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Enhancement of Polri's Role in Dealing with Disinformation and Radicalism Extremism Terrorism and Separatism Propaganda in Cyberspace

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Abstract

In the pursuit of eudaimonia, which encompasses well-being, prosperity, and happiness, war has historically been paradoxically utilized to promote economic growth, political dominance, and religious aspirations. War arises from failed attempts to establish mutually beneficial relationships, leading to heightened competition and eventual conflicts. The influence of past wars continues to shape future conflicts, exposing vulnerabilities that adversaries exploit through evolving methods of warfare, influenced by global geopolitics, international agreements, and advancements in science and technology. With the end of the Cold War, the world has moved beyond the division between the Western and Eastern blocs. Rapid advancements in science and technology have fostered increased interconnectedness among nations, blurring geographical boundaries and giving rise to the multidimensional VUCA (volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity) phenomenon. As a result, global geopolitics and warfare strategies have evolved towards interconnectedness and hybrid warfare, with an emphasis on targeting societies. In response to these transformations, governments and societies must adapt by disseminating the Pancasila ideology, embracing the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Tanhana Dharmma Mangrva* motto, cultivating noble character and morality, and establishing innovative synergistic work patterns. By embracing these changes, Indonesia can effectively navigate the dynamics of the global environment and work towards achieving a Golden Indonesia by 2045.

Keywords: Counter Propaganda, Radicalism, Extremism, Terrorism, Separatism

1. Introduction

1.1 Backgrounds

The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany marked the conclusion of the international communist organization and the Cold War, signaling the advent of globalization and a new phase in geopolitics.

Alongside considerations of national identity, a country's pursuit of its national interests through geopolitics, geostrategy, geoeconomics, and geo-culture is significantly influenced by its position, location, and geographic conditions within the dynamic global strategic landscape. As a result, all nations are adapting and revising their geopolitical perspectives, strategies, and objectives in response to these profound changes.

Globalization has fostered increased global interconnectedness and heightened international collaboration across a range of areas including trade, culture, education, economy, politics, technology, defense, and security. However, as globalization has progressed, it has seemingly been exploited by developed nations and powerful elites to the detriment of developing countries, particularly those lacking domestic and international competitiveness. Globalization, which has transformed the world into a "global village" (McLuhan, 1962), a borderless realm (Ohmae, 1942), and characterized by the compression of space (Harvey, 1990), encompasses a multitude of defining features.

These features encompass the erosion of national borders, the dilution of local identity and culture, the diminishing of nationalism and patriotism, the rise of identity politics, the widening of socioeconomic disparities, economic crises fueled by the expansion of global capital flows, the escalating ramifications of international migration, intensified competition in trade, protectionist measures, monetary crises, currency unification, and the regionalization of economies.

Moreover, as noted by Lee and Vivarelli (2006), the democratization of technology in the era of globalization has brought about a range of negative consequences, particularly in sectors that were once tightly controlled by the state, such as the possession and production of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) or Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs). These once highly restricted tools have now become easily obtainable by the general public and terrorist organizations, presenting a significant challenge. This shift has created opportunities for terrorist groups to acquire weapons of mass destruction and advanced technologies that rival those of nation-states. As a result, non-state actors including terrorists, separatists, mercenaries, and private military companies (PMCs) have emerged, capable of exerting influence on the global stage through political activities, covert operations, and armed interventions.

These actors have expanded their reach worldwide, infiltrating various realms such as ideologies, politics, economies, and militaries. According to a 2018 report by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Salafi-Jihadist groups boasted an estimated 200,000 fighters dispersed across multiple regions including Europe, East Asia and the Pacific, the Middle East, North Africa, Central Asia, South Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Numerous terrorist organizations in the Middle East, Central Africa, North Africa, Central Asia, and South Asia have aligned themselves with Al-Qaeda, while ISIS has formed alliances with its affiliates in Southern Africa, North Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia.

These extremist groups exhibit significant operational capabilities on a global scale, with their networks extending their influence to Indonesia. This is evident through the presence of organizations like Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MII), which are affiliated with the Al-Qaeda network, as well as Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT) and Front Pembela Islam (FPI), which have ties to ISIS. These groups operate beyond the confines of formal territorial politics and state sovereignty, showing little regard for traditional boundaries.

The widespread dissemination of jihad ideology is facilitated by modern information and communication technologies, enabling its reach to a global audience and contributing to the rise of lone wolf terrorism. These acts pose a significant challenge in terms of detection, as they exhibit random patterns and operate independently of centralized groups or alliances. Consequently, their actions disregard established laws such as territorial politics and national sovereignty, operating without boundaries. This reality emphasizes the threat faced by state actors from terrorist groups determined to establish a "khilafah" and dismantle the modern state system.

Furthermore, the postmodern culture presents an inherent incompatibility with the socio-cultural fabric of Indonesian society and the world as a whole. This incongruity arises from disillusionment with the promises of modernism, which once held the belief in human reason's ability to construct a more equitable society and foster

global progress. Postmodern culture tends to foster the emergence of subjective subsystems (subcultures) that are contingent upon individual preferences within society. Consequently, social and cultural cohesion diminishes, and the task of uniting communities becomes increasingly challenging.

Within this postmodern paradigm, absolute truths are dismissed, and everything, including empirical sciences and religion, is considered relative to the beliefs and desires of each individual. This is evident in the promotion of hedonistic and consumerist cultures championed by plutocratic forces, which contribute to societal crises and heightened competition in meeting communal needs. The resulting disparities lead to disillusionment among the population, resulting in a decline in nationalism, patriotism, tolerance, and the culture of dialogue and cooperative collaboration. These essential values have been overshadowed by individualistic tendencies and a plutocratic ethos that deviate from the core principles of Pancasila. The proliferation of social media platforms further exacerbates this predicament, as they encourage the expression of anonymous individual preferences, further eroding the prominence of Pancasila values in community, national, and state life.

The advancement of Industry 4.0 technology has given rise to the concept of the Internet of Things (IoT), which involves the interconnection of diverse devices and their ability to exchange data. This connectivity allows for control, communication, and collaboration between different hardware components through internet networks, with the ultimate aim of achieving Society 5.0—a society that effectively utilizes IoT technology to address everyday challenges. However, the progress of globalization, democratization, resource competition, and Industry 4.0 technology has resulted in a complex and uncertain environment characterized by volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity (VUCA), both in the physical world and in cyberspace.

The internet and social media platforms have granted various entities, including individuals, terrorist groups, separatist organizations, non-state actors like multinational companies, and state actors, the freedom to engage in activities such as disseminating disinformation, propaganda, and indoctrination to gain support. Cyberspace has become a new frontier for the expansion and development of terrorist and separatist networks, capitalizing on the challenges associated with promptly identifying perpetrators within this domain. Exploiting this gap to the fullest extent, terrorists and separatists can carry out their activities while evading swift identification and capture.

Multiple pieces of evidence demonstrate how the phenomena of globalization and the democratization of technology have contributed to the growth of terrorism and separatist movements in Indonesia:

1. According to the Global Terrorism Index 2022, a report published by the Institute for Economics & Peace, Indonesia has experienced a significant rise in its ranking compared to the 2019 index. Previously ranked 35th out of 162 countries, Indonesia has now moved up to the 24th position out of the same 162 countries in 2022. In contrast, neighboring countries like Malaysia are ranked 63rd, while Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, Timor-Leste, and Papua New Guinea hold the 93rd position. These statistics indicate that Indonesia is facing a higher vulnerability to terrorist attacks compared to its neighboring countries.

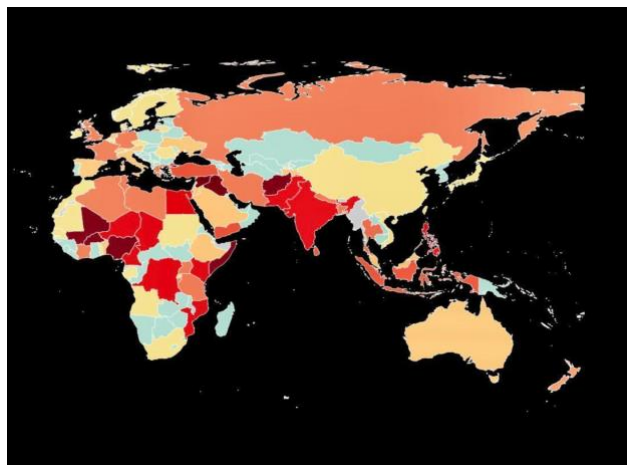


Figure 1: Global Terrorism Index map

RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE	RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	RANK CHANGE
1	Afghanistan	9.109	↔	28	United States of America	4.961	↑ 2	56	Ecuador	2.766	↑ 2
2	Iraq	8.511	↔	29	Greece	4.849	↓ 10	57	Argentina	2.657	↓ 9
3	Somalia	8.398	↔	30	Israel	4.778	↓ 4	58	Jordan	2.594	↑ 5
4	Burkina Faso	8.270	↓ 2	31	United Kingdom	4.770	↔	59	Switzerland	2.522	↓ 3
5	Syria	8.250	↔	32	Palestine	4.736	↓ 1	60	Australia	2.438	↑ 2
6	Nigeria	8.233	↑ 2	33	Germany	4.729	↑ 1	61	Mexico	2.428	↑ 4
7	Mali	8.152	↔	34	Nepal	4.693	↑ 4	62	Ukraine	2.304	↑ 3
8	Niger	7.856	↓ 4	35	France	4.562	↑ 6	63	Malaysia	2.247	↑ 2
10	Pakistan	7.825	↑ 2	36	Tanzania	4.530	↔	64	Paraguay	2.194	↑ 4
11	Cameroon	7.432	↔	37	Peru	4.471	↓ 18	65	Bahrain	2.145	↑ 2
12	India	7.432	↑ 2	38	Tunisia	4.447	↑ 1	66	Netherlands	2.077	↓ 7
13	Mozambique	7.432	↑ 4	39	Algeria	4.432	↓ 4	67	China	1.863	↑ 3
14	Colombia	7.068	↔	40	Bangladesh	4.411	↓ 1	68	Belgium	1.745	↑ 17
15	Egypt	6.932	↑ 2	41	New Zealand	4.376	↑ 6	69	Sweden	1.660	↑ 2
16	Philippines	6.790	↑ 1	42	Cote d' Ivoire	4.310	↓ 2	70	Senegal	1.580	↑ 2
17	Democratic Republic of the Congo	6.733	↓ 5	43	Burundi	4.271	↓ 13	71	Japan	1.460	↑ 1
18	Chile	6.496	↓ 5	44	Russia	4.219	↑ 6	72	Uruguay	1.322	↓ 1
19	Chad	6.379	↑ 3	45	Uganda	4.106	↓ 59	73	Rwanda	1.243	↓ 3
20	Kenya	6.166	↑ 2	46	Venezuela	4.005	↔	73	South Africa	1.243	↓ 3
21	Yemen	5.870	↑ 1	47	Tajikistan	3.988	↑ 7	73	Togo	1.243	↓ 31
22	Thailand	5.723	↑ 3	48	Canada	3.882	↔	76	Morocco	1.156	↓ 2
23	Turkey	5.651	↑ 6	49	Ethiopia	3.759	↑ 7	77	Norway	1.109	↓ 2
24	Indonesia	5.500	↓ 4	50	Italy	3.687	↑ 3	78	Ireland	1.060	↓ 2
25	Sri Lanka	5.445	↑ 4	51	Lebanon	3.566	↑ 6	78	Romania	1.060	↓ 3
26	Libya	5.100	↑ 1	52	Austria	3.261	↑ 2	80	Finland	1.007	↓ 2
27	Iran	5.015	↔	53	Benin	3.164	↓ 19	81	Brazil	0.951	↓ 2
				54	Saudi Arabia	3.110	↑ 5	82	Cyprus	0.922	↓ 2
				55	Spain	2.861	↑ 3				

Figure 2: The ranking of countries based on the Global Terrorism Index

- Based on data provided by the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), a total of 550 individuals were brought back to Indonesia from Syria, but three of them were rearrested due to their involvement in terrorist activities. The bombings of three churches in Surabaya in 2018, claimed by ISIS, serve as evidence of the significant impact of terrorism propaganda spread through social media. Messaging applications such as WhatsApp and Telegram were utilized for recruitment, dissemination of pro-terrorist propaganda, and planning of terrorist actions, taking advantage of their advanced encryption systems that make detection difficult.
- In 2022, the BNPT identified over 600 websites in Indonesia disseminating anti-NKRI (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia) and intolerant propaganda, operated by influencers or automated accounts. This situation reveals the susceptibility of the Indonesian population to both state and non-state propaganda aimed at dividing the nation. ISIS propaganda, for example, has successfully influenced 2,157 Indonesian citizens to join their cause.
- The Wahhabi ideology received significant media attention in 2022, leading the Nahdlatul Ulama Central Board (PBNU) to call for a government ban due to its contradictions with the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. This ideology is widely viewed by society as a radical or extremist form of Islam that undermines local customs and traditions deemed inconsistent with Islamic teachings.
- Separatist groups have utilized social media to amplify their concerns and advocate for social and separatist issues, targeting both Indonesian and English-speaking audiences to gather support locally and internationally. Social media serves as a platform for propaganda and international diplomacy for these groups to shape public opinion and gain backing from the global community, as highlighted by Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto, former Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian National Armed Forces.
- The Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kemkominfo) has blocked 20,453 pieces of content related to radical terrorism spread on websites and various social media platforms, according to data from April 3, 2021.
- Indonesian netizens rank the lowest (most brutal) in the Digital Civility Index (DCI) among Southeast Asian countries, attributed to factors such as low digital literacy and inadequate education levels in the population.

