

# Terrorism as a Transnational Crime that Threatens Indonesia

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## Abstract

This paper aims to (1) analyze Indonesia's vulnerability against terrorism; and (2) analyze efforts to counter-terrorism in Indonesia. In compiling this paper, the author collected secondary data in the form of written documentaries, namely mass media articles, journal articles and relevant books. The study results indicate that terrorism is a transnational crime with a major threat to the nation and state. In Indonesia there have been several acts of suicide bombing terrorism in the name of religious teachings. Suicide bomb terrorists consider this to be a sacred duty that is obligatory and of great benefit to their group. Indonesia's vulnerability to terrorism is determined by demographic, geographic, economic and ideological factors. Advances in information and communication technology and the increase in the number of internet users in Indonesia can also provide opportunities for cyberterrorism to occur. In carrying out counter-terrorism, the Indonesian government implements pre-emptive, preventive and repressive efforts. One of the counter-terrorism programs that raises pros and cons in Indonesian society is the involvement of the TNI. According to the author, the TNI should only be involved in counter-terrorism assistance if the National Police and BNPT experience difficulties or obstacles. A military counter-terrorism approach has the potential to violate human rights, especially against parties who are merely suspected of having been exposed to radical ideology.

## 1. Introduction

The era of globalization, with increasingly easy interaction, communication and transportation between countries and the increasing prevalence of free trade, has given rise to various positive and negative impacts on life. As mentioned by Calléja (2021), although conditions of interdependence and interconnection between countries are necessary for modernity and economic growth and development, these conditions also open up new challenges and obstacles for countries, especially regarding threats to international security (p. 2- 3). One of the negative impacts of globalization is the occurrence of transnational crime. According to Siegel (2012), a crime can be categorized as transnational if (1) it is committed in more than one country; (2) carried out in one country, but most of the preparation, planning, direction, or control is carried out in another country; (3) carried out in one country, but involving an organized crime group that carries out criminal activities in more than one country; and (4) carried out in one country, but having a big impact on other countries. Various conveniences of information technology, such as the internet, global communications, fast global transportation systems, universal banking systems, as well as credit cards and global payment systems, facilitate the process of transnational crime (p. 539). According to Zabyelina (2010), transnational crime is divided into four areas, namely:

- (1) Transnational political fraud, such as terrorism, corruption, money laundering, fraud and extortion.
- (2) Transnational theft, such as piracy and counterfeiting.
- (3) Transnational illicit traffic of goods, such as drug trafficking, trafficking in weapons and nuclear materials, as well as transnational environmental crimes such as wildlife smuggling, trafficking in prohibited chemicals and dangerous toxic waste).
- (4) Transnational illicit traffic of services, such as trafficking in humans and human body parts (p. 133).

One form of transnational crime that often attracts the attention of many people is terrorism. Golose (2023) states that terrorism is the systematic use of violence that often crosses national borders to create fear, coerce, or intimidate people in order to achieve political or religious goals (p. 22). Meanwhile, according to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in Waswa (2020), terrorism is the use or threat of unlawful use of force or violence against individuals or property to coerce or intimidate a government or society to achieve political, religious, or ideological milestones (p. 35). According to Cengiz, Karademir, and Cinoglu (2022), terrorists carry out violence to gain attention, recognition, respect, and legitimacy (p. 26). Terrorism is categorized as a transnational crime because terrorists often operate beyond national borders by utilizing advances in communication and transportation technology, especially for recruitment, arms smuggling, spreading ideology, and so on. As mentioned by Bakti (2014), terrorist incidents often show the connection between domestic and foreign groups, for example, the vast waters of Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia and Malaysia, are a gap for the entry of international terrorist networks in the form of arms smuggling and the spread of radical fundamentalist ideology (p. 8).

Terrorism is a threat to the integrity and sustainability of a nation. This is because terrorist actions can cause harm to various dimensions of national and state life. Alade, Mba, Aduku, and Ameh (2021) stated that terrorism can cause direct or indirect destruction. Direct destruction can include (1) destruction of human resources, such as injuries and deaths; and (2) physical destruction, such as destruction of public infrastructure, destruction of goods, and changes to services. Meanwhile, indirect destruction includes the emergence of anxiety and fear, as well as declining mental health, increasing spending on security, increasing unemployment rates, withdrawal of foreign investment, and so on (p. 142-143).

