

The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS); A Threat to Indonesia?

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¹ **The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS): A Threat to Indonesia?**

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Abstract

Democratization process in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), well known as the *Arab Spring*, led to increased instability in the region. The establishment of Islamic State (IS) following the Arab Spring, had threatened not only MENA region, but also spread to other regions. IS has posed a significant security threat in Indonesia and other ASEAN members with its abhorrent crimes including suicide bomb attacks. Not only related to political and military, the threat also affected on human security; include economic, community, social, and other forms of harm to the overall livelihood and wellbeing of individuals. An example of IS atrocity was bomb explosion in Central Jakarta on January 2016. Through official statement, IS claimed responsibility on bomb attack and conducted by its *khalifah* troops. Other bombs that failed to explode were targeted all over the country from Sabang in Northern Sumatra, to Merauke in Papua. Other threats related to recruitment process of new IS member using conventional and social media. IS Propaganda contents using social media emphasized on violent, human rights violations, and the use of children troop, had led the ban of IS by the Indonesian government. Therefore, to combat IS the government need to cooperate intensively with other stakeholders with concern to human security issues. Beside addressed to domestic community, cooperation should also involve other states in the region, and international level. This paper aimed to answer question: “what human security issues caused by IS in Indonesia?” Further question related to the effectiveness of the above mentioned cooperation to reduce human security threats.

Key words: terrorism, securitization, cooperation, regionalism, Southeast Asian region.

Background; About ISIS/IS

The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), or later known as the *Islamic State* (IS) declared on ¹9 April 2013 by Abu Bakar Al Baghdadi in Syria. ISIS become one of the most important jihadist group against the government of Syria and have established a military base in Iraq. In 2013, IS took over the city of Raqqa in Syria, and later, on 4 January 2014 annexed the city of Fallujah and Ramadi (Iraq). On 9 – 11 June 2014, ISIS seized Mosul, the second largest

city in Iraq, and later Tikrit, and making ISIS a threat for the Middle East. ISIS is funded by rich individuals from various Arabic countries, especially Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, that favors the fight against President Bashar Al-Assad. Now, ISIS occupied a number of oil field in the east of Syria, and re-sold the oil supply to Syrian government.¹ ISIS generate other income from kidnapping act and foreign citizen ransom. In the last four years, ISIS and other militant organization generates at least 70 million USD from ransom money.

By the end of July 2014, ISIS changed its name into *Islamic State (IS)* to widen the scope of Islamic caliphate in the world.² Roughly 80% of Western combatant in Syria are predicted to have joined this organization. ISIS claimed to have combatant from England, France, Germany, and the US.³ The emergence of ISIS was influenced by many factors, namely the failure of democratization in Iraq, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria. This condition creates instability, sectarian conflicts, even civil war. Nowadays, many border areas became the home of the jihadist. With the exception of Egypt, Iran, and Turkey, almost every border area in the Middle East are fragile towards leadership changes. This explain why Egypt and very strict in watching and guiding its border area. The failure of *Arab Spring* in Syria had also triggered disputes. The weakening of Iraqi government since the fall of Saddam Hussein compliment the border of Iraq-Syria to be the capital for terrorist, just like the border of Afghanistan-Pakistan in 1980s-1990s. On the other hand, Bashar Assad regime, supported by Iran and the Hezbollah, were involved in a battle against terrorism, even deploying the *salafi jihadi* when demand for new regime was strongest. ISIS would not be as strong as it is now if not for its coalition with various parties and marginalize local tribes. Even the elite circle of Saddam Hussein's regime is holding grudge towards the Iraqi government and become the supporter of IS.

ISIS in Indonesia

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¹ http://www.nu.or.id/a.public-m.dinamic-s.detail-ids.45-id.53669-lang_id-c.internasional-t.Bagaimana+Sejarah+Terbentuknya+ISIS+-phpx, accessed on July 28th, 2015.

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² <http://www.euronews.com/2014/06/30/isil-renames-itself-islamic-state-and-declares-caliphate-in-captured-territory/>, accessed on August 19th, 2015.

³ <http://freebeacon.com/national-security/new-al-qaeda-group-produces-recruitment-material-for-americans-westerners/>, accessed on August 19th, 2015.

