

THE THREATS ANALYSIS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE NETWORK DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA REGION : Case Study of the Border of Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines

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Development of Islam in Southeast Asia in the beginning comes from Gujarat Arab and Persia in a peaceful way; it never uses violence or war. Harry J. Benda states that Indianized Southeast Asia area, namely Indonesia and Malaysia frequently called as Islam Melayu-Indonesia. In addition, Vietnam is Sinicized Southeast Asia that influences Muslim area of South Thailand. The situation at this time, almost all countries face the threat of terrorism, either separatism of Islam area or anarchy activity of International terror network - for example the cases of Al-Qaeda in the form of first Bali bombing in Indonesia, Islamic State Iraqi and Suriah (ISIS) in Suriah, middle east and Islamic State (IS) in the form of Insurgency of Moro in Philippines. Based on these problems, this study aims to provide a threat analysis of the development of the Islamic state network in the Southeast Asia region. This research takes case studies in the border regions of Southeast Asia in 4 (four) major countries, namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines. The threat of terror in Southeast Asia is currently divided into three generations of terror, namely the first Al-Qaeda terror network threat, the second ISIS terror network threat and the third IS terror network threat. These three threats become the problem of the threat of national development and the life of society, nation and state for the countries of Southeast Asia.

Key Words: Islamic State, threat analysis, network development, southeast Asia.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Islam in Southeast Asia in the beginning comes from Gujarat Arab and Persia in a peacefully way; it never uses violence or war. Harry J. Benda states that *Indianized Southeast Asia* area namely Indonesia and Malaysia, frequently called as Islam Melayu-Indonesia. Besides, Vietnam is Sinicized Southeast Asia that influences Muslim area of South Thailand. However, after the arrival of the Colonial nation, Philippines is also a *Hispanized Southeast Asia*. This arrival causes conflict of religion that develop the Islam in Southeast Asia at this time [1].

Prevention of terrorism threat of networks of Al-Qaeda, ISIS, and IS from UN such as creating the organizations namely Terrorism Prevention Branch- United Nations Offices on Drugs and Crimes (TPB-UNODC), United Nations Counterterrorism Executive Directorate (UNCTED), Global Counter Terrorism Forum (GCTF), Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF), International Special Operations Forces (ISOF). This organization has hundreds until thousands of networks of *Non-Government Organization* (NGO) of local people as foreign spies which report every activity of terror network in Southeast Asia. State equipment such as military and police of ASEAN countries upon the basis of objective of state have

different ways in overcoming that terrorism act. It makes partnerships, coordination and communication in overcoming the terrorism act. Difference of interest and support of United States and China as the cause of model to handle it, even partnerships of bilateral and multilateral have been done.

The condition today, almost all countries face the case of terrorism threat, either separatism of Islam area or anarchy activity of International terror network - for example the cases of *Al-Qaeda* in the form of first Bali bombing in Indonesia, *Islamic State Iraqi and Suriah* (ISIS) in Suriah, middle east and *Islamic State* (IS) in the form of Insurgency of Moro in the Philippines. The terror in Southeast Asia at this time is divided into three generations of terror namely first, threat of terror network of Al-Qaeda, second, threat of terror network of ISIS and the three threats of terror network of IS. These three threats become a problem of threat of national development and social, national and state life for Southeast Asia countries.

Based on these problems, this study aims to provide a threat analysis of the development of the Islamic state network in the Southeast Asia region. This research takes case studies in the border regions of Southeast Asia in 4 (four) major countries, namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines. This research is based on the development of the threat of the Islamic States (IS) in Southeast Asia. This research is needed as a basis for developing a cooperative strategy among ASEAN countries in dealing with returnees of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) returning to their respective countries to become lone wolf. In this study, a qualitative method approach was used by carrying out the questionnaire on the opinion of related experts.

There are some previous references to support this research (such as [2], [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [8], [9], [10] and [11]).

This paper consists of 4 (four) sections. Section 2 describes the development of the Islamic state network, South East Asia Regional, the methods used, related experiences. Section 3 explains the results of the analysis of the development of Islamic state networks in the region. Section 4 explains the conclusions in the study.

