

Indonesia's Role in Combating Terrorism in Southeast Asia



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ABSTRACT. Terrorism is not a new issue but is an increasingly important issue for ASEAN countries, including Indonesia. Indonesia's involvement in the fight against terrorism is not only to fulfill its obligations as part of the international community to jointly fight terrorism, but also to fulfill its national interests. Indonesia's foreign policy in handling this issue puts forward cooperation with other countries, especially in ASEAN. Where in this study aims to know more about Indonesia's role in combating terrorism in the Southeast Asian region and to better understand the obstacles faced by Indonesia in combating terrorism in the Southeast Asian region. To achieve these objectives, this study uses a type of normative research with descriptive qualitative research methods. The data collection technique was carried out using the library research technique. Where the data comes from books, articles, journals and other documents. The results of the research show that terrorism is a security problem and a cross-border problem so that cooperation between ASEAN countries is needed to eradicate terrorism in Southeast Asia through the ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism. Indonesia's role in eradicating terrorism by internal and external efforts carried out bilaterally and multilaterally. Such as the efforts made by the Indonesian government in tackling terrorism in the ASEAN regional scope through various forums in ASEAN, such as being involved in the ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum), and AMMTC (ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime), ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting (ADMM), ASEAN Senior Official Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC), as well as through the Joint Sea Patrol, which is based on the ASEAN Convention On Counter Terrorism (ACCT) for security and peace in ASEAN countries. Shows that there is a positive change in tackling terrorism in Southeast Asia. Given that terrorism is a transnational crime, in Indonesia's role in eradicating terrorism there are several obstacles and challenges. This challenge relates to the principles of consensus and non-intervention, domestic conflicts as well as differences in commitments and perceptions among ASEAN countries.

KEYWORDS. Indonesia, Prevention, Terrorism, ASEAN

Indonesia's Role in Combating Terrorism in Southeast Asia

Dewa Gede Sudika Mangku, Ni Putu Rai Yuliantini

Introduction

Security issues have long been an important issue discussed for countries in Southeast Asia, be it security in traditional or non-traditional contexts. Given that in building an integrated region, the security factor is very influential on the success of the regional integration process, including in the Asian region, especially in the Southeast Asia region. The Southeast Asian region is a region that is facing serious challenges in the security sector. The problem of terrorism is a problem faced by many Southeast Asian countries. The number of terrorism incidents occurring in Southeast Asia has resulted in ASEAN being demanded to play a bigger role in solving this problem. When the problem of terrorism befell ASEAN, such as the bombings in Bali, October 2002 and the JW Marriot Hotel, Jakarta in August 2003 and a number of bombings in the Philippines that are suspected of being linked to the Jamaah Islamiah Network in Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand,¹ this will further strengthen ASEAN to act more actively. The ASEAN government elites realize that it is time for ASEAN to have an effective instrument to combat terrorism. The widespread impact of terrorism has made countries in the Southeast Asia region feel very interested in actively participating in solving this common problem.²

¹ K. Ramakrishna, *Terrorism in Southeast Asia: The Ideological and Political Dimensions*. *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2004, p. 54-60.

² Setnas. 2017. Sekretariat Nasional ASEAN-Indonesia. Diakses dari <http://setnas-asean.id/asean-defence-ministers-meeting-admm>, pada tanggal 08 Desember 2020, pukul 21.43 WIB.

Given that terrorism is not new in Southeast Asia, because there are several rebel groups that often use violence, such as: Pattani (Thailand), Jemaah Islamiyah (Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front / MILF (Southern Philippines), thus spreading fear in society. To anticipate the terrorism movement as a transnational crime, every international organization, countries in this case Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines pay serious attention to handling the terrorism issue. Various agreements and agreements have also been made with the aim of countering the issue of terrorism so that it does not develop into a real threat, both for the national interest of a country and the interests of organizational groups in the regional scope. In this case, ASEAN as a regional organization that focuses on issues especially security (security) also makes the issue of terrorism on the agenda in every policy issued.

ASEAN has a common interest to cooperate in fighting transnational crime, especially terrorism. This is because in reality transnational crimes including terrorism have operated transnationally. In fact, ASEAN has made various agreements and a fairly comprehensive Plan of Action in an effort to combat the dangers of terrorism. In the ASEAN Community, especially in the points of cooperation, the ASEAN Security Community (ASC)³ places the problem of terrorism as a common problem that must be resolved immediately. Considering that the issue of terrorism is an issue that threatens Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia. Indonesia as an ASEAN member country initially saw the terrorism incident that occurred on 11 September 2001 as an American problem not an Asian problem. However, the acts of terrorism during the Bali Bombing incident on 12 October 2002 and followed by the JW Marriot bombing in 2003, made countries in Asia, especially Indonesia, have the same view in seeing terrorism.

Moreover, Indonesia has been pointed out as a hotbed of terrorism after Afghanistan and Pakistan. Although many parties think that Indonesia has experienced the threat of terrorism since the beginning of 2000, actually, terror in the form of threats to the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia and the legitimate government has started since the early years of independence. Even the Reformation era, which opened a democratic atmosphere in Indonesia, did not reduce acts of terror. This can be seen from the events of a series of bombings at the end of 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, and

³ Tomotaka, S, ASEAN Security Community: An initiative for peace and stability. *NIDS Security Reports*, 3(4), 2008, pp. 17-34.

