

TEACHING HANDBOOK

Strategic Environment, Including Terrorism and Political Violence

Agung Risdhianto
Hikmat Zakky Almubaroq
Editha Praditya Duarte
Luhut Simbolon



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Strategic Environment, Including Terrorism and Political Violence Teaching Handbook

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VISION & MISSIONS

VISION

To become a leading research-based faculty in Defense Management scientific field with national and international standards in 2024, while still preserving national values.

MISSIONS

- a. Conducting competitive research-and-competence-based education programs through modern learning technology application in order to support the specification of study programs under the Faculty of Defense Management.
- b. Developing a curriculum supported by an academic atmosphere and conducting quality education, research, and community service processes by prioritizing integrity, nationalism, and national identity.
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- d. Implementing governance with accountability, independence, and knowledge-based systems.
- e. Improving the quality and competence of educators and education personnel in order to realize innovative and superior learning, research, and community service programs.
- f. Collaborating with various national and international institutions in Defense Management field.

DEFENSE MANAGEMENT STUDY PROGRAM

VISION & MISSIONS

VISION

To become an excellent Defense Management study program at the national and international level in 2024 by strengthening the national outlook of Indonesia.

MISSIONS

- a. Developing scientific disciplines through experts and resource persons in defense management field and becoming a think tank for government institutions
- b. Conducting professional and superior education in defense management field to military and civilian students
- c. Conducting research through coordination with faculties and Research and Community Service Institute (*Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat-LP2M*) in the field of defense management to strengthen the national defense system
- d. Developing the quality and professionalism of lecturers and education staff
- e. Conducting community service through defense management science to improve the welfare and resilience of the community

PREFACE

In an increasingly complex global landscape, understanding and effectively addressing the challenges of terrorism and political violence are paramount for any institution devoted to the study of defense and security. The Republic of Indonesia Defense University (RIDU) stands as a beacon of excellence in this pursuit, committed to equipping its students with the knowledge, skills, and insights necessary to navigate the dynamic strategic environment of the 21st century.

This teaching handbook represents a culmination of rigorous scholarship, practical expertise, and a deep understanding of the unique geopolitical context of Indonesia and its broader regional dynamics. As the threat landscape continues to evolve, it is imperative that defense professionals possess a comprehensive understanding of terrorism and political violence, not only as standalone phenomena but also as interconnected elements within the broader strategic framework.

Developed by a team of esteemed academics, practitioners, and subject matter experts, this handbook serves as an indispensable resource for educators and students alike. Its holistic approach encompasses various dimensions of the strategic environment, ranging from theoretical frameworks to case studies drawn from diverse contexts around the world. By engaging with this material, learners will not only gain a nuanced understanding of the root causes and manifestations of terrorism and political violence but also acquire the analytical tools necessary to devise effective strategies for prevention, mitigation, and response.

Furthermore, this handbook underscores the interdisciplinary nature of the study of terrorism and political violence, recognizing that insights from fields such as political science, sociology, psychology, and law are indispensable for a comprehensive understanding of these phenomena. Through a multi-faceted approach, it endeavors to foster critical thinking, promote dialogue, and encourage innovative approaches to addressing contemporary security challenges.

As we embark on this journey of exploration and discovery, let us remain steadfast in our commitment to excellence, integrity, and the pursuit of knowledge. May this teaching handbook serve as a guiding light for all those dedicated to the noble mission of safeguarding our nation and promoting peace and stability in an ever-changing world.

Salemba, March 2024.

Major General TNI (Ret.) Dr. Agung Risdhianto, M.D.A.

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TOPIC 1

INTRODUCTION TO SECURITY AND STRATEGIC CONTEXT

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES

- Students will gain knowledge regarding the concept of security and strategic context
- Students will be introduced to security issues in the global context

TOPIC 1

Introduction to Security and Strategic Context

Several groups and experts have expressed various views on the meaning of the state. According to the Great Indonesian Language Dictionary (2008), there are several meanings of state; one of which describes that state is a social group that occupies a certain area that is organized under effective political and government institutions, holds political unity, has sovereignty, and thus has the right to determine its national goals.

According to Roger H. Soltau, state is a representative or authority in regulating or controlling common problems on behalf of the people.

Meanwhile, in terms of sovereign states' position in the world, these states have various characteristics, namely:

- (1) By law, states have the same position.
- (2) Every state has the inherent right to full sovereignty.
- (3) Every state is obliged to respect the reality of the rule of law of other state.
- (4) Territorial integrity and political freedom of a state may not be violated.
- (5) Every state has the right to choose and develop its own political, social, economic, and cultural system.
- (6) Every state is required to carry out its international obligations and live in peace with other state (Bartholomeus)

Indonesia's national defense strategy is formulated with reference to government policies in realizing the Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF) and some fundamental considerations related to the national interests, including maintaining the Indian and Pacific oceans peaceful and secured.

The formulation of the national defense strategy is prepared in accordance with the understanding and ideas of Indonesia as a nation, which includes three elements and substances as basic guidelines. National defense strategy plans the strategic goals, objectives, methods, and means to realize a strong and effective defense capability with high-deterrence effect.

National defense strategy is formulated according to the Indonesian people's understanding and ideas regarding peace and war. It is also prepared and implemented to maintain Indonesia's independence from the attempts of any party that threatens its existence.

Indonesian people love peace, but prefer independence and sovereignty more than peace. This value means that any resolution of disputes or conflicts should be taken care through peaceful means. Nevertheless, war can still be opted as the last resort if all peaceful efforts fail.

National defense strategy is prepared by taking into account three basic elements, namely:

- (1) Shaping, namely a strategy capable of creating and shaping a national and international security environment that would guarantee national interests which support regional stability, reduce and eliminate threats, prevent conflict and aggression, and other acts of violence.
- (2) Responding, namely strategies that can respond to various spectrums of crises to eliminate threats and risks to the national interest.
- (3) Preparing, namely a strategy that can prepare a national defense to deal with

an uncertain future through efforts to build up strength, develop concepts, and organize a defense that utilizes technological advances to protect national interests.

National defense strategy is formulated with three basic strategic substances in a proportional, balanced, and coordinated manner:

- (1) The objectives to be achieved are to ensure and protect the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and to safeguard the security of the entire nation, which is translated into five strategic targets.
- (2) Defense resources are used to achieve the goals and objectives, i.e. deploying military force that is integrated with non-military defense.
- (3) Utilize national resources to achieve strategic goals or objectives by planning, preparing, and implementing a strong defense system with high deterrence following the Indonesian people's understanding of peace and war.

This method is realized by preparing a total defense (*pertahanan semesta*), active-defense, layered defense, strengthening maritime security, land security, and aerospace security, increasing international cooperation, empowering the defense industry, and strengthening state defense (*Bela Negara*) awareness and capability.

1.1 What is Security Studies?

“Security studies may be defined as the study of the threat, use and control of military force. It explores the conditions that make the use of force more likely, the way that the use of force affects individuals, states and societies, and the specific policies that states adopt in order to prepare for, prevent or engage in war” (Walt, 1991:121)

1.2 Security Studies Development:

- (1) Inter - World War period
- (2) Cold War
- (3) Post-Cold War
- (4) Post-September 11

1.2.1 Between the World Wars:

- Dominant School: idealism (strong version of liberalism).
- Dominant Concern: avoiding another war.
- Dominant idea: international security can be promoted through cooperation and negotiated dispute settlement.
- League of Nations was established in 1919, and dissolved in 1946.

1.2.2 Cold War

- Dominant School: realism
- Security studies as strategic studies
- Dominant concern: military strategy to increase a state security relative to adversaries, and to deter an adversary from launching an attack.
- Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) shaped the political/research agenda: “How could states use weapons of mass destruction as instrument of policy, given the risk of any nuclear exchange” (Walt, 1991)

1.2.3 Post-Cold War:

- Early critiques of conceptualizing security ‘narrowly’ (1980s)

1.3 Threat Perspectives

The five major threats are:

- (1) Biological weapons
- (2) Nuclear
- (3) Cyber attacks
- (4) Military and nonmilitary threats
- (5) Hybrid threats

Meanwhile, there are ten major threats trends for the future, namely:

- (1) Bioterror weapons
- (2) Dirty bombs or defiling bombs
- (3) World War III
- (4) Cyber attack
- (5) High-tech, sophisticated and dangerous future crime
- (6) Illegally traded identity
- (7) The end of privacy, privacy trading
- (8) Emergence of personal security market
- (9) Extreme pandemics, like extreme new diseases like SARS, avian flu, AIDS and Ebola
- (10) Neuro war

Among a number of major threats and the future trends threats above, there are three types of threats that must be considered as threats in the priority-actual-threat classification, namely:

- (1) Non-military threats (ideology, politics, economy, socio-culture, law, technology)
- (2) Hybrid threats (a combination of non-military and military, in the form of asymmetric warfare, information warfare, chemical, biological, radiological)
- (3) Cyberattack.

The state defense (*Bela Negara*) program’s socialization, which is a program of the 8th *Nawacita* goal of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, must be implemented in the best way possible.

Thus, there are three targets as follows:

- (1) The first target is to change the mindset and perspective in the direction that prioritizes public service, where the state civil apparatus as a representation of the government should present every time people need them.
- (2) The second goal is that the organizational structure must be lean, and efficient, where there should be no organizations in the government with duplicating and overlapping functions.
- (3) The third target is a work culture that is more disciplined, responsible and prioritizes togetherness and cooperation (Tippe, 2017).

1.4 Strategies to eliminate threats

Geographical modality


Indonesia's position, which sits right on the equator, places Indonesia in a tropical area that only experiences dry and rainy seasons. This condition benefits Indonesia, in its ability to cultivate vegetation throughout the year. Moreover, data shows that Indonesia still has more than 5,000 m³ of clean water per capita per year. That number is more than other countries such as India, Bangladesh, and South Korea as well as countries on the African continent that are currently experiencing a clean water crisis. It is also granted a great gift from God the Almighty, namely the abundant and rich biological and non-biological natural diversity on the surface and under the water and soil of Indonesia.

Agrarian Country

Indonesia has abundant agricultural prospects, as seen in the various types of food crop commodities, horticulture, plantations, and livestock in its possession. These are sources of foods and commodities for people's income. Agriculture sector is a means for the country's economic and political stability as well as a unifying factor for the nation because food basically is a human's basic and primary need. Two Indonesian plantation commodities that have become leading commodities in the international market are rubber and oil palm (Nurmatyo, 2017)


STRATEGIC CONTEXT AND ENVIRONMENT

US REBALANCING POLICY




U.S. troop deployment under rebalancing policy

CHINA'S MILITARY & ECONOMY



SOUTH CHINA SEA DISPUTE



Triggered by:

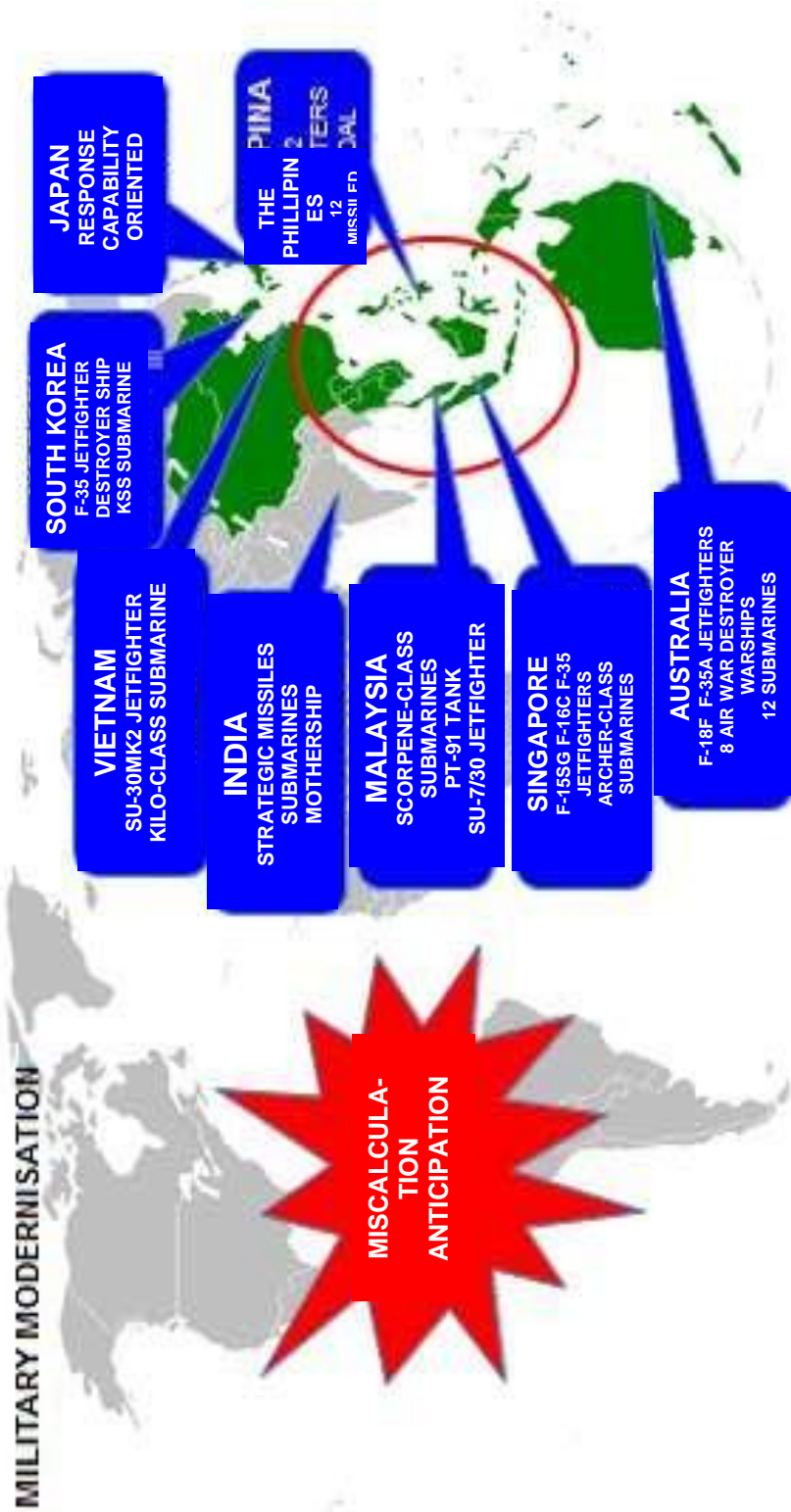
1. Asia Pacific region's Economic Growth
2. The End of Iraq & Afghanistan War
3. China Defense's Modernization
 - The changing landscape of US' military strength in the region
 - Military elements that captured attention
 - US allies & partners' request

- Rapid economic growth
- Military modernization opportunity
- Implication of the military balance
- Military power buildup in the region

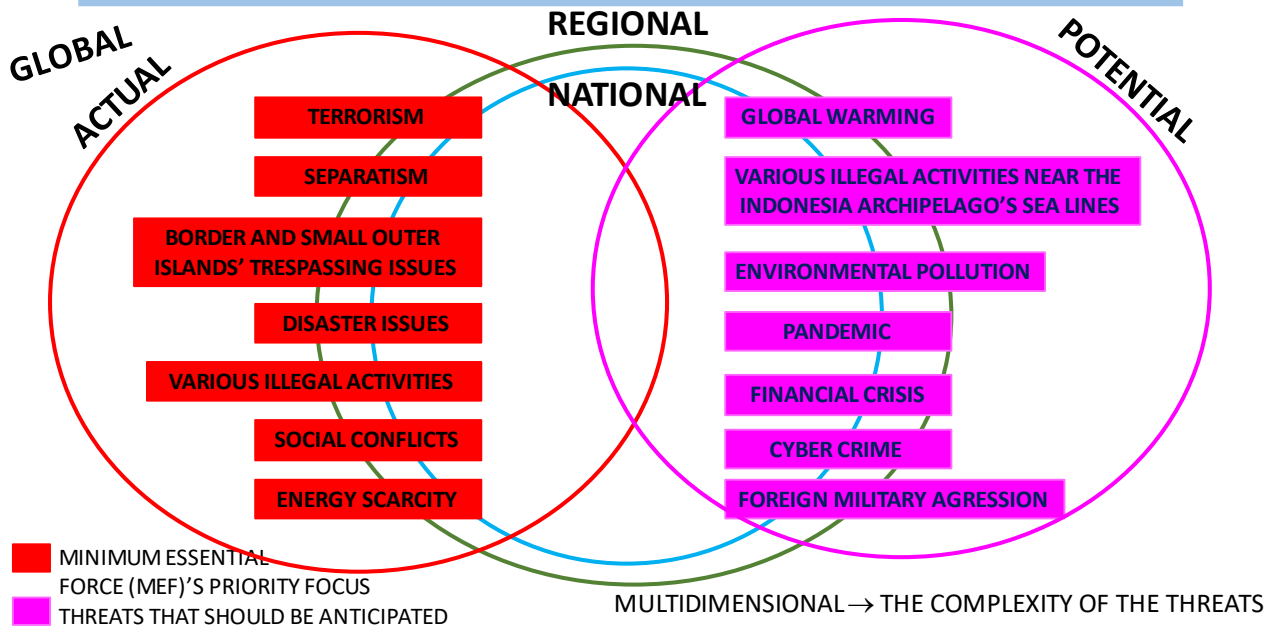
- Affecting the region's stability
- Conflict's potentials:
 1. Involving certain countries
 2. Involving military instruments
 3. Involving major power
- The absence of credible instruments

ASPAC ENVIRONMENT

STRATEGIC CONTEXT AND ENVIRONMENT



STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT DEVELOPMENT



STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT AND CONTEXT

INDONESIAN STRATEGIC SECURITY ENVIRONMENT





TOPIC 2

STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT FOR SECURITY AND DEFENSE: INDONESIA

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVE

Students will gain an understanding of the strategic environment and defense issues in Indonesia

TOPIC 2

Strategic Environment for Security and Defense: Indonesia

Strategic environment development had always brought changes to the complexity of threats spectrum and had implications for national defense. The complexity of threats can be classified into three types, namely existential threats, non-existential threats, and hybrid threats. The threat dimension is easy to develop from one dimension to another, whether it is ideological, political, economic, social, cultural, public safety, technology, and legislation at the local and national levels. Likewise, threat escalation can emerge from the lowest to the highest, both in times of peace (civil order) to war, or vice versa. Hence, the complex and unpredictable spectrum of threats must be faced with a flexible and adaptive national defense policy.

2.1 The Dynamics of Strategic Environment

The development of national defense forces is inseparable from the dynamics of strategic environment at the global, regional, and national levels. It is because every policy will have an impact on the political, economic, socio-cultural, and defense and security aspects.

At the global level, it appears that the United States and Europe are also competing in offering cooperative policies to ASEAN countries. The United States formulates its strategy in several agendas, namely: strengthening alliances as the basis for building cooperation, improving relations with other partners and new powers in the region, strengthening economic control, engaging in multilateral institutional activities, providing full support for the application of universal values/democracy and human rights, and bringing military power in the region for political continuity.

Some of the problems that are perceived as threats in today's global strategic environment are the development of interstate and intrastate conflicts, terrorism, economic crises, and changes in the balance of power.

Arab Spring phenomenon, a widespread pro-democracy movement in the Middle East and North Africa, is one example of an interstate tragedy within the scope of the regional strategic environment that broadly affects the global strategic environment. The involvement of superpower countries in the conflict was the reason that made the crisis prolonged. The clearest example of it is the United States and Russia's involvement in the Syria conflict, where there was also a tug of war among other Arab countries in the conflict.

The Syrian conflict was then exacerbated by the ruling of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) radical group. The failure of democratic reform in the country, followed by the failure of the presence of a transitional government after the fall of the Al-Asad regime, created a great opportunity for ISIS to penetrate and take over the territory.

The existence of ISIS has also changed the landscape of global security. In response to various terror activities caused by ISIS, various international coalitions have undertaken intervention there. On September 10, 2014, President Barack Obama announced the formation of a global coalition to defeat ISIS. Approximately 60 partner countries and organizations agreed to participate and

contribute either in the form of military force and/or other resources. In December 2014, 60 countries and partner organizations grouped themselves into five Lines of effort in Brussels that consist of:

Supporting military operations, capacity building, and training. This effort was led by the United States and Iraq.

Stopping the flow of foreign terrorist fighters. This effort was led by the Netherlands and Turkey.

