

KONTRA NARASI NEGARA TERHADAP KAMPANYE TERORISME SEBAGAI STRATEGI KONTRA-TERORISME: PERSPEKTIF INDONESIA

STATE'S COUNTER-NARRATIVES ON TERRORISM CAMPAIGN AS COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGY: INDONESIA'S PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Terrorism has become a grave threat to countries around the world. Claims that the action is a movement in the name of religion are part of a campaign carried out by terrorists. This terrorism campaign aims to create a support base from the religious community. The purpose of this study is to examine the Government's efforts to respond to acts of terrorism, to find out the speed at which terrorists carry out campaigns, and how the Government indirectly plays an essential role in the process of campaigning for terrorism through statements issued in response to various acts of terror that have occurred in Indonesia. This research method uses a qualitative approach with data collection techniques through library research—data analysis using content analysis. The results of the study show that acts of terrorism are radical religious acts, tend to make terrorist campaigns spread faster, and are more effective in creating a base of support. It proves that the choice of government policy in Counter-narratives on Terrorism can determine whether the terrorist campaign is stopped or even more deployed. The research results recommend a more practical concept proposal for the Indonesian Government's Counter-Terrorism Narrative policy in dealing with terrorism campaigns as part of Indonesia's Counter-Terrorism strategy.

Keywords: Terrorism, Counter Strategy, Religious Community, Government's Efforts, Counter-Narratives.

ABSTRAK

Terorisme telah menjadi ancaman yang sangat serius bagi negara-negara di seluruh dunia. Klaim bahwa aksi tersebut merupakan gerakan atas nama agama menjadi bagian dari kampanye yang dilakukan oleh teroris. Kampanye terorisme ini bertujuan untuk menciptakan basis dukungan dari komunitas agama. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengkaji upaya Pemerintah dalam merespon aksi terorisme, untuk mengetahui kecepatan penyebaran kampanye yang dilakukan oleh teroris, dan bagaimana Pemerintah secara tidak langsung berperan penting dalam proses kampanye terorisme melalui pernyataan yang dikeluarkan untuk merespon berbagai aksi teror yang terjadi di Indonesia. Metode penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui studi kepustakaan. Analisa data menggunakan konten analisis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa aksi terorisme adalah aksi keagamaan yang radikal, cenderung membuat kampanye terorisme menyebar dengan cepat dan lebih efektif dalam menciptakan basis dukungan. Hal ini membuktikan bahwa pilihan kebijakan pemerintah dalam Counter-narratives on Terrorism dapat menentukan apakah kampanye teroris dihentikan atau bahkan lebih dikerahkan. Rekomendasi hasil penelitian adalah usulan konsep yang lebih efektif untuk kebijakan Kontra-narasi Terorisme Pemerintah Indonesia dalam menangani kampanye terorisme sebagai bagian dari strategi Kontra-terorisme Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Terorisme, Strategi Penanggulangan, Umat Beragama, Upaya Pemerintah, Kontra Narasi

INTRODUCTION

The threat of terrorism that occurs these days need to be taken seriously by all parties in the effort of overcoming it. In countering terrorism, not only the acts of terror needed the attention but also the campaign conducted by the perpetrators of the act of terror itself. The terrorism campaign considered three actors who are part of the campaign, namely the perpetrators of acts of terrorism, society, and the Government. There are two ways used by terrorists to engage in terrorism campaigns. First, the perpetrators of terror directly spreading claims about the ideas behind the terror act that is committed. And the second is indirectly through the execution of the act of terror itself. Basically, acts of terror provide two direct effects from the terrorist campaign that are the spread of fear due to violence and also affects people to be motivated and feels sympathy, even join the movement.

The terror acts that give an impact in the form of fear but also inspiration to others can be compared with the movement that ever happened in the era of 1900's. In that era, there is known a concept called the "Propaganda by the Deed". This concept is a political action aimed at providing an example for society and acting as a catalyst for change. This concept can also be interpreted as a form of "libertarian social" that will inspire people and change social conditions in the community. One of the figures that support this concept, Luigi Galleani, believes that the use of physical violence and acts of terror in the form of killings and bombings are made not only for the symbols of government alone. This movement can also be done to those who are considered as an enemy of society, such as the capitalists, the industrialists, politicians, judges, and the police.

The second actor whom indirectly involved in the terrorism campaign is the Government. As a party who has a duty in creating security, must be able to respond

appropriately every terrorism campaign that occurred. One of the efforts that can be done by the Government in dealing with terrorism campaign is by doing Counter-narratives on Terrorism. Counter-narratives on Terrorism is an interactive process that involves transmitting information that occurs between politicians, the mass media, and the society. This process can be occurred from the Government to the public, from public opinion to the Government, or among the politicians themselves. The interaction is the transmission of information which then creates an opinion or perspective on a problem.