INDONESIA'AS ROLE IN COMBATING TERRORISM

Anti-Terrorism Law, International Law

2005, where a series of bombs continued to shake Indonesia and the biggest ones were the JW Marriot hotel bomb (August 2003),⁴ the bomb at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, and the Bali bombing on October 2, 2005. In Indonesia itself, there is an institution that deals with terrorism, this institution is the National Counterterrorism Agency or known as the BNPT. The presence of BNPT is an emergency need that must be realized when terrorism emerges and continues to spread violence. However, terrorists still exist and become a threat to Indonesian citizens and ASEAN countries. This group is always looking for the weakness of the state, by looking for the right moment to act, so that strengthening efforts are needed to counter terrorism in the ASEAN Region, especially for Indonesia, various regulations and policies are certainly needed to maximize Indonesia's role in countering terrorism in ASEAN, so the authors are interested in conduct research related to Indonesia's role in countering terrorism in ASEAN as well as what obstacles it faces in efforts to maximize this role. Based on this background, the formulation of the problems taken is related to how Indonesia's role is in combating terrorism in the Southeast Asia region and how the obstacles faced by Indonesia in combating terrorism in the Southeast Asia region.

Method

According to Morris L. Cohen, Legal Research is the process of finding the law that governs activities in human society. Through research, lawyers find the resources needed to predict what the court will do and thus they can take certain actions. Legal research is a know-how activity in legal science, not just know-about. As a know-how activity, legal research is carried out to solve legal issues faced.⁵ Methodology means according to a certain method or way, systematic based on a system and consistency is the absence of things that are contradictory in a certain framework.⁶ And the methods used in writing this article are as follows:

In writing this article, the author uses a type of normative research. This type of normative research is a scientific research to find the truth based

⁴ Brookes, G. P. (2010). *The multilayered effects and support received by victims of the Bali bombings: A cross cultural study in Indonesia and Australia* (Doctoral dissertation, Curtin University).

⁵ Peter Mahmud Marzuki. *Penelitian Hukum Edisi Revisi*. Jakarta: Prenamadia Group, 2016, p. 43

⁶ Abdulkadir Muhammad, *Hukum dan Penelitian Hukum*. Bandung: Citra Aditya Bakti, 2004, p. 23

on the logic of legal science based on its normative side. In preparing this article, the authors used normative legal research methods through literature study. The author chooses research locations in various libraries that provide books and literature that can support the author's research implementation. In addition, the author also reviews papers, articles and other sources accessed on the internet, which of course come from credible and trusted sources.⁷

In this study, the authors use a statute approach and a historical approach from legal materials in the form of the ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism (ACCT).⁸ The statute approach and the historical approach, namely the approach taken by examining all laws and regulations related to the legal issue that is being handled and the approach by looking at existing history. As well as the authors use a conceptual approach in which this approach departs from the views and doctrines that are developing in legal science.⁹

In tracing this article, the writer used normative research methods. In this case the author examines the legal materials which consist of:

- a. Primary legal materials, namely legal materials that have binding legal force, consist of laws relating to the object of research¹⁰, namely the ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism.
- b. Secondary legal materials, namely materials that provide an explanation of primary legal materials, such as draft laws, research results, books made by legal circles and so on related to the author's research theme.
- c. Tertiary Legal Materials, namely materials that provide an explanation of both primary and secondary legal materials, namely in the form of legal dictionaries, law magazines, articles, and encyclopedia which have a relationship with the issues discussed by the author

In collecting data, the author refers to the use of research methods that are sourced from reading material, namely library research which analyzes data related to the problem, with data collection techniques from literature in the form of books, and articles containing news about facts and problems that

⁷ Jhonny Ibrahim. *Teori dan Metode Penelitian Hukum Normatif*, Malang, Bayumedia, 2006, p. 43

⁸ Bambang Sunggono. *Metodologi Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta: PT Grafindo Persada, 2010, p. 25.

⁹ Soerjono Soekanto dan Sri Madmuji. *Penelitian Hukum Normatif; Suatu Tinjauan Singkat*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2007, p. 12

¹⁰ Zainuddin Ali, *Metode Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta, Sinar Grafika, 2013, p. 12

INDONESIA'AS ROLE IN COMBATING TERRORISM

Anti-Terrorism Law, International Law

occur both in print and electronic media that can support and relate to the author's research.

The data obtained will be processed so that it becomes an integrated and systematic scientific work. In this data analysis the writer uses qualitative analysis methods, meaning that the results of this study are described in the form of explanations and sentence descriptions that are easy to read and understand to be interpreted and conclusions are drawn generally based on facts that are specific to the subject under study (Basuki 2006: 68). By using qualitative analysis methods, it can provide a description of the facts collected and data analysis through interrelated sources so that the results can be presented descriptively.

The legal materials that have been obtained will be analyzed normatively qualitatively, normatively because this research has a starting point from the existing regulations as positive legal norms. Meanwhile, qualitative analysis is carried out by understanding and arranging legal materials that have been collected and arranged systematically, which will eventually draw conclusions in this article.

Definition of Terrorism

The word "terrorist" and terrorism comes from the Latin word "*terrere*" which means to make trembling or vibrate. And in fact, until now there is no universally accepted definition.¹¹ The term terrorism is a concept that has a sensitive connotation 'because terrorism results in the emergence of innocent civilian victims. Some experts try to define the notion of terrorism as put forward by Schmid and Jogman in their book Political terrorism as follows: "Terrorism is a method that is inspired by anxiety over repeated cruel actions, which are used by a person, group or actor who has power. which are (semi) secret, for moral,¹² criminal or political reasons, where, in contrast to murder, the direct target of violence is not the primary target. Victims of human violence are generally randomly selected (representative or symbolic targets) from the target population, and act as messengers. The communication process based on threats and violence between terrorists (organizations), victims (in danger) and the main target is

¹¹ Salifu, O. F., *United Nation approaches to global terrorism: a case study of Boko Haram* (Master's Thesis), 2017.