2. MATERIAL/METHODS

2.1. ASEAN (Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, The Philippines).

Indonesia is the biggest archipelago country in the world. It has 17,499 islands with sea area of 5.8 million km², on other hand 2/3 of its territory is sea. It has a coastline extending for 81,900 Km². Thousands of islands spread almost all-over Indonesian waters. Indonesia is bordered by 10 (ten) other countries, namely Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, India, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, the Republic of Palau, Papua New Guinea (PNG) and Australia [12].

Malaysia is located in the Southeast Asian region. It has two main regions separated by the South China Sea, West Malaysia which is referred to as Peninsular Malaysia and East Malaysia. Astronomically, Malaysia is close to the equator with coordinates of 1° N Latitude - 7° S Latitude and 100° E Longitude - 119° E Longitude [13].

Thailand is a country located in Southeast Asia. Culturally, from its religion, language and culture, the Muangthai Muslim minority of Thailand, which is the highest in Patani (Southern Thailand), is part of the Malay, especially due to their geographical area bordering the Malaysian Malay States. However, in terms of culture, the Malay-Muslims in southern Thailand are part of the Malay people. Regarding its political perspective, Malay-Muslims are part of the Muangthai whose religion is Buddhist, since Malay-Muslims were directly incorporated into the Thai kingdom, under the rule of Chulalongkorn (King V) in 1902. Besides

the geographical location of four provinces (Patani, Yala, Naratiwat and Satun), their cultural ties have helped to foster a sense of alienation among Malay-Muslims towards Thai social, cultural and political institutions [14].

The Philippines is astronomically located between 4 ° N - 21 ° N and 116 ° East - 228 ° East. The Philippines is directly bordered by the Pacific Ocean to the north, the Sulawesi Sea to

the south, the South China Sea to the west, and the Pacific Ocean to the east. Based on its latitude, the Philippines is a country prone to natural disasters such as hurricanes, floods, volcanic eruptions, tsunamis and landslides. This is due to its position which is heavily influenced by monsoons blowing from the Pacific Ocean towards the South China Sea [15].

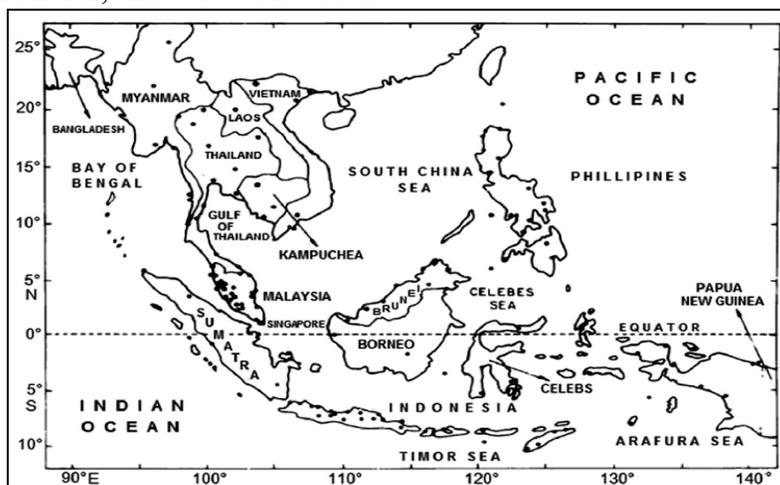


Fig. 1. Southeast Asia map [16], [17].

2.2. Development Theory

Development is a change in behavior structured and orderly in achieving a maturity process that is different from the past. Moreover, development can be defined as changes in the structure, opinions, and behavior of individuals. This development was born from the function of biology, meaning, and the influence of the natural surroundings. Therefore, the development is qualitative which can be seen by comparing the old nature with the current nature. In other words, development is an individual process in achieving maturity, confirmation, and stability [18]. This development includes the characteristics of a husband that allows influencing his wife and children in carrying out suicide bombings in the current era of Islamic State (IS) threats.

Crow argues that development is a change in a qualitative way that tends towards a better

direction in terms of thinking, spiritual, moral, and social [19]. Jean Piaget defines development as a concept of function and structure. The function is a biological innate system that applies equally to everyone. These functions are biologically inclined to think organizational knowledge into the structure of cognition, and to adapt to face environmental threats. Piaget made the stages of child development into adulthood influenced by the environment as follows [20]:

- a. Sensorimotor from 0 to 2 years old
- b. Preoperational from 2 to 7 years old
- c. Concrete operational ranged from 7 to 11 years old
- d. Formal operational from adolescence to adulthood.

