

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Indonesia is a democratic country with Pancasila as an ideology that has fundamental about the values that exist in Indonesia. As a democratic country, the highest power is in the hands of its people and the people have freedom in conveying opinions, embracing religion, and so on. Besides that, the Indonesian government is obliged to protect the rights of its citizens.

Indonesia is one of the largest archipelagic countries located in Southeast Asia. The width of Indonesia is divided into two namely, the land area is 1,922,570 km² and the sea area is 3,257,483 km². In addition, Indonesia also has about 17,000 islands. The number of population in Indonesia is around 260 million population which makes Indonesia in 4th place of the most populated state in the world. Indonesia is located in a strategic area especially for economic development because Indonesia is located in the world trade route. Because of this strategic location can also affect the development of culture in Indonesia. Indonesia has more than 700 tribes scattered throughout its territory. In addition, Indonesia is also a pluralistic country in terms of religion because basically, Indonesia has 6 religions recognized by the government of Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Protestantism, and Confucianism. Because Indonesia is a democratic country, people can embrace religion as they wish. However, basically, the majority of Indonesian people embrace Islam.

The vast territory of Indonesia causes some social problems that can disrupt the welfare and security of Indonesia, one of them is terrorism. Terrorism in Indonesia itself becomes a crucial issue for the Indonesian government. This is due to the many acts of terror that occurred in Indonesia and also the number of terrorist groups based on religion that spread throughout the territory of Indonesia. It is undeniable that

Indonesia's fertile geographical location and many mountains make Indonesia a land to train terrorist groups militarily.

The first terrorist action in Indonesia began in 1981 at Garuda Indonesia 206 flight from Palembang to Medan. The flight was hijacked by 6 men disguised as passengers and they were carrying firearms to carry out their activities. The hijacking of the plane was carried out to free 80 prisoners who were involved in riots in Bandung and as jihad. As a result of this plane hijacking 4 terrorists, 1 soldier, and 1 crew died (Galih, 2016). After that, terrorism in Indonesia sticking back in 1985 that occurred in Borobudur temple. This terrorist act motivated jihad in which the terrorists conduct this terror act because they want to take revenge on the incident that occurred in Tanjung Priuk that killed dozens of people who are Muslims. As a result of this action at least 9 stupa Borobudur temple was damaged (Putri, 2016).

Terrorism events re-emerged in 2000 that occurred in front of the house of the Embassy of the Philippines, Embassy of Malaysian, and at Christmas Eve. The peak of the acts of terror in 2000 occurred during the night of Christmas where the action of this terror took place in several churches scattered in several cities in Indonesia. At least 19 people died from the incident (Subhan, 2016). The peak of terrorism in Indonesia occurred in 2002 located in Bali. As a result of this incident, 202 people died and most of the victims died were foreigners (Hariyono, 2016). In 2003, terrorism again stood out in the terror act at JW Marriot hotel in Jakarta. Then, in 2005, the second act of terrorism took place in Bali, where the action of this terror resulted victims around 23 people died (Tuwo, 2015).

The number of terrorism incident in Indonesia was increasing year by year if it can be total, from 1981 until 2016; there are more than 50 terrorist incidents that happened in Indonesia. And most of the terrorist incidents happened in form of bombs. The terrorism that happened in Indonesia is cannot be separated from the background of the terrorist itself to do terror. So far, the terrorist acts that have taken place in Indonesia are based on jihad activities in which most terrorist groups

consider jihad as a way to achieve their interests to apply the caliphate system in Islamic countries. This makes Indonesia became a country that been targeted by the terrorist groups.

According to National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT), there are 2.7 million Indonesians involved in a series of terror attacks (Hamdi, 2016). With the number of Indonesian that involved in the terrorism, it can be speculated that there are some terrorist groups that become a place for Indonesian to become terrorist. With the number of Indonesian that become terrorist, it also gives an impact on the development of terrorist groups that already existed in Indonesia. The development of terrorist groups in Indonesia itself cannot be separated with the existence of transnational terrorism networks that were grown in the international world including Indonesia.

Transnational terrorist network exists because of the existence of transnational terrorism itself. Transnational terrorism is an attack that carried out by terrorist groups towards a state that involves suspects, victims, institutions, governments, and citizen from other countries (Djelantik, 2010). To attack and also spread their values and threat in states, transnational terrorism has a network that been spread in the states. That's why most of the terrorist actions that happened in states usually done by the transnational terrorist network. It is because most of the terrorist groups that existed in a state are part of the transnational terrorism network.

