

The Dynamics Beyond Counter Terrorism Measures in the Indo-Pacific

Dinamika di Luar Upaya Melawan Terorisme di Indo Pasifik

Samti Wira Wibawati*, Marina Ika Sari**, Yuli Ari Sulistyani***

*PhD Student of International Relations Major, Padjajaran University

email: samtiwira@gmail.com

** Indonesia Defense University Graduate, Defense Diplomacy Major

email: marinaika14@gmail.com

*** Indonesia Defense University Graduate, Defense Diplomacy Major

email: yuliari08@gmail.com

Riwayat Artikel

Diterima 16 Agustus 2019

Direvisi 29 September 2019

Disetujui 7 Oktober 2019

doi: <https://doi.org/10.22212/jp.v10i1.1445>

Abstract

The Indo-Pacific is a conceptual idea aimed at enhancing economic connectivity and security among states in the Indo-Pacific region. In line with the high interest from many Indo-Pacific states, security problems like terrorism are of common concerns that need to be addressed. Various existing security cooperation mechanisms have been established to solve this latent problem. However, these mechanisms have not been able to decrease the number of terrorist acts in the region. This study discusses the urgency of terrorism issues in the Indo-Pacific region with the current security cooperation mechanisms. This research uses qualitative method which allows the researchers to describe and explore the observed phenomenon. Using the theory of international cooperation, this research found that it is necessary to recalibrate the existing security cooperation or to focus on making a new and integrated mechanism in the Indo-Pacific region.

Keywords: Terrorism; International Cooperation; Indo-Pacific; Security.

Abstrak

Indo-Pasifik adalah ide konseptual yang bertujuan untuk meningkatkan konektivitas ekonomi dan keamanan di antara negara-negara yang berada di kawasan Indo-Pasifik. Sejalan dengan banyaknya kepentingan berbagai negara di Indo Pasifik, masalah keamanan seperti terorisme perlu menjadi perhatian bersama. Berbagai mekanisme kerjasama keamanan telah dibentuk untuk menangani masalah laten ini. Namun, mekanisme kerjasama keamanan yang ada belum mampu mengurangi angka tindak terorisme di kawasan. Studi ini membahas tentang urgensi masalah terorisme di kawasan Indo-Pasifik dengan mekanisme kerjasama keamanan yang sudah ada. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dimana para peneliti dapat menggambarkan dan mengeksplorasi fenomena yang diteliti. Dengan menggunakan teori kerjasama internasional, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa perlu untuk mengkalibrasi ulang kerjasama keamanan yang sudah ada atau fokus pada pembuatan mekanisme baru dan terintegrasi di kawasan Indo-Pasifik.

Kata Kunci: Terorisme, Kerjasama Internasional, Indo-Pasifik, Keamanan.

Introduction

The terminology of Indo-Pacific comes from a conceptual idea that aims to improve economic and security connectivity among states in the Indian and Pacific Ocean regions. By combining states in the Indian Ocean Rim, the Indo-Pacific concept extends the pre-existing Asia-Pacific concept. In the previous Asia Pacific concept, economic cooperation such as trade and investment liberalization were the main focuses in the framework of regionalism. Meanwhile, in the Indo-Pacific concept, the basic construction is oriented towards security with maritime domain.¹ One of the challenges in the realization of the Indo-Pacific idea is that, there are no similar views from the involved states in seeing the conceptual scope of the Indo-Pacific geographical area. This condition makes many states have different concepts, such as the US which defines the Indo-Pacific region as states within the scope of Asia to Africa. On the other hand, Japan considers Africa is not included in the Indo-Pacific region concept. From those two perspectives, Indonesia has the same view concept as the US.

Basically, the Indo-Pacific concept has been proposed by Indonesia at the 2013 East Asia Summit. Indonesia Foreign Minister at that time, Marty Natalegawa proposed the "Indo-Pacific Wide Friendship and Cooperation Treaty" to the EAS countries.² Unfortunately, no country expressed any interest in this. Then, in 2017 the Indo-Pacific concept revolved around the QSD (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) forum which emerged as an alternative to the implementation of policies from the US, Japan, India, and Australia that altogether wanted to take strategic steps in anticipating China's assertive actions in

the Asian region. QSD is established as an informal security cooperation.

At the QSD forum held on 12 November 2017 in Manila, Philippines, for the first time the Indo-Pacific concept was introduced by the Prime Minister of Japan, Shinzo Abe. Since then, the official mention of the Indo-Pacific region has continued to the present, especially when Donald Trump used the term of Indo-Pacific instead of Asia Pacific when visiting Asia. On 18 October 2017, US secretary of state Rex Tillerson made mention of the "Free and Open Indo-Pacific". In early May 2018, the US Pacific Command changed its name to the Indo-Pacific Command. The change of terminology is naturally accompanied by the change of the US strategic policy based on the expanding of its national interests in the Indian Ocean. This condition has increasingly pushed several other states that have projected their national interests in the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean to take the same strategic step of using the Indo-Pacific terminology instead of Asia Pacific.

At the QSD meeting on 15 November 2018, official representatives from the four states met in Singapore for having consultations on regional and global issues of common interest such as connectivity, sustainable development, counter-terrorism, non-proliferation and maritime and cyber security with a view to promoting peace, stability and prosperity in an increasingly inter-connected Indo-Pacific region that the four states share with each other and with other partners.³ The participants reaffirmed the ASEAN centrality as the cornerstone of a free, open and inclusive Indo-Pacific. They agreed to collaborate with other states and forums in the region to promote a free, open, rules-based and inclusive order in the Indo-

1 Jeffrey D Wilson, "Investing in the economic architecture of the Indo-Pacific," *Indo-Pacific Series* (2017): 1-16.

2 Leo Suryadinata, "Indonesia and its stance on the "Indo-Pacific," *Yusof Ishak Institute Analyse Current Events Issue No. 66* (2018): 1-7.