2.3. Network Theory

A network is a series of relationships that have objects and mappings known as

descriptions between one object and another object in a network [21]. This network is very simple consisting of two objects (objects 'A' and 'B'). A network provides a picture of the interaction between these objects. Relationships and interactions that occur might be grouped into:

- a. One-way relationship (non-directional).
- b. Bidirectional relationship (directional).
- c. A balanced relationship (transitive).

The Terror Network in Southeast Asia is mostly located in the periphery, outermost small islands, and national borders. The fraternal relationship between Country A and Country B is a one-way or two-way relationship as well as a balanced relationship. Meanwhile, Agusyanto divides the components of networks as follows:

- a. A group of people, objects, and events. There are at least three groups as terminals. These groups are connected using dots called actors or nodes into networks.
- b. The groups form an integrated bond. This bond is connected from one point to another in forming interconnected networks.
- c. The relationship between these points has a clear direction with the Flow symbolized by arrows.

2.4. State Border Theory

In general, borders are a demarcation line between two sovereign states. Initially, a border was formed along with the independence of a state. Previously, residents who lived in the border region did not feel the difference. They were not uncommon from the same ethnic group. However, with the independence of a state, they are separated. Moreover, due to the regulations of each country, they have different citizenship [22].

The strength of the influence of one region on another region depends on the level of economic development of the state, the nation's culture, and the system of government adopted by the country

concerned. Whereas, in the subsequent explanation that the border region has its characteristics consisting of lower population density compared to the surrounding area, two languages used by residents where the universal language, and two types of currency apply.

According to political geography experts, the border can be divided into 2 (two), namely boundaries, and frontier. Both of these have different meanings even though they are complementary and have strategic values for the territorial sovereignty of a country. The border is called the frontier for its position is in front of a country. Therefore, the frontier can also be referred to as foreland, borderland, or march. Meanwhile, the term boundary is used due to its binding or limiting functions (bound or limit) to a political unit. In this case, all states contained in it are bound to be a unified whole and integrated (Hadiwijoyo, 2011)

2.5. Terrorism

Terror and terrorism are two almost similar words that have recently become popular topics. The term terrorism is related to the word terror and terrorists, which in general do not yet have a standard or universal definition. However, international countries agree that the term has a negative connotation of a class or equivalent consequence to the term "genocide." Terror is a phenomenon that has quite a long life in history. This is evidenced by the root of the word terror, namely the phrase: *terror cimbricus*. The Roman phrase means "to frighten: which describes the panic that occurs when the opposing soldier acts fiercely and violently [23].

Then this word developed first for the first time during the French Revolution to be *le terreur* or *terrere* which was used when the violence was brutal by beheading many people who were accused of carrying out anti-government activities. Thus, terrorism could be interpreted as fond of intimidation and brutal acts against civil society by certain reasons. The meaning of terrorism then experienced a shift

which was originally an act carried out by authoritarian rulers on political grounds as a category of crime against state and crime against humanity which resulted in victims of the government. Therefore, the political and religious ideals of the perpetrators of terror were achieved [24].

Terrorism is used with the intention of (i) intimidating to influence the civilian population, (ii) influencing regulations and policies issued by the government, or (iii) influencing the implementation of areas in governance by kidnapping and killing. Meanwhile, in Webster's New World Dictionary, the political reason for terrorism is defined as "the act of terrorizing, using force or threatening to demoralize, intimidate, and subjugate especially as use as a political weapon or policy" [25].

From some of the definitions of terrorism stated above, there is an expression where the act of terrorism was once one of the methods of government controlling the political situation in its territory to become a crime against state and humanity. Sometimes, these recent acts of terrorism also attract the conscience of individuals (crime against conscience) due to the random and erratic selection of attacks that cause public unrest. Nowadays, terrorism can be categorized as asymmetric warfare. Unlike traditional warfare where military power and resources are the main focus, asymmetric warfare prefers psychological pressure [3].