The transnational terrorist network becomes a new problem in the international world. This is because the spread of transnational terrorist networks that knows no national borders can lead to the growth of transnational terrorist networks in a country. In addition, transnational terrorist networks also have a major impact on terrorist actions in a state. So far, there are several terrorist groups that already have transnational networks in states such as Al-Qaeda, ISIS, Jemaah Islamiyah, Boko Haram, and others (Tempo.Co, 2015). The spread these transnational terrorist network becomes a threat to states including Indonesia.

In Indonesia, transnational terrorist network already existed ever since in the 2000s and slowly growing more exist. Based on BNPT estimates, there are about 10-12 core terrorist networks currently developing in Indonesia but for the network of smaller cells even more (Hamdi, 2016). The existence of transnational terrorist network in Indonesia was proven by the existence of Jamaah Islamiyah, Al-Qaeda, and ISIS. Those three terrorist groups already spread their influence in Indonesia and also have close relations with the local terrorist groups. The development of transnational terrorist network in Indonesia was supported by the relations with terrorist groups that been existed and difficult to be detected by Indonesia government. It is because, transnational terrorist network having a relationship with terrorist groups that Islamic-based organization such as Mujahideen of East Indonesia, Mujahidin of western Indonesia, Laskar Jodo, Jamaah Anshasor Tauhid, Daulah Islamiyah Nusantara, and others (Zulkarnain, 2016).

The development of transnational terrorist network in Indonesia itself cannot be separated with the terms recruitment that transnational terrorist network. To recruit their member, transnational terrorist network has a cooperation with the local terrorist groups which based on the Islamic organization. The guise Islamic organization is used by terrorist members to recruit and mobilize people to be followers and used as a refuge in spreading the teachings of terrorism. So the development of terrorist networks and groups is very smooth and widespread without anyone blocking or stopping them. That's why Indonesia government is difficult to be detected by Indonesia government.

To anticipate and also prevent the spreading transnational terrorist network widely, Indonesia government to make strategies and also policies. It is because the existence of transnational terrorist network become a threat to the Indonesia security. Therefore, the threat terrorist groups determine Indonesia's policy toward transnational terrorist network.

B. Research Question

From the background elaborated previously, the research question is:

“How did Indonesia’s government efforts in responding the threat of terrorism by transnational terrorist network?”

C. Theoretical Framework

In order to answer the research question, the writer will use concepts and theories to determine the purpose of this research. The concept of Counter-Terrorism and International Cooperation.

1. Counter-terrorism

Counter-terrorism is an action or practice and tactics undertaken by government or state institutions where the objective is to respond, anticipate, and prevent terrorist attacks in a region (Smith, 2016). The establishment of counter-terrorism is a testament to the response of any terrorist threat in a region. Counter-terrorism is basically under the authority of a country's police force but there are also institutions that establish specific counter-terrorism institutions. Here, actually, the function of counter-terrorism is almost the same as other security institutions. The most distinguishing feature is counter-terrorism focusing more on the prevention of terrorism such as tackling and tactical than killing and lethal.

Counterterrorism spans across numerous policy areas. It is carried out by almost every governmental agency, not only those authorized by law-enforcement, intelligence, and defense functions. Counterterrorism can be thought of as a mix of public and foreign policies designed to limit the actions of terrorist groups and individuals associated with terrorist organizations in an attempt to protect the general public from terrorist violence (Omelicheva, n.d). It is because the terrorism itself does not have clear boundaries in the internal and

international security. That is why counterterrorism does not stop at state's borders to prevent terrorism issues.

Counterterrorism itself more known by the states ever since the 9/11 tragedy. We have known that after 9/11 tragedy the number of terrorism is increasing and suddenly terrorism become a serious security issue that should be faced by states. In this term, states should implement counterterrorism as an action to prevent terrorism in their regions. However, in the countering terrorism must still maintain important aspects such as not violating human rights.

The development of the times brought about a change in the pattern of thought and the movement of terrorists around the world.

This is due to the sophistication of technology and the ease of getting the weapon tool to make the movement of terrorism growing rapidly. Therefore, it takes agencies or security agencies to study the movement of terrorists, besides the need for cooperation between government and society to anticipate and prevent the spread of terrorism. It aims to prevent acts of terrorism that can create unstable security of a region.