The phenomenon of terrorism can be categorized into four waves. Syahputra and Hamid (2024) explained that the first wave that occurred at the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century was related to nationalist and revolutionary movements. Terrorist groups in this wave fought for independence or political change, for example the IRA (Irish Republican Army) in Ireland. The second wave that emerged in the 1960s to 1980s was related to the anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism movements, an example of which was ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna) in Spain. The third wave that occurred after the Cold War was related to religious ideologies, such as jihadism. Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, which developed at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, are terrorist groups that are at the center of attention in the third wave. The fourth wave which is currently still developing is related to transnational terrorism, online radicalization, and more decentralized terrorist groups. ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), which began to emerge in the mid to late 2010s, is an example of a fourth wave terrorist group. Characteristics of the fourth wave are the use of digital technology and a focus on online propaganda to recruit members. In contrast to the first wave of terrorism which was generally related to national conflicts or certain ideologies, the fourth wave of terrorism tends to be transnational in nature and is not limited by national borders or certain ideologies. The main key driving the fourth wave of terrorism is the development of technology and global connectivity that allows terrorist groups to operate effectively throughout the world and use social media to keep spreading their radical messages (p. 355).

In Indonesia, terrorism is still an issue that needs to be handled seriously. According to Komjen Pol. Mohammed Rycko Amelza Dahniel as Head of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency of the Republic of Indonesia, even though throughout 2023 there will be no violent terror attacks by terrorist networks, all parties still have to be alert to the underground movements of terror network cells that are trying to enter various sectors of life. He stated that the arrest of 148 terrorists by Densus 88 AT Polri assisted by the TNI in 2023 is proof that the global terrorist network is still carrying out acts of terrorism and domestic terrorist networks are also still developing their networks (Setiawan, 2023). The Institute for Economics and Peace's report entitled Global Terrorism Index 2023 (GTI) shows that Indonesia is in third place as the country most affected by terrorism in the Asia Pacific region, with a score of 5,502 points. Meanwhile, globally, Indonesia is ranked 24th. There are four indicators on which the GTI score is based, namely the number of incidents, deaths, injuries and hostages due to terrorist incidents. The GTI scale ranges from 0 to 10. The number 0 indicates no impact from terrorism, while the number 10 indicates the highest impact

of terrorism. GTI conducted an analysis of the impact of terrorism in 163 countries covering 99.7% of the world's population (Annur, 2023).

Considering the importance of the problem of terrorism, in this paper, the author will discuss terrorism as a transnational crime that threatens Indonesia. There are two things that are the aim of this paper, namely (1) analyzing Indonesia's vulnerability to terrorism; and (2) analyze efforts to counter-terrorism in Indonesia. In order to compile this paper, the author collected secondary data in the form of written documentaries, namely relevant mass media articles, journal articles and books.

## 2. Literature Review

## 3. Method

## 4. Result and Discussion

### 4.1. Indonesia's Vulnerability to Terrorism

In Indonesia, terrorism is nothing new. History records that there were a number of bombing incidents in Indonesia by terrorists which shocked the entire Indonesian people, including:

- (1) The Bali bombing in 2002 by the terrorist group *Jemaah Islamiyah* targeted two nightclubs in Bali. The number of victims killed was 200 people and more than 200 others were injured. *Jemaah Islamiyah* is part of Al-Qaeda.
- (2) The JW Marriott and Ritz Carlton hotel bombing in 2009 by the *Jemaah Islamiyah* terrorist group. The number of victims killed was nine people and 53 other people were injured
- (3) Sarinah shopping center bombing in 2016 by terrorists linked to ISIS. The number of fatalities was eight people and 23 other people were injured.
- (4) Bombing of three churches in Surabaya in 2018 by a family linked to ISIS. The death toll was more than 10 people and dozens of others were injured.
- (5) The bombing of the Medan Police Headquarters in 2019 by members of *Jamaad Ansharut Daulah* who were linked to ISIS. As a result of this incident, one perpetrator died and six other people were injured.
- (6) The cathedral bombing in Makassar in 2021 by terrorists linked to the *Jamaad Ansharut Daulah* group. The number of fatalities was two people and 20 people were injured (Wirachmi, 2023).

