Development Of Terrorism In The Asia Region Post The Marawi Rebellion

Achmad Fauzan Hanifudin¹, Priyanto², Suhirwan³, Rudy Sutanto⁴

¹, ², ³, ⁴Asymmetric Warfare Study Program, Faculty of Defense Strategy, Republic of Indonesia Defense University
Email: ach.fauzan.131@gmail.com

Abstract – Acts of terrorism carried out by the Abu Sayyaf Insurgent Group and the Maute Clan in the Marawi region which was later called the Battle of Marawi which involved the IS (Islamic State) terrorist organization occupying the Marawi region, the capital of Lanao del Sur Province on South Mindanao Island, Philippines. The fighting quickly spread to various parts of the city and then showed the presence of an increasing threat of extremism that occurred in Southeast Asia. ASEAN as a regional organization is needed to provide a significant role in preventing and fighting transnational terrorism. This research then explores ASEAN's response to the issue of terrorism after the Battle of Marawi. Barriers to ASEAN regional organizations in conducting cooperation influenced ASEAN's response regarding counterinsurgency and counterterrorism strategies after the Battle of Marawi. Furthermore, to explain this, this study uses a qualitative research method with a literature approach.

Keywords – Battle of Marawi, Terrorism, ASEAN

I. INTRODUCTION

Terrorism developed centuries ago. The occurrence of pure crimes in the form of murders and threats is an example of terrorist acts aimed at achieving certain goals. Terrorism begins with the fanaticism of a belief system, which then turns into hatred, which culminates in the killing of individuals or groups of rulers who are considered hereditary.

The killing of this person could already be described as pure terrorism. In the history of modern terrorism, this security problem arose in the late 1800s and before World War I, and covered nearly the entire earth's surface. History tells us that in the 1890s, Armenian acts of terror against the Turkish government culminated in the massacre of Armenians during World War I.

According to etymology, terrorism comes from the word terror which means fear, anxiety; Terrorism means terrorism, deterrence; Terrorists mean terrorists, troublemakers; scary (vb) means to scare (Wojowasito & Poerwadar Minta, 1980). According to Chomsky, the concept of terrorism is still unclear and generally, there are differences of opinion regarding the definition of terrorism. The term terrorism refers more to tactics, and tools to achieve certain goals. As a tactic, terrorism can be used anytime and anywhere for group activities. If terrorism is understood as a tactic, then it is wrong for people to declare a "war on terror" because they cannot. Defeat tactics Declaring war on terrorism is the same as declaring an (actual/actual) permanent war.

However, to give an idea of how terrorism is defined, there are four groups that have different views on terrorism: academics, governments, the general public, and terrorists and their supporters. In general, academics present information and are neutral when dealing with terrorism. Academic cultures such as curiosity, skepticism, and multiple methodologies can lead to more independent and impartial attitudes and meaningful discoveries compared to other groups. This definition of a terrorist group appeared in 1988 and stated that terrorism is a method motivated by a desire to commit acts of violence repeatedly by individuals, groups, or secret authorities for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons. Therefore, it is different from killings whose purpose is to kill directly, the direct target of terrorist violence is not the person who is the main target. Victims of violence are usually randomly selected (objective targets) or (representative or symbolic audiences) from the target group, which is then
used as a source of news. Threats of violence and communication processes between terrorists and victims are used to manipulate the main target. It is this ultimate goal that becomes the object of terror, the object of demands, or the object of attention, depending on the desired level of intimidation, coercion, and propaganda (Schmid, 1999).

The struggle against colonialism, racial riots, regional conflicts involving the intervention of third parties, and riots in several Third World countries made the world unstable and turbulent. Demands for rights that are considered fundamental and legitimate in developing countries create opportunities for the emergence and spread of terrorism.

With the development of international globalization and liberalism, security issues have changed with the decline and collapse of authoritarian regimes in Southeast Asian countries. This is where terrorism began to take shape and the WTC incident of September 11 2001 was able to give confidence to global terrorist networks/organizations to continue to fight for their interests. (Magribi, 2010: 29) Countries in the Southeast Asian region themselves, terrorism has distinctive characteristics that distinguish it from other regions. In the 1980s, terrorism in the Southeast Asian region was related to movement (rebellion) as a form of resistance against the regime and then until 2013, this issue was getting weaker.

Terrorism in the Southeast Asian region is associated with authoritarian or totalitarian leadership, giving rise to underground movements that qualify as terrorism. Terrorism in the Southeast Asian region is developing dynamically, sometimes with bombings, sometimes with mass attacks on government officials or foreigners. There is a high spirit of coherence in the terrorist movement in Southeast Asia. Although terrorist movements generally emerged and developed in the 1970s/1980s, this terrorist movement still exists today to fight for its interests in several Southeast Asian countries, including the MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front) in the Philippines (Maghribi, 2010: 52-53).