¹² Kanu, I. A., & KANU, C. C., *Africa at the Cross Roads of Violence and Gender Inequality: The Dilemma of Continuity in the Face of Change*. Author House, 2018.

used to manipulate the main target (audience), turning it into the main target of terror, a target of prosecution, or a target of attention, depending on whether it is being pursued. intimidation, coercion, or propaganda.¹³

It is thus appropriate that the definition of acts of terrorism depends on us, the witnesses, the people who feel threatened or anxious. This is what we call, or often also by public agencies, such as the news media, that acts of violence create these notions as terrorism. These are acts of public vandalism, carried out without a clear militaristic purpose, which can cause widespread anxiety (fear). The terrorism movement is considered as one of the biggest threats to humanity and humanity in the future and will continue to spread widely if not prevented immediately. Terrorism is a crime against humanity that takes a lot of attention from the world community.

ASEAN and Terrorism

ASEAN is one of the regions that has a high risk of terrorism attacks at sea because of the geopolitical location of this region. This area is located in the world trade route, which makes terrorism groups pay special attention to this region.¹⁴ There is an assumption that the ASEAN region is a haven for terrorist networks, the main reason is because the majority of the population is Muslim, so that indications of the existence of theoretical networks that are still connected to the Al-Qaida group are considered quite strong. ASEAN has at least become the basis of three terrorist groups, namely the Abu Sayyaf group, The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and Jemaah Islamiyah. The three groups have the potential and have been proven to be able to carry out terrorism at sea.¹⁵

Terrorism is not a new issue in Southeast Asia.¹⁶ At first, this problem was only considered as a form of transnational crime, such as drug smuggling and illegal arms sales. However, the last two issues have been seen as more

¹³ Abba, A. A., *Terror and Tragic Optimism as Sustaining Constructs in Camus's The Plague and Soyinka's Season of Anomy*, 2017.

¹⁴ Yu, H., Motivation behind China's 'One Belt, One Road Initiatives and establishment of the Asian infrastructure investment bank. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 26(105), 2017, pp. 353-368.

¹⁵ Abuza, Z., The Moro Islamic Liberation Front at 20: State of the Revolution. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 28(6), p=2005, pp. 453-479.

¹⁶ Tan, A. T. (Ed.), *A handbook of terrorism and insurgency in Southeast Asia*. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2009.

INDONESIA'S ROLE IN COMBATING TERRORISM

Anti-Terrorism Law, International Law

crucial for countries in Southeast Asia than the issue of terrorism.¹⁷ This view has finally changed completely since the 9/11 tragedy and the 2002 First Bombardment,¹⁸ when the issue of terrorism began to get the attention of countries in the region. Since this incident, ASEAN countries have had a big interest in the issue of terrorism, considering that a number of ASEAN member countries have the roots of the domestic terrorism movement and are believed to be countries of origin for terrorists who are affiliated with international terrorism networks.¹⁹ The importance of the issue of theory for ASEAN is marked by the initiation of separate discussions on terrorism in a number of ASEAN forums. ASEAN also issued a Joint Declaration regarding this issue in November 2001.²⁰

Indonesia's Role Through the ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism (ACCT)

Apart from being one of the countries considered to have a major threat of terrorism due to the many acts of terror that have occurred, it is also because one of the terrorist groups most often suspected of being responsible for acts of terror, namely Jamaah Islamiyah (JI),²¹ is based in Indonesia. After the 2002 Bali bombings and the arrest of Amrozy, Imam Samudra and Muklas, a number of analysts linked terrorism in Indonesia with the international terrorist network Al-Qaeda. The association with international networks is an argument that is believed by the international community. The United States government believes in the existence of the Al-Qaeda network in Indonesia. According to intelligence reports from Singapore and Malaysia, Al-Qaeda is present in the Southeast Asia region through Jema'ah Islamiah (JI). Most of JI's leaders are Indonesian.²² The rise of terrorism cases occurring in the country proves the reality that the high threat of terrorism is

¹⁷ Emmers, R., Comprehensive security and resilience in Southeast Asia: ASEAN's approach to terrorism. *The Pacific Review*, 22(2), 2009, pp. 159-177.

¹⁸ Hoffman, B., Rethinking terrorism and counterterrorism since 9/11. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 25(5), 2002, pp. 303-316.

¹⁹ Zhang, J., & Benoit, W. L., Message strategies of Saudi Arabia's image restoration campaign after 9/11. *Public Relations Review*, 30(2), 2004, pp. 161-167.

²⁰ Hamilton-Hart, N., Terrorism in Southeast Asia: expert analysis, myopia and fantasy. *The Pacific Review*, 18(3), 2005, pp. 303-325.

²¹ Singh, B., The challenge of militant Islam and terrorism in Indonesia. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 58(1), 2004, pp. 47-68.

²² Djelantik, S., *Poverty, ethnicity and religious factors in the increase of terrorism: a case in Indonesia*, 2013.

in the national interest. It not only threatens socio-economic stability and domestic politics and security, but also affects Indonesia's relations with other countries.