Moreover, the internet infrastructure, including facilities, infrastructure, and IoT technology, is insufficient and unevenly distributed across the country. Although the 4G network infrastructure coverage in Indonesia is still at 49.33% (Indonesia Political School, 2020), in 2021, mobile connectivity and active social media usage accounted for 125.6% and 61.8% of the population, respectively. Subsequently, in 2022, there was a notable and substantial increase in mobile connections and online engagements, resulting in 133.3% mobile connections and 68.9% active social media users among the Indonesian population. Indonesians spend an average of 8 hours per day on the

internet and 3 hours per day on social media. Popular applications include WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, TikTok, and YouTube. These statistics highlight the potential threats posed by the advancement of information and communication technology and the use of social media to the security and public order of Indonesian society. It is crucial to adopt an integrated and comprehensive approach to proactively address these challenges.



Figure 3: Internet and social media user data in Indonesia

In the realm of Geopolitics V, social media has emerged as a potent instrument for spreading threats and propaganda, even within Indonesia. With Indonesia approaching its centenary of independence, the subsystems within its society have multiplied and become more intricate, reflecting the growing demand for personal freedom. This proliferation of diverse and complex subsystems has increased the potential for conflicts and challenges to societal integration. Consequently, sociologists have been actively discussing security issues and the sense of safety within society, with a particular focus on establishing social order.

The rise of social media has played a significant role in driving these changes in societal behavior and has brought about cultural, ethical, and normative shifts. Virtually all segments and age groups of society now employ social media as a means of accessing and sharing information. However, this progress in information technology has also given rise to new forms of criminal activity. For instance, the dissemination of disinformation, fueled by ethnic, religious, and racial biases, has seen an increase, as has the spread of hate speech in the digital domain. These factors have the potential to spark conflicts along various lines, contributing to the fragmentation of the nation. The combination of high cyber threats and low levels of digital literacy has created vulnerabilities in cybersecurity within Indonesia.

Similar phenomena can be observed in other parts of the world. During the 2017 French presidential elections, a suspected counterfeit version of the renowned Belgian newspaper *Le Soir* was produced, featuring a fabricated article alleging that Emmanuel Macron had received financial support from Saudi Arabia. President Macron expressed concerns about the threats faced by democracies and proposed measures like emergency website blocks. He emphasized the need for clear rules and resilience to safeguard liberal democracies, specifically targeting the propaganda disseminated through numerous social media accounts. Macron's opponent, Marine Le Pen, criticized his plan to ban such news, arguing that it amounted to suppressing citizens' voices. She questioned who should determine the authenticity of news, suggesting whether it should be left to judges or the government. Additionally, the intelligence community conducted an assessment of foreign threats to the 2020 U.S. federal elections, with a specific focus on Russian involvement. Russia was accused of aiming to undermine President Biden and the Democratic Party, supporting former President Trump, eroding public trust in the electoral process, and exacerbating divisions within the States.

Over the past decade, there has been a noticeable increase in the use of digital information and communication technologies by foreign governments, including authoritarian regimes and declining democracies, to suppress and

control their populations. These governments employ these technologies as tools to monitor and suppress political opposition within their own societies, as well as among expatriate and diaspora communities abroad. The rise of digital repression can be attributed to governments' growing concerns about the expanded accessibility of information through online platforms, which they perceive as a potential threat to their authority. Regimes like China and Russia, in particular, have expressed apprehension that open discussions on political and social matters facilitated by social media and other communication technologies could ultimately undermine their grip on power. Consequently, these governments have integrated digital technologies as integral instruments for repressive state practices and overall statecraft, alongside more traditional methods such as media censorship or resorting to physical violence against dissidents.

As the advent of globalization, democracy, and rapid advancements in information and communication technology continue to profoundly reshape societal behavior, transcending regional, cultural, and national boundaries, conventional notions of state boundaries, authority, and power are gradually being undermined. As a result, countries must develop robust strategies and foster cooperation to effectively address emerging non-state actors. Several countries have already enacted regulations related to cyber defense and security in anticipation of future modern threats. for example:

1. Russia's strategy for cyber defense is centered around protecting critical information infrastructure and enhancing digital sovereignty by strengthening the ability to disconnect the Russian Internet segment from the global Internet. The country's approach to cyber deterrence involves a combination of proactive cyber defense measures and offensive operations. Russia's offensive cyber capabilities encompass distributed denial of service (DDoS) attacks and advanced persistent threats (APT). The credibility of Russia's cyber deterrence is derived from its demonstrated capabilities and the messages it has conveyed to adversaries, as evidenced by incidents such as the 2007 attacks on Estonia and the 2008 actions against Georgia.
2. In the States, the States Cyber Command was established in 2009 under the States Strategic Command, serving as a dedicated entity responsible for cyber defense. In 2011, the States Department of Defense officially recognized cyberspace as a distinct domain of warfare, alongside land, sea, and air.
3. The Netherlands has developed the National Cyber Security Strategy, a comprehensive regulatory framework aimed at addressing cyber threats. Since 2011, the country has also appointed a dedicated Minister for Cyber Security to oversee relevant initiatives.
4. China implemented the Cyber Security Law (CSL) in 2016 through the National People's Congress Standing Committee. This law is part of a broader legislative series aimed at strengthening national security in the cyber domain.
5. Singapore took a significant step in 2022 by establishing the world's first cyber warfare branch, known as the "Digital and Intelligence Service." This branch operates at the same level as the army, navy, and air force, focusing on developing capabilities in areas such as command, control, communications, computers, and intelligence.

Recognizing the urgent nature and scale of cyber threats, the Indonesian government has acknowledged the need to address both cyber and space threats by considering the establishment of the fourth branch of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI). In 2017, the government established the National Cyber and Crypto Agency (BSSN), operating directly under the President's supervision. The BSSN is responsible for implementing cybersecurity measures and regularly reporting their progress to the President. It plays a crucial role in coordinating and promoting cooperation among stakeholders in the national cybersecurity domain.

The establishment mentioned earlier received additional support through the implementation of Presidential Regulation Number 8 of 2021, which focuses on the General Policy of State Defense (Jakum Hanneg) for the period of 2020-2024. This regulation categorizes national threats into three distinct categories: military threats, non-military threats, and hybrid threats, which involve a combination of military, non-military, and cyber attacks. The regulation provides a detailed explanation of the provisions outlined in Law Number 3 of 2002 on State Defense, where Article 1, paragraph (2) defines the national defense system as a comprehensive defense system that involves all citizens, territories, and national resources. The system aims to be preemptive, implemented in a

comprehensive, integrated, directed, and continuous manner to protect national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the entire nation against all forms of threats. The Total People's Defense and Security System, based on the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, serves as the strategic framework employed to address threats originating from both domestic and foreign sources.

In 2019, the National Resilience Measurement Laboratory (Labkurtannas) of the National Resilience Institute of Indonesia (Lemhannas RI) conducted a comprehensive study to assess Indonesia's national resilience index. This index, measured on a scale from 1 to 5, revealed that the country demonstrated a relatively strong level of resilience in most areas, except for the ideological, political, and socio-cultural domains. However, the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic in mid-2020 had a significant impact on the national resilience index, leading to a gradual decline. By July 2021, the index had dropped from 2.82 to 2.70, indicating an ongoing downward trend and resembling the level of resilience observed in 2015 when the index stood at a modest 2.55, indicating a less robust state of resilience. This downward trend is expected to continue in the upcoming political years, particularly in 2024.

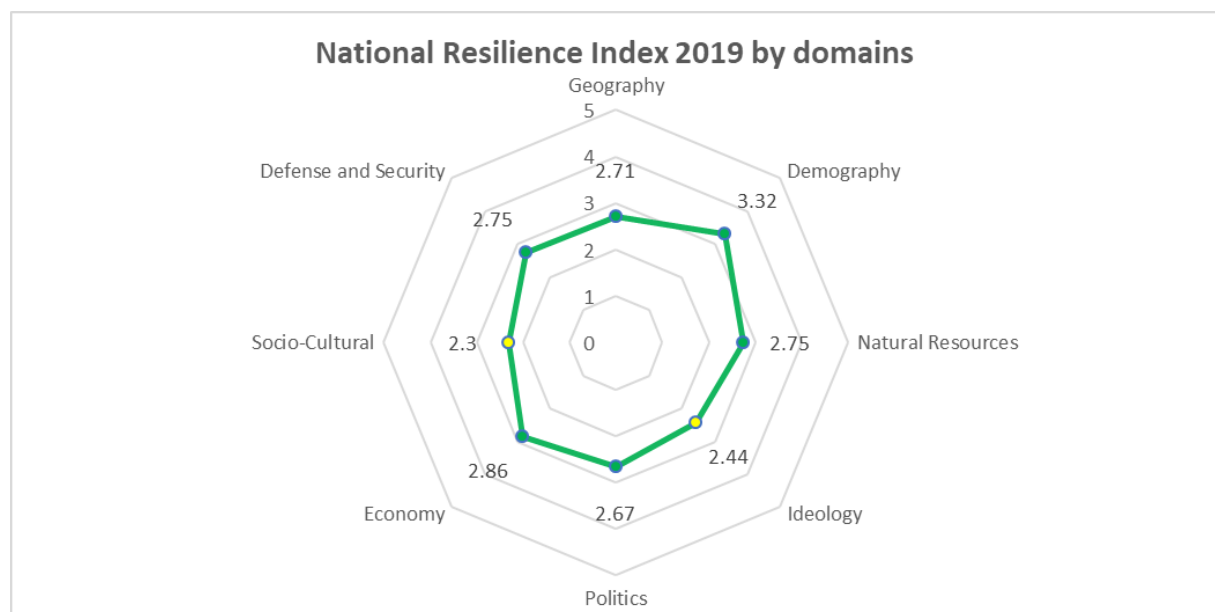


Figure 4: National resilience index

In the context of a declining national resilience index, particularly in the domains of ideology, politics, and socio-culture, the Indonesian National Police (Polri) plays a crucial role in maintaining security and public order to support national development efforts. However, Polri faces challenges in adapting to the social and cultural changes brought about by the digital era, which have introduced a new paradigm of utilizing advancements in science and information technology. In this evolving landscape of criminal activities, the existing legal framework in Indonesia remains relatively static, making it increasingly difficult to effectively address modern forms of crime. Therefore, intelligence becomes essential in identifying threats, enhancing preparedness, anticipating strategic surprises, and other relevant aspects. It is vital that intelligence operations are not hindered by outdated laws or regulations, as the outcomes of these operations serve as the basis for formulating new legislation.

According to Law Number 2 of 2002, specifically Article 5, Paragraph (1), the Indonesian Polri is entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining security and public order, enforcing the law, and providing protection, guidance, and services to the community to uphold domestic security. Additionally, Article 9, Paragraph (1), states that the Chief of Polri is responsible for establishing, organizing, and overseeing police technical policies. Operating within the framework of fulfilling its main tasks, functions, and roles, the current Chief of the Polri, Police General Listyo Sigit Prabowo, has introduced the tagline "*Transformasi Polri yang PRESISI*" (PRECISE Polri Transformation). This tagline emphasizes the importance of adopting predictive, responsive, and transparent approaches, along with a commitment to justice. The concept of PRECISE highlights the significance of utilizing predictive policing methods, enabling Polri to assess the level of disturbances to security and public order.

Predictive policing involves conducting analyses based on relevant knowledge, data, and methodologies to proactively prevent potential disruptions to security and public order at the earliest stages possible. The implementation of predictive policing in Indonesia involves optimizing technology and leveraging advancements in Artificial Intelligence (AI), Internet of Things (IoT), Big Data Analysis, and other technological innovations. This approach aligns with the Polri Strategic Plan (RENSTRA POLRI) for the period 2020-2024, which aims to address challenges such as hoaxes, cybercrime, separatist movements, radicalism, corruption, and terrorism that pose threats to community well-being by harnessing Industry 4.0 technology.

The rapid advancement of technology has brought about a shift in criminal activities, with cybercrime emerging as a significant threat that exploits electronic instruments. This transition has had a detrimental impact on the national defense and security resilience index. The virtual realm has become a breeding ground for transnational crimes, as well as volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous phenomena, including multidimensional hybrid warfare targeting communities. In response, the Indonesian Polri must swiftly adopt new approaches that involve all stakeholders in a holistic, integrated, comprehensive, and forward-looking manner to ensure security and public order. Therefore, the aim of this research is to analyze vulnerabilities in the nation's history, the development of the strategic environment, the influence of disinformation and propaganda on radicalism, extremism, separatism, and terrorism in the virtual world, as well as efforts to enhance the role of Polri.

