



The Fourth Generation War on Terrorism: Asymmetrical Warfare With Jihad Ideology and Counter-Terrorism

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Abstract:

In recent years there has been an increase in the frequency of jihadist attacks, but a decrease in the sophistication of their preparation and execution. Jihadist attacks however, cause more deaths and casualties than any other terrorist attacks. The West's experience in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya and Yemen are important lessons of what can and cannot be done to fight extremism and terrorism, especially in the context of the rise of asymmetrical warfare in the modern era. Indonesia is facing similar questions and challenges with respect to terrorism, from understanding the reasons and mechanisms that drive radicalization, in particular among our youth, to the need to respond the challenges of Foreign Terrorists Fighters, radicalization in prisons as well as monitoring released suspects and convicts, putting in place policies that buttress prevention, deradicalization and law enforcement in full respect oh human rights. History the births of jihad violent ideology in line with the establishment of Indonesia Islamic State by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo in 1949. Kartoesoewirjo did an armed resistance with his troops. The war was called Sabil War, whose word originated from the word fisabilillah which means on path of Allah. Sabil War is a holy war and it is also called jihad war. Jihad is defined as a war and it is the obligation of every Moslem (fardlu ain). When one dies in jihad war they die syahid fiisabilillah, and the reward is heaven.

Keywords: asymmetrical warfare; jihad ideology; the root of Islamic radicalism.

Introduction

If we are looking into strategic environment picture nowadays, we can find two defining phrases of the world we are living in: highly uncertain strategic conditions, and threat complexity. As we might all heard of the terrorists attack in May to several places in Jakarta and Surabaya, it may as well reminds us about how Indonesia is still unable to escape from the terrorism threat. I need to remind you, that this terrorism threat is not only arising in Indonesia. It could be anywhere since the terrorist groups have international dimension (Wiranto, 2018). Currently, we are in the region and in many parts of the world (across the globe) are facing a very potential Threat: The Danger of Terrorism Threat and Radicalism of the Third Generation post al-qaeda and pasda DESH that have been destroyed in the Middle East (Iraq and Syria) (Ryacudu, 2018).

The nature of threat of third-generation terrorism is the evolution of centralized, decentralized and spread throughout the world after the defeat of ISIS in the Middle East which then spread to Africa, Europe and East Asia and Southeast Asia in particular. Another special feature of this third-generation terrorism threat is the return of the ISIS fighters from the Middle East. Based on Defense Ministry Intelligence Data, there are about 31.500 ISIS Foreign fighters who joined in Syria and Iraq, of which 800 came from Southeast ASIA and 400 from Indonesia (Ryacudu, 2018).

This Third-Generation of Radicalism and Terrorism threats has have the nature of Decentralization into the territory of the Provinces; Shaped sleeping cells as well as Standing Operation (Lone Wolf) and Radicalization by Online; Social Media and Use of Advanced Technologies. It is regrettable that Indonesia recently experienced a new mode of Intangible Terrorism attack carried out by one whole family and occurred in several places in Surabaya

as well as some terrorist acts in some areas in Indonesia. It should be a mother instinct to protect her children instead of inviting the children to do a suicide bomb; even a tiger will not kill anything less of its food to the kids. These terrorists have been indoctrinated with a heretical ideologies that does not make any sense if they died a martyr, then they will : 1. Go to heaven; 2. Meet the lord. 3 They will be forgiven of all their sins and wrongs; 4. Seventy family members will be brought to heaven. 5. The man will meet with 72 angels of heaven. Ideology and invitations such as these is very distorted and far from the true teachings of God (Ryacudu 2018).

The war on Terror, which followed the tragic events of 9/11, has been indelicately executed and appears to have spawned a clash of civilizations, pitting the West against the Islamic world. Indonesia is the world's largest moslem-majority nation and, as such, should play a key role in resolving the issue, marshaling other nations to contribute constructively toward a feasible solution (Yudhoyono, 2012).