3 Brendon. J Cannon and Ash Rossiter, The Indo-Pacific regional dynamics in the 21st century's new geopolitical center of gravity. *Rising Powers Quarterly* Volume 3, Issue 2 (2018): 7-15.

Pacific that fosters trust and confidence. They committed to strengthening connectivity and quality infrastructure based on sovereignty, equality and territorial integrity of all nations, as well as transparency, economic viability and financial responsibility.⁴

Geopolitical constellation in the region has become one of the most relevant reasons in seeing the emergence of the Indo-Pacific concept which is believed to replace the Asia Pacific concept as a region. So, the shift from the Asia-Pacific regional framework to the Indo-Pacific is not only expanding geographically, but functionally it is also expected to make the Indo-Pacific as the center of economic gravity and the strategic point of the world.

In respond to the Indo-Pacific dynamic, ASEAN already constructed several key elements which can be viewed as the perspectives of ASEAN on the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific, as follows:⁵

- A perspective of viewing the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean regions, not as contiguous territorial spaces but as a closely integrated and interconnected region, with ASEAN playing a central and strategic role;
- An Indo-Pacific region of dialogue and cooperation instead of rivalry;
- An Indo-Pacific region of development and prosperity for all;
- The importance of the maritime domain and perspective in the evolving regional architecture.

ASEAN also stated the purposes and principles in Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) would be a guidance in the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific 2019 and adjust the ASEAN's engagement in the Asia Pacific and Indian Ocean regions.

4 Ministry of External Affairs Government of India, "India-Australia-Japan-U.S Consultations," retrieved January 22, 2019, <https://www.mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/30593>

5 Association of Southeast Asian Nations, "ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific," retrieved September 15, 2019, <https://asean.org/asean-outlook-indo-pacific/>

Considering the potential of cooperation in the Indo-Pacific, other states among Indo-Pacific regions already project their intention by putting the Indo-Pacific dynamism on their foreign policy. It has affected the formation of strategic environment based on geopolitical circles in the region, so that shift of the Asia-Pacific regional framework to the Indo-Pacific has broadly expanded the dimensionality of the region and make the Indo-Pacific as a strategic region. One of the consequences of the increase of the economic growth in the region is the increase of tendency for the region as a target of terrorism operation area. It becomes challenges for the states in the Indo-Pacific to decrease the number of terrorist acts and the impact of it.

Security status in the Southeast Asia as "central gravity" of Indo-Pacific has changed to become more complex in several times. This complexity of security can be seen from the presence of non-traditional security issues that emerges the course consideration reminding that state security has influenced by several factors which has never been discussed before. It can be viewed as a comprehensive security that characteristically requires non-military responses to address numerous of emerging security threats.⁶ The rising of non-traditional security issues in the domestic area related to interstate affair describes the tendency to the growing number of debate and creates emphasis on non-military security concern.

Furthermore, states have always been relating their agendas to non-traditional issues as new security threat. This trend can be observed while analyzing the changing of ASEAN's approach of non-traditional forms that can be understood from ASEAN states efforts to face problem of terrorism, epidemic disease (trans-border health

6 Caballero-Anthony, M. (2008). Challenging Change: Nontraditional Security, Democracy, and Regionalism. In D. Emmerson (Ed.), *Hard choices: Security, democracy, and regionalism in Southeast Asia* Stanford, CA: Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center. 191-217.

issue), poverty, trans-national crimes, natural disaster, maritime security, environmental problems, piracy, human trafficking, and communal violence.⁷

Numerous definitions of terrorism exist, but terrorism is usually understood as the use or threat of violence to further a political cause. There is no universally agreed definition of terrorism making it difficult object to quantify. The international legal definition of terrorism proposed here avoids evaluation of any ideological purpose. Instead, it is concerned with the qualities of a “terrorist act”. The four qualities of the act are: (a) serious violence; (b) intended to influence a public or its institutions; (c) by intimidating civilians in that society; and (d) committed by non-State actor.⁸ Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman analyze hundreds definition of terrorism for the purpose to find key definition elements of terrorism. There are five key elements with the percentage of occurrence above 40%, namely: violence or strength (83.5%), politics (65%), fear or terror (51%), threats (47%), and effects psychology and anticipatory reactions (41.5%). Based on those five key elements then acts of terrorism include: (a) use of violence, strength or threats, (b) mainly constitute political action, (c) intensely causing deep fear or terror order to achieve the goal, (d) effect occurs and psychological reactions.⁹

According to the United Nations (UN), “Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby-in contrast to assassination – the direct targets of attacks are not the main targets.

7 Sukma, R. “ASEAN and Non Traditional Security”. (Tokyo: CSIS. 2010), 3.

8 Gregory Rose and Diana Nestorovska, “ASEAN features towards an ASEAN counter terrorism treaty,” *Singapore Year Book of International Law and Contributors* (2005): 157 – 189.

9 Alex Schmid, “Terrorism – The definitional problem,” *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* Volume 36 Issue 2 (2004): 375-419.

