The Journey of Indonesia Foreign Policy and Recommendations in Responding Global Terrorism and Radicalism

Journal of Government and Political Issues Volume 1, Issue 2, November 2021 (108-117) © The Author(s) 2021



Article reuseguidelines: creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/ DOI: 10.53341/jgpi.v1i1.18 journal.mengeja.id/index.php/JGPI/index

Dorpaima Lumbangaol¹

Abstract

Terrorism is a significant issue in national and global security. Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York, USA, the fight against terrorism has continued to this day. Resistance to terrorists has also changed the stereotype of Muslims, which affects Indonesia's reputation as the largest Muslim country in the world. The Bali I bombing attacks in 2002 by Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) terrorism group reconstructed its identity as Islam Moderate and Indonesia's foreign policy. The method used is the literature study method. Literature study is all efforts made by researchers to collect various information relevant to the topic or problem that will be studied. Through the identity, Indonesia can convince the western countries that Indonesia is worth reflecting true Islam and space to involve in the international political stage. As a pioneer of the Non-Aligned Movement and track record in the region, Indonesia trusted to be a role model for the Islamic world, especially the Middle East, that Islam and democracy are compatible. Through this, Indonesia seed as a strategic country to build international cooperation against radicalism and terrorism, which still becomes a global challenge presently.

Keyword

foreign policy; terrorism; radicalism; security

Introduction

As a pluralist state, Indonesia possesses many ethnic, cultural, and religions. Islam has become the majority for the people to believe. Based on Pew Research Center (2020) data, Indonesia's number of Muslim people is over 299 million and has become the largest Muslim population worldwide. Indonesia is not an Islamic country (see Figure 1). Instead, Indonesia is a democratic state, and Pancasila is the fundamental ideology of the state since the Soekarno administration was Indonesia's first president, the free and active politics principle proposed by Muhammad Hatta as first Vice President (Latif, 2018).

Furthermore, it still applies to any Indonesian foreign policy in international politics. The free and determined principle means that Indonesia can determine its foreign policy direction, including global terrorism issues. Since the Bali bombing in 2002, Indonesia had pressure from other countries and even released 'warning travel' to Indonesia (West, 2008). That condition made Indonesia experience turbulence in a few aspects, particularly in the security and economic sectors. In addressing the challenging situation, Indonesia needs to reframe its identity as the new image in the global political system (Gurtner, 2004).

This paper will assess how Indonesia constructs its identity as moderate Islam in bridging Islamic civilization, which often gets negative stigma from the western world, especially regarding terrorism. Indonesia is promoting moderate Islam as the true face of Islam in various initiatives involving state and non-state actors globally. The western countries consider Indonesia to bring a new perspective

Corresponding author:

¹ Graduate School of International Relations Department, Pelita Harapan University. E-mail: <u>lumbangaoldore@gmail.com</u>

with a unique identity in international politics in influencing civilizations across countries. Even though Indonesia is the most significant Muslim, it proves that we can run democracy stably.

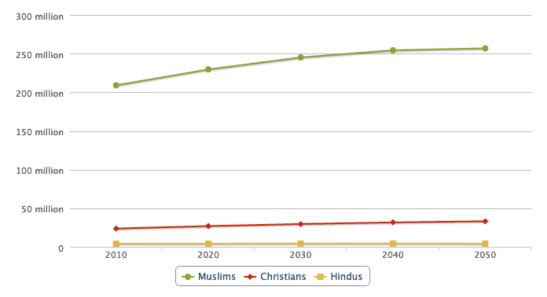


Figure 1. The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050

Source: Pew Research Center (2020)

In international politics, identity is one of the essential critical essential states in determining foreign policy. Identity arises from basic questions regarding the existence of a state, such as who I am? who are you? and what differentiates us? (Kauppi & Viotti, 2019). By answering these questions, the identity of a state is known and determines the direction of a states' international politics. After the fall of the Soeharto administration in 1998, it became an extra step for Indonesia's democracy. The Soeharto government, considered a dictator, became a challenge to reform and shape Indonesia's identity. Indonesia's transitional process from authoritarian towards democracy was complex to construct the government identity in taking a position in international politics. In their book entitled theories of International Relations, Reus-Smit (2011) mentioned that constructivism is important for states.