Islam provides definite guidelines for all peoples to follow in all walks of life. The guidance it gives is comprehensive and includes the social, economic, political, moral and spiritual aspects of life. The Qur'an reminds mand of the purpose of his life on earth, of his duties and obligations towards himself, his kith and kin, his community, his fellow human beings and his creator. Man is given fundamental guidelines about a purposeful life and then he is left with the challenge of human existence before him so that he might put these high ideals into practice. In Islam, man's life is a wholesome, integrated unit and not a collection of fragmented; competitive parts. The sacred and secular are not separate parts of man : they are united in the nature of being human.

The scientific method used for research is called the research methodology. The method is a way of working to be able to understand the

object of research. In addition to the method also known as Research Technique, Technique is defined as a working tool which is a complete way of working (methods). Actually Technique is included in the method, which when viewed in terms of its implementation. The method as a working tool is more emphasized on the workings of the mind in order to understand the object of research. Technique is seen as a way of working to do or capture the workings of the mind (method).

The approach in this study uses a descriptive approach, the approach is intended to describe or illustrate asymmetrical warfare with jihad ideology, while the type of research is qualitative descriptive research, which describes and interprets who is there, it can be about existing conditions / relationships. Opinions that are growing, ongoing processes, effects / effects that occur or trends that are developing.

Methods

Why history of the past can influence present behavior? Human behavior can be explained through narrative approach. Related to terrorism, new perspectives are needed. That is why narrative approach is important in this case. Narrative approach "How a story that was a history of the past can influence human behavior in the present, in psychology it is part of the study of narrative psychology, a science that studies how stories form these if and personality of a person which in turn form their lives (Dahlen et al., 2010). "Through narratives humans give meaning to their actions, and through narratives people are able to understand events that are unusual or threatening (Bruner, 1966). The study of narrative psychology is not popular yet in Indonesia, but bearing in mind the increasing of extreme violence nowadays, maybe it is time for narrative psychological approach to be developed widely in Indonesia

Results and Discussion

A. Asymmetric Warfare

1. Generations of Warfare

Traditional Security tended to: secure the State; focused on external threats; and was mainly military in *nature*. This has been eroded due to shift from inter-state to internal or intra-state conflicts, fragmentation with few common global threats, and decline of a state-centric vision with threats seen from above or below the State (Singh, 2017).

Gen 1 : Line and Column –orderly military for an orderly battlefield: the state monopolizes warfare [1648-1860]

Gen 2 : Massed Firepower: the artillery conquers, the infantry occupies [France, World War 1] Attrition is the basic strategy

Gen 3 : Instead of Close with and Destroy, Bypass and Collapse [Germany, World War 2]

Gen 4 : Asymmetric Warfare: the monopoly ends; State militaries are fighting non-state entities worldwide and almost everywhere, the state is losing.

2. Understanding Asymmetric Warfare and Threats

In its simplest form, connotes “not fighting fair”. According to the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, this can entail the following (Singh, 2017):

- (1) Warfare between dissimilar forces.
- (2) War between two sides with dissimilar goals.
- (3) Warfare in which new technology is used to defeat the superior with the inferior.
- (4) Warfare which encompasses anything -strategy, tactics, weapons, personnel -that alters the battlefield to negate one side or the other's advantage.

3. Understanding Asymmetric Challenges:

- Asymmetries of Capabilities

Strong Power or a Coalition –bring overwhelming power to bear on a weaker adversary [US versus the Taliban, US versus Iraq]; cannot match raw power of a powerful state or its allies.

- Asymmetries of Interests

Perception of what is at stake in a conflict? May appear rational and advantageous to go to war for some and not for others.

- Asymmetries strategies

Means by which a militarily weaker party tries to gain advantage, including a propensity to run high risks, a reputation for ruthlessness, and a willingness to use destructive weapons to realize local gains. [exploit weaknesses of stronger power, usually its vulnerable civilian population] (Singh, 2017).

B. Jihad Ideology

Jihad ideology is a belief and action of a person or a group of people that use violence to achieve political and Islamic goals, a belief to always fight to defend and uphold Islam no matter what the means are. Life is believed as a mean and an arena to do jihad (Malik, 2017). History the birth of jihad violent ideology in line with the establishment of Indonesia Islamic State (Negara Islam Indonesia or Darul Islam) by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo in 1949. Kartoesoewirjo did an armed resistance with his troops. The war was called Sabil War, whose word originated from the word fisabilillah which means on path of Allah. Sabil War is a holy war and it is also called jihad war. Jihad is defined as a war and it is the obligation of every Moslem (fardluain). When one dies in jihad war they die syahid fiisabilillah, and the reward is heaven.