ISIS has come to Indonesia, with membership from the northern most part of Indonesian Province of Aceh. According to BIN, there were approximately 514 Indonesian citizens that have joined ISIS. Their biggest motivation to join is because they wanted to live where Islamic Sharia would be implemented. ISIS wants to continue the battle, and became a reason ideology factor still matters. Second, the monthly salary, ISIS could offer up to USD 2000 per month. There are children and family that receives USD 200 a month plus other allowance such as education, health, and many more.

The exit gateway from Indonesia to Syria is mostly conducted via Turkey. Using *Qatar Air*, the potential members stopped at Doha, then continue their journey to Istanbul using local transportation, some also went to border area. If the situations declared safe, they would continue their journey. As much as 16 Indonesian citizens have arrived in Syria by the end of January 2015. During one-month gap, they accommodated in a safe house. Their identities and provincial origin was still subject of speculation. Members of ISIS from Indonesia departed to Syria related to existing terrorist group, *Jamaah Islamiyah*. A significant actor responsible for recruiting ISIS members is Aman Abdurrahman of *Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT)*.

ISIS is appealing to Indonesian that previously in touch with radical network. After many members of radical groups have successfully arrived in Syria, other family members, close friends, and local community appealed to join. Another successful campaign was supported by the effective use of social media. They communicate via *Whatsapp*, *Google Plus*, *Facebook*, but mostly *Whatsapp*. Another motivation was to live in country that implements Islamic Syariah. ISIS also spread its influence through education, especially after a Malay-speaking media called the *Daulah Islamiyah* was introduced in Syria developed by Malay speaking journalists. They believes that beside fighting in the battle field, jihad could also conducted by writing and publish a media like *Al-Mustaqbal*. ISIS had also publish video on Indonesian children practicing war at *Azzam Media*.⁴

Human Security in Global Context

⁴ CNN Indonesia: <http://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20150319160810-112-40369/isis-di-indonesia-juga-pakai-media-sosial/>, accessed on August 9th, 2015.

The United Nations development Program (UNDP), as indicated by its 1994 report, increasingly recognize the importance of human security as a policy framework. The central question behind the idea of human security is: “How safe and free are we as individuals?” It is not a new question, but it is one that is attracting the interest of both policy makers and thinkers. There have always been two major components of human security: freedom from fear and freedom from want. This idea was recognized right from the beginning of the establishment of United Nations.⁵ The governments, international organizations, non-government organizations (NGOs), and ordinary citizens are in a position to explore that question as never before and to act to enlarge the envelope of safety and freedom.⁶ The idea of human security emerged as the world confronted by many conflicts and emergencies. Behind those war and conflicts, lies a silent crisis, related to underdevelopment, global poverty, population pressures, and thoughtless degradation of environment. This is not a crisis that will respond to emergency relief or to fitful policy interventions but requires a long, quiet process of sustainable human development.⁷ To address the issues, UNDP divided human security into seven main categories: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security.⁸ The emergence of ISIS in Indonesia had threatened Indonesian security, especially in economic, personal, community and political. How ISIS have threatened Indonesian individual and as a nation would be discussed below.

Economic Security Threat

ISIS violence and terrorist activities in several provinces have damaged buildings and infrastructures. The government and business owners have to rebuild damaged. The budget that should be allocates for other development project have to be relocate to rebuild. Another form of economic threat is related to the promise of given monthly salary. Under economic downturn,

⁵ UNDP, opcit, p. 24.

⁶ Kanti Bajpai, 2000, Human Security: Concept and Measurement, Kroc Institute Occasional Paper #19:OP:1 August 2000: <http://n.ereserve.fiu.edu/010030477-1.pdf>, accessed on September 29th, 2016.

⁷ UNDP report, op.cit, p. 24-25.

⁸ UNDP report, op.cit, p. 24-25.

this proposal is attracted many sympathizers. Where does ISIS acquire fund to run its organization and to attract membership? ISIS factually is the wealthiest terrorist group which controls at least 11 oil fields in Iraq and Syria with revenue around 2 millions Pound sterling or Rp. 38 trillion per day.⁹ As ISIS controls most of Syria's oil fields and crude, is the militant group's biggest single source of revenue. ISIS recently had controlled several important facilities that formerly belong to the Iraqi and Syrian governments that snatched since 2012. Some of oil fields that fallen under ISIS control are Sasan, Ajeel, dan Sadid in Iraq, as well as huge oil field in in Baiji, Fallujah, Aksas and Tikrit. To market the illegal crude oil overseas, ISIS used the international black market routes with below the market price. The price was 15 pound sterling per barrel or around Rp 290.000. The legal crude oil price is more than 50 pound sterling per barrel.¹⁰ ISIS also controls the Qayyara field near Mosul in Northern Iraq that produces about 8,000 barrels a day of heavier oil that is mostly used locally to make asphalt.