The terrorists claim that the action they undertake is based on religion or efforts to fight for justice are the way the terrorists to justify the violence they committed. Therefore, when the Government acknowledges that claims, they indirectly participated in the terrorism campaign itself. In this case, the community as one of the actors who become part of the terrorism campaign will be confused with the debate between the Government and the terrorists on the basis of such acts of terror.

This research will explain how terrorism campaigns conducted by terrorists, especially through the acts of terror they committed. Then, will also explain how the Government's response in dealing with acts of terror through Counter-narratives on Terrorism that has been done. At the end of the research, author will try to offer a concept that can be applied in Counter-narratives on Terrorism by Indonesian Government so that the terrorism campaign through this act of terror does not cause an impact that would encourage people to sympathize and participate in the act of terror itself.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research method uses a qualitative approach with descriptive research methods. Data collection

techniques use literature studies sourced from the mass media, as well as other documents obtained from reliable sources. Data analysis techniques use content analysis..

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Government's Counter-narratives on Terrorism Policy Options in Addressing Terrorism Campaign Based on Religion

Acts of terrorism can be carried out based on a logic of action or a method of action. The clandestine operation was a secret movement that created ideological divisions and dissatisfaction in society aimed at overthrowing the government in power. Logic of action refers to the use of a radical mindset and it is still negotiable because it has no purpose because it understands the difficulty of achieving its political goals and the movement is generally clandestine or closed approach. While the method of action refers to insurgents who carry out political campaigns to form public opinion, encourage support from the population and are non-clandestine or using open approach.

The ISIL network uses technology to spread its ideology which is very much at odds with the West. Clara Pellerin stated that ISIL combines a political narrative which showed image of a new and just state, and a caliphate and a moral narrative which showed Western hypocrisy. Besides using religious narratives and spreading sociopsychological strategies. In addition, fake news is prone to brainwashing the public. War against extremist groups will not succeed by only using military resistance. Former US President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt said, "that our only real enemy is hate and our best weapon is solidarity". Therefore, it is important for policymakers to counter the problem of fake news, a more sophisticated counter-narrative approach than terrorists, and the

existence of solidarity or cooperation to fight terrorists.

Ramlan Surbakti argues that Counter-narratives on Terrorism is the process of delivering information about politics from the Government to the community and from the public to the Government. It means that Counter-narratives on Terrorism is the process whereby the relevant political information passed from one part of the political system to the other parts, and between social systems and political systems. These incidents are process of mutual sustainability and involve the exchange of information between the parties. Counter-narratives on Terrorism therefore plays a very important role in the political system. According to Ardial, Counter-narratives on Terrorism aims to convey political information, the formation of political images, the formation of public opinion, and also to counter opinion or allegations of political opponents.

One example of Counter-narratives on Terrorism conducted by the government of Republic of Indonesia in response to terrorist acts, demonstrated on post-terror bombing in Kampung Melayu, Jakarta, Indonesia. In his Counter-narratives on Terrorism, Joko Widodo as the head of Indonesian government, acts as one of the political communicators in conveying information about the government's political views on terrorist acts that occurred in Kampung Melayu. The target audience of Counter-narratives on Terrorism delivered by Joko Widodo is the apparatus of the government of Indonesia as part of the information transmission. That is carried out "up to the bottom" which will be forwarded to the public, to the media as the Government partners which are part of the Counter-narratives on Terrorism media in conveying information to the community about the government's political views on the acts, and to the community itself as the subject of the government's main goal in conveying their Counter-narratives on Terrorism.

There are at least three major points that considered as Counter-narratives on Terrorism delivered by Joko Widodo as President:

1. Joko Widodo asked the government and People's Representative Council to resolve the revised version of anti-terrorism bill immediately.
2. Joko Widodo ordered National Police Chief, to complete the eradication of terrorist networks.
3. Joko Widodo called on all parties to unite for countering terrorism.

The three major points as the content of the Counter-narratives on Terrorisms submitted by Joko Widodo are then translated by its subordinates, such as the National Police of Indonesia by acting against the actors and the acts of terror as instructed by the President, a resource and main communicator in Indonesian government's Counter-narratives on Terrorism. The purpose of Counter-narratives on Terrorism conducted by the President is largely as a counter effort by the Government in response to the terrorism campaign that had just occurred.

The background for the participation of Indonesian citizens in terrorism organizations is driven by internal and external aspects. The nature and activities of terror groups are divided into at least three aspects, namely: i) resistance activities, namely spontaneous community participation due to dissatisfaction with the government, ii) subversive activities, namely communities driven by other state actors who have ideologies and aim to attack the government, and iii) complicated, namely societies that dissatisfied with the government and also used by foreign actors to attack the government. Indonesian citizens who are involved as Foreign Terrorist Fighter (FTF) in Syria and Iraq consist of 867 men and 370 women while the FTF in the Philippines consists of 37 men and 1 woman.