The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from target populations and serve as message generators. Threat and violence based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience(s), turning it into a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought.¹⁰ In line with the definition from the UN, A. Hasnan Habib defines terrorism as use of planned, prepared, and attacked the physical violence threat towards to target directly, usually civilian to achieve one goal. Terrorism involves groups which have intention to subvert the regime, to revise group or national complaint or disrupt the international order.¹¹

Referring to the definition, the gigantic terrorist attacks in the United States on 11 September 2001 that known as 9/11 was marked as a turning point in world history and the beginning of the 'War on Terror'. The attacks are estimated to have killed 3000 people making it as the deadliest terrorist incident in human history. After decades, the dynamics of terrorist landscape remain changed and spread a new pattern based on the shifting of geopolitical affairs. Although there are no huge differences in such areas of terrorist-related activities in the Indo-Pacific region, but it remains that the terrorism has been evolved in ways that none of us could expect. Based on data mentioned in the Global Terrorism Index in 2018, there are 9 states in the Indo-Pacific region that are included in the list of top 50 countries with acts of terrorism. States in South Asia such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India are among the ten largest states that experience the highest impact of terrorism

10 A.A. Banyu Perwita and Yanyan Mochamad Yani, *Pengantar Ilmu Hubungan Internasional* (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 2005): 140.

11 A. Hasnan Habib, *Strategis dan hubungan internasional* (Bandung: Kapita Selekta, 1990), 102.

attacks. While India is one of the states that conduct the construction effort in the security architecture of Indo-Pacific region, India is recorded in seventh ranks in the number of incidents of terrorism approximately 860 in 2017. In addition, four ASEAN member states such as Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand and Myanmar have also experienced a substantial increase in terrorist acts since 2002.¹² The security environment in Southeast Asia is also being shaped by global, Asia - Pacific - wide and domestic trends.

The latest bad news comes this year, on last March 2019 the terrorist attacked the Al Noor and Linwood mosques in New Zealand, which have killed 49 people and led to dozens more injuries.¹³ This terrorist attack is identified as the latest anti-Muslim right-wing violence that irritates the process of democracies around the world. Besides New Zealand, there is Indonesia which witnessed several terrorist attacks in 2018. On 9 May, a family of six, including a nine-year-old girl, targeted three churches in Surabaya killing at least 13 and injuring over 40 people. Less than a week later, on 13 May, another family of terrorists attacked the police headquarters in the same city, resulting at least four police officers and six local residents being injured.¹⁴ The two terrorist attacks killed 18 people, including the bombers, making this the deadliest bombings in Indonesia since the 2005, Bali bombings which killed 23.¹⁵ On 14 May suicide bomb in police gate of City

of Surabaya, at least 10 people, 4 policemen and 6 civilians, were wounded in the attack, 4 suicide bombers were killed.¹⁶

Move to another member states of ASEAN; Philippines, Thailand and Myanmar have shown the considerable increase in terrorist activity since 2002. All three states accounted for 94 percent of attacks in 2016, which is the latest was in Thailand on 22 January 2018 had suicide bomb by a motorcycle, killed three civilians and wounded 22 others at a market in Thailand's insurgency-hit south. The officials said the first such attack on a "soft target" in the Muslim-majority region for months.¹⁷ In Philippines, the latest terrorist act happened on January 2019, where two bombs exploded in the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Jolo, Southern Philippines. The attacks have killed more than 20 and injured approximately a hundred of people.¹⁸ The Islamic State (IS) group stated they are behind the attacks in Jolo Island which indicated as the base of several most active terrorist groups in the Philippines. The terrorist groups in the Philippines are dominated with Militant Islamic Organization such as Abu Sayyaf Group, Moro Liberation Front (MILF), Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (BIFF) and Jemaah Islamiyah which affiliated with ISIS. Following this, the Rohingya crisis affects the refugees flow crossing the state borders and it leads to security threat, for example terrorist act from the insurgents. It occurred on August 25, 2017, when Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) who is Rohingya insurgent group attacked 30 securities facilities, including

12 Institute for Economics and Peace, "Global Terrorism Index Report 2018," retrieved June 01, 2019, visionofhumanity.org

13 Al-jazeera, "New Zealand PM: dozens killed in 'terrorist' attack on mosques," retrieved June 01, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/03/shooter-situation-zealand-mosque-attack-190315015927391.html>

14 Jakarta Post, "Two children survive premature bomb explosion in Sidoarjo", retrieved Januari 15, 2019, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/05/13/two-children-survive-premature-bomb-explosion-in-sidoarjo.html>

15 Eijas Ariffin, "The Asean Post", retrieved October 30, 2018, Indonesian terrorist attacks show terrorism is still a threat in Southeast Asia: <https://theaseanpost.com/article/indonesian-terrorist-attacks-show-terrorism-still-threat-southeast-asia>

16 BBC, "Surabaya attacks: Family of five bomb Indonesia police headquarters", retrieved October 30, 2018, BBC News: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-44105279>

17 Channel News Asia, "Motorcycle bomb in Southern Thailand market kills 3, more than 20 wounded", retrieved October 20, 2018, <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asia/motorcycle-bomb-in-southern-thailand-market-kills-3-more-than-20-9882730>

18 BBC Indonesia, "Gereja Katolik di Filipina Selatan Dibom, Pelaku Disebut Sebagai Pelaku Tak Bertuhan", retrieved February 14, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-47018553>

border outposts and one military base. So, it does not only give impact for Myanmar domestically, but also for the security in the region. The existence of ARSA in Myanmar has been an example that insurgent group can give impact for the security domestically and regionally.¹⁹

