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### **INDONESIA'S STATE DEFENSE STRATEGY COUNTER-TERRORISM AS IRREGULAR WARFARE FROM A TOTAL DEFENSE SYSTEM PERSPECTIVE**

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#### **Abstract**

National defense is an effort to maintain territorial integrity, national safety, and state sovereignty, from disturbances and threats to the state and nation. Threats have evolved, not only military and non-military threats but also hybrids. Terrorism is a threat in the area of defense as well as security. By using qualitative research methods, this article tries to answer the question, what is the role of Indonesia in the national defense strategy to fight terrorism as an irregular war in Indonesia? From the discussion, it can be concluded that the efforts made to strengthen the national defense as a whole are to strengthen the ability to defend the state for all citizens because state defense is an integral part of the universal national defense system.

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#### **INTRODUCTION**

National defense encompasses all efforts to defend state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the security of the nation as a whole against threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and the state. As a nation, Indonesia certainly has its characteristics to build a national defense system, that is, a universal defense system involving all citizens, territories, and other national resources, prepared in advance by the government and carried out in a total, integrated, determined, effective and

sustainable development related to the maintenance of state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the security of the entire nation against all threats (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015b).

Present and future threats have developed in such a complex and fast manner. Threats to the state can be categorized into three types, namely military threats (armed and unarmed), non-military threats, and hybrid threats (Siahaan, 2016). Meanwhile, when referring to the defense doctrine, the various

threats can be distinguished into not yet real and real (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015a).

Unreal threats are threats in the case of open conflict or conventional war, in which the armed forces of the two countries are confronted. Meanwhile, real threats are threats whose handling requires priority, namely natural disasters, disease outbreaks, border area violations, piracy, theft of natural resources, cyber-attacks, drug trafficking and abuse, separatism, armed rebellion, as well as terrorism, and radicalism (Peraturan Menteri Pertahanan Nomor 19 Tahun 2015 Tentang Kebijakan Penyelenggaraan Pertahanan Negara Tahun 2015-2019, 2015). Since September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States, terrorism has transformed into a global threat. Previously, acts of terrorism were aimed at certain countries on a limited scale, but now acts of terrorism also pose a potential threat to the majority of countries in the world on a global scale. The revolution in information technology has made communication between terrorist groups easier, even though all available communication methods are under the control of security forces (IHS Jane's Defence Weekly, 2012). The threat of terrorism faced by Indonesia today has evolved compared to almost two decades ago. There is regeneration among terrorists where the network of the latest generation of terrorists now has stronger links with the global network of terrorist groups (IHS Jane's Defence Weekly, 2015).

The conflict in West Asia that had an impact on the birth of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) affected the complexity and magnitude of Indonesia's efforts to carry out counterterrorism. Law enforcement against terrorists in Indonesia is considered not to be matched by the success of the deradicalization program. In addition, from the legal aspect, Indonesian laws and regulations related to terrorism are considered unable to cover all aspects of terrorism activities (Mahyudin, 2016).

Terrorism as a threat has become an

international political plan and has received distinctive attention in the discourse of global institutions in the world and also in the area of defense and security. This is illustrated by the stages and priorities of countries or IGOs (International Government Organizations). The tragedy of the World Trade Center (WTC) on September 11, 2001, became a historical milestone in the issue of counterterrorism. The influence of the United States is so dominant that other countries, including Indonesia, take the same position towards counterterrorism efforts.

Indonesia, which does not escape the threat of terrorism, also plays a role in overcoming the threat of counterterrorism. Cases of terrorism that occurred have caused material and moral losses. The series took place starting at the Plaza Atrium in Jakarta in 1998, Plaza Hayam Wuruk and the Istiqlal Mosque in Jakarta in 1999, GKPI (*Gereja Kristen Protestan Indonesia*/Indonesian Protestant Christian Church) and the Medan Catholic Church in North Sumatra as well as the home of the Philippine Ambassador Leonides T. Caday and 19 victims in Menteng and the Jakarta Stock Exchange Bombing in 2000, the blasting of several churches on Christmas Eve 2000-2001, the explosions of Kuta Bali and the McDonald Ratu Indah Mall in Makassar in 2002, JW Marriott in 2003, the explosion of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta in 2004, the Bali Bombing II tragedy in 2005, and the two massive explosions of the JW Marriott and Ritz-Carlton in 2009 (Windiani, 2017).

