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Terrorism Eradication in ASEAN Countries: Human Rights Perspective

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Abstract:

This research aims to discuss ASEAN counter-terrorism policy and its impact on human rights protection. The terrorism act of Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines, the spread of terrorism in Indonesia by JAT and JAD, and the rebellion movement in Pattani-Thailand are the most heard of terrorism cases in Southeast Asian countries. The research focused on the regulatory through comparative approaches. The result found that ASEAN has an agreement known as ASEAN Convention on Counter-Terrorism (ACCT) for combating terrorism. ACCT implementation in national legal regulations of ASEAN members in the midst of the spread of terrorism plays a crucial role in combating terrorism and its impact on human rights protection. However, the effort of eradicating terrorism in Southeast Asian countries is not in line with the principles of peace and regional integrity. The practice of authoritarianism and militarism has instead become meet prominent as a result

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of perpetuating militarism-based legal regulations in resolving terrorism. Efforts for combating terrorism in Southeast Asia, therefore, leave a serious problem regarding the protection of human rights, the issue of impunity, attacks on civil society, and the involvement of the military which threatens territorial integrity. Those are at cross purposes with ACCT policies as well as national sovereignty, integrity, and security of ASEAN members.

Keywords:

ASEAN; Counter-Terrorism; Human Rights; Southeast Asia

Abstrak:

Penelitian ini bertujuan membahas kebijakan anti-terorisme ASEAN dan dampaknya terhadap perlindungan hak asasi manusia. Aksi terorisme Abu Sayyaf di Filipina, penyebaran terorisme di Indonesia oleh JAT dan JAD, serta pemberontakan di Pattani-Thailand adalah kasus-kasus terorisme terpopuler yang terjadi di Asia Tenggara. Penelitian ini fokus pada perundang-undangan peraturan dengan pendekatan komparatif. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa ASEAN memiliki kesepakatan yang disebut Konvensi ASEAN tentang Kontra-Terorisme (ACCT) untuk memerangi terorisme. Penerapan ACCT dalam peraturan hukum nasional negara anggota ASEAN di tengah maraknya aksi terorisme sangat penting dalam upaya pemberantasan terorisme dan dampaknya terhadap perlindungan hak asasi manusia di ASEAN. Akan tetapi dalam praktiknya, pemberantasan terorisme di ASEAN masih belum sejalan dengan prinsip perdamaian dan keutuhan kawasan. Praktik otoritarianisme dan militerisme justru menjadi praktik paling menonjol yang dilakukan oleh negaranegara di ASEAN seiring dengan langgengnya regulasi hukum berbasis praktik militerisme dalam menyelesaikan kejahatan terorisme. Pemberantasan terorisme di Asia Tenggara menyisakan masalah serius terkait perlindungan hak asasi manusia, isu impunitas, serangan terhadap masyarakat sipil, dan keterlibatan militer yang mengancam integritas teritorial. Isu-isu tersebut bertentangan dengan Kebijakan ACCT serta kedaulatan, integritas nasional, dan keamanan anggota ASEAN.

Kata Kunci:

ASEAN; Pemberantasan Terorisme; Hak Asasi Manusia; Asia Tenggara

Introduction

As a dynamic region, Southeast Asia faces various political and security issues. The area is particularly facing a significant problem related 54 rans-border terrorist crimes. Since 2016, triggered by the operation of the Islamic States of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) network, regional security has worsened. The Abu Sayyaf network in the Philippines, the Pattani terrorism network in Southern Thailand, and the ISIS network through *Jama'ah Ansorul Daulah* (JAD) and *Jama'ah Ansorul Tauhid* (JAT) in Indonesia indicate a more critical spread of terrorism network and pose a threat at the regional level. ¹

Additionally, the spread of the ISIS network across several regions in Southeast Asia has departed from various motives and backgrounds ranging from causing threats and national riots to instability. The group furthermore attempts to separate themselves from their native countries. For example, in the Philippines, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the Abu Sayyaf terrorist group want to create an Islamic state separated from the Philippines in the southern province of Mindanao. It has become an insurgent group and has carried out numerous terrorism activities. Since the 1990s, the group had launched several attacks, including the significant attacks in February 2005² and new attacks emerging in 2016 and 2017.

The terrorism movement in Southern Thailand (Narathiwat, Pattani, and Yala Provinces), meanwhile, took place in 2003. It has overgrown and turned into a massive rebellion. Additionally, the terrorist groups 69 amely PULO (Pattani United Liberation Organization) and Bersatu (Barisan Kemerdekaan Pattani/United Front for the Independence of Pattani) with direct links with Al-Qaeda key

¹ Marguerite Borelli, "ASEAN Counter - Terrorism Weaknesses," International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research 9, no. 9 (2017): 14–20, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/26351552.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A4b7501f4cc5772d93 31 229e7b1c942d. 15.

² Jonathan T. Chow, "ASEAN Counterterrorism Cooperation Since 9/11," Asian Survey 45, no. 2 (2005), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2005.45.2.302.303

persons such as Omar al-Farouk and Commander Ali Gufron³ had performed various terrorism acts and thus posing a big threat to regional stability.

Meantime, the terrorism movement in Indonesia also needs to be taken seriously as an alarming trend threatening regional stability. Bali bombing 1 and 2, bombings in Australian Embassy, the Ritz Charlton, Poso, and the bombing recently happening in Surabaya and Sidoarjo last 2018 are some cases worrying the country. Most recently, the repatriation of ISIS Foreign Terrorism Fighters (FTF) from Indonesian citizens sparks marked pros and cons. About 6 Indonesians who joined FTF in Syria, such as Al-Roj, Al-Hol, and Ainisa camps expected to return to Indonesia. The Indonesian government's official statement based on a special Cabinet meeting (11/2/2020) stated that they did not plan to repatriate the FTF to Indonesia.

