# CHAPTER III RESULT AND DISCUSSION

# A. DYNAMICS OF TERORISM IN INDONESIA

Terrorism that developed in Indonesia gained influence from the international constellation. The arrogance of developed countries, especially the United States and its allies, has led to the emergence of struggle groups that have transnational operational areas. This is what is then called regional terrorism. In Indonesia several terrorist organizations operating in Indonesia, at the same time are influenced by the political constellation of international security, including the Jamaah Islamiyah, ISIS to the East Indonesia Assembly.

# 1. Terrorism in Indonesia and the Dynamics of International Security

In general, terrorism is a form of crime committed by an individual or group of people with the aim of creating a feeling / condition of public fear. Several institutions, including the United Nations (UN), stated that terrorism is an activity involving elements of violence or which have a harmful effect on human life which will directly be a violation of positive law / criminal law both nationally and internationally (Lehto, 2009:14).

Terrorism crime is one form of international dimension crime that is very frightening to the public. In various countries in the world there have been terrorism crimes both in developed countries and developing countries and the acts of terror committed have taken casualties indiscriminately. This caused the United Nations in its 2000 congress in Vienna to raise the theme of The Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, including mentioning terrorism as a development of acts of violence that need attention (Security Committe 2012).

Terrorism is an extraordinary crime (extraordinary measure) because terrorism is an act that creates the greatest danger to the human rights. In this case, it is the right to life and human rights to be free from fear. In addition, the target of terrorism is random or indiscriminate which tends to sacrifice innocent people and several other things (Lapiran, Muladi, 2004).

Terrorism cases that occurred in the period 2001 - 2015 in the world, as well as in Indonesia in particular, tended to increase. Until now, acts of terrorism have occurred due to various diverse motives, but acts of terrorism occur because of a form of pressure or a particular community that is cornered which sometimes is an educated middle community. Thus, terrorism is a show of force in realizing the goals specific purpose. In Indonesia terrorism is one of the frightening threats because it sometimes uses foreign vital objects and public facility agencies that sometimes cause casualties from unauthorized parties, (Laquerer,2006:46-47).

### 2. Terrorism Actions and Actors in Indonesia

In the case of Indonesia terrorism emerged and developed after 2008 when the world security constellation began to change. This means that terrorism cases in Indonesia before 2008 were dominated by bombings, meanwhile the perpetrators were Jamaah Islamiyah networks due to the deaths of leaders including Nurdin M. Top to Dr. Azahari which caused the emergence of new factions. Post-2008 terrorists in Indonesia continued to develop not only JI, but there were other groups including ISIS and Abu Sayyaf. This can then be referred to as the EFTF phenomena. This is in accordance with the statement of James Withlam who is a Southeast Asian security analyst from Nanyang University who put forward his proposition that:

"...fundamental terrorism in Indonesia is a new phenomenon because those involved in acts of terror are not only JI anymore, but there are other groups, which is not bound by a clear (anonymous) relationship. There is a new group namely the Abu Sayyaf which deals with the East Indonesia Assembly until the advent of ISIS" (Withlam, 2014:7).

The statement above proves that fundamental terrorism is a security issue in Indonesia that emerged since 2008. When terrorists are increasingly diverse, this will cause a complex mode of operation, where after 2008 not only carried out through bombings, but also armed attacks to piracy and kidnapping. Then there are some differences between conventional terrorism and fundamental terrorism. An overview of this is on table 3.1 as follows:

Table 3.1.The differences between Conventional Terrorism and Fundamental<br/>Terrorism

Information	Conventional Terrorism	Fundamental Terrorism
Actors	JI under Nurdin M Top	ISIS and the East
	and Dr. Azanari.	Indonesia Assembly
Modus Operandi	Bomb blast	Direct attack.
Target	Foreign facilities and	Civil society, as well as
	installations	security forces and the military.
	Actors Modus Operandi	ActorsJI under Nurdin M Top and Dr. Azahari.Modus OperandiBomb blast

4	•	Subject of influence	Domestic constellation	Regional and international political constellations
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Source: Processed from Walter Lequerre, *Fundamentalism: The New Threatening Disorder*, Lexington book, London and New York, 2014, p.35-38.

Judging from terrorists, both conventional and fundamental in Indonesia, there are several organizations, namely:

a. Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) is an organization founded in 1969 by Abu Bakar Bashir and Abdullah Sungkar. JI has a supporting force of around 5000 people consisting of permanent supporters, as well as sympathizers. JI's operational areas are Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Brunei Darusallam and Cambodia. JI in this case is a fraction of the factions that exist after leaving the elites / leaders among them Dr. Azahari and Nurdin M. Top. The Jemaah Islamiyah terrorist network, as the main terrorism network operating in Southeast Asia itself has links with global terrorism networks. Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), which operates in the Southeast Asia region, also relates to terrorist networks in the Middle East and South Asia, between those based in Peshawar, Harby Sohanjay in Pabbi and Darbaud, an eastern city of Islamad Pakistan, which is one of the terrorism learning centers in the Asian region. The Southeast Asian terrorism network has links with the Moro group in South Mindanao, the Moro Nation known as the Mujahideen of Southeast Asia is identical to the Afghan Mujahideen. The Moro Nation movement which is much related to acts of terrorism in Southeast Asia originated from the events of 1972 which ended with the burning of Muslim villages and the seizure of Muslim property in the southern Philippines. The development of terrorism that was able to prove effective was able to support the agenda of terrorists. South as a center of learning, meanwhile Malaysia is allegedly also part of the learning center and domicile of Southeast Asian terrorism. This fact can be in real terms through the axis of Zamboanga, Cotabato, Davao and Sandakan, East Malaysia (Sarawak). Besides, the city of Kuala Pilah a few kilometers south of the capital city of Kuala Lumpur Malaysia is also used as a base for learning and domicile of Southeast Asian transnational terrorism. The development of the terrorism network in Indonesia from 2001 to 2005 also has a significant role because it has links with the Jemaah Islamiyah terrorist group, this community is known as the Negara Islam Indonesia (NII). Many people who are members of the NII are studying in Pakistan (Maehmon Khana) owned by Tanzim Ittihad e Islamiy (heritage.org).