Indonesia has been pursuing various policies to tackle counterterrorism for more than two decades. Various kinds of dynamics occur when dealing with the issue of terrorism in Indonesia. In many Threats, Disturbances, Obstacles, and Challenges (AGHT or *Ancaman, Gangguan, Hambatan, dan Tantangan*) and VUCA (Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, Ambiguity), Indonesia can play a role in overcoming counterterrorism, both internally and externally, abroad (Wisesa,

2021). Based on the explanation above, this article aims to discuss and find answers to what and how Indonesia's state defense strategy counter terrorism as irregular warfare from Total Defense System perspective.

## **METHODS**

This study used qualitative research methods in this article. Referring to Sugiyono (2017), qualitative research methods are research methods based on postpositivism or interpretative philosophy, used to study the state of natural objects, with the researcher as the key instrument, data collection techniques, data are conducted through triangulation (combined observation, interviews, documentation), the data obtained is more qualitative, the data analysis is inductive/qualitative, and the research results should make sense, understand the uniqueness, construct phenomena and find hypotheses. Citing Creswell (2017), a qualitative approach allows for a deep understanding of the phenomenon under study. Descriptive research, on the other hand, is research designed to systematically and accurately describe a situation or a specific area of the population based on facts. The descriptive research was chosen to describe the different results more comprehensively, since not only the problem itself is examined, but also other factors related to the problem.

Based on the theoretical basis, the main objective of this article is to describe the subject of investigation, which is the national defense strategy, and examine facts about counter-terrorism as irregular warfare. In the qualitative research method used, the researcher described the data in the form of processing based on the results of observations and bibliographic studies. All explanations used Methods of Scientific Thinking (MST). Sources of data used in this study are primary and secondary data sources obtained through archives, books, magazines, journal articles, and other documents relevant to the research topic.

The data obtained through various data sources that have been collected are then analyzed and processed to produce a research result in the form of this article.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Irregular Warfare and Terrorism in Theoretical Perspectives**

Future wars are likely to take the form of unconventional or irregular warfare, in which the use of non-military means seeks to destroy people's psychology to undermine government credibility and create instability in the country's defenses. Irregular warfare is a violent struggle between state and non-state actors to gain legitimacy and influence over individuals and does not result in military power or control of territory (Davis, 2008). Irregular war tends to be political conflicts with violent and non-violent components (Larson, Eaton, Nichiporuk, & Szayna, 2008). Their opinion is in line to explain the case to be described in this article. Potential irregular wars occur in political conflicts which use two components, both violent and non-violent. Its implementation can employ various types of capabilities, both military and otherwise, to undermine power, influence, and hope in legitimate government. Irregular warfare is implemented through the use of covert or protracted tactics. This differs from conventional methods, which focus on defeating the enemy's armed forces while minimizing popular participation (Mustofa, 2020). Mustofa's idea will be used in this article where the defense strategy is to defend the Indonesian state against terrorism by using the perspective of a total defense system. This means that the method used is to maximize people's participation.

As quoted by Midhio (2021), that Thomas Edward Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) explains the essence of irregular warfare is assured mobility, security (in the form of denial of targets to the enemy), time, doctrine (the idea of converting each subject into a guide), victory was finally obtained by the insurgent based on

mathematical calculations with certainty, and in this case, the perfection of the spirit of struggle and purpose becomes something in vain. The essence presented by Lawrence in the form of components of irregular war will be used to explain the cases in this article, namely mobility, security, time, doctrine, and so on.

Terrorism is an understanding that argues that the use of various means of violence and creating fear is a legitimate way to achieve goals (Syafaat, 2003). The terms terrorist and terrorism come from the Latin word *terrere* which means to vibrate or to shake. Until now no definition of terrorism can be used universally due to differences of opinion in each country regarding the definition of terrorism, there is no clear limit to define terrorism because terrorism is a subjective view.