Cutting off financial access and ISIS funding. This effort was led by Italy, Saudi Arabia, and the United States.

Overcoming the aid and humanitarian crisis. This effort was led by Germany and the United Arab Emirates.

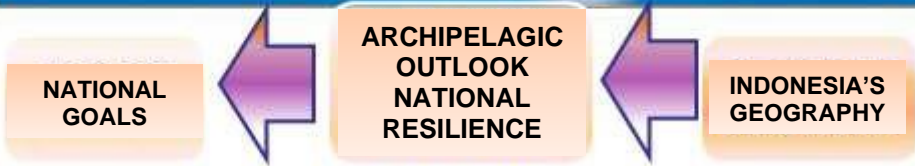
Exposing the true nature of ISIS. This effort was led by the United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

Based on data from the United States Department of State, the partner countries and organizations involved in this global coalition are Afghanistan, Albania, Arab League, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kosovo, Moldova, Montenegro, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Netherlands, Oman, Panama, Poland, Qatar, Korea, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Serbia, Singapore, Malaysia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Somalia, Spain, Sweden, Taiwan, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom and the United States of America. The involvement of partner countries and organizations in this global coalition demonstrates how ISIS influences the global strategic environment.

Another problem that brings about changes in the global strategic environment is terrorism issue. The presence of terrorist groups is increasingly evolving after the 9/11 events. The terrors they carried out have increased and provided a greater number of victims even though some of the previous terror events tend to be safe.

Terrorist groups are increasingly daring to attack many tightly-guarded public facilities. Many terrorist groups that exist today are also affiliated with each other, thus causing greater terror.

GEOPOLITICAL STANCE → THE “ARCHIPELAGIC OUTLOOK”
(WAWASAN NUSANTARA) CONCEPT
GEOSTRATEGIC STANCE → THE “NATIONAL RESILIENCE” CONCEPT



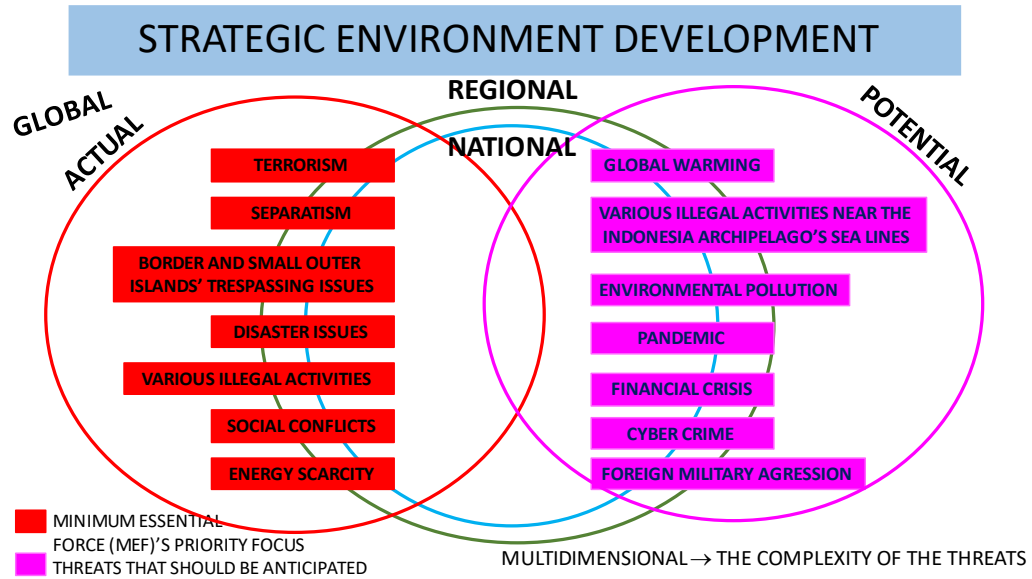
STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT AND CONTEXT

BORDER ISSUES



- CONFLICT POTENTIALS:**
- THE DRAGGING & PROBLEMATIC UNSETTLED BORDER AREAS
 - UNDERDEVELOPED SMALL AND OUTERMOST ISLANDS





STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT AND CONTEXT

DISASTER VURNERABLE

INDONESIA IS A DISASTER-PRONE COUNTRY
 INDONESIA HAS SO MANY TYPES OF DISASTER



TOPIC 3
WHAT IS TERRORISM?

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVE

Students will gain an understanding of the definition of acts of terrorism and be able to differentiate them from other acts of violence.

TOPIC 3

What is Terrorism?

Terrorism is not an ordinary crime. It is an extraordinary crime against the state. The dynamics of terrorism occur in almost all countries, including Indonesia. Sulaiman in his book titled “*Who is the Real Terrorist?*” exposes the myth of terrorism crime and explains that terrorism should be classified as an extraordinary crime. The act of terrorism has fulfilled the elements of an extraordinary crime because it endangers absolute human rights values and is random, indiscriminate, and non-selective, which may happen to innocent people. In addition, it always contains elements of violence, is associated with organized crime, and may even use advanced technologies such as chemical, biological, and nuclear (CBRN) weapons.

Terrorism, according to Law Number 15 of 2003, is defined as an act that uses violence or threats of violence to create terror or widespread fear, resulting in mass casualties by seizing other people's property or causing damage or destruction to strategic vital objects, the environment, and public or international facilities.

Radicalism is more than just an ideology; it can eventually lead to various acts of terror. As a result, while radicalism is distinct from terrorism, as Director of Deradicalization at the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme*-BNPT) Prof. Irfan Idris has repeatedly stated that it is one step closer to terrorism. In other words, radicalism is the final stage before terrorism.

Radical terrorist group has an international level network, and through this network, the spirit and ideals of making Islamic law the basis of the state are forged and strengthened. One local group is known to have ties to Al-Qaeda, which is led by Osama Bin Laden. Although Osama bin Laden became widely known in 1998 when he and his group introduced themselves as jihadists willing to do anything including violence to achieve their objectives, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) group had been communicating with Al Qaeda since the early 1980s.

Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), who entrusted their dream to Al-Qaeda, appears to be serious about their determination. This is demonstrated by sending members to Afghanistan to receive education and war training from Al-Qaeda.

According to the report of the International Center for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence (ICSR) at King's College London, many Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) members were disappointed and eventually defected from the sadistic group led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. It even stated that members of the ISIS group knew they had been duped from the moment they arrived; instead of going to heaven, ISIS was hell.



Terrorism has always brought a lot of attention from law enforcement and the public. This type of crime causes massive casualties, both physically and psychologically, and has a long-term impact.

Suicide bombings explosions, incitement to hatred, threats of kidnapping, and hostage-taking are forms of terrorism. As a result, fear and intimidation become negative consequences that linger.

However, this is not consistent with the concern for the victims who experienced that. They tend to be forgotten, not getting much attention from various parties. As stated by Argomaaniz and Lynch (2015) “Research that looks at the experience of terrorism victims is underdeveloped, fragmented, and often isolated from broader studies of the phenomenon of political violence. In the criminological and victimological disciplines, but more so in the sub-field of terrorism studies, victim-focused study is sparse”.

This research focuses on the experiences of the victims of terrorist crimes which tend to be undeveloped, separated, and sometimes isolated from the boundaries of science as a phenomenon of political violence. In the context of the study of criminology and victimology, including terrorism studies, research on victims has become a rare object of study to conduct.

Being a victim of terrorism cannot be equated with being a victim of other crimes. There is a fundamental difference that distinguishes it, and that is the political motivation behind the terror movement itself. This is what distinguishes the motivation for acts of terrorism from other crime motivations, as well as the experiences of victims of terrorism from those of victims of general crimes.

Globally, based on the 2016 Global Terrorism Index (GTI) annual report (Global Terrorism Index 2016, 2016), a total of 29,376 people died as a result of terrorism in 2015. ISIS affiliates carried out attacks in 28 countries in 2015, 15 more attacks than in 2014.

Terrorism-related deaths in OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and

Development) countries increased from 77 in 2014 to 577 in 2015, with ISIS responsible for more than half of those deaths (Islamic State Iraq and Syria). This set a high record and the majority occurred in 5 (five) countries namely Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Syria.

The 2016 GTI report stated that the acts of terrorism that occurred in 2016 were highly concentrated on violence, which was mostly perpetrated in a number of small countries and by a number of groups. From those data, the four groups responsible for 74 percent of all deaths from terrorist acts are ISIS, Boko Haram, the Taliban, and Al Qaeda.

In OECD member countries, terrorism-related deaths increased dramatically by 650 percent in 2015 compared to 2014. In addition, 21 of the 34 OECD countries experienced at least one terrorist attack, with the majority of deaths occurring in Turkey and France.

According to the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), nearly 7,000 civilians have died in Iraq due to ISIS terror attacks and the armed conflict in the country. Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Iraq, Jan Kubis, stated that terrorist attacks had increased from late 2016 to early 2017.

Data from the Witness and Victim Protection Agency (*Lembaga Perlindungan Saksi dan Korban-LPSK*) in 2016 shows further evidence that the problem of terrorism victims is still marginalized compared to other crimes. The protection of victims of terrorism crimes compared to other crimes is less than 2 percent of the total number of 47 people. This figure is of course only the tip of the iceberg of the phenomenon.

Not only that, the problem of victims of terrorism is very complicated because the nature of the crime of terrorism is closely related to the issue of political crime. It is often difficult to clearly determine which parties are affected by terrorism. This leads to the initial conclusion that victims of terrorism are not only representatives of one party, nor those who are directly affected by acts of terrorism, such as the victim being hit by bomb explosions and so on; but it is also possible that the victims are relatives of the terrorists, such as their wives and children.

3.1 The Attraction of Terrorism for Women

On September 22, 2016, Indonesian security forces managed to thwart seven Indonesian citizens from leaving for Syria at Soekarno-Hatta Airport to join the ISIS militants. Three of them have been named as suspects, one of which is a woman who is strongly suspected of being a funder. The arrest was the result of police surveillance based on intelligence information.

Even though Indonesian security forces have repeatedly prevented similar incidents, it appears that some people are still determined to attempt this deadly journey. In fact, even if they managed to escape from the Indonesian security forces and fly to Turkey, their chances of crossing the Turkish border to join ISIS are also relatively small.

The interest of women in joining jihadist-terrorist groups raises significant questions. What attracts them to go to great lengths to risk their lives? There are numerous factors that encourage women to join jihadist and terrorist groups, but according to Debby Affianti, there are at least three main factors.

First, as loyal followers and companions, according to Debby, the role of women in jihadist and terrorist groups is still mostly at the stage of women domestication, in the sense that they are

not the main actors, but rather act as wives, loyal followers, and mothers of potential terrorists.

This happens to groups that use Islam as their trademark, such as ISIS. Unlike jihadist groups in Chechnya and Algeria where women are highly ideological, women and girls in ISIS have little knowledge of Islam. Even in Indonesia, a number of women among them do not read the Qur'an fluently.

Second, as propaganda experts and recruitment agents. Even though women within ISIS are not allowed to join the fight, they do not only serve as wives and mothers of jihadist-terrorists, but also play a role in cyberspace as propaganda experts, preachers, and recruiters for ISIS. By relying on the jargon of caliphate sisterhood, as described by Debbi, women within ISIS use a recruitment pattern that relies on friendship and kinship relationships.

Laura Huey and Eric Witner in their article say that the role of women in pro-jihadist groups was initially invisible. However, as social media has grown in popularity, they have become more active. In this case, there are at least two roles of social media. First, as a place for women to get to know jihadist groups and their ideologies, connect with fellow sympathizers or with recruiters. These women can recruit potential followers, spread propaganda, and mobilize sympathizers. Second, social media reveals the various activities of women who are involved in the network of pro-jihadist groups.

Third, as a fighter/bomber. Jihadist groups are increasingly employing women, particularly white ones, due to Western government stereotypes about terrorist behavior from Muslim countries. Jihadists are currently looking for women with fair skin, light hair, and eyes that are neither slanted nor do they characterize stereotypes of Muslim women. Non-Arab and non-South Asian women have a particular advantage in sneaking into a particular country and carrying out attacks.

As security tightened around vital targets like embassies and military installations where male terrorists could be tracked down, insurgents turned to softer targets like shopping malls where women could easily mingle. Palestinian fighters also use women as suicide bombers, particularly attractive ones for easily passing checkpoints and maximizing post-blast media coverage. One of the most well-known women is Leila Khaled, a woman born on April 9, 1944, who is also a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Khaled was involved in the hijacking of Trans World Airline 840 in 1969 on its way from Rome to Tel Aviv.

The main perpetrators of terrorism crimes (men) also use women who are their partners to deceive the public or law enforcement officials. Law enforcement officials frequently use sociological logic in carrying out the law enforcement process that it is impossible for a woman to carry out a terrorist attack.

In Indonesia, the first woman convicted of an act of terrorism was Dian Yulia Novi, a 28-year-old woman who received a 7.5-year prison sentence from the panel of judges for planning a suicide bombing attack on the State Palace on December 11, 2016. The verdict is slighter than the prosecutor's demand, which urged Dian Yulia Novi to be sentenced to 10 years in prison.

The figure of Dian Yulia Novi is admittedly phenomenal. This former migrant worker was apprehended with a high-explosive pot bomb in preparation for an attack on the State Palace. However, the police discovered her suicide plan. This Cirebon woman was eventually apprehended alongside her husband, Muhammad Nur Solikhin, as well as Suyanto alias Abu Iza and Wawan Prasetyawan alias Abu Umar.

Dian admitted that her actions were solely in response to her desire to die in jihad. She also claimed to be unaffiliated with any terrorist organization. Jihad is an obligation for all Muslims. “I didn't join any groups, I just watched social media and got motivated.” said Dian Yulia as quoted from viva.co.id 30 August 2017.

According to data from the Directorate General of Corrections up until October 2016, there were 223 terrorism convicts. Since the implementation of Law Number 15 of 2003 on Terrorism, nine women have been declared involved and have a role in terrorism crimes, and have been tried for those convictions. Most of those women are wives of terrorists.

Meanwhile, the Directorate of Deradicalization of the National Counterterrorism Agency (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme*-BNPT) has mapped 17 provinces to carry out deradicalization programs for terrorist convicts in the region, 15 of which were areas where wives of terrorist perpetrators were attempted to undergo deradicalization programs. It is known that 51 wives of terrorist perpetrators have been identified in 6 of the 15 provinces that have been recorded (BNPT, 2016). This number is only two-fifths of the 15 provinces where terrorists have wives and families.

STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT AND CONTEXT

ASYMMETRIC WARFARE







2013 Terrorism & Political Violence Map AON



AL QAEDA

- 2.1. Global terrorism still exists.
- 2.2. Individual terrorism grows.
- 2.3. The real threat of terrorism in Indonesia.

TERRORISM BASED ON A DEVIANT RELIGIOUS UNDERSTANDING			
AL-QAEDA		AUM SHINRIKYO	
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2.1. Bomb attacks on the US Embassy in Kenya (1998) 2.2. Suicide Bombing on the USS Cole (2000) 2.3. The September 11, 2001 Attacks 2.4. Bomb explosions in Turkey (2003) 2.5. Bomb explosions in London (2005) 		<p>Tokyo subway sarin gas attack (1995)</p>
AL-QAEDA IN THE ISLAMIC MAGHREB		IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA)	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bomb attacks at a Jewish Synagogue in Tunisia (2002) • Suicide bombing in Morocco (2003) • Bomb attacks on the Israeli Embassy in Mauritania (2008) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Series of bombings in Belfast (1972) • Bomb attacks killed the second cousin of Queen Elizabeth II (1979) • Bomb attacks in Omagh, Northern Ireland (1998)



TOPIC 4
THE DEVELOPMENT OF TERRORIST IN
CONTEMPORARY WORLD

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVE

Students will gain an understanding of the current development of terrorism activities and its networks.

TOPIC 4

The Development of Terrorism in Contemporary World

One of the fascinating facts about criminal acts of terrorism is that these acts are not only dominated by men, but also involve women. These women are typically the wives of terrorist perpetrators. However, according to Mohammad Adhe Bakti, a researcher at the Center for the Study of Radicalism and Deradicalization, the role of women in terrorism crimes is not as the main actor, but is limited to providing assistance to their husbands who are terrorists or friends of their husbands who are fugitives by law enforcement officers.

Even though its role remains limited to only providing assistance, the role of woman (wives) is as important as the men (husbands) who are the main actors in criminal acts of terrorism. It is likely that without the assistance of these women, the space for terrorist men to move is limited. On the contrary, with the assistance of the women who are their wives or their friends' wives, they were safe for a certain period of time, until the authorities finally found him.

According to Bakti, the main perpetrators of terrorism crimes (men) also take advantage of their partners for a reason. They expect that what women do is not too prominent or can deceive the public or law enforcement officers. In the culture and beliefs of the perpetrators of Islamic-fundamentalist based terrorism, the position of women is also not very favorable, especially in making decisions or expressing opinions, women are required to follow what their husbands say.

This culture makes women only obey what their husbands want and order especially if they firmly believe that what they are doing is perceived as a jihad that is worth worship. So, the wives are not reluctant, even feel obliged to follow the orders of their husbands.

However, the weak position of women in making the decisions does not necessarily release them from legal entanglement. The consequences of their actions, whether in the form of providing assistance or direct actions taken by their husbands, are perceived as a part of the intentionality that can be punished.

According to Debbi Affianty, a lecturer at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at Islamic State University Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, the involvement of women in acts of terrorism is divided into three different roles:

First, as loyal followers and companions. According to Debbi, the role of women in jihadist and terrorist groups is mostly at the stage of domestication in the sense that they are not the main actors, but rather act as wives, loyal followers, and mothers of potential terrorists.

This happens to groups that use Islam as their brand such as ISIS. Unlike jihadist groups in Chechnya and Algeria where women are highly ideological, women and girls in ISIS have little knowledge of Islam. Even in Indonesia, a number of women among them do not read the Qur'an fluently.

Second, as propaganda experts and recruitment agents. Even though women within ISIS are not allowed to join the fight, they play a role in cyberspace as propaganda experts, preachers, and recruiters for ISIS. By relying on the jargon of caliphate sisterhood, as described by Debbi, women within ISIS use a recruitment pattern that relies on friendship and kinship relationships.