This stems response of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) as a regional organization in Southeast Asia that focuses on cooperation among member countries to create regional security and stability. For instance, one of ASEAN's commitments is stated in the ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC) and set forth in the Charter of ASEAN as the constitutive charter of Southeast Asian countries. As a concrete averment of the ASEAN cooperation, ASEAN members regularly gather on the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) agenda, a regional meeting to discuss regional issues, including terrorism.⁵

Moreover, as a derivative of the ASEAN Charter and in the context of realizing the APSC, maintaining peace, security, and regional stability as well as realizing cooperative action or engagement among countries, ASEAN member countries agreed to form the ASEAN Convention on Counter-Terrorism (ACCT). ACCT was established in Cebu, Philippines, on January 13, 2007. This legal basis is evidence for the ASEAN community's agreement on the status

³ Kavi Chongkittavorn, "Thailand: International Terrorism and the Muslim South," Southeast Asian Af 32, 2004, 267–75.

⁴ CNN Indonesia, "Pemerintah Putuskan Tak Akan Pulangkan 689 WNI Eks ISIS. Retrieved f 13 CNN Indonesia," CNN Indonesia, 2020.

⁵ Juurgen Haacke and Noel M. Morada, Cooperative Security in the Asia-Pacific: The ASEAN Regional Forum (New York: Routledge, 2010). 25

of terrorism as an extraordinary crime. Simultaneously, a tremendous potential threat to regional sovereignty and security was getting more prominent due to terrorism crimes.⁶

On the other hand, there are several challenges to deal with in order to create regional political and security integration, particularly concerning with prevention of increasing intensity of terrorism. The challenges mainly come from the political stance of each member country who potentially do one of the following:⁷

- Refraining from criticizing any fellow countries related to various domestic problems policies, including those related to human rights violations;
- b. Criticizing any actions of fellow countries as a part of the intervention.
- c. Refusing recognition and sanction while supporting neighboring rebel groups.
- d. Providing political support and assistance for campaigns against national sovereignty

Therefore, ASEAN member countries' efforts should be made as an international political stance to overcome terrorism considering that so far, they have been limited and ineffective in countering terrorism or maintaining regional security. ASEAN member countries need thoughtful and effective steps to tackle terrorism and to protect human rights for their community.⁸

This research has a significant scientific contribution to upholding human rights through efforts in combating terrorism in Southeast Asia. More specifically, this research focuses on how terrorism eradication is supposed to follow legal and regulatory

⁶ A. Masuhara, *The SAGE Handbook of Asian Foreign Policy*, ed. Takeshi Inoguchi (California: SAGE Publications, 2020), https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526436078.n54.

⁷ L Jones, ASEAN, Sovereignty, and Intervention in Southeast Asia (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), https://books.gc_20_e.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=DbKIGm7x64kC&oi=fnd&pg=PP1 &dq=Jones,+L.+(2012).+ASEAN,+Sovereignty,+and+Intervention+in+Southeast+Asia.+London:+Palgrave+MacMillan&ots=Cr4M8e9lp-&sig=kCdXruKIq4-FA8q4_46* LFPPy86A&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Jones%252.45

⁸ Andrew Chau, "Security Community and Southeast Asia: Australia, the U.S., and ASEAN's Counter-Terror Strategy," Asian Survey 48, no. 4 (2008): 626–649, https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2008.48.4.626.630

standards as well as the appreciation of human rights.⁹ It will furthermore help the scientific development of international humanitarian law, human rights law, and law on criminal acts of terrorism. Conceptually, the aim is to draw a comprehensive picture of how to overcome terrorism crimes in Southeast Asia through ASEAN's power as a regional organization and mutually beneficial cooperation for its member countries.

Method

The research focused on regulatory through a comparative approach. This is mainly because several countries in Southeast Asia have implemented counter-terrorism policies to fight against terrorism. Meanwhile, the method used to discuss terrorism eradication needs to analyze the operation of terrorist groups using several methods, including analysis of existing information.¹⁰

Electronic data were comprehensively collected to find out how dangerous the ideological doctrine of the terrorist network is. The data encompasses strategy formulation and terrorist attacks history records, including the form of bomb attacks, cyber attacks, and other armed attacks. With the nature of this research, its topic on terrorism deals with an approach to literature.¹¹

Discussion and Result Terrorist Groups and Their Liability for the Law

The suppression of criminal acts of terrorism has always been targeting terrorist groups. A terrorist group is defined as a group of individuals with an awareness of their ideology and willingness to be trained, to budge (as FTF), and to act as combatants in the committed acts of terrorism. The consequences of individuals who are considered a part of a terrorist group network involve the prohibition of going

⁹ Irwansyah, Penelitian Hukum: Pilihan Metode & Praktik Penulisan Artikel, ed. Ahsan Yunus (Yo 25 karta: Mirra Buana Media, 2020). 95

¹⁰ A. Basu, "Social Network Analysis: A Methodology for Studying Terrorism," in *Intelligen* 34 stems Reference Library, vol. 65 (Basel: Springer Nature, 2014), 215–42.

¹¹ A. P. Schmid, "The Literature on Terrorism," in The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research (New York: Routledge, 2011), 460-62.

abroad, temporary confiscation of assets, and being included in red immigration records.¹²

The latest development in non-international armed conflict has responded to the times. It is the pressure from the international community to immediately enact counter-terrorism policies globally. This pattern is the same as the UN resolutions made after the 9/11 WTC bombing that staggered the international community. Allegedly, Osama bin Laden, Al-Qaeda, and Taliban networks who are expanding and developing rapidly in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, were the perpetrators of the incident. Similarly, Israeli attacks on opposition factions in Palestine are often categorized as Hamas' terrorists, the same way with the terrorist group in Lebanon, Hezbollah. Until recently, terrorism networks based in Iraq and Syria, which today are the foremost executants, continue to grow. Islamic States of Ira and Syria (ISIS), meanwhile, have become non-state actors who have either conflict with their native country or commit terrorist attacks in other countries. 13 Therefore, the presence of FTF has become a distinctive and substantial issue globally.