ISIS's main oil producing region is in Syria's eastern Deir Ezzor province, where production was somewhere between 34,000 to 40,000 barrels a day. The price of the oil depends on its quality. Some fields charge about USD 25 a barrel. Others, like al-Omar field, one of Syria's largest, charge USD 45 a barrel, higher than the international oil price. A new air campaign on ISIS oil by the US-led coalition have effectively disrupting ISIS's crude extraction. Before the coalition strikes, Isis was estimated to earn about USD 1.5 m a day. Although it is difficult to determine a definitive oil production figure for ISIS controlled areas, but it is clear production levels have dropped in the Syrian fields since they were taken over by the militants. Most oil fields in the area are aging and the group does not have the technology or equipment needed to maintain them. Even now, however, oil is still a major revenue stream for ISIS's central leadership.

Though many believe that ISIS relies on exports for its oil revenue, it profits from its captive markets closer to home in the rebel-held territories of Northern Syria, Eastern Territories held by the Syrian Kurdish militia, and in its own self-proclaimed "caliphate" straddling the

⁹ <http://www.infospesial.net/41194/lowongan-manajer-isis-gaji-rp-2-7-miliar/> /infospesialcom @infospesial, diakses tanggal 28 September 2016.

¹⁰ <http://www.infospesial.net/41194/lowongan-manajer-isis-gaji-rp-2-7-miliar/> /infospesialcom @infospesial

border between Syria and Iraq. Local revenues like taxes could keep the ISIS economy churning. An investigation indicates ISIS earns at least as much from taxation, extortion and confiscation as oil. Other revenue obtained from zakat, fees and confiscations fund the salaries that attract recruits and finance services such as street cleaning and bread subsidies that ISIS touts as proof of statehood.¹¹

The group sells most of its crude directly to independent traders at the oil fields. As it adjusted to the strikes, local traders say Isis managed to maintain its production but has struggled to maintain its profit margins. Isis would collect the crude in large pits where truckers fill up. These collection areas are often set ablaze during air strikes. To make up for lost profits, Isis has been trying to grab more cash at once by offering traders a “licence” that allows them to skip to the head of the queue and get 1,000 barrels of oil at once. The bulk of oil refineries are in Isis-controlled Syria. The few in rebel-held territories have a reputation for lower quality output than the refineries in the east. The refineries produce petrol and mazout, a heavy form of diesel used in generators, a necessity as many areas have little or no electricity. Because the quality of the petrol can be inconsistent and is more expensive, Mazout is in greater demand. Traders say ISIS has its own tankers that supply crude to its refineries from oil fields regularly. The group also appears to retain many of its earlier contracts with unaffiliated gas stations and other refineries.

There are larger ISIS controlled markets in towns like Manbij or al-Bab in Aleppo’s eastern countryside. Traders here must present a document proving they have paid zakat, a tithe, to buy oil without tax. Traders from rebel-held Syria who have not paid the tithe, must pay a tax of SL200 per barrel, or about USD 0.67. Some privately-owned markets also levy taxes. Al-Qaim market, one of the largest in the region, charges buyers and sellers about SL100 (USD 0.30) per barrel of crude purchased. As the wealthiest terrorist group, ISIS provides good salaries to its troops. Average income of ISIS troops is USD 50 (Rp 659 thousands) per month. According to Congressional Research Service, the salary of ISIS soldier between USD 400-1.200 per month. However, the amount had been decreased, and in 2016 a soldier only obtained USD 50 per month.¹² The salary excluded of family allowances and parents. For militant’s wife, the

¹¹ <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/12/how-isis-runs-its-economy/>, accessed on September 28th, 2016.