"Constructivism is characterized by an emphasis on the importance of normative as well as material structures, on the role of identity in shaping political action and on the mutually constitutive relationship between agents and structures."

According to Reus-Smit (2011), there are 3 (three) mechanisms used by Indonesia in projecting its identity as Moderate Islam for other countries, namely: Imagination, Communication, and Compliance with International Human Rights. First, it means Indonesian leaders are actively seeking international roles that reflect the essence of a pluralistic Indonesian society but live and develop in a nation-state based on Pancasila as ideology. The Indonesian leaders expressed their imagination and creativity in defining a suitable identity through official speeches in various international arenas. Domestically, President Jokowi, during his administration has established an Indonesian International Islamic University (PP No. 57 in 2016) to strengthen moderate Islamic ideas in Indonesia.

Second, through Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration, the Indonesian leaders rationalized the national and foreign policies through connection with leaders of other countries by referring to the essence of the Indonesian nation, which has a diversity of religions, ethnicities, and languages (Musawar, Sahid, Jihadi, & Gunardi, 2019). In its implementation, Indonesia is involved in international affairs or meetings and has even started international forums such as the Bali Democracy Forum and the Interfaith Dialogue to promote soft power diplomacy (Rosyidin, 2020). Third, Indonesia shows an attitude as a democratic country by obeying the values that work in a universal democracy of human rights. Indonesia convinced other countries that Indonesia is no longer an authoritarian and in-country as described in the New Order era, especially in the East Timor conflict. Indonesia is a country that is peaceful, democratic, and moderate. It showed this through the humanitarian response carried out by

the Indonesian government in contributing to Afghanistan's conflict and also encouraged the implementation of a democratic government system in Myanmar in 2010.

Thus, by Indonesia's contribution regarding democracy and human rights issues, the stigma against Indonesia rampant about terrorism and the rise of radicalism after the post-reform era can be removed. Moderate Islam in international relations is a tolerant Islam that respects the differences and values that are plural in a country. In international politics, Schmid (2018) defines that moderation refers to the wise behavior of individuals, groups, and parties as a rational ideological platform.

"Moderation in politics refers to the prudent behavior of moderate individuals, groups, and parties as well as their rational ideological platform, with the two being connected since moderate actors tend to seek the middle ground in their attempt to obtain the support of voters; from diverse segments of society."

In line with Alex's statement above, Indonesia, as a democratic and moderate country, has reformed the party system as an indicator of moderation in a spiritualist and pluralist government. In Indonesia, the establishment of various parties since there was independence in 1945 from various Islamic and nationalist groups. Muslims who are members of the Islamic group established several parties to represent their group, such as DI/TII (Darul Islam/Negara Islam Indonesia), as done by the nationalist group. The debate between groups, of course, occurs over different views on the future direction of Indonesia. Even though it requires a long process, Indonesia's party system, since independence, has continued to change the collapse of the New Order in 1998.

Research Methods

The method used is the literature study method. Literature study is all efforts made by researchers to collect various information relevant to the topic or problem that will be studied. Then the researcher determines the research topic, followed by conducting a study related to the theory and research topic. In the search for theory, researchers collect as much information as possible from various existing literature sources, such as previous research in the form of books, journal articles, and news.

The data analysis technique used by the researcher is the content analysis technique. According to Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña (2014), content analysis is used to obtain valid references and then reexamine the contexts. The rule of literature study that researchers must pay attention to is a systematic identification of theories, the discovery of literature studies, and document analysis, data, and information related to the research topic.

Result and Discussion

Indonesian as Moderate Islam in Responding to Radicalism and Global Terrorism

Radicalism and terrorism is not new issue in the world. In Indonesia itself, the seeds of radicalism have been seen since independence where Islamic from DI/TII members proposed Islamic syariat to be the foundation of the Indonesian state. Unfortunately, the nationalist considered that ideas were not incompatible with the values fought for until Indonesia went to independence and chose Pancasila ideology as Indonesia's fundamental values until presently. DI/TII figures accepted even the decision; however, it became the start of rebellion continued by decades, the peak in the post-reform era. Then, how to define radicalism in international relations? According to Bötticher (2017), radicalism can be defined as a political doctrine adhered to by political movements in favor of individual or group freedom and emancipation from the power of authoritarian regimes and a hierarchically structured society. Radical groups are not terrorists, but radicalism can potentially become terrorism. In a global context, United Nations (UN) Panel on January 26, 2006, defined terrorism as "All criminal acts directed against a State and intended to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the public." (United Nations, 2008).