b. Abu Sayyaf is an organization that has an operational area in the Mindanau region, the Southern Philippines. Abu Sayyaf was founded in 1991 and has the power of 300 armed militants. Although this group has a less important role in the dynamics of security in Indonesia, its influence is estimated to remain with regard to smuggling of weapons or kidnappings and Indonesian ships and then succeed in influencing the East Indonesia Assembly to provide government resistance, especially in the Poso region which has geographical proximity with the Philippines (heritage.org). c. Islamic State on Iraq and Syria (ISIS) was declared in Iraq in 2006. In a short period of time this organization succeeded in expanding its influence not only in Iraq and Syria, but also in Indonesia. ISIS is an international terrorist organization that is considered dangerous. This is because ISIS has an affiliation with the Al-Qaeda terrorist network. In addition, ISIS also often functions children and women as targets of attacks to build a sense of civilian fear in Syria and Iraq. This organization also often makes foreigners hostage and targets of the EFTF terror attacks. ISIS was formed from domestic turmoil in Iraq and Syria. It began on March 18, 2003, when the US-led Multinational Forces attacked Iraq because it was thought to be a weapon of mass destruction (although it was ultimately not proven). The President-led Iraqi forces at that time Saddam Hussein were easily defeated by the US-led International Coalition Army, but the Iraqi people gathered in several militant groups chose to stay. They even carried out guerrilla warfare to defend their country from the invasion of foreign forces (nationalinterest.org).

These terrorist organizations are considered responsible in a series of bombings and violence, resulting in not only civilians being targeted but sometimes also using foreign vital agencies as targets for bomb blasts. Among these foreign institutions are Australian foreign facilities in Indonesia, including bombings at the Australian International School in Pajetan Jakarta on November 6, 2001 and the Australian Embassy in Jakarta on September 9, 2005 (Vermonte,2014:20-21). The biggest bombing was the bombing in Legian Kuta Bali precisely at the Paddys Club in October 2002, known as the Bali Bombing 1. The case caused 202 people to be killed in a bomb blast in which Australians were the main victims of the bomb blast and there were 88 Australians killed. Moreover, bombings in Java's and Radja's Restaurant in October 2005, known as Bali Bombing II and 4 Australians again became victims. This bombing has caused many victims of hundreds of Indonesians and unrelated foreigners, especially Australian tourists, as well as destroyed the overall image of Bali as a tourist place that was previously considered the safest and most beautiful by foreign tourists. A series of tragedies that occurred made Australia as one of the victims to strengthen the Australian government in carrying out its policies related to the issue of terrorism.

The description of terror cases in Indonesia before the development of conventional and fundamental terrorism that occurred in Indonesia in the period 2001 to 2005 can be seen in table 3.2. as follows :

No	Date	Case	Location	Information		
1.	Jan 1, 2002	Bomb blast	Palu Province of Central Sulawesi	Known as a new year bomb case.		
2.	Oct 12, 2002	Bomb blast	Kuta Bali and the Philippine Consulate General in Jakarta	Cause 202 Indonesian citizens and foreign tourists killed		
3.	Dec 5, 2002	Bomb blast	McDonald's Restaurant in Makassar	Cause 3 people killed		
4.	Feb 3, 2003	Bomb blast	Wisma Bhayangkara	Does not cause		

Table 3.2.Overview of Terrorism Acts in Indonesia Year2001 to 2005

			Mabes POLRI Jakarta	casualties
5.	April 27, 2003	Bomb blast	Terminal F Soekarno Hatta Airport	Does not cause casualties
6.	August 5, 2003	Bomb blast	JW Marriot Hotel in Jakarta.	Cause 11 people died
7.	Jan 10, 2004	Bomb blast	Palopo Province of Central Sulawesi	Causes 4 people died
8.	Sep 9, 2004	Bomb blast	Australian Embassy, Plaza 89 Tower, Gracia Tower and BNI	Causes 5 people died
9.	Oct 8, 2004	Bomb blast	Building in Jakarta Indonesian Embassy in Paris France	Does not cause casualties
10.	June 8, 2005	Bomb blast	Dewan Pengurus Mujahiddin Indonesia in Pamulang Jakarta.	Does not cause casualties
11.	Oct 1, 2005	Bomb blast	Raja's Cafe and Jimbaran Cafe in Kuta Bali	Cause 22 people died
12.	2005	Bomb blast	Palu Province of Central Sulawesi	Cause 8 people died

Source: "Radical Islam in Indonesia", on http://www.indonesiainvestments.com/business/risks/radical-islam/item245, accessed on January 19, 2019.