From several terrorist incidents that have been described previously, it can be seen that Indonesia is vulnerable to becoming a target for terrorist actions. Referring to terrorist incidents that have occurred in Indonesia, terrorists often carry out suicide bombings in carrying out acts of terror in the name of religious teachings. To analyze suicide bombings carried out by terrorists, the author refers to Émile Durkheim's sociological theory of suicide. According to Durkheim, in Franzese (2015), suicide is not caused by insanity or hereditary factors. The occurrence of suicide is strongly influenced by the individual's level of social solidarity and social integration into society. Thus, suicide is a consequence of the level of solidarity (how strongly individuals are embedded in a social group) and the level of integration (how deeply people are connected to a social group) (p. 154). Durkheim, in Hossen (2022), suggests a number of types of suicide as follows:

- (1) Egoistic suicide  
This type of suicide is caused by a weakening of the individual's ties with the wider society which makes individual interests supersede the interests of society.
- (2) Altruistic suicide  
This type of suicide is the opposite of egoistic suicide. People who commit altruistic suicide aim to maintain their dignity and spare their families from humiliation. The cause of this type of suicide is an excessive level of social integration.
- (3) Anomic suicide  
This type of suicide occurs when society is unable to limit the needs and desires of individuals and is unable to set appropriate boundaries. In this situation, social control is very weak or even non-existent.
- (4) Fatalistic suicide  
This type of suicide is caused by excessive regulation so that a person feels like they are living under physical pressure or moral pressure. The level of fatalistic suicide will be proportional to the level of political totalitarianism or excessive regulation in society (p. 131-133).

Based on the four types of suicide above, the author analyzes that suicide bombings carried out by terrorists, especially those in the name of religious teachings, are a form of altruistic suicide. This type of suicide occurs because individuals have too strong a bond with their social group so that they are willing to take their own lives to achieve the ideals or goals of their group. As mentioned by Ferrante (2008), when people commit suicide in altruistic circumstances, they do so in the name of a group they love more than

themselves (p. 15-16). Terrorists who carry out suicide bombings believe that this is an obligatory and sacred duty and has great benefits for their group.

Indonesia's vulnerability to terrorism is determined by a number of factors. One of them is demographic factors. According to Prasetyo (2021), the condition of the Indonesian population, which is largely Muslim and follows various schools of thought, has a pluralistic culture and is multiethnic, has the potential to be exploited and manipulated by radical groups. Although diversity and pluralism can also ward off the influence of monolithic ideological systems, this depends on the capability of the nation and all components of the nation to socialize, educate and actualize national ideology in a consistent, integral and comprehensive manner (p. 81). Referring to this statement, the author analyzes that terrorist groups take advantage of Indonesia's demographic composition to carry out their actions. Terrorist groups in the name of the teachings of the Islamic religion spread their deviant beliefs to many followers of the Islamic religion and cultivate the seeds of hatred towards the diversity of religions and beliefs in Indonesia. According to the author, terrorists who act in the name of Islamic teachings have a very good ability to convince potential followers that their beliefs are in accordance with what is taught by the Koran and hadith. They also developed a series of techniques to justify their actions as a form of religious struggle.

To analyze how terrorists justify their actions, the author refers to the theory of neutralization by Gresham Sykes and David Matza. Sykes and Matza, in Moore and McMullan (2009), put forward five neutralization techniques as follows:

(1) Denial of responsibility

Individuals apply this technique to deny responsibility for the actions they have committed. They believe that there are factors outside their control that cause these actions to be carried out.

(2) Denial of injury

Individuals believe that the actions they take will not cause injury or harm to the people affected.

(3) Denial of victims

Individuals apply techniques to state that someone deserves to be the victim of an action as a form of punishment or retribution.

