again to have her pain checked by the same doctor. However, the doctor did not give a clear answer regarding the disease.

"The patient almost smiled at that, but stopped himself. Better to show the courage of a stoic than the hope of a fool. And what was death, after all? Had he not lived a life dedicated to justice? To the will of God? Had he not sacrificed his life to a great and worthy purpose?" (p.37)

In the data above, based on microstructure analysis, "*the patient*" refers to Ismael Qati as a patient being examined by a doctor. Although the doctor did not explain specifically about the disease, but Qati could understand that his life was not long. Additionally, the disease that has been tormenting Qati has only been described in the section "*The thought was no less threatening to Qati than the first diagnosis of his cancer.*" (p.88), from the snippet of the sentence, it was the first time to clearly

explain Qati's illness. In fact, Qati is not afraid of death at all and instead challenges him *"And what was death, after all?..."*. From the quote above, it can be seen that Qati has gone through difficult times and is dealing with death.

"Had he not lived a life dedicated to justice?" (p.37)

When viewed from the Mesostructure analysis, the data above is a fragment of Ismael Qati's words which refer to the spirit of jihad which is the basis for Qati in acting and in politics. Qati thinks that she gave up her life just for justice. The justice in question is the independence of Palestine from Israeli occupation and the loss of the Zionists from the plains of the Middle East. This opinion is reinforced by the phrase Qati "I*t wasn't fair at all, of course. So long as a single Zionist lived on Arab lands, there would be no fairness*" (p.167). Qati said that the existence of Zionists in Arab lands is a form of injustice. The principle of struggle in the form of jihad is reinforced in Qati's words in the next sentence. *"To the will of God? Had he not sacrificed his life to a great and worthy purpose?*" was a sign that Qati was very much ready with her destiny for jihad. Jihad is meant by Qati is an effort to sacrifice oneself in the name of God, and aims to get rid of the Israelites who have occupied Palestine.

> *"It would mean that his life had been to no purpose. It would mean that all the things he had worked for, all the sacrifice and self-denial had gone for nothing. His freedom fighters had fought and died for a generation . . . for a cause that might be forever lost.*
>
> *Betrayed by his fellow Arabs, whose money and political support had sustained his men.*
>
> *Betrayed by the Russians, whose support and arms had sustained his movement from its birth.*
>
> *Betrayed by the Americans—the most perversely of all. By taking away their enemy.*
>
> *Betrayed by Israel —by making something akin to a fair peace. It wasn't fair at all, of course. So long as a single Zionist lived on Arab lands, there would be no fairness.*

Might he be betrayed by the Palestinians also? What if they came to accept this? Where would his dedicated fighters come from?

Betrayed by everyone!" (p.146)

Based on the data above, when analyzed based on macrostructure analysis, it shows that Ismael Qati's concern when the geopolitical constellation of the Middle East reaches a point of peace. He considers that the struggle of the people and the PFLP to achieve independence in Palestine is a futility. Qati argues that the geopolitical deal with Israel is a betrayal of the movement he leads. Qati assumes that other countries that support and help fund the PLFP movement have committed treason. Qati considers the peaceful demonstration as a form of betrayal because he and his group have ambitions to liberate Palestine and get rid of the Zionists from Arab lands. Therefore, the peace agreement between Arab countries and Israel with the approval of two superpower countries, America and Russia, is considered by Qati as an effort that benefits the Israeli side because the position of the State of Israel in Arab lands still exists. Meanwhile, the Palestinians have to give up their land that has been annexed by Israel.

"What if the Palestinians found the concessions demanded of Israel to their taste? It could work. The Zionist state might continue to exist. The Palestinians might find contentment in their new land. A modus vivendi might evolve into being" (p.145)

It can be seen that one of the reasons why Qati rejects peace between Palestine and Israel is because this peace still makes Israel exist in Arab lands. And, from the previous quote, Qati reveals that there is interference between the two great poles of the world. The existence of two superpowers US and Russia in the Middle East has caused a prolonged conflict there. Apparently, the influence of the power of the two

superpowers contributed to creating chaos in the Middle East by providing assistance to both parties. In this case, Russia helped fund and arm the Palestinian freedom fighters. Likewise with America, they do not want their ally, Israel to be attacked just like that, so they provide assistance to Israel and make it stronger and more difficult for Palestinian freedom fighters to conquer. The conflict between Palestine and Israel in this novel is represented as a show of strength and influence between the two major world blocs, the US and Russia superpowers.

> *"Perhaps he could not depend on the Russians. Perhaps he could not depend on the Saudis. Certainly he could not depend on the Americans. But he could depend on Israel . The Jews were far too stupid, far too arrogant, far too short-sighted to see that their best hope for long-term security could only lie in an equitable peace. The irony struck him very hard, hard enough to garner a smile. It had to be God's plan, that his movement would be safeguarded by his bitterest enemies. Their obstinacy, their stiff Jewish necks would never bow to this. And if that was what was required for the war to continue, then the fact of it, and the irony of it, could only be a sign from God Himself that the cause guiding Qati and his men was indeed the Holy Cause they believed it to be."* (p.146)

Based on Macrostructure analysis, the quote above shows Ismael Qati's disappointment with the geopolitical conditions of the Middle East which will lead to a peace agreement. He conveyed this disappointment with the expression not to rely on the countries that had been supporting him. In his mind, Qati plans to take advantage of Israel's arrogance by saying "*far too short-sighted to see that their best hope for long-term security could only lie in an equitable peace*". This quote can indicate that Qati is planning something to thwart the peace between Israel, Palestine, and Arab countries. "*equitable peace*" can also be understood as Qati's view of the true value of peace. Therefore, the building of peace that will be made between Palestine and Israel is not a just peace, and he wants to thwart the false peace.

"Qati frowned. He felt terrible, but he was telling himself that part of that was the possibility of some sort of treaty with the Israelis. Could it be real? Could it be possible? History said no, but there had been so many changes." (p.200)

The data above shows Ismael Qati's response when asked about his condition by Ghosn. Qati continues to think about the possibility if the Palestinians agree to a peace agreement with Israel. He kept asking himself about the worst possibility for him. These concerns are based on Saudi Arabia agreeing to an agreement with Israel.

"The Americans had played their role, and now they were presenting some kind of bill. Disappointing, but hardly unexpected, and whatever the Americans were up to would divert attention away from the latest Israeli atrocity… So, the Americans would do something or other to neutralize the political impact of the Israeli massacre, and the Saudis were playing along like the lapdogs they were. Whatever was in the offing, it could hardly affect the Palestinian struggle. He should soon be feeling better, Qati told himself." (p.200)

According to Qati, the US intervention in the Middle East has caused countries to start withdrawing one by one to support the guerrilla movement for the liberation of Palestine from Israel carried out by the PLFP. The role of America in the Middle East is explained by Qati by saying that America's geopolitical maneuvers in the Middle East are an attempt to protect and hide Israel's atrocities against the Palestinian people. Qati still convinced himself to continue fighting for Palestinian independence and was not affected even though the State of Saudi Arabia had submitted to America.

c.) Ibrahim Ghosn, a Palestinian terrorist from PLFP

"Ghosn was almost a graduate of the American University of Beirut —almost because one of his teachers had been kidnapped, and two others had used that as an excuse to leave the country. That had denied Ghosn the last nine credit hours needed for a degree in engineering. Not that he really needed it. He'd been at the top of his class, and learned well enough from the textbooks without having to listen to the explanations of instructors. He'd spent quite a bit of time in labs of his own making." (p.178)

The data above when examined using a microstructure shows the background of one of the terrorist members, Ibrahim Ghosn. The author of *The Sum of All Fears*

novel tries to show a discourse that terrorism can be born from smart academics. In this case, Ghosn is described as a student who almost graduated from one of the top universities with the best engineering degree. However, he failed to achieve because there was a conflict that caused his academic career to be lost. It was the war in Lebanon in 1982 that forced him to give up his engineering degree.