Based on data explained, we could not deny that terrorism is one of the non-traditional security issues and also a kind of transnational crimes which significantly impede and threaten the stability of economic, security and political condition of the states which would impact the region's stability if it occurs massively. In the recent years, there has been an increase in the acts of terrorism, although there was not significantly affect the regional stability, but terrorism is particular form of violence which created the uncertainty of threats in maintaining peace and stability in the region. There are several things which make the acts of terrorism still growing such as the financial support, human resources, technology and a wide international network, so that they can move freely carrying the purposes of terrorism. These developments eventually demanded the strengthening of law enforcement institutions at the national level as well as international cooperation between states to deal with the issue of international terrorism.²⁰

The Existing Security Cooperation Mechanisms on Terrorism

There are plenty of mechanisms in counter terrorism exist among states in the Indo-Pacific as one of the strategic regions, but unfortunately there was no security cooperation established in the name of Indo-Pacific as a whole. Considering ASEAN is the central gravity of Indo-Pacific (then is confirmed by

other states among the dynamic of Indo-Pacific regions), it has made us basically agreed that the reliable security cooperation would be in the hands of ASEAN. Furthermore, there was a gap in the matter of security architectures in the Indo-Pacific. In building a peaceful, secure and stable region in Southeast Asia, ASEAN adopts a comprehensive approach to security which enhances our capacity to deal with existing and emerging challenges. It pursues peaceful settlement of disputes and renounces aggression and the threat or use of force or other actions in any manner inconsistent with international law.

ASEAN has several regional cooperation mechanisms with the ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC) as the cornerstone of coordination. Particularly on the terrorism issues ASEAN has; ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting (ADMM), ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting Plus (ADMM Plus), ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crimes (AMMTC), ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crimes Plus Three (AMMTC +3 with China, Japan and South Korea), ASEAN Regional Forum Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter-Terrorism and Transnational Crime (ARF ISM on CTTC), ASEAN National Police (ASEANAPOL), High Level Dialogue (HLD) on Indo-Pacific Cooperation, Our Eyes, and Shangri-La Dialogue.

Those various cooperation mechanisms have produced some agreements namely ASEAN Documents on Combating Transnational Crimes and Terrorism which include ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism (ACCT); ARF Work Plan for CTTC 2019-2021, The Declaration on Joint Action to Counter Terrorism between ASEAN member states; and Joint Declaration between ASEAN with external parties (Australia, Japan, China, New Zealand, South Korea and India). The latest action plan was adopted in ASEAN region is ASEAN Work Project 2018 - 2025 to

19 Michael F Martin, Rhoda Margesson, and Bruce Vaughn, "The Rohingya Crises in Bangladesh and Burma," *Congressional Research Service Report* (2017): 1-30.

20 Bantarto Bandoro, *Indonesia dalam Lingkungan Strategis yang Berubah* (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2014), 243.

prevent and eradicate emergence of terrorism and extremists which is approved to implement since the 12th AMMTC, in Myanmar 2018. Moreover, AMMTC a ministerial-meeting level specifically discusses about transnational crimes in ASEAN. Terrorism issue has become one of ten transnational crimes which has been a priority in the cooperation. In addition, at the 12th meeting of ADMM, all ASEAN defense ministers reaffirm cooperation among member states to maintain peace and security in the region. One of issues discussed at the meeting was talking about the improvement of counter-terrorism cooperation mechanism.²¹ Moreover, some states beside ASEAN such as

United States, Russia, and China have agreed on the implementation of these mechanisms which consist of varied platforms such as to exchange information, legal framework, capacity building, de-radicalization program, and counter terrorism funds.²² The table below shows all the security mechanisms which is mentioned above, then its categorized into some needed variables as the efforts on tackling terrorism:

The categorizations on the table were adopted from various sources also from the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy on 8 September 2006. The strategy is a unique global instrument to enhance national, regional and international efforts to counter terrorism. Through those variables of strategy, all the

21 Okenews, "Lawan Terorisme, Ryamizard Bersama Menhan Se-ASEAN Komitmen Jaga Stabilitas Kawasan", retrieved January 21, 2019, <https://news.okezone.com/read/2018/10/19/337/1966482/lawan-terorisme-ryamizard-bersama-menhan-se-asean-komitmen-jaga-stabilitas-kawasan>

22 Sekretariat Nasional ASEAN Indonesia. "Negara Diluar ASEAN Sepakati Penggunaan Our Eyes". Retrieved 28 Februari 2019. <http://setnas-asean.id/news/read/negara-di-luar-asean-sepakati-penggunaan-our-eyes>.

Cooperation Mechanisms / Agreements on TNCCT	Categorization				
	Information Exchange	Legal Framework	Capacity Building	De-radicalization	Counter-terrorism funds
APSC		√	√	√	
ADMM	√	√			
ADMM Plus	√	√			
AMMTC	√	√	√		
ARF ISM on CTTC	√	√	√	√	
Our Eyes	√				
HLD	√		√		
ASEANAPOL	√	√	√		
ACCT	√	√	√		√
ASEAN-Japan	√	√	√		√
ASEAN-India	√	√	√		√
ASEAN-New Zealand	√	√	√	√	√
ASEAN-Australia	√	√	√	√	√
ASEAN-China	√	√	√		√
ASEAN-ROK	√	√	√		√

Source: processed by the researchers from various sources

member states of the UN including ASEAN member states have approved the first time to create a single common strategic and operational approach to counter terrorism by not only sending a clear message that terrorism is intolerable in all its forms and manifestation but also agreeing to take practical steps individually and collectively to prevent and combat it.²³ Those practical steps include a wide spectrum of procedures ranging from strengthening state capacity to counter terrorist threats, prevent the origin of terrorism until to establish a better coordination between ASEAN member states and partner system's counter-terrorism activities.