This study draws on several theories to provide a comprehensive understanding of the research topic. The Geopolitics theory, introduced by Bert Chapman in 2011, emphasizes the dynamic nature of geopolitics and its manifestation in the global context. It recognizes the intricate relationship among geography, power dynamics, technology, politics, and economics, acknowledging their collective influence on shaping international affairs. The National Resilience theory, as defined by Lemhannas RI in 2021, focuses on the dynamic condition of the Indonesian nation, aiming to confront threats, disruptions, and challenges to protect the nation and achieve national goals. The Hybrid Warfare theory, described by Hoffman in 2007, highlights the combination of political warfare, conventional warfare, and unconventional warfare. The Counterinsurgency (COIN) theory, developed by David Galula in 1964, emphasizes the importance of winning the hearts and minds of the population as a key aspect of COIN strategy. The Psychological Warfare theory, explained by Baev in 2011, underscores the role of psychological operations and media interventions in shaping public opinion and garnering support. The Propaganda theory, formulated by Harold Lasswell in 1948, centers on the study of the communication process and its constituent elements, examining communication through the lens of five fundamental questions: "Who?", "Says What?", "In What Channel?", "To Whom?", and "With What Effect?". Juri Lina's theory in 2004 discusses strategies to weaken or destroy a nation, including distorting history and severing connections to ancestors. The Cybersecurity theory, adopting the UK and US government's definitions, recognizes cyberspace as a new domain of warfare, highlighting the potential impact of cyber-attacks on various critical systems. According to Fairtlough (2005), organization theory encompasses a range of models and structures that can be employed within an organization. When considering alternatives to the traditional hierarchical structure, two other options emerge: heterarchy and responsible autonomy. These alternatives provide different approaches to organizing and distributing authority and decision-making within an organization. The Pentahelix theory, proposed by Freeman in 1984, emphasizes the collaborative relationship among government entities, media, business actors, academics, and society for effective governance. Lastly, intelligence theory involves activities related to investigation, security, and information gathering, contributing to situational awareness and proactive measures.

1.2 Problem Formulation

Drawing on the core functions and obligations of Polri, which involve conducting early detection, prevention and intervention activities, as well as collaborating with other law enforcement agencies, Polri is well-positioned to address the challenges posed by cybercrime. It bears the responsibility of effectively implementing and overseeing Polri's cyber force to safeguard national cybersecurity with precision, foresight, and proactive measures. In light of these responsibilities, the following problem statements are posed:

1. What would be the ramifications if radical, extremist, terrorist, and separatist organizations were to exploit the strategic vulnerabilities of the nation within the cyber domain?
2. How can Polri strengthen its role in countering the dissemination of deceptive information and propaganda associated with radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism within the cyber realm?

2. Research Methods

This study adopts a descriptive qualitative approach, which aims to thoroughly explore and depict the social situation under investigation. According to Bogdan and Taylor (2010) as cited by Lexy J. Moleong (1989), the qualitative approach involves collecting descriptive data in the form of written or oral words from individuals and observing their behaviors. It focuses on social phenomena and gives voice to the feelings and perceptions of the participants. The descriptive research design employed in this study seeks to answer specific questions regarding the who, what, when, where, and how of the research topic. Additionally, it aims to gather information about the status or situational conditions of the variable phenomenon. As observed in the work of Wakefield et al., descriptive studies follow a sequence that includes conceptual construction, theory usage, purpose, methodology, and findings to explain the phenomena (Wakefield, Talbert, & Pense, 2006).

The combination of the descriptive research design and historical analysis falls within the realm of qualitative research, allowing researchers ample opportunity to delve deeper into the collected information (Black & Ubbes, 2009). Given that this study focuses on the history and diplomatic challenges faced by the Indonesian government, including the theory of people's war in the people's security defense system, it aligns with this research methodology. Overall, the research methodology employed in this study is a systematic literature review (SLR), which involves summarizing primary research to provide a comprehensive and balanced body of evidence (Siswanto, 2010). The data collection process involves extensive literature review, including books, scientific journals, research papers from Lemhannas, and media articles.

3. Analysis

3.1 Study I

3.1.1 The Evolution of Geopolitics and the Development of Generations of Warfare.

War has become an inherent phenomenon in human society, driven by the pursuit of perceived security, prosperity, and happiness, giving rise to a paradoxical and distinctive occurrence. Aristotle, a renowned Greek philosopher, acknowledged humans as inherently political beings (*zoon politicon*) due to their capacity for speech and moral reasoning. As social creatures, humans coexist in communities governed by laws and customs, striving for ultimate well-being and happiness (*eudaimonia*), despite encountering challenges in their pursuit. Another perspective complements Aristotle's notion, encapsulated in the ancient Roman proverb "man is a wolf to his fellow man" (*Homo homini lupus*), highlighting humans' inclination to exhibit predatory, cruel, and inhumane behavior akin to that of wolves. This perspective suggests that humans possess both animalistic qualities and civilized attributes.

Thomas Hobbes, an English philosopher, portrayed this state as a "war of all against all," where animalistic instincts prevail, necessitating the establishment of a civil society. In his influential work *Leviathan*, Hobbes describes this state as an outcome of a perpetual state of warfare, where individuals perceive each other as enemies, resulting in a condition marked by fear, death, and a solitary existence devoid of security. This condition further manifests backwardness, poverty, malevolence, brutality, and a fleeting existence.

During the 5th century BC, Thucydides, in his historical account of the Peloponnesian War, expressed the notion that "the strong do what they can, and the weak suffer what they must." This concept found concrete expression during the war when Athens issued an ultimatum, known as The Melian Dialogue, to the people of Melos, an ally of Sparta. Athens demanded their surrender and tribute, disregarding moral considerations. In practice, it is evident that the powerful often exert their authority while the vulnerable bear the consequences.

The Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) was a conflict between Athens and Sparta, along with their respective alliances, as they competed for supremacy in ancient Greece. Motivated by a desire for dominance, Athens sought to establish its hegemony over Greece after years of rivalry with Sparta. Athens' rapid military expansion, particularly in its naval fleet, and its flourishing economy unsettled Sparta. Fearing that an alliance between Athens and Corinth would create an insurmountable force, Sparta deemed it necessary to conquer Athens before it became invincible, igniting this brutal war. The conflict remained evenly matched for a significant period until the Persian Empire, a longstanding adversary of Athens, intervened, tipping the balance in favor of Sparta.

This marked the beginning of a period of Spartan hegemony that reshaped the power dynamics in ancient Greece. Athens, once the preeminent city-state in Greece, experienced a substantial decline in power and became subservient to Sparta, never reclaiming its former prosperity. As a result, poverty permeated ancient Greece.

The downfall of Athens can be attributed to its failure to effectively utilize its naval superiority, which was a cornerstone of its culture, economy, and military strategy centered around maritime dominance, beside the city-state's geographical vulnerabilities and dependence on land-based resources. Additionally, Athens' leadership was divided, its resources were mismanaged, and its navy proved inadequate in facing the growing strength of its adversaries. These factors ultimately contributed to Athens' defeat.

In his acclaimed work "On War," composed during the period of the European Enlightenment, Carl von Clausewitz, a Prussian military theorist and general, expounded on the concept that war represents an extension of politics through alternative means. According to Clausewitz, war should not be regarded solely as a political occurrence, but rather as a legitimate tool of politics utilized to accomplish political goals. Conflict does not arise haphazardly; it emerges from intense competition among entities within a community, resulting from the breakdown of mutually beneficial cooperation and motivations for engaging in warfare typically revolve around the pursuit of dominance, economic gain and religious beliefs.

Within the context of warfare, the concept of Means, Ways, and Ends becomes relevant. Means represent the political objectives pursued through war, serving as the tools and instruments of power and transformation. Ways refer to the strategies employed to achieve victory in war, whether through diminishing the enemy's capabilities and strengths or deterring their intent to wage war. Ends signify the desired political outcome of a war, the realization of a specific political state. Even in warfare without conventional military conflict, the ultimate success of warfare must be evaluated within the framework of the desired political condition.

War strategies and tactics, or Ways, evolve over time. In ancient times, prior to the establishment of nation-states, wars between city-states relied on weapons such as spears, swords, shields, and arrows, along with large armies. The introduction of gunpowder revolutionized the dynamics of warfare, rendering many fundamental elements, including tactics and equipment, obsolete. The use of cannons and firearms became pivotal factors. Revolutionary conquests, such as the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Empire, which was previously considered impregnable, led to countermeasures such as the construction of new types of castles and fortresses equipped with archers and cannons. Simultaneously, attackers developed new strategies and techniques in weapons technology and assault equipment. In the 14th century, both China and Spain began employing cannons on their ships, transforming the seas into a significant theater of warfare, and the increasing range of rifles in the 18th century prompted the renewal of tactics and battle command. This evolution of "ways" persisted until the present era of warfare, commonly referred to as hybrid warfare, as described by Carl von Clausewitz in "On War." Clausewitz emphasized that each era has its unique form of war, distinct limitations, and specific preconceptions.

Understanding the present geopolitical dynamics is crucial for ensuring national resilience, as a fundamental and continually evolving analytical, reflects the global reality and the power dynamics that arise from the interplay of geography, technology, politics, and economics. By comprehending and anticipating future geopolitical trends, we can enhance our awareness and preparedness in the face of a wide range of threats, disruptions, obstacles, and challenges (referred to as TDOC) stemming from power struggles and resource competitions among both state and non-state actors. Thus, geopolitics can be defined as the competition or rivalry between dominant powers

(incumbents) and aspiring great powers (challengers) for control over territories, resources, and influence, as stated by Michael Klare in 2003.

Over time, both geopolitics and warfare have undergone significant transformations. The initial stage, Geopolitics I, primarily focused on the influence of land and sea power. Following World War I, the discipline further evolved, leading to the current era, Geopolitics V, often referred to as the connectivity era. Although contextual variations exist across these different stages, consistent patterns can be observed, highlighting the expansionist strategies pursued by major powers to assert control over global resources and establish hegemonic dominance. This pursuit frequently involves military power struggles that have the potential to escalate into full-fledged wars between nations.

The concept of warfare has also evolved through different generations since the introduction of firearms and gunpowder in the 16th century, culminating in the current era of hybrid warfare. Hybrid warfare employs a combination of conventional warfare, unconventional warfare, and cyber warfare tactics, utilized by both state and non-state actors. This approach employs innovative strategies to exploit vulnerabilities within society, which can be considered the first line of defense, encompassing political, military, economic, social, informational, and infrastructure (PMESII) attacks. Detection of hybrid warfare becomes feasible when large-scale attacks are carried out, leading to the emergence of potential dangers. Effective strategies to counter hybrid warfare include early detection, prevention, and intervention; and the implementation of intelligent approaches to thwart the exploitation of national vulnerabilities by hostile entities.

3.1.2 Before examining the national strategic vulnerabilities in detail, it is important to provide a summary of the extensive history of the Indonesian nation, which encompasses four distinct periods: Nusantara I (Sriwijaya), Nusantara II (Majapahit), the colonial era, and Nusantara III (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia)

Nusantara I

The historical period known as Nusantara I commenced in the 6th century with the establishment of the influential Sriwijaya kingdom. Situated strategically at the crossroads of maritime trade routes, the Sriwijaya kingdom was able to assert its dominance over a vast expanse of territories, extending its control from the island of Java in the west to Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and even parts of mainland Southeast Asia, including Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and the Philippines. This expansive reach was facilitated by the kingdom's maritime prowess, flourishing trade networks, and robust naval forces.

However, despite its initial success and territorial supremacy, the Sriwijaya kingdom faced a series of challenges that contributed to its gradual decline. One significant factor was the prolonged conflicts it encountered with neighboring kingdoms during the expeditions of the emerging Singhasari kingdom in the late 12th century. These military campaigns, led by the ambitious Kertanegara, not only strained the resources and military strength of the Sriwijaya kingdom but also resulted in territorial losses and weakened its political authority in the region.

In addition to external pressures, the Sriwijaya kingdom experienced significant socio-cultural transformations that further impacted its stability and influence. The growing influence of Muslim colonies in the Sriwijaya region, particularly in the 11th century, introduced new religious and cultural dynamics which brought changes in the socio-political landscape, as well as alterations in trade patterns and diplomatic relationships. These transformations, while contributing to the richness and diversity of the region, also created internal tensions and potentially weakened the kingdom's cohesiveness.

Furthermore, the economic weakening of Sriwijaya played a crucial role in its decline. Indian merchants had been actively expanding their influence in Southeast Asia since the 10th century, establishing trade networks and monopolizing key routes. This Indian expansion disrupted the Sriwijaya kingdom's control over lucrative trade routes and diminished its economic prosperity. As a result, Sriwijaya gradually lost its economic dominance and faced challenges in maintaining its position as a regional trade hub.

Ultimately, the fall of the Sriwijaya kingdom was sealed by the devastating attack launched by the emerging Majapahit kingdom in the 14th century. Under the leadership of Gajah Mada, the Majapahit forces overran the Sriwijaya kingdom, leading to its subjugation and the end of Nusantara I. The Majapahit kingdom, with its military might and strategic alliances, emerged as the new dominant power in the Indonesian archipelago, marking the beginning of Nusantara II.