In the period 2008-2015 acts of terrorism still occur frequently in Indonesia, although the intensity of the actions were not as complex as the previous period (2001-2005). Even though such actions since 2008 were defined as terrorism not only carried out actions through bomb explosions, but also through directs attacks. Descriptions of this matter can be seen in table 3.3 as follows:

No. Period Location Information 1. May 8, 2008 Poso The attack on residents in Poso cause 3 people died. 2. July 17, 2009 Jakarta Bombings at the Ritz Carslton and JW Marriot hotels killed 9 people and educated 50 people. The perpetrators were Dani Dwi Permana and Ikwan Maulana who were sympathizers of Nurdin M. Top, the leader of Jamaah Islamiyah. 3. Cirebon. April 15, 2011 The bomb blast in the area of the West Java Cirebon resort police station which injured 26 people and killed the perpetrators Mohammad Syarif Astanasyarif who was suspected of being an ISIS sympathizer. 4. Solo, Central A bomb blast at the Bethel Solo September 25, 2011 Java Church which killed the perpetrator of Allah Mohammad Yosefa Hayat aka Ahmad Abu Daud who was sympathizer of Jamaah Islamiyah and wounded 14 people. 5. October 16, 2012 Poso-Central The murder of two police personnel in Sulawesi the Tamanjeka area, Central Sulawesi. The perpetrators were thought to be the men of Santoso, the leader of the East Mujahidin group. Poso-Central The bombing which succeeded in 6. June 2, 2013 Sulawesi killing a perpetrator in the Poso government agency. The perpetrator was thought to have been a subordinate of Santoso, the leader of the East Mujahidin group.

7.

January 14, 2016

Jakarta

Table 3.3.Overview of Terrorism in Indonesia the Period of 2008-2016

Bombing in the area in Central Jakarta which killed 5 people and injured 24 people. The perpetrators were the Bahrun Naim group who were

				-	sympathizers of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) terrorist group.			
Source:	"Indonesian:	The	Last	Six	Major	Terrorist	Attack",	on

http://www.indonesia-investments.com/id/bisnis/risiko/islam-radikal/item245, accessed on January 30, 2017.

Furthermore, Indonesia's public policy in dealing with terrorism is faced with the latest cases relating to terrorism, including the explosion of suicide bombings in Solo, Central Java on September 25, 2011, terror attacks by terrorist groups in Poso on October 16, 2012, to bomb blasts suicide in Central Jakarta on January 14, 2016. From these cases, it shows that there is a shift in the modus operandi of terrorism from conventional bomb blasts into acts of assault or suicide bombings (indonesia-investment.com).

#### 3. Sukoharjo and the Development of Terrorism Issues

The development of terrorism in Indonesia is apparently inseparable from the acts of terror carried out by Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), while JI has an association with Abu Bakar Baasyir who is the leader of the Al Mukmin Islamic Boarding School in the Ngruki Sukoharjo region. The establishment of the Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School was originated from the recitation of Zuhr in the Great Mosque of Surakarta. Furthermore, the da'i and the preachers developed the form of the recitation by establishing the Diniyah Madrasa in Gading Kidul street 72 A Solo. The development of Madrasahs is quite rapid because among them are supported by the mass media namely Surakarta Islamic Da'wah Radio (RADIS) at that time. The encouraging dynamics of the madrasa, then inspired the preachers to initiate by assimilating the santri into a container in the form of an Islamic boarding school (almukminngruki.or.id).

The social reality of the people of Solo after 1965 and the emergence of various threats which were considered to endanger the existence of Islam and its followers at that time, increasingly motivated the spirit of the preachers throughout Surakarta to immediately realize the education of Islamic boarding schools. This is also based on the perspective and historical considerations that the pesantren in ancient times had a very large role and role in defending, fighting for maintaining the independence Republic and of the of Indonesia (almukminngruki.or.id).

In the 1970s the number of santri was as many as 30 santri including 10 santri from Asuhan YPIA. The pioneers and their founders were Ustadz Abdullah Sungkar, Ustadz Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, Ustadz Abdullah Baraja ', Ustadz Yoyok Rosywadi, Ustadz H. Abdul Qohar Daeng Matase and Ustadz Hasan Basri, BA and other supporters. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir is a religious figure who has been controversial in Indonesian politics. He is the cleric of the founder of the Al-Mu'min pesantren in Ngruki who is accused of being a spiritual adviser to Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), a militant Islamic separatist group that has links to the al-Qaeda network, although Ba'asyir has denied having a relationship with JI or terrorism. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir bin Abu Bakar Abud who was born in Jombang, East Java, August 17, 1938 was an Islamic figure in Indonesia of Arab descent. Ba'asyir is also the leader of the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI) and one of the founders of the Al Mu'min Islamic Boarding School (bio.or.id).

TIME magazine wrote the news titled Confessions of an Al Qaeda Terrorist where it was written that Abu Bakar Ba'asyir was mentioned as a

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blasting planner at the Istiqlal Mosque. Time suspects Ba'asyir as part of an international terrorism network operating in Indonesia. TIME quoted a CIA document, writing that the spiritual leader of the Islamic Jamaah Abu Bakar Ba'asyir "was involved in various plots." This was according to Umar Al-Faruq, a 31-year-old Yemeni young man who was arrested in Bogor last June and sent to base air on Bagram, Afghanistan, which was occupied by the US. After a few months of silence, finally Al-Faruq issued a confession - to the CIA - which shook. Not only claiming to be an Al-Qaeda operator in Southeast Asia, he claimed to have a close relationship with Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. According to various intelligence reports combined with Time magazine's investigation, even Ba'asyir is the spiritual leader of the Jamaah Islamiyah group who aspires to form an Islamic state in Southeast Asia (time.com).

The existence of Abu Bakar Baasyir, the Ngurki Islamic Boarding School and the dynamics of terrorism in Indonesia and Southeast Asia later became a concern for the people of Sukoharjo, especially the non-Muslim community. This is because terrorist acts often target gereka and seek worship. Various government efforts in dealing with this problem turned out to foster a variety of achievements which then fostered the pros and cons of reaction. In this chapter (chapter III), it will be elaborated and analyzed further about the perception of Catholics in the Sukoharjo region in uncovering the policy of handling and overcoming terrorism in Indonesia, especially in the Church of the *Hati Kudus Yesus*, Sukoharjo Regency.