(4) Condemnation of the condemners

This technique is used by individuals to justify their behavior on the basis that the people who are victims are not victims in the true sense because they are hypocrites, or that the victims would carry out the same behavior if given the opportunity.

(5) Appeal to higher loyalties

Individuals apply techniques to justify their behavior by arguing that their immediate social group requires that behavior (p. 443).

When related to the context of terrorism in the name of religious teachings, the author analyzes that denial of responsibility, denial of victims, condemnation of the condemners, and appeal to higher loyalties are techniques that are often used by terrorists to justify their actions. First, denial of responsibility. According to the author, this technique is used by terrorists to state that the terrorist acts they carry out are religious teachings that must be obeyed so that they are "forced" to do this. Second, denial of victim. According to the author, this technique is used by terrorists to state that the people who are victims of their actions deserve it because they are "enemies of religion" and "sinners" who must be destroyed according to religious teachings. Third, condemnation of the condemners. According to the author, this technique is used by terrorists to state that the people who are victims of their actions are actually evil people who have been "unjust" to their group and have even done things that are more cruel than what the terrorists did. Fourth, appeal to higher loyalties. According to the author, this technique is used by terrorists to justify their actions as necessary for their group in order to "uphold religious teachings."

Another factor that contributes to Indonesia's vulnerability to terrorism is geographic factors. As mentioned by Prasetyo (2021), Indonesia is a country with a very strategic region because it is at the crossroads of two continents, two oceans, and has the busiest Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Route in the world. However, this condition also makes Indonesia vulnerable to the threat of international terrorism and the influx of radicalism. In addition, the outermost island areas and borders with neighboring countries are very vulnerable to being exploited by terrorist groups to recruit, train and secretly smuggle weapons and terrorist personnel into Indonesian territory (p. 81). Indonesia is a very large archipelagic country. Many areas are still filled with wilderness, hills and mountains. This geographical challenge certainly needs to be an important concern, because the beautiful panorama of Indonesia is apparently being misused by terrorist groups to carry out their actions. The author also analyzes that the construction of IKN creates the potential for terrorist attacks against vital objects, considering that the center of Indonesian government will be at IKN. This is because IKN is located close to neighboring countries, so it needs to be aware of the threat of transnational terrorist attacks.

Furthermore, Indonesia's vulnerability to terrorism is also influenced by economic factors. In Indonesia, poverty is a problem that still requires special attention. According to the Central Statistics Agency, the poverty rate has reached 9.36% of Indonesia's population, namely 25.90 million people (Putri, 2023). The condition of poverty in Indonesia is certainly fertile ground for recruiting terrorist members. Nainggolan (2016) explains that people who are uneducated and have poor economic backgrounds, experience poverty, and do not have permanent jobs are very fragile targets and are easily influenced by ISIS, Al-Qaeda, and Jemaah Islamiyah. They were recruited through the distribution of humanitarian aid to meet basic daily living needs, offering free Umrah pilgrimage activities and tours to the surrounding Islamic holy cities through travel agents, as well as persuasion to obtain salaries and other basic needs on a regular basis (p. 153). Mulyadi, in Widiatmaka (2023), explains that economic inequality plays a major role in giving rise to intolerance and terrorism. Brainwashing from terrorists to young people regarding the problems of increasing poverty, difficulty finding work, and increasing unemployment can easily make them follow the figure's directions and ultimately they commit suicide bombings because they are promised to go to heaven (p. 160).

To analyze economic problems that can encourage individuals to engage in terrorism, the author refers to the frustration-aggression hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, hampering a person's efforts to achieve a goal can give rise to aggressive impulses which then motivate behavior to harm people or objects which causes frustration (Susantyo, 2011, p. 192). Referring to the frustration-aggression hypothesis, the author analyzes that people who experience economic problems can easily be provoked or influenced by terrorist groups to be willing to be involved in acts of terror. This is because the economic problems experienced by them make it difficult to meet their basic daily needs or hinder access to education and health facilities, causing frustration. When someone experiences frustration, they will be more susceptible to being influenced by statements that can grow the seeds of hatred within them so that they are willing to join terrorist groups to carry out attacks against parties who are considered to be the source of their frustration, for example the government.