¹² <http://bisnis.liputan6.com/read/2416333/intip-besaran-gaji-tentara-isis>, accessed on September 28th, 2016.

allowance is USD 50, and each child is USD 35 (Rp. 460 thousands). Slaves got USD 50 and slave's child allowance is USD 35. Parents of militant is USD 50. Lately the amount of salary cut down especially to those living in Raqqa, Suriah, claimed as ISIS's capital.¹³ Even though the salary cut-down following ISIS decreasing economy after US led coalition air strikes.¹⁴ The decrease of fund also effected to the numbers of recruited overseas membership. Lately only about 200 new foreign soldier joined ISIS. The number is decreased from last year that arrived 1500 – 2000 newly recruited monthly. Another sources of fund was from looting, taking hostages of foreign nationals, ransom demands from the victim families that facing death sentences.

The success of ISIS recruitment process in Indonesia was due to its effective campaign. Nowadays, ISIS had change strategy, from violence to ideological approach to build a civilization and demonstrated the best aspects of living in ISIS's controlled area. The strategy had successfully moved people to hijrah, especially in recent condition when Indonesian economy was decreased after the global economic crisis.¹⁵ The potential members promised would be paid USD 500 per month, as well as housing facilities and family allowances. Another promised was ability to conduct pilgrimage as the fifth obligation as being Moslem. Members that attracted to this offer mostly uneducated, having employment problem, and inexperience.

Threat to Personal and Community Security: terrorism and violence

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Most people derive security from their membership in a group, a community, an organization, a racial or ethnic group that can provide a cultural identity and a reassuring set of values. Such groups also offer practical support. The extended family system, for

¹³ <http://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20160428070552-120-127122/dokumen-rahasia-ungkap-nilai-gaji-tentara-isis/>, accessed on September 28th, 2016.

¹⁴ <http://international.sindonews.com/read/1104083/42/gaji-militan-isis-dan-bonus-budak-seks-kini-rp660-ribu-bulan-1461643627>, accessed on September 28th, 2016.

¹⁵ ISIS Jebak Kelompok Ekonomi Lemah Lewat Iming-Iming Uang, <http://nasional.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/hukum/16/09/23/ody3dx382-isis-jebak-kelompok-ekonomi-lemah-lewat-imingiming-uang>, accessed on September 28^h, 2016.

³ example, offers protection to its weaker members, and many tribal societies work on the principle that heads of households are entitled to enough land to support family, the reason land distributed accordingly. Ethnic and religion ³ tensions are on the rise, often over limited access to opportunities. Political security is also ³ one of the most important aspects of human security is that people should be able to live in a society that honor their basic human rights.

The existence of ISIS became the biggest terrorist threat in 2016. Its also indicated the government's failure to provide security to its people. Since ISIS burst on the scene by seizing swaths of territory in Iraq and Syria in 2014, the jihadist group has rewritten the strategy used by other groups that preceded it, including al-Qaeda. ISIS now is the top national security problem for Indonesian authorities. ISIS will expand its territory outside Syria and Iraq, into several regions in Africa, Middle East, Balkan, Caucasus, and Asia. ISIS had actively been recruits new members in Western Balkan, including Serbia, Kroasia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro. In those regions, ISIS planned to increase its strikes. ISIS also plan to recruit membership in Southeast Asia, in an aim to declare a province in Eastern parts of Indonesia or in the Southern Philippines in 2017. Since 2015, the Command of Katibah Nusantara (Nusantara Brigade) based in Syria, a fighting unit of ISIS with Malay's speaking members from Malaysia and Indonesia, have instructed their groups in Southeast Asia to attack ISIS's targets domestic and international from 2015-2016.

Another threat came from the fact that ISIS would attack anti-ISIS's targets. ISIS would also use the new operation wings that have been supported by foreign soldiers. As happen in Paris attack in 2016, the external ISIS wing recently had complemented its internal wing. Moreover, the refugees and asylum seekers that flee from conflict zone are vulnerable of ISIS's ideology. ISIS tends to exploit the vulnerable members to attack its enemy overseas. If the Iraqi and Syrian refugees are not well integrated to the culture of receiving states, they could become a direct strategic threat sooner or later. Last but not least, the anti-ISIS coalition under US leadership, Saudi Arabia, and Russia, will not unite to confront their common enemy. However,

the cooperation would be on intelligent sharing, increasing military capability, and to develop new techniques to overcome, isolate and to destroy ISIS from several fronts.¹⁶

Indonesia and the world should prepare to confront more ISIS attacks. Indonesia is the 13th country outside Syria and Iraq that become terrorist target.¹⁷ An example of ISIS's attack was Jakarta's bomb blast in January 2014. The main actor of Indonesian ISIS is Bahrin Naim, that wanted to lead the *Katibah Nusantara*.¹⁸ The above facts indicated that ISIS is a political threat to Indonesia.