### **B. PUBLIC POLICY**

The WTC terrorist tragedy of 11 September 2001 and then followed by acts of terrorism that took place in Indonesia, including Bali Boming I, Bali Bombing II, and a series of actions to attack security forces encouraged stakeholders to develop legislation that was effective in handling actions and threat of terrorism. The regulation on this matter is Law Number 15 of 2003. In supporting the effectiveness of law enforcement on terrorism in June 2016, the Jokowi government also implemented regulations to replace the law which contained several articles as follows:

- a. Article 1: Definition of Terrorism. The definition of terrorism is the most difficult and most recent discussion agreed upon by the government and the House of Representatives (DPR). In the end, terrorism is defined as an act that uses violence or the threat of violence that creates an atmosphere of terror or widespread fear, causes mass casualties, and / or causes damage or destruction to strategic vital objects, the environment, public facilities, or facilities international with ideological, political or security disturbances.
- b. Article 12 A: Terrorist Organizations. This article stipulates that every person who deliberately becomes a member or recruits people to become members of a corporation determined by the court as an organization of terrorism shall be sentenced to a minimum of 2 years and a maximum of 7 years. Founders, leaders, administrators, or people who control corporate activities can also be sentenced to imprisonment for a minimum of 3 years

and a maximum of 12 years. With this article, the National Police Chief said he would immediately bring JAD (Jamaah Ansharut Daulah) and JI (Jemaah Islamiyah) to court. (Read: Legitimate Antiterrorism Law, National Police Chief Will Drag JAD and JI to Court)

- c. Article 12 B: Military Training. This article regulates anyone who intentionally organizes, provides, or participates in military training, paramilitary training, or other training, both domestically and abroad, with the intention of planning, preparing for or committing a criminal act of terrorism or join in fighting abroad for terrorism, convicted for a minimum of 4 years and a maximum of 15 years. With this article, Indonesian citizens who have been training in Syria so far can be charged with criminal offenses.
- d. Article 13 A: Instigation of this Article regulates, anyone who has a relationship with a Terrorism organization and deliberately disseminates speech, attitudes or behavior, writing, or display in order to incite people or groups of people to commit violence or threats of violence that can lead to criminal acts terrorism, convicted for a maximum of 5 years.
- e. Article 16 A: The involvement of children. This article regulates that for every person who commits a criminal act of terrorism by involving a child, the criminal threat is added to one third. This article was made by reflecting on the many acts of terror involving children abroad. However, recently terrorism involving children also occurred during suicide bombings in three churches and Mapolrestabes Surabaya.

f. Article 43-C: Prevention of this Article stipulates that the government is obliged to prevent criminal acts of terrorism. In this prevention effort, the government takes anticipatory steps continuously based on the principle of protecting human rights and the principle of prudence.

The revision of the Law (RUU) No.15 of 2003 concerning the Eradication of Terrorism Crime has become a concern of a number of groups., not only highlights the issue of human rights, but also a number of weaknesses in the Law 15/2003. Members of the House of Representatives Commission I Sukamta for example, provided a number of notes, starting construction of the bill to preventive aspects.

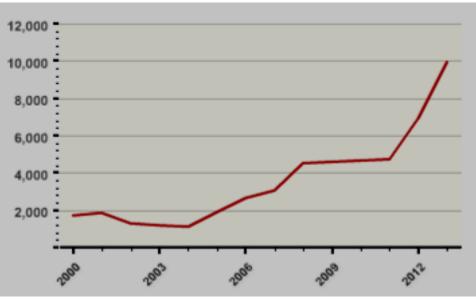
First, the construction of the Law on the Eradication of Terrorism Crimes is too detailed, but forget other aspects such as the principle issue. According to him, even though terrorism is a major crime, the principle in the Bill of Law must be regulated, for example the principle of equality. Second, in Law 15/2003 and Law No. 9 of 2013 concerning the Eradication of Crime of Terrorism Funding, it does not regulate the definition of terrorism. There are only a few rules regarding people who take certain actions punished by certain penalties. The use of the phrase terrorism needs to be studied in depth. The reason, the phrase ism has the meaning of understanding, the concept of thought, and ideology. Thus, terrorism can be interpreted as a concept, a concept of thought or ideology that adheres to the teachings and acts of terror. Therefore, the phrase terrorism needs to be defined to be agreed upon so that it does not become gray whose ends lead to haphazard actions in determining someone who is a terrorist, or vice versa. Thus the application of the terrorism law after 2013 has shown progressive achievements, although it cannot yet be a fundamental solution because it still causes pro and contra reactions between the political elite and the public.

# C. PERCEPTION OF THE CATHOLICS COMMUNITY OF SUKOHARJO

Terrorism is an extraordinary crime as well as a crime of humanity because it randomizes the target to function as a target for civil society. The dynamics of terrorism in Indonesia is also inseparable from the international security constellation behind the 2001 New York WTC case. The success of Al Qaeda terrorist organizations in penetrating the defense of the United States as the most advanced country in the defense system is a form of confidence for global terrorist organizations to launch their actions in various world countries, including Indonesia (Naiman and Robert, 2011:95).

The international political-security dynamics after the cold war after the 1990s have undergone a shift, from traditional problems (real war) in the form of confrontation, arms race to nuclear proliferation into modern forms of security issues, including clandestine, trafficking to terrorism. Basically terrorism existed long time ago before World War I, but terrorism became popular in 2001 related to the World Trade Center (WTC) terrorist act, New York on September 11, 2001.