The author describes Ghosn as a clever and geeky figure. He is able to learn all the knowledge about the world of engineering through the books he reads. Ghosn is also described as a person who is able to master the field of electrical engineering without the guidance of an instructor and he acquired these skills self-taught, including in assembling bombs. In fact, he has a private laboratory that serves as a place for him to experiment and practice everything he has learned.

> *"Ghosn was an expert at this task, but he was not exactly excited about being stuck with it."* (p.177)

The data above is one of the quotes about Ibrahim Ghosn's heart when he communicated with his commander at PLFP, Ismael Qati. Based on microstructure analysis, it can be seen that the author describes Ghosn as an expert in this task. "this task" refers to bomb disposal and builders. This can be seen on page 204, "… I have a man highly skilled in the business of disarming and removing Israeli bombs—and then he takes the guts from them and makes bombs for our use." The quote on the side is what Qati said to a Druse farmer who found a bomb on his farm. The quote shows that Ghosn has a high ability to defuse and reprocess Israeli bombs, then the bombs will be reused for the needs of the PLFP struggle team led by Ismael Qati. Even though Ghosn

is an expert on bombs, he seems to be doing the job with compulsion because of something that is explained in the quote "being stuck with it".

> *"Ghosn had never been a frontline soldier of the movement. Though he knew how to use small arms, his skills with explosives and electronic devices were too valuable to be risked."* (p.178)

In microstructure analysis, the author explains that Ghosn has a fairly important position in his organization. Although he is a member of an organization that has a revolutionary movement direction, Ghosn's position is not at the forefront which makes him have to master the use of weapons. In his group, he is a member who has an important role so that his life is very valuable if at stake. His ability to modify bombs makes him an unlikely figure to be placed in the position of front-line soldiers who are most likely to die in battle. Therefore, Qati placed him in an ideal and safe position for his safety. The author seems to want to show Ghosn's greatness and intelligence in various aspects and skills which are explicitly mentioned about his abilities.

> *"A gifted, if largely self-taught engineer, he was also a Palestinian whose family had evacuated Israel at the time of the country's founding, confidently expecting to return as soon as the Arab armies of the time erased the invaders quickly and easily."* (p.178)

In the above data can be classified into mesostructure analysis, Ghosn and his family are told as native Palestinians who then left their homes because of the occupation and the establishment of the State of Israel on Palestinian land. The author describes the belief of Ghosn and his family that Israel will soon be overthrown and expelled from Palestine. In addition, they consider that the Arab military coalition very easily destroys the power of the State of Israel. Unfortunately, their belief in Palestinian independence from Israeli occupation has not materialized.

"But that happy circumstance had not come about, and his childhood memories were of crowded, insanitary camps where antipathy for Israel had been a creed as important as Islam…. Hatred of Israel and its friends came as naturally as breathing, and finding ways to end the lives of such people was his task in life. It had never occurred to him to wonder why." (p.178)

Based on the data above, it can be analyzed based on mesostructure analysis showing that due to the establishment of the State of Israel, Ghosn was forced to flee and leave his ancestral land. Instead of waiting for the Arabs to reclaim the land of Palestine from Israel, this happiness never arrived. The condition of Ghosn and the Palestinians who shared the same fate turned out to be very bad. The author describes Ghosn's childhood memories spent in refugee camps. He and his family live in refugee camps which are very unfit for habitation. The camp is described as very overcrowded by Palestinian refugees, very unhealthy, and not good for the growth and development of the children living there.

The poor conditions of the camp have indirectly influenced Ghosn's thinking and have given birth to the values of hatred for Israel. In that paragraph there is the phrase *"antipathy for Israel"*, antipathy is a feeling of dislike or hatred that is very strong, and this is aimed at Israel. "*creed as important as Islam*", even Ghosn's hatred of Israel is likened to a creed which is as important as Islamic belief. It is also explained at the end of the paragraph that the hatred towards Israel and its allies appears naturally and even likened to "naturally as breathing". Likening hatred-like breath indicates that hatred is as important to him as breathing is to human life. In fact, the hatred is explained again in the section "*finding ways to end the lives of such people was his task in life*", the quote beside indicates the contents of Ghosn's mind as a result of the hatred

that motivated him to carry out acts of terror. The terror referred to by Ghosn is "*end the lives*" which refers to the act of killing to take the lives of others in various ways. In fact, at the end of the paragraph it is stated that Ghosn is looking for ways to kill the lives of "*such people*", or referring to the Israelis and their allies is a task in his life. The last snippet is an ironic view of how a small child who has a vow to commit an act of murder on a group of people or a nation.

> *"Disregarded by the Israelis as people who had voluntarily left their country, largely ignored by other Arab nations who might have made their lot easier but had not, Ghosn and those like him were mere pawns in a great game whose players had never agreed upon the rules."* (p.178)

From the data excerpt above, it can be seen that based on Macrostructure analysis shows that Ghosn and other communities are considered to have voluntarily left their own ancestral lands, while what was done was a form of protest against the establishment of the State of Israel. For Ghosn, Palestinians have been geopolitically neglected by their Arab neighbors. *"largely ignored by other Arab nations"* indicates that Palestinians like himself have been dumped by Arab countries, so they have to carry out the struggle alone without relying on other Arab countries. In fact, Ghosn and his fellow Palestinians think that they have been toyed with by Middle East geopolitical forces. "*Were they pawns in a great game whose players had never agreed upon the rules*", the quote states that they feel they are pawns in a game by a great power to always submit. In fact, they were forced to obey the game even though they didn't approve of it. The meaning of the quote above is that Ghosn and others like himself were forced to agree and submit to the rules for the establishment of the State of Israel

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even though the State was founded on Palestinian land. And, the above expression can also refer to their disagreement with the Palestinian-Israeli peace concessions.

> *"These are here to keep the Israelis out," he said, casting his explanation in accordance with his own beliefs. "Your country arms the Israelis, and the Russians arm us." He didn't add that this was becoming increasingly tenuous."* (p.179)

Based on the Macrostructure analysis, the data excerpt above shows the intervention of the two big superpowers, Russia and the United States. The two Superpowers in fact have intervened in terms of weapons to both sides in the Palestinian and Israeli conflicts. The conflict in the country is getting more complicated due to the intervention of the Superpower State and making the country a place to show the existence of the Superpower State power. With the help of weapons from America, it has made Israel's strength increased, and Ghosn's people are increasingly difficult to defeat.

> *"I didn't know about that," Ghosn said, amazed that his were not the only people to be treated that way by the Americans and their Israeli vassals. "When did it happen?"* (p.180)

The data above is an excerpt from Ghosn's response to Marvin about the story of the Indians being colonized by America and locked up in a reservation camp. In the quote above, he is amazed that America and Israel have not only treated the Palestinians badly, but have also colonized Marvin Russell's people and made their lives miserable. "This was no infiltrator, and his story was no different from the story of a Palestinian. Amazing." In the next conversation, Ghosn was concerned about the lives of the Indians who lived a long time in suffering due to American colonialism. In fact, Ghosn considers Marvin, who is an American, not an intruder in his terrorist community, but

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a friend. Ghosn considers him a friend because of the feeling of a common destiny, namely the struggle against their common enemy and expelling them from their ancestral homeland.

d.) Günther Bock, a terrorist from West German and Red Army Faction

"One such regular reader was Günther Bock. He lived in Sofia , Bulgaria , having left Germany —the eastern part—rather hurriedly some months before, after a warning tip from a former friend in the Stasi. With his wife, Petra , Bock had been a unit leader in the Baader-Meinhof Gang, and after that had been crushed by the West German police, in the Red Army Faction." (p.79)

In the discussion of microstructure, it focuses on the personal experience of Gunther Bock, who is one of the terrorist characters in this novel. He is described as someone who likes to read newspapers to add useful information to him. Gunther Bock also has a pretty good position in his organization. He was the leader of the *Baader-Meinhof* unit, an organization this was the Red Army Faction and was a West German left-wing terrorist organization. After this movement was dissolved by the government, Gunther Bock fled to various countries and ended up in East Germany. Bock is described as a figure who is good at saving himself from the pursuit of state security because he is able to duplicate and modify his identity.