Social Security Threat: Recruitment Process through Social Media

The group have innovated the use of social media to encourage westerners to either travel to become a fighter with the group, or to encourage attacks at home. The success of ISIS in recruiting new member is inseparable from its activity in social media. ISIS uses propaganda in various social media effectively and shows how to make advantage out of it in today's era of technology. IS has at least 46 thousand accounts in *Twitter*.¹⁹ Most accounts are controlled in Syria, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia.²⁰

In late 2014, at least a thousand ISIS's accounts were blocked.²¹ It is estimated that there are 46-70 thousand IS's accounts that are still operating. Each account has, on average, a thousand

¹⁶ Rohan Gunaratna, *Peta terorisme Tahun 2016*, 30 Desember 2015, <http://www.benarnews.org/indonesian/opini/peta-terorisme-tahun-2016-12302015161357.html>, accessed on September 28th, 2016.

¹⁷ The countries are France, Libya, Lebanon, Egypt, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Bangladesh, Kuwait, Afghanistan, and Turkey. See: <http://www.benarnews.org/indonesian/opini/peta-terorisme-tahun-2016-12302015161357.html>, accessed on September 28th, 2016.

¹⁸ http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2016/01/160118_indonesia_sarinah_far_enemy_lagi, accessed on September 28th, 2016.

¹⁹ J.M. Berger and Jonathan Morgan, *The ISIS Twitter Census: Defining and Describing The Population of ISIS Supporters on Twitter*: http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2015/03/isis-twitter-census-berger-morgan/isis_twitter_census_berger_morgan.pdf, accessed on September 15th, 2015.

²⁰ Sukawarsini Djelantik, 2015, *Komunikasi Melalui Media Sosial oleh The Islamic State (IS) di Indonesia*, in *Komunikasi Internasional dalam Era Informasi dan Perubahan Sosial di Indonesia*, Research paper report, LPPM-UNPAR, 2016.

²¹ <http://dunia.tempo.co/read/news/2015/03/07/115647858/hasil-studi-ada-46-ribu-akun-twitter-pendukung-isis>, accessed on August 19th, 2015.

followers. IS has sent threat to *Twitter* after *Twitter* executive claimed to have freeze 2000 *Twitter* every week. The threat reflects how ISIS had more and more dependent towards social media in its operation. Even though *twitter* have tried to tackle ISIS's threats, propaganda, and recruitment by freezing those accounts, sympathy remain flows and thousands of other accounts are still active. The accounts administered by fanatic groups, and they send messages repeatedly and knows how to maximize its impact. Even though ISIS's accounts in *Twitter* are closed regularly, they keep making new accounts and maintaining their strong online presence.²² This organization had tried to expand their reach into other alternative social media, such as *Quitter*, *Friendica*, and *Diaspora*.²³ *Quitter* and *Friendica* immediately erase ISIS from their site.²⁴

On November 2006, not long after the establishment of IS, *The Al-Furqan Institute* was established, dedicated to produce CD, DVD, posters, pamphlets, and other web-propaganda products. The main outlet of IS media was *I'tisaam Media Foundation*, formed on March 2013. Products from this foundation were distributed through *Global Islamic Media Front (GIMF)*.²⁵ On 2014, ISIS created *Al Hayat Media Center*, targeting Western audience and producing publications in English, German, Russian, and French.²⁶ Also on the same year, ISIS launch *Ajnad Media Foundation*, that produce jihadi *nasheed*.²⁷

The usage of social media by ISIS is more advanced that most US company.²⁸ Information dissemination via *Twitter* for example is conducted by doing the *hashtag* campaign,

²² <http://blog.adl.org/extremism/isis-faces-resistance-from-social-media-companies>, accessed on August 19th, 2015.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Jihadology, <http://jihadology.net/2013/03/08/new-statement-from-the-global-islamic-media-front-announcement-on-the-publishing-of-al-iti%E1%B9%A3am-media-foundation-a-subsiidiary-of-the-islamic-state-of-iraq-it-will-be-released-via-gimf/>, accessed on August 19th, 2015.