The interpretation of the war on terror by the United States is likely a landmark decision for the war on terrorism, where the extraterritorial principle was carried out to find the perpetrators of 9/11. The US invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq has killed approximately 700,000 innocent civilians and destroyed infrastructure such as civil

¹² K. Roach, Comparative Counter-Terrorism Law (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015). 78

¹³ Derek Jins and Jackson N. Maogoto, Applying International Humanitarian Law in Judicial and Quasi-Judicial Bodies: International and Domestic Aspects, ed. Solon Solomon (Springer, 2014),

 $[\]label{lem:https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=8fosBAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP5&dq=Derek+Jins,+e.+(2008).+Applying+International+Humanitarian+Law+in+Judicial+and+Quasi-$

and historical buildings. The invasion causes a bad precedent for international humanitarian law.¹⁴

Therefore, there needs to be a mechanism for recognizing and accounting for terrorism from parties involved in a non-international armed conflict based on international humanitarian law mechanisms. A more comprehensive mechanism and approach in eradicating terrorism need to be made upon human values. With that realization, innocent civilians will no longer be the victims of invasion and war. International security is the mandate of the international legal mechanisms under the United Nations resolutions. ¹⁵

The United Nations, through the General Assembly and Security Council, has drafted international legal regulations derived from mechanisms intended to tackle terrorism. Moreover, the UN also promotes the protection of human rights while recognizing terrorism as an international crime followed by principles of protection for refugees who are the victims of terrorism in the UN General Assembly resolution 60/1, agreed on September 20, 2005. Also, Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy is ratified on September 8, 2006.

Counter-terrorism strategy in the pillars compiled by the United Nations related to terrorism eradication encompasses: (Pillar I) – the counter of terrorism that spreads throughout the world. (Pillar II) – the prevention and eradication of terrorism crimes, (Pillar III) –

¹⁴ Roberta Arnold and Noelle Quenivet, International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law: Towards a New Merger in International Law (Leiden and Boston: Martin 45 Nijhoff Publisher, 2008). 88

¹⁵ Ana María Salinas de Frías, Katja Samuel, and Nigel White, Counter-Terrorism: International Law and Practice (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), https://doi.org/10.1007/10.10

Terrorism:+International+Law+and+Practice.+Oxford:+Oxford+University+Press.&ots=DUQGBEL00K&sig=Oh7MYPm239TK9nn4b1CQ0UpSFRY&redir_esc=y#v=onepage.43

¹⁶ United Nations, "UN Doc A/RES/60/1" (2005).

¹⁷ United Nations, "UNGA Res 60/288" (2006).

constructing the state's capacity in strengthening the role of combating terrorism under the UN mechanism; (Pillar IV) – the guarantee of protection of human rights and rules of law.¹⁸ In this case, the method of combating global terrorism must be carried out in line with international humanitarian law's objectives. The tactical attacks aimed to take down terrorism must uphold human rights values, respect legal principles, and protect civil society both at the regional and global levels so that terrorism can be handled properly and thoroughly.

ASEAN's Role to Conduct Counter-Terrorism Policy

As a response to terrorist actions in the ASEAN region, the ACCT was signed in 2007 then ratified by 6 ASEAN member countries in 2011. Only in 2013, all ASEAN member countries finally ratified the ACCT. As a regional legal instrument in combating terrorism, ACCT has the scope and recognition of terrorism types that are growing globally. In Article II, ACCT states that the types of recognized terrorism crimes are: (a) Crimes of terrorism and their relation to aircraft hijacking; (b). Terrorism and attacks on foreign diplomats; (c). Terrorism and prisoner protection; (d). Terrorism and the use of treacherous nuclear weapons; (e). Safety protocols on civil aviation; (f). Terrorism crimes that disrupt international shipping; (g). Terrorism crimes and the emphasis on bombers; (h). Terrorism crime financing.

However, a specific issue makes it difficult for the ACCT to integrate into the actions against terrorism in the region, namely points substantiated in Article III-IV of the ACCT. It explains that

¹⁸ María Jiménez Ramos, "The Impact of the Narrative of Victimization: An Experiment with University Students in Spain," *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and* 61 tical Aggression 0, no. 0 (2020): 1–23, https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2020.1856168. 20

¹⁹ Borelli, "ASEAN Counter - Terrorism Weaknesses." 3

fellow countries are obliged to respect other country's sovereignty. Consequently, the exclusivity of law enforcement related to the prosecution of terrorism crimes has hampered ASEAN's steps in the eradication process. In Article V, furthermore, ACCT only focuses on preventing terrorism crimes as described in Article II ACCT.

Article V of the ACCT highlights how member countries strengthen global or cross-border cooperation considering a chance of terrorism activities in the point-like those committed by the Abu Sayyaf group. Through the series of terrorism acts, the group moved to the Sulu border location/Mindanao. Along with it, Sulawesi became a very strategic area for transit points, war logistics and weapons administration, and a base for the attack objects. Another significant attack was also committed by Abu Sayyaf group in mid-September 2013 and about 30,000 civilian prisoners were captured. This is not only a trouble for the Philippines, but also a regional problem since some fishermen from other countries also became hostages.²⁰ Those obvious matters do not only, therefore, require cooperative action, but also an establishment and placement of armed alliance.