The accident 9/11 of plane hijacking in United States of America attack on the World Trade Center by terrorism, led by Osama Bin Laden, became the beginning of the world's attention to terrorism. This incident became a point to raise awareness of the western countries that their enemy is no longer communism, but Islam. The United States, as a superpower, make serious efforts to increase its role in the international through these attacks moment and terrorism issue. Post the incident, the United

States gave a signal to fight back against the terrorist group Al-Qaeda as the mastermind behind the attack. Al-Qaeda, as an organization known as hardline Islam, has made Islam stereotyped that the Islamic world is the source of the terrorist, and even Islamophobia or vigilance against Muslims has surfaced. Throughout George W. Bush's administration as president of America, in various meetings, he delivered a crusade against terrorist groups, then various audiences interpreted it as a signal of war against Muslims. How do Muslim civilizations or Islamic countries respond?

The Muslim world assesses the stigma aimed at them in various ways. The attitude that Arabs condemn the attacks that occurred in America, they consider it is a criminal act. However, some think that Americans deserve this suffering to feel the pain in the Arab world and countries far away and do not have the power like America (Rabasa, Benard, Schwartz, & Sickle, 2007). The US military invasion of Iraq in 2003 received much criticism. Islamic radical judge that this policy is resistance to Muslims. However, a different view of moderates simply applies an invading colonial civilization. This assumption arose as of the belief in the Arab world that it based the invasion on political interests and the power of oil resources (Hinnebusch, 2007).

The global issue of terrorism also has an enormous influence on Southeast Asia countries. The stigma of a global war on terrorism has two consequences for Southeast Asia (Rabasa et al., 2007). First, the Al-Qaeda network as an attacker of the American World Trade Centre (WTC) and local radical groups. This situation provides an impetus for cooperation that has never existed before among regional countries, specifically in the military and intelligence. Second, the Southeast Asia region is considered a transit point for terrorism, potentially becoming a second font for fighting terrorism. The second font referred to here is the very high terrorist threat in Southeast Asia that comes from radical Islamic groups and militants and less strict government control as a border area.

The global war waged by the United States is a war against terrorism and militant Islam and strengthening the system of government and moderate Islam for the Islamic world (Rabasa et al., 2007). In this case, the Western world, particularly the United States, views moderate Islam as a strategic and practical alliance in protecting the cultures and values in modern society, such as democracy and pluralism (Rabasa et al., 2007). In addition, western countries realized that the moderate Islamic resource alliance did not have sufficient resources or build an independent constitutional network. This is the opposite of radical Islam, which has good funding sources with a small amount to spread its influence even wider throughout the world.

Saudi Arabia is one of the leading nations in combating terrorism and terrorist financing and has been working with its allies on all fronts. The terrorist financing carried out by Saudi Arabia has been going on for three decades. The funds referred to extend Wahabism's exports, which can influence the development of religious terrorism for Muslim countries (Sheikh, 2002). One foundation that finances terrorism is the Saudi A-Haramain Foundation. This foundation has been closed because it has funded a terrorist network from Bosnia to Southeast Asia (Rabasa et al., 2007).

Western countries pay intense attention to Southeast Asia to deal with the threat of terrorism that tries to spread its influence. On a regional scale, America's attention is directed towards Indonesia, one of the most influential countries in Southeast Asia (Rabasa et al., 2007). One of the founders of ASEAN at once a pioneer of the Non-Aligned Movement (Gerakan Non-Blok), Indonesia is also a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). Looking at Indonesia's track record in terms of influence in the ASEAN region, Indonesia is considered a leader capable of maintaining stability. Indonesia has welcomed that assessment with honor. Indonesia saw that as an opportunity to promote Indonesia's identity as a moderate Islam that bridges across civilizations, the West and Islam. In 2004, for example, during the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono presidential, Foreign Minister Hassan Wirajuda stated that Indonesia, with the largest Muslim population in the world, must project the true face of Islam, moderate Islam (Wirajuda, 2004).