The transition from Nusantara I to Nusantara II represented a significant turning point in the region's history. It signaled the shift in political alliances, territorial control, and cultural dynamics. The Majapahit kingdom would go on to establish its hegemony over the Indonesian archipelago, leaving a lasting impact on the subsequent development of Indonesian history and civilization. The study of Nusantara I and its decline provides valuable insights into the complexities of Southeast Asian history, shedding light on the interplay of political, economic, and cultural factors that shaped the region. It also highlights the intricate relationships between maritime trade, political power, and cultural interactions, offering a deeper understanding of the historical forces that have influenced the formation of contemporary Southeast Asian societies.

Nusantara II

During the period when Patih Gajah Mada served as Patih Amangkubumi, he made a significant declaration known as the "Sumpah Amukti Palapa" to unite the Nusantara region, which encompassed almost all of Southeast Asia, under the rule of the Majapahit kingdom. However, the approach taken by Patih Gajah Mada, which focused primarily on military, economic, and religious strategies, was met with criticism by the renowned sage Mpu Tantular. In his book *Sutasoma*, Mpu Tantular expressed his concerns and proposed a socio-cultural approach to address the multidimensional crisis faced by the Majapahit kingdom at that time.

Mpu Tantular argued that relying solely on military might, economic prowess, and religious strategies was a fragile foundation for unifying Nusantara, instead, he emphasized the importance of a socio-cultural perspective that would address the deep-rooted issues and foster a sense of unity and shared purpose. This perspective is reflected in the famous phrase found in the *Sutasoma* book, "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Tanhana Dharmma Mangrva," which highlights the significance of unity in overcoming the decline of the Majapahit kingdom. According to the phrase, although the people are diverse, they are ultimately one, and unity is paramount in practicing dharma, as harmony alone without dharma is meaningless.

The principle of harmony, as advocated by Mpu Tantular, played a crucial role in the success of the Majapahit kingdom. It served as a fundamental pillar in achieving unity among diverse religious communities and contributed to the kingdom's pinnacle of greatness. During this era, the influence and power of the Majapahit kingdom extended across various regions, including Java, Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Papua, and the Philippines.

However, the continuous internal power struggles within the royal family gradually weakened the Majapahit kingdom. These internal conflicts eroded the stability and cohesion of the kingdom, ultimately leading to its collapse.

The downfall of both the Sriwijaya and Majapahit kingdoms, as noted by the Indonesian Ministry of Defense in 2015, can be attributed not to external invasions or attacks but to prolonged internal conflicts. This observation aligns with the analysis presented by Paul M. Kennedy in his book "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers" (1987), a British historian, who examines the rise and fall of various countries on a global scale, including the Ottoman Empire, Mughal Empire (Afghanistan), and Ming Dynasty (China). He emphasizes that the competition among major powers since the 15th century has had a significant impact on the fate of nations. In addition to analyzing political, economic, and military factors, Kennedy highlights the intrinsic aspects of a nation, such as leadership, character, and behavior, as determinants of success or failure in achieving the goals of an organization or state. His analysis emphasizes the necessity for leaders with statesmanship and a deep sense of national nobility to unify the diverse Indonesian nation and adopt a holistic, integrated, forward-thinking, and comprehensive approach in fostering national resilience.

Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of historical periods like Nusantara I and II, including the rise and fall of kingdoms such as Sriwijaya and Majapahit, provides valuable insights into the complexities of Indonesian history. It underscores the importance of addressing internal conflicts, fostering unity through socio-cultural approaches, and cultivating leadership qualities that promote the well-being and resilience of the nation. Such knowledge is essential in guiding contemporary efforts to build a strong and cohesive Indonesia capable of navigating the challenges and opportunities of the present and future.

Colonialism

The decline of Nusantara's glory marked the beginning of a tumultuous period characterized by the arrival of foreign powers. The Portuguese were the first to set foot in the region in 1511, followed by the Spanish in 1521, English in 1579, Dutch in 1596, and finally the Japanese in 1942. The colonial era officially commenced with the Dutch in 1596, who established the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to monopolize the lucrative spice trade and assert their colonial dominance and during this period, the Dutch employed a strategy of divide and conquer to gain control over the Nusantara region.

Various conflicts and wars against the Dutch took place from 1800 to 1900, including the Pattimura War, Diponegoro War, Bali War, Aceh War, and others. Despite the valiant efforts of local resistance movements, mostly the Dutch emerged victorious in these conflicts due to several factors. The resistance movements frequently operated on a regional or local level, lacking coordination with other regions, which undermined their overall efficacy. Additionally, the absence of a leadership regeneration system meant that the death or capture of charismatic leaders often led to the dissolution or fragmentation of the resistance movements. Furthermore, the resistance heavily relied on the use of hard power, such as armed struggle, rather than utilizing soft power approaches like diplomacy, making them susceptible to manipulation and suppression by the Dutch authorities.

However, in the early 19th century, the Bung Tomo organization emerged as a precursor to the use of diplomacy (soft power) in the fight against Dutch colonialism. This organization played a pioneering role in promoting unity in societal, national, and state life; while its efforts culminated in the historic proclamation of the Youth Pledge in 1928, which served as a significant milestone in the establishment of the Indonesian nation. The Youth Pledge symbolized the commitment of Indonesian youth to unify the diverse archipelago into a single independent nation.

The Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia came to an abrupt end in 1942 when Japan assumed control through the Kalijati agreement, which mandated the unconditional surrender of the Dutch to Japan. This transition led to the establishment of various organizations, including PUTERA, which eventually paved the way for the formation of the influential "big four" comprising Ir. Soekarno, Drs. Moh. Hatta, K.H Mansyur, and Ki Hajar Dewantara. While initially created to support Japan in its conflict against the Allies, these organizations also served as platforms to cultivate nationalist sentiments among Indonesians. Over time, the "big four" began advocating for military training, which further bolstered the nationalist spirit within the Indonesian population.

As events unfolded, the original organization was dissolved, and Jawa Hokokai (People's Devotion) took its place, with Ir. Soekarno and Hasyim Ashari assuming key advisory roles. With a strong nationalist spirit and military capability, Soekarno seized the opportunity to consolidate his leadership position. In 1945, as Japan's influence waned, a "Vacuum of Power" emerged, providing the Indonesian people with a chance to assert their authority and establish an independent nation, free from foreign colonial rule. This momentous period marked the birth of Indonesia as a sovereign state, with its people striving for self-governance and the realization of their national aspirations.

This historical context underscores the complex and multifaceted struggle for independence in Indonesia. It highlights the resilience of the Indonesian people against foreign dominance and the strategic importance of utilizing both hard power and soft power approaches in the pursuit of national liberation. The struggle against colonial powers played a significant role in shaping the national identity of Indonesia and serves as a testament to the determination and unity of the Indonesian people in their pursuit of independence.

Since gaining independence in 1945, Indonesia has faced significant challenges posed by separatist and terrorist movements, which have persisted to the present day. These incidents have involved a wide range of rebellious and extremist organizations, each with their own distinct goals and ideologies. Understanding these movements is essential to comprehending the complexities of Indonesia's sociopolitical landscape.

Rebellion in the post-independence

One notable uprising occurred in 1948 with the Madiun Rebellion. This rebellion, led by the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), aimed to establish a communist government in Indonesia. The rebellion was swiftly suppressed by government forces, but it revealed the presence of communist sympathizers and highlighted the ideological divide within the country.

Another movement that emerged in 1948 was the Darul Islam movement. Rooted in Islamic fundamentalism, this movement sought to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia. It was driven by a desire to implement strict interpretations of Islamic law and reject secular governance. Although the movement faced significant military opposition, it continued to pose a threat throughout the Nusantara III era.

In 1950, the Republic of South Maluku (RMS) was established, with the aim of seceding from Indonesia and forming an independent nation. The RMS's aspirations were fueled by a sense of cultural and regional identity and a desire for self-determination. The Indonesian government responded with military force, leading to protracted conflicts in the Maluku Islands.

Another pivotal event in Indonesian history was the failed coup attempt that may be orchestrated by the 30 September Movement/PKI in 1965. This coup attempt resulted in political turmoil and triggered a violent anti-communist backlash, leading to the mass killing of suspected communists and the subsequent suppression of the PKI. The events of the G30S/PKI coup attempt had profound and lasting effects on Indonesian society and politics.

It marked a significant turning point in the country's history, leading to the downfall of President Sukarno, and the rise of General Suharto's New Order regime. The PKI, once a powerful political force in Indonesia, was banned and demonized, with its members being persecuted and its influence greatly diminished. The aftermath of the coup attempt also saw a shift in Indonesia's political ideology, with the country adopting an anti-communist stance and aligning itself with the Western bloc during the Cold War. The events further entrenched the perception of communism as a threat to the nation's stability and led to the marginalization of leftist and progressive political movements in Indonesia for decades to come, leaving a lasting impact on the country's historical narrative and collective memory.

In addition to these movements, separatist aspirations have emerged in various regions of Indonesia. The Papua Separatist Movement (PSM), established in 1965, has been a prominent advocate for the independence of Papua from Indonesian rule. The PSM's struggle for self-determination is rooted in historical grievances, demands for indigenous rights, and aspirations for greater political autonomy.

Similarly, the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) emerged in 1976, seeking to establish an independent state in the Aceh region. The GAM's struggle was primarily driven by a desire to preserve Acehnese identity, protect local resources, and address perceived injustices under Indonesian rule. The conflict between the Indonesian government and GAM lasted for decades before a peace agreement was finally reached in 2005.

East Timor also experienced significant conflicts in its quest for independence from Indonesian rule. The Indonesian government's occupation of East Timor, which began in 1975, was marked by widespread human rights abuses and resistance from pro-independence groups. Following a Nations-sponsored referendum in 1999, East Timor gained independence, but the path to nation-building and reconciliation has been challenging.

These separatist and terrorist movements reflect the diverse socio political landscape of Indonesia and the complex dynamics at play. They are a testament to the ongoing struggle for autonomy, identity, and self-determination within various regions of the country. Addressing the root causes of these movements requires a multifaceted approach that encompasses political, social, and economic dimensions, while respecting the principles of human rights and inclusive governance.

Communal conflicts in the Reform Era

During the reform era refers to the conflicts that took place in Indonesia during the period of political reform and democratization, which began in 1998. These conflicts involved tensions, confrontations, and acts of violence between distinct communal or social groups within the nation. While the reform era brought significant political transformations and increased freedom of expression, it also revealed deep-seated social and cultural divisions that had been suppressed during the previous regime.

Several factors contributed to the emergence of communal conflicts during this period. Socio-economic disparities, resulting from uneven development and distribution of resources, created grievances and feelings of marginalization among different communities. Political rivalries and power struggles at the regional and local levels also exacerbated tensions and contributed to the conflicts. Cultural disparities, including differences in traditions, customs, and identities, further fueled communal tensions. Additionally, religious tensions emerged as religious identities and beliefs played a significant role in shaping social and political dynamics.

One notable instance of communal conflict during the reform era occurred in Poso, Central Sulawesi, in the early 2000s. The conflict in Poso involved clashes between Muslim and Christian communities, leading to significant casualties and the displacement of thousands of individuals. The conflict was triggered by historical grievances, such as unresolved land disputes and past intercommunal violence, which fueled animosities between the communities. Economic competition, including competition for economic opportunities and resources, also played a role. Furthermore, the influence of radical ideologies from both sides contributed to the escalation of violence.

Similar communal conflicts unfolded in various parts of Indonesia during the reform era. For example, inter-ethnic conflicts between the Dayak and Madurese communities in Kalimantan and conflicts between Acehese and non-Acehese communities in Aceh demonstrated the complex interplay of historical animosities, competition for resources, and perceived socio-political inequalities in driving communal tensions.

In response to these challenges, the Indonesian government, civil society organizations, and communities have undertaken efforts to address and resolve communal conflicts. Interfaith dialogues have been promoted as a means to foster understanding and tolerance among different religious communities. Conflict resolution programs have been implemented to facilitate peaceful negotiations and reconciliation. Additionally, socio-economic development projects have been initiated to address underlying grievances related to economic disparities and resource allocation. However, effectively managing and preventing communal conflicts remains an ongoing and complex challenge in the reform era.

It is essential for stakeholders to continue their collaborative efforts in promoting dialogue, understanding, and social cohesion, while addressing the underlying structural and socio-economic issues that contribute to communal conflicts. By addressing the root causes and promoting inclusivity and equitable development, Indonesia can strive towards a more harmonious and peaceful society.

Recent Terrorism Acts

Terrorism has posed a significant challenge to Indonesia's peace, security, and national unity. Various radical and terrorist movements have emerged, each with its own specific ideologies and objectives. Among these groups are the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), East Indonesia Mujahideen in Poso, Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT), Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD), and Jemaah

Islamiyah (JI), among others. These groups have been involved in carrying out bombing attacks between 2000 and 2021, posing an ongoing threat to the nation's security and stability.

The emergence of these extremist organizations can be attributed to various factors. One factor is the perception among certain segments of society that the government is corrupt and has failed to effectively address social and economic issues, leading to widespread dissatisfaction and grievances. High levels of inequality, poverty, and unemployment contribute to a sense of frustration and disillusionment, making individuals more susceptible to extremist ideologies that promise radical solutions.