In the countering terrorism, there are two approaches that need to be known and use namely soft approach and hard approach. A 'soft' approach to counterterrorism "seeks to undo the radicalization process by engineering the individual's return to moderate society, usually by providing them with a stable support network, probing their original reasons for radicalizing, and divorcing them from their extreme beliefs and social contacts (Hoef, 2015). While hard approach more emphasizes the use of violence towards terrorist groups. But on the other hand, the hard approach entails physical engagements which cripple destructive plans by terrorists, such as bombings (Aljunied, 2011).

On the other hand, according to Ronald Crelinsten, there are several perspectives in countering terrorism,

which is “first, Coercive counterterrorism relies on the state’s monopoly on the use of violence, i.e., the exercise of hard power. Strict limits are placed on who can be subjected to state violence. These restrictions form the basis of the legitimacy bestowed upon the state by the rule of law, whether national or international. Second, Proactive counterterrorism aims to prevent terrorism *before* it happens. Through the merging of internal and external security, the mandates of domestic police, security intelligence agencies, and border and customs officials have all coalesced around the problem of tracking the movement of people, goods, and money. Through intrusive techniques involving surveillance, wiretapping, eavesdropping and other means of spycraft, agents of all stripes have devoted their energies more and more to stop terrorists before they act and thwarting terrorist plots before they develop too far. Third, *Persuasive Counterterrorism*. Counterterrorism involves understanding and dealing with the ideas that underpin the use of terrorism in social and political life. This has ideological, political, social, cultural and religious aspects. Fourth, Defensive counterterrorism assumes the inevitability of some kind of terrorist attack and prepares for it by affecting the variables that determine the nature of the attack and identity of its target. There are two basic approaches: preventing attacks and mitigating attacks. Prevention aims to minimize the risk of terrorist attack in certain places and at certain times. The second approach is to mitigate the impact of successful attacks. Last but not least, Long-term *counterterrorism* refers to initiatives that do not promise quick fixes but play out in the long term. This includes the realm of ‘root causes’ and the more structural factors that can create a suitable climate for the promotion and use of terrorism” (Crelinsten, 2014).

In order to counter terrorism, Indonesia is using proactive perspective, hard and soft approaches. In the

proactive perspective, Indonesia government was established counter-terrorism agencies namely BNPT and Detachment 88 in order to respond and also tackle terrorist actions that happened in Indonesia. These two agencies have an important role in identifying the terrorist movement by doing undercover in the society to gather the information about the terrorist movement. With the development of transnational terrorist networks, BNPT is more actively to observe and strategize to counter the movement of the transnational terrorist network.

Besides that, Indonesia's government also using the hard and soft approach to counter-terrorism by doing deradicalization (Badan Penelitian dan Pengembang Hukum dan HAM, 2016). Deradicalization itself can be categorized as a program by BNPT to respond the terrorist action. In the deradicalization itself, Indonesia's government through BNPT will have cooperation with religious organizations such as NU and Ministry of Religions. It is because religious organizations have important roles in order to decrease the values that been brought by the transnational terrorist network. As for the hard approach, Indonesia's government is more likely to implement the physical engagement and using laws to respond and also prevent the spreading of transnational terrorist network by doing such as surveillance and also issuing laws in order to respond the activities of the transnational terrorist network in Indonesia.

2. International Cooperation

In general, cooperation occurs because of the similarity of interests between individuals, groups, and countries. Cooperation is conducted without coercion and the purpose of the cooperation itself is to achieve common interests and also achieve prosperity between individuals, groups, and countries. The state desperately needs cooperation among other countries. So, establishing cooperative relationships is something that

cannot be separated from international relations actors. There are four methods of state to always try to coordinate their relationship constructively namely, international law, international organizations, economic relations and diplomacy.

According to K.J. Holsti, cooperation or collaboration which begins because of the diversity of national and global problems that arise which need attention of more than one country, then each government approach each other by bringing the proposals to overcome problems, bargain, or discuss issues, and ends the negotiations with an agreement or mutual understanding that can satisfy all parties. Further explanation of the cooperation stated by Holsti as follows (Holsti, 1988):

- a. The view that two or more interests, values, or objectives meet each other and can produce something, promoted or fulfilled by all parties;
- b. Approval of a particular matter between two or more countries in order to exploit similarities or conflicts of interest;
- c. A country's view or expectation that policies decided by other countries help the country to meet its interests and values;
- d. Official or unofficial rules regarding future transactions conducted to execute approval, and
- e. Transactions between countries to meet their approval.

