INDONESIA’S EFFORTS IN COUNTERING TERRORISM UNDER PRESIDENT JOKO WIDODO ADMINISTRATION IN THE CASE OF ISIS (2014 – 2017)

By
Ni Made Dian Damayanti
ID No. 016201400119

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THESIS ADVISER RECOMMENDATION LETTER

This thesis titled "INDONESIA’S EFFORTS IN COUNTERING TERRORISM UNDER PRESIDENT JOKO WIDODO ADMINISTRATION IN THE CASE OF ISIS (2014 – 2017)" prepared and submitted by Ni Made Dian Damayanti in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in International Relations in the Faculty of Humanities has been reviewed and found to have satisfied the requirements for a thesis fit to be examined. I therefore recommend this thesis for Oral Defense.

Cikarang, Indonesia, May 2018

Recommended and Acknowledged by,

[Signature]

Isyana Adriani, B.A., M.Si
Thesis Adviser

[Signature]
DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that this thesis, titled "INDONESIA'S EFFORTS IN COUNTERING TERRORISM UNDER PRESIDENT JOKO WIDODO ADMINISTRATION IN THE CASE OF ISIS (2014 – 2017)" is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, an original piece of work that has not been submitted, either or in part, to another university to obtain a degree.

Cikarang, May 2018

Ni Made Dian Damayanti
The panel of examiners declare that the thesis entitled “INDONESIA’S EFFORTS IN COUNTERING TERRORISM UNDER PRESIDENT JOKO WIDODO ADMINISTRATION IN THE CASE OF ISIS (2014 – 2017)” that was submitted by Ni Made Dian Damayanti majoring in International Relations from the Faculty of Humanities was assessed and approved to have passed the Oral Examinations on May 16th, 2018.

Rustantul Ariffin, B.A.I.R., M.A.
Chair Panel of Examiner

I Gusti Bagus Dharma Agastia, M.Sc.
Examiner

Isyana Adriani, B.A, M.Si
Thesis Adviser
ABSTRACT

Ni Made Dian Damayanti, International Relations 2014, President University.

Thesis Title: Indonesia’s Efforts in Countering Terrorism under President Joko Widodo Administration In The Case Of ISIS (2014-2017)

Terrorism has been a global phenomenon which threatens the stability of a state caused by the rise of radicalism, religious extremism, political, social and economic matters. The term is seen as the use of violence such as bombing, kidnapping, murdering, hijacking, armed assaults and torturing to create fear to achieve certain goal. As in this research, it will be discussing about the influence of ISIS that could lead to the terrorism related-matters. ISIS has been the most well-known terrorist organization that becomes the worldwide enemy including for Indonesia which is entitled as one of the largest Muslim population countries. With the high number of Muslim population, Indonesia is a target of ISIS in expanding its influence. This threat has concerned the government, especially given the number of terrorist attacks occurred in the country ranging from Bali bombing I (2002), The Australian Embassy in Jakarta Suicide Bombing (2004), The Bali bombing II (2005), and the suicide bombing and mass shooting in Thamrin area Jakarta (2016). Therefore, this research employs qualitative method utilizing journals, report, official documents, and books to analyze the efforts of Indonesian government in countering terrorism under President Joko Widodo Administration from 2014-2017 particularly to against the influence of ISIS. This research employs constructivism and securitization theories. The efforts discussed are in the form of soft approach that is known as Counter Violent Extremism as one of the ways the Indonesian Government securitize the state from the spreading influence of ISIS that is implemented by National Agency for Combatting Terrorism (BNPT), State Intelligence Agency, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah.

Keywords: Counter Violent Extremism, ISIS, President Joko Widodo Administration, Terrorism
ABSTRAK

Ni Made Dian Damayanti, International Relations 2014, President University.

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Kata Kunci: Counter Violent Extremism, ISIS, Pemerintahan Presiden Joko Widodo, Terrorism
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Cikarang, May 2018

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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGPAII</td>
<td>Association of Indonesian Islamic Teaching Education (Asosiasi Guru Pendidikan Agama Islam Indonesia)</td>
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<td>AQI</td>
<td>Al-Qaeda in Iraq</td>
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<td>BNPT</td>
<td>Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (National Counter Terrorism Agency)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CVE</td>
<td>Counter Violent Extremism</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAKSI</td>
<td>Forum Aktivis Syariat Islam</td>
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<tr>
<td>FBI</td>
<td>Federal Bureau of Investigation</td>
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<tr>
<td>FKPT</td>
<td>Forum Koordinasi Penanggulangan Terorisme (Coordination Forum of Terrorism Prevention)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FTF</td>
<td>Foreign Terrorist Fighters</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPIM</td>
<td>Ikatan Pemuda Islam Muhammadiyah (Association of Islamic Muhammadiyah Students)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISIS</td>
<td>Islamic State of Iraq and Syria</td>
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<td>JAT</td>
<td>Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid</td>
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<td>JI</td>
<td>Jemaah Islamiyah</td>
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<td>JTJ</td>
<td>Jamaah Tauhid wal Jihad</td>
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<td>KNPI</td>
<td>Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia (National Committee for Indonesian Youth)</td>
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<td>MIB</td>
<td>Mujahidin Indonesia Barat</td>
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<td>MIT</td>
<td>Mujahidin Indonesia Timur</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>NU</td>
<td>Nahdlatul Ulama</td>
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<td>SMRC</td>
<td>Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting</td>
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I.1 Background of Study

Nowadays, terrorism is a serious worldwide threat and with the support of the rapid development of technology, the acts of terrorism can be done anywhere and anytime. The acts of terrorism are usually linked to political interests as well as creating public commotion. Actually, terrorism has existed since long time ago before the word terrorism itself was coined. It was proven by the specific artifacts that were located in fifty miles south of Mosul in Iraq. The word terrorism was coined during the French Revolution’s Reign of Terror (1793 – 1794). This Reign of Terror was a large-scale violence campaign that was conducted by the French government and because of this, there were between 16,000 and 40,000 people killed at that time. The word terrorism itself was derived from the word “terrere” which means to frighten or tremble and when it was combined with the French suffix isme which is referring to practicing, it becomes to “practicing the trembling or causing the frightening” that we would naturally call it terror. Terrorism itself has no universal legal definition since there are a lot of definitions about it both national and regional definition that was coined by various scholars, expert and institutions. However, there is a most universally accepted definition of terrorism which is, terrorism is the use of violence to create fear in purpose to accomplish or achieve the goals that have been planned. ¹

There are some reasons related to the acts of terrorism such as the rise of radicalism, religious extremism, political matters, social and economic matters (lack of education, lack of political freedom or freedom to voice their rights, poverty, etc.). The acts of terrorism are usually targeting innocent people such as the civilians and non-

combatants. There are several acts of terrorism such as bombings (including the suicide bombing), murdering, kidnapping, hijacking, armed assaults and torturing.²

Nowadays, ISIS has become the most well-known terrorist organization which has a lot of members estimated more than 30,000 members including the foreign fighters that have been recruited ³and known very powerful and very difficult to be destroyed. ISIS also has become the worldwide number one enemy because of its outrageous barbarity like killing anyone regardless of gender, killing anyone that they want to kill and recruiting children to be their members.⁴

As we know, In Indonesia, the case of terrorism is something that has been commonly heard on the media. If we look back, there were several cases of terrorism happened in Indonesia. The cases vary from suicide-bombing, mass bombing and mass shootings. Some of these cases such as The Bali bombing I (2002), The Australian Embassy in Jakarta Suicide Bombing (2004) and The Bali bombing II (2005), The suicide bombing and mass shooting in Thamrin area Jakarta (2016). The Bali bombing I and II were the most severe bombing crime because these incidents had killed and injured many people, the Bali bombing I had killed 202 people and the Bali bombing II had killed 23 people. The Australian Embassy in Jakarta suicide bombing injured 161 people and killed nine people, one of the bombers blew himself up in front of the embassy office in his own car.⁵ The bombing and mass shooting in Thamrin area Jakarta in 2016 was also a severe terrorist incident attack in which in this incident the terrorists not only did the bombing but also shooting the people there, the suicide bombing act only caused injuries for some people but the shooting act had killed one

person, a Canadian visitor. The worst terrorist attack in Indonesian history until now is still the Bali bombing I which happened in 2002, because this incident had killed 202 people.

Nowadays in Indonesia, there are several community organizations which are considered as radicals and also feared as some of the terrorist alliances or networks that are veiled by using religious appendages as a shield to avoid negative impressions from the public such as Jamaah Islamiyah, Tauhid Wal Jihad, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia Timur, Mujahidin Indonesia Barat, Ring Banten, Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid, Jamaah Al-Tawhid wal-Jihad, Pendukung dan Pembela Daulah Islamiah, NII, Jamaah Anshauri Daulah, Ma’had Ansharullah, Laskar Dinullah, Gerakan Tauhid Lamongan, Halawi Makmun Grup, Ansharul Khilafah Jawa Timur, IS Aceh, Ikhwan Muahid Indonesia fil Jazirah al-Muluk, Khilafatul Muslimin, dan Al Muhajirin. These 19 organizations use violence in conducting their aspirations such as shooting, bombing, and other activities that contain terror.

As one of the countries with the largest Muslim population, ISIS targeted Indonesia to expand its network. The National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) stated that from the beginning, it has detected the entry and the existence of the influence of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) into Indonesia. The BNPT Deputy for the Prevention, Protection and De-radicalization, Major General Agus Surya Bhakti said ISIS's influence had entered Indonesia before their movement was declared in the Middle East. According to Major General Agus, the influence of ISIS in Indonesia goes more through the Internet because many of Indonesian people can easily access the information such as news, articles, and videos about ISIS through the Internet and some

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people even communicated with the ISIS members in the Middle East.\(^9\) The National Police Chief General Tito Karnavian also mentioned that ISIS is a terror for Indonesia and he also said that terrorism in Indonesia will continue as long as the dynamics of ISIS is still ongoing.\(^10\)

Indonesia becomes one of the countries that fight against ISIS. Indonesian government is also working to combat the influence of ISIS so that no more Indonesians will be recruited to become members by ISIS or affected to join ISIS because we know that ISIS has recruited and affected many Indonesians to become their members in which this is very worrying. Indonesian people who have been influenced and radicalized by ISIS are feared being turned into extremists and then they can spread the notion of radicalism and even conduct the acts of terror.\(^11\) This means that, the current Indonesian government has to take immediate action to prevent the people who have been radicalized and influenced by ISIS from conducting such terrorism related acts.

### I.2 Problem Identification

Nowadays, ISIS is known as the most dangerous terrorist organization in the world. ISIS expands its network to several countries and Indonesia is one of them. ISIS has entered Indonesia which is marked by the number of Indonesian citizens being recruited to become ISIS members, but there are also many of Indonesians who volunteer to join ISIS. ISIS allegedly slinked in to Indonesia through the northern border areas such as Bitung city, North Sulawesi province, and the island of Morotai, North Maluku province.\(^12\)


\(^12\)“Panglima TNI Sebut Ada 16 Daerah Yang Dimasuki ISIS Di Indonesia - Kompas.Com,” accessed May 14, 2018,
ISIS has also already spread one of their radical ideologies like assuming that Pancasila which is the basis of Indonesia is *thogut* which means something that is not trustworthy. ISIS has also influenced several community organizations to support them so that those community organizations that support ISIS tend to be radical and likely to conduct such terror acts where they consider it as jihad and they also assume that they are on the right path. These community organizations that have been identified as pro ISIS are namely Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid, Mujahidin Indonesia Timur, Mujahidin Indonesia Barat, Jamaah Tauhid wal Jihad, Ring Banten, Gema Salam and FAKSI (Forum Aktivis Syariat Islam).13

ISIS makes Indonesia as one of their network expansion targets because Indonesia is one of the countries with the largest Muslim population and it enters Indonesia to influence the Indonesian people particularly the Muslims, spread its ideology, claiming of doing the jihad and getting connected with some radical groups that are similar to them and most likely supporting them. 14

The writer would like to give explanations about the influence of ISIS and some radical community organizations that have been identified as pro ISIS in Indonesia which can lead to the terrorism related-matters and the efforts of the current Indonesian government dealing with this terrorism matter with the actions that have been taken to combat terrorism during 2014 - 2017 in which these actions were made to prevent the growing and the development of terrorism in Indonesia and also can anticipate the planned terrorism attack. Hence, the aim of this thesis is to explain the efforts of the current Indonesian government to combat terrorism in Indonesia by taking some actions to deal with these terrorism related-matters during 2014 -2017.