According to Sukma (2003), the government continues to avoid the formal expression of the Islamic factor in foreign policy because of the nature of state identity, which maintains a non-theocratic identity to reject only religious factors. Indonesian moderate Islam is only the spark of formal Indonesian identity. It seems from the Medium Long-Term Development Plan (PJMN) I in 2005-2009, which focused on Indonesia's identity as a democratic government at the global level. SBY also emphasized this in the Indonesia Council on World Affairs (ICWA) 2005; SBY stated:

"We are the fourth most populous nation in the world. We are home also country where democracy, Islam and modernity go hand in hand." SBY in ICWA 2005.

Indonesia's sincerity in building democracy and moderate Islam is also an endeavor to get closer to western countries with a more established democratic system. If compared to both Indonesia and Western countries, Indonesia has a lot to learn and associate with western countries to create a stable democracy in Indonesia. The democratic process will be sustainable if countries that have just implemented democracy are closer to countries with an established democracy (Rabasa et al., 2007). According to Philips J. Vermonte, two reasons can explain the above statement. First, foreign policies can impose boundaries or isolate oneself from the authoritarian regime that has been replaced—for example, Indonesia's transition from the New Order to a democratic system of government. Second, international cooperation with countries with established democratic systems will be well established, contributing to the internal consolidation process of government (Vermonte, 2005).

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, after the Bali bombing in 2021, Indonesia has experienced deep economic pressure. Indonesia's trade exports fell, and the potential for domestic and foreign investment in Indonesia disappeared. Those effects compounded the number of victims who died, dominated by foreign nationals on vacation in Bali. As a result, Indonesia's tourism sector is also threatened as one of the most significant foreign exchange contributors to the Indonesian economy and coupled with the travel warnings issued by the embassies of significant countries such as the United States, several European countries, and Australia, the most victims because of the terrorist attacks. The stigma of Indonesia is becoming a hotbed of terrorists to urge its citizens not to make trips to Indonesia.

Responding to this, Indonesia must save national interests in the security and economy sectors. The magnitude of the losses caused by radicals' attacks is why Indonesia is more incessant in promoting moderate Islam in diplomacy. Diplomacy and foreign policy are two different things. According to Suryokusumo (2004), foreign policy is substantial from foreign relations while it centers diplomacy on t or methodologies used to carry out foreign policy. In moderate Islam in Indonesia, the diplomacy path used is to project moderate Islam in various forums such as inter-faith, inter-cultural, and inter-civilization blogging. This intensive dialogue builds trust between different religions, cultures, and civilizations.

The diplomatic route used by Indonesia above has had bilateral, regional, to multilateral opportunities. On a bilateral scale, we can see implementing the unity in diversity conference: the culture of coexistence in Indonesia between Indonesia and Italy (KaEM, 2009). In addition, a bilateral cooperation was carried out in various countries such as Britain, New Zealand, Austria, the Netherlands, Lebanon, Canada, and Australia throughout 2008. On a regional and multilateral scale, Indonesia carried out diplomacy by expanding the interfaith dialogue in ASEAN started in 2005. Earlier than ASEAN, this dialogue has been carried out in the Asia-Pacific region since 2004. It is not enough, just an inter-faith dialogue. Indonesia is also conducting diplomacy by pioneering the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF). This forum discusses democracy in the Asian region at the government level. This initiative has been exciting, as confirmed by the number of participating countries from 40 (in 2008) to 82 participating countries in 2012. The interaction is quite good with participating countries; Indonesia has received special trust from the participating countries. Western Indonesia's Islamic credibility can go hand in hand with a stable democracy.

With this achievement, Indonesia is assessed and encouraged to be a role model for Islamic countries on the bridge between the West and the Islamic world. Like the United States of America's President, Obama praises Indonesia's achievements in building a stable democracy in the most populous country in the world for a Muslim country.

"I praise your leadership which has succeeded in leading Indonesia toward democratic transition," Barack Obama said to SBY during His visit to Indonesia in 2010." (Indonesia Secretariat Ministry, 2014)

As the country with the most significant number of Muslims globally, Indonesia has become an alternative model for inter-Islamic civilization in the 21st transition because it has demonstrated the right partnership and sequence between Islam and democracy (Kay, 2006). Indonesia is the hope of the global world to strengthen the image of moderate Islam to play a role in international politics to fulfill

national interests. Indonesia has been waiting for this opportunity since Indonesia's independence. UU No. 17 of 2007 seems to discuss the National Long-Term Plan for 2005-2025. It is stated that Indonesia wants to realize its international relations.