The paradox of maintaining state exclusivity in dealing with terrorism on the pretext of sovereignty in Southeast Asia has presented an obstacle. It has made regional terrorism activities intensified. In addition to forming a defense alliance, ASEAN member countries need to get integrated into a specific criminal law and set regional jurisdiction for terrorism. This is necessary to be addressed

²⁰ Senia Febrica, "Securing the Sulu-Sulawesi Seas from Maritime Terrorism: A joublesome Cooperation?," Perspectives on Terrorism 8, no. 3 (2014): 64–83, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26297173?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents. 68

because the impact of terrorism creates a worrying regional instability. 21

To strengthen commitment in eradicating terrorism crimes in the region, raising awareness is needed to integrate criminal policies. Additionally, it needs unification of criminal acts of terrorism before the court and law enforcement officials among member countries that exceed the jurisdiction of each state or beyond each's national jurisdiction.²²

Deradicalization Practices in ASEAN

Deradicalization is the primary strategy in eradicating terrorism. It is a strategic step that a country can take to fight terrorism. Deradicalization relates closely to religious beliefs. Cognitive knowledge that both individuals and groups believe is justified in the activities of terrorism and violence. Additionally, the common perspectives of moderate peace and education are critical factors in efforts of deradicalization. However, it should be supported by strong policies so that deradicalization efforts can be realized, especially in Muslim countries with a great potential for radicalism.²³ For terrorism suspects, efforts to rehabilitate their radicalism within the prison scope are an effective strategy because it is right on the target. Besides, law enforcement for terrorism networks performed by

²¹ Sandy Gordon, "Regionalism and Cross-Border Cooperation against Crime d Terrorism in the Asia-Pacific," Security Challenges 5, no. 4 (2009): 75–102, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26460070?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

²² Satria Unggul Wicaksana Prakasa, Basuki Babussalam, and Agus Supi ⁴², "Transnational Corruption and Its Impact on Indonesian Jurisdiction," in ^{2nd} International Conference of Law, Government and Social Justice (ICOLGAS 2020) (Atlantis Press, 2020), 43–53, https://sioi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.201209.266. 46

²³ Sulistiyono Susilo and Reza Pahlevi Dalimunthe, "Moderate Southeast Asian Islamic Education as a Parent Culture in Deradicalization: Urgencies, Strategies, and Challenges," Religions 10, no. 1 (2019), https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10010045. p. 31

the authorities is another effective effort to prevent the widespread terrorist radicalization network in the future.²⁴

Various rehabilitation efforts in the deradicalization agenda for terrorist groups aim at eliminating the paradigm of violence justification that the groups believe. By equating perception and paradigm, further strategies for deradicalization can be implemented easily. Besides, amnesty efforts can also be given by the state as compensation for terrorist convicts who undergo the deradicalization program. These strategies will attest to terrorism networks, terrorism financing, doctrine models, and law enforcers as a strategy for eradicating terrorism in a country. Besides, with a social interaction approach, state repression diminution, and charismatic methods, jihadist groups will be fully aware that they perform delegitimizing actions for the violence they committed before.²⁵

ASEAN Countries' Best Practice to Counter Terrorism

Although the ACCT has become a legal instrument in combating terrorism in the ASEAN region, its requisite power and implementation in each ASEAN member country vary. This depends on the legal politics of terrorism eradication policies in each ASEAN member countries. The following table shows the comparison of the

²⁴ Jolene Jerard et al., Deradicalisation and Terrorist Rehabilitation: A Framework for Policy-Making and Implementation, ed. Rohan Gunaratna and Sabariah Hussin (Taylor & Francis, 2018), https://looks.google.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=7U9tDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT 16&d_1 Rohan+Gunaratna,+and+Sabariah+Hussin+(ed),+Deradicalisation+and+Terr orist+Rehabilitation+:+A+Framework+for+Policy-Making 62)d+Implementation,+Taylor+%26+Francis+Group,+2018.+ProQu. 143

25 Omar Ashour, The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2009), https://docs.google.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=h6pTaBDybKAC&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Ashour,+O.+(2009).+The+De-Radicalization+of+Jihadists:+Transforming+Armed+Islamist+Movements+(1st+ed.).

⁺Routledge&ots=W9r2SjF2v2&sig=NuhX1bzOPZoTLu6iPSAEU0jjBkQ&redir_esc=y#v=onep. 231

application of the ACCT and the national laws of each ASEAN member country in combating terrorism:

Table 1. Practices of ASEAN Countries in Combating Terrorism²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶

Nation			orism ization	Te	rrorism Acts	Anti-Terrorism Law Enforcement
Indonesia	1.	Free	Papua	Bali	Bombing I,	In 2018, Densus 88 arrested
(BNPT and		Move	ment	Bali	Bombing II,	people unlawfully. This
Densus 88)		(OPM)	Boml	bing at the	wrongly targetting arrest
	2.	Repul	olic of	Mala	ysian	was experienced by Arifin,
		South		Emba	assy, Bombing	a resident of Malang, who

²⁶ Borelli, "ASEAN Counter - Terrorism Weaknesses." 4

²⁷ Leonard C. Sebastian, "The ASEAN Respond to Terrorism," UNISCI Discussion PapersSCI Discussion Paper 2 (2003): 1–8, https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/767/76711296010.pdf. 5

²⁸ Sholahuddin Al-Fatih and Zaka Firma Aditya, "The Legal Protection Against Terrorism Suspects In Indo 18 ia (Case Study of The Arrest Process of Terrorism Suspects By Densus 88)," Legality: Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum 27, no. 1 (2019): 14–26, https://doi.org/10.22219/jihl.v27i1.8954. 21