I.3 Statement of Problem

This thesis aims to explain the influence of ISIS and some radical community organizations that have been identified as pro ISIS in Indonesia which can lead to the terrorism-related acts in Indonesia as serious matter that should be addressed immediately and to explain about the efforts of the current Indonesian government to deal and combat terrorism in Indonesia during 2014 – 2017 and based on what has been stated above, the research question is as follows:

How has President Joko Widodo conducted counter terrorism in the case of ISIS during 2014 – 2017?

I.4 Objective of the Study

Based on the statement of the problem above, the objectives of this thesis are as follows:

a. To explain about the influence of ISIS and some radical community organizations that have been identified as pro ISIS in Indonesia can be such a serious matter that should be addressed immediately.

b. To explain the counter-terrorism efforts regarding to the influence of ISIS of the current Indonesian government during 2014 – 2017.

I.5 Significance of the Study

This study will help to understand as follows:

- How terrorism is considered as a serious matter which can harm the national interest.

- How the influence of ISIS in Indonesia and some radical community organizations that have been identified as pro ISIS in Indonesia which can lead to the terrorism related-matters.

- How the influence of ISIS and some radical organizations that have been identified as pro ISIS in Indonesia considered as threats to the national
interest in Indonesia that then pushes the current Indonesian Government to take several actions in responding to such matter.

- The current Indonesian Government actions to combat such kind of terrorism matters that caused by the influence of ISIS and some radical community organizations that have been identified as pro ISIS in Indonesia.
- Contributing in academic interest particularly in the field of International Relations focusing on the violent extremism and terrorism that involves the influence of ISIS and some radical community organizations that have been identified as pro ISIS in Indonesia.

I.6 Theoretical Framework

To assist the need of understanding the case of Indonesia’s effort in combating terrorism under President Joko Widodo administration during the period of 2014 – 2017, this thesis will employ the constructivism theory encompassing the thought of Copenhagen School on the concept of securitization and counter violent extremism concept.

I.6.1 Constructivism Theory

Constructivism is one of the main and important theories in International Relations. Basically, constructivism is a social theory that emphasizes the social construction which is also criticizing the neorealist and neoliberals including their materialist views in the world of international politics. It attributes to the ideational factors including norms, culture, ideas, values and social efficacy. Constructivism was coined in the late of 1980s and early 1990s by such scholars as Alexander Wendt, Nicholas Onuf, Emmanuel Adler, Friedrich Kratochwil, John Gerard Ruggie and Peter Katzenstein.15 Constructivism has a key assumption that is the whole thing that happened in the social environment is the result of the human interaction that affects each other's values. Social life is the

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formation of the human subjectivity that has their respective perceptions. This is also applied in the life of international relations amongst states, the nature of the state which is anarchy and conflict amongst states is also a result of the construction through the interstate interaction.

Constructivism sees that the actors, structures and systems that exist in the world are essentially the result of human construction or socially constructed. The actors then said play a major role in how they will interpret the system. Constructivism assumes that the identity and interests of the state are not solely determined, but formed through interaction, institutions, norms, and cultures. Constructivism also seeks to understand how the interests of each state can be formed. Constructivism emphasizes intersubjectivity as its main principle, how concepts such as identity, interest and norms play a role in explaining the state behavior. It is also explained that, in constructivism, the states can act differently based on their interests, culture, identity and the relationship that those states may have with another state. 16

Alexander Wendt has also mentioned two points in constructivism such as the key structures in the states system are intersubjective rather than material and state identities and interests are in important part that constructed by these social structures. 17 He also argued that states somehow act differently towards what they consider as enemies than they do toward what they consider as friends because they assume that enemies are threatening, and friends are not. 18

The thought of constructivism sees the role of ideas, norms, and institutions in the process of policymaking, the importance of identity, interests

and culture in international politics, and understanding how they are constructed in policy-making or taken acts.

Hereby, the writer will be using this theory in explaining how terrorism is socially constructed as a really serious threat to the state that should be addressed immediately by the Indonesian government especially by the existence of ISIS influences in Indonesia.

I.6.2 Securitization

The concept of securitization to be explained by the author is one of the concepts of the thought of the Copenhagen School. Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde are the three main thinkers and originators of the Copenhagen School.

Before explaining about securitization concept, the first thing that should be defined is security in which according to Copenhagen School, “security” is the move that can take politics beyond the established rules of the games and frames the issues that will be considered either as a special kind of politics or above politics. Securitization itself could be an extreme version of the politicization that enables extraordinary attempts to be used in the name of security.

It is said that an issue is not given objectively but it is determined by actor which means in this respect security is determined subjectively. This is also similar to the securitization concept which is securitization is socially constructed and intersubjective.19 The concept of securitization is a discourse of national security that has an emphasis on the party or actors who have the authority to construct a threat or an issue and also which have the ability to make decisions and implement the emergency measures towards this threat or issue. Thus, the security actors have the political power to securitize a threat or an issue. How can

something be positioned as a threat? In securitization, it is constructed by the so-called speech act. Speech act is like a statement that emphasizes the immediate threat to the existence of the state. In the speech act in which an intersubjective understanding is constructed in a political community to make something as an existential threat to the referent object that could enable the enforcement of extraordinarily urgent actions to overcome or address the threat.  

There are three types of units involved in security analysis which is also related to speech-act approach such as:

1. Referent Objects, the actors nor the parties who are seen as threatened, and thus, have a legitimate claim to survive and to be secured

2. Securitizing Actors, the actors nor the parties who make efforts in securitizing of certain issues by stating that there are certain parties such the referent objects that are threatened.

3. Functional Actors, the actors nor the parties who are able to affect the dynamics of a particular security sector without having to position itself as the referent objects or securitizing actors. Generally, functional actors can affect the security policy-making.

Securitizing actor is basically someone or a group, who performs the security speech act and they are mostly governments, political leaders, bureaucracies, lobbyists and pressure groups. In securitization concept, there are several processes in responding to the existential threat before turning it into security issue such as:

1. The actor identifies an issue in which purpose is to turn the issue into a security issue. The securitizing actor usually conducts the securitization when an issue is assessed as urgent.

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20 Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde.
2. Supporting conditions in the process of securitization action (facilitating conditions) is when a condition has the ability to strengthen public opinion towards the threat that will be securitized. This can be done through the speech act. Security discourse becomes a special thing of communicative activity to give a certain effect to the audiences.

3. Constellation of securitization is like a security complex mapping process that aims to analyze the pattern of security linkage of several different security complexities. The analysis of the security pattern can be done through the process that is used to see the correlation amongst the security systems. The process is like making sure whether the issue is discoursed by the securitizing actors. If so, then the next step is to find out how the correlation between the issue, the actors, the interactions and the impacts that will be resulted. Furthermore, the correlation between these four things is then collected as data to see the correlation in the security issue. In addition, securitization is linked to the existential threat terminology, which threatens to exist in several different sectors such as economic sector, military sector, political sector, social sector, and environment sector.\(^{21}\)

When securitizing actors generate intersubjectivity by conducting speech act at the public level by stating that there is a certain issue or threat that has the potential to threaten the state and as the highest referent object, the state and its citizens are actually feeling threatened because of that threat or issue. After the acceptance from the public or audiences, then the securitizing actors could take several actions such as making policy towards the issue, amending the existed policy or regulations in responding to the issue, even immediate actions that could somehow violate the existing legal rules or regulations.\(^{22}\)

A successful securitization consists of three steps. These are: (1) identification of existential threats; (2) the efforts or action taken and (3)

\(^{21}\) Ibid.

\(^{22}\) Ibid.
responds from the audiences. The identification of existential threat is first done by the securitizing actors. After the threat being identified then the securitizing actors conduct the speech act and collect the responds of the audiences. The responds of such speech act can be identified from survey or social media. The next step is, the securitizing actors then can undertake some actions to securitize the threat.

Copenhagen school is also connected to constructivism because it is focusing and emphasizing on how any threat or any issue to the national security is socially constructed. It is proven by how the securitizing actors can turn any issue or threat into security issue that should be addressed immediately by doing speech act to the public to get the support from the audiences to do the securitization process.

Regarding to terrorism issue particularly the existence of ISIS influences in Indonesia, the current Indonesian government realized that ISIS is such a serious threat to the national security which is marked by first many Indonesians recruited by ISIS and becoming volunteers to join ISIS. This was revealed after a video uploaded by ISIS to YouTube to spread its ideology. The video contained of a group of Indonesian citizens who have joined ISIS asked the Muslims in Indonesia to join their group. Not only uploading the video that contains invitation to join their group but ISIS also spread the video about establishing caliphate by justifying the violence, murder and robbery. Second, the spread of ISIS’ ideology which is saying that Pancasila is thogut in which then provoke several radical community organizations to act even worse. These things then trigger the government to conduct the speech acts such as socializing the dangers of ISIS and its ideology which is opposing Pancasila and Bhineka Tunggal Ika, the government also supported by National Counter-

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24 Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde.
terrorism Agency (BNPT) by stating that any Indonesian citizen who joins ISIS has to face criminal penalties because ISIS is already believed as a terrorist organization by the international community. In addition, their citizenship status may be revoked if they join ISIS.\textsuperscript{25}

The securitization concept is used by the writer to explain how the current Indonesian government securitizes the state in response to such terrorism issue especially in response towards the existence of ISIS and its influence to Indonesia by taking several actions using Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) approach, in which terrorism-related matters or terrorism acts could harm or threaten the social and economic development or it can be said that terrorism acts could be impacted to the social and economic sector of the state.\textsuperscript{26} For further explanation of the government actions towards this issue will be explained in chapter IV.


I.6.3 Counter Violent Extremism

The concept of Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) is part of modern approach to counter-terrorism. Extremism can be defined as the adherence or commitment to any extreme view and actions. Extremism usually against those who do not in line with them and this phenomenon is mostly linked with religious and fanatical belief system which is also claiming a monopoly of truth that aiming to transform the society according to its vision. Basically, there are the following types of extremism such as religious extremism, ideological extremism, racial

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extremism, political extremism and ethnic extremism. Extremism is also one of the driving factors of terrorism.28 Basically, not every extremist activity involving violence and indicated as terrorism acts. It is only considered as terrorism acts when violence and terror is used by extremists to support their belief and this phenomenon is what referred to violence extremism. How extremism can be one of the driving factors of terrorism is for instance when there is a group of religious extremist wants to transform the society by implementing what they believe in their religion and force it to be accepted by the society but they used violence in conducting their acts. This is clearly considered as a form of terrorism act since it caused fear and anxiety to the society.29 It is also applied to other extremists that use violence in conducting their acts to accomplish their mission will be considered as terrorist.