Furthermore, Indonesia's multidimensional crises, such as social, political, economic, and cultural challenges, have created fertile ground for the growth of terrorist movements. In particular, the marginalization of certain groups, the erosion of cultural identity, and the perception of religious discrimination have fueled feelings of exclusion and injustice, which can be exploited by extremist organizations to recruit members.

The geographical and demographic diversity of Indonesia also plays a role in the proliferation of terrorism. The vast archipelago and porous borders provide opportunities for the movement of individuals, weapons, and resources, making it difficult for authorities to monitor and control extremist activities. Moreover, the existence of local conflicts, such as communal tensions and separatist movements, creates an environment conducive to the emergence of violent extremist groups seeking to exploit existing grievances.

To address these challenges, the Indonesian government has implemented a range of counterterrorism measures. These include strengthening intelligence capabilities, enhancing law enforcement efforts, promoting interagency cooperation, and fostering international collaboration in intelligence sharing and capacity-building. Additionally, efforts have been made to address the root causes of terrorism through community engagement, promoting religious tolerance, and socioeconomic development programs aimed at addressing inequality and marginalization.

Furthermore, the Indonesian government has actively encouraged dialogue and reconciliation, seeking to address grievances and promote social harmony. This includes initiatives to foster interfaith dialogue, strengthen civil society, and promote religious moderation as a counter-narrative to extremist ideologies. Efforts to enhance education and raise awareness about the dangers of radicalization have also been undertaken to prevent the recruitment of individuals into terrorist organizations.

Despite these efforts, the challenges of countering terrorism in Indonesia remain complex and multifaceted. The persistence of extremist ideologies, the evolving nature of terrorist tactics, and the influence of global jihadist networks necessitate continuous vigilance and adaptive strategies. It requires a comprehensive approach that combines effective law enforcement measures with efforts to address root causes, promote social cohesion, and build resilient communities that reject violence and extremism.

A report published by liputan6.com in 2019 drew attention to a Facebook post that went viral under the title "Rectifying the History of Majapahit." The post put forward the claim that Gajah Mada, a prominent historical figure, had converted to Islam, implying that the Majapahit Empire was an Islamic kingdom. This assertion was based on the discovery of gold coins with inscriptions containing Islamic phrases. The post, shared by the Facebook account Sri Suparwati Khazaru, garnered 6,200 shares and 2,700 comments. Although the content has since been removed from various online platforms, it has already reached a large number of Indonesians, propagating its message.

Furthermore, as reported by kompas.com in 2022, a viral video circulated on social media showing an individual disrespecting and discarding spiritual offerings placed by local residents around Mount Semeru. This tradition, known as "*sesajen*" (spiritual offerings) is performed to appease the volcano. The person in the video claimed that this offering tradition conflicted with their beliefs. It is important to note that the spiritual offerings tradition predates the arrival of Islam in Indonesia and even the existence of Hinduism and Buddhism in the region.

These instances serve to illustrate the objective of radical teachings to undermine the cultural heritage of the nation by promoting intolerance towards ancestral traditions. This aligns with Juri Lina's theory, which posits that the weakening of a nation's civilization occurs through three stages: distorting its history, eliminating or destroying evidence related to its history to hinder examination and verification, and severing the connection with ancestors by labeling them as primitive and foolish. These activities run counter to the government's efforts to safeguard and preserve the nation's history and culture.

Such extremist actions are contrary to the principles enshrined in the Second Amendment to the 1945 Constitution. Article 18B, paragraph (2), underscores the state's recognition and respect for legal communities and their traditional rights, as long as they are in harmony with societal development and the principles of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as regulated by law. Article 28I, paragraph (3), emphasizes the importance of respecting cultural identity and the rights of traditional communities in line with the progress of time and civilization. Additionally, Article 32 (1) upholds society's freedom to preserve and develop cultural values, thereby promoting Indonesian national culture amidst global civilization. Finally, Article 32 (2) highlights the state's commitment to respecting and preserving regional languages as invaluable national cultural assets.

Moreover, a religious paradox and the concept of jihad come into play in the context of suicide bombings, raising questions about the willingness of individuals to sacrifice their lives and sever ties with their loved ones. These actions stem from the noble ideals that these individuals believe in and fight for. Indoctrination plays a significant role in leading them to resort to violence and suicide bombings as a means to counter modernization and civilization.

Addressing the religious paradox and the concept of jihad necessitates a focus on moral and ethical education, alongside character education. Character education is a fundamental objective of the national education system in Indonesia. The 2003 National Education System Law states that the aim of education is to develop learners' potential in terms of intelligence, personality, and noble character. This mandate seeks to cultivate individuals who not only possess intelligence but also exhibit a strong personality and character, while respecting the values of the nation and religion. Al-Ghazali's book "Ayyuha al-Walad" presents various character education values, including religious character, tolerance character, hard working character, creative character, inquisitive character, and responsible character.

Prof. Azyumardi Azra, an esteemed academic and Muslim intellectual, proposes an Islamic education approach that produces graduates capable of becoming agents of change in a global society. His approach to Islamic education emphasizes three crucial roles: unifying religion, science, and technology; transforming Islamic education; and democratizing Islamic education. Furthermore, Prof. Azyumardi Azra highlights the significance of Islam Wasatiyyah, which characterizes Indonesia. This unique aspect has attracted the attention of many countries in the Middle East towards Islam in Indonesia, known for its diversity while maintaining unity within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). The substantial role of Islam in Indonesia is widely acknowledged.

According to Prof. Azyumardi Azra, it is crucial to address Islamophobia among people and foster unity through the cultivation of good behavior, known as *Akhlakul Karimah* or virtuous and noble character. The ultimate goal is to manifest *Rahmatan Lil Alamin*, where Islam is perceived as a source of mercy for all beings in the universe. Unfortunately, character education has been largely overlooked in the national curriculum, despite Islamic education being an integral part of education at all levels, ranging from primary to higher education. In Indonesia, where the majority of the population is Muslim, character education heavily relies on Islamic teachings. If Islamic education successfully instills noble character in Indonesian Muslims, it will significantly contribute to the development of a strong national character.

Recent Separatist Acts

Marshal Hadi Tjahjanto has identified three main elements involved in the utilization of social media as a propaganda tool by separatists: the political front, clandestine front, and armed front. The political front,

represented by the Papua Separatist Movement (PSM), disseminates false information that accuses the Indonesian government of neglecting the well-being of Indigenous Papuans (OAP) and engaging in severe human rights violations. The objective of this narrative is to generate discontent among the OAP population and garner support from foreign nations, organizations, and the global community to facilitate the separation of Papua from the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Simultaneously, the armed force associated with the PSM consistently provokes the Indonesian government through various acts of human rights violations, targeting civilians, security officers, and even the military.

Upon closer analysis, it becomes apparent that foreign nations and international organizations utilize strategies of "divide and conquer" motivated by their own interests in accessing Papua's plentiful natural resources and its advantageous geographical position. This external involvement has intensified the sentiment of Papua nationalism, which aims for independence through political means, covert activities, and armed opposition. These endeavors encompass diplomatic maneuvers, the refusal to acknowledge international agreements like UN Resolution No. 2504, and the deliberate spread of misinformation consistently portraying the Indonesian government in an unfavorable manner.

The primary goal is to garner international backing for a "referendum" option akin to the one that took place in East Timor in 1999 and undermine the legitimacy of the Pepera 1969 (Act of Free Choice). However, the Indonesian government has effectively eliminated the possibility of conducting a referendum by revoking Tap MPR number 4 of 1993, which pertains to referendums, through Tap MPR number 8 of 1998. Additionally, Law number 5 of 1985, which addressed referendums, has been repealed by Law number 6 of 1999. As a result, the legal framework for holding a referendum in Indonesia is no longer in existence.

The support from the international community during that era was instrumental in the successful integration of Papua into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This underscores the significance of effectively managing and carefully considering foreign intervention and international backing, as even minor shifts in circumstances can benefit the diplomatic endeavors of the Papua Separatist Movement, which seeks independence from Indonesia. However, starting from 1972, the central government's inability to recognize the capacities of armed and political rebel factions connected to the Papua Separatist Movement has led to a gradual decrease in international support for the Indonesian government.

Therefore, it is crucial for Indonesia to actively work towards maintaining support from international organizations, countries, and communities through diplomatic channels and political advocacy to mitigate the impact of the Papua Separatist Movement's initiatives. Additionally, the government should take measures to restrict political support, funding, and the supply of logistics to the Papua Separatist Movement. Authorities and security defense actors, including security defense experts, community leaders, religious leaders, and traditional leaders, should engage in dialogue with key figures within the Papua Separatist Movement, notably Benny Wenda (leader of the political front) and Goliath Tabuni (commander of the armed front). These engagements should aim to foster understanding, reach agreements, and establish cooperation that promotes reconciliation, integration, and unity within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The issues of racial equality and religious solidarity are continually exploited to gain sympathy from member states of the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) and Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) by seeking their support through the foreign policies of their respective governments. The MSG and their sympathizers abroad primarily focus on the self-determination rights of the indigenous people of Papua following the 1969 Act of Free Choice, using legal means to influence public opinion. This situation has led to an increase in actions by the Papua Separatist Movement (PSM) that distort facts and provoke indigenous Papuans through various activities such as press conferences, discussions, closed meetings, book launches, leaflet distribution, text messages, and the use of print and electronic media, as well as religious activities. The narratives constructed by these groups are highly exaggerated, to the extent that even the abduction of a New Zealand pilot by the OPM is attributed to the Indonesian government. If allowed to continue, these acts of ambush, attacks, and shootings targeting members of TNI, Polri, community members, civilians and foreigners can disrupt security and public order in Papua.

All the data indicates that terrorist and separatist movements have resulted in substantial loss of life for several reasons:

1. The desire to establish Islamic Shariah law and secede from the government due to dissatisfaction, as seen in movements like DI/TII, PRRI, and GAM.
2. The aspiration to replace the Pancasila ideology with an alternative ideology, which is the objective of terrorist organizations such as JAT, JAD, MMI, and JI.
3. The desire to secede from the government, driven by discontent and supported by foreign entities, is evident in movements like RMS and OPM.

Throughout Indonesia's extensive history as a nation, the theme of vulnerability has recurred, driven by the **diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural composition** of the country. This diversity has presented **challenges to achieving social cohesion and national unity**, often resulting in tensions, conflicts, and movements advocating for terrorism and separatism. The nation has witnessed periods of **political instability**, spanning from the colonial era to the post-independence period, marked by **leadership transitions, regional disputes, and military interventions**. **Economic vulnerability** has also been a pressing concern, stemming from the **heavy reliance on natural resources**, which has exposed Indonesia to challenges associated with global commodity price fluctuations, **resource mismanagement, corruption, and socioeconomic inequality**.

Despite these challenges, Indonesia has demonstrated resilience and determination in surmounting obstacles, with its people striving for a stronger and more prosperous nation. However, internal conflicts, including **civil wars, terrorism, and rebellions**, expose Indonesia's vulnerability to **exploitation and division**. Learning from historical experiences is crucial in preventing the recurrence of such vulnerabilities. While diversity holds the potential to foster unity, Indonesia continues to grapple with significant horizontal (between different social groups) and vertical (between the state and society) conflicts.

Adversaries of the state actively seek to exploit these vulnerabilities by employing strategies such as religious polarization and cultural friction to sow divisions and weaken the nation. If left unaddressed, these issues can lead to political and socio-cultural instability, undermining the unity, harmony, and integrity of Indonesian society, the nation, and the state, ultimately **posing a threat to the country's existence**.

In light of these challenges, it is imperative for Indonesia to pursue comprehensive strategies to **strengthen social cohesion, promote inclusivity, and address underlying grievances**. This includes fostering dialogue and understanding among different ethnic, religious, and cultural groups, as well as implementing effective governance mechanisms to ensure **equitable distribution of resources and opportunities**. By actively addressing vulnerabilities and **promoting unity amidst diversity**, Indonesia can fortify itself against external threats and achieve **sustainable development and national resilience**.

3.1.3 Strategic Environment Development (Banglistra)

In the global context, several significant changes in the dynamics of the strategic environment have had implications for Indonesia's national resilience (Astagatra). These changes include:

1. The emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic as a strategic surprise has caught societies and the global economy off-guard, resulting in far-reaching consequences. The pandemic has affected various domains, including public health, economic stability, social dynamics, governance structures, and international relations. Its disruptive nature has necessitated rapid adaptation and response from individuals, communities, businesses, and governments worldwide.
2. The rapid advancements in information and communication technology have led to a revolution in remote activities, commonly known as "tele-everything." This transformation has had a profound impact on sectors such as business, education, and healthcare, reshaping the global landscape and altering traditional modes of operation.