In reality, the issue of terrorism has created a negative image of Indonesia abroad, namely, among other things, that Indonesia is seen as an insecure country and is labeled a "terrorist hotbed". To strengthen anti-terrorism diplomacy, the Indonesian government undertakes efforts to counter terrorism in the country, namely by strengthening formal, institutional, and practical legal. Legally formally, Indonesia has tried to strengthen national regulations by making various new laws and regulations and ratifying 7 (seven) of the 16 (sixteen) international conventions related to terrorism. Meanwhile, institutionally, Indonesia formed a special agency to combat terrorism, namely Densus 88 and the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT). In the context of regional cooperation, the Indonesian government has positioned ASEAN as an important part of its efforts to combat the threat of terrorism. The transnational characteristics of terrorism cause the threat of terrorism in Indonesia to be believed not to stand alone, but to have links with international terrorism networks, including terrorist networks in several countries that are members of the ASEAN forum, such as in Thailand, the Philippines and Malaysia.

ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism (ACCT) as a forum or forum for each member country to dialogue on regional security in Southeast Asia and strive to tackle terrorism by holding several meetings to discuss the issue of terrorism and how to act on it, among other things by exchanging information, improving security systems, make rules with cooperation in implementing anti-terror laws and appeal to all participants to make rules by implementing anti-terror laws which are indeed difficult to implement because not all of the member countries have anti-terror laws. The role of the ACCT is as a forum for communication and exchange of information on terrorism issues in order to advance cooperation between member countries, especially ASEAN in dealing with terrorism in Southeast Asia.²³ The harmonization of cooperation in the ACCT can be seen from the cohesiveness of ASEAN member countries in agreeing to the neutrality of defining terrorism as a common enemy and also counter-terrorism efforts by still adjusting to the principles of upholding human rights, international law

²³ Agus Prihatyono, *Peran Indonesia Dalam Mewujudkan ASEAN Security Community Dan Upaya Mengatasi Kendaladalam Pelaksanaan Rencana Aksi*. Diakses dari lontar.ui.ac.id, 2019.

INDONESIA'AS ROLE IN COMBATING TERRORISM

Anti-Terrorism Law, International Law

and UN resolutions and without labeling certain communities as terrorist groups.

Indonesia as a lead-shepherd in the field of combating terrorism in ASEAN has pioneered the formulation of the ACCT. ACCT which is comprehensive in nature, which includes aspects of prevention, repression and rehabilitation programs, so that it can be used to expand cooperation in the field of combating terrorism with ASEAN Talk Partners. This is proof that one of Indonesia's roles in combating terrorism in the ASEAN region is through the ACCT which was signed by all the Heads of ASEAN Member States at the 12th ASEAN Summit on January 13, 2007 in Cebu, Philippines. Since 27 May 2011, the ACCT takes effect after six ASEAN Member States (Cambodia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam and Brunei) have ratified it. Where Indonesia is also a country that ratifies ACCT through Law no. 5 of 2012 which was passed on April 9, 2012.²⁴ The ACCT Convention provides a framework for cooperation between ASEAN member countries to eradicate, prevent and stop acts of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, and to strengthen cooperation between law enforcement agencies and the relevant authorities of the Parties in combating terrorism. This convention is a major step for ASEAN to fight terrorism in the ASEAN region, because this convention is a strong legal basis for increasing ASEAN cooperation in the field of combating terrorism. More specifically, this convention emphasizes law enforcement for terrorists with the jurisdiction of each country.

Indonesia's Role through the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)

The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) itself is the first security agreement made at the Asia-Pacific regional level. ARF provides an opportunity for regions to discuss their different security views and integrate isolated countries into regional security systems. ARF encourages changes in the construction pattern of relationships between major powers and interests in the region. In other words, the ARF has become a tool of guidance in the

²⁴ Indomaritim. 2020. *Kerja Sama ASEAN di Bidang Politik dan Keamanan*. Diakses dari <https://indomaritim.id/kerja-sama-asean-di-bidang-politik-dan-keamanan/> Kerja Sama ASEAN di Bidang Politik dan Keamanan, pukul 17.45 WIB.

climate of regional security relations.²⁵ The Indonesian government is actively involved in the agreement in ASEAN in dealing with transnational crimes of terrorism with several steps, namely Indonesia is active in forming the Asean Regional Forum which focuses on discussing the issue of terrorism, Indonesia agrees to the ASEAN conventions against Transnational Crime, Indonesia participates in the ASEAN Summit every 2 years, Indonesia participated in the ASEANAPOL conference related to the coordination of police agencies in Southeast Asian countries in dealing with terrorism.

At the 27th ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), in this case Indonesia stated for all member countries to work together in overcoming problems that exist in the Asia Pacific region. Starting from border disputes, the increasing number of tensions in the South China Sea, the undeveloped denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, the threat of terrorism, to the vitality between big powers and other issues that are a threat to the Asia Pacific region. Currently, ARF is very important and always relevant to strengthen cooperation between countries facing problems in the Southeast Asia region. In this case, the values and norms are considered to have identified the Southeast Asian region in facing various difficult challenges and have become the mainstay of cooperation between the names of partners. in this Southeast Asian region. In this case, it is hoped that all partner countries that are members of the ARF can uphold the existing values. Then the cases of the threat of terrorism and human trafficking are still very smooth and it is important to strengthen cooperation to overcome this so that cross-border security is maintained. Then the increase in cases of poverty and racism will result in the potential and tone of the groups they will tour in the terrorism movement for that, Indonesia proposes a statement regarding the treatment of children recruited by or associated with terrorist groups (Utari, 2020).

Indonesia's Role Through the ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting (ADMM)

In 2006 the ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting (ADMM) was formed as a mechanism that can be used as a forum for communication related to defense issues and policies among Southeast Asian countries. The

²⁵ Melany Jesdika Utari. 2020. *Peran Indonesia Dalam ARF*. Diakses dari <https://www.wartaprima.com/peran-indonesia-dalam-arf>, pada tanggal 06 Desember 2020, pukul 13.21 WIB.

