

THE COUNTERMEASURES OF THE PROLIFERATION OF RADICALISM IN INDONESIA IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Internet is a product of globalization that brings Western cultural transplants into Indonesia. These cultural transplants slowly lead people to drift away in a virtual world and slowly abandon the soul of their nation. These conditions are used by radical activists to spread radicalism through internet content such as images, videos, messages, and articles with Indonesia's young generation as its main target. The proliferation of radicalism then poses a real threat to the human security of every citizen.

The proliferation of radicalism can be overcome by carrying out three countermeasures which include repressive, pre-emptive and preventive efforts. Repressive efforts are used to crack down on the crime of proliferation of radicalism based on the prevailing laws and regulations. Pre-emptive efforts are used to internalize Pancasila values and norms in every individual of the Indonesian people to prevent the influence of radicalism. While preventive efforts are used to prevent the proliferation of radicalism by examining the factors that cause radicalism which are usually focused on the issue of social conditions that can directly lead to radicalism. Efforts are made to overcome the threat of proliferation of radicalism towards human security and national security.

Keywords: Internet, proliferation of radicalism, human security, national security, globalization

INTRODUCTION

Globalization is a social process that eliminates geographical physical boundaries and gives effects to the social and cultural conditions, which significantly transformed into the person's consciousness.⁴ Globalization brings a very real impact of changes in building modern civilization with one of its products that is the advances in the information and communication technology. The advancement of technology brought by globalization has a strong role to erode someone's nationalism so that they forget the national identity, the history of the nation, to the customs that have long been built because they prefer to follow the flow of modernity. This phenomenon then becomes a way of entering radicalism in the development of the use of information and communication technology, especially through the Internet.

The proliferation of radicalism through the Internet can easily be done considering that the Internet provides free space and access. That is because the Internet led to hypermedia environment that is difficult to control by the Government due to the high use of the Internet

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⁴ Waters, M, *Globalization*. 2nd Edition, London, Taylor and Francis Group, 1995, p.2.

community.⁵ The proliferation of radicalism through the Internet has confirmed by Komjen. Pol. Suhardi Alius as the Head of National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT), that social media is the biggest tool of spreading radicalism due to the widespread culture of sharing without filtering the hoax issue that contains elements of provocation.⁶ Since 2010, the Ministry of Communication and Information of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemkominfo RI) has blocked sites indicated in spreading radicalism as much as 814,594 sites. In addition through the sites, the spread of radicalism is also done in the form of social media status content, videos, pictures, and photos.

Furthermore, the main target of the spread of radicalism is the teenagers and university students.⁷ The main target of the spread of radicalism in the teenagers through the Internet is inseparable from the basic character of the teenagers who are full of curiosity and in the process of finding their identity⁸. Meanwhile in terms of the spread of radicalism in the University students, is carried out by using the method of a long and intense brainstorming and discussions considering that at the university level, each student has embraced their own ideology.⁹ The process of spreading radicalism in the universities is carried out by utilizing the pluralism of students' thinking, and the universities' authority that does not give the freedom to the students in expressing their critical and creative ideas.¹⁰

Based on these problems, the Internet has proven to be a medium for the spread of radicalism, which certainly threatens the security of every individual citizen. Radicalism is only one of the types of threats that are delivered by globalization after the Cold War. The threat of radicalism to individual security will certainly affect the stability of national security considering that radicalism is the root of the occurrence of criminal acts of terrorism. Borrowing Berry Buzan's thinking, the concept of national security nowadays does not only cover security against threats in the military sector, but has developed into a threat in the political, socio-cultural, economic and environmental sectors.¹¹ Therefore, it can be concluded

⁵ This can be proven by the increasing number of internet users in Indonesia. In 2015, internetworldstats.com reported that there were 110,200,000 million internet users with a user growth rate of 12.5% per year. Especially for Facebook social media accounts there are at least 11,759,980 accounts created with a range of users aged 18-34 years. Meanwhile, the data collected in December 2017 shows an increase in internet users to 143.26 million users with a percentage increase in users by 53.7%. While for Facebook account users increased to 130,000,000 accounts with a percentage increase of 48.7%. In addition, based on data obtained from APJII shows that the majority of internet service users are aged 13-18 years with a percentage of 75.50% and ages 19-34 years with a percentage of 74.23%. No less interesting thing is that 66.98% of the total internet users access the internet every day. See: Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia (APJII), *Penetrasi dan Perilaku Pengguna Internet Indonesia 2017* accessed through internetworldstats.com on 25 July 2018 at 01.00 WIB.