²⁶ <http://freebeacon.com/national-security/new-al-qaeda-group-produces-recruitment-material-for-americans-westerners/>, accessed on August 19th, 2015.

²⁷ Jihadist News, <https://news.siteintelgroup.com/Jihadist-News/isil-launches-qajnad-media-foundationq-to-specialize-in-jihadi-chants.html>, accessed on August 19th, 2015.

²⁸ The Atlantic, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/06/isis-iraq-twitter-social-media-strategy/372856/>, accessed on August 19th, 2015.

pushing *tweets* through popular *hashtag* and taking advantage of software application.²⁹ One example is *#CalamityWillBefallUS* hashtag campaign. Participants were encouraged to send messages using that hashtag in both English and Arabic, preferably in English.³⁰ The headline of the news publication based on Al Qur'an chapter 46 verse 31, saying "O our people, respond to the Messenger of Allah and believe in him; Allah will forgive for you your sins and protect you from painful punishment".³¹

ISIS is capable in projecting and promoting its ability. For example, ISIS's *hashtag* constantly beat its main competitor in Syria, *Jabhat Al-Nusra*, even though both had relatively the same amount of online supporter. ISIS registers more than 10.000 messages with its *hashtag* per day, while *Al Nusra* only registers 2500 to 5000 messages a day. This is reason why Iraqi Communication Ministry acknowledged ISIS's online influence and try to freeze this militant organization by closing internet access in conflict area. The Iraqi government have closed access in several provinces like Anbar, Diyala, Kirkuk, Ninewa, and Salahuddin, and have once again close the access to *Facebook*, *Twitter*, *YouTube*, and *Skype*. Meanwile, the Ministry ordering a new restriction on *Tango* and *Instagram*.³²

Coalition group and special force operation continue to target Al-Qaeda's propaganda ability. US had recorded a major victory by captive **Khalid Abdul Fatah Daud Mahmud Al-Mashadani**, also known as **Abu Shahedve. Mashadani**, formerly the Information Minister of Al-Qaeda as well as the intermediary between Al-Qaeda's leader in Iraq, between **Abu Ayyub, Al-Masri** and **Osama bin Laden** and **Ayman Al-Zawahiri**. The arrest of **Mashadani** reduces Al-Qaeda's operation activity, and making it possible for Iraqi multinational power to close down Al-Qaeda's media cell all across Iraq. The following question indicated the development of social media usage by terrorist organization:

²⁹ **Extremism and Terrorism**, <http://blog.adl.org/extremism/isis-propaganda-campaign-threatens-u-s>, accessed on August 19th, 2015.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ <http://jihadology.net/category/al-furqan-media/>, accessed on August 20th, 2015.

³² International Business Times, <http://www.ibtimes.com/isis-attacks-twitter-streams-hacks-accounts-make-jihadi-message-go-viral-1603842>, accessed on August 19th, 2015.

“Since the search by multinational force, we have opened 8 media offices and Al-Qaeda’s cell, arrest and killed 24 member of propaganda cell, and have found 23 terabytes of information. Recently, 4 members of Al-Furqan Media in Mosul were arrested, including Emir Mosul Media, former leader of Mosul Media that established an Al-Qaeda communication center in Baghdad, a foreign terrorist from Saudi Arabia expert in video editing, special effect, and computer graphic. Media cell have also been destroyed in Baghdad, Diyala, Tarmiyah, Samara, and Karma, causing the decrease of *Al-Qaeda*’s propaganda effort in few months. There’s nothing left of Al-Qaeda in Iraq.”³³

ISIS had developed propaganda techniques just like its preceding terrorist organization such as *Al-Qaeda* and *Al-Shabaab*. Beside uses media to spread messages and recruiting new members, foreigners included, also to encourage its supporter to take part in the process. More foreigners members were recruited, which demonstrated the effectiveness of communication through social media. Recent report demonstrated that between 12-15 thousands foreign combatants, including 100 US citizens, are involved in conflict in Syria and Iraq. Although it’s difficult to determine whether social media plays an important role in recruitment, ISIS online propaganda is often directed to foreigners.³⁴ Media applications for radical movement had been apply previously, as ISIS used *Dawn of Glad Tiding App* on *Google Play* to gain *Twitter* support and to gain support.