²⁹ AA Bagus Surya Widya Nugraha, "Singapura Dan Permasalahan Terorisme" (Denpasar, 2018), http://erepo.unud.ac.id/id/eprint/21968/1/258d9fcbf781b6af3cf5bfb9b1fcdce5.pdf. 33

³⁰ Stefanie Kam, "LAOS," in *Handbook of Terrorism in the Asia-Pacific* (Singapore: Nanyang Technological University, 2016), 71–84, https://doi.org/10.1142/9781783269969_0004.74

³¹ Alfianti Dwi Rachma, "Perbandingan Hukum Pidana Terhadap Kejahatan Terorisme Di Indonesia Dan Filipina" (Universitas Pancasakti Tegal, 2020). p. 23

³² Aditya Putra and Diana Lukitasari, "Perbandingan Peng 49 an Tindak Pidana Terorisme Di Indonesia Dan Malaysia," *Recidivie* 8, no. 1 (2019): 1–12, https://jurnal.uns.ac.id/recidive/article/view/40611.5

³³ Ibid. Pu 2a and Lukitasari.

³⁴ ICG, "Jihadism in Southern Thailand: A Phantom Menace," International Crisis Group, 2017, https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/thailand/291-jihadism-southern-thailand-phantom-menace.

^{35 (}BUREAU OF COUNTER-TERRORISM, 2020)

³⁶ Reuters Staff, "Vietnam Jails 20 for Terrorism over Police Station Bombs," Reuters, 2020.

- Maluku (RMS; Republik Maluku Selatan)
- 3. Free Aceh
 Movement
 (GAM;
 Gerakan Aceh
 Merdeka)
- 4. DII (Darul Islam Indonesia)/TI I (Tentara Islam Indonesia)
- 5. Jamaah Islamiyah
- 6. Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT)
- 7. Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD)
- at the Australian Embassy, Bombing at the Indonesian Stock Exchange, Bombing at the HKBP-Santa Anna Church, Bombing at Plaza Atrium Mall Senen, Bombing at KFC Makassar, Bombing at the Ritz Carlton Hotel, Bomb at JW Marriot Hotel, Bombing Mapolresta Cirebon Mosque, and so on

alleged be was to perpetrator or involved in bombing terror Surabaya; In 2016, community was agitated by the death of Siyono, a Muhammadiyah young man from Klaten who was the victim of Densus 88's arrest. Unfortunately, Siyono could not help to reveal in detail chronology of the incident that happened to him because of his death. Then, National Police Chief. General Badrodin Haiti, explained that Densus 88 had violated the procedure arresting suspected terrorists: including a) not handcuffing suspected terrorists, and b) only providing one bodyguard for suspected terrorists. In a report released by the Advocacy Division of PP Muhammadiyah along Komnas with HAM (National Human Rights Commission) and based on the autopsy results, Siyono died of a broken rib and chest, resulting in tissue damage in the heart organ. In addition, the autopsy result reported that there were no signs of resistance

			from Siyono regarding the
			bruises around the wrist.
			This proof does not
			correspond to the statement
			of the National Police
			Headquarters stating that
			Siyono was fighting against
			it. c). Another arrest took
			place on Tuesday
			(12/29/2015) in Solo,
			Central Java. Two Solo
			residents, Ayom Penggalih
			and Nur Syafruddin, were
			on their way to the mosque
			when they were arrested by
			Densus 88, and it was
			found out that they were
			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
			not terrorists. d). In mid-
			May 2014, Densus 88 made
			a wrongful accusation in
			Solo involving the arrest of
			Kadir from Banyu Harjo
			Village. e). Another similar
			case took place at the end
			of July 2013. Densus 88 also
			arrested two
			Muhammadiyah residents,
			who were finally released
			because they were later
			proven innocent. f). Other
			arrests against 14 Poso
			residents followed in 2012,
			but the arrested were
			proven to have no
			involvement and were
			released.
Singapore	Singapore	Bombing at McD	In 2001, ISD Singapore
(NSCS and	Jamaah	in 1965, bombing	arrested 15 people, 13 of
(- to co and	juiituuit	in 1700, bollioning	mirested is people, is of

ISD	(affiliation of	at the Shell oil	whom wore II members
Singapura)	(affiliation of Jamaah Islamiyah)	refinery complex on Bukom Island, the hijacking of Singapore Airline Flight 117 in 1991, and others.	whom were JI members. In August 2002, ISD recaptured 21 people, nineteen of whom were JI members under military training with China and the United States, as well as deradicalizing clerical Muslims by empowering the potentials of Muslims.
Malaysia	1. Al-Maunah	The hijacking of	The government provides
(Pasgeras)	Movement	Malaysia Airlines	deradicalization efforts
	2. Malaysian	Flight 653 and	for terrorist perpetrators
	Mujahidin	the hijacking of	or suspected terrorists.
	Group	Malaysia Airlines	Deradicalization is carried
	3. Malaysian Militants	Flight MH370.	out with the Human
	Group		Development Program to eliminate the radical
	Group		doctrine of terrorists as
			well as to train their social
			skills so that they have
			provisions to re-socialize
			with the community
Brunei	Not yet found	Terrorism act in	Brunei Darussalam is
Darussalam		Brunei	relatively safe from any
(Internal		Darussalam has	terrorist acts even though
Security		been reportedly	it is close to Malaysia,
Department		never happened.	Indonesia, and the
)		However, the	Philippines, in which
		Brunei Darussalam	many terrors incidentally have occurred. To prevent
		government was	terrorism, the Brunei
		recorded to have	government has made
		deported 4	regulations outlining
		Indonesian	preventive measures.
		citizens who	-
		were suspected	
		of being affiliated	

		with ISIS.	
Thailand (Hanuman)	1. Thailand Pattani United Liberation Organizatio n 2. Pattani Malay National Revolution Line (BRN)	Terrorism acts in Thailand mostly happen in the Pattani area where many ethnic Malay-Muslims live. Some deportation cases of Thai nationals in Malaysia were also dominated by Pattani residents. Overall, in a 2019 report by US Embassy, the number of insurgent terrorist attacks and related fatalities decreased from the previous year; However, a November 5 attack at a security checkpoint in Yala killed 15, making it the single deadliest attack attributed to southern insurgents since 2004. Attacks in 2019 were primarily	The government held a dialogue with several institutions, including those involving BRN (Barisan Revolusi Nasional), the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO), and The Majlis Syura Patani (Patani Consultative Council, MARA Patani)