The 9/11 event was a series of four suicide attacks that had been set against several targets in New York City and Washington, D.C. on September 11, 2001. According to a report from the 9/11 investigation team, 2,977 people plus 19 hijackers were killed in this attack and at least 6000 people were injured. This event, which is claimed to be the biggest terrorism event in history, certainly makes people aware and worried about the threat of terrorism, especially because the biggest acts of terrorism in history actually occur in the "heart" of the world which is claimed to be a superpower. The 9/11 event was also a starting point that made the world aware of the presence of "new enemies" (Comission Report, 2004). An overview of the development of international terrorism can be seen in graph 3.1. as follows :



Graph 3.1 Number of Terrorism Cases in the World in 2000-2013

Source: Processed from the "Global Terrorism Database"

From graph 3.1. above, it can be seen that the number of world terrorism cases has increased relatively since the WTC incident. This makes the issue of terrorism an important international security issue to be resolved soon. In its Global War on Terror campaign, one of the US steps is to prevent terrorist attacks.

In this case, the US cooperates with world countries to be with the US to fight terrorism. Bilateral and multilateral cooperation has been carried out by the US with many countries including Asia, especially Southeast Asia. Through this collaboration framework, the US seeks to fight international terrorism. Several US international collaborations with the international community, namely, the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), partnership of the U-Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF). In addition, bilateral cooperation with friendly countries and their allies has also been enhanced.

The case of terrorism occurring in Southeast Asian countries tends to be worrying for security stability in Southeast Asian countries. The cases that occurred in the previous year were relatively small and the motives and operations were relatively simple. Meanwhile, the terrorism cases that occurred in the 2005-2013 range showed an increasingly high intensity, besides that the materials used to make bombs were mostly ingredients with high explosive materials include TNT (Trinitro Toluen) and even C-4.

The development of terrorism cases in the Southeast Asian region in the range of 2005 to 2013 used many targets and at the same time involved "big" countries in Southeast Asia. This fact is based on the fact that the actions and threats of terrorism are more prevalent in Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. The description of the development of acts and threats of terrorism in Southeast Asian countries can be seen in table 3.4. below:

Table 3.4.Number of Terrorism Actions and Threats in Southeast Asian Countries2005-2013

		Period				
No	State	2005	2007	2009	2011	2013
1.	Indonesia	31	48	118	124	269
2.	Malaysia	17	19	20	18	38
3.	Singapore	6	10	17	9	20
4.	Thailand	95	67	123	85	211
5.	Philipine	63	56	124	73	189
6.	Brunei Darusalam	-	-	1	2	3
7.	Myanmar	34	31	45	39	68
8.	Cambodia	14	8	19	4	32
9.	Laos	9	1	3	14	22
10.	Vietnam	5	3	1	6	11

Source: processed from <u>https://www.fas.org</u>, <u>http://www.theglobegwu.com</u>, accessed on 28 March 2019dan Arabindha Archarya, 2014: 40,51 dan 118-121.

From table 3.4. above, it can be seen that almost all countries in the Southeast Asia region show an increasing trend. Apart from differences in perspectives between the West and Southeast Asian countries themselves, but can be drawn a red thread that this increasing trend is not a reactive political-security euphoria, but is motivated by a global constellation that has changed so rapidly by making Indonesia a country that the worst of all the acts and threats of terrorism.

The development of the issue of terrorism in Indonesia later became part of information for the public, including for Catholics in Sukoharjo District. Regarding perspectives on terrorism as extraordinary crimes and crimes against humanity, the author interviewed Pita Yulraningsih who served as the Teacher of the "BUNDA PAUD CORJESU" who stated that:

"...Terrorism is coordinated attacks aimed at arousing a feeling of terror against a group of people and Indonesia being the target, threat and

operation of an international terrorism organization because Indonesia is one of the favorite jihad destinations for militants."

Moreover, still with the same question, namely with perspectives on terrorism as extraordinary crimes and crimes against humanity the author interviewed Maria Fransisca Deny S who is a congregation of the Church of the Catholic Church of the *Hati Kudus Yesus* who stated:

"...Terrorism is an activity that raises terror (fear) for others because Indonesia has great economic potential to be controlled by foreigners and Indonesians who lack a sense of nationalism, think only money and wealth. Meanwhile the characteristics of this nation are easily pitted against certain primordialism (SARA) because terror in this country is carried out by certain religious people based on blind fanaticism towards their religion. In general, I agree, but not personally because it will cause new injuries for those who actually reject terrorism. This label raises other forms of protest and terror."

Still with the same issue of terrorism the author interviewed Achileus

Sandy Kristiawan who is a church member of the Catholic Church of the Hati

Kudus Yesus who stated:

"...Negative activities, coordinated attacks aimed at arousing feelings of terror against a group of people. In contrast to war, acts of terrorism are not subject to the rules of war such as the time of execution which is always sudden and there is a target of victims because unstable attitudes make it easily influenced by inappropriate teachings including terrorism that are not identical, only coincidentally "carrying" a religion because of a misinterpretation of a religious teaching."

Firtheremore, the writer interviewed Martinus Tulus, who is a retired civil

servant and congregation of the Catholic Church Hati Kudus Yesus who stated:

"...Terrorism is an organized movement / attack that evokes feelings of terror against groups or communities whose victims are mostly civilians and usually the movements / attacks are sudden and the organization must have a certain purpose, because Indonesia is considered to be running a model of applying political Islam alongside western countries. It is assumed that democracy is haram, supported also by Indonesia that many mass organizations are radical and easily burned to fight the west, so ISIS is easy to breed. Actually, any group or mass organization can commit terror. I don't agree that terrorists are synonymous with Islam."