2.6. Subject of the Research

Interviewees as research subjects are officials who are directly related to the issue of the title of

this research, both the problem of the development of the threat of Islamic State (IS) and the problem of terror networks in the border regions of Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia, to realize cooperation to anticipate the threat of third-generation terror in the Southeast Asian border region, which is described as follows:

- a. Directorate General of ASEAN Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- b. Directorate General of International Cooperation of the Defense Strategy of the Ministry of Defense.
- c. Directorate General of Strategy Analysis of the Defense Strategy of the Ministry of Defense.
- d. Directorate General Defense Territory of Defense Strategy of the Ministry of Defense
- e. Deputy for Foreign Policy of the Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security.
- f. Ambassadors/Defense Attaches of Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines
- g. Indonesian Ambassador/Defense Attaché for Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines
- h. BNPT (English: National Agency for Combating Terrorism).
- i. Border Communities of Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia.

Table 1. Expert Respondents and Questionnaires.

| No | Subject | Code | Total |
|----|--|------|-------|
| 1 | Directorate General of ASEAN Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs | E1 | 1 |
| 2 | Directorate General of International Cooperation of the Defense Strategy of the Ministry of Defense. | E2 | 1 |
| 3 | Directorate General of Strategy Analysis of the Defense Strategy of the Ministry of Defense. | E3 | 1 |
| 4 | Directorate General Defense Territory of Defense Strategy of the Ministry of Defense | E4 | 1 |

| No | Subject | Code | Total |
|----|---|---------|-------|
| 5 | Deputy for Foreign Policy of the Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security. | E5 | 1 |
| 6 | Ambassadors/Defense Attaches of Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines | E6-E8 | 3 |
| 7 | Indonesian Ambassador/Defense Attaché for Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines | E9-E11 | 3 |
| 8 | BNPT | E12-E15 | 4 |
| 9 | Border Communities of Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia. | E16-E35 | 20 |

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Analysis of IS terrorism threats in Indonesia and Thailand.

Thailand is a monarchy country in Southeast Asia which has a population of around 65 million. In 1939 the so-called Siam State annexed the Patani Sultanate in the Southern Thailand region, thus creating a separatist movement with the Islamic nuances. The researcher argued that linguistic and cultural assimilation policy carried out by Thailand government had failed. The discrimination was experienced by the Patani people, who are predominantly Muslim Malay, which contrasts with Thai culture, Thai Buddhist. Various Prohibitions such as the use of Malay, the teaching of Islam in schools and other prohibitions have led to protests by Muslim Malay communities in the border area between Thailand and Malaysia. This caused violations of human rights. Eventually there was a forced manslaughter with violence and murder which might be called as State Terrorism.

Research argued that since this insurgency happened, the Thai government had declared that BNPP was considered as a terrorist group that wants to bring down a legitimate government. In 1970, the BNPP group was eradicated by the Thailand Government. This terrorist organization triggered the emergence of other resistance organizations such as *Barisan Revolusi Nasional* (BRN), *Pertumbuhan Perpaduan Pembebasan Patani* (PPPP) or Pattani United Liberation Organization (PULO) which made Southern

Thailand to be divided into four regions namely Pattani, Yala, Songkhla, and Narathiwat.

The researcher believed that the *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* in Indonesia has agreed to accept special autonomy and is similar to the current condition of Southern Thailand. During this time, weapons originating from Southern Thailand were sold by Patani insurgents to Aceh via the Malaysian and Indonesian sea borders. If Indonesian security forces catch up, the weapon is stored in Malaysia. Likewise, Southern Thailand got weapons from the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) of Sri Lanka and the Cambodian Khmer Rouge. These two countries obtained these weapons from China. Eventually this arms race became a circle of smuggling of firearms, ammunition and explosives (*Sapi Muhandak*). Where the weapons originated has never been discussed at the ASEAN level, so ADMM level cooperation in ASEAN needs to discuss the smuggling of the *Sapi Muhandak* in the Border Areas of Southeast Asian Countries.