Responding to the FTF issue, Indonesia became a co-sponsor of the UN Security Council Resolution 2178/2014 which asked countries to make efforts to prevent recruitment and facilitate the scarcity of FTFs, border surveillance, exchange information, as well as rehabilitation and reintegration programs.

Terrorism organizations in Indonesia are generally affiliated with Abubakar Baasyir, namely JAT, MMI, and Jl. In addition, Abu Bakar Baasyir also declared an oath of allegiance to ISIS Abu Bakr Al-Bhagdadi on July 2, 2014, although JAT finally broke up on July 17, 2014. ISIS used technology to capture women and children, including propaganda videos of beheading actions, suicide bombings, and detonation of Shi'ah worship facilities by Sunni militias, the use of websites including [www al-mutaqbal.net](http://www.al-mutaqbal.net), [media arramah.com](http://media.aramah.com), [www. Ashabulkahfi.com](http://www.Ashabulkahfi.com). Actions of terrorism also involve women, including participating in military training, supporting husbands and children to become foreign fighters, preparing bomb assembly equipment, hiding terrorists and weapons, and recruiting personnel through social media.

In pursuit of that, the National Police Chief back then, General Tito Karnavian in his Counter-narratives on Terrorisms said that the Bomb occurred in Kampung Melayu, Central Jakarta, was part of a global phenomenon conducted by the Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) Group which affiliated to ISIS. The Great Commissioner Martinus Sitompul, Head of Public Information of Police Public Relations Division in a separate press conference at the National Police Headquarters of Public Relations in South Jakarta also added that JAD has been disturbing the public. According to him, the police have been doing a lot of efforts, including investigate this JAD group. He also said that JAD has many networks scattered in Indonesia, ranging from Java, Sumatra, to Sulawesi. Therefore, the

police make efforts to prevent and to counter the future suicide bombs conducted by the JAD group. Then, the head of the National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT) Suhardi Alius, added that the two suspected terrorists who committed suicide bombings in Kampung Melayu were quite organized and part of the JAD cell, which is one of the ISIS support groups.

Counter-narratives on Terrorism by Indonesia's government against the incident shows firmness in the eradication effort followed by the repression of the recent acts of terror. The political message is that the Indonesian government able to provide the security and the law enforcement for the society, so that the public does not carry over into the scenario being built in the terrorist campaign. However, there are some things which according to the author, make Counter-narratives on Terrorism by some parties as part of the Government causes the terrorism campaign to become quite effective. These include statements that indirectly justify the claims of terrorists as a movement based on religion with the use of symbols or terms issued by the terrorists. In addition, statements about the extent of networks of terror groups that are spread across various regions in Indonesia creates fear in the community and indirectly inspired some parties to join the movement of the group.

The Impact of Counter-narratives on Terrorist's Act to State's Strategy

The prevention and countermeasures of terrorism must be done multinational and global. M.E. Bowman stated that "it's nakedly clear that no single country will be able to fight international terrorism on its own". In the era of the Industrial Revolution 4.0, the European Union and its traditional partners who have military, political and economic advantages are still vulnerable or weak in facing the crime of terrorism.

Therefore, the UN resolution states global cooperation to fight terrorism. The resolution of the terrorist threat can only be done on a global scale by closing gaps, catching terrorist perpetrators wherever they are hiding and bringing them to court to account for their actions.

The government views information strategically. Information plays a central role in inviting, informing, educating, and influencing the perceptions and behavior of certain targets to change their overall behavior. Dan Kuehl and Bob Nielson said that information and technology content instruments were used to shape political, economic, military and cultural forces over a long period of time and had an impact on changing the overall behavior of governments, supra-governmental organizations, and communities to support national security. In addition, the information obtained will support the national security strategy in identifying and responding to threats. Therefore, the Department of Defense states that the main capability of information operations in supporting strategic communication is psychological operations. However, current control and verification tends to be more difficult because the majority of individuals are connected to the internet and make it their daily routine even though the information obtained tends to be read casually (cursory).

Strategic communication is in line with strategy theory. Strategy is how a leader will use his abilities (means) available to achieve objective goals (ends), namely changing perceptions, attitudes, and behavior as a whole to support military objectives. In line with that, strategic communication is a way (ways) to obtain the impact of information on the cognitive dimensions of the information environment (ends) by using a variety of resources (means) are limited as a requirement to give information effect on certain targets. Messages conveyed verbally and visually, and actions even senior officials stated 80% of

actions and 20% of words especially the implementation and support of military operations affect the information environment, especially perceptions and attitudes.