Even though Kartoesoewirjo was shot dead, his ideas about Darul Islam and jihad war live on and continue to be cultivated by his followers and they changed their movement from an armed one to a political one. In 1985, the New Order regime started to implement a single principle of Pancasila through the Constitution. From here on there was resistance from Islamic group including the sympathizers of DI. There was a massive arrest by the government. Abdulah Sungkar with other DI members did hijrah to Malaysia and started to cooperate with Mujahidin jihad figures in Afghanistan for military training at a military academy there.

Training in military camps, the strongest external pressure that causes the development of jihad ideology in Indonesia comes from military camps in Afghanistan. Other than teaching military skills, they also teach religious ideology with salafy jihadis doctrines. Salafy Jihadis ideology in Afghanistan was developed by Osama Bin Laden and Abdullah Azzam, an Ikhwanul Muslimin activist who established Maktab Al Khidmat, an institution that takes in jihad volunteers from Islamic countries including Indonesia. This was also the new ideology that was brought by DI cadres when they form a new group called Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) (Malik, 2017).

A Salafy Jihadism basically comes from the Tauhid Hakimiyah teaching (Solahudin, 2011; Muslih, 2017) which contains several principles:

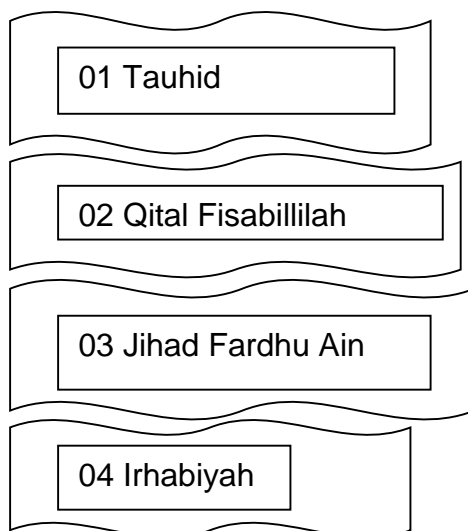


Figure 1. A Salafy Jihadism in Tauhid Hakimiyah Teaching

The principle that political sovereignty fully belongs to Allah, that must be actualized in the form of Islamic Sharia. Tauhid hakimiyah is taken from Sayyid Quthub's doctrine. He said that only Allah, the Holiest, who can order the lives of human beings with His will and destiny. Humans are not allowed to make government laws, syari'at and regulations. Qital Fisabilillah, Jihad bi ma'na Qital. Jihad means war, there is no other meaning. Jihad qital were often carried out by the Prophet Muhammad SAW. One who dies in jihad will be granted heaven, those are the stories of almost all of the prophet's companion.

Jihad is an obligation of individuals, not just the ummah or fardhu kifayah. When jihad is fardhu kifayah, it means we only counter when we are attacked, and we are only obligated to spread Islam. However, when jihad becomes Fardhu Ain, even before the enemy attacks, we strike first because it is a war situation. Carrying acts of terrorism is justified according to syari'at jihad. The country is considered at war. The government system and the

applicable law are considered to be those of infidels. The enforcement of Allah's law is the only way to build world order. Sadistic violence, suicide bombing, robbery to fund the struggle (fa'i) are considered halal.

C. Bomb Martyrs

It is an error (on the part of) Imam Samudra and his friends in having determined that the objectives and status of "war" against the enemies of Islam in Bali is the same as fighting on the battlefield. Because of that, the friends of Imam Samudra who were in the vehicle that transported the bomb and who used the backpack bomb, and who later all became dead victims, cannot be said to have carried out the practice of istishadah (martyrdom) or istimata (death defiance [of a hero]). In spite of their intention being true to die as a martyr, yet because the methodology was wrong, then it is wrong. They also did not comply with rules and regulations granted by their actions, that is ikhlas-un Niyat (sincere and pure intention) and mutaba'atu rasul (following the example of the Messenger of Allah).