At the height of the fighting during the Siege of Marawi, the jihadist militant group took more than 1,770 civilians, hostage, to maintain control of the southern Philippine city of Marawi on the island of Mindanao, the country's second-largest island. Several hostages were immediately killed; They used the other hostages as human shields. On May 23, 2017, they forced other hostages to produce explosives, dig tunnels, and secure used supplies after Philippine government forces attempted to arrest Isnil Hapilo, the leader of the radical militant group Abu Sayyaf. Philippine Islands. The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) chose him to become the Polish or military commander of Southeast Asia, or at least the emir of the region, which includes the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia and is what terrorists call the "Islamic State of the East" in Asia.

II. DISCUSSION

2.1. Marawi Rebellion in the Philippines

The characteristics of contemporary insurgency-related terrorism are a combination of apocalyptic motivations, religious references to violence, massive terrorist acts that can be used with weapons of mass destruction, international modes of action that are independent of national borders, and the existence of a global order through decentralization, organizational structures and local network alliances, multinational nature and membership composition, dependence on reduced government funding and the ability of such organizations to finance themselves, use of modern technology and communications to generate potential support, than the meager support of the pre-Internet era. In this case, terrorism is a product of global economic connections due to globalization, which also creates conditions for such terrorism (Hoffman 1997). The writer further argues that the Battle of Marawi is an indication of the convergence of insurgency and terrorism.

Violence and terrorism in the Philippines reflect two main internal problems, namely high poverty rates and weak government legitimacy. Two-thirds of the Muslim population inhabiting the region will later seek to rebel and secede from the country, or at least seize power in their territory, where the Filipino Muslim population makes up 5% of the country's total population, a country ruled by Catholics. Historically, armed insurgencies in the Philippines have been led by two main factions, namely the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and a separate part of the group, namely the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) (de Inza 2012).

The Islamic insurgency in the Philippines is surrounding the neglected and impoverished areas in the south of the country. Districts with high poverty rates provide a framework that encourages extremism due to economic conditions. This is supported by the fact that Mindanao has a high poverty rate of more than 50 percent compared to the national poverty rate, where Lanao del Sur in Maguindanao is 68.9 percent and 57.8 percent, respectively. This makes Mindanao the poorest region in the Philippines (Ordinario, 2014).
The battle for Marawi is not the first terror attempt by a Filipino Muslim militant group. The Philippines has faced several terrorist attacks across the Mindanao region. More specifically, the presence of armed Moro groups such as the Maute group in Mindanao is an indication of the government's policy of not immediately signing a peace agreement with the Bangsamoro. The frontman for the BIFF formation in 2010 was Umbra Kato. Kato has actively supported peace negotiations between the MILF and the Philippine government since the mechanism was launched. Kato's desire to establish a government to alleviate the suffering of the Moro was at the forefront of the planning process for the Memorandum of Agreement on Islamic Ancestral Area (MOA-AD), led by President Gloria Arroyo (Stange 2018).

In this context, changes to the state system towards authoritarianism have affected the peace process in the Philippines. President Rodrigo Roa Duterte was elected as the sixteenth President of the Philippines on May 9, 2016. In short, after Duterte officially took office as President of the Philippines and fulfilled the duties and responsibilities of his position, he immediately launched the Philippine War Against Drugs. This campaign involved the unlawful killing of thousands of drug dealers and users by the PNP and military teams set up to find specific individuals (Johnson and Fernquest 2018). This campaign has both positive and negative impacts on the country. The manifestations of the campaign spread fear among all Filipinos and paralyzed human rights defenders. This campaign also divided Filipinos into two camps for or against the presence of the campaign (Stange 2018).

2.2. The Development of Terrorism Issues in the Post-Marawi Southeast Asian Region

The complexity of the problem of terrorism in the Southeast Asian region raises different responses from each country in the region. This countermeasure includes counterterrorism and counterinsurgency approaches deployed in the region to combat terrorist threats and insurgencies in Southeast Asia (Tan 2008). It shows the convergence of terrorism and insurgencies in regional countries.

Terrorism is a transnational crime that is difficult to handle by just one country. Therefore it requires regional cooperation to build regional security in the Southeast Asian region. ASEAN has a set of counter-terrorism policies that have been ratified at different times by its members as a form of regional policy harmonization. Although ASEAN countries have their authority to establish cooperation with countries outside the region, the encouragement for the same efforts also applies to other ASEAN member countries. Harmonization is the key to maximum achievement in counter-terrorism efforts in the region.

The insurgent strategy serves as a frame of reference for constructing processes of negotiation and conflict resolution between states and anti-state actors. Based on the understanding of ASEAN's security approach as an institution with limitations in the APSC, militarization as a counter-terrorism strategy in Southeast Asia is a problematic aspect. Militarization is the process of protecting, organizing, planning, and carrying out training and giving threats that are not following the use of force. Militarization is also defined as the process by which the main elements of the military model are implemented in a particular organization or situation (Kraska 2007). Militarism is the tendency to use military components to achieve related goals. In general, the term militaristic refers to state policy in conducting operations and issues related to the response of the armed forces (Adelman 2003).