Midhio (2021) concludes that terrorism is the easiest type of violence to discuss and the most difficult to understand to define. For reference, terrorism is defined as the continued use of force against symbolic or civilian targets by small groups for political ends, e.g. to incite fear, draw attention to political grievances, and/or provoke violent or unsustainable responses. Referring to the formal legal framework of the Constitutional Law of the Republic of Indonesia itself, the definition of terrorism is regulated in (Undang-Undang No. 15 Tahun 2003 Tentang Penetapan Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 2002 Tentang Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Terorisme, Menjadi Undang-Undang, 2003) which reads terrorism is an act that uses violence or threats of violence that creates an atmosphere of terror or fear, widely, which can cause mass casualties, and/or cause damage or destruction to strategic vital objects, the environment, public facilities, or international facilities with ideological, political, or security disturbance motives (Undang-Undang No. 15 Tahun 2003 Tentang Penetapan Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 2002 Tentang Pemberantasan Tindak

Pidana Terorisme, Menjadi Undang-Undang, 2003).

According to Stigall and Donnatucci, counterterrorism also known as anti-terrorism, combines the practices, military tactics, techniques, and strategies used by governments, the military, law enforcement, business, and the intelligence community, in turn, to create, prevent or fight terrorism. Counter-terrorism strategy is the government's plan to use the instrument of national power to neutralize terrorists, organizations, and their networks so that they cannot use force to create fear and compel the government or its citizens to act by the Provisions to respond to terrorist targets (Stigall, Miller, & Donatucci, 2019). Stigall and Donnatucci's opinion is in line with the choice of counter-terrorism strategy used in this article, where the government uses a total defense system to deal with terrorism, its organizations, and networks.

### **Counter Terrorism in Indonesia**

As stated by Midhio (2021), the National Defense Strategy in Facing Irregular Warfare can be done by Protecting the System (Counterinsurgency & Counterterrorism in Theory & Practice), namely:

1. Location. Robert Thompson (1965) believes that it takes time to physically defeat terrorists in space and time.
2. Isolation. Isolating terrorists from their support base is the most important element of a successful military operation against them. Isolation can take the form of physical separation or political exile. Physical segregation can be obtained by moving villagers to complexes that are easier to defend. In addition, isolation can also be carried out with preventive measures, in the form of curfews, restricted areas, food rationing, aggressive patrols, and open presence to physically isolate terrorists.
3. Eradication. Eradication involves the physical destruction of terrorists. The state has many advantages over its

opponents in the form of control over social, fiscal, and military resources. What can be critical in a democracy is whether the country's leaders are able/unable to use their resources effectively to quell the flames of rebellion without alienating popular support for their authority.

The explanation above is in line with the statement of Thomas Edward Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) that the essence of irregular warfare is assured mobility, security (in the form of denial of targets to the enemy), time, doctrine (the idea of converting each subject into a guide), victory was finally obtained by the insurgent based on mathematical calculations with certainty, and in this case, the perfection of the spirit of struggle and purpose becomes something in vain.

Currently, the world, including Indonesia, is facing the threat of terrorism. Terrorist groups have carried out some deadly attacks with heavy casualties to assert their political goals. Terror attacks occur both in developed countries such as the United States, Britain, and Spain, as well as in developing countries including Indonesia. In addition to the September 11, 2001 attacks in Washington DC and New York, there were also terrorist attacks in London on July 7, 2005, and Madrid on March 11, 2004. Likewise, terror attacks in Indonesia have occurred in several places since 2000 until now with a significant number of victims (Mahyudin, 2016).