"..., but when another married couple had failed to make a rendezvous for dinner, Günther and Petra had sensed trouble. Too late. While the husband made rapid plans to leave the country, five heavily armed GSG-9 commandos had kicked down the flimsy door of the Bock apartment in East Berlin." (p.79)

Based on Microstructure analysis, the data above shows that GSG-9's hiding place for Gunther Bock and his wife was known. GSG-9 is a tactical unit that operates specifically to counter terrorist movements. Bock realized that something was wrong

with his condition at that time because the dinner that was supposed to be attended by former *Baader-Meinhof* members was empty of participants. However, it was too late for Bock and his wife to realize this condition, so they did not have time to prepare everything to escape from the GSG-9 team's ambush. The existence of the GSG-9, which is a special anti-terrorism unit, indicates that Gunther Bock and his wife, Petra Bock, are wanted by the German government because of their involvement in acts of terrorism. Consequently, the explanation above can be concluded that Gunther Bock is a terrorist.

> *"They'd found Petra nursing one of her twin daughters, but whatever sympathy they might have felt at so touching a scene had been mitigated by the fact that Petra Bock had murdered three West German citizens, one quite brutally. Petra was now in a maximum-security prison, serving a life sentence in a country where "life" meant that you left prison in a casket or not at all. The twin daughters were the adopted children of a Munich police captain and his barren wife."* (p.80)

The quote above describes how Gunther Bock's wife, Petra Bock, was arrested by the GSG-9 anti-terrorism command team while breastfeeding her twins. Bock considers that arresting his wife while she is breastfeeding is inhumane. He assumed that the task force had been blinded by the fact that Petra had killed three Germans. At the time of the arrest, Bock managed to escape from his family, while his wife was arrested and immediately put in a high-security prison.

> *"It was very odd, Günther thought, how much that stung him. After all, he was a revolutionary. He had plotted and killed for his cause. It was absurd that he would allow himself to be enraged by the imprisonment of his wife."* (p.80)

The quote above shows Gunther Bock's astonished feelings about himself being devastated by what happened to his family. In fact, he should not act like that, "*how much that stung him*" indicates that he should have been able to let go and understand the consequences of each of his life choices. "*After all, he was a revolutionary* (p.80)", is a sentence that explains the contents of his mind to reject this sad feeling. However, his choice as a revolutionary has made him have to accept the dire consequences for his revolutionary actions. In fact, the section "*He had plotted and killed for his cause*" represents the goal of the revolutionary movement, namely to kill people.

> "*He'd dedicated himself to something larger and grander than mere corporeal existence. He and his colleagues had made a conscious and reasoned decision to build a better and more just world for the common man,*" (p.80)

The quote above, when analyzed based on the macrostructure, can be seen that Petra and her family have dedicated themselves to a more important and greater cause. In fact, the devotion he describes is the most important thing of all. His brothers Bock also dedicated himself to the same beliefs and ideology as himself. "*to build a better and more just world for the common man*" is a quote that describes one of his life goals, building a better world. If the quote is associated with the ideology it adheres to. Thus, it can be concluded that Gunther Bock's intention was to create Utopian Socialism. The term Utopian Socialism was coined by Karl Marx which refers to an ideal world order with no poverty, no crime, and prosperity built by the lower classes (Draper, 1990). "*The common man*" can also refer to the lower middle class such as the workers who are identical with the ideology of Socialism and Communism.

"The people, the common Volk of the DDR. had risen up like revolutionaries themselves, forsaking their nearly perfect socialist state, opting instead to merge with the exploitative monstrosity crafted by the imperialist powers." (p.80)

The data excerpt above explains Gunther Bock's disillusionment with DDR (East Germany) which has betrayed and started to abandon the socialist ideology adopted by Bock. He thought that the decision was stupid because Bock considered DDR to be almost a perfect socialist state. However, they were successfully persuaded to leave and forget the ideology of socialism and prefer to join the imperialist ideology. Bock's hatred of imperialism can be seen in his use of the term "*the exploitative monstrosity"* which refers to ridicule of the ideology which is considered strange and exploitative. The term Imperialist expressed by Bock refers to the imperialism of the United States as a superpower. Meanwhile, the ideology of his organization (*Baader-Meinhof*) was anti-imperialism, and that further strengthened Bock's belief in formulating revolutionary tactics.

"Was ist das denn für Quatsch?" Günther muttered.

"In yet another remarkable turn in a remarkable time, the Central Intelligence Agency hosted the First Deputy Chairman of the KGB in a conference concerning 'issues of mutual concern' to the world's two largest intelligence empires . . ." the story read. (Page:80)

The expression "Was ist das denn für Quatsch?" when translated from German to English, it means "*What kind of nonsense is this?"* is an expression of Gunther Bock's frustration when he reads a news report about the cooperation between the two superpowers US and Soviet in the field of intelligence. The news contains the cooperation between the KGB and the CIA to discuss the 'issues of mutual concern'. The meaning of the quote is cooperation in the field of eradicating terrorism and

international drugs. The news clearly made Gunther Bock even more furious, because his hiding place was getting narrower and he had to find a new hiding place.

> *"They would test their cunning and skill against their enemies. The forces of light against the forces of darkness. Of course, it was the forces of light that had to run and hide, but that was a side issue" (p.81)*

> *"Sooner or later, the situation would be reversed when the common people saw the truth and sided with the revolutionaries. Except for one little problem. The common people had chosen to go another way. And the terrorist world was rapidly running out of dark places in which the forces of light might hide."* (p.81)

From the quote above, it can be seen that Gunther Bock's attempt to escape and hide is a way to test the ingenuity of the enemy. In fact, the quote above explains that Bock's belief regarding his revolutionary struggle can be likened to the power of light against the forces of darkness. The belief that his group is a representation of the power of light, of course it makes him even more convinced that one day the darkness will be defeated. *"...when the common people saw the truth and sided with the revolutionaries"*, the quote on the side shows Bock's view which considers the revolutionaries, the Red Army Faction is a party that is on the right path and is a force of light. Meanwhile, countries that are contrary to his views are likened to forces of darkness. The author tries to represent terrorism as an entity that views the world in a narrow and dichotomy, good or bad, right or wrong. Just like the ideology of terrorism in general, Falk (1988) explains that terrorists have a mindset that tends to 'demonize' and their melodramatic preoccupation with the destruction of crime, by viewing other parties as representations of darkness. The demonization used by Bock is an attempt to legitimize the criminal acts committed.

From some of the quotes above, it can be concluded that the geopolitical conditions of the superpower countries, the Soviet Union and the US have a significant impact on the stability of other countries. The unification of the two Superpowers in the fight against terrorism has disturbed Bock's peace. Therefore, he must immediately draw up a plan to carry out acts of terrorism to bring the two countries into conflict again.

e.) Manfred Fromm, a terrorist and scientist from East German

"Doktor Manfred Fromm was, on paper, the deputy assistant director of the Lubmin/Nord Nuclear Power Station. The station had been built twenty years earlier from the Soviet VVER Model 230 design, which, primitive as it was, had been adequate with an expert German operations team. Like all Soviet designs of the period, the reactor was a plutonium producer. But unlike Chernobyl it had a containment dome. It was neither terribly efficient nor especially safe, but did carry the benefit of producing weapons-grade nuclear material, in addition to 816 megawatts of electrical power from its two functioning reactors." (p.283)

The data above shows a brief profile of Manfred Fromm described by the author of the novel. The author explains that Fromm had a pretty good career, namely as Deputy Assistant Director at the Lubmin/Nord Nuclear Power Station in East Germany. As a nuclear physicist, of course he is very useful for the terrorist group Bock and Qati to assemble the Israeli bomb they managed to find. The author explains that the Nuclear Power Station has many weaknesses in its reactor, but in Fromm's hands, the place can be useful in the production of nuclear materials.