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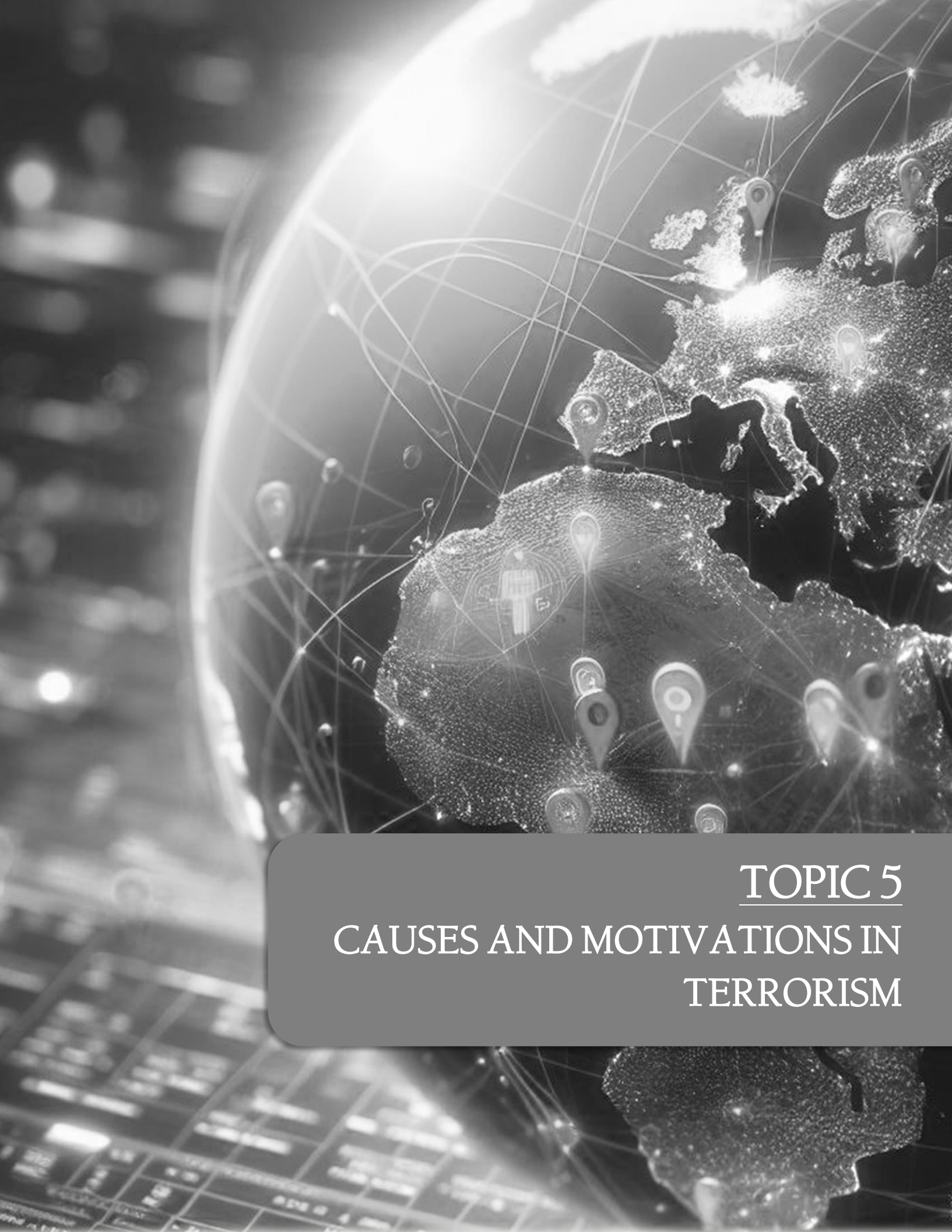
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<p>ARMED ISLAMIC GROUP (GROUPE ISLAMIQUE ARMÉE/GIA)</p>	<p>ABU SAYYAF GROUP (ASG)</p>
 <p>Conflict in Europe Fatal Terror Attacks: 1970-2017</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assassination of President Mohamed Boudiaf on June 29, 1992. • Bombing at Algeria airport on March 16, 1993. • Assassination of Djilali Liabes in Algeria on March 26, 1993. • Assassination of political figure <u>Dr Flici</u>. • Assassination of a journalist and writer, Tahar Djaout, in Algeria on May 26, 1993.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kidnapping of 20 people. • Detonating bombs in Manila killed 132 people.
<p>TIMOTHY MCVEIGH (CHRISTIAN IDENTITY)</p>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bombing of the Murrah Federal Building - FBI Headquarters, USA (1995)
<p>LASHKAR-E-TAIBA</p>	<p>SIKH EXTREMIST</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training in Mansehra and Muzaffarabad Pakistan. • Acts of terror in Mumbai killed 174 people and injured 300 others in attacks on two hotels in India, Hotel Trident (Oberoi) and Hotel Taj Mahal, as well as Cama Hospital, Café Leopold, Nariman House, and the train station.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assassination of PM Indira Gandhi (1984). • Murder of Civilians. • Assassination of Hindu military and police personnel.

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TOPIC 5
CAUSES AND MOTIVATIONS IN
TERRORISM

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVE

Students will gain an understanding of the causes, root causes, and motivations of acts of terrorism

TOPIC 5

Causes and Motivations in Terrorism

The cause or motivation of acts of terrorism, according to A.C. Manullang, can be rooted from several factors:

- (1) Religious extremism.
- (2) Tribal nationalism that leads to separatism.
- (3) Certain interest groups aim to cause chaos.

First, the motivation of terrorist groups based on religious radicalism. This kind of motivation creates an exclusive community as the group's capital and identity. They consider themselves to be the most righteous and closest to God's threshold. Fighting unbelievers is an obligation for them, while death is the path to the heavenly home. This kind of radical attitude can give birth to a socio-political disaster at any time. This attitude underlined the violent actions of the Imam Samudra group in carrying out the Bali bombings, which were considered jihad, as well as the Christmas bombings in 2000, and the sweeping actions against American citizens.

Second, political independence motivated group of terror. The main goal of this terrorism is to obtain wider or greater autonomy in the region that they expect to control. The usual trigger is that they feel the Central Government is treating them unfairly, resulting in economic and social inequality. In this motive, government buildings and offices are frequently targeted, as are government symbols such as flags.

Third, terrorist groups typically carry out their actions for political, economic, and social interests to protect certain interests, such as covering up legal cases for past crimes or violations or bargaining for positions in the political, economic, and social fields. Acts of terror will increase when a country's political and economic situation is unstable.

Aside from the three factors mentioned above, religious fundamentalism can also be a cause for terrorist groups. Fundamentalism is a point of view based on beliefs, whether religious, political, or cultural, that were embraced by the founder who instilled his teachings in the past. Thus, he believes that he has absolute truth, and that truth must be enforced. The main source of religious fundamentalism today is a combination of oppression, pressure, and arbitrariness against cultural, social, and religious beliefs.

In addition, the birth of fundamentalism also originated from the moral decadence that has hit Western countries because of prolonged capitalism and colonialism, as well as the free market that has given rise to competition and struggle to win the desire to rule with prosperity, resulting in the birth of acts of violence and arms races in various parts of the world, aided by industrial progress as well as science and technology.

Fundamentalism is the greatest threat to the modern era. Why? Because it has the potential to grow and spread problems. It is rooted from economic and political issues. It can cause serious threat when the solution to any problem cannot be achieved unilaterally or partially leaving the community and relying on static beliefs.

Terrorist groups frequently use various tactics in carrying out their actions, including threats,

the use of chemical, biological, radioactive, and nuclear weapons (CBRN), sending bombs in the form of packages, the use of poisons, cyberterrorism, bomb detonation, aircraft hijacking, murder, ambush, kidnapping, hostage taking, robbery, sabotage, narcoterrorism, and, most recently, individual movement (lone wolf).

5.1 The Attraction of Terrorism for Women

On September 22, 2016, Indonesian security forces managed to thwart seven Indonesian citizens from leaving for Syria at Soekarno-Hatta Airport to join the militants of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Three of them have been named as suspects, one of which is a woman who is strongly suspected of being a funder. The arrest was the result of police surveillance based on intelligence information.

Even though Indonesian security forces have repeatedly prevented similar incidents, it appears that some people are still determined to attempt this deadly journey. In fact, even if they managed to escape from the Indonesian security forces and fly to Turkey, their chances of crossing the Turkish border to join ISIS are also relatively small.



TOPIC 6
TERRORISM AND INSURGENCIES

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVE

Students will gain an understanding of the causes, root causes, and motivations of acts of terrorism and insurgencies

TOPIC 6

Terrorism and Insurgencies

6.1 The Character of Radicalism

In developing radicalism, radical Islam has main distinctive characteristics in depicting its own version of Islam. These characteristics refer to their way of facing the era of development that is brought by the modernization and globalization waves. On this matter, Abdurrahman Wahid in *'Islamic Fundamentalism, A Southeast Asia Perspective'* has an interesting depiction:

“The emergence of Islamic fundamentalism or radicalism began with the inability of Muslims to integrate the education system, family structure, economic business, and Islamic political aspirations into the life of the modern nation. The disapproval and dissatisfaction caused by their failure to integrate themselves put them on the losing side, which they understand as the loss of the spiritual dimension in their lives. Therefore, a fundamentalist or radical attitude becomes an escape way to get back an inner way from the defeat experienced on the outer one.”

This means that the fundamentalists or radicals are the people who reject the modern nation's life system because they are considered incompatible with Islamic values. This is due to their inability to integrate Islamic values, teachings, and concepts into the structure of modern society, both in the realm of education, family, economy, and politics.

This inability places them as the losers, through the assumption that Islam is under external threat, so they reject the modern social system to uphold the ideals of Islam. Unfortunately, the effort to re-establish the glory of Islam is carried out internally through religious methods narrating their defeat in the socio-political realm. The religious efforts are manifested in a struggle to establish a caliphate to replace democracy.

However, the reaffirmation of Islamic values to face modernization is not automatically a part of Islamic fundamentalism or radicalism. Islamic movement is considered fundamentalistic or radical if it does three categories below:

- (1) Reject the national government.
- (2) Reject the mainstream Islamic understanding in a country.
- (3) Reject the Muslim political participation in a democratic system.

6.2 Separatism Movement

The separation of East Timor from Indonesia, which began with an armed rebellion, the diplomatic struggle, until the emergence of a referendum, is a real example of a Proxy War. Paul Cleary stated that the conflict in East Timor for 40 years was actually a conspiracy to explore oil and gas in the Timor Sea. The oil in the Timor Sea, which lies in the middle line between Timor Leste and Australia, has attracted the attention of the Australian government since the 1960s. However, Portugal, which was in power over Timor-Portugal at that time, gave the oil drilling concession to a US company, Oceanic Exploration. In 1972, Indonesia and Australia finally signed a sea boundary line treaty

between the two countries without including Portugal. This treaty was made not based on international regulations regarding the median line in determining the territorial waters of a country, but based on negotiations between the two parties. The result was clearly displeasing to Indonesia because it lost a large area of water to Australia.

However, this maritime boundary agreement still left an empty gap with no ownership around Timor which eventually became known as the Timor Gap. The Timor Gap unexpectedly stored large amounts of oil and gas. In 1974, an Australian oil company called Woodside discovered an oil field in the Timor Sea which geologists have categorized as a World Class Resource called the Greater Sunrise. Australia thought that they were the only country that could explore the area even though it required a very large capital to control the oil reserves. After the East Timor became the 27th province of the Republic of Indonesia in 1976, in 1978 Australia became the first country to recognize East Timor as part of the Republic of Indonesia. In 1979, the Timor Gap treaty between Indonesia and Australia was initiated.

Learning from the experience of the 1972 maritime boundary, Indonesia rejected the proposal submitted by Australia. This processing agreement was finally stucked for ten years until 1989 the two countries agreed to establish a Cooperation Zone in the Timor Gap with a 50/50 profit sharing. However, it did not stop there. Australia wanted to control the oil reserve in the Eastern Gap with a bigger share. By using Human Rights issue, Australia called for the need of self-determination for the people of East Timor.

Various demonstrations urging Indonesia to disintegrate East Timor took place both at home and abroad. On the diplomatic front, Australia also persuaded the United Nations to pass a Security Council resolution to allow multinational troops under its leadership to enter East Timor on humanitarian grounds, to stop violence and restore peace.

The deployment of Australian troops to East Timor, which had been planned for weeks and even months before the referendum decision was taken by the Government of Indonesia, finally received international support.

After the establishment of East Timor, Australia finally had a new partner in the negotiation of oil processing in the Timor Gap, namely the Democratic Republic of East Timor (DRET). Australia understood that DRET required enormous funds to develop its country and these funds could only be obtained through the exploration of natural resources in the Timor Sea. Thus, on May 20, 2002, when East Timor got its independence from the United Nations, Australia and East Timor entered into a joint oil processing agreement in the Timor Sea. However, a follow-up agreement on profit-sharing between the two countries had yet to be agreed upon.

Australia did not want to back down from its profit-sharing offer because if DRET did not want to follow up on the Timor Gap processing agreement with Australia, it would mean that there would be no investors who would be able to process Timor Sea oil resources and the risk of DRET falling into the abyss of collapse would be high. After going through a long struggle, Australia finally had a stronger bargaining position for Timor Sea processing against DRET than when East Timor was still part of the Republic of Indonesia.

6.3 Mass Demonstration

The mass demonstrations that had been going on so far do not all have clear goals and problems. Even, on many occasions, demonstrators often do not know what will be fought for in their actions. Demonstrations that carry unreasonable and coercive demands should be suspected as an indication of the ongoing Proxy War in Indonesia. Demonstrations of workers and factory workers demanding unreasonable salary increases, the abolition of work contracts or outsourcing, and demands for monthly incentives with threats of company management replacement or strikes are examples of irrational demonstrations because these demands are difficult for companies to fulfill.

Why does this happen? Because in proxy wars, they always exploit sensitive matters related to the public interest, such as labor and others to paralyze domestic companies so that they are unable to compete with foreign companies in the global market. As a result of the labor demonstrations that occurred throughout 2013, as many as 19 companies in Jabodetabek (Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi) owned by Indonesian citizens had to go out of business and were forced to lay off thousands of workers.

Not only in Jabodetabek, palm oil companies in Sumatra and Kalimantan are also experiencing the same situation. Of the 20 palm oil companies on the island of Sumatra that have been demonstrated by their workers, all of them are owned by the Indonesian government or the private sector. Even on January 3, 2013, around 3,500 palm oil workers from Globalindo Agung Lestari (GAL) Ltd. held a demonstration in Mantangai Subdistrict, Kapuas Regency to demand to be laid off and that the factory management was transferred to Genting Plantation Nusantara Ltd. in Malaysia.

6.4 The Application of Detrimental Regulations

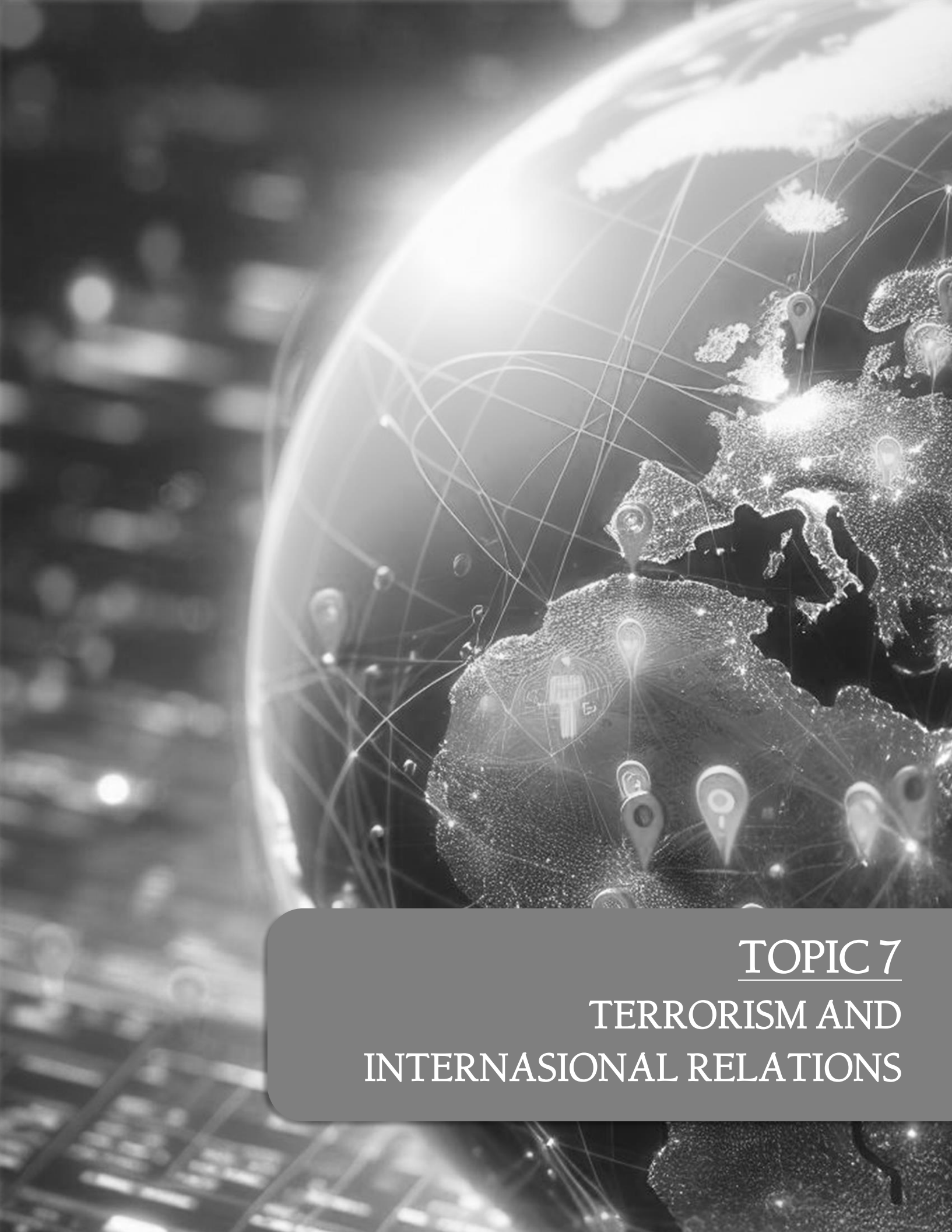
The Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) is a product of an international agreement issued on the initiative of the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United States. This regulation was adopted by the World Health Assembly on May 21, 2003, and entered into force on February 27, 2005. The FCTC utilizes the health label as a pretext for regulating tobacco internationally. However, the FCTC's material regulates more issues of the trading system, such as supply reduction, industry restrictions, product standardization, CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility), and Tobacco Products Industry taxes. This international regulation aims to pressure all countries to weaken their domestic tobacco business for health reasons.

6.5 Drug Trafficking

Drug abuse in Indonesia is believed to be related to the proxy war strategy. This is conducted to ruin the Indonesian young generation so that their nation will not have a high-quality generation in the future. The Director of Information Dissemination of the National Narcotics Agency (*Badan Narkotika Nasional*-BNN) Drs. Gun Gun Siswadi, M.Si said that if the victims of corruption are the stolen state money and the victims of terrorism are the lives of innocent people, then the victims of narcotics crimes are the lost generation.

6.6 Clashes Between Groups

In the field of education and the younger generation, there are still many fights and anarchic actions between high school students and university students. Elementary, junior high, high school students, and even university students get into fights with fellow students. In the last three years, there have been at least 41 cases of fights between students, whether between students from different faculties at the same university or between students from different universities. In addition to fights between students, at least 23 cases of burning campus facilities by students occurred in the last four years. Students, in channeling their aspirations, are sometimes accompanied by acts of vandalizing petrol station facilities. In addition, several times there have been fights between students and community members, and security forces as an excess of demonstration activities. (Gatot Nurmantyo, 2017).



TOPIC 7
TERRORISM AND
INTERNASIONAL RELATIONS

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVE

Students will gain an understanding of international terrorism networks or relations between nations.

TOPIC 7

Terrorism and International Relations

Radicalism means radical ideology. The term radical is derived from the Latin word *radix*, which means root. In English, radicalism is defined as extreme, comprehensive, fanatical, revolutionary, ultra, and fundamental. Radicalism refers to the doctrine or practice of adherents of radical or extreme understanding.

Sartono Kartodirjo defines radicalism in his own way, emphasizing movements that oppose social order. He defines radicalism as a social movement that completely rejects the existing social order and is characterized by a strong moral resentment to oppose and be hostile toward those who have privilege and power. According to the Great Dictionary of Indonesian Language, radicalism is defined as an understanding or sect that wants a change in a harsh and drastic way.

In the religious sphere, radicalism is defined as religious movements that use violence to completely overthrow the existing social and political order. Meanwhile, social studies define radicalism as an understanding that wants to make fundamental changes under its interpretation of social reality or the ideology to which it adheres.

The National Counter-Terrorism Agency (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme - BNPT*) defines radicalism as an understanding attached to a person or group who carries a religious ideology that aspires change, both social and political, through violence and extreme actions.

According to the Deputy for International Cooperation of BNPT in one of his Country Reports, radicalism and terrorism have become two major issues in which violence and the tendency to thwart the legitimate government are getting stronger. In his book, *“Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII”*, Azyumardi Azra (2013) addressed three main aspects that the Wahhabis opposed: heresy, the use of tobacco, and the wearing of silk clothes. These three issues are considered contrary to the purity of Islamic teachings and must be combated.

Since the Arab-Israeli war, transnational terrorism has afflicted many countries. The end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries have increased the risk of transnational terrorism. Terrorism differs from war. If war is an attack on the military and the occupying army, terrorism is typically an attack on civilians. In general, the tactics used by terrorists are to carry out civil wars, rebellions, and other forms of political violence.

If the target of terrorism is to maintain peace and the military, the purpose of the terrorist attack must be questioned. Terrorism, according to Enders and Sandler, is an activity that comes with modern civilization. Terrorism has grown in importance and emerged as a tool of conflict since the last quarter century when terrorists took advantage of advances in communications, transportation, and technology to intimidate the global community with threats of violence until their political demands were achieved.

Terrorism research in economics is a relatively new endeavor pioneered by Landes (1978), as well as Sandler, Tschirhart, and Cauley (1983). Many references to terrorism written in the political approach differ in some fundamental ways from those in the economic ones. They tend to be policy-oriented, but economic studies attempt to construct a theoretical model, which necessitates the formulation and testing of empirical hypotheses beforehand. Many economic references rely on

statistical solutions, whereas the majority of political references rely on observation data, case studies, institutional details, and taxonomies.