⁶ Accessed through <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/umum/18/03/01/p4x4yj377-bnpt-penyebaran-paham-radikal-marak-dilakukan-lewat-medsos> on 23 July 2018 at 16.25 WIB.

⁷ According to Suhardi Alius, radicalism contents disseminated through the media was targeted at teenagers and university students. See: <https://www.arah.com/article/45794/remaja-jadi-sasaran-paham-radikal-di-dunia-maya.html> accessed on 24 July 2018 at 16.22 WIB.

⁸ According to Granville Stanley Hall, the emotional development of teenagers has not been fully stable or is still often changing. In addition, in terms of the psychosocial development of teenagers, they are still at the stage of seeking identity of their true identity, starting to realize that there is a sense of joy and dislike for something, already has the goals to be achieved in the future, already has the power to control one's own life. Desmita R., *Psikologi Perkembangan*, Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2008, p. 217-222.

⁹ Saifuddin, *Radikalisme Islam di Kalangan Mahasiswa (Sebuah Metamorfosa Baru)*, *Jurnal Analisis Volume XI Nomor 1*, June 2011, p. 18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹¹ Military Security can be defines as the defensive capability and military perception of each party's intentions. Political security is the security of the stability of a state's organization, ideology, or state government system. Economic security is the security of access to financial resources and markets necessary to achieve the welfare of society. Socio-cultural security is safe to maintain and produce traditional patterns in the fields of language, culture, religion, and national identity. The last is the environment security, which includes the

that the proliferation of radicalism is a national threat on the political sector that needs to be addressed.

DISCUSSION

1. The Legal Review of Law No. 11 of 2008 jo. Law No. 19 of 2006 on the Electronic Information and Transaction and Law No. 5 Year 2018 on the Amendment to the Law No. 15 of 2003 on the Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2002 on the Suppression of Terrorism Criminal Act into Law in relation on the Countermeasures of the Proliferation of Radicalism

The establishment of Law No. 5 Year 2018 on the Amendment to the Law No. 15 of 2003 on the Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 of 2002 on the Suppression of Terrorism Criminal Act into Law (Anti-terrorism Law of 2018) provides fresh air for the implementation of the prevention and the suppression of terrorism in Indonesia. The Anti-Terrorism Law of 2018 has updated the more complex criminal provisions on terrorism¹². The extent of threats of violence and acts of violence that result in terror can be harmonized with Article 28 paragraph (2) of Law No. 11 of 2008 jo. Law No. 19 of 2016 on the Electronic Information and Transaction. The two legal umbrellas above provide legality to the law enforcement agencies to crack down on the terror spreaders including the actors that spreading radicalism given in addition to a direct meeting, radicalism spread through social media content, videos, pictures, articles, and messages in the form of a hoax.

Hoax is worth to watch out for easily able to lead public opinion, especially related to ideology and SARA. Mark Slouka, an American cultural critic, criticized philosophers and ideologists who hid behind cyberspace technology and instilled themselves as net religionist. Internet has become the basis for creating new Gods who introduce and spread their teachings through the Internet. In this case, the role of the Internet is as a simulation world that leads humans to live in a new world order in virtual life and slowly abandons the realities of real life.¹³ The proliferation of radicalism through Internet media is an evidence of a threatening change to national security into finer forms.