"The Green Party was a natural consequence of the German national spirit, which venerated all growing things on one hand, while trying very hard to kill them on the other… and after their successful deployment had in the INF Treaty, which had eliminated all such weapons on both sides of the line —it was now successfully raising the purest form of political hell in what had once been the German Democratic Republic." (p.284)

From the quote above, it can be analyzed through the Mesostructure approach, the quote above explains Manfred Fromm's feelings of annoyance towards one of the parties in Germany, the Green Party. This party focuses on the movement to save the environment, and is opposed to the communist movement embraced by Manfred Fromm. Indirectly, this party movement slowly tried to get rid of communist influence in Germany. In fact, this movement has threatened Manfred Fromm's job. The green party has sparked the emergence of the INF treaty, namely the treaty on the elimination of nuclear weapons. If nuclear use were banned, then Manfred Fromm would really lose his job as a nuclear physicist. This is why Fromm hates the Greens, and he says they have brought "political hell" in East Germany.

> *"The nightmare of pollution in the East was now the obsession of the Greens, and number one on their hit list was the nuclear-power industry, which they called hideously unsafe."* (p.284)

Still, through the mesostructure approach, the quote above explains that the focus of the Green party movement is not only political, but also ideological. The meaning of "*The nightmare of pollution in the East*" is the Green Party's view of East Germany which is filled with pollution and is not environmentally friendly. "*East*" is an ideological term, the Green Party considers "*East*" as the eastern bloc under the control of socialism and for them is called a polluting country. Therefore, this party has an obsession to get rid of all things related to damaging the environment, including getting rid of nuclear as a livelihood Manfred Fromm.

"Their incessant carping on the mess in the East was ensuring that socialism would not soon return to Germany. It was enough to make both men wonder if the Greens had not been a subtle capitalist ploy from the very beginning." (p.284)

Based on Macrostructure analysis, the data above explains Fromm's portrayal of the Green Party which seems to have a hidden agenda. Fromm explained to Bock that this Party has a critical tendency towards the East which is considered to be more polluting than the West. "…ensuring that socialism would not soon return to Germany." It is a quote that shows that the Western Bloc continues to exert its influence in Germany by making it Green. The party functioned to stem the power of socialism from returning to Germany. This indicates that East Germany, which was formerly a socialist country, is slowly changing direction to leave the ideology of Socialism. This effort is certainly inseparable from the influence of the Western Bloc, the US wants to expand the influence of its capitalist ideology on Europe.

"… the Greens had not been a subtle capitalist ploy from the very beginning." The quote aside suggests that the US did everything it could to expand its influence, including in Germany by establishing an environment-oriented party. The main purpose why America through the Green party raised the issue of pollution in East Germany was to weaken the strength of the Eastern bloc countries, in terms of nuclear weapons. East Germany was a Soviet ally who also had a nuclear station and of course it could worry the Western Bloc. Therefore, the Green party succeeded in getting Germany to stop its nuclear project. And this is explained by Manfred Fromm in the following quote:

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"Less than a year until they shut us down for good. I only go in to work three days a week now.

I've been replaced by a 'technical expert' from the West. He lets me 'advise' him, of course,"

Fromm reported. (p.284)

From the quote above, it can also be seen that the existence of the Green party had an impact on the loss of Manfred Fromm's brilliant career. That's because the Nuclear Power Station, where he works, was forced to close by the INF treaty on suspicion of polluting and damaging the environment.

2. Terrorism is Constructed Through Different Motives, Different Agendas

In this section, the author explains matters relating to the background or basic motives of the terrorists in carrying out acts of terror in the novel The Sum of All Fear by Tom Clancy. Every terrorist movement described in this novel has different motives and has implications for the different agendas and goals of each member of the terrorist group. Even though they have the same goal, the motives behind the terrorist acts of each member are different. This can be seen from the five members of terrorism who have different agendas based on their respective backgrounds and interests. This difference can be seen from each member of terrorism who has revenge motives, political motives, ideology, economics, etc.

a) Marvin Russell's motives to take revenge

"John Russell was dead, killed like so many without the chance for honorable combat, shot down like the animal a Native American was to whites. But more brutally than most. Marvin

was sure the shot had been arranged with care. Cameras rolling. That wimp pussy reporter with her high-fashion clothes." (p.54)

One of them, Marvin Russel's personal motive, was to explain how his brother Marvin Russel was killed by a police bullet. Marvin Russel considered the shooting that killed his brother a murder like the heinous act of the white population when hunting for bison. He considered that the shooting that killed his brother was a heinous act that was carefully planned in front of the journalists' cameras.

> *"The glowing ball of gas was red with yet more blowing dust from this hot, dry summer, and the image that came to Marvin was of his brother's face. The stop-motion freeze-frame of the TV news. The local station had done things with the tape that the network had not. Every frame of the incident had been examined separately. The bullet striking John's face, two frames of his brother's face detaching itself from the head. Then the ghastly aftermath of the bullet's passage. The gunshot—damn that nigger and his vest!—and the hands coming up like something in a Roger Corman movie. He'd watched it five times, and each pixel of each image was so firmly fixed in his memory that he knew he'd never be able to forget it."* (p.54)

His hatred of white people grew stronger and he will always remember because he often saw video footage of the shooting that killed his brother. From the data above, it indicates Mervin Russell's deep grudge against white Americans. Thus, the hatred and revenge in the end became the motive where he tried to manifest the revenge by becoming a terrorist. So, it can be concluded that Marvin Russell's motives for carrying out the act of terrorism are;

First, the hard life since being placed on the Indian reservation. The existence of the Indian tribe is very concerning due to the policies of the US government on them. The life of the Indians was marginalized and oppressed by the US, which caused the Indians to be unable to make social leaps that could improve their lives. He considered

that the white people had robbed their ancestral land, slaughtered the bull which was the source of food for the Sioux people, and sent armed troops to slaughter their people. This explanation can be seen in the excerpt of the conversation between Marvin Russell and Ibrahim Ghosn as below:

> *"Yeah, man. They're called reservations where I come from." That was something Ghosn didn't know about. "They came to our land, the land of our ancestors, killed off the buffalo, sent in their army, and massacred us. Mainly they attacked camps of women and children. We tried to fight back. We killed a whole regiment under General Custer at a place called the Little Big Horn—that's the name of a river—under a leader named Crazy Horse. But they didn't stop coming. Just too many of them, too many soldiers, too many guns, and they took the best of our land, and left us shit, man. They make us live like beggars. No, that's not right. Like animals, like we're not people, even, 'cause we were in a place they wanted to have, and they just moved us out, like sweepin' away the garbage."* (p.179)

The hate motive that led to the acts of terrorism carried out by Marvin Russell is rooted in the long history of expulsion of the Siox Indians from their own land by the American army. "*Yeah, man. They're called reservations where I came from.*" An excerpt from Russell's conversation with Ghosn, the word reservation here refers to special camps for Indians. Marvin said this because he equated the difficult conditions of the Palestinian people during the Israeli occupation. This can be seen in Ghosn's conversation "*…They drove us from our land, you see. We are forced to live in camps that*", the cruelty of American soldiers towards their tribes can also be seen in Marvin Russell expression; "*Mainly they attacked camps of women and children*", from this sentence it can be seen that white American soldiers first attacked unarmed civilians such as women and children. Therefore, the motive for his involvement in terrorism could be due to revenge for the treatment of white Americans against his nation.