7.1 Impact of Terrorism on the Global Community

Definition of International Relations

International Relations is related to cross border relation to nation-state. It discusses international politics-economics, global governance, intercultural relations, national and ethnic identities, foreign policy analysis, development studies, environment, international security, diplomacy, terrorism, media, social movements, etc. Several definitions of international relations are:

The Great Dictionary of Indonesian Language: International Relations is a subject that discusses interaction, relation, and communication between countries related to foreign policy, which include: diplomacy, conflict, welfare, economic, and world peace.

Book of strategic planning for the implementation of foreign policy: relations between nations in all its aspects carried out by a country to achieve its national interest.

Daniel S. Papp: International Relations is a science that studies international issues and systems that form international relations and the actors involved in them.

Hugo de Groot (Father of International Law): Law and IR are based on the free will and consent of countries with the aim of being in the common interest of the countries involved.

Mochtar Kusumaatmadja: Along with the relationship among nations, customs or legal regulations that are mutually agreed also develop.

The goals of International Relations are to; establish cooperation in the sectors of politics, economics, social, culture, defense, and security; Strengthen international relations between countries; Create mutual understanding among nations; Facilitate economic relations between countries; Increase international marketing opportunities for domestic products; Stimulate economic growth in the country; Meet each other's needs; Provide justice and welfare to people in countries around the world; And foster peace and security.

The benefits of fostering international relations are:

1. Ideological benefit, to keep and maintain the survival of the nation and state.
2. Political benefit, to support the implementation of political policies and foreign relations that are used for the national interest, especially for the benefit of development in all sectors.
3. Economic benefit, to aid efforts in increasing national economic development.
4. Social and cultural benefit, to aid efforts in fostering and developing the nation's socio-cultural values in an attempt to overcome every form of threats, challenges, obstacles, disturbances, and international crimes in the context of implementing national development.
5. International peace and security benefit, to help maintain international peace, security, and stability.
6. Humanitarian benefit, to aid efforts to prevent and overcome every form of disaster and rehabilitate its consequences.
7. Another benefit, to increase the role and image of Indonesia in international forums

and relations between countries and the trust of the international community.

Means of fostering International Relations (J. Fradhel):

1. Diplomacy: activities related to the conduct of foreign policy among countries and nations, which can be carried out bilaterally (two countries) or multilaterally (more than two countries).
2. Propaganda: systematic efforts aimed at influencing the mindset, opinions, emotions, and actions of a group/society in order to achieve society's interest in general.
3. Economic, Social, and Cultural (another means for countries to strengthen cooperation), as evidenced by the numerous collaborations built by countries in various worlds concerning social and cultural life.
4. Military Power: adequate military equipment and war power can improve confidence and stability in diplomacy.

Principles of International Relations:

1. Territorial principle:
 - the principle that requires countries involved in IR to retain power over their territories (regions).
 - American Society of International Law: a state can regulate civil and criminal matters within the bounds of its sovereignty. For example, a foreign citizen commits a crime in Indonesia, then Indonesia has the right to apply its jurisdiction (authority) to the criminal.
 - also means that other countries may not interfere and violate the territorial boundaries of a country.
2. National Principles:
 - which states that a citizen will always be bound by his nation even if he is abroad.
 - allow Indonesian citizens living abroad to participate in elections. Elections can still be held in other countries by adjusting the laws in place.
 - If an Indonesian citizen in the USA does something that is legal in the USA but illegal in Indonesia, the individual can then be processed in accordance with the laws of his country of origin.
3. The principle of public interest:
 - It states that countries in International Relations can regulate social life by prioritizing the public interest.
 - the existence of violations or threats to things of public interest can be adjusted by law without being bound by a country's territorial boundaries.

These three principles must be followed in International Relations to benefit the welfare of the countries involved. Without international principles, International Relations can become unbalanced, allowing developed countries to interfere in the affairs of other countries.

Security Study

Security is the absence of threats to acquired value and the absence of fear that such values will be attacked (Arnold Wolfers). Security study is one of the “sub-fields” of International Relations. International Relations and Security study are complementary to each other. Relations between

countries are an important aspect and have a direct impact on security dynamics. Issues in Security are: (1) Life insecurity; (2) Threat agenda construction; and (3) Inequality of threat agendas across countries.

There are 6 Threat clusters (UN High Panel 2004). There are the economic and social threats, including poverty, infectious diseases, and environmental degradation. And then there are the interstate conflicts and internal conflicts, including civil war, genocide and other large-scale atrocities; CBRN (chemical, biological radiology, nuclear) weapons. The next are **terrorism** and transnational organized crime.

Impacts on Global Security

The impacts of terrorism towards the global community in the global security aspects are:

- The alliance relationship pattern has changed (pro or against US; US with Middle Eastern countries)
- Diplomatic Relations (state to state) in the international system.
- Global aviation safety standards.
- New standards in counter-terrorism measures in every country.
- Terrorism as “common enemy” of many countries (> 150 countries affected).
- Disbelief in "Islam “.

Impacts on Global Economy

While the impacts in the global economy aspects are:

- Damaging “capital” and reducing economic capacity.
 - It resulted in a \$US 855 trillion economic loss between 2000 and 2018.
 - It is calculated based on 4 indicators: death, injury, property damage, and loss of GDP (domestic income).
- Disruption to economic life at a large scale with effects appearing in a matter of days.
- Impact on growth, investment, consumption, and the tourism sector.
- Different effect on “Developed” with “Developing” Economy.
 - The GDP of the Developed Economy lost 0.2%/million people, while the GDP of the Developing Economy lost 1.4% /million people.
- In 2018, deaths were the largest component of the economic impact.

Impacts on Global Politics

The impacts towards global politics are:

- Terrorism is correlated with religious fanaticism (Islam).
- Islamic fanaticism is judged (by certain parties) to be contrary to the principles of democracy (West).
- West (non-Islamic, nationalist/non-nationalist) against Islam.
- The fight against terrorism creates state political policies, through a process of domestic and foreign political interaction.

- The foreign policy of a country will be integrated in the international system → state to state
→ international relations.



TOPIC 8
TALKING TO TERRORISTS

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVE

Students will gain an understanding of the process of talking to terrorists

TOPIC 8

Talking to Terrorists

Enders (2007) defines terrorism as the planned use of extraordinary violence or brutality to achieve certain social or political goals. This is accomplished through intimidation or instilling fear to the population. There are two things related to this goal:

- (1) Act of terrorism contains social or political motivation.
- (2) The objective is to intimidate a particular social group.

Terrorists conduct acts of violence by pressuring a community group or government to obtain certain political concessions. The existence of this political goal is important because threats of violence that are used to extort money without an underlying political motive is not considered an act of terrorism.

The political goals of terrorism vary from seeking religious freedom, increasing economic equality, redistributing income, increasing nationalism, pursuing separatism, ideological goals, nihilism, and various other specific issues.

Terrorists often conduct violence and threats against a group of vulnerable targets and are not directly involved in the political decision-making process. Thus, acts of terrorism can injure anyone, including pedestrians along busy markets or passengers waiting to check in at airline counters. When a terrorism incident in one country involves victims, targets, institutions, governments, or citizens of another country, then terrorism is transnational in character.

A hijacking of an airplane in country A's skies that ended up in country B's skies is an international occurrence, as is a kidnapping in a country that makes demands against individuals or institutions from other countries. If a terrorist group launches an operation from another country, the event is called a transnational event.

A transnational event is an example of an externality that has crossed national borders because actions taken in one country can cause harm to people or groups of people in another country.

8.1 Terrorist Motives

Strategic Model

The most popular paradigm that is taught to explain terrorist behavior is called the strategic model. It claims that terrorists are political utility maximizers. If it is valid, then the best counterterrorism strategy involves actions that reduce the utility of terrorism as a political tool.

A puzzling behavior on the strategic model's presumptions is that strategic terrorist attacks on civilians have always failed to get all of their political objectives. It would seem that terrorism is not actually a last resort. Democracies have been willing to negotiate and redress grievances, yet it seems that some terrorist groups start off by engaging in terrorism rather than reconciling their differences with the state. Terrorists seem to be unwilling to negotiate, even directly and when it is clear that

they could make huge gains in their program. It seems they prefer continued confrontation which seems to be working against their official goals. Terrorist leaders seem to be forever changing their political goals. Sometimes even adopting contrary or opposing goals.

Most terrorist attacks are anonymous and the percentage is rising. Furthermore, many attacks for which responsibility is claimed, do not come with any demands. Terrorist groups often fight each other, even when they have similar goals. If goals were of primary importance, rational agents would work together yet this does not appear to be the case. Some terrorist groups can last a long time without any success in reaching their goals. It may be that at first, they made a mistake but after many years of failure, it seems that the goals are not the real reason. We are left with two possible solutions: terrorists are irrational (for which there is plenty of evidence to the contrary) or terrorists' goals are different from the official goals they claim.

Organizational Theories: The Natural Systems Model

It is more accurate to say that terrorists join terrorist groups for social solidarity. If this is true, then there should be some evidence that: (1) people have joined for personal reasons rather than for the official reasons the group promotes; and (2) that, at the organizational level, terrorist groups have worked to keep the group going strong at the expense of their official goals. There is evidence and growing support for this claim.

Terrorist groups seem to inordinately attract people who are socially disaffected and/or alienated. A huge percentage of captured terrorists claim that they joined for friendship rather than for a cause. The proximate cause for joining a terrorist group was because a friend or family member was involved. Case studies have shown that terrorists stay in and continue with the group to improve relationships and/or reduce their feelings of loneliness. In interviews with many terrorists (even their leaders), it has become clear that very few develop a strong comprehension of their group's official goals and philosophy.

Recruitment is focused on the lonely and rejected rather than on people who have expressed commitment to the official goals of the group. Although terrorist acts rarely achieve their goals, they have been shown to help increase fellowship, esprit de corps and membership. Terrorists seem to like hanging out together regardless of their political cause as the ethnic diversity and popularity of training camps has shown. The death of some terrorist groups seems to be related to a generation gap which has made some groups less socially interesting to join. In these cases, the dearth of recruits ended the terrorist group.

Trauma and Dissociation

The deepest impression that we have found in talking to terrorists and their associates of Chechen and Palestinian origin is an overwhelming sense of personal traumatization. Nearly everyone linked to terrorism that we spoke to in both groups had direct personal experience of trauma – they had personally witnessed death, torture, beating, or incarceration of loved ones or had these experiences themselves.

Fatima (25-year-old, Chechen): “My brother was killed in the last year, he was exploded on a mine. He was only 17 years old. Sometimes I feel such strong hatred of Russians for this war. . . (But)

I will never go to kill civilians, who are not guilty in anything. But after the death of my brother, I had thoughts about blowing myself up in some checkpoint with some military men.” “When I pray, I ask Allah to give me reason and patience not to do it.”

Mustafa (18-year-old, Palestinian): the beatings he endured and what he witnessed in jail – including that one of his cellmates was beaten to death (according to his account) pushed him beyond all sense of psychological normalcy. In speaking of how he would be willing to strap on a bomb to take revenge on the Israelis he explained, “Every moment when you pass the line of death, you are already dead.”

Zacharia Zubeidi (the leader of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade): “I took a look from the window. I decided I want to die. But when I got my weapon ready and jumped on them, I decided not to die. It was for a moment, a feeling like – death is a mercy. I felt like the feeling of being a martyr when I jumped on them, but it changed just when I opened the door. In one flash of any eye my feelings changed from asking to be martyred to cursing.”

Nadya (a young college student, Palestinian woman): She often fears being arrested – she experiences daily a fear that she copes with by pushing it out of her awareness (dissociation). “There is fear. I keep struggling inside with it but I never show it. Because if I do, he (the enemy) will see it as a sign of weakness and exploit it. If I show it, he can beat me.” “I don’t feel fear always. I have some violence in my personality so fear is not an issue.” “Since I was young, I saw death. There is fear inside, but even to me it is not always obvious. I know it is there, but I don’t feel it.”

Anger & Losing the Fear of Death as Routes to Empowerment

Bashar (College student, Palestinian): how he came to a fundamental understanding about the power that embracing his own death gave him during an interaction with a member of the Israeli military.

Nadya (the Palestinian): whose fear states sometimes get so strong that she loses her awareness of them and even feels outside of her body, explained to us how she uses anger to try to keep herself psychologically together in the face of these overwhelming fear states. On the one hand, she feels powerful when she is active working on politics and militant causes but she loses herself when friends and loved ones are arrested, shot at, or killed. “That feeling comes when there is too much pressure, too much loss that feeling comes, but I stay angry and say I will continue.” We ask, “You need anger to keep yourself together?” She answers, “Yes. Anger pushes me further.”

Zubeidi: he often had to do something extreme to jar himself out of painful dissociative states, such as shooting at dogs, or shooting his gun outside homes of those who were sleeping to wake them up.

The Role of Leadership and Indoctrination in Promoting Suicide Terrorism

The role of leadership and indoctrination in promoting suicide terrorism is often misunderstood. Certainly, in Palestine, Chechnya, Pakistan, the former Afghan training camps, and elsewhere, there has and continues to be top-down training and indoctrination into Jihadist ideologies, which promotes violence, self-sacrifice, terrorism and martyrdom.

Societies where widespread traumatization, dissociative responses, daily humiliations and

hardships exist generally produce a segment of society – often in the better educated and sensitive sector of young people who in other circumstances would have been leaders – who are in search for making meaning out of their situations, and who wish to fight back.

The fatwas and statements made by Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups open the door for individuals and communities to embrace extreme measures as morally acceptable responses to a more powerful enemy and create possibilities that the individual himself might never consider in acting against the enemy – whether that enemy be a nationalist foe as in the case of the Israelis and Russians for Palestinians and Chechens, or a more cosmically identified foe as in the case of “Western Crusaders and Jews” for Al Qaeda.

Psychological Contagion

When a member of one’s family or group has gone ahead as a martyr, a strong psychological contagion effect often occurs in their wake. The barrier to suicide for family members and close associates of the martyred individual are lowered, especially if the individual, group and community honors the death by martyrdom. Grief and trauma over the loss can further open the doors to considering following the same path.

The traumatized individual seeks meaning. The bereaved seeks reunion. Both are in search for respite from psychic pain – respite that death can offer. In our samples, we have found that this breaking point after suffering too many traumatic losses is repeatedly mentioned. A Palestinian college student and militant member of the PFLP: she had five close friends either self-martyred or killed by Israelis in the last year. “I want to be a fighter; I want a gun to go and kill them. I want to fight for everyone. I am a good soldier.”

8.2 Terrorism in Indonesia

Historic Roots of Violent Ideology in Indonesia

The arrival of Islam in Indonesia as pointed out by historian Dong Sull Choi: “Unlike Islam in the Middle East and India, Indonesia was not conquered by force. The Sufis came not only as teachers but as traders and politicians...Sufism is the science of the direct knowledge of God; its doctrines and methods derive from the Koran and Islamic revelation. Sufism freely makes use of paradigms and concepts derived from Greek and even Hindu sources. The Sufis communicated their religious ideas in a form compatible with beliefs already held in Indonesia. For instance, pantheistic doctrines were easily understood because of Hindu teachings extant in the archipelago. The resemblance between the Sufi outlook and Hinduism was great. The Sufis stressed religious retreats and minimized the importance of mosque worship...and, of course, centered their belief on the individual mystical experience of God.”

Writing about this period of Indonesian history, Greg Fealy commented that from the 1780s, people returning from the pilgrimage and study in the Middle East set about “reforming” local Islamic practices and applying Islamic law more strictly in the region. They opposed gambling, the use of intoxicants (alcoholic beverages), and “un-Islamic” entertainment such as cockfighting. Their uncompromising puritanism sparked fierce resistance from the local religious and political elite

and from the Dutch, and eventually led to the outbreak of the *Padri* Wars during the early decades of the nineteenth century. The tension between the *Padri* and the Sufi Tarekat orders, as well as the Dutch colonial authorities who were drawn into the conflict, developed into an all-out war which raged from 1821 to 1838.

As George Fowler explains: “Although the *Padri* were ultimately crushed by the Dutch forces and their main leaders either killed or exiled, a more orthodox form of Islam had succeeded in establishing itself by expanding religious schools and strengthening the position of religious teachers in the *nagari*.”

From the mid-1800s, therefore, a strict Wahhabism interpretation of Islam had begun to take hold in some parts of the Indonesian archipelago. Contemporaneous and subsequent events would reinforce this violent mentality in the minds of some of its adherents. These included the Java war of 1825 to 1830 during which Javanese Prince Diponegoro used Islam as a banner around which to rally and unify his troops against the infidel, foreign oppressors, the Dutch.

During the 20th century is when the failure of Islam to be specially recognized in the Constitution (Jakarta Charter), then the Darul Islam (DI) uprising of the 1940s, 50s and 60s – led by Kartosoewirjo. Out of the ashes of DI grew Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and all of its subsequent offshoot organizations. JI, which still exists and operates in Indonesia, is a violent organization formerly led by Abu Bakar Bashir and responsible for the heinous Bali bombings of 2002.

The Soeharto New Order era: The *Asas Tunggal* legislation of 1983 required all social organizations to proclaim Pancasila as their ideological basis. There were also instances of state brutality against Islamic groups such as the 1984 Tanjung Priok shootings and Lampung in 1989. Indonesian Mujahidin went to Afghanistan to train and fight and brought back bomb-making and military skills. At the same time, increasing numbers of Indonesians received their education in Middle Eastern countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Palestine.

Continuing Ideology

Noor Huda Ismail (founder of the Institute for International Peace Building: “Most people are drawn to terrorism not because of a set of ideas or lectures; they are driven by a sense of injustice. It is more often an emotional decision than an intellectual one.” In the political sphere, the ideology presses for the urgent rectification of the Indonesian Constitution to include a clause obliging all Muslims to be subject to Shariah law. Furthermore, the Indonesian Republic should be replaced with an Islamic state, the Negara Islam Indonesia and that Shariah (an undefined body of Islamic law) should be implemented, complete with *hudud* or violent punishments such as stoning and amputation for offenders.

Sukma, Ma’ruf, and Abdullah: “The analysis in this article is based on the results of a national survey. It is interesting to note that although in general Muslims in Indonesia rejected terrorism as a method of struggle, they have great sympathy for the struggle of their fellow Muslims in other parts of the world. In fact, they are willing to give financial contribution.”

In a similar vein, Noorhaidi Hasan commented: “In tandem with the seemingly rising consciousness of Indonesian Muslims to demonstrate their religious self in the public sphere, Islam has increasingly moved to the center and become part of political expressions, legal transactions, economic activities, as well as social and cultural practices.”

Changing Strategies

The last major terrorist bombing was the Marriott/Ritz Carlton attack of 2009 in which there were seven fatalities and 50 injured. A plot to assassinate President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and launch a massive Mumbai-style attack against state officials, hotels and tourists, planned for Indonesian Independence Day on August 17th, was uncovered and foiled by police. Since around 2010, almost all fatalities from “terrorist” attacks have been police. “Since 2009, all but one of those killed by jihadists or in terrorist attacks in Indonesia have been police: ten in 2010, three in 2011 and eight in 2012.” It could be said that, in effect, a war is raging between two discrete factions: Jihadist groups on the one hand and the Indonesian Police on the other. It may be argued that this change indicates an ideological shift on the part of terrorist groups from targeting the “far enemy” to the “near enemy”, although it appears just as likely that this war is fueled to a large extent by simple revenge.

There are also practical reasons for terrorists to target police – and there is undoubtedly much debate and discussion within terrorist groups about which targets are most appropriate and strategically beneficial. Large bombings of public places indiscriminately kill too many Muslims and can lead to a backlash from the very people the terrorist groups are trying to recruit to their cause. Killing police on the other hand has many practical benefits, it is a source of weapons, and it gives fellow mujahidin something to do, especially after they have received their basic training. A simple low-level attack on a police post may also be a kind of initiation rite for a newly trained fighter. It must be asked though, whether the real aim of the attacks is to create fear? If not, we may need to rethink labelling and prosecuting these attacks as terrorism.

Sydney Jones: “It used to be that jihadis saw the creation of fear as a very specific objective. One man involved in the 2004 Australian embassy bombing, when asked what his aim was, said, “We wanted to make Western nations tremble.” The aim now isn’t that cosmic; it’s much more instrumental. It’s about getting weapons, taking revenge, and giving militants something to do, particularly after they’ve undergone training. While the attacks are sometimes couched –usually after the fact-- in terms of moving against *thaghut* (anti-Islamic oppressors supported by the West), that kind of rationalization is less frequent these days. The main aim of killing police is certainly not to create fear.”