			Communist Party.	
Philipines	1.	New	2001 killing of	The deployment of US
(The		People's	foreign tourists in	troops in the Southern
National		Army	Southern	Philippines and adding
Counter-	2.		Philippines, 2001	funding to tackle terrorism
Terrorism		Group	attack in Manila,	in Mindanao
Action Group		(ASG)	2002 Bombing at	
(NCTAG)	3.	, ,	Philippine military	
dan	4.	Moro Islamic	base at Zamoanga,	
Anti-		Liberation	2003 Bombing at	
Terrorism		Front (MILF)	Davao City	
Council)		, ,	Airport, and 2004	
			ferry hijacking	
Cambodia	1.	Khmer	Grenade throwing	Forming the Royal
		Rouge rebels	and establishment	Cambodian Army Forces
	2.	Cambodian	of Cambodian	(RCAF) in collaboration
		Freedom	government	with the US military in the
		Fighter	agencies in the	form of information and
		(CFF)	United States	intelligence sharing,
				supervision of financial
				transactions, and access to
				the use of US aircraft.
Lao PDR	1.	Hmong	Bombing in public	Using military force to
		minority	places and public	oppress ethnic minorities,
		ethnic	facilities since 2000	such as the Hmong. This
	2.	Anti-	and killings aimed	method is deemed useful
		communist	at the Lao	enough to narrow the
		in exile	government	movement of terrorism in
	3.	Disaffected		Laos dominated by ethnic
		member of		minorities and factions
		Lao military		expecting to break free
	4.	Laos		from the sovereign Laos
		Patriotic		government.
	_	Front (LPF)		
	5.	Meo		
		Tribesmen		
	6.	Ethnic		
		Liberation		

Myanmar	Organization of Laos (ELOL) 7. Laos United Liberation 21 pnt (LULF) 8. United National Front for Liberation of Laos (LPNLUF) 9. Lao National Liberation Front (LNLF) 10.Royal Lao Democratic Government (RLDG) 1. North Korea Agent 2. United Liberations Front of Assam 3. United National Liberation Front 4. Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA)	Bombing in Rangoon 1983, in Yangon 2005 and 2010, killings and ethnic cleansing, and genocide against Rohingya Muslims in Rakhine, Arakan.	The Myanmar government establishes the terrorist label through law. The terrorist label is attached to the rebel group. Regarding the crackdown on terrorism in Myanmar, the government uses all forms of its military power, even when the cases in the Rohingya arose.
	Salvation		

The table shows that each ASEAN member country has its own characteristics whether in the model or form of terror they experience, affiliation with terrorist organizations to the prosecution of terrorists or suspected terrorists. Additionally, there are three models of methods or approaches that the ASEAN member countries take in eradicating terrorism, namely: 1) Preventive action in Brunei Darussalam and Vietnam; 2) Repressive action by the police in Indonesia (in an emergency condition, the military will also be accompanied by other elements of the National Armies and State Intelligence Agency like in Malaysia and Singapore; 3) Extra repressive action through full military force in the Philippines, Thailand, Cambodia, Myanmar, and Laos.³⁷

The table also implies that the definition of terrorism varies in each country. For example, in Indonesia, JI, JAD, and JAT are referred to as terrorist organizations, while OPM and RMS and their affiliates are only referred to as the Armed Criminal Group (*Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata*/KKB). In fact, practically, both JI and OPM use violence and murder while justifying any means to oppose the government. The same thing happens in Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, and the Philippines. The terrorist label is pinned by the state with a variety of legal instruments that the state own. It is prone to be interpreted as an attempt of the state to silence their opponents or opposition while eliminating minorities. In fact, eliminating groups labeled as terrorists potentially violate human rights since it was performed arbitrarily.³⁸ Unfortunately, ASEAN countries have made regulations, bodies, or institutions in counter-terrorism actions according to their respective understandings and needs as clear in table 2 below.

³⁷ Ong Keng Yong, "Advancing Multilateral Efforts in Counter Terrorism and Security in Southeast Asia," *Military Technology* 31, no. 12 (2007): 18–23.

^{15 38} Achmad Irwan Hamzani et al., "The Trend to Counter Terrorism in Asean," 15 rnal of Advanced Research in Dynamical and Control Systems 12, no. 7 (2020): 105–13, https://doi.org/10.5373/JARDCS/V12I7/20201990.110

Table 2. Regulations in ASEAN Countries in Combating Terrorism and Its Technical Team $^{\rm 39~40}$

Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme)	No.	Country	Formal Policy 63
e. TNI or Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Dengultor) and state			 Instruction of President of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 the Year 2002 Law of the Rapublic of Indonesia Number 5 the Year 2018 that amended Law Number 15 the Year 2003 concerning the Establishment of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 the Year 2001 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism. 76 operation with the United States Government. Attorney General of the Republic of Indonesia established Terrorism and Transnational Crime Task Force (TTCTF). Official Institution built for Counter-Terrorism, such as: Gegana Brimob Detachment Densus 88 (POLRI or Polisi Republik Indonesia) Squnter Terror Desk National Agency for Counter-Terrorism (BNPT; Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme)

 $^{^{\}rm 39}\,\rm Hamzani$ et al.