The term istimata originates from Arabic, taken from the words "mata – yamutu", which mean "he (it) is dead". When those words have added alif, sin, and ta" then they become (sound) "istamta – yastamitu – istimata", which mean "request death" or "become dead", whilst istishadah means "become a dead witness" (martyr). Istimata or istishadah are (a form of) appeal from the members of an army (troops) to their leader to help put an end to the problems that emerge in countering the enemy. By means of sacrificing oneself, the trooper estimates that it will bestow an opportunity for victory for his side. However, that is after it has been considered by the leader and if according to his judgement there is no other way able to be used in order to minimize the risk to his troops.

The two people who were involved in the Bali bombings (the two bombers who died) according to Imam Samudra and his friends are martyrs.

Certainly, the validity of that issue is still being questioned. Isn't it that no one person is able to guarantee himself or whoever dies entry into paradise. It is narrated, at the time "Umar Al Khattab" was stabbed, he lay down crying waiting for the hour of his death. Afterwards, a person close to him asked him why he cried. "Umar replied : "Will my deeds be accepted by Allah?"

The understanding and actions of Imam Samudra and his friends was always an act of war. They were of the certitude that the advanced movements to be carried out must be the waging of war (an offensive). They were also of the opinion that now, in these times, it is no longer the time for the Muslims to hold out (act defensively), as is made clear within the book "Aku Melawan Teoris".

There are ayat about the official command to wage war and kill in Al Quran, already revealed some 1426 years ago, which Imam Samudra and his friends produce as proof of their steps for their offensive. Whereas, if they are examined more closely, those specific ayat within Al Quran are reduced (in such a way) so as to accommodate the desires of Imam Samudra and thus render their meanings imperfect. The Rendition of the Al Quran's regarding war within the book "Aku Melawan Teroris".

1. Surah At Taubah (9), *ayat* 5:
... then kill the *Mushrikun* wherever you find them, ...
2. Surah At Taubah (9), *ayat* 14:
Fight against them so that Allah will punish them by your hands ...
3. Surah At Taubah (9), *ayat* 29:
Fight against those who believe not in Allah, nor in the Last Day, ...
4. Surah At Taubah (9), *ayat* 36:
... and fight against the *Mushrikun* (polytheists, pagans, idolaters, disbelievers in the Oneness of Allah) collectively, as they fight

against you collectively. But know that Allah is with those who are Al-Muttaqun.

5. Surah al Anfal (8), *ayat* 39:

And fight them until there is no more Fitnah (disbelief and polytheism : i.e. worshipping others besides (Allah) and the Religion (worship) will all be for Allah alone (in the whole of the world) . . .

6. Surah Al Baqarah (2), *ayat* 191:

And kill them wherever You find them, . . .

Within one hadith, the Prophet Muhammad says “I have been ordered to fight the people until they declare the two clauses of Shahadat (bear witness that, “there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger”), and they establish the salat (prayer) and the zakat. And if they do this, then from me is protected their blood and their wealth except by the right granted by Allah.

Indeed this would be a sadistic teaching within Al Quran if it was only read in a fractured manner. However, apparently with the above proofs, Imam Samudra has proclaimed that this is the time to undertake aggression, repay the actions of the Mushrikun and the Kafirun (non-Muslims). That is the reason why, every explastate within the book “Aku Melawan Teoris” concerning bombings that are carried out are oftentimes acknowledged as retaliation against the actions of the Mushrikun and the Kafirun, and therefore as assisting the Islamic community worldwide.

The conviction of Imam Samudra to fight the Mushrikun and the Kafirun is clearly seen within his book:

- Phase IV : The obligation to fight against all communities of the *Mushrikun/Kafirun*”(Samudra, 2004).

- “Phase four (the last) the laws for war within Islam can be said to be the offensive war phase (*hujum* [aggressive], offensive)” (Samudra, 2004).
- “The Jihad operation of the Bali bombings is meant to be offensive Jihad” (Samudra, 2004).
- “What became our target was personnel, individuals, mankind, and not the place itself . . . the above *ayat* clearly illustrate do not restrict the place for fighting the *Kafirun*” (Samudra, 2004).
- “In this time period, all communities of *Mushrikun* can be fought (against), except if they ask for forgiveness, embrace Islam, carry out salat and pay zakat (Samudra, 2004).