Methods of Recruitment

Pengajian, or Islamic study groups, at mosques or university campuses which have been targeted as recruiting grounds; internet chat forums and social media sites such as Facebook; and the targeting of unemployed men living near mosques. Younger siblings (*saudara kandung*) of slain or imprisoned extremists have proven to be good targets for radical recruiting and show the importance of family ties in building and maintaining networks of terrorist connections. Arranged marriages have also been instrumental in reinforcing bonds. And finally, *taklim* or fiery sermons filled with hate speech and incitement to violence, by radical clerics can serve as informal meeting points for those with similar radical views.

Recidivism

There have been many instances of prisoners, who, upon their release from prison, either re-established contact with old networks or were introduced to terrorist networks while in prison. There have also been several examples of ordinary prisoners being recruited and radicalized in prison that then go on to commit Islamist violence upon their release. In Indonesia, experts say, some radicals finish their sentences with an even greater commitment to deadly jihad. Of 120 arrested and 25 killed in raids since February 2010, some 26 had previously been in prison for terrorist acts, according to the International Crisis Group, which researches deadly conflict.



TOPIC 9

STATE'S RESPONSE AND HOW STATE
PROMOTE CHARACTER BUILDING TO
COUNTER TERRORISM

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVE

Students will gain an understanding of state's attitude towards acts of terrorism and how to terminate terrorist networks.

TOPIC 9

State's Response and How State Promote Character Building to Counter Terrorism

Serious and planned efforts to tackle criminal acts of terrorism in Indonesia were initiated after the Bali Bombing Case I on October 12, 2002. On October 16, 2002, around 50 witnesses had undergone examination by the Bali Police. By October 18, 2002, Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (*Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang-Perppu*) Number 1 of 2002 on the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism was issued. The series of events evolved into a part of the international agenda for war on terrorism campaigned by the United States after the bombing of the World Trade Center (WTC) in New York on September 11, 2001. Afterwards, the agenda for war on terrorism carried out by the Indonesian government has become an international political diplomacy. It also strengthens the commitment to international cooperation.

The counter-terrorism strategy carried out by the government, both by the 88 Special Detachment (*Detasemen Khusus 88-Densus 88*), the National Counterterrorism Agency (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme-BNPT*), and the Penitentiary, is in principle a step to fulfill, protect, and respect human rights. Hence, it must still pay attention to the basic principles of human rights itself. This issue is important in order to maintain state accountability and performance so as not to violate human rights principles that must be upheld in dealing with criminal acts of terrorism.

The handling of terrorism in Indonesia in Khamda's study can be divided into two models, namely deradicalization and counterterrorism. According to him, counterterrorism focuses more on prevention and handling strategies for the wider community, while deradicalization focuses on the perpetrators of criminal acts inside and outside prisons. Each strategy consists of actions before terror occurs (preventive), actions when terror is in progress (responsive), and actions after terror occurred.

The second objective of the counterterrorism model is the effectiveness of the steps utilized to prevent acts of terror beyond simply responding to attacks or eradicating terrorism. This must be a focus because combating terrorism is like fighting an infectious disease from which 'prevention is better than cure'.

The Bali Bombing I incident was the beginning of the use of 'terrorism' term in Indonesia, which conforms to the international agenda in dealing with terrorism based on the ratified international treaties. The *Perppu* on the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism was continued by President Megawati Soekarnoputri who instructed the coordinating minister for Political and Security Affairs to form a working unit for eradicating terrorism through Presidential Instruction Number 2002 dated October 22, 2002.

The next step was for the coordinating minister for Political and Security Affairs at that time, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, to follow up the Presidential Instruction on the Eradication of Criminal Acts of terrorism by establishing an Anti-Terror Desk through the Decree of the coordinating minister for Political and Security Affairs Number Kep-26/Menko/Polkam/11/2002

concerning the Establishment of the Coordination Desk for the Eradication of Terrorism. A working unit within the Coordinating Ministry for Political and Security Affairs chaired by Inspector General Pol. Ansyad Mbai was tasked to formulate policies for eradicating criminal acts of terrorism. They included strategies for deterrence, prevention, overcoming, stopping, resolving, and taking all necessary legal actions against acts of terrorism since they were enacted on November 27, 2002.

The issuance of Law Number 2 of 2002 on the Indonesian Police (Polri) and the Law Number 15 of 2003 on Criminal Acts of Terrorism, or the so-called Anti-Terrorism Law, affirms Polri's authority as the main element in eradicating criminal acts of terrorism in Indonesia. On the other hand, the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and the State Intelligence Agency (BIN) are becoming the supporting forces. The regulatory mandate became the basis for the National Police Chief to issue the National Police Chief's Decree No. 30/VI/3003 dated June 20, 2003, concerning the formation of Densus 88 Anti-Terror Police.

The involvement of TNI forces to support measures to eradicate terrorism or military operations other than war is confirmed in Law Number 34 of 2004 on the TNI. Steps to improve coordination in counterterrorism involving the Police, TNI, and the community became the main discussion in the Working Meeting between the Commission 1 of the People's Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*-DPR) and the coordinating minister on August 31, 2009, resulting in recommendation to form a special agency for counterterrorism.

President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono followed up the recommendation of the Commission 1 of the DPR and the Coordinating Ministry of Political and Security Affairs on July 16, 2010 by issuing Presidential Regulation Number 46 of 2010 on BNPT and appointing Inspector General Pol. Ansyad Mbai as the Head of BNPT.

The systematic counterterrorism scope in the Presidential Regulation includes policies on prevention, protection, deradicalization, prosecution, and development of national preparedness. These scopes are executed by the BNPT through three deputies, namely the Deputy for Prevention, Protection, and Deradicalization; the Deputy for Prosecution and Development; and the Deputy for International Cooperation. The presence of the BNPT institution was the starting point for the peacebuilding approach to be implemented in the community as well as against terrorist convicts and ex-convicts. This effort is being carried out until now.

In the preventive aspect, the government issued, among others, *Perppu* Number 1 of 2002, which on April 4, 2003, passed into Law Number 15 of 2003 on the Eradication of Terrorism.

The law confirms the retroactive principle's application of Article 46. The application of the retroactive principle constructed an act that was not originally a criminal act, but can be subject to criminal penalties. Provisions for the application of the retroactive principle used to impose the death penalty for the perpetrators of the Bali Bombing I explosion, namely Amrozi, Ali Imron, and Imam Samudera. It was also a manifestation of an extraordinary attitude toward prevention because the retroactive principle is a deviation from the legality principle of criminal law which prohibits retroactive application of the

law. The Criminal Code (*Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana-KUHP*) had not specifically regulated and was not adequate to eradicate terrorism. The retroactive application was intended to prevent the imminence of criminals, prevent a legal vacuum, and the principle of justice.

In the field of prevention, this step was carried out extraordinarily because terrorist crimes are classified as extraordinary crimes. Prevention was being taken by the government, among others, by issuing *Perppu* Number 1 of 2002, on April 4, 2003, which was passed into Law Number 15 of 2003 on the Eradication of Non-Criminal Terrorism.

The scope of the terrorism prevention process consists of surveillance, counterpropaganda, deterrence, and vigilance. Each coverage requires measurable, systematic, and sustainable steps. Richardson (2006) states that the effective handling of terrorism does not merely depend on the eradication strategy, but also the terrorism prevention strategy. This prevention strategy is not only carried out by the government through the BNPT, but also by civil society through community organizations.

In the field of protection, this step is taken to guarantee protection against the involvement and impact of criminal acts of terrorism. Protection for involvement can be distinguished by its status as the suspect, defendant, witness, and victim. The government's initial policy in providing protection guarantees was through the ratification Government Regulation Number 24 of 2003 on the Procedures for the Protection of Witnesses, Investigators, Public Prosecutors, and Judges in Terrorism Crime Cases. Law Number 13 of 2006 on the protection of witnesses and victims mandates the importance of witnesses and reporters' role to help uncover criminal acts.

Security protection from the impact of criminal acts of terrorism is executed by the government by establishing and strengthening state institutions that are related to the eradication of terrorism. The first attempt to strengthen state institutions was by instructing the coordinating minister for Political and Security Affairs to form the Coordination Desk for the Eradication of Terrorism, which became the forerunner to the establishment of BNPT. Then, POLRI was strengthened through the formation of a special unit called Densus 88 Anti-Terror.

In the deradicalization aspect, what is being done is to neutralize radical ideas for anyone involved in acts of terrorism and their sympathizers as well as community members who have been exposed to this idea. Deradicalization can be interpreted as an effort to reduce activities that have a radical spirit with acts of violence, concentrate on facilitating behavior change, breaking ties, and rejecting the use of violence.

Meanwhile, the prosecution activities have been carried out by the Police through the Densus 88's achievements. Repressive methods in enforcement operations tend to be an option. These activities are exposed excessively by the news media, both print media, electronic media, and online media, which encourages the birth of new radicalism in network relations and new movements that are separated from old networks but have the same potential threat.

A number of these aspects are still being developed through various methods in order to obtain optimal results in the context of dealing with criminal acts of terrorism in the country. Many countries appreciate Indonesia for the hard approach, the enforcement

activities carried out by the security forces, Densus 88, TNI's counter-terrorism task force, the anti-terror task force of the Attorney General's Office of the Republic of Indonesia, and other officials and law enforcement agencies.

All terrorist acts could be handled by bringing the alleged terror perpetrators before a panel of judges. Hence, the perpetrators will get a legally binding verdict to be transferred to a correctional institution.

Deradicalization as an alternative solution

In an effort to balance the success of law enforcement officers in taking action against suspected terrorists, the government through the BNPT carried out deradicalization to people affected by the persuasion of ISIS members recruiters and the members of an anarchist-radical network that continues to persist both in conventional ways from house to house and in a more sophisticated way by using the mass media.

Over all those recruitment efforts, deradicalization has three dimensions:

- (1) Deradicalization as a strategy the first two concrete efforts to counter radicalization are aimed at the public in general, namely all communities that have not been exposed to anarchist radicalism. The main targets are the younger generation who are currently studying at high schools, religious education institutions, and higher education institutions such as universities and colleges, in addition to the educated ones. For women, counter-radicalization is an effort to increase the immunity and resilience of the community, so that they are not easily influenced by the persuasion of recruiters, both conventionally and through social media. Meanwhile, disengagement is the second way of deradicalization. This step seeks to get rid of the anarchist radical ideology, break away from the entanglement of the radical ideology and keep on strengthening the nation-state's ideology.
- (2) Deradicalization as a program has two program formulations, namely institutional deradicalization by the BNPT and national deradicalization program that is led by all ministries and institutions with the BNPT acts as a state civil institution that coordinates the prevention and law enforcement efforts, enhances international cooperative relations. In this case, the BNPT, in particular the directorate of Deradicalization, has the main objectives of fostering correctional institutions for terrorist convicts, and coaching ex-terrorists, ex-terrorist prisoners, families, and anarchist radical networks to become members of the community again.
- (3) Deradicalization as an institutional program. Since the end of 2010, BNPT has established a deradicalization function at the directorate level structure. Based on the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 46 of 2010, the Directorate of Deradicalization oversees the Sub-Directorate of Deterrence and the Sub-Directorate of Resocialization of Rehabilitation



TOPIC 10
THE CONCEPT OF SECURITY IN
THE MODERN WORLD

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVE

Students will gain understanding on the concept of security in the modern world

TOPIC 10

The Concept of Security in The Modern World

Indonesia is a large nation that has a long historical background. This is evidenced, among other things, by the existence of kingdoms in the archipelago who became the past rulers of Southeast Asia. Before the formation of the Republic of Indonesia, we knew the Sriwijaya kingdom in the 7th century and the Majapahit Kingdom in the 14th century. However, ironically, the two great empires finally collapsed, not due to invasion or aggression from external power, but due to a prolonged internal conflict.

In later developments, the history of the struggle for independence of the Indonesian nation also provides lessons that a partial and regionally-limited struggle does not bring success. On the other hand, when all the youths were united and fought together, both at the time of the national revival on May 20, 1908 and at the event of the Youth Pledge on October 28, 1928, finally the national struggle, which was based on the strong national unity and integrity, was able to produce glorious results, namely the August 17, 1945 Proclamation of Independence.

These two historical facts, on the one hand, remind us of the great danger of conflict, and on the other hand, they also remind us of the importance of unity and integrity for the Indonesian nation. It is interesting to relate these important aspects to some contemporary realities. For example, the rapid increase in the world's population is not balanced with the availability of food, clean water, and energy. This condition is very easy to trigger the emergence of new conflicts, both intra and between nations, due to the struggle over sources of food, water, and energy.

Regarding potential conflicts in the future, at a time when fossil energy is replaced with biological energy, the energy conflict location will shift to the parts of the world which have food and energy sources, namely areas along the equator. In this regard, Indonesia is one of the countries in the equatorial region that has the potential for cultivating vegetation throughout the year, which might become an arena of competition for the national interests of various countries. For this reason, careful anticipation and preparation steps are needed so that the Indonesian people are able to guarantee the integrity and sovereignty of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.

Strategic anticipation must be undergone by every Indonesian citizen, especially government officials, including the Indonesian Armed Forces (Tentara Nasional Indonesia-TNI) and the Indonesian Police (Kepolisian Republik Indonesia-Polri). All levels of the national components must be aware of and understand the various challenges and threats that are currently developing, especially that in today's very tight global competition, the destruction of a nation is not through conventional war by state enemy, but also through new war methods that are often difficult to recognize tangibly. However, it has the same destructive effect and can even be more powerful than conventional methods of warfare.

For this reason, we all have to think about the various dynamic steps and adjustments against those real challenges and threats to our country. Next, we must unite our steps, cooperate, and synergize to safeguard our nation and state.

10.1 Energy as a Background of Conflict

Conflicts around the world occur as a result of competing interests between countries to control energy sources. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, for example, was a shortcut to recover the Iraqi economy due to falling oil prices on the international market. Iraq, which relies on oil as the main commodity of state revenue, was hit hard by the change in oil prices. By claiming Kuwait as a province of Iraq, Saddam Husein hoped to be able to improve his country's economy because he could control Kuwait's oil wells worth US\$2.4 billion. The United States was worried that this situation would destabilize world oil prices and disrupt oil supplies to the country. With various pretexts, America finally invaded Iraq with a military operation known as Operation Desert Storm.

The struggle for oil resources in Abyei, an area on the border between South Sudan, is the root of the conflict in Sudan. South Sudan, which needs two pipelines through Sudanese territory to transport oil to export ports on the Red Sea, has accused Sudan of stealing the oil that flows into the pipeline. On the other hand, Sudan accusing South Sudan of not wanting to pay the rent for this oil pipeline.

The conflict in Negeria is also caused by an oil background. The Niger River Delta region is known for the largest oil reserve in Nigeria. Indigenous people perceive the government as committing oil resource mismanagement by being too biased towards multinational companies exploring the area. With the support of the Nigerian government, these companies are converting community-owned agricultural lands, mangrove forests, and riverbank areas as construction sites of oil refinery facilities, oil well drilling areas, and oil distribution pipelines.

Of the various conflicts that occur in the world, more than 70 percent are caused by the struggle for energy sources. Countries that have fossil energy sources (oil, gas, and coal) become a gathering place for various interests in the world. This is very reasonable because a country is obliged to guarantee the safety of its citizens and secure the availability of energy needed for its nation's survival, whether sourced from domestic exploration or through cooperation with foreign countries.

On the other hand, in 2011 British Petroleum (BP) issued a report stating that the world's fossil energy reserve only remains for 45 years, while the remaining fossil energy in Indonesia is only for 11.8 years. The world's energy reserve is estimated to be run out in 2056, while Indonesia is estimated to be in 2023 with the assumption that the world's energy demand will not increase. BP in early 2014 estimated that the world's energy consumption in 2035 would increase to 41 percent of today's needs.

Against the fact that fossil energy cannot be renewed, nowadays many experts and academics around the world are trying to create new energy sources to replace fossil energy. Based on various scientific findings, one of the new energy sources is energy that comes from plants or better known as bioenergy. This tendency to increase the use of bio-energy in 2007-2008 has even triggered a crisis in world food prices increased very sharply, up to 75%, partly due to the diversion of the use of food materials into bio-energy.

10.2 The 1798 Malthus Theory

In 1798, English demographer and political economist named Thomas Malthus theorized about population principle. Malthus predicted that the population would overwhelm the food supply,

causing a reduction in the amount of food per person. Malthus stated that population increases like a geometric progression, while the availability of food increases like an arithmetic progression.

Malthus' theory is supported by a statistician named Laurence Smith. In a book released in 2011, Smith stated that the world's population is growing rapidly. If in 1800 the world population only reached 1 billion, the world's population has reached 7 billion in 2011. According to Smith's calculations, the world's population will increase by 1 billion people every 6 years.

If Malthus' theory and Smith's data are mapped, the meeting point between proportional food availability and the world's population ratio lies in 2011, which is called as the tipping point. After that year, the availability of food for every population in the world will be in a state of crisis because it does not meet the minimum needs of people's consumption. In other words, since that critical point, the world has experienced food scarcity.

This food shortage has had a dire impact on the world. This is in line with UNICEF data which records that 1 child dies every 2.1 seconds or nearly 15 million children every year due to poverty, hunger, and poor health. If in 2014 the world's population reached 7.3 billion people and the world energy needs a 41% addition in 2035, then the world's fossil energy is estimated to be depleted in 2043. The only remaining hope is the use of biological energy as the main energy source for human civilization. So what will be the condition of the Republic of Indonesia at that time? Let us look at the development of the world's strategic environment and the geographical position of Indonesia and its abundant natural wealth.

10.3 The World Strategic Environment Development

The development of the Strategic Environment at the global, regional, and national levels is the impact of the dynamics of potential threats and opportunities that deserve our attention in determining anticipatory and preventive plans.

10.4 The Conflict in Arabian Peninsula

All this time, many parties view the prolonged conflict in the Middle East as a result of disputes between Sunni Islam and Shia, between the forces of secular Sunni religious sects, conservative Sunnis, Shiites, and Israel, or between Arabs and Kurds. However, the root of the Middle East conflict is the extension of the world powers' struggle for the interests of fossil energy source in the Arabian Peninsula. The region's oil wealth automatically attracts major countries in the world to protect their national interests by establishing influence in the region.

As a superpower, the US has a commitment to rule the world and secure its country's energy supply. This commitment is stated in the Nixon Doctrine which emphasizes that US allies need to act as regional police in their respective regions. This doctrine means that the US will seek countries in each region to become allies and cooperate to expand its influence, safeguard its national interests, and provide the necessary assistance.

The Arab Spring phenomenon should have brought the Arab world to rise and head onto a better and more prosperous direction, but ironically it has brought endless divisions and conflicts, especially in North African countries.

On the other hand, at the instigation of the United States of America, Saudi Arabia finally

positioned itself as a regional police force in the Middle East. Meanwhile, Russia and China certainly do not remain silent about America's efforts to gain hegemony. Iran as a big country that has no less resources than Saudi Arabia feels the need to act as a balancing force with the support of both Russia and China. Some experts even consider that Iran is the most potential country to become the main driver of the Middle East region.

The fight for interests and influence was increasingly revealed a day after the agreement to limit Iran's nuclear program was reached at negotiations in Vienna, Austria on July 14, 2015. On July 15, 2015, US President Barack Obama and Saudi Arabia's King Salman immediately discussed the urgent need to end the war in Yemen.

Meanwhile, the emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) or Islamic State (IS) is an alternative power and Islam stream that challenge the existing powers to establish an Islamic State on earth. For individuals who do not have similar ideologies to the existing powers, they will voluntarily make ISIS as a way of struggle to restore the glory of the Islamic caliphate. In the view of Singapore PM, Lee Hsien Long, ISIS is very skilled at using the internet and social media to attract more than 20,000 rebels and naive youth from all over the world, not only Muslims, to go to Iraq and Syria to fight. One day, they will return to their countries bringing radical ideology, combat experience, terrorist networks, and technical capabilities to conduct acts of terror.

Hence, what about Indonesia as the largest Islamic country in the world? ISIS' ideological teachings will certainly enter Indonesia rapidly because Indonesia has large potential sympathizers. This needs to be anticipated carefully. If not, this will have the potential to break domestic stability and security.