⁴⁰ Kam, "LAOS."

		1. Supreme Command of the Royal Thai Armed Forces that
		move on the operational level of counter-terrorism.
2.	Thailand	2. Counter-Terrorism Program by Royal Thai Navy.
	Trianaria	3. The National Security Council (NSC) is led by the Thai
		Foreign Ministry.
		4. Thailand Maritime Enforcement Coordination Center (THAI-
		MECC).
		5. Martial Law Against Insurgency in Southern Thailand
		(Military Emergency and Curfew in Pattani, Yala, and
		Narathiwat Areas, 2004).
		6. Expansion of Counter-Terrorism Handling in the financial,
		Transnational Corporations/TNC, and drug sectors.
		Internal Security Act (ISA).
3.	Malaysia	2. Penal Code.
		3. Special Motion Regimen under the training of British 22nd
		SAS. 58
		1. Ratification of the ASEAN Convention on Counter-Terrorism
4.	Myanmar	in 2012.
1	lary uriniur	2. The legalization of Strategic Counter-Money Laundering
		and Countering the Financing of Terrorism (AML/CFT)
		Policy Deficiencies in 2011.
		3. The Policy or Law on Counter-Terrorism is still limited to the
		Criminal Justice System.
		Internal Security Act.
		2. Singapore Armed Forces Act, forming the special forces of
		the Air Marshal Unit.
5.	Singapore	3. 64lice MRT Unit.
		4. Singapore Special Operations Force, Special Operations
		Command, Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and
		Explosive Defence Group.
		5. Law concerning Money Laundering Elimination/Counter-
		Terrorist Financing Regimes.
		6. Military Training with China and the United States.
		7. STEBIS IGM-Indonesia. Deradicalization of Muslim clerics
		by empowering the potential of Muslims.

		1. National Plan to Address Terrorism and its Consequences (2002).
6.	Philippines	2. Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao
0.	Timpphies	(ARMM),
		3. Freedom Eagle Operation, 2002 in the form of the
		deployment of U.S. military personnel in the
		Southern Philippines.
		4. \$92 million funding support for military assistance in
		Mindanao in 2001.
		5. A mixed anti-terror Unit between the Armed Forces of the
		Philippines and the Philippines National Police.
		6. Establishment of Special Force Regiment to deal with
		terrorism.
		1. Cooperation with the UN by Supporting UN Security
		Council Resolution Number 1368 and 1373 on the War on
		International Terrorism.
7.	Cambodia	2. The formation of Royal Cambodian Army Forces (RCAF) in
		cooperation with the United States Military in the form of
		information sharing and intelligence, supervision of
		financial transactions, and access to the use of United States
		aircraft.
		3. The formation of Royal Cambodian Armed Forces '911
		consisting of Commander Battalion.
		4. Ratification of 4 International Conventions to fight
		Terrorism.
		5. Inauguration of the establishment of the secretariat of the
		Cambodian National Counter-Terrorism Committee (NCTC).
		Anti Terrorism (Financial an the Measures) Act.
		2. Prevention and suppression of terrorist acts.
	Brunei	3. National security-related program.
8.	Darussala	4. Travel and border safety.
	m	5. Generating awareness.
		6. Cooperation on information exchange.
		7. Biological attack.
	X7: - 1	Amendment of Penal Code Year 2009.
9.	Vietnam	2. Emphasis on criminal justice response to combat the threat of
		terrorism.
		KITOTISHI.

10.	Laos	1. Collaboration ith UNODC in 2012		
		2. Participation in pro-courter terrorism initiatives at a bilateral		
		level with the US and multilateral level with the UN and		
		ASEAN		
		3. Military suppression in progress		

The differences in regulations and practices of eradicating terrorism shown by countries in ASEAN ultimately provide a clear pattern of response. ASEAN countries have not handled terrorism in the same way. For example, Malaysia and Thailand have relied on more coercive and militaristic responses, whereas Indonesia and Singapore have mostly adopted a non-militaristic, especially law enforcement approach to tackling the problem. The difference in the pattern of prosecution against terrorism also has an impact on pledging the protection of human rights during the process of combating terrorism in each country.

Human Rights Protection Related to Terrorism in ASEAN

Human rights are fundamental rights of individuals to be protected and not repressed by the state, since its nativity is based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1998. Categorically, human rights are divided based on: (1) Civil and political rights as regulated under the International Convention on Civil and Political Pights (ICCPR); (2) Economic, social and cultural Rights regulated under the International Convention on Economy, Social and Cultural

⁴¹ See Seng Tan, "After Marawi: Military 's Regional Role in Counter-50 rorism?," RSIS Commentary, no. 016 (2018): 2016–18, https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/CO18 3.pdf. 218

⁴² Ridwan Arifin and Muhamad Adji Rahardian Utama, "Future Impact of the Asean-Russia Law Declaration to the International Terrorism: Can We Combat Terrorist without War?," Russian Law Journal 8, no. 2 (2020): 4–27, https://doi.org/10.17589/2309-8678-2020-8-2-4-27. 23

Rights (ICESCR), as well as; (3). The rights for development⁴³ as the third generation of human rights.

Efforts to protect human rights in the eradication of terrorism are a key issue for the United Nations in establishing standards mechanisms for combating terrorism. This is as mandated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and various derivative Human Rights Covenants. In addition, the acts to avoid repression and extra-judicial killings and to prioritize the due process of law are determinants in the eradication of global terrorism.⁴⁴ Prioritizing the eradication of terrorism with a human rights paradigm is the key to realize human rights protection.