Additionally, as an act of revenge for all the damage that has been done by the white US.

Second, the death of his brother, John Russell, which was cruelly shown on the TV news made him hate and hold a grudge against white people, especially the US government. Therefore, he was willing to be the executor in the bombing. By taking this action, Marvin Russell hopes to be able to make his people no longer experience discrimination and marginalization from the US side.

b) Ismael Qati's motive to eliminate Zionist Israel

In this discussion, the first motive underlying Ismael Qati will be discussed through microstructure analysis. This motive can be explained about Ismael Qati's personal motive in carrying out acts of terrorism. This personal motive includes Ismael Qati who is sickly because of terminal cancer. This motive made Qati increasingly convinced to spend the rest of her life to achieve her goal, namely to liberate the land of Palestine from the Zionist Israel.

"And now? Was it all for nothing? Was his life to end without meaning? Would he never see the day for which he had lived? Was God that cruel? All these thoughts paraded through his consciousness while his face remained neutral, his eyes guarded as always .No. He would not let that be. God could not have deserted him. He would see the day—or at least see it grow closer. His life would have meaning after all. It had not been all for nothing, nor would what future he might yet have be for nothing. On that, too, he was determined." (p.251)

The quote above describes Ismael Qati's determination after checking his illness to a doctor. Even though Qati knows that her life will not be long because of her cancer, she still holds on to her dreams. . "*His life would have meaning after all*", hinting that he wanted to make the ending of his life more meaningful. He didn't want to spend the

rest of his life in vain. Therefore, Qati wants to realize her life goal, which is found in the quote below:

> *"His goal was to build a new nation, to make a home for his people, to give them the human dignity they deserved. To lead his people. To defeat the invaders."* (p.247)

Qati's intended purpose in carrying out her terrorism mission is to build a new state. The State of Palestine which leans towards Socialism is the same as the ideology that is held by it. Qati wanted an ideal state and had many troops. Then, the next goal is to defeat colonialism. The occupation in question is the occupation carried out by Israel and its allies against the state of Palestine.

> *"Were he successful, he would be remembered among the great, for great deeds define great men, and the great men were those whom history remembered .But whose deeds would be remembered now? Who had conquered what—or whom?"* (p.247)

In the Mesostructure analysis, the data above suggests that the second motive that became the basis for Ismael Qati in carrying out the bombing at the Super Bowl, Denver, was a form of disappointment with himself. "*Who had conquered what—or whom?*" is an excerpt from the question Qati asked herself. The quote indicates that he was disappointed because several times he carried out jihad against Israel, he always failed. Therefore, he carried out terrorist acts on a larger scale to avenge the failures of the previous jihad. In addition, he hopes that with success later he can make himself remembered as a great person. This is evidenced in the section "*but to remedy it would have allowed him to be remembered as a man who had changed the course of human history, if only in a small way, if only for a small nation*". This quote also indicates that

success in carrying out jihad is believed by Qati to be able to elevate her dignity and honor.

> *"It wasn't fair at all, of course. So long as a single Zionist lived on Arab lands, there would be no fairness."* (p.145)

Based on the data above, Ismael Qati's next motive is to destroy injustice. Injustice in the novel is told through Israel invading and annexing Palestinian lands. Thus, the establishment of the state of Israel had a bad impact on Palestine. Apart from colonizing and annexing Palestine, Israel has also killed many Palestinians through its weapons. Therefore, Qati has great ambitions to eliminate the Zionists in the Arab mainland.

> *"What if the Palestinians found the concessions demanded of Israel to their taste? It could work. The Zionist state might continue to exist. The Palestinians might find contentment in their new land."* (p.144)

Qati's last motive in carrying out acts of terrorism was triggered by the efforts of a peace agreement between Israel and Palestine through the agreement of two Superpower countries, the US and the Soviets. As quoted above, the agreement disappointed Qati because the outcome of the peace agreement did not change the existence of the state of Israel in Arab lands. "*The Palestinians might find contentment in their new land.*" From the quote on the side, it indicates that the agreement indirectly makes Palestine have to agree to a new Palestinian territory, which is an area that is getting narrower due to annexation by Israel. This, of course, for Ismael Qati was an unfair act.

In addition, based on macrostructure analysis, the discourse of this agreement has indirectly made America geopolitically free to exert influence and intervene in other countries. This of course had an impact on revolutionaries like Qati and her organization, where they began to lose sources of supply for war needs such as Saudi Arabia and Russia. Therefore, this act of peace is considered by Qati as a form of betrayal of PLFP fighters like herself. So, in the end Qati decided not to rely on anyone, including Russia and the Saudis who had long helped her struggle. This statement can be seen in the following expression; "*No, Qati was sure of that. Perhaps he could not depend on the Russians. Perhaps he could not depend on the Saudis* (p.145)."

Based on some of the motives that the researcher has described above, it can be seen that Qati's main agenda in carrying out acts of terrorism is to destroy Israel. This opinion is evidenced in the following quote: "*So long as there was no peace in the Middle East, he had a mission: the destruction of the Jewish State* (p.145). The term "*Jewish State*" that Qati refers to in the novel is the state of Israel. At some moments, Qati showed a gesture of antipathy and even attempted to destroy the country.

> *"But it was a time for truth, Qati told himself, stretching tired and sore limbs. What prospects for destroying Israel did he have? Not from without. So long as America supported the Jews, and so long as the Arab states failed to unite. . ."* (p.201)

The quote above shows the beginning of Qati's strategy to destroy Israel, not from the outside "not from without", but through the inside. Thus, the plan to destroy Israel must be initiated through America first, as the party that always helps Israel in dealing with Palestinians and Arabs. Therefore, the act of "false-flag" bombing is

considered to be able to keep the US busy fighting against Russian opponents, so that aid to Israel is reduced. By looking at these conditions, Israel's power has weakened due to the absence of assistance from its ally, America, who has always protected it. And, the weakening of Israel's power causes the State to be easily defeated by the Palestinian liberation forces.

  c) **Ibrahim Ghosn's motives, distrust the Arab coalition and Israeli occupation of Palestine**

In the novel The Sum of All Fears, Ibrahim Ghosn is explained to have several underlying motives for carrying out acts of terrorism. By focusing on the microstructure, the personal motive was Ghosn's first motive for joining a terrorist organization, namely that his brilliant academic career had to fail because his lecturers disappeared, one was kidnapped and the other two fled. This happened because there was a conflict that was engulfing the country where he studied. He had to give up the title of the best engineering graduate due to the chaos. The conflict that occurred in Lebanon was caused by the war between Arab countries and Israel. This opinion can be seen in "*defusing unexploded bombs and shells that the Israelis had left in Lebanon* (Page: 177)", the quote beside describes the Israeli bombs left in Lebanon. The "*left in Lebanon*" explanation indicates that Israel has a relationship with the bad condition of the State of Lebanon, namely the war between Arab countries and Israel.

Ghosn's second motive can be analyzed using the Mesostructure, namely hatred of the Israeli occupation. "*he was also a Palestinian whose family had evacuated Israel*

at the time of the country's founding (p.178)", in the quote on the side, Ghosn is described as a native of Palestine who was forced to flee because of the establishment of the State of Israel in his place of residence. As a result, he along with his family and other Palestinian residents had to suffer living in refugee camps created by Israel. Ghosn's childhood was spent in very uninhabitable camps that did not meet health standards. This opinion can be seen in the section *"… and his childhood memories were of crowded, insanitary camps where antipathy for Israel had been a creed as important as Islam*", the quote beside describes the plight of the children who live there. Israel's bad treatment of Palestinian refugees has made Ghosn an antipasti and hateful figure for Israel. In fact, the quote uses the word "*creed"* which describes his hatred for Israel, which is likened to the creed in Islam. "*Hatred of Israel and its friends came as naturally as breathing"*, from the data it can be concluded that the hatred of Ghosn and the children living in the concentration camps for Israel came naturally due to inhumane treatment to them. So, from this motive, it can be one of the strong foundations for Ghosn to commit acts of terrorism.