INDONESIA'AS ROLE IN COMBATING TERRORISM

Anti-Terrorism Law, International Law

existence of the ADMM is one of the supports for the development of one of the pillars of the ASEAN Community which will be implemented in 2015, namely the ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC). The ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting (ADMM) is a form of the ASEAN Political and Security Pillar, namely the ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting in the region to increase transparency, openness and mutual trust among ASEAN member countries (Setnas, 2017). ADMM is a cooperation platform between ASEAN Defense Ministers which aims to increase Confidence Building Measures (CBM) and maintain peace and security stability in the region through dialogue and practical cooperation. ADMM-Plus is a form of expansion of ADMM Defense cooperation by involving 8 (eight) ASEAN Talking Partner Countries, namely the United States, Australia, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Japan, the Republic of Korea (ROK), New Zealand, India and Russia. (ADMM, 2017)

ADMM plays a significant role in efforts to strengthen the pillars of the ASEAN Community in politics and security. ADMM is a cooperation platform between ASEAN Defense Ministers which aims to increase Confidence Building Measures (CBM) and maintain peace and security stability in the region through dialogue and practical cooperation. The formation of the ADMM begins with the ASEAN Security Community (ASC) Action Plan, adopted at the 10th ASEAN Summit, stipulating that ASEAN will work towards the establishment of an annual ADMM. The inaugural ADMM meeting was held in Kuala Lumpur on 9 May 2006. The ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) is the highest defense consultation and cooperation mechanism in ASEAN. ADMM in this case not only has significance for regional security in accelerating regional cohesion and maintaining stability within the region. ADMM is an instrument that can be used by countries in the Southeast Asian region to carry out their defense diplomacy. Likewise, Indonesia sees that the existence of the ADMM can be a strategic instrument for Indonesia to carry out defense diplomacy multilaterally, both against all countries in Southeast Asia and against countries outside the region. (Rosadi, 2018)

For Indonesia itself, the ADMM is a very effective mechanism in implementing defense diplomacy. This is related to the nature of the ADMM, which is a multilateral forum that brings together countries in Southeast Asia and with countries outside the region through the ADMM plus mechanism. Indonesia took advantage of various constructive dialogues that were held to convey various defense policies related to Indonesia's response to security

dynamics both from within the region, from global security dynamics as well as domestic security dynamics in Indonesia. Through the trust built as a result of defense diplomacy carried out within the ADMM framework, Indonesia has the flexibility and opens up opportunities to strengthen the defense system by forging closer cooperation with partners in the region and with partners from outside the region. In the ADMM Indonesia will have many opportunities to explain the advantages of Indonesia's defense industry products to other countries. Thus, the opportunity to open up the market for domestic defense industrial products will be wider. The opening of the defense industry market will be a very strategic matter because it will be a prerequisite for the development of the domestic defense industry, which is currently being a concern to support the development of Indonesia's defense system. Thus, diplomatic efforts are very important in this ADMM,²⁶ especially the role of Indonesia as a country that leads peace and security efforts in the ASEAN region and to further enhance cooperation in resolving all regional conflicts, capacity gaps, and assessing the progress of cooperation in security, maritime, military medicine, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, peacekeeping operations and counter-terrorism.

Indonesia's Role Through ASEAN Our Eyes

So far, Indonesia has established good defense cooperation with ASEAN member countries. However, threats to regional and national security in Indonesia are currently very dynamic, whether they are real threats, unreal threats, and threats of mindset warfare or propaganda.²⁷ In order to anticipate this, it is necessary to carry out cooperation efforts of ASEAN countries in early detection and early prevention. These efforts include collecting strategic intelligence data / information, strategic analysis, strategic studies, as well as academic forums and think tank forums. That way, we get comprehensive information and insights related to the development of the strategic environment. ASEAN cooperation efforts in tackling these threats strategically include "ASEAN Our Eyes" which was

²⁶ ADMM. 2017. *About the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM-Plus)*. Diakses dari <https://admm.asean.org/index.php/about-admm/about-admm-plus.html>, pada tanggal 07 Desember 2020, pukul 13.15 WIB.

²⁷ S. Puspnanathan, 2016. *Upaya ASEAN untuk memerangi terorisme*. Diakses dari <http://www.asean.org/15060.htm>, pada tanggal 05 Desember 2020, pukul 16.50 WIB.

INDONESIA'AS ROLE IN COMBATING TERRORISM

Anti-Terrorism Law, International Law

initiated by Indonesia to face the threat of terrorism.²⁸ At the 12th ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting (ADMM) on February 6-7 in Singapore 2018. Our Eyes as a new program in dealing with the problem of terrorism has officially become one of the new programs in dealing with the problem of terrorism in Southeast Asia. Of course, the new Our Eyes program must adapt the mechanism to other programs that also address the problem of terrorism in ASEAN. This is so that the new program can run effectively in accordance with its existing mechanisms and other existing programs can also run according to their own mechanisms. It is intended that all programs dealing with terrorism issues in ASEAN can run together and complement one another. In addition, Our Eyes, through its programs that focus on efforts to prevent acts of terrorism, will certainly continue to evolve in accordance with existing developments. Even though the "Our Eyes" program is a new program, this program has at least worked with its 4 flagship programs, namely:

1. Meeting with allies of the United States
2. Joint military patrols (Southeast Asian Waters)
3. Intelligence information data exchange
4. Soft Strategy (Dialogue)

Where the exchange of strategic information on ASEAN Our Eyes through the ADI (ASEAN Direct Communication Infrastructure) mechanism in the form of an information exchange platform for ASEAN countries has shown the international community about ASEAN's commitment to the realization of a strong, safe, peaceful and prosperous region.