Terrorism in the Middle East and Indonesia's as a Role Model for the Islamic World

Various conflicts in the Middle East have made this region have high political instability and security. Regional stability and security, particularly the countries close to this region, are also affected. Since the hijacking of planes in the United States, the stigma of terrorism is often seen as Islamic countries' act, particularly in the Middle East. This area has continued to be a concern for western countries in its history because of the enormous amount of oil reserves and its economic value. Complex conflicts have occurred until they have been infiltrated by international actors and used by terrorism to spread its influence in the world. The terrorism networks' existence in the Middle East has shifted the state's focus from economic to political and security issues.

In the twenty-first century, the terrorist threat reaches many countries. Terrorist groups no longer target Western countries; However, terrorist networks exist in Asian countries, including Indonesia. Indonesia has consistently constructed a moderate Islamic identity in response to this reality, including its foreign policy and terrorism. Considering that the Middle East and North Africa are areas full of conflict, Indonesia must put its role correctly. The political upheaval began with the resistance of Tunisian demonstrators who wanted to overthrow the growing regime until the resignation of Housni Mubarak as Egypt's leader. The domino effect of the actions in Tunisia and Egypt also spread to Libya, Algeria, Syria, Jordan, Yemen, and Lebanon.

Revolution carried out on the Arab Spring spread using the power of the internet and social media. These instruments create emotions and shape the masses to protest against authoritarian rule and call for democratic elections for country leaders. The frequent social inequality was an essential point that was echoes demonstrations. In 2009, the limited availability of clean water and food resources and the lack of job opportunities were not proportional to the increasing population, which continued to increase. The number of people who need work is expected to peak in 2020; they are young people, and women dominate the mutation is getting worse because of the policies in the Arab region, which on average still apply bourgeois regimes.

The events in Arabia were almost similar to student actions during the reform era that occurred during the 1998 reform. Not only that, there were many similarities between Indonesia and Muslim Arab countries. For example, such as socio-culture, Indonesia is the largest country with a Muslim population. Likewise, countries in the Middle East and North Africa are dominated by Muslim populations. This region also becomes the starting place for the existence of Muslims. Most of the Middle East and North Africa country is governed by authoritarian governments and has the military's support with large-scale political networks and financial patronage. Then the system of government, which was also carried out during the authoritarianism era, was a secular nationalist with control of state assets. Both regions put aside the meaning and power of Islam and then limit the space for the media and opposition groups to move. Looking to the similarities between Indonesia and the Middle East, countries' discrimination in the Middle East and North Africa is in line with Indonesia. Thus, Indonesia, which has the same fate as the region, is encouraged to take steps and show its role with various experiences in proving the world view to Indonesia that Indonesia can be a role model for the Islamic world.

President SBY told Berita Satu media in 20013; he said that "Islam, democracy, and modernity can be walked together" (Dorimulu, 2013). As a country that implements democracy, Indonesia can and can carry out Islamic values. Therefore, Middle Eastern countries can also do the same thing that has been done in Indonesia. Being a role model for the Middle East region for Indonesia is not an undemanding job. It must do carefully any foreign policy that is carried out and much consideration.

The manifestation of people's aspirations must be referred to internally by considering the aspects of an area's cultural uniqueness that anyone wants to approach; then, it cannot be forced by anyone, including external actors (Musawar et al., 2019). These considerations will be undoubtedly helpful in dealing with the social and political turmoil that exists in the Middle East region. Sharing experiences (best practice) by Indonesia with Islamic countries was carried out in the Bali Democracy Forum IV 2011. The forum was attended by almost all countries in the Middle East region, namely Qatar, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, United Emirates, Qatar in the Egypt-Indonesia program. Dialogue on Democratic Transition.

The Terrorism group also exploits the complexity of the problems in the Middle East region in spreading its influence. Abu Bakr al Bagabadi as the leader of Islam in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), declared a "caliphate" as an ideology he believed in October 2004. Since then, ISIS has continued to move forward and carry out acts of terror through violence and even killing civilians and the military. By seeing this, the international community, particularly Indonesia, also paid attention to handling terrorism. According to the 2019 Global Terrorism Index, Afghanistan gets the most terror from terrorists. This country is in the first place as a terrorist hotbed, followed by Iraq, Nigeria, Syria, and Pakistan. These countries are countries in the Middle East region if we look at these countries. The influence of propaganda carried out by ISIS will also potentially affect Indonesia, which has historical experience related to extremist groups, and this terrorist group is increasingly important because it uses Islam as proof of its ideological truth.