TOPIC 11
SECURITY STUDIES IN
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVE

Students will gain understanding on the concept of Security Studies in the scope of International Relations

TOPIC 11

Security Studies in International Relations

11.1 South China Sea (SCS)

The escalation of tensions in the SCS rose dramatically in early May 2014 when the Chinese oil refinery His Yang Shi You 981 (HYSY 981) started oil drilling operations at areas which still lie within Vietnam's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and continental shelf. This is the warning of emerging threats to the peace and stability of this region.

China's claims over the entire SCS area have actually been asserted at the UN negotiating table alongside other countries who feel that they own part of the SCS, namely Taiwan, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam. However, it has not been resolved until now. China's claim to the ownership of the entire SCS region is based on historical facts that during the Han Dynasty in 110 AD, sea expeditions to the Spratly Islands were conducted by the Chinese and the historical facts that during the Ming Dynasty (1403-1433 AD), Chinese fishermen and traders had worked and lived in this area. It is on this basis that China issued the nine dashed lines map in 1947. In May 2009, it claimed to have indisputable sovereignty over the islands in the SCS and adjacent waters, and sovereign rights and legal jurisdiction over the waters along with the sea and the land beneath it.

Afterward, in 1974 China seized and occupied the Paracel Islands from Vietnam. In 1988, it sent its troops to the Spratly Islands to secure control of 6 islands there after clashes with the Vietnamese navy on Johnson Reef. In 2012, after a dispute with the Philippines, China finally constructed permanent structures on Scarborough Shoal.

What exactly is up for grabs from the SCS? The SCS is not only a strategic route connecting the Indian Ocean with the Pacific Ocean, but also a vital entry point for trade in East Asia, where 85% of China's energy imports and oil supplies for Japan and Korea pass through these waters. Furthermore, 55% of Indian products traded in the Asia Pacific pass through the SCS to China, Japan, Korea, and the United States.

In addition, SCS is also a vast marine ecosystem with the highest biodiversity ecosystem in the world. It produces the world's largest fish for export and household purposes. This area is even called the Second Persian Gulf because it contains 50 billion tons of crude oil and more than 20 trillion cubic meters of natural gas in the bowels of the earth.

The massive and rapid unilateral control and development of infrastructure on some islands in the SCS by China has provoked a number of reactions from various parties, not only the countries around the South China Sea, but also the United States and its allies. Moreover, there are suspicions that the ongoing construction of artificial islands is designed for Chinese submarine bases to secure the SCS. This suspicion is certainly reasonable because although China has built a naval base on Hainan Island for its newest nuclear-powered submarines, frigates, and destroyers to dock, it is still more than 900 kilometers from the Spratly Islands. The construction of a base in the South China Sea can significantly save costs and logistics if at any time there is tension in the region. It also serves as a military power deployment.

ASEAN countries have also reacted to the SCS dispute by increasing their military fleets. Vietnam is equipping its military with 6 Kilo-class submarines and 12 Sukhoi Su-30MKK fighters from Russia. Meanwhile, Malaysia spent more than 1 billion dollars to buy two diesel-powered submarines from France.

Last July, the Philippine military asked for an almost threefold increase in its budget. In the future, it is certain that the SCS conflict will be more complicated and sharper, and will involve major countries in the world. All world powers with their military fleets will gather in this region and force Indonesia to be in a difficult position in the global geopolitical arena. It will also become a threat to Indonesia.

11.2 US Marine Base in Darwin Australia

Against the massive development carried out by China in the SCS, the US will not remain silent and will strengthen its influence in the Asia Pacific region. US President Barack Obama during his stopover in Bali in November 2011 had stated that America would drastically increase its military operations in the western and northern parts of the Australian continent, and make Darwin a major military base.

Based on data in various media, the number of US marine troops in Darwin until mid-May 2015 had reached 1,150 soldiers. In 2016-2017, the US planned to conduct large-scale military exercises involving all 2,500 air-ground task force marines in northern Australia.

The US military presence in Darwin was taken as a counterweight to China's power and efforts to secure US interests in the region because they viewed China's anti-access capability as a threat to US interests. In fact, the distance between Darwin and Indonesia's outermost island in its southern tip, namely Selaru Island, East Nusa Tenggara, is only 400 miles or can be reached in less than 20 minutes by using the F-16 Fighting Falcon fighter. Is US presence in Darwin only for the sake of rebalancing of power? Or is this a part of US "one-oar, two or three overshoots" strategy in the region?

11.3 Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA)

Against the aforementioned strategic environment development, Indonesia's geopolitical position is located right in the middle of the Five Power Defense Arrangement (FPDA) countries, namely the British Commonwealth countries who are bound to the FPDA defense cooperation treaty. This contains vulnerabilities that deserve serious attention, where there are Malaysia and Singapore in the north, while in the south there are Australia and New Zealand. There are at least three out of four countries that are less harmonious with Indonesia, namely: Malaysia, Singapore, and Australia. In 1963, during the reign of President Soekarno, Indonesia declared *Ganyang Malaysia* (Destroy Malaysia) and in 2002 Malaysia won the dispute over the ownership status of Sipadan and Ligitan Islands which were previously claimed as parts of Indonesia's territories.

With regard to Singapore, the coastal reclamation that Singapore undergoes continues to lead to the territorial area of Indonesia. There is also a rejection of the naming of KRI Usman-Harun, an Indonesian Navy's warship. Meanwhile, with regard to Australia, the two countries have had a fluctuating relationship. The rejection of the execution of the Bali Nine and the case of Indonesian state officials' telephone wiretapping by Australian intelligence had dragged the status of relations

between the two countries to a low point.

Based on the description of the conflict background, the population theory of Thomas Malthus, the facts of the scarcity of food, water and energy, as well as the report on the estimation of energy needs by British Petroleum, we can conclude that in the future, various world interests will focus on the control of food and energy sourced from plants because they are a very vital necessity of life in the world.

In 2043, the world's population will be estimated to reach 12.3 billion people, of which 80.2% or 9.8 billion people live outside the equatorial region and almost certainly will try to find food, water, and energy in the equatorial area. If the current conflict is based on the control of fossil energy, future conflicts will be motivated by the control of food sources, clean water, and biological energy. All these conflicts will occur in one location, namely the equator.



TOPIC 12
STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT AND
SECURITY MANAGEMENT FOR LOCAL,
NATIONAL, AND REGIONAL TERRORISM

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVE

Students will gain an understanding of the development of security strategy and management in Indonesia, especially in dealing with a district, regional, and international terrorist networks.

TOPIC 12

Strategy Development and Security Management for local, national, and regional terrorism

Many groups discuss the existence and implementation of the deradicalization program run by the government through the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT). Some hold high hopes for the deradicalization program, some support it, while some do not. There are some who refuse the program, there are also those who do not understand the program, but not a few are suspicious and slander about deradicalization program.

Those who understand, of course, have felt and witnessed the results, and hold high hopes for the implementation of a deradicalization program in a comprehensive, holistic, integral, sustainable, objective, transparent, measurable, humanistic, accommodating, and religiously acculturative manner.

The deradicalization program is currently being implemented by the Director of Deradicalization of BNPT. The program includes two categories, namely:

- (1) Deradicalization for prisoners of criminal acts of terrorism in correctional institutions.
- (2) Deradicalization in society for ex-terrorism convicts, their families, networks, suspected anarchist radicals, and victims of bomb explosions.

Understanding deradicalization must start from good intentions, instead of being suspicious of all parties. Deradicalization can be implemented through religious and national mental development, business potential empowerment, entrepreneurship assistance, advocate law enforcement, restoration of good image and physical condition that have deteriorate due to the influence of anarchist radicals and terrorist acts that are contrary to the religious, national, and humanity values.

12.1 Strategic Environment Development

The rapid and dynamic development of the strategic environment at the global, regional, and national levels greatly influences the geopolitics and geoeconomics of a country and provides a multiplier effect on the dimensions of ideology, politics, socio-economic, social, cultural (Ipoleksosbud), and security and defense of a country. The potential threats will change along with the increasing population, human rights, democratization, the environment, terrorism, transnational crime, weapons of mass destruction, science and technology, the world refugee crisis, as well as food, energy, and water security, etc. The accumulation of the aforementioned various potential threats will have a direct impact on the management and implementation of national defense. Meanwhile, the development of regional issues is inseparable from the issue of regional violations, economy/trade, various violations of law/transnational crime, terrorism and radicalism as well as the management of natural resources.

12.2 National Security Development

The development of a country's national security situation is inseparable from the influence of the dynamics of the increasingly complex global and regional strategic environment, along with the changing constellation of threats that can endanger the nation's sovereignty, security, and safety. These changes will affect geopolitics, geoeconomics, ideology, politics, economics, and socio-culture as well as national defense and security dimensions. Issues of democratization, human rights violations, the weakening of the global economy, and the strengthening of radical groups will still stain the constellation of regional and national security. On the other hand, advances in science and information technology have been abused as a way by state and non-state actors to weaken and destroy the security of a country through a proxy war strategy.

In the context of regional security stability, a number of security issues stem from territorial claims, shipping lane security, trade, terrorism, piracy, piracy, and smuggling. Confidence-building and cooperation development in the region in addressing these issues continue to be implemented. However, the regional security issues lead each country to undertake efforts in strengthening its military power in order to prevent threats and build deterrence.

Terrorism and Radicalism have recently become an issue that spans beyond national and regional scope, but has also become a global issue that attracts the attention of all countries. Terrorism is understood as an extraordinary crime that can cause extraordinary fear, anxiety, restlessness, and panic to human life, humanity, and or society because it is full of cruelty. Until now, there has been no common perception in the implementation of law enforcement regarding terrorism, although the 1998 International Criminal Court Statute has implicitly included terrorism as part of Crime Against Humanity. Terror is hated by everyone who has a humanitarian conscience and is anti-violence. Acts of terror, regardless the background and reasons, are contrary to religious beliefs, human rights, positive law, and human instincts. Therefore, all people must unite to fight terrorism.

12.3 Terrorism and Radicalism

Terrorism is closely related to radicalism. Radicalism is an ideology based on beliefs deeply rooted in the subjective truth of certain religious teachings, dogmas, and understanding as a result of narrow fanaticism and fundamentalism expression. Its method is demonstrated through coercion, violence, and extraordinary cruelty. Its driving factor is due to a deep, painful resentment, which culminates in a struggle between logic, belief, power beyond reason and acts of violence and cruelty, which are believed to be magical orders. Narrow fanaticism, fundamentalism and radicalism, and terrorism will continue as long as there are human beings who are unable and unwilling to accept and those who do not want to be aware of the reality of themselves and/or their groups. In addition, terrorism will be increasingly dramatized by five other conditions named 5K: *Kebodohan, Kemiskinan, Keterbelakangan, Kesenjangan, dan Ketidakadilan* (Ignorance, Poverty, Underdevelopment, Inequality, and Injustice).

Terrorism is a serious crime committed using violence or threats of violence intentionally, systematically, and planned by creating an atmosphere of terror or widespread fear, targeting state officials, random or unselected civilians, strategic vital objects, environment, public facilities or

international facilities. It tends to grow into symmetrical hazards that endanger state security and sovereignty, territorial integrity, peace, human welfare and national, regional, up to international security.

12.4 National Movement for Deradicalization

Deradicalization is a planned, integrated, systematic and continuous process that is carried out to eliminate, reduce and reverse the terrorists' radical understanding. The deradicalization of a person or group of people as referred to can be carried out through:

- a. Fostering National Insights (*Wawasan Kebangsaan*);
- B. Development of Religious Insights (*Wawasan Keagamaan*); and/or
- C. Entrepreneurship.

The understanding deradicalization must start with good intentions, not suspicion. All parties are obliged to accept religious and national mental development, empowerment of business potential, entrepreneurship assistance, law enforcement advocacy, as well as restoration of good names and physical conditions that have deteriorated due to the influence of anarchist radicals and terrorist acts that are contrary to religious, national, humanity values.

This is based on Article 43D of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2018 on the Amendments to Law Number 15 of 2003 on the Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002 on the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism into Law.

Based on Presidential Regulation Number 46 of 2010, the National Counterterrorism Agency has the task and function of coordinating efforts, strategies, programs, and formulation of State policies in tackling criminal acts of terrorism.

These countermeasures seek to minimize efforts to spread anarchist radical ideas that instill hatred and spread hostility to fellow brothers of the same religion, one nation, and fellow human beings, God's most perfect creation.

Those efforts will not be optimal enough if only implemented by BNPT because BNPT still experiences institutional constraints in many ways, both institutional weakness, lack of regulatory power, adequacy of human resources coverage and capacity, and community culture in responding BNPT's existence.

Departing from a common understanding that the acts of terrorism and the spread of radical anarchist ideas are common crimes, transnational crimes, and crimes against humanity, the synergy of all national components and the society at all levels will determine the success of the deradicalization program.

12.5 Radicalism and Terrorism Potential in Indonesia and Its Counter-Terrorism Strategy

Lazuardi Birru and LSI (2010) had conducted research on socio-religious radicalism in 33 provinces in Indonesia: Indonesian people are still vulnerable to socio-religious-based radicalism. One of the parameters of this vulnerability can be seen in the feeble level of community resistance to radical actions. Significant factors for the low resistance to radical actions include; low respect for minority groups, feelings of alienation from collective life, and the presence of radical movements.

In 2011, the results of a survey by the Institute for the Study of Islam and Peace (LaKIP) with religion teachers and junior high school students from Jakarta and its surrounding areas demonstrated the radical potentials of some unscrupulous teachers and students due to their weak resistance to violence in the name of religion, intolerance, exclusive attitudes and doubts about the Pancasila ideology.

In 2015, the Setara Institute surveyed students from 114 public high schools (SMU) in Jakarta and Bandung. In this survey, 75.3% claimed to know about ISIS. A total of 36.2 respondents said ISIS is a sadistic terror group, 30.2% of respondents considered perpetrators of violence in the name of religion, and 16.9% said ISIS are fighters who wanted to establish Islam.

The real and potential attacks in Indonesia can come purely from within the country or as a result of international terrorism. Recent domestic threats have come from the East Indonesia Mujahideen (MIT). In addition, ISIS has also shown its actions by launching attacks in Thamrin and various other actions. Various bombing threats and other minor threats are still occurring. Even though the threat of terrorism in Indonesia has shifted, the potential threat that could become a real threat at any time still exists.

Efforts to prevent/deter, overcome and normalize the living conditions of the community in dealing with terrorism that the government undertakes are directed at developing and reinforcing various experiences, anti-terror organizations in integrated manner, and national power components who are involved in preventing and overcoming terrorism, as well as completing regulatory instruments so that they are more capable in preventing and overcoming terrorism without neglecting the national interest and the public interest while still respecting human rights. Efforts to prevent, overcome and normalize people's lives from terrorism are holistic/integrated and synergistic efforts without neglecting the nature of the authorities for preventing, overcoming, and normalizing people's lives from terrorism, which remain with the civilian government authority.

The threat of terrorism will manifest suddenly. The target area, method of operation, and the use of nuclear, biology and chemical weapons/explosives materials cannot be predicted in advance without sophisticated intelligence capabilities. Regardless how high the physical intelligence capabilities in the field are, it will not be effective if not supported by community participation in providing indication on the existence of symptoms that lead to the manifestation of terrorism in certain target areas.

To overcome this threat, the government has taken several policies, strategies, and measures in the field of prevention (soft approach), legal action (hard approach) and international cooperation. The hard approach is further demonstrated by arresting suspected terrorists and conducting joint military operations between the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and Indonesian Police (Polri) during the Operation Maleo I, II and III. The operations were followed by other operations, named the Tinombala operations, to pursue the MIT network. Arrest measures were also taken for suspected terrorists and Indonesian citizens who were heading to Syria to join ISIS. In addition, various preventive measures in the form of deradicalization, system improvement, revision of laws, counter-propaganda, and international cooperation are also being undertaken. As in other countries, these efforts have succeeded in reducing the threat of terrorism. However, due to its asymmetric, fast spreading and clandestine characteristic, difficulty in predicting the threat of terrorism will continue to exist.

In order to improve the measures to deal with the threat of terrorism, it is necessary to take or improve additional measures in the fields of legislation, protection, supervision of funds, inter-agencies coordination, deradicalization, strengthening immigration, preparedness and protection against terrorism, and protection of Indonesian citizens abroad.

Improvement on these measures is necessary mainly because of the unpredictable (asymmetric) and clandestine characteristics of terrorism threats. With the increasing intensity of threats, intelligence agencies are often unable to prevent them. The subway attack in London, successive attacks in France, the attack in Sarinah, Jakarta, and the attack on Brussels Airport and the train station in Brussels, Belgium show that the terrorist attacks took place in countries that have good security and intelligence system. Therefore, the emergence of narratives which state that “the state had failed to detect and lost to the terrorists” is some time understandable.

Coordination and Communication

The existing steps and measures of coordination between ministries and government agencies which have similar tasks and functions in countering terrorism need to be improved, both in terms of prevention and prosecution. Besides that, coordination also needs to be carried out between defense attaches and ministry/agencies that has staff attached to the diplomatic missions abroad. This coordination is expected to produce data accuracy and synergy in policies, including in providing protection for citizens abroad. Protection needs to be provided to Indonesian citizens, diplomats, and Indonesia’s national interests abroad.

The protection of diplomats needs to be emphasized because from the previous experiences, diplomats have become targets of terrorist attacks. Data shows that several diplomats were kidnapped by terrorist groups in Iraq and Syria. Although they have immunity, diplomats are not bulletproof. Policies and strategies need to be formulated to anticipate threats to them.

The Governments Role

The government's role is basically represented by the security forces and the National Counter-Terrorism Agency, supported by the relevant Ministries/Agencies. The counterterrorism measures by the Police, especially at the repressive stage, is considered quite successful and recognized by the international community. As long as the National Counter-Terrorism Agency organization is not adequately equipped to follow the standards of its organizational needs, the prevention and control of radicalism and terrorism will not be optimal. In addition, the organizational structure of BNPT has not yet been elucidated at the regional level. Thus, the integrative approach that involves all relevant agencies in countering radicalism and terrorism from the central, provincial, to cities/districts governments has not been optimal. Likewise, the approach that involves religious leaders, traditional leaders, and community leaders in implementing deradicalization measures against radicalized ideology community organizations has not been touched. The same thing happened in the context of counter-terrorism cooperation among ASEAN member countries. Since the role of the ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC) is not yet optimal, cooperation in eradicating terrorism in the Asia Pacific region and with OIC countries, especially in deradicalization, still needs to be improved.

The Role of Religious Institutions, Educational Institutions, Youth Organizations, Family Welfare Empowerment (PKK), Scouts, Traditional Figures, Community Figures, Mass Media, and NGOs

Deradicalization absolutely requires the participation of religious leaders, traditional figures, and community figures to provide enlightenment and education in understanding religious teachings so that the actions of religious followers are not represented as unlawful acts in the public sphere. In this context, it is necessary to have an institution that can coordinate various activities related to deradicalization so that the existence of this institution can be in charge of managing continuity/sustainability of cooperation between religious institutions, education, youth organizations, PKK, Scouts, traditional figures, community figures, mass media, and NGOs in overcoming radicalism and terrorism by intensifying national insight. The concrete forms among others are the socialization of anti-radicalism and terrorism movements on an ongoing basis from various religious institutions, education, youth organizations, PKK, Scouts, traditional figures, community figures, mass media, and NGOs. It is also necessary to involve the mass media intensively in implementing the principle of press freedom by providing information that does not motivate the spirit of radicalism.

Counter-Terrorism Strategy

1. Strengthening the government's strategic partnership with religious figures, community figures, traditional figures, academics, mass media, and NGOs to carry out deradicalization, cultivate awareness of state defense, and strengthen nationalism:
 - Harness the capabilities of religious figures, community figures, traditional figures, academics, mass media, and NGOs to become agents of the government's strategic partnership in the deradicalization process.
 - Build and empower the government's strategic partnership with religious figures, community figures, traditional figures, academics, mass media, and NGOs, to carry out deradicalization, cultivate awareness of state defense, and strengthen nationalism.
2. Updating laws and regulations related to the prevention and control of radicalism and terrorism to be more measurable and firmer.
 - Prepare the implementing regulations according to the needs and developments of the situation, especially related to the length of arrest, detention, prosecution, and trial.
 - Complete the implementing regulations as an elaboration of laws related to the prevention and control of radicalism and terrorism.
 - Develop a comprehensive road map covering hard power and soft power approaches by involving all state apparatus (*Babinsa* and *Babinkamtibmas*) and the community as a whole in dealing with radicalism and terrorism that is supported by strict, fair, and non-discriminatory law enforcement against perpetrators of radicalism and terrorism.