3. The environmental consequences of global climate change, including the occurrence of natural disasters in multiple countries, directly impact Indonesia's environmental and disaster management policies. As an archipelagic nation vulnerable to climate-related risks, Indonesia must enhance its resilience through mitigation efforts and adaptation strategies to mitigate the adverse effects of climate change on its economy, environment, and communities. The escalating global climate change has resulted in an increased frequency and severity of natural disasters, such as hurricanes, droughts, and floods, posing significant challenges to Indonesia's national resilience. It is essential to implement adaptive measures and comprehensive disaster management strategies to address these challenges effectively.
4. The reconfiguration of the strategic environment is evident in the emergence of non-state actors, which present a significant challenge to national sovereignty. Transnational terrorist organizations, extremist groups, and cybercriminal networks have demonstrated their capacity to disrupt stability and security at both the national and global levels. Consequently, it is imperative for Indonesia to strengthen its counterterrorism and cybersecurity measures in response to these threats. The proliferation of non-state actors globally, encroaching upon national sovereignty, poses formidable obstacles for Indonesia. Addressing transnational terrorism, cyber threats, and other forms of non-state aggression requires the implementation of robust security measures and international collaboration. Active participation in regional and global initiatives aimed at countering these threats is crucial to safeguard Indonesia's national security.
5. The rise of the Islamic State (ISIS) as a consequence of the Arab Spring has had global implications. This extremist group aims to establish a global Islamic State (Khilafah) and has engaged in acts of terrorism and violence, posing a significant challenge to regional and international security.
6. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has triggered a global recession and geopolitical tensions, highlighting the complex dynamics of power struggles and territorial disputes. These tensions have had implications for regional stability and economic relations.

At the international level, there are several significant developments that have notable implications for Indonesia. These include:

1. The US-Taliban peace agreement in February 2020 and the subsequent takeover of Afghanistan by the Taliban. Given Indonesia's status as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, it closely monitors the situation in Afghanistan. The resurgence of the Taliban may serve as an inspiration to fundamentalist terrorist groups and potentially impact regional security. Therefore, Indonesia needs to carefully assess the potential effects on its own domestic security and take appropriate measures to counter any emerging threats.
2. The "America First" policy pursued by former US President Trump has had wide-ranging implications for global trade, alliances, and security arrangements. As an open economy with extensive international trade relations, Indonesia must adapt to changes in global trade dynamics and navigate the evolving international political landscape. It is crucial for Indonesia to ensure that its national interests are protected and its economy remains resilient amid shifting global dynamics.

In summary, Indonesia faces significant implications from these global developments. It is imperative for the country to thoroughly assess the consequences of the US-Taliban peace agreement and the situation in Afghanistan, while also adjusting to evolving dynamics in global trade as a result of the "America First" policy. By understanding and responding effectively to these global dynamics, Indonesia can navigate the international landscape and safeguard its national interests, security, and economic stability.

At the regional level, Indonesia is significantly affected by the dynamics of the strategic environment.

1. Projections indicate that by 2040, Asia will become the focal point of the global economy, with Asian consumption comprising 40 percent of the global total and Asia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) accounting for 52 percent of the global GDP. This shift is attributed to the presence of four complementary economic clusters in Asia. China plays a crucial role as an anchor and driver of trade networks, serving as a major force in the region's economy. Advanced Asian countries, including South

Korea and Japan, lead in technology and capital provision. Emerging Asia encompasses countries in Southeast Asia, such as Indonesia, with integrated economies and diverse cultures. India and neighboring countries are experiencing rapid economic growth, contributing to the region's overall dynamism.

2. As an active member of various regional and international organizations, Indonesia plays a significant role in shaping the regional landscape. It is the largest country and a founding member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the only ASEAN member in the Group of Twenty (G20). Indonesia's foreign policy projection of "Dynamic Equilibrium" emphasizes its position amidst globalization and its commitment to maintaining balance and harmony in international relations.
3. In terms of trade agreements, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) stands as the largest trade agreement outside the World Trade Organization (WTO), accounting for approximately 30 percent of global GDP. If India joins, it would encompass around 50 percent of the world's population. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) benefits Indonesia by promoting freer trade and investment in the region. It provides a platform for Indonesia to engage in multilateral trade negotiations, facilitating market access and opportunities for Indonesian businesses. APEC also fosters economic cooperation, aligning Indonesian strategies with regional priorities and promoting efficiency and competitiveness. Through platforms like the APEC Business Advisory Council (ABAC), Indonesian businesses can network, collaborate, and drive economic growth. Overall, APEC enables Indonesia to tap into regional opportunities, enhance its competitiveness, and contribute to the dynamic Asia-Pacific economy.
4. Recognizing the growing importance of cybersecurity, ASEAN has formed the Cybersecurity Working Group within the Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC) to address cybersecurity issues and facilitate the exchange of information.
5. The changing geopolitical landscape, particularly the military tensions and economic competition among major countries, has led to a shift in focus towards the Asia-Pacific region. These dynamics shape the strategic environment in which Indonesia operates, influencing its security, economic, and diplomatic considerations.

At the national level, the vulnerabilities and impacts of strategic environmental developments on Astagatra can be classified into three primary natural domains: Geography, Demography, and Natural Resource Wealth (NRW). Additionally, there are five crucial social domains that contribute to the vulnerabilities and impacts: Ideology, Politics, Economy, Socio-Cultural, and Defense-Security, as well as the influence of technology.

I. In terms of **Geography**:

The development of infrastructure and connectivity plays a crucial role in the realization of Indonesia's Centric Development, which was outlined in the Masterplan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesian Economic Development (MP3EI) during President S.B. Yudhoyono's administration. This concept was further reinforced with the introduction of the concept of Indonesia as the World's Maritime Axis during President Joko Widodo's administration in 2015. These milestones mark significant advancements in Indonesia's modern geopolitics and aim to implement the Archipelagic Outlook, which reflects Indonesia's perspective and approach to its identity and environment, with an emphasis on national unity and territorial integrity.

Geographically, Indonesia occupies a strategic position as a crucial link between the Pacific and Indian Oceans, with four out of seven world strategic choke points falling within its territory. This strategic positioning grants Indonesia a significant role in facilitating Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) and Sea Lines of Trade (SLOT), which are vital for international trade and energy supply, particularly for countries in the Southeast Asian region. Consequently, the region experiences economic, political, and military tensions due to the geopolitical significance of these routes.

However, Indonesia faces several challenges in its development journey, including persistent disparities in various areas such as the economy, education, healthcare, transportation, infrastructure, housing, and public facilities. These disparities have emerged as a result of past development planning that heavily favored Java, neglecting the

development of other regions in the country. The overemphasis on Java-centric development has contributed to regional imbalances and hindered the equitable distribution of resources and opportunities across Indonesia.

To address these challenges, it is crucial for the Indonesian government to prioritize the development of infrastructure and connectivity beyond Java. This includes improving transportation networks, such as roads, railways, ports, and airports, in other regions to enhance accessibility and facilitate economic activities. Additionally, investments in education, healthcare, housing, and public facilities in underdeveloped areas are essential to reduce disparities and promote inclusive growth throughout the country.

Furthermore, enhancing connectivity between islands and regions within Indonesia is key to realizing the vision of Indonesia as the World's Maritime Axis. This involves strengthening maritime infrastructure, such as ports and shipping routes, and promoting maritime trade and cooperation with neighboring countries. By doing so, Indonesia can maximize its strategic geographical position and leverage its role as a regional hub for trade and connectivity.

In conclusion, the development of infrastructure and connectivity is of utmost importance for Indonesia's Centric Development and the realization of the Archipelagic Outlook. By addressing disparities, promoting inclusive growth, and enhancing connectivity throughout the country, Indonesia can overcome regional imbalances, stimulate economic development, and strengthen its position as a key player in the global maritime domain.

II. In terms of **Demography**:

Indonesia is widely recognized for its distinction of having the largest Muslim population globally, with an estimated 231 million individuals identifying themselves as Muslims. This figure accounts for 86.7% of Indonesia's total population and 11.92% of the global population (Kusnandar, 2022). Currently, the country is experiencing what is often referred to as a demographic bonus or "golden era," which is projected to continue until 2045. This demographic advantage provides an opportunity for economic growth and development, as a large working-age population can contribute to increased productivity, innovation, and consumption.

However, it is imperative to address the growing disparities and inequalities that exist within Indonesian society, particularly in areas such as the economy, education, and healthcare. Failing to mitigate these issues can result in social unrest and vertical conflicts, eroding trust in the government and hindering progress. The consequences of such weaknesses include a lack of job opportunities and low wages due to inadequate human resource competencies. If these challenges are not adequately addressed, the demographic bonus could transform into a demographic disaster, characterized by a disillusioned and marginalized population unable to fully contribute to the nation's development.

Furthermore, Indonesia's substantial market potential may attract the attention of other countries, making it increasingly challenging for the Indonesian economy to thrive independently. To capitalize on the demographic bonus and ensure sustainable development, it is crucial to address these disparities and foster inclusive growth. This entails implementing policies and programs that promote equal access to quality education, healthcare, and economic opportunities for all segments of society. Additionally, investing in human capital development, vocational training, and skills enhancement is essential to equip the workforce with the necessary competencies to thrive in a competitive global economy.

By addressing these challenges and promoting inclusive development, Indonesia can maximize the benefits of its demographic bonus and pave the way for a prosperous future. It requires a comprehensive and coordinated effort from the government, private sector, civil society, and other stakeholders to ensure that all Indonesians have equal opportunities to thrive and contribute to the nation's progress. Only by doing so can Indonesia harness its demographic advantage and overcome the obstacles that may impede its path to sustainable and inclusive development.

III. In terms of **Natural Resources**:

Indonesia's strategic geographical location along the equator has endowed it with a diverse range of flora and fauna, earning it the prestigious distinction of being a "Mega Biodiversity" country. Following Brazil, Indonesia is ranked second globally in terms of its rich biodiversity. This abundance of natural resources, combined with its position within the Ring of Fire, provides fertile soil and an abundance of minerals, including rare earth metals, contributing to its significant natural resource wealth. However, despite these advantages, Indonesia faces challenges regarding food security. Heavy reliance on imported food commodities poses a threat to local farmers and raises concerns about the nation's capacity to ensure adequate food supply for its population. Insufficient measures to address this issue could result in food security failures, endangering the stability and sustainability of the country. Therefore, it is of utmost importance for Indonesia to prioritize self-sufficiency in food production to mitigate the risks of becoming a failed state.

Apart from its potential in food production, Indonesia's distinctive combination of natural resources also presents substantial opportunities in the realm of renewable energy sources. With an abundance of resources at its disposal, Indonesia possesses the necessary elements to emerge as a prominent global player in the competitive renewable energy market. Recognizing and effectively harnessing these resources can contribute to Indonesia's economic growth and enhance its standing on the international stage. It is imperative for the country to employ strategic planning and adopt sustainable practices to maximize the benefits and minimize the risks associated with its natural resource potential. By doing so, Indonesia can leverage its natural resource wealth to drive economic development while mitigating adverse environmental impacts and ensuring long-term sustainability.

IV. In terms of **Ideology**:

Pancasila plays a vital role in addressing a range of challenges, including divisive politics, identity politics, oligarchy, radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatist movements. These external ideologies and divisive political maneuvers often exploit and manipulate the common people at the grassroots level, using them as tools and shields to advance their own agendas. The erosion of Pancasila's essence within Indonesian society raises concerns about the potential for the nation to descend into a failed state. When Pancasila is reduced to a mere slogan, co-opted by political elites, foreign entities, and non-state actors, it loses its true purpose of upholding the noble spirit of the nation and becomes a means for self-serving interests. Preserving the integrity of Pancasila is crucial for national stability and unity. By adhering to its principles, Indonesia can effectively counter divisive ideologies, safeguard national identity, promote social cohesion, and remain resilient against external threats. This necessitates a concerted effort to reinforce the values and teachings of Pancasila among the population, cultivating a shared understanding and commitment to its principles.

Furthermore, addressing the root causes that allow foreign ideologies and divisive politics to thrive is essential. This involves promoting education, critical thinking, and inclusivity while actively countering radicalism and extremism through comprehensive strategies that involve law enforcement, social programs, and community engagement.

By upholding Pancasila as the guiding ideology, Indonesia can counter the forces that seek to undermine its unity and progress. It is through genuine adherence to its principles that the nation can fortify itself against external manipulation and internal division, ensuring the preservation of its noble spirit and securing a prosperous future for its people.

V. In the realm of **Politics**:

The existence of identity politics, oligarchy, corruption, and weak law enforcement can have adverse consequences that ultimately lead to prolonged political unrest. This unrest poses a significant risk to national security, territorial integrity, and sovereignty. One contributing factor to this situation is the emergence and persistence of interest groups that oppose the government, including remnants of power configurations following elections. These groups often resist and challenge the authority of the ruling party or administration, resulting in ongoing political instability and discord.

Moreover, the democratic system in Indonesia, while in place, still faces challenges in terms of its maturity and effectiveness. The quality of leaders and the level of voter maturity are areas that require further development. Strengthening democratic processes and institutions, enhancing the transparency and accountability of governance, and promoting political education and awareness among citizens are crucial steps towards a more stable and resilient political landscape.

Addressing issues such as identity politics, which can exacerbate social divisions and hinder national unity, is of paramount importance. Emphasizing inclusive policies that transcend narrow group interests and promote a sense of shared identity and common goals can help mitigate the negative impact of identity-based politics.