Indonesia's Role through the ASEAN Senior Official Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC)

As one of the countries whose existence has been calculated in the Southeast Asia region, Indonesia has been appointed to continue the leadership of the ASEAN Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC). SOMTC is a forum for cooperation between ASEAN countries in combating transnational crime. The SOMTC meeting is held every year in

²⁸ Kompas. 2020. *Peran Indonesia di Asia Tenggara*. Diakses dari <https://www.kompas.com/skola/read/2020/01/05/180000369/peran-indonesia-di-asia-tenggara?page=all>, pada tanggal 06 Desember 2020, pukul 14.31 WIB.

rotation in each ASEAN member country. The results of the SOMTC meeting will then be brought to the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC) for further discussion and ratification. Where Indonesia through the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) and the National Police Criminal Investigation Unit who acted as voluntary lead shepherd in Combating Terrorism and Transnational Crime at SOMTC, held The 2nd ASEAN Cross-Sectoral and Cross-Pillar Meetings to Develop the Work Plan of the ASEAN Plan of Action to Prevent and Counter the Rise of Radicalization and Violent Extremism (ASEAN PoA PCRVE) 2018-2025. This second meeting was held with the aim of discussing input from SOMTC member countries and ASEAN Sectoral Bodies / Organizations / Entities who were present at The 1st Meeting on the draft Work Plan of the ASEAN PoA PCRVE 2018-2025. The implementation of the results of the follow-up to the ASEAN PoA PCRVE 2018-2025 in the Work Plan of the ASEAN PoA PCRVE 2018-2025 can become a common reference for ASEAN member countries to strengthen closer cooperation in preventing and fighting the rise of radicalization and violent extremism.²⁹

Previously, SOMTC Indonesia as Chair of the Working Group on Counter Terrorism in collaboration with the United States Government held the ASEAN-U.S. Workshop on Developing National Action Plans on Countering Violent Extremism (ASEAN-US Workshop on the Development of National Action Plans for ASEAN Countries in Combating Violent-Based Extremism). The meeting was held as an effort to encourage ASEAN countries to formulate a National Action Plan on countering violent extremism. Organizing this workshop is in line with the ASEAN PoA PCRVE 2018-2025, which recommends ASEAN countries by referring to the ASEAN Plan of Action to develop national action plans for each ASEAN country. Where these activities are held with the aim of exchanging experiences and good practices through various approaches at the global, regional and national levels related to efforts to prevent and fight radicalization and violent extremism that leads to terrorism.³⁰

²⁹ Independensi. 2019. *Anggota ASEAN Perkuat Koordinasi Cegah Radikalisme dan Etrimisme*. Diakses dari <https://independensi.com/2019/08/08/anggota-asean-perkuat-koordinasi-cegah-radikalisme-dan-ekstremisme/>, pada tanggal 08 Desember 2020, pukul 15.40 WIB.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

Indonesia's Role through the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC)

ASEAN cooperation in dealing with the problem of transnational crime was first raised at the ASEAN Minister of Home Affairs meeting in Manila in 1997 by issuing the ASEAN Declaration on Transnational Crime. At this meeting ASEAN countries agreed that it is important to overcome this problem by coordinating and cooperating regionally through a regional cooperation forum which was later called the ASEAN Ministers Meeting on Transnational Crimes (AMMTC) forum. AMMTC was formed in 1997 with the SOMTC mechanism as its subordination. Where in Indonesia, AMMTC is chaired by the Chief of Police, while SOMTC is a high-level official meeting with the main task of implementing decisions and policies taken by AMMTC. AMMTC then becomes a forum that facilitates the meeting of Ministers in ASEAN who deal with transnational crimes. Cooperation within the scope of AMMTC is then important to follow up because in addition to the negative impact on national defense and security, the handling of the issue of terrorism is also significant to be carried out together in the scope of ASEAN through the AMMTC forum because all ASEAN member countries have ratified the ACCT in 1999. 2011.

Then with the existence of the Bali Concord II and the agreement to form a security community, which became known as the ASEAN Political-Security Community, ASEAN member countries agreed to use the AMMTC as a forum to tackle transnational crimes, including terrorism.³¹ Indonesia sees the ASEAN Comprehensive Plan of Action on Counter Terrorism (ACPOA on CT) which is an elaboration of the ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism (ACCT) and the Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC) Working Group on Counter Terrorism (WG on CT) as a means to strengthen security cooperation as well as to emphasize other ASEAN countries to tighten rules in dealing with terrorism in the Southeast Asian region. This is done so that terrorism can be followed up in terms of prevention, handling, and deradicalization. Handling was carried out from 2 (two sides), namely the domestic and regional sides. In the absence of the aforementioned legally binding frameworks, any agreement that results is only voluntary, so that a country can follow or ignore it without any

³¹ Kemlu. 2019. *Indonesia dan Upaya Penanggulangan Terorisme*. Diakses dari https://kemlu.go.id/portal/i/read/95/halaman_list_lainnya/indonesia-dan-upaya-penanggulangan-terorisme, pada tanggal 06 Desember 2020, pukul 09.19 WIB

sanctions. These frameworks are a form of agreement which is translated into a regional action plan, so that strong political will will emerge from the implementing countries. Thus, Indonesia needs to maximize its role in the AMMTC forum in dealing with the issue of transnational crime, particularly the issue of terrorism. The handling of terrorism must go in two directions, namely from within and outside the country. From within the country, the Indonesian government can use existing legal instruments. From abroad, Indonesia can maximize the function of the AMMTC forum to maximize the implementation of existing work programs and update documents by following developments in the strategic environment of the region.³²