Apart from the demographic, geographic and economic factors mentioned previously, ideological factors also play a role in Indonesia's vulnerability to terrorism. Prasetyo (2021) states that there are a number of things that make it easy for radical ideas to enter society, namely (1) the influence of alternative ideologies in national politics; (2) the Indonesian government's unpreparedness to re-disseminate and educate in a planned and sustainable manner the basic values of Pancasila to all Indonesian society; and (3) the occurrence of political unrest in the political life of the Indonesian nation. According to him, political conditions after the reform era until the election of President Joko Widodo were still not stable and balanced, thus creating an opening for the process of shifting and degrading the understanding of the national ideology Pancasila and its application in social, national and state life (p. 82). Aritonang, in Rahardanto (2012), highlights the disappointment of a number of fundamentalist groups who reject or disagree with the practice of the democratic system in Indonesia. Therefore, this group offers a radically specific religious-based government system. For a number of people who adhere to fundamentalist ideology, the government system that applies in Indonesia is considered an "evil," "toghut," or "satanic" system (p. 75).

Related to what has been mentioned above, the author analyzes that the rise in cases of corruption as well as acts of arbitrariness and injustice committed by government officials have caused many people to feel disappointed with the current government system. This can be exploited by terrorist groups to offer an alternative ideology that is considered better than the ideology of the Indonesian state. Therefore, apart from the need to intensify education on the basic values of Pancasila at various levels of education, the government also needs to improve the current system a lot. Of course this is a very big challenge and not easy to do.

Advances in information and communication technology and the increase in the number of internet users in Indonesia also have the potential to be exploited by terrorist groups to carry out their actions. As mentioned by Adigwe, Mayeke, Olabanji, Okunleye, Joeaneke, and Olaniyi (2024), advances in cyber technology have caused terrorist groups to adapt and evolve so that they utilize the capabilities of the online world to increase their reach, influence and operational capabilities (p. 290). In 2024, internet users in Indonesia will reach 79.5%. This shows an increase of 1.31% compared to 2023 (Wijaya, 2024). The large number of Indonesian people who access the internet can certainly provide an opening for cyberterrorism to occur. Chawla (2023) suggests that cyberterrorism can be defined as the use of the internet and other forms of technology to disrupt, destroy, or threaten critical infrastructure and/or spread fear and panic in order to cause physical or economic harm to a society. Cyberterrorism is also often defined as an attack that is carried out with advance planning and is politically motivated against information systems, programs and data, resulting in threats of violence or acts of violence (p. 2).

Golose (2022) states that cyberterrorism in Indonesia not only shows a change from conventional terrorism to terrorism with sophisticated and modern technology, but also the use of sophisticated technological devices by people with dangerous intentions. Advanced technological devices tend to be more accurate, fast, connected, and agile, so they can be utilized by terrorist groups to carry out brainwashing and recruitment through online platforms (p. 153). The following are a number of examples of cyberterrorism cases in Indonesia according to Golose (2022):

- (1) Planning the attack on the embassy by Seva Rianohad and Sigit Indrajit using Facebook.
- (2) The book bomb attack in 2011 where the main perpetrator, Pepi Fernando, used the internet to learn how to make pipe bombs.
- (3) Credit card hacking and fraud by Riski Gunawan and Mawan Kurnajawan which resulted in more than 625 United States dollars for funding terrorist activities in Poso, Central Sulawesi (p. 153-154).

According to Sangat, in Tulga (2020), social media such as YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter play a very important role for terrorist organizations to spread propaganda, training, recruitment, mobilization, coordination, and communication (p. 51). Awoviebe, Gbigbidje, and Temisere (2019) stated that the use of media by terrorists has the following four objectives:

- (1) Spreading propaganda and instilling fear in their target groups.
- (2) Obtain more support from the national and international community.
- (3) Declares that the anti-terrorist efforts carried out by the government are authoritarian and counterproductive.
- (4) Provoke and rally potential supporters while increasing recruitment numbers, raising funds, and inspiring future attacks (p. 6).