Still with the same issue, the writer interviewed John Wiratama who is a

church member of the Catholic Church of the Hati Kudus Yesus who stated:

"...Terrorism is an individual or group action to threaten, scare or terrorize other people or groups. There are some things that I have heard and discussed with my friends, but for exact reasons I also don't know. The first one I heard was the issue that there were groups who wanted to make Indonesia a caliphate country, the second if the terror that was carried out was successful, many countries would take advantage of the situation experienced by Indonesia, perhaps the worst of the foreign countries could influence policy will be made in Indonesia. If it is concluded that the terrorists want to see Indonesia lose its identity, especially regarding Bhineka Tunggal Ika in Indonesia because I do not agree if it is associated with a particular religion, maybe it is only someone who happens to be a follower of a particular religion.."

# 1. Perception of the Catholic Community of Sukoharjo Against Counter-

# **Terrorism as Public Policy**

Terrorism is a form of extraordinary crime consisting of cells that move systematically. For this reason, by the regional apparatus and then handled by the central government, as an effort to handle terrorism in Indonesia, the government places BNPT as the leading sector that has the authority to formulate and make policies and strategies and become a coordinator in the field of counter-terrorism. In the aspect of policy, BNPT has three fields, namely (Penanganan Terorisme, <u>damailahindonesiaku.com/terorisme/penanganan-terorisme</u>, access on March, 28 2019):

- a. The field of prevention, protection and deradicalization,
- b. Field of action and capacity building
- c. Field of international cooperation.

The BNPT policy in counter-terrorism emphasizes integrative and comprehensive efforts to overcome terrorism by not only focusing on the hard approach, but also integrating, in fact, promoting a preventive approach (persuasive approach) with various programs that touch the root of the problem, namely ideology, social, economic and injustice. In addition, there is another policy implemented by BNPT in efforts to counter terrorism, namely international cooperation with the premise that terrorism is a threat and a movement that has a cross-border network. Each policy, both enforcement, prevention and international cooperation runs synergistically as an integral form of policy carried out by BNPT in tackling terrorism (Rohan, 2015:84).

In addition, integrative and comprehensive policies have an understanding of the involvement of all components of the nation, both government (K / L) and the community in efforts to counter terrorism in Indonesia. It is in this position that the BNPT becomes the leading sector that coordinates all the potential power of various elements of the nation in combating terrorism. At present the government places the prevention side as the front guard in the counterterrorism policy in Indonesia through a soft approach. Prevention policies are directed at the deterrence of radical notions of terrorism so as not to spread and influence the community. The purpose of this prevention is to increase the resilience of the

people from the influence of radical understanding of terrorism by involving the participation of all components of society in the prevention of terrorism.

In implementing prevention policies, the BNPT carries out counter radicalization strategies, or counteracts radical ideologies aimed at all elements of society. Included in the counter radicalization strategy is the field of protection which includes safeguarding vital objects and the environment. Counterradicalization strategy is an effort to deter the understanding and movement of terrorism to the community in order to increase awareness and endurance of the people from the influence of radical understanding of terrorism.

This strategy is carried out with various programs, namely, first, coordinating government agencies in an effort to deter radical understanding of terrorism, second, empowering the power of civil society (religious mass organizations, NGOs, educational institutions, religious leaders, traditional leaders, young people) and former terrorists in the fight against radicalism terrorism and thirdly, empowering online media in counteracting radical notions in cyberspace. In its implementation, this strategy is carried out through several fields. Namely; Development strategies (de-radicalization) aimed at core groups, militants, supporters and sympathizers. The de-radicalization strategy is an attempt to transform radical beliefs or ideologies into non-radicals with a multi-and interdisciplinary approach (religion, social, cultural, and so on).

The terrorism countermeasures policy is important when in some cases terrorism in Indonesia often makes non-Muslim worship places the target of attacks. For this reason, counter-terrorism will have a direct impact on the lives of Catholics in Indonesia. In connection with Catholic perspectives on the importance of counter-terrorism policies as a form of public security policy, where so far the church and other places of worship have often been targeted and threatened by terrorism, the author interviewed Pita Yulraningsih who served as the "Bunda PAUD CORJESU " who stated that:

"...Terrorists make places of worship especially churches that are the target of acts of terrorism, because the perpetrators of acts of terrorism see if law enforcement institutions (security) in Indonesia also have a role in paralyzing their groups."

Then still with the same question, namely with Catholic perspectives on the importance of counter-terrorism policies as a form of public security policy, during which the church and other places of worship are often targeted and threatened by terrorism. The author interviewed Maria Fransisca Deny S who is a congregation of the Church of the *Hati Kudus Yesus* stated:

"...The government must not allow all kinds of activities and teachings that lead to narrow fanaticism and consider other people as "enemies" because of different religions. The government as a public office should be able to carry out and embrace everything. The public position is not religious and the religious person is the person. Thus, when the position was attached, an official must be neutral. The fact is that the regent was reluctant to enter the church, when the holidays occasionally came but only outside the fence, the longing of the people to be greeted more than just such a presence."

Still with the same Catholic perspectives, the author interviewed Achileus Sandy Kristiawan who is a congregation of the Catholic Church of the *Hati Kudus Yesus* stated :

"...Maybe because of different beliefs and based on misinterpretations of the teachings make the church a target. Maybe the church is synonymous with western and Jewish culture. So far, the government is not maximal if I feel it, but it is good enough that it needs to be improved."

Moreover with the same question, the author interviewed Martinus Tulus, a retired civil servant and congregation of the Church of the *Hati Kudus Yesus* which states:

"...Because the church is considered as a place of Christianization against Islam, for this reason, the Government and stakeholders should work together in synergy, unity and be consistent and indiscriminate, terrorists must be eradicated and burnt to the ground."