Those are the reasons why, various operations were carried out by Imam Samudra and the likeminded bombers, amongst which are:

- To kill and destroy the “enemy” by all means necessary, including self sacrifice (generally referred to as suicide bombing).
- To seize the wealth of the “enemy”, by means of robbery; this is called *Fai*” (booty). Like for instance, the robbery of a gold shop carried out in Serang, Banten, around 2002.
- Lying to people or groups judged to be the “enemy”, even if that occurs whilst giving testimony within a trial.
- To be proud in front of the “enemy” by visibly displaying a hard manner.
- Conferring a propaganda of lies towards the “enemy”, like moulding public opinion.

The explastate of Imam Samudra concerning the two ayat of Al Quran that had been “diminished” in order to justify the actions of the bombings, (Samudra, 2004), that is:

Surah Al Baqarah (2), *ayat* 194

. . . Then whoever transgresses the prohibition against you, you transgress likewise against him . . .

Surah An Nahl (16), *ayat* 126

And if you punish, then punish them with the like of that with which you were afflicted . . .

With stubbornness and pride, Imam Samudra states that punishment, by killing women, children, and civilians, are actions that are “proper”, just, and “balanced”. Because of that, according to Imam Samudra, America and its allies have already overstepped the bounds of war by killing many Civilian Muslims, and so he has the intention to balance that by killing American and allied civilians. That is in his words, “Civilian for civilian ! That is balance”. With certitude he states, “And thereby, the jihad of the Bali bombings was not carried out perfunctorily and in a random manner” (Samudra, 2004).

Negara Islam Indonesia (Indonesia Islamic State) in 1949, Kartosuwiryo motivate his army during the war with story about the Prophet Muhammad’s “hijrah” from Mecca to Medina to have a better and civilized life. Also the story about “jihad” that was done by the Prophet’s army during the war against the infidels who were enemies of Islam.

Other than those stories, another one that is developing and popular these days in Indonesia is about a war in the times of Prophet Muhammad, the Uhud War. Then the Prophet stated that anyone who died during the war would die as a syuhada (syahid), would be granted heaven and be accompanied by 72 angels. We can imagine that this 72 angel story surely would be a powerful motivation for the sympathizers to act.

D. Terrorism As An Asymmetrical Threat and Counter-Terrorism

In recent years there has been an increase in the frequency of jihadist attacks, but a decrease in the sophistication of their preparation and execution. Jihadist attacks however, cause more deaths and casualties than any other terrorist attacks. Recent attacks by jihadist terrorists have followed 3 patterns: indiscriminate killings (London, March and June 2017; and Barcelona, August 2017); attacks on symbols of Western lifestyle (Manchester, May 2017); and attacks on symbols of authority (Paris, February, June and August 2017). New attacks in the EU by jihadist terrorists following one of these patterns or a combination thereof are highly likely.

Jihadist attacks are committed primarily by home-grown terrorists, radicalised in their country of residence without having travelled to join a terrorist group abroad. This group of home-grown actors is highly diverse consisting of individuals who have been born in the EU or have lived in the EU most of their lives, may have been known to the police but not for terrorist activities and often do not have direct links to the Islamic State (IS) or any other jihadist organization.

Recent attacks prove jihadist terrorists' preference for attacking people rather than other targets provoking less of an emotional response from the general public, such as damage to premises or loss of capital. Jihadist terrorists may operate in groups, but have often found to be lone actors. They may have managed to keep their environment completely in the dark about their intentions prior to the attack. However, they may have friends and relatives in their environment who know of, sympathize with, facilitate or even assist in the preparation of an attack. The number of individuals travelling to the conflict zones in Iraq or Syria to join jihadist terrorist groups as foreign terrorist fighters has dropped significantly since 2015. The number of returnees was low in 2017.

Historically, terrorists have used asymmetrical tactics against superior opponents. Terrorists' focus has been to: a. increase the number of civilian casualties b. attack soft targets such as transportation system, schools, etc3. Governments' outlay of billions of dollars since 911 have not made population safe and secure from terrorist attacks. In response to a terrorist attack, there is often a tendency to focus on hard measures and application of military power to counter the threat but this rarely succeeds in solving the problem. The importance of a political solution is extremely important in fighting extremism and terrorism, being the keys to gain a comparative advantage against the terrorists' use of asymmetrical advantages against a state. The West's experience in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya and Yemen are important lessons of what can and cannot be done to fight extremism and terrorism, especially in the context of the rise of asymmetrical warfare in the modern era.