Larson et al. (2008) to explain the case described in this article. Potential irregular wars occur in political conflicts that use two components, both violent and non-violent. One indicator of the success of counterterrorism is the existence of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT or *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terrorism*). The establishment of the BNPT is a strategic effort by the Indonesian government as a step to tackle a series of terrorism agendas by forming formal institutions. Starting from the Counter-Terrorism Coordinating

Desk (DKPT or *Desk Koordinasi Pemberantasan Terrorism*). The National Counter-Terrorism Agency which was formed in 2010 has the following tasks: 1) formulate national policies, strategies, and programs to combat terrorism; 2) coordinate relevant government agencies in the making and implementation of anti-terrorism policies; and 3) implement counterterrorism strategies through the formation of working groups made up of members of the relevant government agencies according to their respective duties, functions, and authority. The area of counterterrorism includes prevention, protection, deradicalization, law enforcement, and preparation for national preparedness.

BNPT has Crisis Control Center (*Pusdalsis*), a combination of various special forces, such as Kopassus (*Komando Pasukan Khusus*) Special Detachment 81 (Anti-Terrorist Measures), Denjaka from the Indonesian Navy (TNI-AL or *Tentara Nasional Indonesia-Angkatan Laut*), the Bravo Detachment 90 from the Indonesian Air Force (TNI-AU or *Tentara Nasional Indonesia-Angkatan Udara*) and the 1<sup>st</sup> Gegana Command of the Brimob Corps from the Indonesian National Police (POLRI or *Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia*). Comprised of a mix of elite TNI-POLRI units, the Crisis Control Center is tasked with handling terrorist forces to be dispatched in the event of terrorist activity (Wisasa, 2021).

However, the National Police's Counterterrorism Special Detachment 88 (Densus 88 or *Detasemen Khusus 88 Antiterror*) has become an entity that has received a lot of media attention. Densus 88 has carried out several raids on military networks after foiling several terrorist attacks. One of the most significant achievements of this elite force was disrupting the activities of jihadist cells linked to JI (Jemaah Islamiyah), where most of the key terrorists were captured or killed.

The success of Detachment 88 is largely due to effective intelligence gathering and

analysis, as well as high-level sniper training. Densus 88 is still considered one of the world's leading anti-terrorist organizations today. Stigall and Donnatucci's opinion is in line with the choice of counter-terrorism strategy used in this article, where the government uses a total defense system to deal with terrorism, its organizations, and networks.

On the other hand, the revision of the counterterrorism law passed by the Indonesian House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia) in 2018 has sparked concerns over restrictions on freedom of expression. Amnesty International is concerned in respect of the increasing role of the military in counter-terrorism operations in Indonesia. Human Rights Watch (HRW) said that the revised law contained an overly broad and ambiguous definition of terrorism. In addition, HRW is concerned about the extension of the containment of terror suspects without charge for up to 21 days. In addition, the failure of the counterterrorism policy can be criticized for the unrealized of the National Security Law until now, which has been delayed for decades. The government must complete this delayed agenda. Furthermore, structural variables to overcome terrorism affect the failure of counter-terrorism policies.

Deradicalization, including the stages of disengagement or rehabilitation, is closely related to the strengths and weaknesses of the state's structural factors. This statement is supported by Widjajanto, the wave of violence in Indonesia occurs because this country has a weak state structure (Wisesa, 2021). In a weak country, the political policies taken are conditioned by the occurrence of political instability, economic poverty, legitimacy crisis, dysfunctional socio-political institutions, weak national identity, and very vulnerable to various external pressures. This condition causes the political elite to be in the process of politics of survival.

Mustofa's idea is used in this article

where the defense strategy is to defend the Indonesian state against terrorism from the perspective of a total defense system. This means that the method used is to maximize people's participation.

The next discussion was obtained from the results of Program Doktor Politik Islam-Ilmu Politik Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (2019) explains the factors that influence the repressive policies of the Indonesian government in the context of anti-terrorism. First, countries that are pioneers of the global war on terror agenda, such as the United States and Australia, have offered material assistance which then rationalized the Indonesian government's choice to join the global war on terror agenda. Second, international structure institutions, in this case, the United Nations. The state of Indonesia, which is a member of the United Nations, must of course follow the provisions (resolutions) that have been set regarding counter-terrorism governance, both at the international and national levels. The Indonesian government has ratified several international conventions related to anti-terrorism which forced the government to follow international provisions in dealing with terrorism issues in Indonesia. Third, international legal norms, and anti-terrorism norms that have developed in the international world have given birth to international legal instruments which of course bind countries that have become part of the international community, especially for countries that have legitimized these international legal instruments. Fourth, the perception or importance of terrorism by the Indonesian government is determined by the influence of common ideas or ideas that develop in international relations, as well as the experience of the Indonesian government in dealing with the threat of terrorism.