The Terrorism Threat in Indonesia: National Responding and International Cooperation

Apart from Middle East countries, Indonesia is a vulnerable country to being the target of terrorism and considering terrorism in the name of Islam as a tool to facilitate its influence in spreading ideology. In 2015, Jema'ah Anshrout Daulah was formed in Indonesia, a network of terrorism in Syria. Then year after year, JAD grew until there was friction within the organization and re-formed a new organization called the ISIS.

JAD and ISIS are the two confirmed terrorist organizations in Indonesia, which, at a glance, are the same. However, these two organizations have different targets, values, and beliefs in their terror activities. For example, JAD only terrorized or killed people who were not Muslim and did not share their beliefs in carrying out its attacks. Meanwhile, ISIS was brutal in its actions, targeting anyone, including Muslims. This group will slaughter and even kill anyone who feels they disagree with their ideology. In other world, JAD is a well-organized group in making the terror attack, and ISIS acting, and brutally, it can example this action as lone-wolf.

In Indonesia, the two organizations' development has been quite widespread. JAD carried some actions, such as the Bali bombing I 2002 and II 2005, the JW Marriot Bomb 2003. Then the bombings at Busway stops in Kampung Melayu and Police Post at Thamrin; The ISIS group carried out Jakarta several years ago. The above incidents make up a significant threat to Indonesia's security. The threat of terrorism today is increasing with the increase in radicalism among the Indonesian people. Data from the 2020 Global Index stated that Indonesia in 2018-2019 experienced a drastic increase in radicalism from 4.6 to 5.1%; it means was an increase of 0.5%. It can start the rise of radicalism in Indonesia since the Jakarta governor election in 2018, followed by a presidential election in 2019. Using identity politics as a campaign tool revived radicalism in Indonesia, and the effects were still felt. Apart from these threats, the next terrorist threat is the development form of terrorism, the lone wolf phenomenon. A lone wolf is an act of terror carried out based on terrorists, based on their initiative without being moved by organizations connected to terrorism networks (Hafner-Burton, Kahler, & Montgomery, 2009).

The lone wolf terror stems from a radicalism that comes from the environment, or the information is less validated and can even be a hoax. So that lone-wolf terrorists moved to carry out their actions. Radicalism in Indonesia has also entered educational institutions; based on a survey conducted by the 2018 National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) at several universities in Indonesia, the data shows that as much as 18.9% of students agree that implementing the caliphate in their universities. This means that the seeds of radicalism have been spreading to formal institutions like universities. It becomes a big note of the government, particularly the BNPT, as the non-ministerial institution responsible for this issue. Apart from BNPT in countering terrorism, it has to involve various ministerial agencies (Ministry of Law and Security, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Etc.), non-ministerial agencies (Polri, BIN, Densus 88, Etc). On a national scale, it has carried the countermeasures of terrorism out since the 2002 Bali bombings. The government realizes that terrorism is real, so issuing Law No. 5 of 2018 concerning amendments to Law No. 15 of 2003 concerning the Stipulation of Government Regulations in of Law No.1 of 2002 concerning the discussion of Criminal Acts of Terrorism

into Laws, in articles 43A to Article 43D have regulated the prevention of terrorism. Besides enacting laws, in 2002, a task force called Densus 88 was also formed.

The formation of Densus 88 was because of the cooperation between Indonesia and the United States and Australia, which will provide funding for complete weapons and training. Due to the new order period, security officials such as the National Police received less attention from the government, which was more inclined towards the Indonesian Army (TNI). In terms of funding and training during the New Order era, the National Police did not perform well. Therefore, in dealing with terrorism, it is necessary to cooperate with countries with a solid military sector. BNPT has taken two forms of approach in dealing with terrorism, a gentle approach (humanity) and repressive actions (Hamidin, 2007). The gentle approach is carried out by overcoming vulnerable groups, empowering former terrorism, establishing good relations with groups exposed to radicalism, and disseminating narratives regarding social media as a platform used by terrorism to track terrorist members into the ISIS and JAD terrorist networks. In addition, Densus 88's other task is to detect bomb threats in various areas, collaborating with the State Intelligence Agency.