In this regard, the Government is required to be more active and protective to the community to prevent greater dangers, namely to lead the community to create a new world at the level of virtual life. In this case, the Anti-Terrorism Law and the ITE Law only regulate on the prevention of the proliferation of radicalism by giving sanction to those who are proven on spreading radicalism (penal policy) that combines the military forces (TNI) and the POLRI as technical executors. In other words, the Anti-Terrorism Law and the ITE Law have not been able to prevent the proliferation of radicalism. In

maintenance of the local environment as a major supporter of the human environment. Budi Winarno, *Dinamika Isu-Isu Global Kontemporer*, Jakarta: CAPS (Center of Academic Publishing Service), 2014, p. 1516.

¹² According to Article 1 paragraph (2) of the Anti-Terrorism Law of 2018, terrorism is an act that uses violence or threats of violence that creates an atmosphere of terror or widespread fear, which can cause mass casualties, and / or cause damage or destruction to vital objects the strategic, environmental, public facilities, or international facilities with ideological, political, or security disturbances. In addition to defining terrorism as stated in Article 1 paragraph (2) above in Article 1 paragraph (3) of the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2018, it has also regulated violence. Violent action in question is every act of misuse of facilities against the law and creates danger to the body, life, and independence of people, including making people faint or helpless. In addition to acts of violence, Article 1 paragraph (4) of the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2018 also regulates the form of threats of violence. The threat of violence in question is any act against the law in the form of words, writings, images, symbols, or body movements, both with and without using means in electronic or non-electronic forms that can cause fear of people or society at large or curb freedom intrinsically someone or society.

¹³ Imam Fauzi Ghifari, Radikalisme di Internet, *Jurnal Agama dan Lintas Budaya 1*, March 2017, p. 129.

accordance to the magnitude of the threat of the proliferation of radicalism to the national security, it is necessary to take preventative measures that include pre-emptive efforts and preventive efforts.

2. The Pre-Emptive and the Preventive Efforts in the Countermeasures of the Proliferation of Radicalism in Indonesia

The countermeasures of the proliferation of radicalism can be done with three approaches as mentioned: (1) Repressive efforts by making the judicial policy as a means of overcoming crime in regulation the community in the legislation; (2) Arranging pre-emptive efforts. Pre-emptive efforts are anticipatory efforts made to create conducive conditions by observing or detecting factors that have the potential to become causes, drivers, and opportunities for the proliferation of radicalism by internalizing the values and norms prevailing in religion and society¹⁴; (3) Preparing preventive efforts. Preventive efforts are efforts to overcome crime, in this case is the proliferation of radicalism, by examining the factors that cause radicalism, which are usually focused on the issue of social conditions that can directly lead to radicalism.¹⁵

All three efforts are an effective integral counter-program because it integrates law enforcement and politics. A conceptual and persuasive approach is needed to suppress radicalism to its roots. The integration of those three efforts was carried out considering that many states have failed to tackle terrorism and radicalism because they only use repressive efforts.¹⁶ Among the three efforts to countermeasure the proliferation of radicalism mentioned above, pre-emptive efforts and preventive efforts are used as the spearhead to countermeasure the spreading of radicalism. The pre-emptive efforts are used to protect individuals from the threat of radicalism that interferes with the security of the individual. This is due to the negative impact of the Internet, which has eroded the individual's mentality and led his culture to act like western culture. In terms of Savigny's Theory of *Volkgeist*¹⁷, the Internet has an impact on ideological or *volksgeist* transplants of the Indonesian people who continue to move dynamically. But the progress of culture and life of the Indonesian people, which is shown by the use of technology, is not in line with the development of mentality and public insight on the ideology of Pancasila.

The right pre-emptive effort to do is by internalizing the understanding of Pancasila values and norms to each individual so that it can be the guideline for individual behavior, both in the real world and in cyberspace. Pancasila is the main guideline in the internalization process because it is the form of local wisdom of the people of Indonesia.¹⁸

¹⁴ A.S. Alam, *Pengantar Kriminologi*, Makassar: Pustaka Refleksi Books, 2010, p. 79-80 as cited in Serli Agustina Valentina, *Tinjauan Kriminologis Terhadap Tindak Pidana Perdagangan Orang di Kota Makassar*, Skripsi, Universitas Hasanuddin Makassar, 2017, p. 22.