The idea of Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) is perceived by almost all of the state actors around the world as important and crucial component of a sustainable counter-terrorism strategy especially in response to the IS(Islamic State) and Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTF). The concept of CVE is basically an initiative that attempts to prevent people from being involved in terrorism-related acts. The concept of CVE also can be said as the soft approach of counter-terrorism strategy aiming to tackle or prevent the drivers which lead the people to engage and commit in politically, religiously or ideologically-motivated violence.30 However, on the other hand, CVE is not only about preventing people from being involved in terrorism-related acts, it is also involving such approach like de-radicalization for the people who have ever committed or involved in terrorism-related acts. There are four steps in de-

28 Schmid, “The Revised Academic Consensus Definition of Terrorism.”
radicalization itself such as identification, rehabilitation, re-education and integrity.  \(^{31}\)

In the context of terrorism issue in Indonesia, it is focusing on how the influences of ISIS has widespread in almost across the country and the using of CVE as the soft approach of the current Indonesian government in response to some radical community organizations, religious extremist who have been affected by ISIS. ISIS itself claims that they are doing a jihad in the name of Allah and also claims that every action they did is always in the name of Islam. This is one of the main factors that many Muslims are easily affected and radicalized by ISIS. After being radicalized, those people would be turned into religious extremists since they believe that everything that ISIS has done is based on Islam including supporting ISIS’ main ideology which is called caliphate\(^{32}\) by stating that Pancasila is thogut. Some of these extremists then carried out several violence or terrorism-related acts to achieve their goals. The current Indonesian government also confirmed that the de-radicalization and rehabilitation programs as the part of CVE has to be continued and improved especially for the ex-terrorists or people who have ever done or committed in such terrorism related acts.\(^{33}\) As CVE is part of soft and modern approach in countering terrorism, the current Indonesian government, President Joko Widodo emphasizes the importance of soft power in countering and preventing terrorism and violent extremism, he argued that history teaches that weapons are not enough and we need to balance both hard power and soft power approaches.\(^{34}\)

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\(^{34}\) “Director-General Speaks of ‘Soft Power’ to Leaders at Arab Islamic American Summit | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,” accessed May 14, 2018,
Since Counter Violent Extremism is part of soft and modern approach of counter-terrorism strategy, it means that CVE is one of securitization strategies to securitize the state regarding the terrorism issues in Indonesia. Securitization can be in the form of hard and soft approaches, and CVE is part of soft approach that used to counter terrorism and this is also including the implementation of de-radicalization and rehabilitation for the people who ever involved in terrorism-related acts. Since CVE is related with securitization in the form of soft approach, then further explanation about this will be explained in the chapter IV.

I.7 Research Method

Research method is basically important to support the data gathering relating to this study. It will help the writer in writing this thesis in the systematic way in order to answer the research question.

In the writing of this thesis, the writer will be using qualitative research in order to answer the research question. Qualitative research is a type of social science research that collects and works with non-numerical data and information and that seeks to analyze and explain the data and information that have been collected. The reason of why the writer prefers using the qualitative method it is because the writer will only collect and use non-numerical data and information from journal publications, document reports, news, law and constitution. This qualitative method is more appropriate for analyzing and explaining the issue that is being discussed. The writer will use both the primary and secondary resources to analyze and explain the issue.

I.8 Scope and Limitations of Study

This research will be explaining about Indonesia’s efforts in combating terrorism under President Joko Widodo administration during the period of 2014 – 2017. The period time taken from 2014 – 2017 is because the writer would like to


analyze on how far the current Indonesian government has attempted to combat terrorism over three years of his administration particularly since the existence of ISIS influence in Indonesia is becoming worse. The efforts that will be explained and analyzed will be only involving Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) approach. Further, the writer will examine and analyze what terrorism is and its impact, how the influences of ISIS and some radical community organizations that have been identified as pro ISIS which can lead to the terrorism related-matters in Indonesia and considered as threat to the national interest and how the current Indonesian government acts towards it.

I.9 Thesis Outline Structure

I.9.1 Chapter I – Introduction

The first chapter is about the introduction of the research by describing what topic that is being discussed. The structure of this chapter is including the background of the study, problem identification, statement of the problem, objective of the study, significance of the study, theoretical framework, research method, scope and limitations of the study, definition of terms and thesis outline.

I.9.2 Chapter II – Literature Review

The second chapter of this thesis will be about the information and the writer review regarding the literatures that will be used as the references during the writing process of this thesis. These literatures will be used to assist the writer in analyzing and explaining the issue that is being discussed.

I.9.3 Chapter III – Overview of Terrorism in General, The Development of ISIS and Its Influence in Indonesia

The third chapter of this thesis will be discussing first about terrorism in general like what terrorism is, how it impacts to the national interest of the state. Second, about the development of ISIS and the last is its influence in Indonesia.
I.9.4 Chapter IV – Current Indonesian Government Efforts in Combating Terrorism in Indonesia

The fourth chapter of this thesis will be about the efforts of the current Indonesian government in combating terrorism by taking such actions to securitize the state using Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) approach.

I.9.5 Chapter V – Conclusion and Recommendation

In the chapter V which is the final chapter of this thesis will be about the evaluation and the conclusion from all the materials that have been discussed or explained starting from the chapter III to chapter IV.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, the writer will review several sources which are related to the issue discussed and becoming the references for the writer and will help the writer in the process of writing this thesis since they provide the information and the explanation about the issue discussed.


Cassandra Christina Rausch as the author of this journal article provides the explanation and focus on the relations between religious fundamentalism particularly Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism. She explains the reason and why such terrorism act exists. She firstly defines fundamentalism as an unwavering faith to a religious belief system. It is said that terrorism acts that exist nowadays are because the religious fundamentalism. In the concern to fundamentalism, there is a term called fundamentalist in which this fundamentalist is people or groups that wishing to have their faiths or beliefs practiced purely, as are some of those fundamentalist groups or people pushing for a change or an overhaul of the national or global political system with a cultural connection to a faith. 

It is said that fundamentalism is one of the factors that accelerating or boosting the terrorism acts and fundamentalism itself has had on modern day of terrorism. Since terrorism ideologies becoming more religious, the religious terrorist are more dangerous because religious terrorism produces radical value of systems, different methods of justification and legitimation and skewed morality like for instance Al Qaeda and ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). With their strong religious beliefs,

the groups that have different beliefs with other groups tend to clash and there could be a conflict amongst them.  

The author of this journal article analyzes and examines on how such terrorism acts could happen by relating the fundamentalism and terrorism. The author combines all the information that she got from several sources and then analyzes them and pours them into a writing. She can give a clear explanation on why fundamentalism is one of the factors that accelerates such terrorism acts.

This journal article provides the information that focuses on the relation between fundamentalism and terrorism which is fundamentalism is one of the factors that accelerates terrorism acts. The writer in writing the thesis can use this journal article as the reference to understand how fundamentalism in Indonesia affects the occurrence of such terrorism acts.


This journal article provides the information about how ISIS gets its members abroad, how ISIS manages and utilizes its members to serve them by doing the commands that ISIS asked to its members and what happens if the foreign fighters or the ex-foreign fighters of ISIS returned to their hometowns. ISIS is known to be eager to build a state based on the Caliphate. It is said that ISIS recruits its members especially the foreign members through the internet using social media such YouTube, Facebook and twitter and the online ISIS materials are identified played a significant role in terrorist recruitment around the world.  

37 Ibid.
The ISIS fighters will be indoctrinated about the caliphate will be trained to use weapons and even to detonate bombs. These things are feared can affects the ISIS fighters if they are returned to their home country. The ISIS fighters can be sent abroad to recruit new members and to spread the caliphate ideology. The ex-members of ISIS that have been returned to their home country could be spreading the notion or the ideology of caliphate or even carries out any terrorism act because they have been indoctrinated and brain washed unless they got rehabilitated.39

The role of the government is much needed in controlling the internet usage in their countries such as the blocking the websites that contain contents that is affiliated with ISIS and it is needed to publish contra-narratives about ISIS because it will not be that easy to fight and defeat ISIS campaign and narratives and also its propaganda on the internet and social media.

The authors of this journal article have examined how ISIS got its members and to make sure the authors of this journal article also interviewed some of the ex-members ISIS to get some information on how they could join ISIS and what they got during joining ISIS. They then combine the information from the interviewees and some of the references they used to explain their analysis towards the topic that is being discussed.

This journal article will be useful as a reference in assisting the writer of this thesis to understand whether ISIS uses the same method in recruiting and affecting some Indonesians to join them.

II.3 “Combating Violent Extremism and Radicalization in the Digital Era: Advances in Religious and Cultural Studies” by Majeed Khader et al., IGI Global, 2016

This book provides the information and deep explanation about how the terrorist organizations and extremist advance their missions through the usage of Internet and

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39 Ibid.
social media and how these same platforms can be used to counter-violent extremism activity. It is explained that the existence of Internet and social media are beneficial for the terrorist organizations and extremist. For instance, terrorist organization can reach a really expansive and large number or followers, potential recruits or new members and combatant fighters through the utilization on Twitter. It is also mentioned that the existence of Internet and social media has provided the effective method for terrorist organization and extremist to communicate globally in order to spreading terror by propagating message.\(^\text{40}\)

The terrorist organization also believed could radicalize people online and turn those people becoming extremists and then encourage them to conduct such terrorism related-acts. Internet and social can be resource for the terrorist organization to collect the sensitive data and information to support their organizations. However these platforms such Internet and social media could also be used to conduct such counter-violent extremism by cooperating with the state intelligences to collect the information about those terrorist organizations through communicating with them using covert accounts.\(^\text{41}\) After collecting the information, the narrative for countering the violent extremism can be disseminated to the wider audiences and communities that are affected by those terrorist organization activities.

This book provides information and explanation of how the terrorist organization utilizes Internet and social media to spread terror and radicalism and even recruits new members. In the other side, the same platforms also can be used to counter-violent extremism. This will be a reference for the writer of this thesis to understand how Internet and social media being tools that beneficial for such terrorist organization and also examine whether the current Indonesian government utilizes these platforms to counter-violent extremism and terrorism or not.

\(^{40}\) Khader et al., *Combating Violent Extremism and Radicalization in the Digital Era.*

\(^{41}\) Ibid.
II.4 “Extremism, Counter-Terrorism and Policing” by Imran Awan and Brian Blakemore, Routledge, 2016

Extremism is seen and mostly associated with violence in which there are several violence or terrorism cases that involving extremists as the actors. It is said that the extremist utilized technology to recruit, radicalize and indoctrinate other people as it could turn those people becoming extremist like them. Basically, the term extremism cannot be interpreted that simple in which this means that not every extremism act is containing violence. The term extremism itself could cover the far right extremism, Islamist extremism and animal rights extremism. Each extremism term has its own understanding.

The Islamist extremism part which is more relatable to the terrorism issues nowadays will be the main concern to be reviewed. It is mentioned that many theories that relating to extremism have linked and associated between the Muslim groups and what is perceived as religious extremism. It is also said that there is a verse which is verse 143 in Surah 2 (Al-Baqarah) that has been used by the Muslim extremist groups to justify the violence. However, there are some Islamic theologians and Islamic thinkers such Dr. Zakir Naaik, Hopkins and Khani-Hopkins have argued and defined extremism in positive way. Hopkins and Khani-Hopkins argue that the Muslim extremists have been misinterpreted the verse 143 in Surah 2 (Al-Baqarah) to create social discomfort and causing confrontation. In which this social discomfort means when those extremists causing terror and radicalized people to become extremist like them. 42

Violence extremism which can be considered as terrorism is perceived as a threat that should be addressed immediately by using some approaches. These approaches are such efforts of counter-terrorism and policing terrorism that are so

important and needed to combat the violence extremists and terrorist that could conduct such terrorism violence acts which could harm the society. 43

This book provides the information and explanation about extremism, the cause and the psychology of extremists, how radicalization can happen, policing extremism within a counter-terrorism context, the approaches used to combating extremism. It will be useful as the reference for assisting the writer of the thesis in writing the thesis specifically for understanding how terrorism in Indonesia related to Islamic extremist.