3. Strengthening the National Counter-Terrorism Agency institution as the full authority holder, supported by improvements in human resources apparatus and infrastructures to enable them in carrying out their main duties and functions.
 - Complete the regulations related to the consolidation and strengthening of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency organization, so that they are more capable to carry out their main duties and functions effectively.
 - Complete the human resources of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency apparatus according to the structure, mechanism, and procedures of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency.
 - Complete the supporting infrastructures that are needed by the National Counter-Terrorism Agency.
4. Increasing awareness of state defense and national alertness within all elements of society.
 - Revise the National Education System Law by incorporating the contents of state defense awareness, national alertness, and nationalism-citizenship into the education curriculum, starting from basic education to tertiary education.
 - Socialize and disseminate awareness of state defense through education and training in the family, community, and work environment.
5. Accelerating the equitable distribution of development in a proportionate manner between sectors, regions, and groups.
 - Accelerate the implementation of poverty alleviation, education services improvement, health services improvement, and social safety nets improvements.
 - Carry out strict and measurable supervision of the implementation of development to minimize deviations from the intended implementation of development.



TOPIC 13

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES AND SECURITY SECTOR REFORMS

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVE

Students will gain an understanding of the development of contemporary issues regarding security and Security Sector Reform.

TOPIC 13

Contemporary Issues And Security Sector Reforms

13.1 Opportunities and Threats to be faced by Indonesia

All ideas, after being analyzed using the Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunity, and Threat (SWOT) analysis, will present important issues that all stakeholders in Indonesia need to be aware of. Kompas Online said that the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is like a double-edged sword. It will only benefit the community if Indonesia is good at managing it, but on the other hand, if it fails, Indonesia will become the target of ASEAN countries' policies. Furthermore, Kompas Online cited the latest research from the International Labor Organization (ILO), which states that the AEC is estimated to create 14 million new jobs and improve the living standard of around 600 million people in the Southeast Asian region. In 2015, it was estimated that the number of high-skilled jobs would increase by 41%, or 14 million people, while medium-skilled jobs would grow by 22%, or the equivalent of 12 million people. However, these figures are still speculative and also give rise to the following risks:

- (1) **Competition.** AEC will open up space for imported goods to enter Indonesia, competing with local products. If imported products can provide goods with lower quality and prices, Indonesia will likely increase the trade balance deficit.
- (2) **Exploitation.** Indonesia is a country that is rich in natural resources. This situation attracts foreign investors to enter Indonesia through the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) scheme, which will open up opportunities for technology development, job creation, and human resource development. However, if the government is unable to formulate solid regulations to protect Indonesia's interests, it is likely that Indonesia will only become a soft target for foreigners by exploiting our natural and human resources.
- (3) **Manpower.** Through the AEC Scheme, Indonesian workers have the opportunity to find work in other countries because the AEC also requires the ease of people movement from one country to another. This will lead to competitiveness problem in the quality of the Indonesian workforce, whose level of education and productivity is still below Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. (Agus Supriatna, 2017)

13.2 Current War Trends

The nature and characteristics of war have shifted along with the development of technology. The possibility of a conventional war between the two countries today is getting smaller. However, the demands of group interests have created new types of wars, including asymmetric wars, hybrid wars, and proxy wars.

Asymmetric warfare is a war between belligerents or warring parties whose military strengths differ. Due to the significant difference in military strength, the weaker party will

certainly not conventionally and openly fight against the opposing party, but will use new techniques beyond the common and applicable rules to weaken the opponent's strength. One of the ways is through guerrilla techniques.

Hybrid warfare is a war that combines conventional warfare, asymmetric warfare, and information warfare techniques to gain victory over the opposing side. Conventional war is carried out when one's condition is strong to defeat the enemy, but when the situation is less favorable, various other ways are used to weaken the enemy. These various ways can be in the form of disseminating information that undermines the enemy's image and authority, organizing a black campaign against the enemy, or infiltrating the opposing party, all of which aim to destroy the enemy's strength.

Whereas a proxy war is a confrontation between two great powers by using proxy or other parties/agents to avoid direct confrontation, with the excuse of reducing the risk of direct conflict, which risks fatal destruction. Usually, the third party that acts as a substitute agent is a small state. However, sometimes it can also involve non-state actors in the form of Non-Governmental Organizations, Community Organizations, Community Groups, or Individuals. In short, a proxy war is an extension of a country that seeks to achieve its strategic interests, but avoids direct involvement in a war that is expensive and causes many victims.

Through this proxy war, we cannot identify who is a friend and foe because the enemy controls non-state actors from afar. The adversary state will finance all the needs of non-state actors in exchange for them to do whatever the financiers want, to divide the power of the state they are targeting. Then, what about the current condition of Indonesia?

From the results of discussions with 25 universities throughout Indonesia, the National Resilience Institute of the Republic of Indonesia, and educational institutions within the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI), the results showed that a foreign party could carry out a proxy war against Indonesia in various forms, namely by:

- a) Investing heavily in Indonesia to explore and control its natural resources.
- b) Making trade pacts to suppress Indonesian products through diplomacy, alliances, and interventions, and making Indonesia to become a market for selling foreign products.
- c) Spreading a black campaign to drop and destroy Indonesian commodity products.
- d) Controlling policymakers and the legislature by bribing to produce rules or legislation that favor foreign interests.
- e) Undermining Indonesia's young generation through various negative cultures, such as consumptive culture, online gambling, porn sites, and others.
- f) Creating domestic conflicts to disrupt the economy and undermine the government's concentration in carrying out national development programs.
- g) Buying and controlling the mass media to form public opinion, create social engineering, distort history, and cause various noises in society.
- h) Mastering information facilities and strategic communities so that they can monitor and intercept the conversations of state officials.

- i) Pitting state institutions, such as the TNI and Polri, through various means to cause chaos and disrupt national stability.
- j) Recruiting and shaping future leaders of Indonesia at all levels as early as possible so that they will take sides and can be controlled by foreigners when they govern in the future.
- k) Creating clashes between law enforcement agencies (Polri and Corruption Eradication Commission).
- l) Sparking conflict and dividing political parties.
- m) Dropping Indonesia's image in the eyes of the international community with issues of terrorism, human rights, democratization, environment, and so on.
- n) Creating conflicts between state institutions and weakening state institutions' functions and roles in nation building.
- o) Making Indonesia a narcotics and illegal drugs market to destroy the younger generation through drugs.
- p) Creating euphoria on campus so that students leave campus instead of studying, are addicted to parties, take demonstrations, and fight.

By observing the results of the academic discussion above, let us observe and reflect on the condition of Indonesia to find out whether the proxy war has entered and existed in Indonesia or not.

13.3 Examples and indications of a proxy war in Indonesia

Proxy War has taken place in Indonesia in various forms, such as separatist movements, mass demonstrations, and various other activities in the life of the nation and state.



TOPIC 14
INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL
VIOLENCE

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVE

Students will gain an understanding of the violence caused by political activities.

TOPIC 14

Introduction To Political Violence

After the 1998 reform, Indonesia changed its political system considerably. One of the crucial aspects in the political field that became the main target of change was the centralized power of President Soeharto's government. Centralistic government is not always bad. Plato's idea of "The Philosopher King" at least shows that a wise ruler exercise centralized power and can produce positive things for the development of society. Positive things may result from such political system, including justice, welfare, and integration in the country. However, unfortunately, what happened in Indonesia was the opposite. For 32 years, the authoritarian government closed access to democracy for the people so that most Indonesian people welcomed the fall of President Soeharto's government. At that time, Indonesia's political system changed from an authoritarian to a reform era characterized by political and economic liberalization.

After Soeharto stepped down, people's rights were restored, marked by a high level of political participation from the people. One of the examples was the number of political parties participating in the 1999 General Election, which experienced a significant spike. Along its journey, the political system in post-reform Indonesia showed very rapid changes. There has been a positive development that with the collapse of the Soeharto regime, civil liberties that were previously inaccessible can now be thoroughly enjoyed, although sometimes they are out of the norm.

People are now freer to express their opinions, voice their aspirations, and engage in politics. Talking about the political system, Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr. revealed that the political system capability concept could be used to analyze the success or failure of the democratic political system in Indonesia. According to them, there are two threats to the capability of the political system, namely:

- (1) **Extractive capability**, related to how natural and human resources can be processed and managed for the national, regional, and people's interests.
- (2) **Regulatory capacity** is related to the state's ability to supervise the people's behavior, regulate, and guarantee the rights of the people. (Winarno, 2007)

Noah Chomsky said that failed states have the following main characteristics: One is their inability or unwillingness to protect their citizens from violence, and perhaps even destruction. Another is their tendency to regard themselves as beyond their domestic and international law reach. If they have democratic forms, they suffer from a severe democratic deficit that deprives their formal democratic institutions of natural substance.

14.1 The Political System

Politics involves various activities in the political system (state), which involves the process of determining goals -> there is a selection to determine the chosen goals -> to carry out the goals, it is necessary to make a policy concerning the allocation and distribution of resources -> to implement policies, there needs to be power and authority.

Definition of Political System:

- a. As a unitary procedure for running the government and the rights of state power. All components in the political system are interrelated and influence each other.
- b. A set of interactions that become the abstraction of the totality of social behavior through the values that are disseminated to the society.

Definition of political system according to experts:

1. David Easton: political system is an interaction that is an abstraction of all social behavior so that these values are enshrined in the authority of society.
2. Almond: The political system is a system of interaction found in an independent society and carries out the functions of integration and adaptation.
3. Rusandi Simantapura: The political system is a mechanism of a set of functions or roles in the political structure with one another, which shows an ongoing process.

Claim:

"The right to use force" - in the name of:

- Survival/self-defense
- Order
- Justice
- Freedom
- Possession of resources (land, water, people, etc.)?
- Access to markets?

POLITICAL SYSTEM FUNCTIONS

- **Political Socialization**
Political socialization is a way to introduce political values, attitudes, and political ethics that are applied or adopted by a country.
- **Political Recruitment**
Political recruitment is the selection or recruitment of group members to represent their group in administrative and political positions.
- **Political Communication**
Political communication is one of the functions run by political parties with all available structures, communicating information, issues, and political ideas.

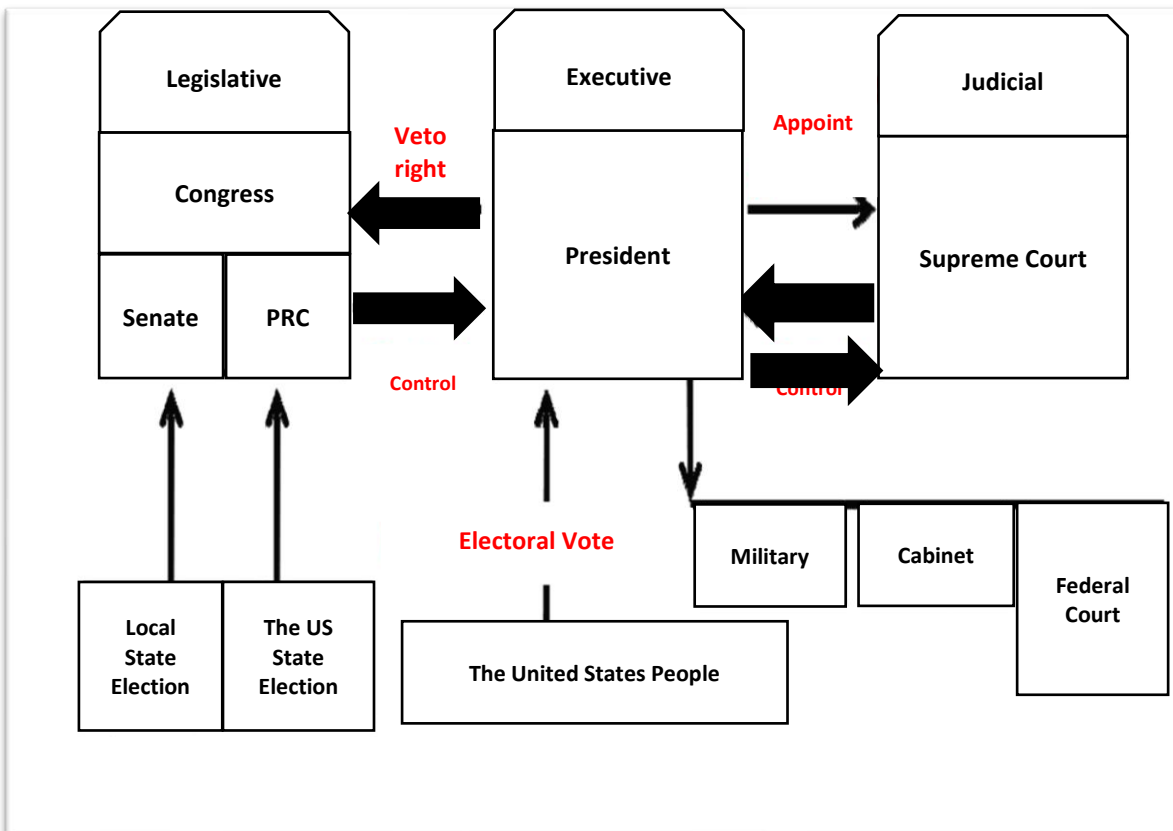
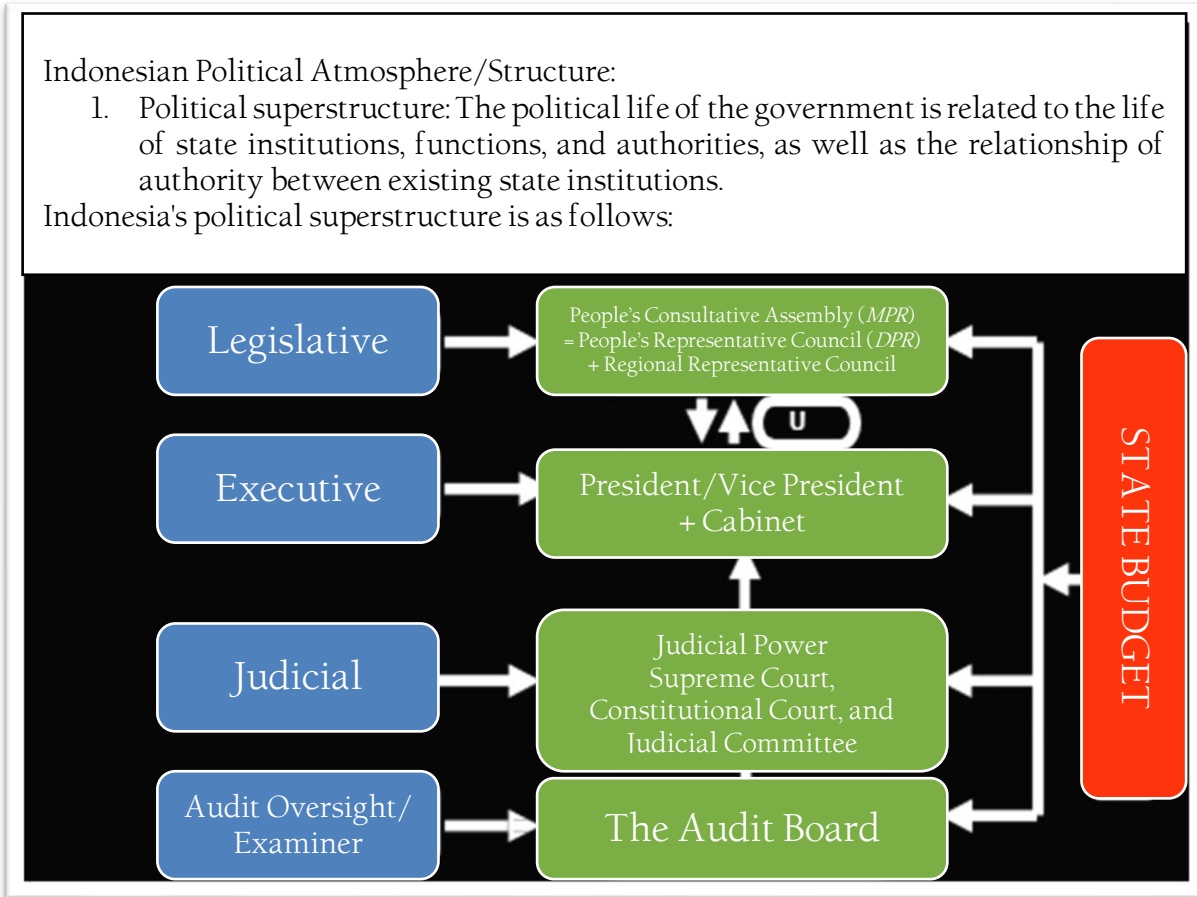
National

14.2 Indonesian Political Structure

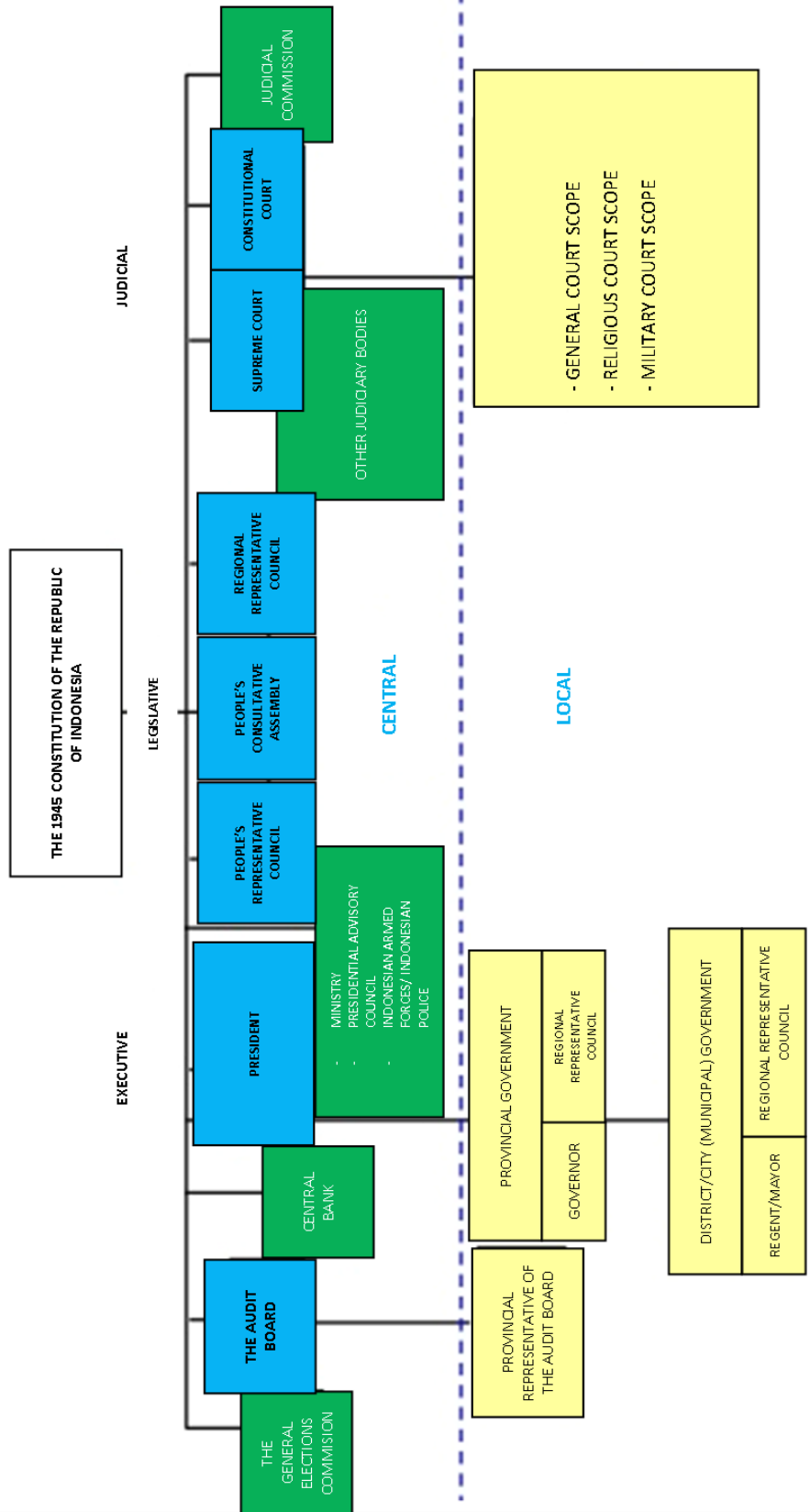
Indonesian Political Atmosphere/Structure:

1. Political superstructure: The political life of the government is related to the life of state institutions, functions, and authorities, as well as the relationship of authority between existing state institutions.