In International Relations, international cooperation is needed by every country. This based on the needed and interest of every country that should be fulfilled but however to get their national interest international cooperation is needed. Also, International cooperation becomes the international forum to reinforce the life of nation and state. According to Koesnadi

Kartamasita, International Cooperation occurs because of 'nation understanding' which has the same direction and purpose, the desire is supported by international conditions that need mutual cooperation is based on mutual interest among the countries but the interest is not identical (Kartasasmita, 1977).

The scope of international cooperation itself includes economic, social, security, culture, and others. Therefore, international cooperation is an instrument that is needed in international relations. This is based on the importance of international cooperation to achieve prosperity for every country which is an actor of international cooperation. In addition, with international cooperation can be a forum for countries to achieve their interests and cooperate in resolving a problem or conflict that endanger the world of international security.

Transnational terrorism network presence poses a threat to the international world, especially in the security sector. The existence of this widespread of the transnational terrorist network is what makes countries as security guarantor of its citizens seeks to reduce the spread of transnational terrorism network in their own country. The existence of transnational terrorism network becomes a significant problem that can threaten the security of the state and citizens. Not to mention that transnational terrorist network's actions violate regulations in such countries as human rights abuses, bomb blasts that damage public facilities and historic sites, abduction of civilians, and mass killings against minority groups.

Based on the problems that transnational terrorist network has done, Indonesia as one of the countries that considering transnational terrorist network a threat to take action to prevent the spread of transnational terrorist network is by way of international cooperation. The purpose of this international cooperation is to anticipate and prevent the spread of transnational terrorist network

values that can generate propaganda among citizen as well as safeguard state security resulting from transnational terrorist network threats. And to anticipate and prevent transnational terrorism network needed international cooperation because those impacts that were caused by the transnational terrorist network not only give significant impacts to the international world.

So far, Indonesia has been cooperated with other states to prevent the spreading of the transnational terrorist network. To be exact, Indonesia has cooperation with Australia and Philippine to anticipate the spreading of transnational terrorist network that been spread widely. The cooperation between Indonesia with Australia and Philippine bind up because of these three states considering the transnational terrorist network as a security threat and also the development of transnational terrorist network in these three states have been increasing. The cooperation that Indonesia does with Philippine about exchange information and also intelligence cooperation (Meisandi, n.d). Besides that, Indonesia and Australia formed a national crisis center and strengthened cooperation in terms of cybersecurity (Erdianto, 2017).

D. Hypothesis

From the background and the theoretical framework, it can be summed up that the hypothesis for Indonesia's government efforts in responding the threat of terrorism by the transnational terrorist network, those are;

1. Using proactive perspective by formationing indonesia's counter-terrorism, hard approach for optimizing Indonesia's counter-terrorism agencies as the merging of internal security also soft approach which is deradicalization to prevent the spreading values of transnational terrorist network
2. Cooperation between Indonesia with other countries.

E. Purpose of Writing

The purpose of this undergraduate thesis research are to find out several points below, which are;

- a. Understanding the development of transnational terrorist network;
- b. Analyzing and explaining Indonesia's effort on responding a threat of terrorism by the transnational terrorist network; and
- c. Understanding the function of Indonesia counter-terrorism method in responding transnational terrorist network.

F. Research Methodology

This research will use data collection methods which also means same as with data qualitative by finding and collecting primary and secondary data from various literature such are books, journals, articles, print media, electronic media, and other media that support and related to this research.

G. Outline

Generally, this thesis consists of 5 chapters and the explanation of each chapter will be elaborated in detail through subchapters. The case is elaborated thoroughly in chapter I as the case of attempting to write a coherent and systematic paper. The writing system of the research is as follows:

Chapter I This chapter about the introduction. It can be described as a background of the problem, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, purposes of the research, research methodology, scope of research, and system of writing.

Chapter II This chapter about Terrorism in Indonesia

Chapter III This chapter about the transnational terrorist network and the development of the transnational terrorist network in Indonesia

Chapter IV This chapter about the implementation of a theoretical framework that will be used toward Indonesia's policy to respond transnational terrorist network

Chapter V This chapter about conclusion from the previous chapters.