Still with the issue of Catholic perspectives on the importance of counter-

terrorism policies as a form of public security policy, where during this time the

churches and places of worship of non-Muslims are often targeted and threatened

by terrorism the author interviewed John Wiratama who is a congregation of the

Church of the Hati Kudus Yesus who stated:

"...Listening to the acts of terror that have occurred several times in Indonesia, the aim is to make Indonesia a khilafah state, so the reason the church is used as a target of terrorism is because the existence of the church becomes an obstacle to realize their goals."

Then related to the follow-up in Catholic perspectives on the importance

of terrorism prevention policies, the author also interviewed Father Parish, Petrus

Sujiyana who stated that:

"...the government has been good enough in tackling terrorism. Nevertheless, this policy needs to be maintained because we cannot or are difficult to estimate the actions and threats of terrorism that can occur at any time. Until now, I have appreciated the counterterrorism policy."

# 2. The Sukoharjo Catholic Community Response Against Implementation of Counter Terrorism Policies

For the wider community, including Catholics in Indonesia, especially in Sukoharjo, counter-terrorism has shown progressive achievements. This is because the targets of this strategy are: terrorism inmates, former terrorism prisoners, former terrorist groups, families of terrorist prisoners, radical potential individuals and groups. In its implementation, coaching strategies are carried out in several programs, including (Radikalisme Achievemnt, www.bnpt.go.id/tag/radikalisme, accsess on March 29 2019):

- a. Guidance in prison against terrorism prisoners with activities: identification, rehabilitation, reeducation and resocialization.
- b. Guidance in the community towards former prisoners, their families and networks with activities: identification, fostering nationalism and nationalism insight, fostering moderate religious insights and entrepreneurial training.

Then specifically for Catholic church members, the government apparatus, especially the police, have made the church an important security object. Safeguarding vital objects (vital objects include areas, buildings / installations, and / or businesses that concern the lives of many people and the interests of the country are strategic. Environmental safeguards that cover two administrative facilities are public facilities such as tourism objects, hospitals, houses of worship, hotels, shopping centers, places of worship include churches, mosques, etc. In its implementation, protection is carried out with activities: Coordination with

stakeholders, Preparation of Security System Databases, Making SOP for Security

Systems and Socialization of Security Systems to stakeholders.

In connection with the public response to the implementation of terrorism

prevention policies in the national scope the author interviewed Pita Yulraningsih

who served as the Teacher of the "Bunda PAUD CORJESU " who stated that:

"...In my opinion, the handling of terrorism in Indonesia has not run effectively. Basically, counter-terrorism is not only related to prosecution, but also other aspects involving other agencies, such as the Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Education, Law and Human Rights, Social, Religion, Communication and Information, National Intelligence Agency, elements of the TNI in the region, and other elements. In my opinion, the Catholic community and Islam are fine in cooperating."

Furtheremore still with the same question, the author interviewed Maria

Fransisca Deny S who is a congregation of the Catholic Church of the Hati Kudus

Yesus who stated:

"...It has been quite good through the FKUB, although it has not been able to suppress radical notions that have developed optimally. It is evident from the mobilization of citizens to participate in activities led by fundamental radical groups. Thus in my opinion the handling of terrorism in Indonesia has been tolerable. Again, the omission of the development of radical notions is not optimal. The article used is only the ITE article and the utterance of hatred, even though it leads to treason (changing the basis and philosophy of the nation)."

Still with the issue of implementing terrorism prevention policies in the

national scope, the author interviewed Achileus Sandy Kristiawan, a congregation

of the Catholic Church of the Hati Kudus Yesus who stated:

"...It's good, but it hasn't been able to deter the perpetrators, so that repeated treatment of terrorists will be repeated. So far the apparatus tends to be less assertive and it can be emphasized so that terrorism in Indonesia is truly lost from life in Indonesia. Including religious tolerance so that there is no more concern for worship.." The writer also interviewed Martinus Tulus, who is a retired civil servant and at the same time congregation of the Catholic Church of the *Hati Kudus Yesus* who stated:

"...We think that the government's actions have been effective in dealing with terrorist activities. At that time the government was not aware of activities carried out by certain groups and sometimes provided opportunities for certain groups to preach through social media, print media, TV media to broadcast intolerant preaching.."

Still with the implementation of the counterterrorism policy in the national scope, the author interviewed John Wiratama, a congregation of the Catholic Church of the *Hati Kudus Yesus* who stated:

"...Not yet. Because it can be likened to 1: 5, it means that if there is 1 that invites tolerance, on the other hand there are 5 people who spread or invite intolerance. The inability of the government and the state security to eradicate or dissolve radical groups in Indonesia to become joint homework as a nation, so it is also necessary to provide assistance and supervision from every community to oversee every radical group that begins to emerge."

3. Stakeholder Follow-Up Against Perception of the Catholic Community of Sukoharjo in Exposing Terrorism Prevention Policy in Indonesia

The issue of counter terrorism is indeed a fairly complex security policy. Its existence as an extraordinary crime then tends to try to be resolved by the POLRI unit or institution within the national scope of the center. In connection with the author interviewing Irwan Wahyudi who is a member of the intelligence and security agency (INTELKAM), Sukoharjo Resort Police stated that: "...The handling of terrorism in terms of prosecution is the authority of Detachment 88, meanwhile the guidance of former terrorists whose authority is BNPT. In this case the Sukoharjo Regional Police tried to prevent the spread of radical ideas through a program of de-radicalization and counter-radicalism through national insight seminars in collaboration with the TNI, and the district government of Sukoharjo district."

#### **3.1.** Follow-up in the Communication Aspect

The National Police of the Republic of Indonesia is in accordance with the law and one of which has the function of coaching. The guidance function is generally carried out by the Bimmas function, as one of the pre-emptive functions. Through this coaching function, the National Police seeks to improve communication with the community. The hope of good communication with the community is to increase the closeness between the Indonesian National Police and the whole community. Therefore, the National Police Trust Building program is increasingly close to the community.