On an international level, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, BNPT also conducts international cooperation with regional countries in Southeast Asia. Southeast Asia is the country that has become the most active in the transient of Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTF). For example, the suicide bombing in the Southern Philippines in August 2020 believed that the perpetrator came from Indonesia. Therefore, international cooperation in the eradication of terrorism, in particular by the FTF, is essential. For example, Indonesia is still cooperating with the USA and Australia in bilateral cooperation. For Australia, bilateral relations in countering terrorism are essential; even Australia-Indonesia in 2012 became co-chair in the Inaugural meeting of the Southeast Asia Working Group of Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF) in Semarang. Likewise, with America, until now, the United States of America (USA) is still willing to provide capacity building for Indonesia Densus 88 to continue to work in eradicating terrorism.

Indonesia and other countries have agreed on cooperation in the ASEAN region, a blueprint for ASEAN in the ASEAN Political-Security pillar. These include the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC), ASEAN Convention in Counter-Terrorism, Jakarta Center for Law Enforcement Cooperation, International Law Enforcement Academy, and the Southeast Asia Regional Center for Counter-Terrorism. As an example of implementing Indonesia's regional cooperation, it can be seen when the Head of BNPT, Boy Rafli Amar, continues to cultivate good relations in intelligence cooperation in neighboring countries such as the Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Thailand, and Singapore. Coordination and sharing of information about the FTF terrorism movement are essential to handling quickly and precisely.

In multilateral cooperation, Indonesia as a member and the Co-Sponsor of the UN Security Council for Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTF) and Indonesia collaborates and actively takes part in Asia-Pacific (APAC) to prevent money laundering finance terrorism, for Indonesia itself, this cooperation involving the ministry of finance. Islamic countries such as Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iraq, Indonesia project themselves as moderate Islam to become a role model for the Islamic world and involve the two largest community organizations in Indonesia, Nahdatul Ulama, and Muhammadiyah as a representation of Indonesia as an Islamic and democratic country.

Conclusion

Radicalism and terrorism are still becoming the security challenges of countries worldwide. Terrorist attacks and the rise of radicalism, especially in Indonesia, have been rampant after the reformation. It has disrupted the stability of the country and the reputation of Indonesia in the international. Foreign policy Indonesia in constructing Islam moderate Indonesia as the identity has been driving in Indonesia become a role model for the Islamic world such as the Middle East that shows that democracy and Islam are possible to construct as country identity and foundations of the ideology. Nevertheless, keeping democracy and decreasing radicalism in Indonesia still has many challenges. Handling terrorism as a transnational crime in Indonesia can not be handled itself.

Therefore, bilateral, regional, and multilateral cooperation is needed to strengthen the security apparatus's capacity, coordinating and sharing information specifically in Foreign Terrorist Fighters

(FTF). As the most prominent Islamic country in the world, preventing radicalism and responding to conflicts in the Middle East, it is necessary to involve Islamic community organizations Nadathul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah as a way of soft power diplomacy for Indonesia in strengthening Indonesia's credibility as moderate Islam in international politics.

Based on the above discussion regarding the complexity of terrorism, finding a solution is not an undemanding job. In particular, Indonesia is pluralistic, and socio-economic and cultural factors cause the potential for increasing radicalism. Therefore, killing as much terrorism as possible is not a strategic solution in this context. However, Indonesia needs to focus on two big things, the integration between security and the political system using a bottom-up type of movement. This solution can be an alternative because of the massive spread of radicalism, social movements in Indonesia are at the grassroots level. Then followed by strengthening advocacy to the student community at the university to become a peace ambassador for the environment in which they live. Indonesia can adopt this policy as a pilot project tackling global radicalism and terrorism through the authority institution.