> *"…, confidently expecting to return as soon as the Arab armies of the time erased the invaders quickly and easily. But that happy circumstance had not come about,…"* (p.178)

The next motive is Qati's disappointment with the Arab coalition in dealing with Israel. This motive can be identified based on macrostructure analysis, which is related to Middle East geopolitics that influenced Ghosn's life. The quote above explains that the Palestinian population like Ghosn, before deciding to move from their residence, they have the belief that as soon as possible conditions will return to normal.

Ghosn and other residents hope that the Arab coalition can easily expel Israel from the Arab mainland. However, this hope has not materialized and is even more worrisome. Arabs did not succeed in expelling Israel, which had colonized their homeland. Therefore, he did not want to rely on the Arabs to improve his fate, Ghosn preferred to fight in his own way, namely by joining his group Qati.

In addition, America's intervention in helping the Israeli army to colonize Palestine was one of Ghosn's motives for committing acts of terrorism. This opinion is strengthened by the words of Ghosn to Marvin Russell, namely: "*Your country arms the Israelis, and the Russians arm us." He didn't add that this was becoming increasing tenuous* (p.179), America supports weapons to Israel, while Russia helps Palestine in terms of weapons.

> *"Hatred of Israel and its friends came as naturally as breathing, and finding ways to end the lives of such people was his task in life. It had never occurred to him to wonder why."* (p. 178)

From all of Ghosn's motives mentioned above, it can be seen that Ghosn's agenda when he joined the PFLP. The agenda aims to avenge all the suffering he and the people who share the same fate as him. The way that Qati took to realize his ambition is to help assemble and increase the power of a bomb that can kill many people. *"to end the lives of such people"* shows that his purpose in life is to destroy those who have made him and his nation suffer. In addition, the party referred to by Ghosn is Israel and its ally, America, which has intervened to exacerbate the conflict situation in his country.

d) Günther Bock's motive to take revenge for the collapse of Socialism-Marxism in Europe

"I've lost my Petra, my daughters, but I still have my mission (p. 513)

The data above can be studied using Microstructure analysis, which focuses on personal motives. The quote shows the condition of the Gunther Bock family which is very concerned. He lost his wife who hanged himself in prison, while his two twins were also missing. At the beginning of the story, without any preparation, Bock and Petra are ambushed by the German anti-terrorism squad GSG-9, but only Bock manages to escape. In one case, Bock accused the German government of having killed his wife by hanging herself. This is explained in Bock's words "*They'd murdered his wife, Bock knew*" (p.248). The word "*They*" refers to the West German police who have been hunting for Bock and Petra for a long time. Therefore, Gunther Bock's agenda to carry out acts of terrorism is to avenge the death of his wife. Evidence that supports this opinion can be found in the quote at:

"We will avenge Petra, my friend. They will pay for their crimes!" Qati promised him.
"Thank you." Bock left. (p.251)

In the quote above, it is Qati's words to Bock that they will avenge Petra's death. Bock's response by saying "Thank you" indicated that he agreed with Qati's words. Thus, it can be concluded that his first motive was to take personal revenge for the death of his wife, Petra Bock.

"*He'd committed too much of his life to Marxism ever to deny it. Without Marxism, after all, he was a criminal, a common murderer.*" (p.80)

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Bock's second motive for committing acts of terrorism is an ideological one. In some moments, Bock is described as a former member of the Red Army Faction whose ideology is Marxism-Communism. In fact, he is described as a figure who serves this ideology very strongly. The collapse of the East German state with the ideology of Socialism-Communism, made Bock the most sought-after person by the new German government. This was due to Bock's involvement in the *Baader-Meinhof* Organization, which is a banned organization because it belongs to a German left-wing terrorist organization. As a person who has a strong ideology of Marxism, the collapse of East Germany, which had a Socialist ideology, was later replaced by a new German state that tends to be capitalist, disappointed him. This opinion can be found in "*East Germany—the German Democratic Republic—no longer exists. Now it was a mere appendage to capitalist Germany* (p. 107)".

> *"One must see this as merely one part of a larger plan. When the Russians betrayed World Socialism, they set in motion a series of events aimed at solidifying control over most of the world on the part of the capitalist classes. I used to think that the Soviets merely advanced this as a matter of clever strategy, to get economic assistance for themselves—you must understand that the Russians are a backward people, Ismael. They couldn't even make Communism work. Of course, Communism was invented by a German,"* he added with an ironic grimace (that Marx had been a Jew was something he diplomatically left out)." (p.249)

> *"With the demise of socialism in Europe, their sources within various government institutions had been rolled up, turned double agent, or simply stopped delivering, having lost their faith in a socialist future. At a stroke, the best and most useful weapon of the European revolutionary fighters had disappeared."* (p.107)

The ideology of Marxism adopted by Bock is slowly being abandoned by several European countries. The collapse made his hiding place as a terrorist even more limited. As an adherent of Marxism, Gunter Bock is not ready to see that the collapse of the Socialist and Marxism states is caused by the influence of the capitalist and

imperialist countries as quoted above. The collapse of the socialist states has deprived

Bock of many useful sources of information for the future development of Socialism.

Therefore, when Bock saw the condition of the Palestinian revolutionaries who

remained steadfast in their stance even in difficult conditions, it was not like the

Europeans who easily abandoned the ideology of Socialism. This is evidenced in the

explanation of Bock's thoughts to Ismael Qati, "*At least Qati had an ongoing operation*

to command. Bock envied him that, however bad the tactical situation might be." (p.

108).

> *Bock shook his head "As much satisfaction as that might give me, no This is not a time for personal revenge. We have a movement and a country to save " More than one, in fact, Bock thought, but this was not the time for that.* (p.332)

The quote above explains when Bock saw the condition of the Palestinian

freedom fighters, he was impressed and determined to save the country because of the

similarity of the ideology he adhered to. In fact, he says that personal grudges are less

important than Palestinian independence from Israeli occupation. Israel is an ally of

America, which has defeated socialism with its capitalist power. Therefore, Gunther

Bock's agenda to plan an action to detonate a bomb is aimed at weakening US

dominance in the world.

> *"We are faced with an alliance of two very unlikely friends and their hangers-on. One must find a way to destroy the alliance. In historical terms, when an alliance is broken, the former allies are even more suspicious of each other than they were before the alliance was formed. How to do that?"* Bock shrugged. (p.250)

The opinion above explains one of Bock's agenda to break the alliance between

the two superpower countries, the US and the Soviets. The plan is expected to be able

to create divisions and eventually restore the power of socialism which has been betrayed by many. On the other hand, this effort is also a form of revenge for the death of Petra Bock.

e) Manfred Fromm's motive is to get money

In this discussion, the researcher analyzes the underlying motives for Manfred Fromm's participation in acts of terrorism at the Super Bowl, Denver. Fromm's first motive for engaging in terrorism was economic. This motif is included in the Microstructure analysis because it explains the character's motives personally. The economic motive in this case can be seen in the quote below:

> *"Less than a year until they shut us down for good. I only go in to work three days a week now. I've been replaced by a 'technical expert' from the West. He lets me 'advise' him, of course,"* Fromm reported. (p.284)

From the quote above, it is clear that Manfred Fromm's economic condition is not in a good condition. He told Bock his condition that he only worked three days a week, and that it only lasted a year before his workplace closed. Initially, Fromm had a good position at the Nuclear Power Station, but this condition did not last long due to protests from the Green party which resulted in the emergence of the INF treaty. Once the place is closed, it will certainly affect his work status.