According to the non-interference principal in the context of regionalism in ASEAN, it has not meant indifference then to each other's domestic needs or strict impartiality in their domestic power struggles. It has meant that ASEAN members states have been willing to provide assistances to help each other to counter threats for domestic stability.²⁴ Furthermore, based on the table we can conclude that in practice not all cooperation mechanisms are able to meet all the variables standard. The same perception about how to create an ideal legal framework, what the proper de-radicalization program and which the right way to cut the terrorist funds was commonly might become the hardest step to be agreed, which consequently yielded different results. It was not a surprisingly fact when we consider that the same perception about terrorism and the legal standards of counter terrorism strategy have to deal with the domestic or regional regulations and the lack of appropriate law-enforcement capacity.

Outside the ASEAN matter, the importance of another security mechanisms or dialogues in

terrorism has to be considered. At the Shangri-La dialogue held in 2018, Indonesia Defense Minister highlighted the importance of recalibrating security cooperation in the Indo-Pacific Region considering there were too many mechanisms existed. The re-calibration should be implemented to navigate every threat and challenge correctly and proportionally.²⁵

Theory and Discussion

International cooperation is a form of relationship carried out by a state with another state that aims to achieve the needs of its states and the mutual interests.²⁶ The objective of the international cooperation is not only to achieve the national interests, but also to decline potential conflicts among states. According to Holsti, international cooperation can be defined as the views that two or more interests, values, or objectives meet and can produce something, be promoted, or fulfilled by all parties at once; the agreement of certain issues between two or more states based on similar or conflict of interests.²⁷

Based on the number of states involved, cooperation can be divided into three types, such as bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation. International cooperation includes cooperation in various fields such as politics, defense, economy, and socio-culture.²⁸ In this study, the international cooperation that will be discussed is multilateral cooperation between Indonesia and other states in the Indo-Pacific region which focuses on the defense as an instrument of diplomacy.

Defense cooperation is a collaboration that emphasizes national interests relating to state

23 United Nations Office of Counter Terrorism, "UN Global Counter Terrorism Strategy", retrieved October 10, 2019, <https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/un-global-counter-terrorism-strategy>.

24 Amitav Acharya, *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 57-60.

25 Randy Ferdi Firdaus, "Di Singapura, Menhan Ungkap Cara Tangkal Terorisme di Indo-Pasifik", retrieved January 15, 2019, <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/di-singapura-menhan-ungkap-cara-tangkal-terorisme-di-indo-pasifik.html>

26 Ikbar Yanuar, *Metodologi & Teori Hubungan Internasional* (Bandung: PT Refika Aditama, 2014), 273.

27 K. J. Holsti, *Politik Internasional: Kerangka untuk Analisis Jilid II, Terjemahan M. Tahrir Azhari* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 1988), 652-653.

28 Yanuar, *Metodologi & Teori Hubungan Internasional*, 273.

sovereignty, security, stability, and people's welfare.²⁹ In the Indonesian Defense White Paper, it is explained that defense cooperation is held to build mutual trust between states with the principle of mutual respect for the sovereignty of other states, not interfering in domestic affairs, mutually beneficial, preventing conflicts between countries, and building defense capabilities. International cooperation in the field of defense is one of the defense diplomacy instruments in order to achieve the national interests in defense field through concrete steps, mutual benefits, and to realize stability in the regional security.³⁰

There are three basic reasons underlying the formation of defense cooperation,³¹ such as: First, each state has an assessment of threats, both from inside and outside their country, from state and non-state actors. According to the assessment, the state will formulate the defense strategies that will be used to counteract the threats. Second, development and changes in the state's strategic environment also give influence in the forming of defense cooperation. Strategic environmental changes will affect the map of power relations in the region and will affect the interaction patterns between states. Third, defense cooperation in military equipment sector aims to meet the procurement of military equipment, modernize the military equipment, and transfer of technology for research and development purposes.

According to the basic reasons underlying the formation of defense cooperation above, we can analyze that the states in the Indo-Pacific region agreed to build defense cooperation to counter terrorism issues because the states have same perspective about threat assessment, in

this case is terrorism as global common threat. So, the states would like to formulate a defense strategy together to face this issue. On the other hand, through defense cooperation, the states can make collaboration in order to strengthen the defense capabilities among them such as in defense industry or technology of military equipment and share information about the international terrorist networks among them.

Related to the Indo-Pacific, US and ASEAN member states have conducted the new initiatives namely the High Level Dialogue (HLD) on Indo-Pacific Cooperation. It was held in Jakarta on March 20, 2019. The point which is raised on the meeting was terrorism and extreme violence, specifically about the terrorism acts happened in New Zealand and Netherland. Those two terrorism acts had been made into international societies' concern. Referring to that, Indonesia called for a crucial prevention against the growing roots of extremism in various communities and strengthening the international cooperation to overcome it. The result of the meeting was the countries agreed to strengthen the cross-country collaboration in building capacity and sharing intelligence information among the security forces. Indonesia also affirmed the strategic role of youth as the "Peace Ambassadors" that should spread the values of peace and anti-violence.³²

Referring to the explanation above, we can conclude that states are trying to strengthen the international cooperation and create comprehensive regulations in countering terrorism by using defense as the instrument of diplomacy. Even though there is no mention about whether or not a new collaboration is needed, but still there are two main variables that should be concerned beyond counter

29 Makmur Supriyatno, *Tentang Ilmu Pertahanan* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2014), 143.

30 Kementerian Pertahanan, *Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia 2015* (Jakarta: Kementerian Pertahanan Indonesia, 2015), 71-72.