After the declaration of Caliphate by Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), it has been expanding its networks across the world including Southeast Asia. The existence of ISIS in Southeast Asia has affected the regional security of the Southeast Asia itself. ISIS performs its action to attract new members or to support them through online radicalization. ISIS utilizes Internet and social media to radicalize people and recruit new members.44

Some countries in Southeast Asia reported that many of their citizens joined ISIS. ISIS has succeed to radicalize and attract people from Southeast Asia to join them through the internet, it is proven by the increasing number of extremist websites, forums and social media accounts that supporting ISIS and also the foreign fighters that recruited in Southeast Asia from 2014 to 2015. The majority of these extremist websites, forums and social media accounts containing the materials that published in Indonesian language and Malaysian language. 45

ISIS is very aggressively conducting its radicalization and spreading extremist message though its media campaign on internet and social media to gain support, influencing Southeast Asians to join ISIS, and radicalize Southeast Asians to become

43 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
extremist like them. Even though there are a lot of Southeast Asians against ISIS but ISIS abled to gain supports and has a lot of supporters especially from Indonesia and Malaysia. It is proven that many of Indonesian and Malaysian foreign fighters went to Syria to join ISIS which means that ISIS efforts in gaining support, spreading extremist message and radicalize Southeast Asian through internet and media social was not in vain. It can be seen that, the main purposes of ISIS in using internet and social media to conduct its online campaign are to radicalize and gain the support from the Southeast Asians.

This journal article has provided the explanation and information about the impact of ISIS’ online campaign through internet and social media in Southeast Asia such as the rise of extremist websites, forums and social media accounts that supporting ISIS particularly in 2014 – 2015 when the first ISIS indicated expanding its network in Southeast Asia. This journal article will be used as a reference to assist the writer of this thesis in understanding the continuing impacts of this online campaign of ISIS in Indonesia.

II.6 “Violent-Extremism: An Examination of a Definitional Dilemma” by Jason-Leigh Striegher, Security Research Institute (SRI), Edith Cowan University, 2015

Violent extremism (VE), radicalization and terrorism are the terms that often used interchangeably. These terms have their own meaning and can be said as related to each other. Radicalization here means as the process of someone who holds a certain view or ideology to indoctrinate others. After being radicalized those people may be affected and subsequently act radically. The radicalization process has an important role in indoctrinating and spreading the ideology of violent extremism to the people. 46

Violent extremism is an ideology that justifies the use of violence in order to achieve or advocate particular beliefs. Violence extremism also one of the factors that

could lead to the terrorism acts since most of terrorism acts are containing violence and causing chaos in public. However, not every person who holds the ideology of violent extremism will be conducting the act of terrorism. People who have been radicalized by violent extremist tend to become violent extremist as well. VE is more about the expression of extreme thought or ideology of particular thing in which this kind of thought or ideology then can lead people to conduct such violent acts of terror. These violent acts of terror which can be simply called terrorism are the manifestation of this ideological expression. Terrorism itself is defined universally as the use of violence in conducting such acts in order to create public commotion.

This can be concluded that, violent extremism, radicalization and terrorism have interdependent relationship. Violent extremism ideology is one of the factors that could lead people to conduct terrorism acts and it could be done through radicalization where people who already hold this ideology could radicalize others in order to have the same thought like them.

This article has provided the information about the definition of violent extremism, radicalization, terrorism and their interdependent relationship. This will be used by the writer of the thesis as a reference to analyze and examine on how violent extremism and radicalization could be one of the driver factors of terrorism.47

II.7 “Countering Violent Extremism in Indonesia: Priorities, Practice and the Role of Civil Society” by Cameron Sumpter, RSIS,” January 8, 2018

In this journal, Cameron Sumpter states that Indonesia’s attempts to counter violent extremism has been started since 2002 when the phenomenon of Bali Bombing took place. The journal provides the summary of Indonesia’s efforts in countering violent extremism up until the establishment of the 2013 Deradicalization Blueprint. The journal comes up with the conclusion directed on assessing the effort by BNPT in collaboration with non-government stakeholders. The first step was taken through the development of relationship between police and the terrorist during the custody. The

47 Ibid.
counter violent extremism efforts by the government continues to develop in which the
government managed to establish an agency to deal with the issue of terrorism; the
National Counter-terrorism Agency (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme,
BNPT) in 2010. In the implementation, BNPT as governmental agency also engaged
with the non-governmental stakeholders particularly with Nahdlatul Ulama
organizations.\footnote{Cameron Sumpter, “Countering Violent Extremism in Indonesia: Priorities, Practice and the Role of
Civil Society | RSIS,” January 8, 2018, https://www.rsis.edu.sg/staff-publication/countering-violent-
extremism-in-indonesia-priorities-practice-and-the-role-of-civil-society/#.Wvc3fIiFPIU.}

Deradicalization program in Indonesia is guided by the Deradicalization
Blueprint issued by BNPT in 2013 where the process of deradicalization is divided into
four stages: re-education, rehabilitation, re-integration and re-socialization involving
government and non-government stakeholders. In the identification is the process
where the inmates are interviewed to define their level of involvement and ideological
belief, rehabilitation and re-education are the persuasive approaches intended to replace
the inmates’ understanding of the ideology into the state’s ideology through dialogue
and discussion, and re-socialization process usually involves NGO in promoting
networks for the inmates to plan for their life.\footnote{Ibid.}

In this thesis writing, this journal assists in providing the information and the
counter violent extremism before the administration of Joko Widodo particularly on
the effort of BNPT. This thesis will continue the research by digging deep on the
administration of President Joko Widodo on what Indonesia has been doing in an effort
to counter terrorism limited until the year of 2017.
CHAPTER III
OVERVIEW OF TERORRISM IN GENERAL, THE
EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF ISIS WITH ITS
INFLUENCE IN INDONESIA

III.1 Terrorism in General

III.1.1 What is Terrorism?

Speaking about terrorism, it is found that there are many definitions about terrorism according to various scholars and institutions since there is no agreed definition about terrorism itself. One of the definitions of terrorism which comes from The Department of Justice at the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) of the United States which stated that in accordance with The Code of Federal Regulation, terrorism is defined as the unlawful use of force or violence against individuals or property to intimidate or coerce the government, civil society or other elements to achieve political and social objectives.  

While Walter Lacquer a prominent terrorism expert defined that terrorism is the unlawful use of force to achieve political objectives which usually targeted the innocent civil society and the main element of terrorism is the use of violence. However, there is a most universally accepted definition of terrorism which is, terrorism is the use of violence to create fear in purpose to accomplish or achieve the goals that have been planned.

Terrorism is such coordinated attacks that aim at evoking the feelings of terror against a group of people. Unlike wars or armed conflicts, the acts of terrorism are not subjected to the warfare procedures such as the sudden execution time and random target casualties and are often civilians. The terrorist term refers to the perpetrators who are not members of the armed forces or not to comply with the rules of the armed forces. Terrorism also means that the attacks that conducted

51 Matusitz, Terrorism and Communication.
by the terrorist are inhumane and have no justification. Terrorism does not attempt to challenge government forces directly, but acts to change perceptions as to the effectiveness or legitimacy of the government itself. This is done by ensuring the widest possible knowledge of the acts of terrorist violence among the target audience. Rarely will terrorists attempt to "control" terrain, as it ties them to identifiable locations and reduces their mobility and security. Terrorists as a rule avoid direct confrontations with government forces. Terrorists use methods that neutralize the strengths of conventional forces. Bombings and mortar attacks on civilian targets where military or security personnel spend off-duty time, ambushes of undefended convoys, and assassinations of poorly protected individuals are common tactics.

According to Dr. Alex P. Schmid, terrorism can be divided into political terrorism, organized crime-linked terrorism and pathological terrorism. Political terrorism is then divided into insurgent terrorism, regime or state terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism and vigilante terrorism. Insurgent terrorism is divided into social revolutionary (left-wing) terrorism, right-wing and racist terrorism, religious terrorism, nationalist and separatist terrorism and single issue terrorism.

However lately, terrorism has always been linked to radicalization. How exactly radicalization may predispose a person to commit an act of terrorism? Radicalization can be done by persons who believe or hold a certain ideology. How radicalization could be the driving factor of the conduct of terrorism act is depending on the ideology. We should underline the definition of terrorism itself – the most universally accepted definition, that is, terrorism is the use of violence

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54 Schmid, The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research.
to create fear in purpose to accomplish or achieve particular goals. From this
definition, we can relate to how radicalization can affect or being the driving factor
of the conduct of terrorism act, it is the ideology that accepts and supporting the
use of violence to achieve particular goals.

There is a mode belief called violent extremism in which this belief
opposes the societal principles and values and justify the use of violence in order
to achieve particular goals. Persons who believe or hold extreme belief or views
such as justifying and supporting the use of violence to achieve particular goal –
also called violent extremist can radicalize other people for having same belief
like them and turn them to become violent extremists. These violent extremists
then could conduct such terrorism acts. However, not every violent extremist has
the desire to conduct or commit terrorism act, but violent extremism is what
motivates and the driving factor of terrorism. This means that, the process of
radicalization, the belief of violent extremism and the act of terrorism have
interdependent relationships.\textsuperscript{56}

\textbf{III.1.2 Conceptualizing Religious Terrorism}

Generally, religious terrorism is the use of violence that committed with
the aim to fulfill what has been demanded by the religious belief. Terrorism act
that conducted in the name of religion usually the product of fundamentalist
fanaticism and sometimes it is also the product of groups or individuals who
interpret something through self-constructed systems of thought.\textsuperscript{57}

Religious terrorism has been defined in such different perspectives by
some scholars such as Bruce Hoffman, Walter Lacquer and Mark Juergensmeyer.
These three scholars have different point of views towards religious terrorism that
they have their own opinion and definition regarding religious terrorism.

\textsuperscript{56}Stiegher, “Violent-Extremism.”
\textsuperscript{57}“Introduction to Religious Terrorism - Dictionary Definition of Introduction to Religious Terrorism |
Encyclopedia.Com: FREE Online Dictionary,” accessed May 14, 2018,
a. Hoffman assumes that religious terrorism is basically not purely religiously-motivated act but only for pursuing their interest. The religious terrorists see their-selves as the outsider from the society that they both abhor and reject and this sense of alienation then enable them to undertake some actions that can harm others as long as they can fulfil their interests.\(^5^8\) He believes that the religious terrorism is not purely done because of religious reason but more into the people who are rejecting to become a part of a society but then they can use this situation to harm others in order to seeking benefit and to pursue their interests.

b. Lacquer assumes that religious terrorism has been motivated by some factors, such as, the widening gap between the West and the rest of the world and the incapability of the secular organizations to resolve such core communal problem like Israeli–Palestinian conflict in which these reasons trigger a group of people to undertake such harming actions to against these reasons in the name of religion.\(^5^9\)

c. Juergensmeyer assumes that religious terrorism is such the involved images of divine war between the believers and non-believers, chaos and order, good and evil. These religious terrorists then identify themselves with such struggles and project those images onto the present situations that they seek to address in which the perpetrators then project and harness those images to undertake some actions to address particular or certain situation in the name of religion.\(^6^0\)

Accordingly, for religious terrorists, the conduct of violence is the act of the sacrament to carry out theological commandments and demands. Religious terrorism therefore has a transcendent dimension and as a result the perpetrators


ignore the political, moral and practical constraints that may affect secular terrorists in their operations. In addition, unlike secular terrorists seeking to win sympathy from their supporters and potential supporters, religious terrorists do not seek support and sympathy from anyone but themselves. It somehow makes religious terrorism to be more destructive and out of control because their goals are endless, and often try to eliminate as many enemies as possible. Another thing is religious terrorists perceive themselves as outsider part of a system that needs to be nurtured and defended. As outsiders they are seeking to make fundamental changes to the existing order.