> *"It was dust. Frau Fromm was not cleaning the house as a good German Hausfrau did. A sure sign that something was badly wrong."* (p.284)

> *"He'd lost his job, had never fulfilled his prime ambition, and was now being treated like an office boy by some pink-cheeked engineer's assistant from Göttingen. Worst of all, his wife wanted him to take the job in Argentina and was making a further hell of his life so long as he refused to consider it."* (p.285)

"Fromm awoke at dawn. He dressed at leisure, trying not to wake Traudl. She'd been more of a wife in the past twelve hours than in the preceding twelve months, and his conscience told him that their nearly failed marriage had not been entirely her fault. He was surprised to find breakfast waiting on the table for him." (p.333)

The poor economic condition due to the loss of a job affected the quality of his family relations, Fromm and his wife's relationship was quite bad. In fact, the condition of his household was close to failure due to economic problems. In the quote above, Fromm is very distressed by the attitude of his wife who seems unable to accept the condition she is experiencing. In fact, Fromm explained that he was told to take a job in Argentina, even though he seemed depressed and didn't like the job. As a result of obtaining a not-so-large income, his wife had a bad attitude towards him. This can be seen in Bock's explanation when he visited Manfred Fromm's house, as in the quote above it is explained that "*Frau Fromm was not cleaning the house as a good German Hausfrau did. A sure sign that something was badly wrong*". The quote indicates that Fromm's household condition is not good, because Bock views that Fromm's wife is not doing housework like a housewife in general.

From all the explanations above, it can be concluded that Fromm's first motive for taking a job as a bomb technician was due to economic pressure. Losing his job had made his household conditions worse as his wife demanded that Fromm earn a large income. This opinion can be seen when Fromm told Bock about his salary; "*Traudl liked the money a great deal," Fromm reported.*" (p.334).

The next motive is the ideological motive. In the novel, the discourse on Fromm's terrorist motives is described as a left-leaning and anti-fascist physicist. His

belief in Marxism was derived from his family bloodline. Manfred Fromm's dislike is shown in the author's explanation, namely:

> *"Fromm could no more work for Fascists than he could breathe water. His grandfather, one of the original Spartacists, had died in one of the first labor camps soon after Hitler's accession to power. His father had been part of the Communist underground and a player in a spy ring, had somehow survived the war despite the systematic hunting of the Gestapo and the Sicherheitsdienst, and been an honored local Party member to the day of his death. Fromm had learned Marxism-Leninism while he'd learned to walk, and the elimination of his profession had not enamored him of the new political system which he'd been educated to despise."* (p.285)

In the quote above it is explained that he was raised in a Marxist family. His grandfather is told as a Spartacist fighter who died in a concentration camp during the leadership of Adolf Hitler. Hitler's leadership was known to be cruel to his political opponents. The Spartasist that has been mentioned in the data above refers to a revolutionary movement that is Marxist and was founded to be an opposition party that supports the war (David, 2009). On the other hand, his father is also described as a member of the communist intelligence and underground forces who was a fugitive from the *Sicherheitsdienst* (Nazi Germany Security Council). Because of some of the bad things that the German Fascist government had done to his grandfather and father, it certainly made Fromm have his own hatred of fascism. Later, Fromm explained that he had studied Marxism-Leninism from an early age. And this experience certainly shaped his ideological understanding which tends to be radical. In fact, Fromm was willing to accept an offer from Bock to assemble and develop bomb capabilities because of ideological similarities.

> *"I have friends who need your skills."*
> *"What friends might those be?" Fromm asked dubiously.*

They are politically acceptable to me and to you. I have not forgotten Petra ," Bock replied.

"That was a good plan we put together, wasn't it? What went wrong?" (p.286)

"*They are politically acceptable to me and to you*" the quote beside tells about Bock telling Fromm that his business partners are people who have something in common. "*political acceptable"* here does not only mean equality in terms of politics, but also the ideological equality of Marxism.

From the explanation above, the researcher can at least conclude that Manfred Fromm's agenda to join the bomb-making project is to earn money. The money will later be given to his wife so that she can treat Fromm well. *"To confirm her suspicion, he handed her a wad of banknotes, five packets of ten thousand D-Marks each. That should keep the mercenary bitch quiet and happy, Manfred Fromm told himself"* (p.328).

B. The Ideology of Peace Represented in The Novel Tom Clancy's *The Sum of All Fears*

In this chapter, the researcher will discuss the ideology that the author, Tom Clancy wants to convey in his novel entitled *The Sum of All Fears*. This ideological analysis is discussed through three levels of analysis approaches proposed by Norman Fairclough. From the third level of analysis, it will be known what ideology Tom Clancy is trying to convey to the readers of his novel. The ideology referred to here is not just in the form of wishful thinking or ideas, but is embodied in real actions represented in the novel.

"Now, if we could just do something about the Israeli side… . It would be nice, he thought, to set that whole area to rest. And Ryan believed it possible". (p.42)

In the micro-level of analysis, it can be seen that Tom Clancy, through his main character, wants to imply that peace can make the world beautiful without war. Jack imagined that he and America could take some meaningful action for peace. *"to set that whole area to rest"* refers to actions that are able to put an end to the conflicts that have occurred in the Middle East. In that sense, even though peace in the Middle East seems difficult, Jack Ryan believes this can happen, at least to give the coalition countries a pause to take a short break without war. He believes that Israel can be invited to negotiate a peace agreement with Arab countries.

The peace discourse initiated by Tom Clancy was not only related to world geopolitical activities, but he also started from small things outside of it all. As an example, in the data quote below:

"He would always remember Sean Miller and the other members of the Ulster Liberation Army who'd made two earnest attempts to kill Jack Ryan and his family. … Miller and his colleagues had, one by one, walked into the gas chamber in Baltimore, and been carried out half an hour later, quite dead. And may God have mercy on their souls, Ryan thought." (p.75)

Using Fairclough's micro-level of analysis, the ideology of peace represented by the main character in *The Sum of All Fears* can be seen in the part when he prays for the convicted Irish terrorist, Ulster Liberation Amy who has been executed. Even though the three terrorist members almost killed Jack Ryan and his family, Jack Ryan showed a wise attitude by praying as a sign that he forgave these actions and did not choose to take revenge like the actions of the terrorists that the researchers mentioned

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above. This shows that Jack Ryan's attitude is a representation of the ideology of peace that the novel wants to build.

> *"For the most part they had learned well, and now Ryan hoped that the next step would be as easily made. A nation achieves greatness by helping others to make peace, not by demonstrating prowess at war or commerce."* (p.114)

Based on the meso-level of analysis, the author explains that Jack Ryan hopes that the United State of America as a superpower should be able to take an important role in helping other countries involved in conflicts. The support in this case is all kinds of the supports that can lead to the creation of peace. Jack Ryan also emphasized that U.S.'s superpower should be used to create global peace, not by showing strength on the battlefield or in the economy. This opinion seems clear that the author through Jack Ryan's character wants to represent the discourse of peace by criticizing the U.S. efforts in addressing conflicts in the world.

> *Jack realized that he was as alone here in this room as the President intended Israel to be. He looked down at his notes and kept his mouth shut. Moral dimension, my ass! Jack thought angrily. This is about setting footprints in the sands of time, and about the political advantages of being seen as The Great Peacemaker. But it wasn't a time for cynicism, and though the plan was no longer Ryan's, it was a worthy one* (p. 218).

Based on meso-level of analysis, it can be seen that based on the text production process, Tom Clancy tries to satirize the position of the United States Superpower in the world's geopolitical constellation. Through Jack Ryan, he satirized the United States as "*The Great Peacemaker*" who was unable to do anything to stop Israel's actions in their occupied land, Palestine. This novel, which was produced in America, certainly made the writer able to see the U.S. foreign policy from the point of view of American itself. Therefore, the author wants to criticize United State's actions which

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do not reflect as *"The Great Peacemaker"*, while the U.S. itself is still silent and supports countries that are in conflict in the Middle East.