¹⁵ Barda Nawawi Arief, *Bunga Rampai Kebijakan Hukum Pidana: (Perkembangan Penyusunan Konsep KUHP Baru)*, Edisi Pertama Cetakan ke-1, Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2008, p. 40.

¹⁶ The research result of Hery Firmansyah in Arif Rudi Setiawan, "Penanggulangan Terorisme Berdasarkan Konsep *Problem-Solving Approach* (Kajian Pada Respons Pemerintah Terhadap Gerakan Jamag Ansharut Tauhid)", p. 66-67 accessed on <http://jurnalprodi.idu.ac.id/index.php/DRK/article/download/75/pdf> on 26 July 2018 at 17.00 WIB.

¹⁷ Jasim Hamidi, et. al., *Membedah Teori-Teori Hukum Kontemporer*, Malang: UB Press, 2013, p. 9.

¹⁸ All life of the nation and the state returns to the Pancasila ideology which is the soul of the nation as well as the local wisdom that lives in Indonesia. Pancasila can be said to be the local wisdom of the Indonesian people because Pancasila was born from the womb of Indonesian society for a long time or in other words the Indonesian people along with their culture, tradition, civilization, and customs are ingredients of the Pancasila or materialist cause for the birth of Pancasila. Kaelan, *Pendidikan Pancasila, Proses Reformasi, UUD Negara Amandemen 2002, Pancasila Sebagai Sistem Filsafat, Pancasila Sebagai Etika Politik, Paradigma Bermasyarakat, Berbangsa dan Bernegara*, Yogyakarta: Paradigma, 2004, p. 88.

Borrowing Savigny's perspective, it can be seen that Pancasila is not just created but Pancasila was born along with Indonesian people so that it became the essence and soul of the culture that shaped the Indonesian civilization, thus Pancasila can also be said as *volksgeist*, *leitstar*, and *Philosophische Grondslag*¹⁹.

Meanwhile the internalization process is carried out by reinvesting the Pancasila values which includes: (1) the Godly Value, that is an ethical imperative of the Indonesian Nation to build a Nation's civilization that is based on religious values, morality and noble character; (2) the Humanitarian Value, which requires the glorification of the plurality of Indonesia and the particular Human Rights in Indonesia (non-universal). The Humanitarian Value also demands the realization of a harmonious human life; (3) the Unity Value, which requires the creation of unity in diversity and diversity in unity as the slogan of Indonesia namely *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*; (4) the Populist Value, which reflecting that Indonesia was founded from, by, and for the people, thus in the life of the state must always glorify the people's sovereignty and deliberation (kinship); and (5) the Social Justice Value, which requires the realization of the life of a just and prosperous Indonesia nation free from all forms of oppression, exploitation, and impoverishment both material and immaterial.²⁰

The actualization of the values of Pancasila as the countermeasures of the proliferation of radicalism can be done by: (1) provide an understanding that just as the real life, virtual life must always be based on religious values, morality, and noble character; (2) provide an understanding that radicalism in any form, whether in real life or in virtual life, is in contrary to religious values, morality, and noble character; (3) provide an understanding that even if the virtual life has no physical limitations, but the freedom of expression in cyberspace must always be done in the corridor of law and human rights; (4) providing an understanding that every form of radicalism, with no exception in cyberspace/virtual world, has hurt the plurality and glorification of human rights; (5) provide an understanding that every form of the proliferation of radicalism by using cyberspace destroys the harmony of human life and causes disintegration of the nation and state; (6) provide an understanding that the virtual world should be used as a means of unifying the nation, not as a means of breaking the nation; and (7) provide an understanding that the development of information and communication technology should be used to provide both physically and spiritually welfare for the people.

In addition to the pre-emptive efforts, preventive efforts that can be taken by the Government of Indonesia are to maximize the role of BNPT. Article 3 letter h of the Presidential regulation No. 46 of 2010 on the National Agency for Combating Terrorism regulates that the BNPT functions to plan, guide, and control programs, administration, and resources, as well as collaboration between agencies in terms of combating radicalism and terrorism. This article affirms that one of the preventive efforts as the countermeasures of

Pancasila as the Local Wisdom of the Indonesian Nation can also be seen implicitly in Franz Magnis-Suseno's perspective that: The value of Pancasila is so high and absolute for the preservation of the nation and state of Indonesia because it is a vehicle where various tribes, groups, religions, cultural groups and races can live and cooperate in an effort to build a common life, without their own alienation and identity.