3.2. Analysis of IS terrorism threats in Indonesia and Malaysia.

The terrorism network in Malaysia and Indonesia linked through less closely guarded border routes, especially the land border between Malaysia and Indonesia in North Kalimantan. This border is only guarded by 5 Malaysian posts and is guarded by 1 Battalion *TNI* border security task force on the border of West Kalimantan (*Kalbar*) and 1 Battalion on the border of North Kalimantan (*Kaltara*). The researcher believed that this terrorism network was initiated by the

formation of *Jemaah Islamiyah*, led by Abdullah Sungkar from Indonesia, who fled to Malaysia during the Soeharto's era. JI's deputy, Abu Bakar Baasyir, later formed the Indonesian *Majlis Mujahidin* which was associated with *Jemaah Islamiyah* and a group of Malaysian militants. The interconnected Terrorism Networks between Indonesia and Malaysia are moving into both countries' territory by sea and land routes without being noticed by the security forces of the two countries.

The researcher believed that the ISIS terrorism network that later became Lone Wolf Returnees returned to their respective countries to establish the Islamic State (IS) of Southeast Asia under the name *Katibah Nusantara* or *Daulah Islamiyah Raya*. This is more dangerous and bigger based on Islamic State (IS) operations in the Southern Philippines, in Mindanao island. They argued that the Sri Lankan terrorism network was driven out by the Sri Lankan majority Buddhist government. This terrorism network fled through Southern Thailand, which then entered Malaysia to declare its goal for Malaysia to recognize that this terrorism network existed to establish an Islamic state in Southeast Asia in general and Sri Lankan Islamic state in particular.

It concluded that the current prominent Malaysian terrorism network is the Islamic State (IS) network which will declare themselves on December 4, 2019 in Malaysia. This was initially influenced by *Jemaah Islamiyah* and *Mujahidin*, but now is currently influenced by Aceh, Sri Lanka, Southern Thailand separatists through sea and land border routes headed for Malaysia to pledge to support Islamic State (IS) in Southeast Asia.

3.3. Analysis of IS terrorism threats in Indonesia and the Philippines

The Terrorism Network in the Philippines and Indonesia has kinship ties. The results of interviews with community leader, Tahuna Martinus, stated that the Indonesian terrorism

network has family ties due to a wedlock with Islamic separatists on the Mindanao island. (Martinus, 2019). The proof of this marriage is that the wife of the Maute rebel is an Indonesian citizen from Bekasi, Minhati Madrais.

Brotherhood of residents who have two state citizenships based on the 1973 MoU on cross-border agreements until now has not been rectified and amended. The rebellion that eventually occurred in Marawi city leading to the conflict of the Mindanao independence fighters with the Philippine government influenced the formation of the Kodam VIII / Merdeka and made safeguards on the border increased to anticipate illegal migrants who support the terrorist movement.

Based on general description documents, the ISIS leader as a representative of Southeast Asia living in the Philippines, Isnilon Hapilon, was killed in the Marawi battle. However, the Abu Sayyaf Group still dominated the insurgent groups and was increasingly active in abducting and taking hostages to fishermen and foreign vessels that cross the maritime border between Indonesia and the Philippines.

The researcher believed that the *hijrah* here is to search for an Islamic area as a basic operation training ground and a gathering place for Islamic leaders in the Philippines as a base of insurgency. These leaders then searched for some sleeping cells as their followers, supporters and sympathizers secretly supported the founder of the Islamic State (IS) in the Philippines. These groups included sleeping cells in Tahuna in Sangir Talaut Island in Indonesia and 8 other sleeping cells such as Hisbul Tahir and East Indonesian Mujahideen. Thus, all of this raised problem that occurred due to the lack of security guarding on the sea and land border between Indonesia and the Philippines.

The rampant theft of fish using *rumpons* (fish aggregating devices) and various kidnapping and hostage actions had so far been difficult to dismantle because the residents of North Sulawesi, especially the Sangir Philippines and

the Filipino Sangir (Sapi Pisang) were the sleeping cells that fight the Indonesian government all the time as happened in the Marawi Philippines. The demand for settlement of Bitung and Minahasa people for this population was the threat of secession from the Indonesian Republic. This group also wanted to separate from Indonesia and they called themselves as Minahasa Separatists.

The researcher concludes that the problem of the Philippines-Indonesia border is the lack of an integrated security guard between the Philippines and Indonesia and the lack of information exchange due to limited information systems and technology. This has caused the terrorism network organization / groups to be more flexible in coming in and out of the border without being noticed by the security forces of the two countries.