Hence, in this thesis, ISIS is classified as religious terrorist group since it is more relatable to religious terrorism since ISIS justifies the use of violence in achieving its main goal such uniting the world under a single caliphate in which this caliphate word is referring to one of the Islamic teachings. ISIS calls this kind of act as Jihad that means the struggle or efforts in devotion to Islam and in the name of Allah. ISIS members are calling themselves as jihadists who adhere to an extreme interpretation of Sunni Islam and consider themselves as the only true believers and they hold and believe that the rest of the world is made up of the unbelievers who seek to destroy Islam, in which they then justify attacks against other Muslims and non-Muslims who do not believe in them. However, what ISIS has done is very contrary to the motto of Islam itself which is Islam loves peace and does not even reflect as religious people. How can ISIS says their actions as Jihad while their actions are very contrary to the motto of Islam itself. From this, it can be said that ISIS has interpreted the word Jihad by their own understandings.

III.1.3 The Impact of Terrorism to National Interests

Nowadays, terrorism is mostly associated with extraordinary crime committed by irresponsible parties and usually on behalf of an organization or

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community. It is also becoming a major concern of every state since the act of terrorism itself poses a threat to the national interests.

National interests refer to the self-interest of nations. In this regard, national interests are divided into those interests that states consider as the most important or vital, such as security, economic and politics. 62 Terrorist acts can destabilize the government, harm the society, jeopardize security and peace and threaten the economic development. 63 As the vital part of national interest of a state, security is the protection of a way of life of a state and sometimes it is regarded as synonymous with survival in which security protects the state or the nation as a whole including protecting the viability of the citizen within the state. Security here also includes the economic and political security as the economic and political sectors of a state are vital parts of the state itself.

The economic sector of a state mainly focused on the resources, investment, finance, and markets to sustain the welfare of the state. 64 The impact of terrorism is always negative for the economy. Terrorist attacks are usually abrupt and it causes physical destruction to such as transportation systems, factories, offices, public facilities, injured or killed people and other economic resources. Aside from that, terrorist attacks also affected tourism as the source of foreign exchange and foreign direct investments as the sources for the infrastructure and economic development. Terrorist attacks can make a state become unstable in which this kind of situation makes the foreign visitors and foreign investors feel insecure to visit and to invest in the state that experiences

terrorist attacks.65Thus, the economic security is the ability to protect a state’s wealth and economic freedom from every threat and coercion.66

The political sector of a state mainly focused on the sovereignty of the government, political system of a state and also the safety of the citizens within the state from every threat or coercion. Terrorism threat or attack could be impacted to the political instability and also the safety of the citizen. It may affect any domestic as well as foreign policy or even the laws and regulations of a state. The safety of the citizen is also a main concern since terrorism attack occurs or happens immediately and may injure and kill the citizens. Thus, the political security here is referring to the ability to protect the sovereignty of the government and political system and also the safety of the citizens from any unlawful threats both internal and external threats.67

III.2 The History of Terrorism in Indonesia

III.2.1 Jemaah Islamiyah (JI)

Jemaah Islamiyah was created in 1993 by Abu Bakar Bashir an Indonesian Islamist cleric to establish an Islamic state that stretched across the Muslim areas of Southeast Asia. It aims to establish an Islamic state (Daulah Islamiyah Nusantara) in Southeast Asia. Initially, the state would encompass Malaysia, Indonesia, and Mindanao (southern Philippines), and later absorb southern Thailand, Singapore, and Brunei.68

JI’s history indicates that the group pursues a three-phase strategy of violent jihad to establish a caliphate. The first phase of jihad targets local government. The second targets regional governments through a conflagration of
attacks in countries such as Singapore and Philippines. The third phase is global jihad. This latter phase developed as a result of association with al-Qaeda, which seeks a global jihad, as opposed to JI’s initial localized jihad.

When Indonesia declared independence from the Netherlands, Abu Bakar Bashir and Abdullah Sungkar founded JI to overthrow the secular Indonesian state through political disruption and violence. One of JI’s precursors was Darul Islam, an insurgent movement that gave rise to three separate revolts against the Indonesian government in the 1950s and 1960s.

Sungkar and Bashir later left Indonesia to join the jihad in Afghanistan and then Pakistan. It is in these two countries where they associated with Afghans who espoused extremist ideology and foreign fighters who had also sought to join jihad. It is during this period that they developed the ideological and operational underpinnings of JI.

JI didn't become aggressively militant until hard-liners took it over in 2000 and set up terrorist training camps, carried out organized attacks against Christians and planned ambition attacks against Western targets intended to leave scores dead. Jemaah Islamiyah operated in the open until the Bali bombing in 2002. Only then was it declared a terrorist organization. Jemaah Islamiyah once had cells across Southeast Asia, including Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand, with a goal of establishing an Islamic state across the region. Current members say it is no longer transnational and is focused on Indonesia, where its strategy is to win public backing for its ideology and ambition.69

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III.3 Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)

III.3.1 The Emergence of ISIS

ISIS is known as the most dangerous terrorist organization because of its outrageous barbarity and mostly uses violence such as killing, torturing, shooting and bombing in every act they did. It is also very powerful, has a lot of members and networks that spread across many countries.

ISIS has its origin from militant group called Jamaat al-Tawhid wal-Jihad (JTJ) that was established in 2000 by a Jordanian named Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. His intent to establish this group was to fight and overthrow the Jordanian government but failed. After that, Zarqawi travelled to Afghanistan and then he met Osama bin Laden, the leader of Al-Qaeda, there. In the late 2004, Zarqawi finally agreed and let his group under the control of Osama bin Laden and his group officially pledged allegiance to Al-Qaeda network and then named this organization as Tanzim Qaidat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn, or Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). By affiliating with Al-Qaeda, Zarqawi got direct profits such as funding, recruitment, logistics, and network facilities.

As a branch of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, AQI increasingly had the power to control the source of power from foreign fighters. After the US invasion that resulted in the political crisis in Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein, in 2004, AQI became one of the military forces that counted in an anti-American insurgency and waged an inter-sectarian war in Iraq. Not only using violence in the battlefield, AQI also often used violence to the civil society. In carrying out the action, AQI had acted beyond limits. In 2006, Zarqawi formed the Mujahideen Shura Council which later became the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI). However, in the same year Zarqawi was killed by the U.S military, and then ISI was led by Abu Umar al-Baghdadi.

By the end of 2008, ISI was apparently defeated by the U.S military and at that time Iraq was on the path to stability. In early 2009, ISI reverted and
appeared to launch an attempt to cripple the Iraqi government. During August and October 2009, ISI began to sabotage the government infrastructure and carried out terror attacks against civilians. In 2010, Abu Umar al-Baghdadi was killed in a joint of U.S-Iraqi raid near Tikrit and then his position was replaced by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. ISI goals became more nuanced under the leadership of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi as he intended to overthrow the illegitimate governments and create the Islamic caliphate. This has driven Baghdadi to transform his organization into the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).70

ISIS can be both said as terrorist and violent extremist because ISIS holds violent extremism ideology in which they justify and support the use of violence such killing, torturing, bombing and shooting to achieve their main goal which is uniting the world under a single caliphate. ISIS is also the richest terrorist organization in the world because it has historically funded itself through human trafficking, robbery, extortion, exploitation and a very highly lucrative oil industry. Also, it does not depend on foreign donors to survive. ISIS utilizes internet including social media and instant messaging services to recruit new members. What ISIS has done has become a new model or paradigm shift in the global terrorism movement. ISIS has gone beyond what Al Qaeda has done. ISIS applies a massive spread of ideology through the online messages and visual propaganda to influence certain individuals and organizations to engage in their movements.71

III.3.2 The Influence of ISIS in Indonesia

ISIS has expanded its network across many countries in the world including Indonesia. Indonesia has become one of the targets of ISIS expanded network because Indonesia is a country that has the largest population of Muslims. With its main ideology called caliphate, ISIS can easily affect the Indonesian

citizens that are predominantly Muslim. It is proven by August 2014, there are almost 1000 people that identified as the members of ISIS and these 1000 people are not including the organizations that support and pledged allegiance to ISIS. The successful movement of ISIS in attracting its followers is motivated by its promotion on the establishment of *caliphate* which is seen and perceived as an ideal in Islamic teaching.

The influence of ISIS in Indonesia goes more through the Internet and social media, it is because many of Indonesian people now can easily access the information such as news, articles, and videos about ISIS that ISIS has published or uploaded through the Internet. ISIS spreads its ideology by the online campaign and creating social media accounts and uploading videos that contain an invitation to Indonesians to join their group in the name of jihad to Allah. Besides inviting and influencing the Indonesian people through the internet and social media to join them, ISIS also stated that Pancasila is *thagut* in which this statement can motivate its followers to be more supporting caliphate to be implemented in Indonesia.

The emergence and influence of ISIS has also impacted to the radical community organization in Indonesia. It can affect and gain support from some radical organizations in Indonesia. There are some radical community organizations that have been identified as the most pro ISIS such as:

1. Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT). Established in 2008 by former Jemaah Islamiyah leader, Abu Bakar Ba’asyir. In 2010 JAT had thousands of members and networks across the archipelago. The organization started to support ISIS

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73“Bagaimana ISIS Masuk Indonesia? - Nasional Tempo.Co.”
in the middle of July. JAT also facilitated the recruitment to ISIS for its members and sympathizers.

2. Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT). Established in 2011 by a former of JAT commander named Santoso (also known as Abu Wardah al-Syarqi). MIT has an array of jihadist cells in West Nusa Tenggara (especially Bima), East Kalimantan and Central Sulawesi. Santoso was the first Indonesian jihadist leader to declare allegiance to ISIS in late 2013, and also MIT has strong links and relations into Syria.

3. Jamaah Tauhid wal Jihad (JTJ). Established in 2004 by Aman Abdurrahman (also known as Oman Rochman). JTJ activities are mostly based in cells, and many of its activities are involved in terrorist operations.

4. Ring Banten. This group was part of Darul Islam faction which was Indonesia’s oldest jihadist organization in 1999 where its members were involved in both the Bali bombings and the Australian embassy bombing in 2004. One of its leaders called Rois was on the death sentence for his role in the latter attack. Several of its members also joined ISIS in Syria.

5. Gema Salam (Gerakan Mahasiswa Untuk Syariat Islam). Since 2013, Gema Salam has become a strong advocate of ISIS in several campuses in many regions of Indonesia. It runs the Shoutussalam.org website, which is one of the most prominent pro-ISIS sites in Indonesia. It also translates and publishes online the Indonesian version of ISIS’s Dabiq journal.

6. Mujahidin Indonesia Barat (MIB). Established in 2012 in West Java. This organization was also part of Darul Islam faction led by Abu Umar. It has a number of members who have joined ISIS in Syria.