31 Parulian Simamora, *Peluang dan Tantangan Diplomasi Pertahanan* (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2013), 33-48.

32 Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia, "ASEAN-U.S. Dialogue: Indonesia Stressed the Significance of Indo-Pacific Cooperation for Regional Stability and Prosperity", retrieved February 24, 2019, https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/ex_berita/2992/asean-us-dialogue-indonesia-stressed-the-significance-of-indo-pacific-cooperation-for-regional-stability-and-prosperity

terrorism effort in the Indo-Pacific. It was the existence of regional structures and the operative territory of states.

The role of regional structures or regime is critical before all the states in Indo-Pacific find alternative solutions in countering terrorism, because the regional structures have the ability to create universal standards about three concepts; First, about how regional structures or regime would examine the terrorism issue while the pattern of terrorist act in every region are different and the context of counter terrorism is still in the grey area since the meaning of terrorism it self is vague. The involvement of state or other actors will create a friction and vulnerability in the way of counter terrorism, throughout the rigid definition about terrorism is not yet formed; Second, where was the exact position of states in facilitating counter terrorism effort by the regional structures while there was a burden created by a state authority itself; Third, what is the object of terrorism since there were asymmetrical advantages which already taken by the terrorist group because of the lapse of predictable geographical landscape and the digitalized world phenomenon. When those concepts are not emphasized in international standards, the effort of counter terrorism in the region will be lack of improvement.

After those regime's complexions, there still exist several problems while implementing a new cooperation to counter terrorism in the Indo-Pacific region which have to be eliminated by the states. First, the mapping of the Indo-Pacific as a region is still debatable. It might be affected the policy making process and the perception of stakeholders while they must to choose a proper regulation for the states. Second problem which has to be considered is the existence of ASEAN as the center of Indo-Pacific's strategic system. Since there was no deniable reason for why the experts of Southeast Asia region are still disputing over

how ASEAN constructs its defense and security cooperation. Many of them consider ASEAN as an ineffective regional organization because of the "non-interference" principle whose already impede the effectiveness of some regulations in the region, especially when it comes to the law enforcement process meanwhile most of the acts of terrorism happen in the Southeast Asia region.

However, pessimistic view of ASEAN does not really influence its commitment to build wider and deeper cooperation. Narine has identified how ASEAN perceived the concept of security within the region. ASEAN, according to Narine, defined "security" in comprehensive terms. Security consisted of political, military, economic and social factors interacting at all levels of analysis.³³ This means that, although dealing with traditional issues in the beginning, ASEAN has already been aware of the change in security concept and it can be observed on the discussion of ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) discourse.

ASEAN leaders have agreed to establish the APSC as a mechanism based on what has been constructed over the years in the field of political and security cooperation. APSC was established to ensure that countries in the region live at peace with one another, democratic and harmonious environment.³⁴ Moreover, the establishment of APSC aims to strengthen the mutually beneficial relations between ASEAN and its dialogue partners and friends in the interest of maintaining and enhancing peace and stability in the region. By having such mechanism, APSC also maintains the centrality and proactive role of ASEAN in a regional architecture that is transparent, open,

33 Shaun Narine, "ASEAN and the Management of Regional Security", retrieved January 15, 2019, <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/ASEAN+and+the+management+of+regional+security.-a021159623>

34 ASEAN, "ASEAN Political - Security Community", retrieved October 3, 2019, <https://asean.org/asean-political-security-community/>

and inclusive, while remaining actively engaged, forward-looking and non-discriminatory. The APSC refers to a comprehensive approach to security, which acknowledges the interwoven relationships of political, economic, social-cultural and environmental dimensions of development.³⁵ Relevant bodies in the APSC continues to work in addressing non-traditional security challenges including drug trafficking, terrorism, trafficking in persons, people smuggling, cybercrime, illicit trafficking of wildlife and timber, disaster relief and pandemics among others.

The APSC consists of these three following characteristics: (1) a rules-based Community of shared values and norms which means the society refers to the similar values and norms; (2) a Cohesive, Peaceful, Stable and Resilient Region with shared responsibility for comprehensive security; and (3) a Dynamic and Outward-looking Region in an increasingly integrated and interdependent world.³⁶ Moreover, The APSC has the duty to (a) ensure the implementation of decisions in the political-security summit, (b) coordinate the work of various sectors within the scope of political-security cooperation, and issues across the Economic Community Council and the Council The Socio-Cultural Society, and (c) submit reports and recommendations to the ASEAN Summit regarding matters related to political-security developments.³⁷ Therefore, by looking at the characteristics and duties of APSC in the region, it is possible for ASEAN to be the center of Indo-Pacific's strategic system in tackling and countering terrorism. However, the effectiveness of several ASEAN

security mechanisms in terrorism issues was still questioned. Third problem is different mechanisms or approaches that used by every state in the region while tackling terrorism were unfortunately limiting the effort of counter terrorism and become a common lexicon throughout the region.

Realizing how strategic the region is and how the terrorism threats evolve by time, having security cooperation mechanism in the Indo-Pacific, besides the current security cooperation, is expected to be an alternative in decreasing the numbers of terrorist acts in the region. The security mechanisms itself can be conducted by implementing the defense diplomacy framework or collaborating several mechanisms. By that way, the trust issues can be solved because the defense diplomacy framework will build confidence building measures among the states.