Based on the explanation of cyberterrorism, it can be understood that terrorist groups are now taking advantage of technological advances, especially the internet, to coordinate with each other, learn to make bombs, hack for funding, and spread their ideology to find new members. Nowadays, the internet has become a very vital part of human life. In everyday life, many Indonesian people need the internet to communicate, do work, study, seek entertainment, and so on. Therefore, we need to be alert and wise in surfing the internet and communicating with strangers on social media so as not to be influenced by ideas or invitations that could lead to terrorist activities.

To analyze how content spread in cyberspace and communication on social media can influence individuals to become involved in terrorism, the author uses the differential association theory proposed by Edwin H. Sutherland. This theory states that criminal behavior patterns are acquired through a process of interaction and communication, like other behavioral patterns. Individuals acquire criminal behavior patterns because they are exposed to situations in which learning about crime exceeds learning about alternative, non-criminal behavior. Crime is one of the outcomes that can occur from normal interactive processes. When a person is more involved with criminal groups, he is more likely to become a criminal (Barlow & Kauzlarich, 2010, p. 75). Referring to the differential association theory, the author analyzes that someone who accesses content spread by terrorist groups in cyberspace and communicates intensely with members of terrorist groups has the potential to be recruited. This is because someone can become involved in criminal acts, especially terrorism, through the process of interaction and communication with terrorist behavior patterns. As stated by this theory, if someone is heavily involved with terrorist groups, it is more likely that they will also become a terrorist.

## **4.2. Efforts to Counter Terrorism in Indonesia**

Considering that terrorism is a transnational crime that can threaten various spheres of life, it is necessary to make efforts to overcome terrorism or what is usually called counter-terrorism. As a form of seriousness in tackling terrorism, the Indonesian government established the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT). BNPT has the authority to formulate policies, strategies, and act as coordinator and leading sector in counter-terrorism. Through BNPT, the government formulated two strategic approaches to tackle terrorism, namely a hard approach and a soft approach (Lesmana, Sudirman, Akim, & Djuyandi, 2022, p. 82). In a hard approach, terrorism is seen as a criminal activity that is very detrimental and dangerous to the life and peace of the nation. Meanwhile, in the soft approach, terrorism is an activity with a political background and objectives and is sponsored by political interests that make it necessary to uncover the root of the problem (Lesmana, Sudirman, Akim, & Djuyandi, 2022, p. 84).

In carrying out counter-terrorism, the Indonesian government implements pre-emptive, preventive and repressive efforts. Pre-emptive efforts are carried out by involving community leaders and religious leaders to convey enlightenment to the public, conformity to laws and regulations, as well as anti-radicalism and terrorism outreach. This effort is also carried out by accommodating the aspirations of radical and anti-government groups, holding dialogue and negotiations, and providing solutions to social

and economic problems. Preventive efforts are carried out by improving social conditions that can prevent acts of terrorism. Prevention of terrorism is carried out by increasing (1) national preparedness, through community empowerment, increasing apparatus capabilities, protecting and improving infrastructure, developing terrorism studies, and mapping areas prone to radical terrorism; (2) counter radicalization, through counter narrative, counter propaganda, or counter ideology; and (3) deradicalization, which is carried out on terrorism suspects, defendants, convicts and convicts through the stages of identification and assessment, rehabilitation, re-education and social reintegration. Former terrorism convicts and people who have been exposed to radical terrorism are also involved in deradicalization programs through national, religious and/or entrepreneurial development. Repressive efforts are carried out through a criminal justice model with the use of criminal law and sanctions in the form of punishment (Lesmana, Sudirman, Akim, & Djuyandi, 2022, p. 84-85).

According to the author, pre-emptive and preventive efforts are a very important and most decisive stage in counter-terrorism activities. To analyze this, the author refers to Trevor Hirschi's social control theory. This theory states that people who break the law do not have close attachments to other people or do not have goals, aspirations, and beliefs that bind them to obey the law (Marsh, Melville, Morgan, Norris, & Walkington, 2006, p. 108). In social control theory, there are four elements that act as social ties that can cause someone to obey the law, namely:

(1) Attachments

Individuals with strong social and psychological attachments are less likely to engage in criminal behavior because this makes them more aware and sensitive to other people's opinions.