7. FAKSI (Forum Aktivis Syariat Islam). Created by Muhammad Fachry (whose real name is Tuah Febriwansyah) and Bahrun Syam in early 2013. FAKSI was based on the militant al-Muhajirun group in Indonesia and quickly became a leading source of pro-ISIS media activity in Indonesia. Its main site is al-Mustaqbal.com that promotes ISIS ideology. FAKSI organized a series of public lectures to advocate for ISIS. Bahrun joined ISIS forces in Syria in May
2014 and quickly rose to prominence on social media while Fachry busied himself with selecting and training ISIS recruits in Indonesia.75

8. Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD). Established in 2015. JAD is also known as Jamaah Anshorut Daulah Khilafah Nusantara (JADKN). This organization has been identified as the mastermind of several acts of terror in Indonesia. JAD is led directly by Bahrun Naim who is the ISIS Coordinator of Indonesia in Syria. In Indonesia, JAD is led by AmanAbdurahman who is now imprisoned in Nusakambangan. Those who joined JAD learned to make bombs by self-taught and tutorial from the internet. Bahrun Naim provides online training to his group members and the members also communicate with him online through social media.76

The existence of these radical groups that affiliated with ISIS will eventually help the promotion of ISIS ideology in all parts of Indonesia becomes easier. ISIS can also utilize its followers and the radical organizations that supporting them to spread the ideology of caliphate and radicalize other people to join them.

ISIS had also successfully influenced some people to conduct such terrorism acts in Indonesia such as:

1. The terror attacks around Sarinah building, MH Thamrin, Cental Jakarta in January 2016. These attacks involved the suicide bombing and firefight between the police and the perpetrators. The perpetrators of these attacks were said having relation with ISIS. The attacks that shook Thamrin area at that time were claimed by ISIS on the same day the incident occurred. The

75“Islamic State - Indonesia and Malaysia.”
claim was delivered by Armaq News Agency which is a news outlet or media owned by ISIS.  

2. The terror attacks against police officers in Cikokol, Tangerang in October, 2016. The Terrorism and Intelligence Researcher from the University of Indonesia, Ridwan Habib, said that, ISIS was behind the acts of terror attacks against police officers in Cikokol, Tangerang and this assurance was reinforced by the statement of ISIS activist from Indonesia who settled in Syria, Bahrun Naim, through social media.

3. The bombing attack in front of Oikumene Church, Samarinda, East Kalimantan. According to Inspector General Boy Rafli Amar, the seven perpetrators of this attack were influenced by ISIS and even have pledged allegiance to ISIS. This is proven by some evidences such as ISIS flag and several things that related to terrorism found by the police in the perpetrators’ homes.

4. The bombing attack in Taman Pandawa, Cicendo on Februari 2017. This incident was carried out by a member of JAD and he also said ever involved in a terrorism act in 2012.

5. The attacks on the Banyumas resort police station in April 2017. This attack made two police officers injured because of the wound jab. The perpetrator of this attack was identified having an affiliation with ISIS and has been influenced to do such kind of act.

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6. The suicide bombing attack in Kampung Melayu on May 2017. The National Police Chief General, Tito Karnavian, said, the perpetrator of this suicide bombing attack is members of Jemaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) Bandung Raya, in which this organization is identified as pro ISIS.  

7. The terror attack against police officer in the Police Headquarter Station of North Sumatra on June 2017. The perpetrators of this attack are identified as the member of JAD again. This attack has killed a police personnel named Aiptu M. Sigalingging after fighting with the two perpetrators who were armed with kitchen knives. According to the police investigation, this terror act is allegedly planned beforehand and the two perpetrators were confirmed to be affiliated with ISIS. It is proven by the evidence found in the form of ISIS symbols and radical books that owned by the perpetrators. 

8. The attack on two Mobile Brigade Corps officers in Falatehan Mosque, South Jakarta in July 2017. According to the police investigation, the perpetrator of this attack was said influenced and inspired by ISIS and felt hostile to the police.

These terrorism acts occurred because of the loyalty of the ISIS’s followers to do what ISIS has influenced and has demanded to them. This means that, pledges of loyalty from Indonesian extremists to the ISIS in Indonesia could raise the risk of violence and increase the occurrence of terrorism act. In addition, ISIS has a strong network, including through technologies such as social media to undermine the nation’s ideology through its followers.

Moerti, “Penjelasan Mabes Polri Soal Jemaah Ansharut Daulah.”
CHAPTER IV

IV.1 The Securitization of Terrorism in Indonesia

The state securitizes a threat if it perceives something that considered as a threat to the state. The existence and the influence of ISIS which can lead to the conduct of terrorism in Indonesia triggers the Indonesian government to undertake some actions to securitize the state because ISIS has been acknowledged by the international community as one of the most dangerous terrorist organizations proven by its barbarity in every action they do.\(^{85}\) The government supported by National Counter-terrorism Agency (BNPT) state that any Indonesian citizen who joins ISIS has to face criminal penalties because ISIS is already believed as a terrorist organization by the international community.\(^{86}\)

A survey was conducted by the Maarif Institute, in December 2015 showed that the seeds of radicalism among Indonesian adolescents are very worrying. The survey was conducted on 98 high school students who attended the Maarif Institute Jamboree. The question posed to these students, "Would you be willing to attack people or groups that are considered insulting to Islam?" The result, 40.82 respondents answered "willing", and 8, 16 percent of respondents answered "very willing". As for the respondents who answered "not willing" 12.24 percent and "less willing" as much as 25.51 percent. At the question point, "Do you think the laws in force in Indonesia is


\(^{86}\) “Bahas Ancaman ISIS, Jokowi Tekankan TNI-Polri Utamakan Pencegahan - Kompas.Com.”
the law of infidels?", As much as 1.02 per cent answered "agree" and 65.31 percent answered "do not agree". Meanwhile, the answer "less agree" was raised by 20.41 percent of respondents. At the question point, concerning the Islamic state system in Indonesia, respondents were also asked whether they agree with some Muslims who want to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia. The result, 19.39 percent said "agree", and 3.06 percent said "strongly agree". Meanwhile, 34.69 percent responded "disagree" and 37, 76 percent answered "disagree". With regard to ISIS, these students were asked, "Are you very willing, unwilling or unwilling to take part in the fight to Iraq and Syria by ISIS?" 3.06 percent answered "willing"; and 83.86 percent responded "not willing". 

President Joko Widodo also said that he invites all the Muslims throughout the country to jointly protect the Nation and the State from all forms of radicalism and terrorism such as ISIS. The statement was delivered by President Joko Widodo in his speech at the commemoration of Maulid Nabi at the State Palace, Central Jakarta, Wednesday in December 2015. The event was attended by Vice President Jusuf Kalla, a number of ministers of the Working Cabinet, and other invited guests. The Police Chief General Tito Karnavian also stated that Indonesia has to fight against terrorism and ISIS. Following the statement from President Joko Widodo and Police Chief General Tito Karnavian regarding terrorism and ISIS, more than 95 per cent of Indonesians reject the existence of ISIS in Indonesia. This is based on survey results conducted by Survey Institute, Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC) in January 2016. President Director of SMRC, Djayadi Hanan in Jakarta, delivered as 0.3 percent of respondents agreed that ISIS can be established in Indonesia and 0.8 percent of respondents agreed with what ISIS is fighting for. While almost 90 percent of the


respondents do not agree with the ideology of ISIS and what ISIS fought for. They regard ISIS as a threat to the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.  

The influence of ISIS in Indonesia cannot be underestimated since it is a serious threat to the diversity in Indonesia and even the stability of the country which can affect the state interest. The threat of ISIS to the diversity of Indonesia is caused by the main ideology of ISIS which is called caliphate. Within the caliphate system, Indonesia will no longer follow the ideology of Pancasila which recognizes the diversity of Indonesia as implicated in Indonesian motto of Bhineka Tunggal Ika since Indonesia has various tribes, races and six official religions that have been recognized by the Indonesian government. As a matter of fact, if Indonesia applies caliphate, the state will utilize Sharia System which is contrary with the value of Pancasila and Bhineka Tunggal Ika as the most suitable ideology for Indonesia.

As for the stability of Indonesia, the terrorism related acts caused by the influence of ISIS could impend the state interest particularly in economic sector. For instance, one of the terrorist attacks that happened in Sarinah, Jakarta in January 2016—known to be affiliated with ISIS, indeed impacted on the weakening of Indonesia Composite Index (IHSG) and rupiah exchange rate. The Composite Index was weakened by 77.86 points or 1.72 percent at 4,459.32 and the rupiah exchange rate dropped 1 percent. Accordingly, the former Minister of Finance, Bambang Brodjonegoro stated that terrorist attack in Sarinah caused a temporary impact on Indonesia economy as shown by data of Indonesia Composite Index and the rupiah exchange rate. Although it gave temporary impacts, but it still should be concerned because if this phenomenon keeps continuing, it will give significant effect to the economic stability to the country.

The Indonesian government is in struggle to combat terrorism caused by the influence of ISIS through countering violent extremism as one of the ways to prevent the conduct of terrorism related-acts in Indonesia.

The Indonesian government tries to strengthen the implementation of Pancasila as the state ideology with the civil society role and empower moderate Muslims such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah.\textsuperscript{91} From the political security, the government tries to strengthen the intelligence measures such as finding, mapping and monitoring the Indonesian citizens who become ISIS supporters and sympathizers. They also tasked to strictly monitoring the Indonesian citizens who have joined ISIS then preventing the Indonesian citizens who will join ISIS by going to Iraq and Syria and suspected foreigners in Indonesia, and also increasing awareness and supervision areas where radical groups reside by cooperating with the National Counter-terrorism Agency (BNPT) and State Intelligence Agency.\textsuperscript{92}

\textbf{IV.2 The Government Cooperation with the National Counter-terrorism Agency (BNPT)}

The National Counter-terrorism Agency (BNPT) is responsible to coordinate terrorism-related intelligence and information among the stakeholder agencies and encompasses the details from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, TNI, and the Indonesian National Police (POLRI). In September 2015, President Joko Widodo called for the concrete steps to strengthen the BNPT’s interagency coordination roles.\textsuperscript{93}

To fight against terrorism in Indonesia, BNPT cannot struggle alone. BNPT has to involve various stakeholders, especially the community. BNPT needs the support


and partners from the various parties to accomplish its tasks and missions. One of the steps taken by the government is by reinforcing the Coordination Forum of Terrorism Prevention (FKPT) in several regions in Indonesia.²⁴

FKPT was established based on the Regulation of the Head of National Counter-terrorism Agency number 02 Year 2012 on the Establishment of Coordination Forum of Terrorism Prevention in the Region, that is required to take an active role to hold various elements of society in echoing the spirit of peace and anti-terrorism.²⁵

Through the national seminar with the theme "Preventive Justice in Anticipating the Development of Terrorism Threat" which was held on December 6, 2016, BNPT together with POLRI have agreed to cooperate as stated in the signing of MoU as one of the efforts in countering terrorism. The contents of the MoU are such as the involvement of Polri members in assisting BNPT to prevent the development of radical understanding and monitoring the movement of former terrorist inmates who have been free from prisons related to the security of deradicalization program which will begin in 2017 in the center of de-radicalization of Sentul, Bogor, West Java.