See also: Hermanto Suaib, *Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Lokal Dan Modal Sosial Dalam Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Suku Moi*, Jakarta: AnImage, 2017, p.7

¹⁹ Jimly Asshiddiqie and M. Ali Safa'at, *Teori Hans Kelsen Tentang Hukum*, Jakarta: Sekretariat Jenderal Dan Kepaniteraan Mahkamah Konstitusi, 2006, p. 171.

²⁰ Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna, Historistas, Rasionalitas, Dan Aktualitas Pancasila*, Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2011, p. 110, 237, 369, 475, and 582. See also Airlangga Surya Nagara, *Pancasila Sebagai Sumber Politik Hukum Ekonomi Nasional (Studi tentang Perkembangan Politik Hukum Ekonomi Nasional dan Upaya Revitalisasi Pancasila Sebagai Sumber Politik Hukum Ekonomi Nasional)*, Makalah Ujian Kualifikasi Program Doktor Ilmu Hukum, Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta, 2014, p.82-116.

the proliferation of radicalism is carried out with cooperation between relevant agencies. In this case, the preventive pattern that should be used is to formulate the policy of integrating radicalism prevention involving the Central Government (such as President, TNI, POLRI, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, State Intelligent Agency (BIN), the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Research, technology and Higher Education, the Ministry of Communication and Information, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Central Executive Representatives of each religion, and cultural observers) to formulate an integrative policy of values and norms of the religions and Pancasila in order to counter the proliferation of radicalism to the younger generations.

Cooperation among state agencies involving the religious leaders and cultural observers becomes very important to counter the threat of radicalism. This is because the proliferation of radicalism is a threat to human security. Therefore, the integrative policies mentioned above serve to shape the mentality and soul of religious and nationalist of the younger generation so that they can avoid the influence of radicalism. Furthermore, the integrative policy should be arranged in the form of a unit of educational curriculum, which is then delivered in the classrooms and socialized in various government and private institutions, social forums and religious forums. As the supporter of the penal policy, the integrative policy, which includes pre-emptive policies and preventive policies, should be implemented systematically, structured, and massively at all levels, from the smallest to the largest, from the regional level to the central level. Thus if all integrated policies can be implemented properly, it is expected to be able to prevent the proliferation of radicalism in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Based on the previous description, it can be emphasized that basically the proliferation of radicalism through the Internet is negative side of globalization. In addition to bringing convenience for people, the existence of the Internet has become a new media in the spread of radicalism with the younger generation as the main target. This happens because the Internet provides unlimited access to information, which became a means of proliferation of radicalism in the modern era. This unlimited access has led Internet users to drift in the cyberspace. This causes the erosion of the soul of nationalism so that it can be easily be penetrated by radicalism. The proliferation of radicalism has become a threat to individuals (human security) and to the state (national security).

Thus it can be understood that the proliferation of radicalism is a threat to national security that must be addressed immediately. The countermeasures of the proliferation of radicalism can be done with three approaches of repressive, pre-emptive, and preventive. Repressive efforts has been carried out by the Government by issuing the ITE Law, the Anti-Terrorism Law, and the Presidential Regulation on BNPT as the legal umbrella for penal policy in suppressing the radicalism and terrorism. However, prevention efforts are also needed through pre-emptive and preventive efforts. The pre-emptive efforts can be done by internalizing the values of Pancasila as the local wisdom of the Indonesian Nation to prevent the entry of radicalism in Indonesia. While the preventive efforts are carried out to prevent the proliferation of radicalism through the formulation of integrative policies between state institutions, religious leaders, and cultural observers as the representatives of the community in the form of Pancasila curriculum which is fully and continuously disseminated. These efforts are made to protect human security and national security from the threat of proliferation of radicalism and terrorism.

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