3.4. Analysis of IS terrorism threats in Thailand and Malaysia

The terror network in the Thai border area between Malaysia is related to kinship relations between the two countries. The border area is a goal for Thailand, to unite it as their national territory. However, the border areas still raise problems based on the history of the Siam Kingdom during British and French colonial era. Southern Thailand is bordered by East Malaysia which has a weak capability and border guard equipment owned by Thai security forces is so weak that this is the most likely as a place of transit and escape used by international terrorists.

Researcher argued that the Islamic separatist group in Patani wanted to establish an Islamic State in Southern Thailand, however it

apparently had different perspectives from those of BRN, PULO, GMIP and other separatist groups. The accusation addressed to these separatists was that they were a group of lawbreakers who did such things as criminal acts so that the Thai government can arrest and imprison them. This is a form of hard power. In contrast, the international terrorism network considered this model as a weakness because they were not dealing with the military but with the police, since they think that if they dealt with the military, their activities will be eradicated as they are considered as international terrorists.

The results of interview with Col. Pakom Suttikul, Captain Rachada Suengthanom dan Mr. Kongfa Mangkonsateean as military delegation from Thailand in Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia revealed that Thailand will also open the similar Defense University in Thailand. They said that they would open an Asymmetric study program that will analyze Islamic State (IS) in Southern Thailand with a peace approach to separatist groups such as BRN, PULO, GMIP, and other groups through the MARA organization.

The researcher believes that the terrorism network in southern Thailand is linked to the international terrorism network, as proven by the arrest of Hambali, a member of the Jemaah Islamiyah network in Southern Thailand. This terrorism network began to be studied and discussed by the Thai government by establishing the Thai Defense University in the process of resolving border conflicts with Malaysia and the conflict between the Malay-Thai community and the majority Buddhist government of Thailand.

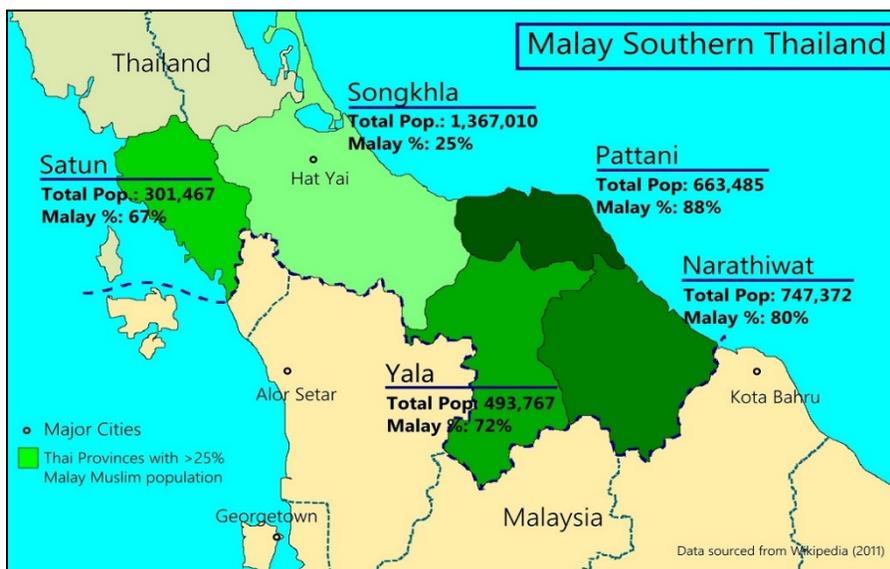


Fig. 2. Islam communities in Separatism area in Sothern Thailand.

Based on the picture above the terrorism network in Thailand is closely related to the insurgence that occurred in Southern Thailand. This insurgence was very active in Narathiwat, Pattani and Yala Province, but was less active in Songkhla province, especially in areas with large Muslim populations, such as in Hat Yai, and Hub commercial areas. This separatist movement is not interconnected with BRN, PULO, GMIP, Gempar and other Islamic separatist groups.

This separatist group is not so well known by the international community that it becomes a hiding place for international terrorism networks such as Hussein Artis from the Hizbullah International terrorism network who was arrested on 12 January 2012, Saeid Moradi, an Iranian national using a tourist visa, who was arrested in Thailand and Hambali the leader of JI Southeast Asia. Eventually, the resolution of the border conflict and terrorism network in Southern Thailand was solved by offering special autonomy by negotiating with the help of the OIC (Organization of Islamic Conference) and Malaysian facilitators. Thailand should have solved the problem by asking help from ASEAN countries.