In addition to the BNPT, the Indonesian National Police (Polri) are training officers in the Public Relations Division on effective counter-messaging approaches. Joko Widodo administration is promoting the concept of Indonesian Islam as a positive and tolerant form of Islam practiced by the majority of Indonesia's Muslims and an alternative to violent extremist ideologies.²⁶

IV.2.1 Coordination Forum of Terrorism Prevention (FKPT)

BNPT has expanded FKPT to 32 of Indonesia's 34 provinces and leverages these groups to broaden community engagement. FKPT becomes the

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most strategic partner for BNPT in carrying out the tasks or programs of preventing terrorism. FKPT was formed to establish synergy in the prevention of terrorism in the region by involving all elements of society and the local government. The FKPT board consisted of community leaders, academics, traditional figures, community leaders, media figures, youth leaders, women leaders and local government elements in carrying out the task of anticipating negative issues related to ideology, radicalism and terrorism in the community.

FKPT is considered as one of the real efforts of BNPT in preventing terrorism in Indonesia. FKPT plays a role in monitoring and absorb input from each region as well as early detection of the danger of terrorism. In carrying out its duty to prevent terrorism in Indonesia, FKPT is coordinative and nonpartisan. It acts as the extension of BNPT and the local government in order to synergize in carrying out its duties. As FKPT is a part of the task to prevent terrorism, it is more instrumental in the prevention of terrorism rather than convicting the terrorists. FKPT hold discussion forums, seminars and others for the prevention of terrorism activities.\textsuperscript{97}

The reinforcement of FKPT is really essential in order to prevent and minimize the acts of terrorism. FKPT must be able to manage its duties well since it becomes the mainstay of the National Counter-terrorism Agency (BNPT) in the region and the front guard in preventing the acts of terrorism in Indonesia. BNPT and FKPT can conduct activities related to the prevention of terrorism, for instance:

1. BNPT collaborated with FKPT of East Java provided lessons on making short videos with the theme "Under the Red and White" for Senior High School/Vocational High School students in East Java, Surabaya that aims to provide an understanding related to terrorism and nationalism. According to the Head of Youth and Women Empowerment of FKPT of East Java Dr. Hesti

\textsuperscript{97}Kedeputian Bidang Koordinasi Kesatuan Bangsa, “LAPORAN AKUNTABILITAS KINERJA KEDEPUTIAN VI/KESBANG 2016.”
Armiwulan, most of the targets of terrorism are young people. This is due to the mentality of young people who are still unstable and always want to know something new. Hence, with this competition, it is expected to prevent the radicalization related with terrorism to them and can be used as a place to foster creativity and nationalism for them. 98

2. BNPT collaborated with FKPTs of Mataram, Semarang, and Yogyakarta conducted the workshops to help young student in developing counter-narratives and amplify these messages using internet and social media platforms. Through the presentations from the former terrorists, the survivors of terrorist attacks, the law enforcement personnel and religious leaders, BNPT encouraged the discussion of religious tolerance and promoted CVE.

In facing the serious threats of terrorism, BNPT gives more concern in protecting all elements of the society and public facilities. This can be realized by coordinating with stakeholders, establishing databases and establishing Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) of security systems and socializing security systems.

IV.2.2 Deradicalization Program

As a pluralistic country based on the four pillars of nationalism, namely Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), and Bhineka Tunggal Ika, Indonesia gives freedom to all its citizens for the union and expression in accordance with their religion and belief, but within the framework and the limit of those four pillars of the nationalism. All streams are entitled to grow and develop as far as not bumping into those four pillars. The deradicalization program in Indonesia, therefore, is done with the spirit to uphold the four pillars of nationalism that can foster the spirit of nationalism and keep the NKRI. 99

Since 2010, BNPT has tested various deradicalization programs with varying degrees of success. Deradicalization is a pattern change in the handling of terrorism nowadays. Deradicalization of terrorism such as re-education, resocialization, rehabilitation, re-integration and social welfare or equality for those who have been involved in terrorism and for sympathizers.100

The suspected terrorists are expected not to repeat the previous acts of terror, not back to be an agent of radicalism, and able to live in peace among others. BNPT also involves former combatants who have repented to complete the deradicalization program, both for inmates of terrorism within the prison society and those who are already free. BNPT also provides entrepreneurship skills training for families of former terrorists, scholarships for their children. It is done so that they are not marginalized and can be accepted in society so that no longer return to the old network. The program can be provided for the people who have not committed a crime, or members of the community who are being the sympathizers and have not engaged in terrorist acts or members of the terrorist organization itself.101

They must be immediately involved in the deradicalization program of terrorism because it is important to eliminate the latent danger of terrorism. In deradicalization, there are prevention strategies relating to preventive or early detection before terrorism act occurs. While the strategy of action is done after the act of terror occurs. This strategy is in the form of arrest and investigation of the alleged perpetrators of terrorism. Deradicalization program can be the spearhead in the socialization and anticipation of the danger of radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia.

One of the strategic steps in preventing acts of terrorism is through the movement against the terrorism-narrative with the target of the society, the main influencers to conduct terrorism, extreme religious sympathizers, and the perpetrators of terrorism itself. The preventing effort can also be done in two ways such as countering radicalism to the groups that have not been affected with extreme ideology and conducting disengagement of the members of radical groups and former terrorists to stop the using of violence.  

Basically, deradicalization is a convincing process of radical groups to abandon the use of force in action. Deradicalization can be related to the process of creating an environment that prevents the growth of radical movements by responding to the root causes that encourage the growth of radical movements. Deradicalization can also mean that spreading the good (religion) should not use a bad way (violence). The benefits of deradicalization programs are to countering terrorism, preventing radicalism, comparing ideology, evading from hate provocation, hostility in the name of religion, preventing society from indoctrination, and public participation rejecting terrorism.  

Director of Deradicalization of BNPT, Irfan Idris, said that the efforts of deradicalization in Indonesia have four stages: re-education, rehabilitation, resocialization, and reintegration.

1. Re-education is the enlightenment to the public such as the people with radical potential, former inmates, their families and networks by identifying, fostering the supervision of nationality and religion about radical understanding so that there is no ignorance of the development of these understandings. As for the terrorism convicts or inmates, re-education is pursued by giving the understanding about the use violence and enlighten

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103 Sumpter, “Countering Violent Extremism in Indonesia: Priorities, Practice and the Role of Civil Society | RSIS.”
them about aberrant doctrines that teach violence, so that the inmates would understand that violence is identical with terrorist activity and is not part of Jihad. To conduct this process, BNPT also cooperates with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah since these both NGOs are the largest Islamic organization in Indonesian. The process of this stage can be done through dialogs, discussion and workshop.  

2. Rehabilitation is the process that aims towards the inmates and former terrorism inmates to normalize their behaviors. Rehabilitation has two meanings: self-reliance and personality development. Self-reliance is training and nurturing the former inmates to prepare their skills and expertise, the point is that once they leave the penitentiary they already have the skills and can open the job field. While personality development is approaching the terrorist inmates by conducting dialogue or discussion so that their mindset can be straightened out and have a comprehensive understanding and can accept different parties with them. 

3. Resocialization is a process that aims to prepare the inmates in order to easily blend back in the society and then monitor and evaluate their behaviors. This process involves the society because through the society, the former inmates will be monitored whether they can blend well with the society or not. They also then will be evaluated as how they behaved towards the society.  

4. Reintegration is part of resocialization in which in this process, the former inmates are monitored as how they behave toward the society. They also will be asked to foster their sense of nationalism.  

In a broader scope, to prevent the spread of radical understanding in the community, the deradicalization program designed by BNPT is also pursued

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105 Ibid.
106 Ibid.
107 Ibid.
through joint educational program with universities by conducting public lectures, workshops and seminars that encourage youth to think critically and strengthen nationalism, so they will not easily receive a destructive doctrine.\textsuperscript{108}

The implementation of the deradicalization program is able to make a significant contribution to the fight against terrorism and must be continually evaluated and developed. This needs to be done both in the conceptual and public policy levels. Terrorism groups that always make adjustments and changes in strategies and tactics are unlikely to be faced with stagnant strategies and tactics by the state. In this case, which should be overseen by the Indonesian government is the possibility of increasingly of radical teachings.

\textbf{IV.1.3 Interfaith Dialogue}

One source of radicalism or terrorism stems from a misconception or distortion of religious teachings. The danger of this misconception can be destroying the serenity and peace and creating fear known as terror. Radicalism that causes terror in the name of religion must be prevented through anticipation and a complete deterrence to not affect the society. Harmony in religious life that will be part of the power in making such prevention efforts and become capital in entering a more complex global life again.\textsuperscript{109}

There are 6 officially recognized religions in Indonesia: Islam, Protestant Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. The role of religious and community leaders is expected to build harmony starting from the life of family, community, nation and state. The role of religious leaders in the prevention of radicalism and terrorism is realized from a society that has the power of deterrence against transnational religious movements that are not in line

with the culture and religious values that exist in Indonesia as well as maintaining the internal relations of religious communities. While the role of community leaders is to develop a tolerant life in running their respective religious teachings.\textsuperscript{110}

Therefore, the National Counter-terrorism Agency (BNPT) as part of the government seeks to develop strategic relationships with religious leaders and public figures through synergy with the Ministry of Religious Affairs in order to prevent the spread of radicalism and terrorism to carry out joint activities through the Interfaith Dialogue in the Prevention of Radicalism and Terrorism. \textsuperscript{111}

This activity aims to rally the spirit of religious leaders and community leaders to equate perceptions related to the prevention of radicalism and terrorism, as well as to provide understanding and knowledge about radicalism and terrorism. Besides, to build the power of society, especially to religious leaders and public figures through dialogue on radicalism and terrorism.

\section*{IV. 3 The Government Cooperation with the NGOs Such As Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah}

\subsection*{IV.2.1 Nahdlatul Ulama}

NU as the world’s largest Muslim organization, has played a key role in countering extremism in Indonesia. NU aims to establish an international network that promotes Indonesian Islam as having a nonviolent and pluralistic tradition. NU’s prevention center in Indonesia trains male and female Arabic-speaking students to respond to ISIS messaging.

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is at the forefront to countering violent extremism and terrorism. In November, NU released a 90-minute film titled the "The Divine Grace of Islam Nusantara" (Rahmat Islam Nusantara) which directly challenges

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid.
and denounces ISIS interpretations of the Quran and the Hadith. In this film, NU expresses a direct challenge to Islamic State and the Wahhabis and also explains how Islam has spread in the archipelago through the culture and local wisdom and the teachings of the nine saints in mainland Java that popularly known as Wali Songo is at the heart of this Islamic tradition that promotes peace and tolerance.  

With the estimate followers of 70 million, NU is trusted to assist the government to counter the influence of ISIS and radicalism. Since NU has its branches and pondok pesantren in almost every region in Indonesia, it is believed that NU can play a big role to educate the Muslim about Islam Rahmatan Lil’alamin. The action program of NU to counter violent extremism includes three things, namely da’wah, social activities, and economic empowerment. These action programs are aiming to build the independence of the ummah, reducing the socioeconomic disparities, strengthening the tolerant and tolerant teachings of Islam.

The field of da’wah in the form of affirmation measures ahlussunah wal jamaah annahdliyah values as well as to negate the radical ideology in the community especially through intensive regeneration program. The core of the da’wah affirms the importance of Islam Nusantara developed by the spreaders of Islam since the beginning of Islamic da’wah in the archipelago that is able to realize civilized culture and civilization, tolerance, harmony and peace love. Included in this activity is participating in realizing the harmonization of religious life in the global level. For example, NU organized an international dialogue through the delegation to Afghanistan and also invited Afghan clerics to visit Indonesia. The


main purpose is to introduce the values of Tasamuh (tolerance), Tawasuth (moderate), Tawazun (balanced), 'Is (justice), and Ukhuwah (brotherhood) which includes ukhuwah Islamiyah (fellow Muslims), ukhuwah wathoniyah (fellow citizens) Ukhuwah basyariah (fellow human beings). The dialogue and mutual exchange resulted in the formation of the Afghan Nahdlatul Ulama in August 2014 in Kabul.115

The social field: includes social services through the utilization of zakat, Infaq, and Shodaqoh. Special educational services directed to improve the quality of the people through the renewal of a balanced curriculum between the religious substance and worldliness in order to form a generation that is broad-minded, firm and independent. This social activity is important to bring empathy to those who are socially marginalized.