Indonesia's political superstructure is as follows:



INSTITUTIONS IN THE STATE ADMINISTRATION SYSTEM ACCORDING TO THE 1945 CONSTITUTION OF INDONESIA



Every country will have their own kind of political infrastructure. The political life of the people is related to the grouping of citizens or community members into various groups, usually referred to as socio-political forces. Political infrastructure in Indonesia consists of (1) Political parties; (2) Interest groups; (3) Pressure groups; (4) Political communication media; (5) Journalist group; (6) Student group; and (7) Political figures. An interest group is “any organization that seeks to influence government policy without, at the same time, wishing to gain public policy.” On the other hand, political parties aim to control public positions, namely political and government positions.



EXAMPLE OF INTEREST GROUP:
RELIGIOUS ISLAMIC MASS ORGANIZATION, THE ISLAMIC DEFENDERS FRONT (FPI)

POLITICAL FUNCTION

1. Formulation of interest
2. Alignment of interest
3. General policy-making
4. Policy implementation
5. Supervision of policy implementation
6. Political communication
7. Political socialization
8. Political recruitment

THE FUNCTION OF INTEREST FORMULATION

- The function of compiling and expressing political demands in a country
- This function is mainly carried out by Non - Governmental Organizations or Interest Groups

FUNCTION OF POLITICAL PARTY:

1. As a means of political communication
2. As a means of formulating interests
3. As a means of political socialization
4. As a means of political recruitment
5. As a means of political regulation

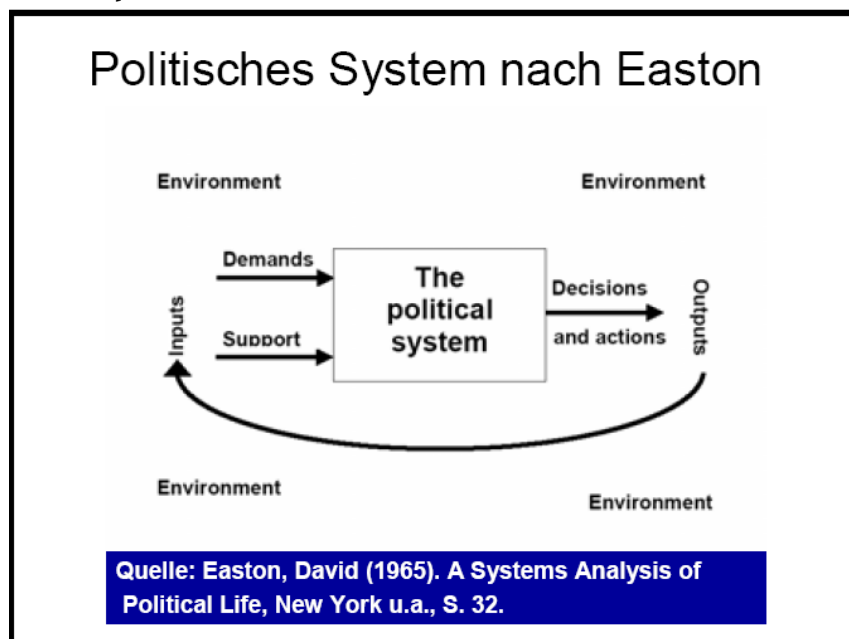
ALIGNMENT OF INTEREST

- The function of integrating political demands from various parties in a country and realizing them into various policy alternatives
- The party that most responsible in this case is the political party

<p>GENERAL POLICY-MAKING</p>	<p>POLICY IMPLEMENTATION</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Function to consider various alternative policies proposed by political parties and other parties, to choose one of them as a government policy - The actors of this function are the legislative and executive institutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The function of implementing policies that have been set by the competent authorities - The implementer of this policy is the government bureaucratic apparatus or the state civil apparatus
<p>SUPERVISION OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION</p>	<p>POLITICAL COMMUNICATION</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Function to harmonize the behavior of the public and public officials who oppose or deviate from government policies with applicable norms - The judiciary performs this function 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The process of delivering information about politics. The information might flow from the citizen to the government and from the government to the citizen. - All political institutions are involved in this process

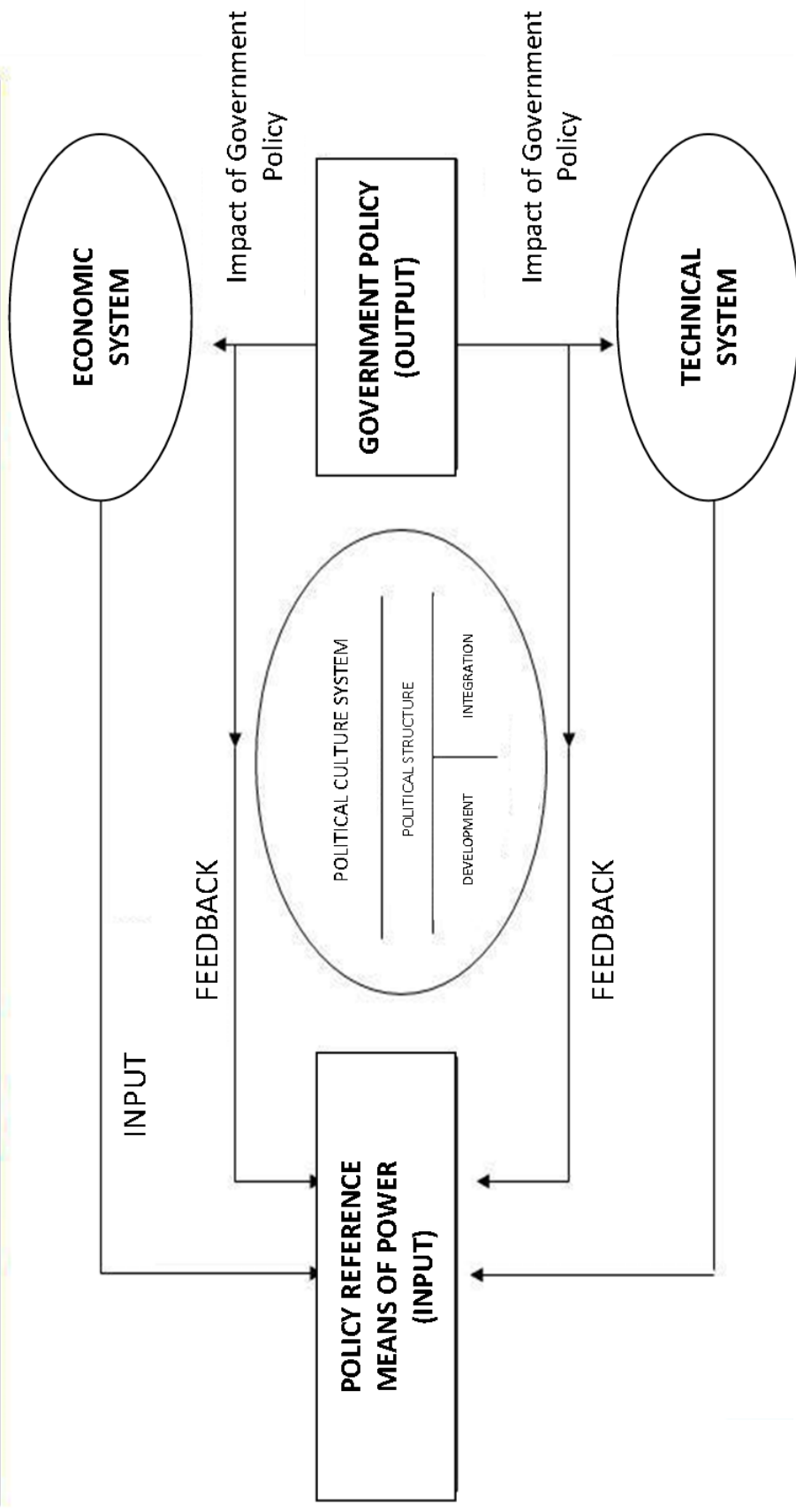
14.3 Theory of Public Policy and Political Science

According to David Easton, the theory of public policy is the study of public policy-making. Hoogerwerf explained that the object of Political Science is government policy, the process of its formation, and its consequences.



POLITICAL SYSTEM THEORY (HOOGERWERF)

HOW A POLITICAL SYSTEM WORKS BASED ON INPUTS AND OUTPUTS DESCRIBED BY HOOGERWERF



POLITICAL SYSTEM THEORY (GABRIEL ALMOND)

POLITICAL SYSTEM FUNCTIONS

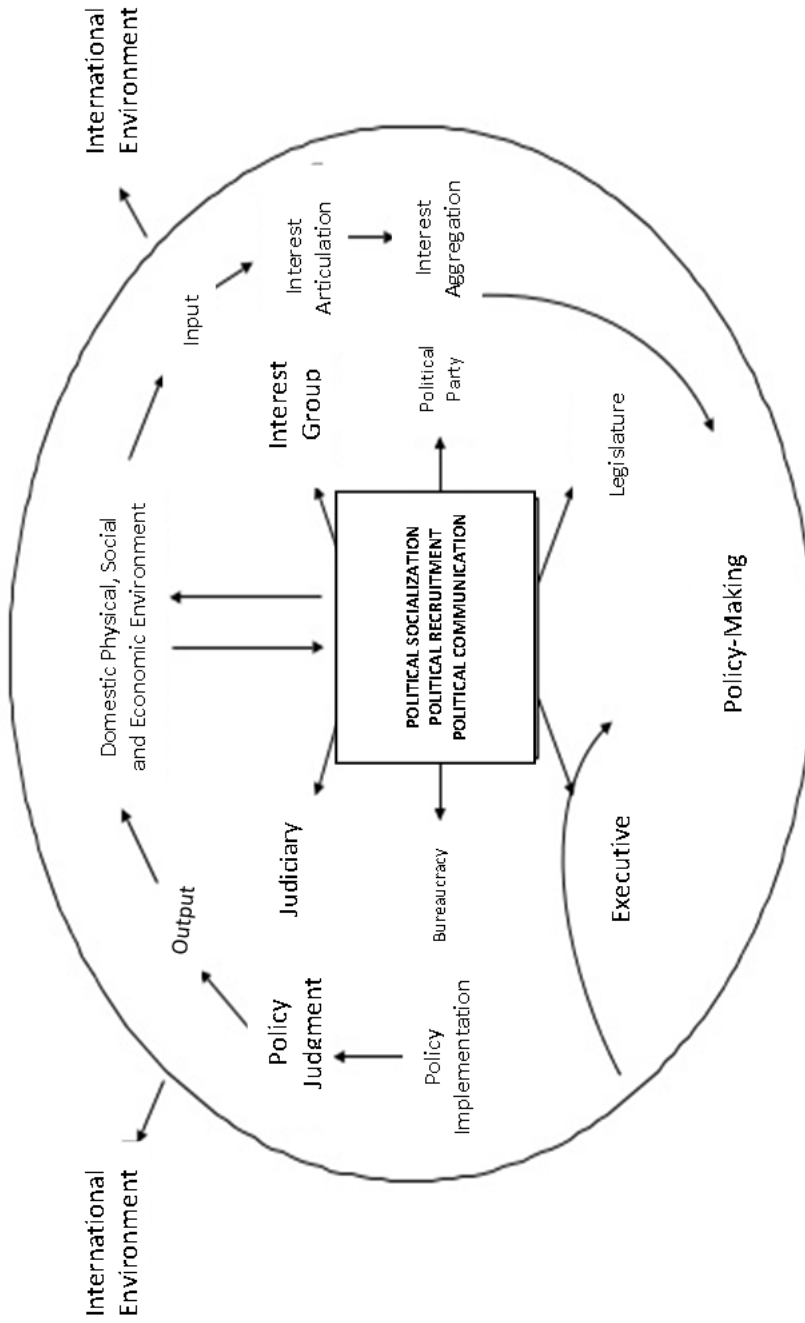
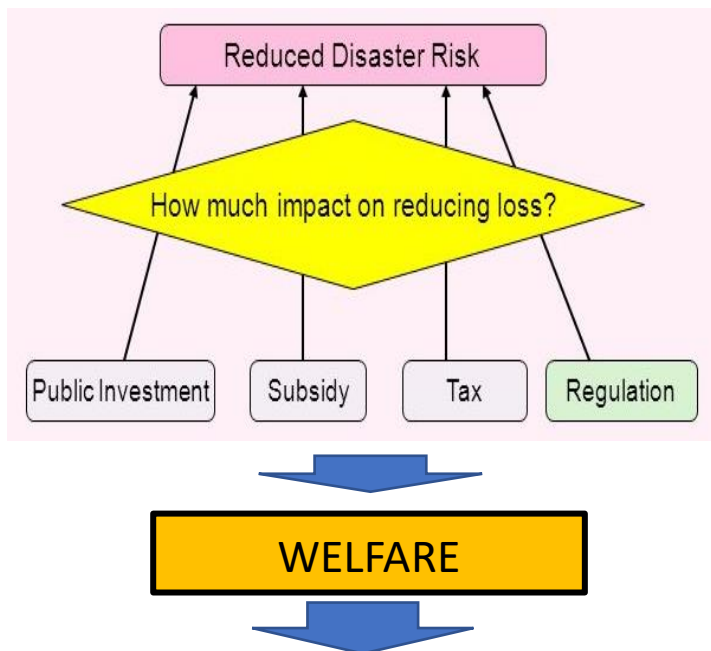


Diagram of Political Systems in Political Structure and Function (Gabriel Almond)

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND ECONOMICS

- Political science is related to other sciences, including economics
- Initially integrated with the others: Political Economy (as in the Faculty of Law, Economics, Social and Politics at Gadjah Mada University)
- Political Economy: related to policies that is utilized to increase power for advancing the welfare of society (mercantilism)
 - NOTE: ECONOMIC POLICY IS A POLITICAL DECISION
- In line with the development of science -> break -> become Political Science and Economics
 - But the bond between the two is unavoidable



14.4 Definition of Politics & Political Violence

Politics is the science or art of influencing human beliefs at the individual or state level or when there are two or more people. Modern political discourse focuses on democracy and the relationship between man and politics. Politics is considered as the way we elect government officials and make decisions. Politics has a side effect, namely the abuse of power, and this appears in social relations. Politics aims to manage discourse, institutions, and practices to manage human life. Politics is a collective decision-making process in a community, society, or group through the exercise of influence and power.

Political Violence

A common means used by People and Governments around the world to *achieve Political Goals*.

“Organized violent activity for political goals.”

-UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

In most cases, people use political terms negatively. This arises because of the abuse of existing power and influence. Decisions taken should be objective; involve work elements, quality, achievements, and legitimate standards. When the opposite happens, then we classify politics as fraud or invalid agreements.

The definition of violence in Indonesian politics today: violence is a classic word that is familiar to our ears. This word reminds us of harsh, sadistic, painful situations with negative effects. Violence denotes and is related to the word: hard and coercion. The word 'violence' is commonly used to describe several issues related to treatment or actions considered unpleasant, inhumane, contrary to specific norms/values or laws, or something against our will. Violence then gets a predicate or is associated with other words to explain the problem of treatment or action in specific contexts, such as political violence, economic violence, cultural violence, structural violence, state violence, domestic violence, violence against women, violence against children, etc. The new terminology is then constructed by theories, concepts, laws, or even doctrines on what is meant by 'violence.'

Theories of Violence

Many theories have been developed to explain the background of violent behavior in society, ranging from macro (war, government, repression) to micro (between individuals). Cultural theory of violence that occurs in plural societies builds norms that allow the use of physical violence to be greater than the dominant culture. Ecological theory seeks to link violence in the family with the broader social environment. It includes culture, family social networks, immediate family situations and conditions, and family history. Such a framework provides the basis for a domestic violence risk theory.

Political violence: The state is an institution that has a monopoly right to use weapons and acts of violence lawfully within its sovereign territory.

(Weber, 2019)

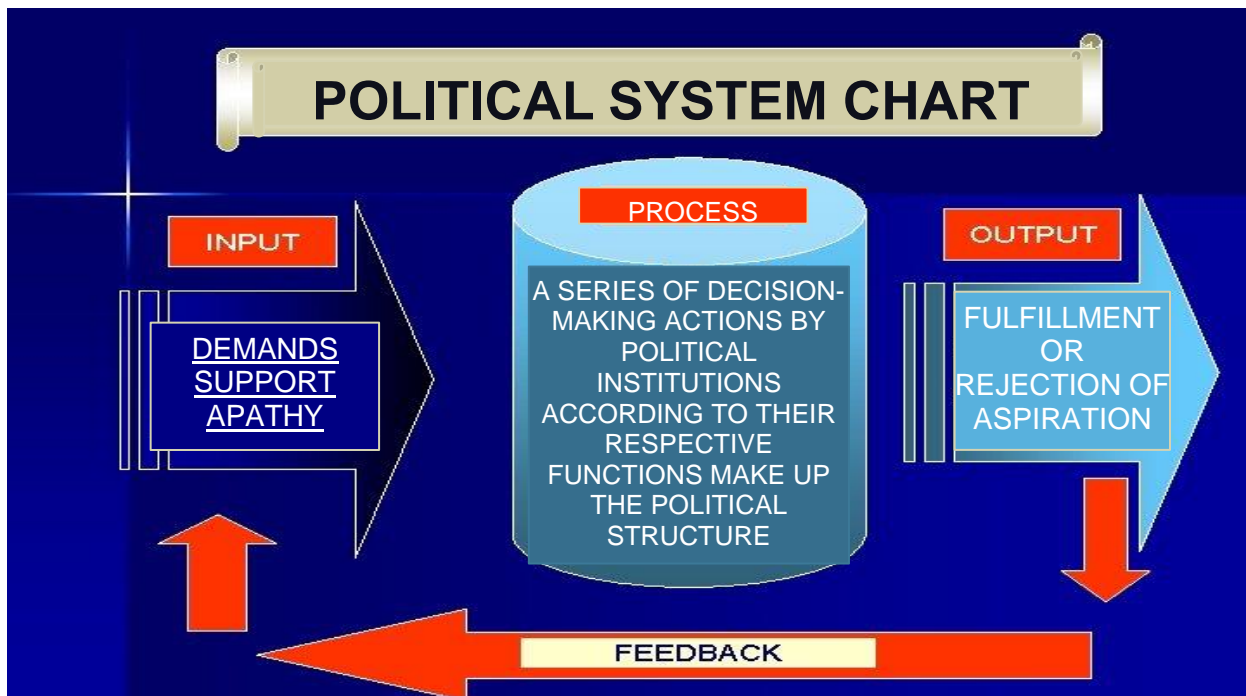
The occurrence of various acts of violence cannot escape from the role of the state in the

occurrence of state violence (organized violence). Therefore, state violence is a type of violence that needs serious attention from civilians. Because state violence has an enormous destructive power compared to unorganized violence.

Causes of Violence

Prof. Dr. Mochamad Enoch Markum explained the causes of violence, which include:

- Critical conditions are happening in a certain area, so that violence occurs.
- The general public believes that the formal channels that should be able to accommodate and be relied upon to resolve community problems and aspirations are not functioning properly.
- Expectations recognized by the community that breed violence can lead to change.
- The loss of the authority of the state apparatus in the eyes of the public.



Demands

Demands are one of the causes that could promote violence if not met. Demands are basically the wishes of the citizens/community whose fulfillment must be fought for by means and using political means. Example: Labor's demand for an increase in wages.

Support

Support is basically every act, attitude, and thought of the community that encourages the achievement of government goals, interests, and actions. For example:

- Vote in general elections
- Comply with applicable laws
- Support the decision of the competent authority
- Loyal to the country

Society

Society is a system of ordered relationships—a group of people who live together and work together to achieve their shared desires. Society is a grouping of people who have institutions and cultures that are different from another group. Society is a social system that can be identified through political and cultural characteristics. Humans have the instinct to live with other people. This is because humans have to manage various interests to survive. Needs to survive, including eating, drinking, and others. It is through the group that these interests become attainable. For example, with economic interests, economic associations such as companies are established.

Apathy

Citizens' indifference toward political life indicates there are some problems that must be solved.



Labor Demonstration



Student Demonstration

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TEACHING HANDBOOK

STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

INCLUDING TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE

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