In Indonesia, *Facebook* account advertised IS through t-shirt sales. The t-shirts has slogan like “Mujahidin All Across the World Unite”, “Fight for Freedom to Death”, and “We Support ISIS”. These online sales through website own by Indonesian online entrepreneur. Sites that promote ISIS through t-shirts sales are no longer exist, most probably because it has been blocked by Indonesian Ministry of Information. Just like *Facebook*, *Twitter* also applies similar rule of banning any direct message that promotes violence and threat. *Twitter* is also against the use of this social media for any law breaking activity including service promotion or illegal

³³ http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2008/06/us_targets_al_qaeda.php, accessed on August 20th, 2015.

³⁴ <http://www.adl.org/combating-hate/international-extremism-terrorism/c/isis-islamic-state-social-media.html#.Vk2xP9IrLDc>, accessed on September 15th, 2015.

activity. International users have to agree to abide all local law regarding the usage of online services and acceptable content.³⁵

Social media are also used to recruit membership candidate. An ISIS recruiter, Winston Al Noob, stated that the success of ISIS lays on the minimum standard or even no standard or terms and condition at all to join them. However, ISIS pays special attention to its potential recruit through social media. Words like: “Want to fight? Unhappy? Ready to do something different with your life?” and message like “How about joining this great organization?” Picture in *Instagram* under the *hashtag* #JihadOfOne is potentially used as membership recruitment.

Another ISIS’s propaganda message in one of its office in France says: “Join ISIS, Rule the World”. A source confirmed that ISIS aware that its potential recruits have other option, but they smartly exist to outperform government soldier recruitment program. “No one force you to wear this belt. We want the world to know that we are now in danger”. Omar Abu Al-Twitter, a social media expert says: “Most combatants have never worn that kind of belt ever since they became the member of Son of Iraq”. Discipline and rules was not vital factor in the organization hierarchy. A new recruit does not have to deal with complicated code of conduct like in most Western country. *Al-Noob* added: “Western soldiers often said things like: ‘Killed those Babies!’” We did that too. Urinating on corpses and killing puppies. Actually, violence to other human being is requirement for promotion within ISIS. Therefore, the values introduced in the West and soldier’s discipline wasn’t our concern. A man could put his hand inside his pocket all day if his hand is put in a gun’s trigger while wearing a bomb equipped vest.” There’s only a few, if none, requirements to become a member of ISIS, because age, education, and nationality, doesn’t matter when it comes to building a caliphate.

Backgrounds are of course checked, but ISIS doesn’t care whether their members are a psychiatrist, a beginner, or a rap musician to be. In US, many children recruited simply because their resentment towards their parents. ISIS’s new member are armed with strong sense of belonging and community by given various activities before being departed to Syria. Message like: “Bring your own sword (scimitar)” proved to be quite popular. Other potential recruits are drawn by the prospect to continue their study using the ISIS’s Jihad Fund. After the 9/11,

³⁵ <http://www.vocativ.com/world/syria-world/isis-tries-outwit-social-networks/>, accessed on September 19th, 2015.

anybody that is interested in joining ISIS is recommended to contact local FBI office. Applicants for this fund are encourages sending its personal contact information and recent address.³⁶

Brainwash Using Social Media

Users of social media have increased exponentially since 2004. On its first year after introduced, *Facebook* only received about a million users, increased into more than a billion people users are registered. A study conducted by *Pew* indicated that 72% of internet users also social media user. Moreover, people nowadays tend to spend more times on online media rather than traditional media. Social media and mobile internet user spend 57% of media consumption per day. Research from *eMarketer* on 2013 stated that on special social network such as *Instagram* (photo sharing), *LinkedIn* (professional network), and *Pinterest* (private sharing media) more than ten of its users' login at least once a week.

Video posted on *Youtube* and *Facebook* contain jihad material as well as radicalization process. All radicalization, from the first appeal of jihad, missionary endeavor, to its last deadly mission, are done online through social media platform. *Facebook*'s page is used to delivers the desires to die as a *shahid* and promoting organization like Al-Qaeda in Syria and Yemen. Suicide bomb perpetrators were once very active in social media and post Al-Qaeda's flag on their *Facebook* page.