The field of economic empowerment of the people. This activity is directed to create an entrepreneurial spirit among nahdliyin and the development of shariah economy with medium and long-term goals to fortify the ummah from the dominance of global capitalism. This activity is simultaneously to practice the spirit of pluralism in the economic field between the rich and the poor, a synergy between those who are economically strong and the weak for the sake of mutual benefit.116

To stem the influence of the Islamic movements that want to fight for the caliphate, NU has taken various ways both done by individuals and the clerics of NU as well as institutional. Individually, NU leaders and scholars have responded and counteracted the ideas of caliphate fighters through various forums and writings through books, magazines and online media.117

115 Ibid.
116 Ibid.
117 Ibid.
IV.2.2 Muhammadiyah

The ever-growing series of terrorism attacks has rose the emergence of a counter-terrorism movement. The effort gets the attention of all parties, especially the largest Islamic mass organizations, such as Muhammadiyah. It was established on 18 November 1982 Muhammadiyah and now known as the second largest Islamic organization in Indonesia with estimated followers of about 40 million Muslims. The main objective of Muhammadiyah is to restore all the deviations that occur in the da’wah process. The Muhammadiyah movement is characterized by a spirit of building a more advanced and educated social order and educational society.118

TNI Colonel Dadang Hendrayudha, the Head of Monitoring and Counter Propaganda BNPT stated that Muhammadiyah is one of the strategic partners of the National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT) in fortifying the Indonesian nation from radical propaganda of terrorism and ISIS.

“BNPT continues to seek a synergistic partnership with Muhammadiyah in fortifying the public from the influence of radical terrorism in the name of Islam. Muhammadiyah is the oldest religious organization of Islam in the archipelago that is currently consistent with the understanding of moderate Islam and rahmatan lil alamin so it can be useful in an effort to prevent various radical and extremist views, especially terrorism.”119

The government in cooperation with Muhammadiyah has conducted the persuasive program to counter terrorism through dialog. The program that have been conducted such as Dialog 100 Youth (Dialog 100 Pemuda) held in collaboration with National Committee for Indonesian Youth (KNPI) in Medan; 1000 Students Cooperation (Kerja sama 1000

119 admin, “Kepala BNPT Paparkan Strategi Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme di Singapura.”
Mahasiswa) held in Semarang with the Minister of Research and Technology of Higher Education; 700 Imam Masjid and Dai Muda in Solo in cooperation with Association of Islamic Muhammadiyah Students (IPIM), Dialog with 1500 Students in Bandung in cooperation with Ministry of Education and Culture, Association of Nadhlatul Ulama Youth (IPNU), and Association of Indonesian Islamic Teaching Education (AGPAII); Dialog with 1000 Ansor Youths in Semarang; Dialog with 1000 Leaders of Pesantren and Santri in Cirebon in cooperation with Rabithah Ma'ahid Islamy-NU; Dialog with 1000 Rohis Management in cooperation with AGPAII in Jakarta, and last Dialogue with 700 Head of Pesantren in cooperation with IPIM in Jakarta.\(^\text{120}\)

### IV.4 The Government’s Policy to counter-terrorism

Violent extremist groups exploited social media and mobile phone applications to spread propaganda and recruit people to their cause. In March 2015, the Minister of Communications and Information declared the government had blocked 70 ISIS-related blogs and websites at the request of the BNPT.\(^\text{121}\) On occasion, the BNPT will also request that specific social media accounts be suspended. The BNPT maintains multiple websites and social media accounts, publishes books, and organizes public discussion forums to counter extremist narratives. Following the January 2016 attacks in Jakarta, the Indonesian government has blocked websites with jihadist material. The Indonesian government has also sent letters to social media and messaging platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and Telegram asking them to remove extremist content.\(^\text{122}\) In July 2017, Indonesia’s Ministry of Communication blocked the encrypted messaging service Telegram. The Ministry claimed that Telegram had been used to promote

\(^{120}\) admin.


radicalism and convey instructions for terrorist attacks. However, on August 8, 2017, the Ministry of Communication announced that it has opened 11 previously blocked Telegram sites. This was explained directly by the Minister of Communications and Informatics, Rudiantara, in a press conference at the Office of Ministry of Communication and Information. The process of normalization to unblock the telegram is done by also discussing the agreement between the government and Telegram. CEO Pavel Durov agreed to run several agreements with the Indonesian government regarding this matter. Further, the Ministry of Communications and Telegram also agreed on standard operating procedure (SOP) if there is any negative content especially related to radicalism and terrorism. The Government and Telegram shall secure incoming reports to be processed and acted upon within 1x24 hours. Telegram also promised to create a script, a small software to do the filtering of all the activities in Telegram itself.123

This action is undertaken to prevent the radicalism movement and activities happen in telegram. The filtering feature in telegram can be used to monitor the radicalism and terrorist influence to radicalize people through online using telegram. The standard operating procedure is also important to limit the radical movement or influence to be spread through the telegram by securing incoming reports about radicalism and terrorism to be processed within 1x24 hours.

In countering violent extremism, the Indonesian government also cooperates and involves the state intelligence agency (BIN). Intelligence as the front guard in counter-terrorism acts as an early warning system for the users, and intelligence in countering terrorism is not a force of action, but a deterrent. Thus, intelligence should be able to prevent the threat of terrorism. The way to prevent the acts of terrorism that have not occurred is to build a strong link between human intelligence, signal intelligence, data analysts and cooperation with law enforcement.124 Intelligence's purpose of capturing a terrorist member who has not committed terrorism is not to be

punished, but to dismantle the wider terrorist network. The importance of intelligence here is to prevent terrorism from happening, not to wait until the act of terrorism occurs. Even if acts of terrorism have taken place like Ali Imron who is in prison, he is still used for the benefit of intelligence. The benefit of intelligence here means the terrorists who are in prison can be interviewed by the authorities regarding his past terrorism action. They also can be asked for a discussion to discuss about their actions. This discussion and interviewed session can give the information to the intelligence to dismantle their networks. 125

Therefore, the function of intelligence coordination and the coordination of intelligence with the state institutions / other institutions is very necessary in order to overcome terrorism related-matters that can threaten the sovereignty of Indonesia itself. Intelligence must synergize with the other institutions in order to be able to work effectively for the collection, analysis, and dissemination of intelligence products. When intelligence products in the form of an early warning system have been established, intelligence has no authority for the enforcement, therefore, it is needed to cooperate with relevant agencies to follow up and produce a strategy and policy to counter terrorism. 126

Indonesia’s parliament began discussions on a counter-terrorism bill in mid-2016 to allow preventative detention of suspected terrorists. In February 2016, the Indonesian government announced it would take new measures to combat extremism in the country’s prisons. Inmates at Indonesia’s Nusakambangan prison have been grouped as ideologists, militants, or sympathizers and isolated from the general prison population in an effort to prevent the incarcerated extremists from radicalizing other inmates. 127

IV.5 Summary of the Indonesian Government Efforts in Countering Terrorism

The influence of ISIS in Indonesia that can lead to the terrorism act triggers the Indonesian government to securitize the state efforts in countering terrorism through soft approach known as counter violent extremism such as cooperating with the National Counter-terrorism Agency (BNPT), Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah and State Intelligence Agency. Through the cooperation with the National Counter-terrorism Agency (BNPT), they manage to conduct coordination forum of terrorism prevention (FKPT) and deradicalization program. This FKPT was formed to establish the synergy in the prevention of terrorism in the region by involving all elements of the society and the local government. While the deradicalization program is aiming to prevent the people who have not been affected with the radical ideology and as well as helping the terrorist inmates and the former terrorists through re-education, rehabilitation, re-socialization and re-integration. In cooperation with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, the two organizations have their own projects to assist the government to counter violent extremism. NU manages to conduct da’wah, social activities, and economic empowerment while Muhammadiyah manages to conduct dialog with universities students, religious leaders and Islamic youth. Also, as for the cooperation with state intelligence agency, they are tasked to monitor and collect the data intelligence for the prevention of terrorism purpose.

The securitization that taken by the Indonesian government can be considered as successful because it is in line with the three indicators of successful securitization, first, the Indonesian government has identified the existence of the influence of ISIS as a threat to the sovereignty and the national interest, second, the Indonesian government has conducted speech act in several occasion of events in response to the existence of the influence of ISIS in Indonesia and this speech act is then spread through the mass media to be delivered to the public or audiences. After conducting the speech act, the audiences gave their response toward this issue through survey that held by SMRC. The Indonesian government then started to strengthen and reinforce the counter violent
extremism approach as one of the efforts to counter terrorism particularly to counter the influence of ISIS.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

Terrorism movement has been in Indonesia since post-independence until now. The terror groups in Indonesia which originally consisted of two main groups (DI and JI) with their respective affiliates now tend to merge by supporting ISIS, the international terrorist group. These groups in carrying out their political activities use violence with one aim, to weaken their mental opposition and impose its purpose. In addition, these group also committed crimes such as killing and robbing as the effort or means to realize the goals of the group.

Terrorism is an extraordinary crime that can harm people's lives. Not only that, the acts of terrorism can also disserve the state and individuals with the destruction of the state facilities or the businesses owned by individuals. The Indonesian government should give more concern to combat terrorism particularly since the existence of ISIS’ influence in Indonesia. The existence of ISIS’ influence in Indonesia can harm the state itself because it can affect some radical groups that have been pledged allegiance to ISIS to do the act of terror in the society. Since the main goal of ISIS itself is to unite the world within the single caliphate and Indonesia is one of its targets, the Indonesian government should be more aware about this because Indonesia already has its own foundation called Pancasila with its motto Bhineka Tunggal Ika that embrace diversity in Indonesia and the Indonesian government has to protect this.

The efforts of the Indonesian government in countering violent extremism as one of the ways to combat terrorism should be improved and maximized since it is feared that the influence of ISIS can affect the Indonesians particularly the Muslims more deeply. The Indonesian government has to strengthen the cooperation with BNPT, Non-governmental organizations such NU and Muhammadiyah to educate the Muslims about Islam RahmatanLil’Alamin that promotes peace and then reinforce the regulations and policies related to terrorism. BNPT and its extension FKPT can
synergize together in conducting activities and programs to prevent terrorism. In order for the BNPT to communicate effectively in changing minds and behaviors of their target audiences, it is necessary for them to conduct an assessment of how their audiences perceive them and to what level the agency contributes to shaping their responses against radical ideology and its threat. It is also needed to maximize de-radicalization program to help the former terrorist to normalize their mindset.

The Indonesian government efforts to counter terrorism specially to counter the influence of ISIS under President Joko Widodo Administration still need to be improved because it is about the safety of the Indonesian citizen itself. Although we know, it is not that easy to counter and combat terrorism, but the proper step and strategy at least can prevent and even reduce the acts of terrorism in Indonesia. By conducting counter violent extremism through cooperating with other institution such BNPT and BIN and non-governmental organization such NU and Muhammadiyah, it is expected could help the government to counter terrorism within the state.
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