(2) Commitment

Individuals tend to commit crimes if they have little commitment or consider unimportant commitments to family, work, education, property ownership, etc.

(3) Involvement

Individuals who engage in lifestyles or activities that do not violate the law (conventional activities) tend to be reluctant to commit crimes.

(4) Beliefs

Elements of belief refer to things that individuals agree on, including the law. This element requires continuous social reinforcement because beliefs can change (Marsh, Melville, Morgan, Norris, & Walkington, 2006, p. 108-109).

Social control theory explains that someone commits crime because of weak social ties. Therefore, to prevent crime, including terrorism, programs are needed that can strengthen individual social ties. The author analyzes that the pre-emptive and preventive efforts carried out by the Indonesian government have touched on the elements put forward in social control theory. For example, pre-emptive efforts involving community leaders and religious leaders to convey enlightenment to the community, conformity to laws and regulations, as well as anti-radicalism and terrorism outreach are forms of strengthening the elements of "attachments" and "beliefs" which aim to ensure that individuals have an attachment. social and psychological strength towards other people with diverse backgrounds and so that they have the belief that the ideology spread by terrorist groups is an ideology that deviates from religious teachings and compliance with the law is very important. Then, preventive efforts through deradicalization programs that involve individuals in entrepreneurial activities are a form of strengthening the elements of "involvement" and "commitment" which aim to make individuals more involved in conventional activities such as entrepreneurship and so that they have a great commitment to these activities as entrepreneurs.

One of the counter-terrorism programs that raises pros and cons among Indonesian society is the involvement of the Indonesian National Army (TNI). Triskaputri (2019) stated that in early 2016, the TNI was involved in capturing the Santoso terrorist who was hiding in the forest and mountain areas of Poso. For the government, the TNI's capabilities in forest and mountain areas will provide effectiveness in these operations. The success of this operation ultimately gave rise to discourse to permanently involve the TNI in counter-terrorism activities in Indonesia (p. 66). Countering terrorism by the TNI is a form of military operation other than war. Lesmana, Sudirman, Akim, and Djuyandi (2022) stated that in carrying out military operations for war and military operations other than war, the TNI needs political policies and decisions (p. 81). According to Lesmana, Sudirman, Akim, and Djuyandi (2022), handling terrorism can involve the military if the country's sovereignty is threatened by a terrorist attack, such as an attack on a vital object or separatism. However, handling terrorism on a Low Intensity Conflict scale also allows military involvement in terms of assistance and strengthening the role and function of early detection and prevention of efforts to develop terrorist networks and movements that are very secretive and difficult to detect (p. 83).

The discourse on involving the TNI in counter-terrorism activities has drawn criticism from various parties. Gufron Mabruuri, as Director of Imparsial, stated that the ratification of the Presidential Decree regarding the involvement of the TNI in countering terrorism could endanger democracy, human rights and the law enforcement system. Gufron highlighted a number of problems related to the Presidential Decree. First, the deployment of the TNI is only based on presidential orders. According to him, this is contrary to Article 7 Paragraphs (2) and (3) of the TNI Law which states that the deployment of the TNI must be based on state political decisions. Second, the budget for handling terrorism can come from the APBD and other sources. According to Gufron, this is contrary to Article 66 of the TNI Law which stipulates that the military budget must be centralized and sourced from the APBN. Third, there is very broad and excessive authority for the TNI for deterrence, prosecution and recovery functions. Gufron believes that this has the potential to violate human rights and raise problems of TNI impunity and accountability. Moreover, according to him, the TNI has its own judiciary and is not subject to general justice. The deterrence function in the Presidential Decree also has the potential to become a rubber article and has multiple interpretations, especially with regard to "other operations" apart from intelligence, territorial and information operations, so that it can be diverted and misused to carry out operations that violate human rights (Natalia, 2021).