Social media are actively used because it is the most popular among viewers, and it enables terrorist organization to move to mainstream area. Moreover, it's dependable, free, and easy to use. Lastly, social network enables terrorist to reach target directly. Contrary to the old model of internet sites where terrorist have to wait for visitors. Social networking sites enables terrorist to use narrow targeted strategy, ubiquitously known as narrowcasting. Narrowcasting aims to deliver message to certain segment of the community based on values, preferences, demographic attributes, or subscribes. Online page, video, chats, pictures, and this information are design to match a profile of a certain social group. This method enables terrorist to target its messages to teenagers.

³⁶ See: <http://www.duffelblog.com/2014/09/isis-recruits-westerners/#ixzz31EU1jj72>, accessed on September 19th, 2015.

Social media also offers technical advantages for terrorist, such as sharing, uploading and downloading files and videos no longer require complex computer devices. The usage of smartphone and social media platform creates simple, free, and fast access for everybody. Social media are used by terrorist to delivers their content to the mainstream media. Reporters are now relying on *Twitter*, *Facebook*, and *YouTube* as a valuable source of information. Pushing many media staffs to open a *Twitter* account and interact with community, sharing stories, and bringing terrorist material closer to that outlet. For those reasons, social media might be a conventional media gateway for terrorist in information stream: from users of social media, to their own public or mass media. Another reason for terrorist to use social media to use this platform in such a large scale since a social media have become a new war zone, a war zone for terrorism. Therefore, to use social media to fight against terrorism, especially against ISIS's propaganda, we need soldiers, weapons, and new form of trainings. This is a challenge for all of us: to retake the virtual territory that has been occupied by the terrorist for so long.³⁷

The spread of ISIS ideology on line would able to recruit, radicalize and militarize the vulnerable groups, both in Muslims or non-Muslims countries. In territorial community, migrant groups, ISIS ideology that full of hatred tend to find way to replace mainstream Muslim ideology. Server in US and European countries hosts about 80 to 90 % social media sites with ISIS propaganda. The threat will always appear under weak leadership, no political will, and lack of strategy between the government and its counterparts to fight against ISIS propaganda. Cooperation needed to destroy ISIS platform and communication strategy. Otherwise, the threat will remain if ISIS social media remain alive.

Conclusion:

³ Global challenges to human security arises because threats within countries rapidly spill beyond national frontiers. International terrorism violence can travel from one country to another through conventional way and information technology. While the number of terrorism victims may not look high, the fear that these attacks spread among the world's population at large is immense. The focus of terrorist activity tends to move around the world.

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³⁷ ISIS Watch Indonesia: <https://www.facebook.com/no2terrorid/posts/886489778028514>, accessed on September 19th, 2015.

To protect human security, and as respond to UNDP's recommendation, the Indonesian governments need to adopt policy measures. Indonesia should also fully cooperate in the endeavor to provide security against the use of violence and terrorist activities regionally and globally. To this end, a new framework of international cooperation for development should be devised, taking into account the indivisibility of global human security-that no one is secure as long as someone is insecure anywhere. In this sense, global cooperation through the United Nations needs to be increased in form of preventive diplomacy. The cooperation is compulsory as well as recognizing the roots of conflict and war today that often related to poverty, social injustice and environmental degradation. Furthermore, these efforts should be supported through preventive development initiatives. Furthermore, today's framework of global institutions be reviewed and redesigned to prepare those institutions fully for doing their part in tackling the urgent challenges of human security, all within the framework of a paradigm of longer-term sustainable human development.

Parallel to the campaign against ISIS, the Indonesian government must work towards preventing the group from influencing the Islamic community virtually, by working hard, and strongly regulate the information. The regulations related to the used of internet for peaceful and educational purposes through policy as well as implemented strong legal enforcement to prevent the misuse for ISIS interests. To prevent the spread of ISIS propaganda through social media, the government also must build partnership with business community, civil society and other community. To end ISIS from exploit sophisticated technology the government must develop a confidential network by recruiting academics and technology experts. The government should also conduct de-radicalization programs both online and offline. Last but not least, the conduct of de-radicalization program to rehabilitate previous victims should also be intensified. Failures to respond on several aspects would disturb relationship of religious and ethnic communities. The failure would also influence the harmony of global, regional and national relationship to increase public welfare.

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