Statements made by the Government as mentioned before may indirectly spread fear in the community and inspire others to join the terror movement. When the Government indirectly justifies the claims of terrorists or does not deny that their actions are based on religion in Counter-narratives on Terrorism will indirectly create a negative image of the religion. Furthermore, when the Government declares that this terror group is spread widely in various regions it will lead to the spread of fear in the community. This fear then, can create friction between people who have a negative view of an ideology due to the claims of terrorists who are also recognized by the Government. Then, the feared impact will occur. The parties who are considered negative due to have the same religion in accordance with the claims of terrorists can be ostracized and get intimidation in public life. Thus, did not rule out the individual will be motivated to conduct resistance with inspiration from acts of terror that made him then joined the terror movement itself.

Indonesia has a strategic position in dealing with terrorism. Indonesia acts as Chair of the Security Council Resolution Committee 1540 regarding the prevention of the spread of weapons of mass destruction by non-state actors, Chair of the 1988 DK Resolution Sanctions Committee regarding the Taliban and Deputy Chair of the Security Council Sanctions Committee on South Sudan and the Security Council Sanctions Committee on Iraq. The Permanent Representative of the Republic of Indonesia at the United Nations in New York, Ambassador Dian Triansyah Djani stated that terrorism is a common enemy so it is necessary to strengthen collaboration and directed

efforts to increase cooperation between countries between various regional organizations and UN agencies. Indonesia's success in strategic communication related to terrorism is the consistency of its attitude and position in rejecting the linking of acts of terrorism with certain religions, ethnicities and / or nations such as terrorist attacks in Afghanistan, Iran, the Philippines, New Zealand, and Sri Lanka. In addition, Indonesia's role as a facilitator of dialogue and consultation to address the various interests of the 15 UN Security Councils.

CONCLUSION

Based on previous discussion, it can be concluded that the claims of the perpetrators of terror that their action is a movement based on religion is an attempt to justify them in conducting acts of terror and as a part of terrorism campaign. These claims resulted in the scattered fear within the community against the ideological background of the terrorists. As a result, there is a negative stigma in society against those whose characteristics represent the religion of the perpetrators of terror. This is then triggered friction between people and feared to make the party who is considered negative to feel sympathy and motivated to participate in the terror movement itself.

Therefore, author concluded that the Government as a responsible party for creating security in society should be able to minimize the increased support of terrorists by not trapped in the claims of terrorists as a movement based on religion. In regards of that, in each of its statements, the Government must not use terms that would link the terrorists with a religion.

One form of Counter-narratives on Terrorism that can be done by the Government, especially in every political message to address the case of terrorism is by not declaring the religious identity of the perpetrators of terror. In its choice of

Counter-narratives on Terrorism policy, the Government can declare that the perpetrators of terror are organized criminal groups and their actions are criminal acts against humanity without being connected to any religion. It is through this concept of Counter-narratives on Terrorism that the Government's efforts to counter terrorism campaigns can be more effective because the government has acted as the main party to stop the terrorism campaign since the terrorist act took place. In addition, it is hoped that there will be no debate about the negative stigma in society against religion claimed by terrorists. Ultimately the concept is expected to minimize the occurrence of friction in society and the increase of popular support for terrorists who can encourage someone to build the next network of terrorist cells.

RECOMMENDATION

Based on the conclusions drawn from the preceding discussions, it is evident that the claims made by terrorists, associating their actions with religious motives, are essentially attempts to legitimize their acts of terror and align themselves with a terrorist agenda. Such claims instigate widespread fear within communities, generating apprehension and distrust towards the ideological underpinnings of these terrorists. Consequently, there arises a negative perception in society towards individuals whose characteristics are associated with the religion of these terror perpetrators. This, in turn, leads to tensions among people, potentially pushing those who are negatively labeled to sympathize with and even become involved in the terrorist movement.

In light of these findings, it is imperative for the Government, as the entity responsible for ensuring societal security, to strategically counteract the escalating support for terrorists. One effective approach involves not

succumbing to the terrorists' narrative of their actions being rooted in religious beliefs. Consequently, it is recommended that the Government refrains from employing language that inadvertently associates terrorists with any particular religion in its official statements.

A noteworthy Counter-narratives on Terrorism strategy that the Government can adopt, especially when addressing terrorism-related incidents, is to refrain from disclosing the religious affiliations of the terror perpetrators. In implementing this approach, the Government can assert that these terrorists are organized criminal groups perpetrating acts against humanity, devoid of any religious connotations. By adhering to this Counter-narratives on Terrorism approach, the Government can bolster its counter-terrorism efforts substantially, effectively positioning itself as the primary force curbing the spread of terrorist campaigns from the onset of their activities. Moreover, by adopting this approach, it is anticipated that debates surrounding the negative societal stigmatization associated with religion, as propagated by terrorists, can be minimized. Ultimately, the goal is to mitigate societal tensions, reduce popular support for terrorists, and discourage the potential formation of subsequent terrorist networks.

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