In the discourse practice, Clancy tries to insinuate the U.S. prefers to seek temporary personal political gain. Meanwhile for Clancy, the discourse of *"The Great Peacemaker"* should be able to represent the U.S. as the most responsible and foremost party for creating peace in the world. For the author, political gain is only temporary, unlike peace which will bring benefits forever. In this meso-level of analysis, discourse practice is also used as a medium for criticizing the US geopolitical policies which tend not to think about global interests, namely peace. Even though it has the title *"The Great Peacemaker"*, for the author of the US act it is precisely the contradiction with this nickname. In fact, the US has openly intervened in the conflict in the Middle East by providing weapons supplies to Israel, than provide mediation between Arabs and Israel to reach peace.

> *A nation achieves greatness by helping others to make peace, not by demonstrating prowess at war or commerce. To learn that, it had taken America from the time of Washington to the time of Theodore Roosevelt, whose Nobel Peace Prize adorned the room in the White House that still bore his name* (p. 188).

Based on the meso-level of analysis, the data above shows the practice of discourse about the existence of superpowers in the world map. The existence of these countries should be able to provide examples and positive contributions to other less dominant countries. The practice of discourse on peace is shown by the opinion of the author, Tom Clancy, in representing a *"greatness"* superpower country which should show *"greatness"* with positive actions. Ironically, the discourse of *"greatness"* is

represented through actions that are counterproductive. This action can be seen through Tom Clancy's written criticism through his novel on page 188. This criticism suggests an ideology of peace that the author wants to promote, by saying that a country that is "*greatness*" should be able to contribute to the creation of world peace. However, ironically the country in question actually demonstrates its strength and prowess through negative things such as war and the economy.

> *A nation achieves greatness by helping others to make peace, not by demonstrating prowess at war or commerce* (p. 188).

In the macro-level of analysis, sociocultural practices in the data above explain that the background of this novel takes place during the cold war era between the United States and the Soviet Union. The existence of two superpower countries is represented as a country that competes with each other by prioritizing personal interests above global interests. The data quote above represents the actual situation regarding the politics of the two superpowers, the US-Soviet Union in the cold war, which aims to seize influence on the international geopolitical constellation. In accordance with the opinion presented by Hamka Hendra Noer (2022), when the Cold War began, in which the world was theoretically divided into a capitalist bloc led by the US and a communist bloc led by the Soviet Union (before it broke up), the arms race between the two superpowers this went on even though there was no war between the two. In this context, the balance of power is often carried out by the state so that no single force dominates the international system, that is, the state can conspire with the weak to balance the strong.

In sociocultural practice, the ideology highlighted in this novel can be seen in the quote above, where the author directly voices superpower countries to be able to help other countries such as the quote: "...*helping others to make peace"*, this help is something that called "*Peace*". In the 1970s, the US and Russia demonstrated their strength through the cold war, but did not fight directly (proxy war). They fight by providing weapons support to countries in conflict. Superpower countries show their prowess by competing with each other using other countries, in other words, they hit each other using other people's hands, not their own. As a result, the condition of the two superpower countries was fine, but the victims were small countries that got supplies and influence from the US and the Soviet Union. So, it can be concluded, the cold war between the West and the East bloc had a negative impact on other countries, especially for third countries where proxy wars occurred for the US and the Soviet Union.

> *"America had never pressured Israel in any meaningful way. That was the key to his existence, wasn't it? So long as there was no peace in the Middle East."* (p. 166)

Based on the macro-level of analysis and the explanation that the researcher has written in the paragraph above, when viewed from sociocultural practices and current conditions, it can be seen that several proxy wars have been carried out by the two superpowers, the U.S. and Russia. Several cases are in a social context, as published in the newspaper Merdeka.com (2016) with the title "*When a proxy war makes the Middle East a battlefield*", in conflicts in the Middle East such as in Syria there are two major

world powers, the United States which supports rebel forces, while Russia is supporting Assad's army. Each provided support in the form of air strikes.

In addition, the Middle East has long been an area of interest to the United States since the Cold War. Israel received significant American aid during the Arab-Israeli conflict. The United States rarely participates in regional conflicts directly. The intervention in Lebanon in 1958 and 1983, participation in the first Gulf War in 1991, and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001 and 2003 each proved to be the exception rather than the norm (Stein, 1980). Instead, the United States prefers to be an indirect actor in the region, providing financial and arms assistance to its allies. Exercising American influence indirectly through proxy wars is nothing new for the United States. Under the Nixon administration, military aid to Israel grew from $30 million to an astounding $2.5 billion between 1970 and 1974. The primary function of Israeli funding was to fight Soviet-sponsored Arab states in the region, as well as contain Arab nationalism that could he did. not fully control (Arnold, 2020).

From some of the data that has been analyzed using micro, meso, and macro level of analysis, it can be concluded that the ideology of peace that Tom Clancy wants to convey through his novel entitled *The Sum of All Fears*, represents the importance of peace above personal and group interests. Through Jack Ryan, Tom Clancy wants to convey a message of peace that should be a concern for superpower countries, namely by helping other countries that are in need of assistance. Instead of providing assistance to create peace, for the author of the novel, the existence of the Superpowers

actually contributes to the difficulty of creating peace. Therefore, most of the contents

of the novel *The Sum of All Fears* are the author's efforts through the main character,

Jack Ryan, in dealing with various conflicts that aim to convey the ideology of peace.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter summarizes the research results based on the findings and discussion presented in the previous chapter. The conclusion section will discuss the results of the analysis with a brief explanation of the results of the study. At the end of this chapter, it is continued with suggestions for other researchers to conduct further research on the same topic to fill the gaps in this research.

A. Conclusion

Based on the analysis in the previous chapter, several findings can be drawn as follows: to answer the problems that have been formulated in the first chapter. The first problems of the study is; How is the discourse of terrorism represented in the novel *The Sum of All Fears*? Based on the analysis in Chapter IV, there are two discourses of terrorism represented in the novel. The first aspect is that terrorism is represented in relation to international geopolitical forces. Every movement of terrorism is related to an international geopolitical constellation, especially the political influence of Superpower countries. Terrorism is discoursed as a character that is negatively affected by international geopolitical interests. The next aspect is that terrorism is built through different motives, different agendas. So, in this section some findings regarding the motives and agenda of terrorism are found. Each member of terrorism has a variety of motives, and that is certainly related to their goals or agenda in carrying out acts of terrorism. In the discussion, several motives were found, including; revenge motives,

political motives, ideological motives, and economic motives. Although they have different motives and agendas, all terrorist characters are described as having the same goal, namely to thwart international peace.

The second problem of study: What ideology is constructed from the discourse of terrorism in the novel *The Sum of All Fears*? The ideology that is constructed from the discourse of terrorism in this novel is the ideology of peace. From the analysis exposure, it can be concluded that there is a desired meaning and the interests that are being fought for. Discourse can also be interpreted as a certain ideological practice, including in the novel *The Sum of All Fears*. Through the character of Jack Ryan, the author wants to convey ideology and satire about the lack of effort by the Superpowers in pursuing global peace. In addition, the ideology of peace shown in the novel also defends for the position of the US and Russia in order to remain a Superpower country.

B. Suggestion

The novel discussed in this study is a novel by one of the famous American writers, Tom Clancy. Clancy has succeeded in delivering a message of global peace. The discussion of the researcher in conducting this novel research is limited to finding the discourse of terrorism represented in the novel and finding the ideology that is built through the discourse of terrorism in the novel *The Sum of All Fears*.

This research is expected to be able to contribute in increasing knowledge and become a reference for further researchers. The researcher also hopes that this research

can be a reference for researchers who want to use the novel *The Sum of All Fears* as an object of research. Therefore, the researcher considers that there are still many aspects and approaches that can be used in reviewing the novel.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

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