In 2002, along with the Bali bombings, terrorism was considered an urgent regional threat. This event was followed by the ASEAN Summit in Phnom Penh on 3 November 2002. The next agreement was the 2003 Bali Concord II Declaration which later became the ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC). The formation of the APSC can be understood as a settlement of territorial disputes between ASEAN countries. The next agreement in 2007 was the ASEAN Convention against Terrorism (ACCT) (Saul 2006). The ACCT Convention (2007) was re-approved in 2009 in the ASEAN Comprehensive Counter-Terrorism Action Plan. The contents of this agreement include fighting, preventing and eradicating terrorism and terrorist organizations and organizations that cooperate with the United States. Resolutions and components of the United Nations Security Council for Counter-Terrorism (UNSC), adoption of a regional agreement-based framework, establishment of mechanisms for institutionalization and sharing of information, and monitoring and intelligence tracking of terrorist groups.

After the Battle of Marawi, ASEAN as a form of regionalism needs to increase its role in combating and preventing international terrorism in an effective and real way, not just being a facilitator and aiming to campaign for intergovernmental anti-terrorist movements base norms (Sumpter, 2018).

Responding to the battle in Marawi, ASEAN countries were involved in various considerations, ranging from prosecutions
brought by Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia and Singapore to coercive and militaristic measures implemented by the Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand (Tan 2018). Law enforcement agencies and counter-terrorism task forces in ASEAN countries are understaffed and governments' operating budgets are shrinking. This is nothing more than one of the problems that causes public distrust of the authorities, as well as public trust in terrorism. Southeast Asia did respond militarily to the Battle of Marawi by carrying out counterterrorism operations in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia and the Philippines (Suorsa 2018).

2.3. Indonesia’s Efforts to Prevent Criminal Acts of Terrorism

The widespread impact of terrorism has made Indonesia and other regional countries in Southeast Asia feel very interested in participating actively in resolving this problem. Forums for discussion and cooperation on eradicating terrorism have also sprung up in the Southeast Asian region such as the AMMTC (ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime), which is a meeting forum under ASEAN to discuss transnational crime issues. Apart from that, there is also the ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum), which is an ASEAN cooperation forum addressing regional security issues. This ARF was also formed with the participation of countries outside ASEAN membership such as the United States, Russia, China, and Japan. The establishment of the ASEAN Charter can also support ASEAN cooperation, in dealing with the problem of terrorism and strengthen cooperation, ASEAN has also drafted and signed the ASEAN Convention On Counter-Terrorism (ACCT), during the 12th Summit in Cebu, Philippines, on January 13, 2007 (Setiyawati, 2015: 2).

Indonesia has ratified the ASEAN Convention On Counter-Terrorism (ACCT) through Law No. 5 of 2012. Ratification of the convention was carried out because, in the life of the nation and state, security cooperation with friendly countries is unavoidable, and needs to be continuously fostered and improved, based on the principles of mutual benefit, equality, and full respect for the sovereignty of each country.

Therefore, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia considers it necessary to increase security cooperation with countries that are members of ASEAN in tackling terrorism crimes under the umbrella of the ASEAN Convention on Combating Terrorism. In efforts to deal with terrorism crimes, Indonesia already has national legal instruments to deal with a series of terrorism cases, namely in 2002 Presidential Instruction No. 5 of 2002 was issued which was addressed to the Head of the State Intelligence Agency (BIN) for handling terrorism in Indonesia. This policy was strengthened by the issuance of Law No. 15 of 2003 concerning the Stipulation of Government Regulation instead of Law Number 1 of 2001 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism which was then amended by Law No. 5 of 2018 concerning Amendments to Law No. 15 of 2003 concerning Stipulation of Government Regulation instead of Law (Perpu) Number 1 of 2001 concerning Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism (Terrorism Law). With the promulgation of the Terrorism Law, the Government hopes that the handling and prevention of criminal acts of terrorism can be resolved quickly so that people can feel safe and comfortable in carrying out their various social activities.

III. CONCLUSION

The battle for Marawi, as the militant activity of the Abu Sayyaf and Maute Clan groups, gave ASEAN countries a new perspective on the scale and scope of the terrorist threat. The Battle of Marawi shows the evolution of the terrorist threat in the Southeast Asian region, especially during the era of the Jemaah Islamiyah terrorist organization. Jemaah Islamiyah has a centralized command structure and requires consistent communication in its operations, whereas ISIS can coordinate social media in a more decentralized Telegram chat group. Jemaah Islamiyah also carries out its activities in secret, while the Islamic State carries out mass propaganda through videos, speeches, or open attacks. The Battle of Marawi shows the characteristics of terrorist events in Southeast Asia, especially during the Jemaah Islamiyah era. The events of the Marawi battle show the features of rebellion and terrorism.

REFERENCES