To solve the problem of terrorism, we should bring all together the alternative strategies into a tight comprehensive counter terrorism regulation that allow all possibilities in bilateral or multilateral stages by still considering the sovereignty as a fundamental principle. In addition, those strategies also should not overlap with the domestic regulations where the state has more authorities more than any other regime or security cooperation mechanism. Moreover, the common problems are there was a difference approach chosen by the state and security cooperation mechanism while tackling the terrorist activities. This has made the effectiveness of counter terrorism decreased. Considering the Southeast Asian environment is also important since Southeast Asia has number of challenges in the region with its natural uniqueness matter. The variety of regulations are needed because there is no standard textbook for fighting terrorism, the responsibility must be shared by not only burden it into a state centric mechanism

35 ASEAN Secretariat, "ASEAN Political Security Community Blueprint", retrieved October 3, 2019, <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/images/archive/5187-18.pdf>

36 Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, "ASEAN Political - Security Society, 7 April 2019, retrieved October 3, 2019, https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/121/halaman_list_lainnya/asean-political-security-society

37 Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, "ASEAN Political - Security Society."

but through the collaborative cooperation among governmental and non-governmental organizations.

The repressive way as the solution when tackling the terrorism also a thing that should be avoided, regarding the terrorist has a complex background and reasons which would trigger other risks and hatred from their side if the handling of terrorist activities were not exact. Tackling the terrorism acts should be in the way of combining several approaches in the pro-active ways, which started by put several offensive steps such as preemption, blocking terrorist financing by cutting off all the funding source flows and logistics for terrorist groups; persuasive steps such as educating people and conducting de-radicalization program; coercive steps such as sharing intelligence information and developing capacity among law enforcement including the financial intelligence unit, disconnection of the flow of terrorist funds is one of the important factors in breaking the chain of international terrorism networks; and defensive steps by strengthening the cooperation among states. In realizing this purpose, recalibration in several existed security cooperations is a must thing to do, because it will facilitate the needs to strengthen the institutional capacity and presence. It will be pursued through streamlining ASEAN and other cooperation or dialogue work processes such as QSD or HLD on the Indo-Pacific Cooperation, increasing effectiveness, efficiency and coordination.

Overall, the Indo-Pacific with the ASEAN as central gravity is making advancement by lesson learned that should be expanded upon, developing a deeper regional collaboration already become the attention of states leaders. The implementation of de-radicalization program to restrict the radical extremist propaganda and ideology also be on the top of concerned regulations in Indo-Pacific. The states among Indo-Pacific region however

should significantly reduce the discourse of Indo-Pacific region-debates for more adaptively evolve in the dynamics of security matters in the region, considering the non-traditional security challenge undertakes regional dynamic such as common goal of cooperation and regional security management, choosing several instruments of diplomacy would become a challenge yet appropriate solutions.

Recently, the defense approach can be the right alternatives that might have helped reducing the underlying causes and operational capacity of the terrorists who use a violent and extreme way while acts. Defense is already known as one of the instruments of diplomacy that would robust a cooperation framework between states. Defense diplomacy can be a kind of diplomacy that require the concern of political, military and non-military functionary. In addition, defense diplomacy that chosen by a state would trigger the confidence building measures and decreases the suspicion between states. By the time, benefits of bilateral security force assistance programs and regional security exercises in counter terrorism effort will intensify the aim of Indo-Pacific cooperation for peace and prosperity in the region.

Conclusion

In fact, until now, the concept of Indo-Pacific is not a rigid regionalism like ASEAN or NATO, but a framework of cooperation between the countries of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Therefore, one of the challenges in the realization of the Indo-Pacific idea is that, there are no similar views from the involved states in seeing the conceptual scope of the Indo-Pacific geographical area. For this study, the researchers take ASEAN's perspective about Indo-Pacific through the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific. Governments, stakeholders, researchers, military and epistemic community or society

in the Indo-Pacific region are facing numbers of challenges in establishing a common front in some areas beside they should have a same perception on mapping the Indo-Pacific area, also they should consider the security issues. One of them is terrorism as non-traditional security threats. Along with the dynamic of strategic environment and the enlargement of security threats particularly terrorism as one of the non-traditional securities, it is necessary for all the actors in the region to recalibrate the existing security cooperation in order to establish more effective and efficient security cooperation mechanism in the future.

Moreover, it is necessary to strengthen and extend the cooperation among states through a new collaborative cooperation in the region or through the HLD initiative and defense diplomacy activities which could come into the table of options as a not-so-alternative ways to reduce the tension of terrorism in the region. By enhancing participation and engagement from defense actor of QSD members and ASEAN member states, defense diplomacy would bring several instruments that can be fit in the complexity of Indo-Pacific region and several existing mechanisms in the counter-terrorism.