Counter-Terrorism Strategies

1. Importance of Hard and Soft Measures
2. Addressing conditions conducive to radicalization and terrorism
3. Building broad-based capacities based on whole-of-government and whole-of-society integrated approaches

Strategic Counter-Measures

Military : highly capable CT Units [Densus88] and trained Armed Forces units [Tinombala]

Political : good governance and solution of key issues

Economic : address bread and butter issues

Educational : neutralize radical curriculum by state and private educational institutions

Legal : hard laws –preventive detentions [key deterrent]

- : soft laws –pre-empt and prevent spread of radical discourses in society through legal measures
- Ideological : counter & de-radicalization, and rehabilitation, and after-care strategies: counter on-line and off-line radical narratives and ideologies
 - : age-group based counter and de-radicalization [young children, women, old folks]
 - : nation building [from IS to state-based programmes –national buy-ins]
- International cooperation – regional and global [no state can fight terrorism alone; a transnational disease]

Indonesia and the EU are facing similar questions and challenges with respect to terrorism, from understanding the reasons and mechanisms that drive radicalisation, in particular among our youth, to the need to respond to the challenges of Foreign Terrorists Fighters, radicalisation in prisons as well as monitoring released suspects and convicts, putting in place policies that buttress prevention, de-radicalisation and law enforcement in full respect of human rights. The EU looks to the Indonesian experience with great interest, in particular to its unique and successful mix of CT/CVE measures with law enforcement on the one hand and so-called "soft approaches", including prevention and de-radicalisation, on the other.

Terrorists and radicalization cannot be defeated by doing nothing; need pro-active measures; viruses need anti-biotics to pre-empt, prevent and destroy the maligned cells that enter the body; but right medicines critical. Ryamizard Ryacudu, Indonesia Defense Minister said “...physical actions using weapons and guns or hard power to crush terrorism will only contribute one percent in solving the basic root of terrorism”. Need resources: Money,

Ideas, National Resilience and Leadership, Trained individuals, Community Support, Intelligence, National, Regional and Global cooperation.

But also critical to create a National Environment that prevents radicalization; if majorities are busy creating anti-minority narratives for domestic political goals, say anti-Islam discourses and attacks, then one should expect minorities to retaliate through extremism, both violent and non-violent. Need to address challenge of Security Dilemma facing states; traditionally, viewed states as threats to existential security of a state; today terrorism, over a long-term period, also has the capacity to do so, and terrorism can be backed and utilized by states to enhance its own security while undermining that of its adversaries, including in the IOR. Hence the nexus between Terrorism and Security Dilemma.

Conclusion

There is an urgent need to conduct an in-depth research about narratives that are developing and encouraging salafy jihadism ideology among the young generation in Indonesia. The young generation is the most strategic target to be involved in this movement both as a supporter and as the counter movement of the strong current of salafy jihadism. Social media revolution which accelerates societal change must be utilized fully to counter the spread and influence of salafy jihadism ideology among society in general. Religious-based extremism and terrorism is not new in Southeast Asia. Many primers for extremism and terrorism, with the local conditions being critical despite the growing importance of the glocal paradigm. Strong need for a multi-agency, multi-stake holders approach as a silo-mentality and approach will only aggravate the danger posed by extremism and terrorism. Dire need to build all-round capacity and capability to fight the menace in the physical and virtual worlds. Importance of the state and non-state, especially public

and private sector cooperation is vital in winning the war against extremism and terrorism. Terrorists and extremists are good at abusing and misusing technology for evil purposes, and hate ideas need to be countered and criminalized. While the hard approach is important, probably more critical is the soft approach, especially through good governance, a strong glocal legal regime and international collaboration as extremism and terrorism cannot be fought alone and in isolation. 'Bad Guys' are intelligent and strategic, and always evolving: the State must always be a few steps ahead if it wants to win the 'war'. Government must win the trust of the public if its 'hard' measures and laws are to be credible and gain public support. [] .

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