Indonesia's Role through the Joint Sea Patrol

Considering that there have been several acts of terror that have spread in the Southeast Asian region in recent years, including hijackings and hostages by the Abu Sayyaf group in the waters of the Sulu Sea and its surroundings and the occupation of the city of Marawi in the Philippines by the Southeast Asian ISIS group. Responding to the situation in the Southeast Asian region, the Government of Indonesia has taken the initiative to undertake trilateral cooperation with the Philippines and Malaysia to support subregional handling of the problem of security disturbances due to terror acts. The cooperation between Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines was formed to increase the effectiveness of handling intas-state organized crime, especially terrorism, especially in the Sulu Sea and Sulawesi. Several trilateral meetings between the ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines have resulted in an agreement between the three countries to conduct a joint sea patrol in the territorial waters of Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines to overcome security disturbances and trans-border crimes in the region.³³

Furthermore, through several trilateral meetings between the Indonesian, Malaysian and Philippine Foreign Ministers, the three countries

³² Basuki Eka Purnama,. 2016. *Giliran Indonesia Pimpin Pemberantasan Kejahatan Lintas Negara*. Diakses dari <https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/42473/giliran-indonesia-pimpin-pemberantasan-kejahatan-lintas-negara>, pada tanggal 05 Desember 2020, pukul 13.21 WIB.

³³ Yuni Arisandi Sinagar. 2017. *Peraan Indonesia Dalam Mengatasi Terorisme di ASEAN*. Diakses dari <https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=peran+indonesias+dalam+mengatasi+terorisme+di+asean>, pada tanggal 07 Desember 2020, pukul 17.16 WIB.

INDONESIA'AS ROLE IN COMBATING TERRORISM

Anti-Terrorism Law, International Law

agreed to carry out subregional cooperation for the handling and prevention of terror acts in the Southeast Asia region, one of which is through a deradicalization program to tackle the emergence of terrorist acts and groups originating from the ideology of radicalism. Regarding the deradicalization efforts, the Indonesian government stated that it is ready to support the Philippine government in the deradicalization process in Marawi after liberating the city from terror by radical groups. Apart from reconstruction and infrastructure development, one focus of Indonesia's support is related to the education sector and deradicalization in Marawi. Indonesia's support in the deradicalization process is in line with the desire of the Philippine Government to develop tolerance through education. Furthermore, the Indonesian government expressed its readiness to assist in developing curriculum and religious education. The Indonesian government will also provide more scholarships for students from Marawi.

In the field of joint training operations, Indonesia carries out joint exercises with Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and Cambodia on a bilateral basis. Meanwhile, in the field of education, Indonesia has conducted military student exchanges with almost all ASEAN countries (Kompas, 2019). In addition, the Indonesian government conveyed the readiness of the Jakarta Center for Law Enforcement Cooperation (JCLEC) to provide training that can increase the reliability and professionalism of Philippine law enforcers and security forces with a curriculum designed according to needs. Given that basically no country in the world can stand alone in facing the disturbance and threat of terrorism. For this reason, ASEAN member countries including Indonesia must unite as a community to face common challenges in the region, including the threat of terrorism.³⁴

Constraints faced by Indonesia in Countering Terrorism in ASEAN

A. Principles of Non-Intervention

The principle of non-intervention, which has been considered sacrosanct, is often considered to be an "obstacle" to counter-terrorism problems, which in fact require "intervention" from fellow members. The use of the principle of non-interference to respect national sovereignty and security has made ASEAN less flexible in implementing counter terrorism

³⁴ *Ibid.*

cooperation. As a result, ASEAN's movement is limited. This principle also does not allow ASEAN to develop an active and coercive preventive diplomacy mechanism.³⁵ In connection with the implementation of the ASEAN regional mechanism in counter terrorism, the principle of non-interference, which has been considered sacrosanct so far, is often considered to be an "obstacle" to issues which in fact require "intervention" from fellow members. For example, in the application of a counter terrorism agreement where counterterrorism cooperation is needed between ASEAN countries including Indonesia, including in terms of accepting the involvement of other members who wish to obtain information related to terrorist data in a country. The involvement of other members who want to help with handling should not be considered as a form of intervention in domestic problems. Meanwhile in ASEAN itself, things like this are basically still considered a form of intervention.

B. Consensus Mechanism

The attitude of maintaining the principles of national sovereignty and integrity of each member state that must be adhered to in counter terrorism hinders efforts to deal with the problem of terrorism. Resolving the problems that many ASEAN countries face will certainly be difficult without involving countries in the region. In reality, because terrorism is a very specific problem, the implementation of counter terrorism cooperation will always intersect with the issue of other countries' sovereignty.³⁶ If the principle of upholding this sovereignty is maintained, the implementation of the counter terrorism agreement will be difficult. The difficulty in reaching consensus has pushed some member countries to activate options with a bilateral or trilateral framework, something which tends to be counter-productive towards efforts to develop regional perspectives. The consensus mechanism means that in any level the handling of the terrorism problem in ASEAN will only be carried out if the parties concerned agree. This has led to the slow implementation of the agreement in ASEAN and even not running.³⁷ For

³⁵ Jihan Nadia. 2019. *Potensi Besar, Prabowo : ASEAN Tidak Boleh Terpecah Belah* Diakses dari <https://www.teropongsenayan.com/107138-punya-potensi-besar-prabowo-asean-tidak-boleh-terpecah-belah>, pada tanggal 06 Desember 2020, pukul 17.56 WIB.