Respect for human rights in ASEAN has become an imperative norm. Furthermore, it has Human Rights Bodies as regulated in Article 14 of the ASEAN Charter. However, the effectiveness of the Agency has not been felt by people of the region, especially victims of terrorism. Likewise, there is a lack of concern about how to get recovered from terrorism with zero loss and victims as well as a little guarantee for a sense of security at a place to live in the area.⁴⁵

In order to conduct equal values in eradicating terrorism and protecting human rights, there are at least four conditions, according to Alex Conte, for ASEAN member countries need to establish and apply: (1). Laws concerning the eradication of terrorism and its full compliance with human rights law; (2). Limited rights and freedoms in terrorism eradication by means of restrictions protected by legal

⁴³ D. Stewart, Terrorism and Human Rights: The Perspective of International Law (Washington DC: Middle East Institute, 2018), https://doi.org/10.2303/resrep19954.7.112

⁴⁴ Axel Dreher, Martin Gassebner, and Lars-H. Siemers, "Does Terrorism Threaten Hu 56 n Rights? Evidence from Panel Data," *Journal of Law & Economics* 53, no. 1 (2010): 65–93, https://doi.org/10.1086/59602119

⁴⁵ Victor Asal, K Deloughery, and A Murdie, "Responding to Terrorism? Human Rights Organization Sh 57 ing and Terrorist Attacks," Studies in Conflict & Terrorism 39, no. 3 (2016): 240–59, https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1093887. 245

norms; (3). Legislation concerning terrorism eradication and its practice prioritizing legal processes; (4). Legislation concerning terrorism eradication with the right to consider human rights depending on the factual situation and conditions; (5) Legislation concerning terrorism eradication in terms of restricting human rights with proportional enforcement.⁴⁶

Currently, ASEAN had already worked on the ASEAN Inter-Governmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) as a body that monitors the implementation of principles on promoting and protecting human rights for all member countries. The establishment of this body is a mandate of The Charter of ASEAN. AICHR is supposed to be a significant carrier for all member countries in order to promote the development of strong human rights and to eradicate terrorism in the region.⁴⁷

Under the Charter of ASEAN mechanism, ASEAN member countries agreed on the ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism (ACCT) which was signed in Cebu, the Philippines in 2007. At the regional agreement agenda, it has been agreed for cooperative means among ASEAN member countries to (a). take strategic steps to prevent terrorism act, including the exchange of information; (b). discontinue funding, plans, and facilities that support terrorist activities in the region; (c). hinder the movement of terrorist groups through effective border surveillance, including the identification of travel documents held through the Foreign Terrorism Fighters (FTF) mechanism; (d). build capacity and cooperative techniques among member countries to counter terrorism; (e). promote public awareness

⁴⁶ A. Conte, Handbook on Human Rights Compliance While Countering Terrorism (London: Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2008), https://doi.org/10.2307/resrep1170.78

⁴⁷ Abubakar Eby Hara, "The Struggle to Uphold a Regional Human Rights Regime: The Windi 35 Role of Asean Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR)," Revista Brasileira de Politica Internacional 62, no. 1 (2019), https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-7329201900111. 54.

in terrorism eradication in the region through peace dialogue; (f). enhance the strategy to guard the border areas both land and sea; (g). increase intelligence activities, exchange and sharing information among member countries; (h). increase cooperative activities among member countries by enhancing the database of terrorism groups through ASEAN's special agency appointed the parties; (i). strengthen the capacity of the state in anticipating the use of chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) weapons, cyber terrorism, and various developed models; (k). build research capacity related to counterterrorism; (l). utilize video conferences and teleconferences for prosecution; (m). ensure that parties suspected of being actively involved in terrorism crimes have access to justice under the law.

The issue of eradicating terrorism in the region does not only stop at regional agreements but also relates to efforts to build political commitment. This eradication continues to build an integrated culture among ASEAN member countries in the context of building a stronger commitment to eradicate terrorism. However, exclusive perspectives and reluctance to cooperate on the grounds of defending national sovereignty and jurisdiction often become common obstacles. In fact, an open and inclusive paradigm in political security matters and is a priority to carry out immediately.

Niklas Swanström, "Southeast Asia's War on Terror: Who Is Cooperating across 40 orders?," Harvard Asia Quarterly 9, no. 1 (2005), https://web.a.ebscohost.com/abstract?direct=true&profile=ehost&scope=site&autht ype=crawler&jrnl=15224147&AN=18820016&h=O8lb27VqaImHxUMzj5qWG1GiEPak NbFiByGFsKUmrj5yzqlxAkef5Y1LBAd4F%2B90RCPbCrliNidmEFXanZPG4Q%3D%3D&crl=55 esultNs=AdminWebAuth&resultLocal=E. 65.

⁴⁹ A. Acharya, Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: Asean and the Problem 12 egional Order (ProQuest Ebook Central, 2014). 98.

⁵⁰ Rizal Sukma, "The ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC): Opportunities and Constraints for the R2P in Southeast Asia," *The Pacific Review* 25, no. 1 (2012), https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2011.632975. 43.

Conclusion

Barriers among ASEAN member countries in eradicating terrorism on the pretext of sovereignty and exclusive jurisdiction need to be taken down by establishing defense alliances so that regional solidity and security integrity will increase. In addition, awareness and willingness to integrate criminal policies, the unification of criminal acts of terrorism court, and prosecution by law enforcers among member countries that exceed the jurisdiction of the state (beyond the national jurisdiction) are essential. More importantly, it is vital to ensure that human rights are not violated in the eradication of terrorism. The implementation of counterterrorism should also guarantee the security and peace of civil society, promote law enforcement, and give access to justice for victims of terrorism. Sharpening the effectiveness of Human Rights Bodies' role in ASEAN as a regional body that guarantees the eradication of terrorism is compulsory to protect human rights in Southeast Asia.

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