Khairul Fahmi, a military observer from the Institute for Security and Strategic Studies, believes that the Presidential Decree regarding the involvement of the TNI in countering terrorism has more negative sides than positive ones. According to him, there are no clear rules regarding whether operations in the deterrence function carried out by the TNI Special Operations Command will coordinate with BNPT, the Indonesian National Police (Polri), and other institutions or will be subordinated. If it is not regulated, it can run itself and has the potential to violate civil rights. Fahmi also mentioned that the involvement of the TNI could give rise to sectoral conflicts with the Police and further obscure the role and function of BNPT as the leading sector for countering terrorism. According to Fahmi, there needs to be regulations regarding how coordination, mobilization, control and supervision are carried out regarding the involvement of the TNI in countering terrorism (Astungkoro & Puspita, 2020). Referring to the two opinions outlined previously, the author analyzes that it is feared that the involvement of the TNI in counter-terrorism activities could disrupt democracy, human rights and the law enforcement system. The involvement of the TNI is considered to have violated a number of articles in the TNI Law and has the potential of having too great of authority and prone to be misused. The involvement of the TNI in counter-terrorism activities is also seen as causing sectoral conflict between the National Police and BNPT. The author himself does not agree with the permanent involvement of the TNI in countering terrorism. According to the author, the TNI should be involved in counter-terrorism activities only in the form of assistance if the National Police and BNPT experience difficulties or obstacles. Terrorism is a very complex phenomenon and requires an understanding of its root causes. Therefore, efforts to overcome it also need to be carried out within a psychological, sociological, criminological, economic and legal framework. According to the author, a military approach in counter-terrorism has the potential to violate human rights, especially against parties who are merely suspected of having been exposed to radical ideology.

## **5. Conclusion**

Terrorism is a transnational crime that poses a major threat to the life of the nation and state. In Indonesia itself, there have been a number of terrorist incidents involving suicide bombings in the name of religious teachings. Terrorists who carry out suicide bombings consider that this is a noble task that must be carried out and has great benefits for their group. Indonesia's vulnerability to terrorism is determined by a number of factors. First, demographic factors. Terrorist groups take advantage of Indonesia's demographic composition to carry out their actions. They spread their deviant beliefs to many followers of the Islamic religion and cultivate the seeds of hatred towards the diversity of religions and beliefs in Indonesia. Terrorist groups develop a series of techniques to justify their actions as a form of religious struggle. Second, geographical factors. The strategic condition of Indonesia's territory and borders with neighboring countries can be exploited by terrorist groups to spread radicalism, smuggle weapons, recruit, train, and so on. Third, economic factors. Indonesian residents who experience economic problems can easily be provoked or influenced by terrorist groups to be willing to be involved in acts of terror. Fourth, the ideological factor. The rise in cases of corruption as well as acts of arbitrariness and injustice committed by government officials have caused many people to feel disappointed with the current government system. This can be exploited by terrorist groups to offer an alternative ideology that is considered better than the ideology of the Indonesian state. Advances in information and communication technology and the increase in the number of internet users in Indonesia can also provide opportunities for cyberterrorism to occur. Terrorist groups are now taking advantage of technological advances, especially the internet, to coordinate

with each other, learn to make bombs, carry out hacks for funding, and spread their ideology to find new members. Someone who accesses content spread by terrorist groups in cyberspace and communicates intensely with members of terrorist groups has the potential to be recruited. This is because someone can become involved in criminal acts, especially terrorism, through the process of interaction and communication with terrorist behavior patterns. In carrying out counter-terrorism, the Indonesian government implements pre-emptive, preventive and repressive efforts. In order to prevent crime, including terrorism, it is necessary to implement programs that enhance individual social ties. The pre-emptive and preventive efforts carried out by the Indonesian government are a very crucial and most decisive stage in counter-terrorism activities because they strengthen social ties. One of the counter-terrorism programs that raises controversy among Indonesians is the involvement of the TNI. According to the author, the TNI should only be involved in counter-terrorism activities in the form of assistance if the National Police and BNPT experience difficulties or obstacles. A military approach to counter-terrorism is prone to violate human rights.

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