Equally vital is the fight against corruption and the strengthening of law enforcement to ensure political stability and uphold the rule of law. Implementing effective measures to prevent and punish corruption, coupled with robust enforcement mechanisms, will contribute to a more transparent and accountable political system.

By addressing these challenges and working towards comprehensive political reforms, Indonesia can foster a more mature, inclusive, and resilient political environment. This, in turn, will contribute to the preservation of national security, territorial integrity, and sovereignty, enabling the nation to thrive and fulfill its potential.

VI. In terms of the **Economy**:

The economic disparities observed in Indonesia can be attributed to the imbalance between the capitalist system and the principles of Pancasila, particularly the fifth principle, which emphasizes social justice for all Indonesian citizens. The failure to achieve this balance undermines the nation's ability to foster self-reliance and economic strength.

The Indonesian government will inevitably face numerous challenges if it fails to gain the support of the entire population, as the people are a source of strength and motivation. Neglecting the improvement of people's welfare and access to quality education indicates that the national economy will never achieve robustness and will remain trapped in a perpetual cycle of competition without significant progress.

Moreover, Indonesia has entered into various cooperative agreements with regional and international organizations to reduce or eliminate tariff and non-tariff barriers between countries. However, it is important to recognize that these agreements have both benefits and drawbacks, acting as a double-edged sword.

The underutilization of the country's natural resources for the welfare of the people can be attributed to the absence of downstream industries and a lack of coordination between the upstream and downstream sectors. Many valuable resources are exported abroad only to be re-imported as finished or semi-finished products to meet the needs of domestic downstream industries. This practice hampers the development of a self-sufficient and competitive domestic industry.

To address these issues, clear direction in national development is crucial. Harmonizing the upstream and downstream industries becomes a prerequisite for reducing dependence on imports, which have weakened the competitiveness of domestic industries. Efforts must be made to create a comprehensive and coherent strategy that prioritizes the utilization of natural resources for the welfare of the people while concurrently developing downstream industries to add value and enhance the country's economic competitiveness.

By striking a balance between economic development and social justice, Indonesia can foster a more inclusive and equitable economy, improve the welfare of its people, and reduce economic disparities. This will require coordinated efforts from the government, private sector, and society as a whole to create an environment conducive to sustainable and balanced economic growth.

VII. In terms of **Socio-Cultural** aspects:

Indonesia's strategic geographical location has positioned it as a significant hub for trade, energy supply routes, and a popular tourist destination. With increased interactions, cultural acculturation and assimilation become unavoidable. Hence, it is vital to prioritize the strengthening of local culture and wisdom and uphold the principle of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) to prevent the erosion or loss of cultural heritage.

Indonesia is characterized by a diverse range of cultural groups, communities, ethnicities, religions, races, and social classes, making the task of unification particularly challenging. The presence of differing biases and opinions among these groups often leads to dominance competition and conflicts regarding ideal conditions, welfare, and values. As a result, the existing diversity remains a burden or liability that has not yet been fully transformed into a national asset.

This is especially apparent when foreign cultures are introduced or imposed, which do not align with the local culture and social system. Certain elements intentionally propagate these foreign cultures to disrupt social cohesion and erode the noble culture of the Indonesian nation. The increasing number of new subsystems and polarities within society further exacerbate these challenges.

One manifestation of the global-local interplay is the phenomenon of "glocal" (global-local), where international events have local manifestations in Indonesia. This includes radicalism, extremism, terrorism, separatism, as well as economic and energy crises. Western cultural influences, such as hedonism, violence, and the influence of K-Pop, can pose threats to the socio-cultural fabric of Indonesia. These external cultural forces may clash with traditional values, social norms, and religious principles, potentially undermining the socio-cultural aspect of the nation.

To address these challenges, it is crucial to cultivate a strong cultural identity and promote the appreciation of local traditions, values, and customs. Empowering and preserving indigenous cultures should be a priority, ensuring that they are recognized and celebrated as valuable national assets. Education plays a critical role in fostering cultural awareness, tolerance, and respect for diversity among the younger generations. Additionally, promoting dialogue and understanding between different cultural, religious, and ethnic groups can help bridge divides and build social cohesion.

Preserving the socio-cultural aspect of Indonesia requires a comprehensive approach that balances the preservation of traditional values and cultural heritage with the integration of positive aspects of globalization. This entails discerning and selectively adopting external influences that align with the nation's values while guarding against those that threaten social stability and undermine national identity. By doing so, Indonesia can leverage its cultural richness and diversity as a source of strength and unity, contributing to the overall resilience and well-being of the nation.

VIII. In terms of **Defense and Security**:

Indonesia is confronted with the imperative of establishing a comprehensive, integrated, forward-looking defense posture that takes into account its unique characteristics. It is crucial to develop a strong and adaptable defense capability capable of generating a substantial deterrent effect. However, the existing diversity within the country has not been fully leveraged as a national asset to reinforce national defense and security.

The defense and security challenges encountered by Indonesia are marked by their intensity and complexity, encompassing power struggles, competition over natural resources, and territorial disputes. These challenges involve not only state actors but also non-state actors, further complicating the security landscape. To effectively address these challenges, Indonesia must enhance its defense and security capabilities, including military preparedness, intelligence gathering, surveillance, and response capacities.

A particular challenge for Indonesia lies in the geographical distribution of its islands and the current defense system, which primarily focuses on protecting the main islands. To ensure adequate defense coverage and surveillance across its extensive maritime domain, comprehensive and well-coordinated efforts are necessary. The Indonesian waters encompass a vast area of 6,400,000 square kilometers, with a coastline stretching over 108,000

kilometers. This vast territory holds significant potential in terms of natural resources and occupies a strategically important position in the region. Failure to effectively safeguard and responsibly exploit these resources may give rise to global and regional concerns, including transnational crimes such as illegal fishing, narcotics trafficking, terrorism, arms smuggling, and territorial violations, as indicated by future trends.

To address these challenges, Indonesia must prioritize the development of a comprehensive defense strategy that considers the diverse threats and vulnerabilities it faces. This entails bolstering maritime security capabilities, strengthening border control measures, and investing in advanced surveillance technologies. Additionally, fostering robust regional and international partnerships in defense and security cooperation is crucial to effectively counter common security threats and promote regional stability.

Furthermore, it is essential to recognize that defense and security encompass dimensions beyond traditional military aspects, including cybersecurity, intelligence gathering, counterterrorism efforts, and disaster response capabilities. A comprehensive and multidimensional approach is necessary to safeguard national security and ensure the well-being of the Indonesian people.

In conclusion, Indonesia must place the development of a holistic, integrated, and future-oriented defense and security posture at the forefront of its priorities. This involves building a robust and adaptable defense capability, harnessing the nation's diversity as a national asset, and effectively addressing challenges stemming from power struggles, territorial disputes, and non-state actors. By adopting a comprehensive and multidimensional approach, Indonesia can enhance its defense and security capacities and contribute to regional stability and prosperity.

IX. In terms of **Technology**:

Indonesia encounters numerous challenges pertaining to inadequate and unequal infrastructure for internet and IoT technology, resulting in low levels of digital literacy among the population. The limited coverage of the 4G network, which currently stands at less than 50%, hampers widespread access to communication and internet services within the country. However, efforts are being made to improve network infrastructure, which is expected to lead to an increase in internet usage.

With the growing utilization of the internet comes an elevated risk posed by cybercriminals. The heightened demand for data security creates opportunities for personal information theft and cyberattacks. As various aspects of life become increasingly digitalized, reliance on technology expands, necessitating robust cybersecurity measures.

Indonesia also grapples with challenges stemming from divergent cyber regulations across countries, resulting in complex problems. Effective cybersecurity requires international cooperation and the development of harmonized cyber policies and regulations.

Another significant concern is the low level of digital and media literacy among the population, rendering individuals more susceptible to disinformation campaigns. The dissemination of false information can have detrimental effects on public perception and behavior, underscoring the importance of promoting digital literacy and critical thinking skills.

The advancement of AI technology, exemplified by chatbots like GPT, presents both positive and negative implications. While AI systems like GPT can provide coherent responses and assist in content generation, they can also serve as tools for propaganda. The real-time and targeted nature of AI-generated content can be exploited to manipulate individuals on an individual level, raising concerns regarding the ethical considerations and potential impact on public opinion.

Furthermore, Indonesia faces challenges in the realm of remote sensing technology and satellite capabilities. The country's competitiveness in satellite remote sensing technology is relatively weak, with its satellite resources

primarily fulfilling limited surveillance functions. This limits Indonesia's capacity for digital intelligence activities and exposes it to cyberattacks.

To address these challenges, Indonesia must prioritize investments in enhancing its technology infrastructure, including network connectivity improvements, robust cybersecurity measures, and bolstering satellite capabilities. Additionally, efforts should be directed towards promoting digital and media literacy programs, fostering international collaborations to develop effective cyber regulations. These measures are crucial for leveraging the advantages of technology while minimizing associated risks.

In conclusion, Indonesia faces several technological challenges that need to be addressed in order to harness the potential of technology for socioeconomic advancement and ensure national security in an increasingly digital world. These challenges include infrastructure limitations, low levels of digital literacy, cybersecurity vulnerabilities, and constraints in satellite capabilities. Overcoming these obstacles requires comprehensive efforts such as improving infrastructure, enhancing digital literacy programs, strengthening cybersecurity defenses, and promoting international cooperation.

A thorough examination of Indonesia's historical context and vulnerabilities highlights the significant challenges posed by the dynamics of strategic environmental development. Among these concerns, the proliferation of disinformation and propaganda, particularly in the online domain, emerges as a notable threat. The dissemination of misleading information exploits the vulnerabilities of the Indonesian nation and promotes radicalism, extremism, separatism, and terrorism. If not effectively addressed, these threats can lead to multifaceted risks and societal divisions.

The consequences of uncontrolled exploitation of these vulnerabilities extend far-reaching, potentially undermining the cultural and civilizational fabric of the nation, disrupting societal well-being, and intensifying competition between the government and non-state actors. The involvement of transnational organizations driven by economic, religious, and separatist motives further complicates the situation, exacerbating the competition between cultural entities advocating for modernism and human-made governance systems and those opposing them. These dynamics carry significant implications, including the erosion of nationalism and patriotism, the breakdown of peace, unity, and national solidarity, human rights violations, loss of life, disruption of public order and security, as well as threats to national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the nation's safety.

To address these pressing challenges, it is imperative for the Polri and all stakeholders to enhance their understanding and application of nationalism, patriotism, national vigilance, national insight, and the four basic consensuses. These consensuses encompass the Pancasila ideology, the motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Tanhena Dharmma Mangrva" (unity in diversity, as there is no duality in truth except devotion to the homeland and nation), the 1945 Constitution, and the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. By prioritizing these fundamental principles and values, the nation can protect its interests and mitigate the risks posed by external threats and internal divisions.

Promoting national unity and cultivating a sense of collective responsibility are of utmost importance. Proactive measures are required to counteract disinformation, strengthen social cohesion, and foster a shared understanding of Indonesia's diverse cultural fabric. Furthermore, comprehensive efforts are needed to ensure the psychological well-being of individuals and communities, reinforce the rule of law, protect human rights, and maintain public order and security.

Thus, achieving national interests necessitates a collective effort that engages all relevant stakeholders. By aligning their actions with the principles of nationalism, patriotism, national vigilance, national insight, and the four basic consensuses, the Indonesian nation can strengthen itself against external threats, foster a robust sense of unity, and safeguard its fundamental values and principles. This concerted endeavor aims to promote security and prosperity in Indonesia, ensuring the well-being and advancement of the nation.

3.2 Study II

3.2.1 The concept of Pentahelix synergy.

The objective of the ongoing hybrid warfare in Indonesia is to attain political control and manipulate the nation's natural resources, territory, and demographic composition to serve the geopolitical, hegemonic, and economic interests of both state and non-state actors.

Within the cyber realm, a structured and systematic dissemination of disinformation is employed as a means to eventually establish such disinformation or falsehoods as widely accepted truths. Propaganda promoting radicalism and extremism is utilized to foster the development of radical ideologies, terrorism, and separatism. Additional tactics include the utilization of drugs and online gambling, as well as the polarization of society through identity politics, exacerbating divisions between Muslims and non-Muslims; Sunnis and Shiites; Javanese, Malays, and Melanesian ethnic groups; and others. These tactics aim to create cultural tensions, disrupt security, and incite societal disorder.

Once divisions have become deeply entrenched within a community, the subsequent stage entails the process of indoctrination, commonly known as "brainwashing." This stage follows earlier phases of provocation, manipulation, and infiltration. The following stage involves either an invasion or the attainment of specific objectives. In this type of warfare, puppet leaders, who essentially act as foreign agents, are created to enforce policies that serve the interests of foreign entities or covert actors operating behind the scenes of the proxy war. In hybrid warfare that employs non-state actors as proxies, it often becomes challenging to clearly differentiate between friends and foes, as the adversary exerts control over these non-state actors from a distance. The enemy state provides financial support for weaponry, economic necessities, and various requirements of the puppets or proxies, usually accompanied by certain incentives or rewards.