³⁶ Funston, J. (1998). ASEAN: out of its depth?. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, p. 22-37.

³⁷ Narine, S. (2002). *Explaining ASEAN: Regionalism in Southeast Asia*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

INDONESIA'AS ROLE IN COMBATING TERRORISM

Anti-Terrorism Law, International Law

example in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) which is only considered a forum that prioritizes consensus, as it is known that the development of contemporary problems and issues is very fast growing and also requires the right time to solve existing problems.³⁸ The principle of non-intervention which is strongly held by ASEAN members also makes the distribution of power that occurs equal among all ASEAN members, so that no party is dominant enough to direct this regime. As Underdal stated in his theory, ideally there should be a fair distribution of power, where there are dominant parties who can act as leaders but are not strong enough to ignore the rules, and there are minority parties who are strong enough to control the dominant party.

c. Different Conditions of Interest and Views

If you look deeper, the same applies to each ASEAN member country as a sovereign country. The counter-terrorism policies in ASEAN countries are based on the perception of threats in each country against the increasing threat of terrorism in their countries.³⁹ This can be seen from the mapping of the counterterrorism policies of ASEAN countries where at the operational-strategic level there is no uniform counter-terrorism approach and action.⁴⁰ Differences in attitude in responding to terrorism have created sharp differences of opinion, which can reduce mutual trust among ASEAN leaders, which has been painstakingly built and maintained so far. The difference in threat perceptions regarding terrorism itself and the gap in the handling of terrorism among ASEAN member countries so that not a few say that the war against terrorism is a war against the perception of the threat itself.⁴¹ For example, the Hambali case and the existence of the Mujahidin movement in Malaysia, which Mahathir's government identified as militant, had caused differences of opinion between the Malaysian and Indonesian governments. Meanwhile, the Al Ghazi case has resulted in differences of opinion between the Philippine and Indonesian governments. Furthermore, Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew's statement has not only caused controversy

³⁸ Funston, J. (1999). Challenges facing ASEAN in a more complex age. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, p. 205-219.

³⁹ Tan, S. S., & Nasu, H. (2016). ASEAN and the development of counter-terrorism law and policy in Southeast Asia. *UNSWLJ*, 39, p. 1219.

⁴⁰ Emmers, R. (2003). ASEAN and the securitization of transnational crime in Southeast Asia. *The Pacific Review*, 16(3), p. 419-438.

⁴¹ Kemlu. 2016. Kerjasama politik keamanan ASEAN, www.kemlu.go.id/.../kerjasama%20politik%20keamanan%20ASEA. Diakses pada tanggal 07 Desember 2020, pukul 18.11 WIB.

between the leaders of Singapore and Indonesia, but has spread to the level of society that requires high-level resolution.

D. Domestic Political Conflict

The conflicts that occur, both domestic political conflicts and conflicts among ASEAN member countries, also have an impact on the effectiveness of ASEAN's role in eradicating criminal acts of terrorism in the Southeast Asian region.⁴² This is because, for example, domestic political conflicts in Thailand and Myanmar have resulted in these two countries being more focused on resolving domestic political conflicts than on eradicating criminal acts of terrorism in the Southeast Asia Region. And conflicts between ASEAN Member countries, such as diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Malaysia related to borders and culture also prevent ASEAN from eradicating criminal acts in the Southeast Asia region.

Conclusion

ASEAN as a multilateral organization that houses countries in Southeast Asia has an obligation to respond to international security issues, one of which is terrorism. As part of the international community, countries in Southeast Asia including Indonesia have played an important role in encouraging all efforts to face the threat of terrorism. Given that the role of Indonesia and the countries in ASEAN in facing regional security threats is an integral part of ASEAN's ideals since its inception. In facing the threat of terrorism and ISIS, ASEAN countries have good cooperation to jointly promote the eradication of terrorism in Southeast Asia. Cooperation and the role of countries in the region need to be increased in facing the threat of terrorism in ASEAN. Considering that the obstacles faced by ASEAN, including Indonesia in eradicating criminal acts of terrorism in the Southeast Asia region, are ASEAN principles of non-intervention, differences in perceptions of each ASEAN country, as well as domestic political conflicts.

⁴² Gerstl, A. (2010). The depoliticisation and 'ASEANisation' of counter-terrorism policies in South-East Asia: A weak trigger for a fragmented version of human security. Available at SSRN 1618968.

INDONESIA'AS ROLE IN COMBATING TERRORISM

Anti-Terrorism Law, International Law

Suggestion

The magnitude of the threat of terrorism that occurs at the regional level and requires cooperation with one another. Given that regional security institutions are not only in ASEAN, but can also synergize in the Asia Pacific region and globally with various world powers in dealing with terrorism, to overcome various problems that exist, ASEAN needs to take concrete and sustainable steps by involving the highest leaders from member countries in the form of meetings, both bilateral and multilateral, with specific discussions, especially regarding the redefinition of the principle of non-intervention and how the consensus mechanism is, and one of the concepts that needs to be put forward is the concept of the Responsibility To Protect. If the meeting can take place and produce points that are in line with the concept of redefining state sovereignty, ASEAN as an organization must immediately issue guidelines in acting in relation to interference from other countries in matters of terrorism eradication in ASEAN, so that peace and security can be achieved.

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