3.5. Analysis of IS terrorism threats in Malaysia and the Philippines

The Terrorism Network in the border areas was dominated by the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), which often pirated ships and kidnapped Malaysian and Indonesian fishermen who crossed the border between Malaysia and the Philippines. The researcher believes that the Custom, Immigration, Quarantine, and Security (CIQS) duties of each country are similar to anticipate threats on the borders of the State. The difficulty of this security apparatus lies in the equipment to detect the terrorism network of returnees who return from the Iraq and Syria wars to their respective countries. The target groups such as FTF, FF and families supporting terrorism from Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines are predicted to enter the Philippines as their training centers for the terrorism network in Hudaibiyah Camp Mindanao.

The researcher views that Sultan Kudarat region alluded to the Sulu Sultanate region led by Datu Raju Abgimuddin, Sulu Sultan Jamalul Kiram's younger sibling who had attacked Lahad Datu on 5 March 2013. The British left the time bomb by renting Sabah from the Sulu sultanate but surrendered the territory to Malaysia in 1963 when Malaysian federation was formed. This

unresolved maritime border dispute between Malaysia and the Philippines had caused Sulu people living in Malaysia to flee to Indonesia to become residents of Indonesia because Malaysia and the Philippines do not recognize them as their citizens.

4. CONCLUSION

The threat of terror in Southeast Asia is currently divided into three generations of terror, namely the first Al-Qaeda terror network threat, the second ISIS terror network threat and the third IS terror network threat. These three threats become the problem of the threat of national development and the life of society, nation and state for the countries of Southeast Asia. Based on the results of the study we found that:

- a. IS network threats in the territory of Indonesia and Thailand describe that since this insurgency happened, the Thai government had declared that BNPP was considered as a terrorist group that wants to bring down a legitimate government. In 1970, the BNPP group was eradicated by the Thailand Government. Eventually, arms race became a circle of smuggling of firearms, ammunition, and explosives (*Sapi Muhandak*). Where the weapons originated has never been discussed at the ASEAN level, so ADMM level cooperation in ASEAN needs to discuss the smuggling of the *Sapi Muhandak* in the Border Areas of Southeast Asian Countries.
- b. IS network threats in the territory of Indonesia and Malaysia illustrate that The terrorism network in Malaysia and Indonesia is linked through less closely guarded border routes, especially the land border between Malaysian and Indonesian in North Kalimantan. This border is only guarded by 5 Malaysian posts and is guarded by 1 Battalion TNI border security task force on the border of West Kalimantan (Kalbar) and 1 Battalion on the border of North Kalimantan (Kaltara).
- c. IS network threats in the territory of Indonesia and Malaysia explain that the problem of the Philippines-Indonesia border is the lack of an integrated security guard between the Philippines and Indonesia and the lack of information exchange due to limited information systems and technology. This has caused the terrorism network organization/groups to be more flexible in coming in and out of the border without being noticed by the security forces of the two countries.
- d. IS network threats in Thailand and Malaysia explain that the terror network in the Thai border area between Malaysia is related to kinship relations between the two countries. The border area is a goal for Thailand, to unite it as their national territory. However, the border areas still raise problems based on the history of the Siam Kingdom during British and French colonial era. Southern Thailand is bordered by East Malaysia which has a weak capability and border guard equipment owned by Thai security forces is so weak that this is the most likely as place of transit and escape used by international terrorists.
- e. IS network threats in Malaysia and the Philippines explain that The Terrorism Network in the border areas was dominated by the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), which often pirated ships and kidnapped Malaysian and Indonesian fishermen who crossed the border between Malaysia and the Philippines. The target groups such as FTF, FF and families supporting terrorism from Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines are predicted to enter the Philippines as their training centers for the terrorism

network in Hudaibiyah Camp Mindanao. This unresolved maritime border dispute between Malaysia and the Philippines had caused Sulu people living in Malaysia to flee to Indonesia to become residents of Indonesia because Malaysia and the Philippines do not recognize them as their citizens.

Future Work

- This research can be continued to analyze the risk of the Islamic state network development in the ASEAN region.
- This research can be developed as a cooperation strategy for controlling the Islamic state network development in ASEAN.

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