REFERENCES

- Acharya, Amitav *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Al-Jazeera. "New Zealand PM: dozens killed in 'terrorist' attack on mosques." Retrieved June 01, 2019. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/03/shooter-situation-zealand-mosque-attack-190315015927391.html>.
- Anthony, M. C. "Non Traditional Security, Regionalism and The State in Southeast Asia". In M. C. Anthony, *An Introduction to Non-Traditional Security Studies: A Transnational Approach*. Singapura: Nanyang Technological University, 2008.
- Ariffin, Eijas. "The Asean Post". Retrieved October 30, 2018. <https://theaseanpost.com/article/indonesian-terrorist-attacks-show-terrorism-still-threat-southeast-asia>
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations, "ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific," Retrieved September 15, 2019. <https://asean.org/asean-outlook-indo-pacific/>
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations, "ASEAN Political – Security Community," Retrieved October 3, 2019. <https://asean.org/asean-political-security-community/>
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations, "ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint," Retrieved October 3, 2019. <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/images/archive/5187-18.pdf>
- Bandoro, Bantarto. *Indonesia dalam Lingkungan Strategis yang Berubah*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu. 2014.
- BBC Indonesia. "Gereja Katolik di Filipina Selatan Dibom, Pelaku Disebut Sebagai Pelaku Tak Bertuhan". Retrieved February 14, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-47018553>

- BBC. "Surabaya attacks: Family of five bomb Indonesia police headquarters". Retrieved October 30, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-44105279>
- Cannon, Brendon. J and Ash Rossiter. The Indo-Pacific regional dynamics in the 21st century's new geopolitical center of gravity. *Rising Powers Quarterly* Volume 3, Issue 2 (2018).
- Channel News Asia. "Motorcycle bomb in Southern Thailand market kills 3, more than 20 wounded". Retrieved October 20, 2018, <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asia/motorcycle-bomb-in-southern-thailand-market-kills-3-more-than-20-9882730>
- Firdaus, Randy Ferdi. "Di Singapura, Menhan Ungkap Cara Tangkal Terorisme di Indo-Pasifik". Retrieved January 15, 2019, <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/di-singapura-menhan-ungkap-cara-tangkal-terorisme-di-indo-pasifik.html>
- Habib, A. Hasnan. *Strategis dan hubungan internasional*. Bandung: Kapita Selekta, 1990.
- Hakim, Syaiful. "ASEAN Adopsi Our Eyes dalam Kontra Terorisme". Retrieved January 12, 2019, <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/760146/asean-adopsi-our-eyes-dalam-kontra-terorisme>
- Holsti, K. J. *Politik Internasional: Kerangka untuk Analisis Jilid II Terjemahan M. Tahrir Azhari*. Jakarta: Erlangga, 1988.
- Institute for Economics and Peace, "Global Terrorism Index Report 2018," retrieved June 01, 2019, visionofhumanity.org
- Jakarta Post. "Two children survive premature bomb explosion in Sidoarjo". Retrieved January 15, 2019. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/05/13/two-children-survive-premature-bomb-explosion-in-sidoarjo.html>
- Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia, "ASEAN-U.S. Dialogue: Indonesia Stressed the Significance of Indo-Pacific Cooperation for Regional Stability and Prosperity". Retrieved February 24, 2019. https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/ex_berita/2992/asean-us-dialogue-indonesia-stressed-the-significance-of-indo-pacific-cooperation-for-regional-stability-and-prosperity
- Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, "ASEAN Political - Security Society, 7 April 2019, retrieved October 3, 2019, https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/121/halaman_list_lainnya/asean-political-security-society
- Kementerian Pertahanan. *Buku Putih Pertahanan Indonesia 2015*. Jakarta: Kementerian Pertahanan Indonesia, 2015.
- Martin, Michael F, Rhoda Margesson, and Bruce Vaughn. "The Rohingya Crises in Bangladesh and Burma." *Congressional Research Service Report* (2017).
- Ministry of External Affairs Government of India. "India-Australia-Japan-U.S Consultations." Retrieved January 22, 2019. <https://www.mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/30593>.
- Narine, Shaun. *ASEAN and the Management of Regional Security*. Retrieved January 15, 2019. <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/ASEAN+and+the+management+of+regional+security.-a021159623>
- Perwita, A.A. Banyu and Yanyan Mochamad Yani. *Pengantar Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 2005.
- Rose, Gregory and Diana Nestorovska. "ASEAN features towards an ASEAN counter terrorism treaty." *Singapore Year Book of International Law and Contributors* (2005).
- Schmid, Alex. "Terrorism - The definitional problem." *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* Volume 36 Issue 2 (2004).

- Sekretariat Nasional ASEAN Indonesia.
“Negara Diluar ASEAN Sepakati Penggunaan
Our Eyes”. Retrieved 28 Februari 2019.
[http://setnas-asean.id/news/read/negara-
di-luar-asean-sepakati-penggunaan-our-
eyes](http://setnas-asean.id/news/read/negara-di-luar-asean-sepakati-penggunaan-our-eyes).
- Simamora, Parulian. *Peluang dan Tantangan
Diplomasi Pertahanan*. Yogyakarta: Graha
Ilmu. 2013.
- Sukma, R. “*ASEAN and Non Traditional
Security*”. (2010), Tokyo: CSIS.
- Supriyatno, Makmur. *Tentang Ilmu Pertahanan*.
Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2014.
- Suryadinata, Leo. “Indonesia and its stance
on the “Indo-Pacific.” *Yusof Ishak Institute
Analyse Current Events Issue No. 66* (2018).
- United Nations Office of Counter Terrorism,
“*UN Global Counter Terrorism Strategy*“,
retrieved October 10, 2019, [https://www.
un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/un-
global-counter-terrorism-strategy](https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/un-global-counter-terrorism-strategy).
- Yanuar, Ikbar. *Metodologi & Teori Hubungan
Internasional*. Bandung: PT Refika
Aditama, 2014.
- Wilson, Jeffrey D. “Investing in the economic
architecture of the Indo-Pacific.” *Indo-
Pacific Series* (2017).