One of the critical discourses in counterterrorism is the role of intelligence in it. All parties want intelligence attacks to be thwarted starting from the planning and preparation stages, but the intelligence of

developed countries equipped with large resources is still experiencing intelligence failure.

Referring to Kent (1965), intelligence is the knowledge which our highly placed civilian and military men must have to safeguard the national warfare. Meanwhile, according to Admiral William F. Raborn, intelligence is referring to information which has been carefully evaluated as to its accuracy and significance. As described by Ransom (1971), intelligence and information can be distinguished from the process of evaluating their accuracy and assessing their significance to national security. So, intelligence has a key important role in decision making, because input from intelligence will determine the decisions taken. So, it can be concluded that in the context of counterterrorism, intelligence cooperation is a spectrum that has been going on for a long time. Even today, the scope of intelligence cooperation has expanded not only to deal with state actors but also with non-state actors. With intelligence cooperation, it is hoped that the various parties involved in the cooperation can carry out early detection of possible threats so that they can take preventive steps before these threats are realized, including the threat of terrorism.

Based on the various ideas and opinions above, there are important things that can be stated. One thing that becomes an obstacle in efforts to eradicate terrorism in Indonesia is the defense and security approach which is still problematic. Namely, there is no strategy, pattern, and security system that can synergize the roles and all national security instruments. Therefore, it is necessary to empower the defense area and its supporting forces early with the universal defense system. For Indonesia, the prevention and eradication of terrorism require careful observation of the culture, the condition of society, and the political stability of the government. Counter-terrorism efforts carried out by the Indonesian government must be implemented in a preventive, preemptive,

and repressive manner.

### **Lesson Learned from the European Union**

Indonesia's focus on counter-terrorism measures will only have short-term effects. A more comprehensive and socially oriented approach is needed to eradicate radicalization. Indonesia can also opt for the European experience against terrorism. The European Union's Counter-Terrorism Strategy is built on four pillars, namely the prevention of terrorist attacks, the protection of citizens and infrastructure, the prosecution of terrorist organizations and their members, and a joint response in the event of a terrorist attack. The European Union promotes the fight against terrorism at the global level by working directly with third countries and international organizations in some ways: by promoting anti-money laundering standards and norms, training police and military officials of partner countries, and by promoting the application of international norms against terrorism and terrorist organizations in international forums. Indonesia and the European Union have the potential to cooperate more closely on security issues. If Indonesia learns the lessons of the European experience, there is a greater likelihood that Indonesia will risk further de-radicalization and prevention measures, which will undoubtedly have long-term effects.

### **CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATION, AND LIMITATION**

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that a state defense system is necessary to maintain state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the security of the entire nation against threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and the state. Specifically for Indonesia, which adopts a total defense system involving all citizens, territories, and other national resources, prepared in advance and implemented in a comprehensive,

integrated, targeted, and sustainable manner to protect state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and security of all nations from all threats. To strengthen the national defense as a whole, the efforts made are to strengthen the ability to defend the country for all citizens, considering that defending the country cannot be separated from the universal national defense system. Efforts will be carried out by reviving the development of national defense awareness for all citizens, which will be thoroughly developed in the educational environment, work environment, and home environment.

Some of the keywords that can be developed as recommendations for the National Defense Strategy Facing Irregular Warfare include: 1) the method used by the state in responding to local threats is crucially aimed at maintaining legal, political, and moral legitimacy; 2) the country's success strategy is based on the isolation of the insurgents both physically and politically; and 3) the eradication of insurgents is often a slow process and will take on different political and cultural contexts.

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