References

- Bötticher, A. (2017). Towards Academic Consensus Definitions of Radicalism and Extremism. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 11(4), 73-77. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/26297896
- Dorimulu, P. (2013). Demokrasi, Islam, dan Modernitas Dapat Hidup Bersama dengan Damai. Retrieved July 2, 2021, from Investor.id website: https://investor.id/international/demokrasi-islam-danmodernitas-dapat-hidup-bersama-dengan-damai
- Gurtner, Y. (2004). After the Bali Bombing-the Long Road to Recovery. Australian Journal of Emergency Management, The, 19(4). https://doi.org/10.3316/ielapa.376310894743772
- Hafner-Burton, E. M., Kahler, M., & Montgomery, A. H. (2009). Network Analysis for international relations. *International Organization*, 63(3), 559-592. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818309090195
- Hamidin. (2007). Wajah Baru Terosisme : Transformasi Jaringan, Gerakan dan Modus Terorisme Domestik dan Global. Bogor: Media Damai Badan Penanggulangan Teroris Nasional.
- Hinnebusch, R. (2007). The American Invasion of Iraq: Causes and Consequences. PERCEPTIONS: Journal of International Affairs, 12(1), 9-27. Retrieved from https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/perception/issue/48997/625107
- Indonesia Secretariat Ministry. (2014). In Bahasa Indonesia, Obama Praises President SBY. Retrieved July 3, 2020, from Indonesia Secretariat Ministry website: https://setkab.go.id/en/in-bahasaindonesia-obama-praises-president-sby/
- KaEM. (2009). Italia Mengapresiasi Islam Moderat di Indonesia. *Tabloid Diplomasi*. Retrieved from http://www.santegidio.org/downloads/20090414_diplomasi.pdf
- Kauppi, M. V, & Viotti, P. R. (2019). International Relations Theory. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Kay, T. (2006). Daughters of Islam: Family Influences on Muslim Young Women's Participation in Sport. International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 41(3-4), 357-373. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690207077705
- Latif, Y. (2018). The Religiosity, Nationality, and Sociality of Pancasila: Toward Pancasila through Soekarno's Way. *Studia Islamika*, 25(2), 207-245. https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v25i2.7502
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis* (Edition 3). Los Angles: Arizona State University.
- Musawar, Sahid, M. M., Jihadi, A. N., & Gunardi, S. (2019). Moderate Islam as a Solution to Pluralism in the Islamic World: The Experience of Indonesia. *Al-Shajarah: Journal of the International*

Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), 1-24. Retrieved from https://journals.iium.edu.my/shajarah/index.php/shaj/article/view/929

- Pew Research Center. (2020). The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050. Washington D.C. Retrieved from https://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religiousprojections-2010-2050/
- Rabasa, A., Benard, C., Schwartz, L. H., & Sickle, P. (2007). Building Moderate Muslim Networks. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
- Reus-Smit, C. (2011). Individual Rights and the Making of the International System. In *Individual Rights* and the Making of the International System. New York: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CB09781139046527
- Rosyidin, M. (2020). Promoting a Home-Grown Democracy: Indonesia's Approach of Democracy Promotion in the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF). *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 28(3), 312-333. https://doi.org/10.1080/02185377.2020.1814361
- Schmid, A. P. (2018). Revisiting the Relationship between International Terrorism and Transnational Organised Crime 22 Years Later. The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism Study. https://doi.org/10.19165/2018.1.06
- Sheikh, N. S. (2002). The New Politics of Islam: Pan-Islamic Foreign Policy in a World of States. In *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*. London dan New York: Routledge.
- Sukma, R. (2001). Indonesia and China: The Politics of a Troubled Relationship. London dan New York: Routledge.

Suryokusumo, S. (2004). Praktik Diplomasi. Jakarta: STIH.

- United Nations. (2008). Human Rights, Terrorism and Counter-terrorism. In United Nations. Geneva. Retrieved from https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:zDkNc7Gm71cJ:www.ohchr.org/Documents/Public ations/Factsheet32EN.pdf+Adding+International+Terrorism+into+the+Statute+of+the+ICC:+Definiti on,+Benefits+to+Justice+and+Obstacles&hl=en&gl=nl&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEESjHdkHAr
- Vermonte, P. J. (2005). China-ASEAN Strategic Relations: A View From Jakarta. In China and ASEAN: Changing Political and Strategic Ties (pp. 89-112). Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong.
- West, B. (2008). Collective Memory and Crisis: The 2002 Bali Bombing, National Heroic Archetypes and the Counter-Narrative of Cosmopolitan Nationalism. *Journal of Sociology*, 44(4), 337-353. https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783308097125

Wirajuda, N. H. (2004). Rescuing Nuclear Non-Proliferation. In Daily Times Lahore.