In connection with the author interviewing Irwan Wahyudi who is a Member of the INTELKAM Police Resort (Polres) Sukoharjo who stated his statement that:

"...Basically it is true that in Sukoharjo region there are many former terrorists, some groups and pesantren who adhere to radicalism as one of the triggers of acts of terrorism. In uncovering this, we (the Polres) synergized with each other in carrying out de-radicalization and counterradicalism programs, did a lot of counseling and dissemination of tabloids and fliers about the dangers of terrorism, and communication between citizens and citizens with the government has been going well and involving the community in educating national insights and involvement of officials, RTs and citizens in monitoring migrants or terrorism."

# **3.2.** Follow-Up in the Aspects of Bureaucratic Structure and Resource Aspects

Since the reform era that began in 1998, there have been many important changes in various areas of people's lives, which subsequently became the starting point of the first wave of reform era. This change is based on the desire of most people to realize democratic governance and accelerate the realization of people's welfare based on basic values as stated in the opening of the 1945 Constitution. This moment became the starting point for the beginning of the National Police reform process towards professional Polri and independent and in accordance with the demands and expectations of the community, which includes 3 (three) integral aspects of the structural, instrumental and cultural fields. In its development, reforms in the field of bureaucracy lagged behind reforms in the political, economic and legal fields, so that in 2004, the government had reaffirmed the importance of applying the principles of clean government and good governance., which is universally believed to be the principle to provide excellent service to the community (Reformasi Birokrasi POLRI. rbpsumbar.com/rbp-reformasibirokrasi-polri/, access on March 20 2019).

The POLRES is tasked with carrying out the main tasks of the Indonesian National Police in maintaining security and public order, upholding the law, and providing protection, protection and service to the community and carrying out other POLRI duties in the POLRES legal area, in accordance with statutory provisions. Polres carry out functions covering the provision of police services to the public, in the form of receipt and handling of reports / complaints, assistance and assistance including security of community activities and government agencies, and services for permits / information, as well as complaints services for police officers in accordance with statutory regulations –invitation (Polres Sukoharjo, <u>humas.polri.go.id/author/humasoprressukoharjo/</u>, access on 28 2019).

In connection with the bureaucratic aspect, Sukoharjo Regional Police together with its supporting institutions have an important role as the spearhead of public security, including in dealing with terrorism. In this regard, the Sukoharjo Regional Police has carried out several steps including the implementation of the intelligence function in the security sector to carry out early detection and early warning, as well as community development, which includes community empowerment through community policing, formation and development of form of self-reliance in order to increase the awareness and adherence of citizens to the law and the provisions of legislation, the establishment of relations between POLRI and the community, coordination and special police supervision (Polres Sukoharjo, <u>humas.polri.go.id/author/humasoprressukoharjo/</u>, access on 28 2019).

# **3.3.** Follow-Up in the Aspect of Disposition

Disposition to develop better policies does need to be carried out by the Sukoharjo government together with related stakeholders. This is important because so far Sukoharjo has faced a negative stigma related to the development of terrorism in Indonesia. Regarding the position of Sukoharjo, the writer interviewed Pita Yulraningsih, who served as the Teacher of the " Bunda PAUD

CORJESU " who stated that:

"...Sukoharjo is an area that is often identified with the dynamics of terrorists in Indonesia because in Sukoharjo there are so many terrorists captured that Sukoharjo is identified with terrorists. Although in reality the conditions of tolerance between people in the Sukoharjo region that are already running tend to be conducive."

The writer also interviewed Maria Fransisca Deny S, a congregation of the

Catholic Church of the Hati Kudus Yesus who stated:

"... Many of the actors and figures behind terrorism activities originated or were captured in Sukoharjo. Grassroots level is actually good, but when there are provocations from fundamental radical groups, citizens tend to be easy to adopt.

In addition, the writer interviewed Achileus Sandy Kristiawan who was a

congregation of the Catholic Church of the Hati Kudus Yesus who stated:

"...Yes because maybe there is Abu Bakar Ba'asyir who pioneered the terrorism movement in Indonesia."

Regarding the position of Sukoharjo the writer also interviewed Martinus

Tulus, a retired civil servant and at the same time congregation of the Catholic

Church of the Hati Kudus Yesus who stated:

"...Because there are many terrorist incidents that have graduated from certain huts in Sukoharjo. Even though in fact in Sukoharjo the people are in harmony, they do not see their religion and do not like the hatred between religious people, even mutual respect between religious followers to worship."

Furtheremore, the author interviewed Yohanes Wiratama who is a congregation of the Catholic Church of the *Hati Kudus Yesus* bellow:

"...It is an open secret at Ngruki that there are Islamic boarding schools which have been exposed to hatre and even Kyai Abu Bakar Ba'asyir as a teacher at the Islamic boarding school has been proven to have violated the law in terrorism. There are many news that some of the alumni of Islamic boarding schools participated in acts of terror in several places in Indonesia, which made it often identified with terrorism in Indonesia."

Finally related to the follow-up in the disposition aspect, the writer also interviewed Father Parish Father, Petrus Sujiyana who stated that:

"...the Sukoharjo regency government along with its staff must also develop a codusive climate by involving community elements so that security issues are not only the responsibility of the government, but also the community together with its components."

From the descriptions above, it can be understood that the police function of Sukoharjo which is integrated with other stakeholders have an important role in supporting the achievement of security, especially in counter-terrorism. In addition, from the results of the interview above, there are several important things as dispositions, namely community involvement and more effective safeguard policies.