The actions carried out by these individuals and groups are in violation of various laws and regulations, including Law No. 12 of 2005, which ratifies the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. This law explicitly prohibits the dissemination of war propaganda and the promotion of national, racial, or religious hatred. Additionally, Government Regulation No. 7 of 2021 provides a definition of terrorism, classifying it as acts that employ violence or the threat of violence with the intention of instilling fear or terror. Moreover, Article 106 of the Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP) explicitly prohibits separatist movements and acts of rebellion.

The repercussions of this hybrid warfare have far-reaching implications. It leads to prolonged periods of political and social instability, which can escalate into civil war, terrorism, and rebellion. It undermines the values of tolerance, consensus-building, and mutual cooperation among different groups, fostering increased feelings of disappointment and animosity. The consequences include elevated levels of psychological distress, moral degradation, and mental turmoil, further polarizing society. Moreover, it weakens the foundations of nationalism, patriotism, and the Pancasila ideology. It erodes the cultural and civilizational fabric of the nation and contributes to human rights violations and loss of life. It hinders effective policy-making and impairs law enforcement, disrupts public order and security, and undermines territorial integrity and national security.

In light of the vulnerability assessment and the strategies employed by state adversaries, it is imperative for Polri to counteract the efforts of these adversaries in exploiting security vulnerabilities and maintaining public order. This can be achieved through the adoption of innovative concepts or approaches, such as the pentahelix concept, which emphasizes harnessing the full potential of national power in early detection, prevention, and preemptive actions. This concept entails the collaborative engagement of five key stakeholders: the government, academia, business sector, society, and media. Together, they can provide an adaptive, collective, and flexible response within a relatively short time frame.

The synergy among institutions in managing cybersecurity is particularly crucial to support the state in countering strategic threats in the digital era. In this era, the security of sensitive information is easily compromised by various malicious actors through cyber systems, posing risks to national security, resilience, and the overall ecosystem. Recognizing the significance of institutional synergy in cybersecurity management, multiple institutions have

implemented various policies and cooperative measures in collaboration with diverse stakeholders. However, despite these efforts, challenges and obstacles persist in achieving effective cooperation.

One of the primary obstacles lies in the insufficient collaboration among institutions responsible for cybersecurity. Challenges arise from the presence of sectoral egos and divergent orientations, visions, and missions within each sector. This situation can foster unhealthy competition among sectors, ultimately undermining the collective interests of the nation and the Indonesian state. According to the Theory of Synergy, cultivating effective synergy among institutions requires a foundation of understanding and mutual comprehension. Effective communication and coordination, both formal and informal, play crucial roles in establishing a shared perspective for managing cybersecurity.

Another facilitating factor for optimal inter-institutional cooperation in cybersecurity management is the implementation of the Whole of Government (WoG) concept as an interagency approach, involving relevant institutions in pertinent matters. The collaboration between WoG and an integrated digital system is expected to promote systematic work, align goals and objectives, and provide clarity on the capacities and authorities of each stakeholder involved in cybersecurity management, thereby mitigating sectoral egos.

Furthermore, from a regulatory perspective, Presidential Regulation No. 18 of 2020, which addresses the National Medium Term Development Plan 2020-2024, emphasizes the enhancement of political, security, and defense stability, as well as the transformation of public services. This regulation underscores the need for improvements in the judicial system, regulatory frameworks, and cybersecurity governance. Therefore, in order to mitigate sectoral egoism, foster cooperation, and promote interconnectedness in cybersecurity management, all forms of communication and coordination should be directed towards the realization of the objectives outlined in the National Medium Term Development Plan.

Furthermore, the government has the opportunity to explore the establishment of a national social media platform, leveraging the substantial number of internet users in Indonesia. This platform would enable the government to exert influence on foreign cyber service providers, urging them to comply with Indonesian regulations and thus reinforcing national cybersecurity and sovereignty. The active involvement of the cyber community should be an integral part of a government-led program that emphasizes prevention and fosters strong partnerships.

In addition, it is worth noting that international cooperation efforts at both global and regional levels have not fully addressed the concerns surrounding cybersecurity. While cybersecurity issues are consistently discussed in regional forums such as ASEANAPOL, SOMTC, and AMMTC, as well as in global frameworks like Interpol, including its annual General Assembly and Mutual Legal Assistance on Criminal Matters (MLA) agreements, there is still room for improvement in the effective implementation of these cooperative endeavors. Recognizing the significance of cybersecurity is crucial, as cyber threats can originate from any location and often transcend national boundaries. Noteworthy examples include cyber attacks like the US Gold business email compromise, which targeted US organizations and was carried out by individuals from Indonesia, as well as instances of personal data theft and trading by Iranian nationals on the Dark Web. These instances highlight the transnational nature of cyber threats. Moreover, the propagation of propaganda promoting radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism frequently occurs through narratives, films, and social media groups within the online sphere.

Furthermore, the effectiveness of communication and coordination among executive, judicial, legislative, and societal entities regarding various cybersecurity regulatory studies remains inadequate. Each party involved has its own vested interests in cybersecurity. The government aims to ensure optimal cybersecurity management for all Indonesian citizens, the legislature seeks to enact legislation aligned with political interests or constituents, and the public strives to safeguard their digital rights. For example, civil society organization SAFENet protested against the draft legislation on Cybersecurity and Defense due to concerns about provisions that could restrict freedom of expression.

Challenges also arise in the formulation of the Personal Data Protection Bill, as differences in oversight authority between the legislature and the Ministry of Communication and Informatics pose hurdles. Additionally, the

revision of the Information and Electronic Transactions Law (ITE Law) is pending inclusion in the legislative program, requiring further consideration of public aspirations. Therefore, it is crucial to establish an effective mechanism for communication and coordination to raise awareness among all stakeholders that cybersecurity should not be treated as a matter of sectoral egoism. Instead, it should be recognized as a condition that jeopardizes national resilience, necessitating a collective response from all involved parties.

In the domain of cybersecurity, synergy plays a critical role in ensuring its effectiveness. The government recognizes the importance of strengthening the judicial system, regulatory frameworks, and cyber governance, as stated in Presidential Regulation Number 18 of 2020 concerning the National Medium Term Development Plan 2020-2024. To achieve this, the government should take the lead in initiating efforts to enhance coordination with various stakeholders involved in cybersecurity. Continuous improvement in coordination and communication with the legislature and local governments is necessary to foster understanding and generate regulations that support cybersecurity management, including rules and budgeting.

Synergy among all stakeholders is paramount in effective cybersecurity management. This can be achieved through mutual understanding and consensus, clearly defining responsibilities and authorities among stakeholders. It involves building strong partnerships among government institutions, businesses, academia, media, and society within the framework of the pentahelix concept. Additionally, partnerships with international organizations and bilateral or multilateral cooperation with other countries are crucial. Effective communication among the components of the separation of powers, serving as coordinators, regulators, and controllers, is essential in formulating regulations while involving the public.

Enforcement of the law is imperative to ensure legal certainty, justice, and the efficacy of cybersecurity management. Addressing cybersecurity disruptions requires appropriate legal enforcement methods that serve not only punitive purposes but also curative and rehabilitative functions. Approaches that incorporate local customs, culture, and wisdom, contributing to the establishment of order, tranquility, stability, and security, should be supported to create a conducive, harmonious, and sustainable environment. These efforts strategically counter the development of competitive advantages by radical, extremist, terrorist, and separatist groups.

Prevention is of utmost importance in cybersecurity management to enhance national resilience. To achieve effective preventive measures, it is crucial to establish regulations that specifically address the preventive aspects within comprehensive cybersecurity and resilience frameworks. This should be accompanied by promoting a digitally aware and legally conscious society, establishing mechanisms for early detection and prevention of cybersecurity threats, and developing robust cybersecurity infrastructure capable of withstanding cyber attacks. Additionally, rapid response mechanisms should be in place to address any disruptions in cybersecurity.

One of the challenges in achieving synergy lies in the organizational structure and sectoral egoism among the responsible ministries and agencies involved in cybersecurity. There is a need for regulations that define the leading sector, delineate tasks and authorities among ministries and agencies, and establish an operational system. BSSN is expected to play a leading role in coordinating and collaborating with stakeholders in the national cyber domain, including the Indonesian National Police (cybercrime), the Indonesian National Defense Forces/Ministry of Defense (cyber defense), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (cyber diplomacy), and other relevant institutions. However, these efforts must be supported by competent law enforcement personnel, as well as adequate human resources, infrastructure, and operational budgetary resources.

The concept of Pentahelix adopts a collaborative approach by utilizing a heterarchy organizational model. In this model, Polri collaborates horizontally with various government institutions, including BSSN, the National Intelligence Agency (BIN), the Armed Forces Intelligence Agency (BAIS), TNI, and other components of the Pentahelix framework. This collaboration encompasses several areas, such as:

1. Policy Development: Jointly formulating policies and strategies to address cybersecurity challenges and ensure the security of the nation's digital infrastructure.

2. Information Sharing: Facilitating the exchange of relevant information and intelligence to enhance situational awareness and strengthen proactive measures against cyber threats.
3. Operational Coordination: Coordinating activities and operations to effectively respond to cyber incidents, investigate cybercrimes, and enforce cybersecurity regulations.
4. Capacity Building: Collaborating on the development and implementation of training programs, workshops, and exercises to enhance the skills and capabilities of personnel involved in cybersecurity.
5. Research and Development: Conducting collaborative research and development efforts to advance technological solutions, cybersecurity frameworks, and best practices.

The Pentahelix framework recognizes the importance of multi-stakeholder collaboration and cooperation among these institutions to address the complex challenges of cybersecurity effectively.

Government Institution and community.

The government institutions, leveraging their authority capital as regulators and controllers, can engage in cooperation with society for the purpose of early detection, prevention, and implementation of countermeasures, in conjunction with the other components of the pentahelix.

I. Early Detection.

1. In terms of investigation, intelligence data plays a crucial role in early detection activities. Polri collaborates with BSSN, TNI, BIN, and BAIS in detecting disinformation and propaganda related to radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. BIN, as outlined in Presidential Regulation Number 90 of 2012 concerning the State Intelligence Agency, as most recently amended by Presidential Regulation Number 79 of 2020, has the responsibility of enhancing early detection and warning systems to safeguard government administration and national security stability. Strengthening the organization of BIN as the first line of defense in the national security system is necessary. BIN takes the lead in coordinating and formulating intelligence policies together with BAIS and Polri, particularly in early detection activities related to disinformation news and extremist propaganda.
2. BAIS, in line with Law Number 34 of 2004, plays a crucial role in countering propaganda through Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW). This involves supporting governmental tasks in regions and assisting Polri in maintaining security and public order. Indonesia's experiences have revealed that border areas, such as Papua, the northern part of Sulawesi Island near Southern Philippines, and Kalimantan's border regions, can serve as havens and transit points for terrorist groups. Monitoring these remote and challenging geographical locations poses difficulties for surveillance of land and sea borders in Indonesia. Hence, the active involvement of BAIS in monitoring and screening community groups operating in these border areas would be highly beneficial in preventing the growth of terrorist activities. TNI Intelligence contributes to psychological operations aimed at influencing the emotions, attitudes, behaviors, opinions, and motivations of the target audience. The objective is to create favorable conditions for safeguarding the nation. Psychological operations employ various methods, including positive propaganda dissemination, political warfare, sabotage activities, support for resistance movements, and cultural warfare. These efforts seek to shape public perception, counter extremist narratives, and foster national unity and resilience against terrorist ideologies.
3. Polri is currently developing an open complaint service application that involves the participation of various stakeholders within the Pentahelix framework, including the public, media, business community, and academia. This application aims to enable the reporting of suspicious activities related to the creation and dissemination of disinformation, as well as propaganda promoting radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. The objective of this initiative is to enhance early detection capabilities and facilitate collaboration among stakeholders in combating these threats.

II. Early Prevention.

It is crucial to establish synergy between Polri, BSSN, and Kemkominfo. These three entities should collaborate effectively in implementing security measures, such as blocking websites, blogs, content, and social media accounts that promote disinformation and extremist propaganda related to radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism.

Presidential Regulation Number 53 of 2017 outlines the duties and functions of BSSN, which revolve around implementing cybersecurity by utilizing, developing, and consolidating all elements related to cybersecurity. BSSN can be considered the leading sector in cybersecurity and has the authority to coordinate the blocking of disinformation and extremist propaganda in collaboration with Kemenkominfo and Polri.

Kemkominfo, representing the government, holds the authority to regulate information and electronic transactions that contain negative content and violate national regulations. It is also responsible for supervising and blocking access to electronic system providers (PSE). This authority is derived from Law Number 19 of 2016 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions (ITE Law). The implementation of this law is further specified in Government Regulation (PP) Number 71 of 2019 concerning the Implementation of Electronic Systems and Transactions, which is then detailed in Ministerial Regulation (PM) Kemkominfo Number 5 of 2020 concerning Private-Scope PSE.

Polri collaborates with BSSN and Kemkominfo to take down and block websites and propaganda that disseminate disinformation and promote radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. These collaborative efforts are facilitated by Polri's coordination with BIN and BAIS in gathering information about such threats. Through their collective work, Polri, BSSN, and Kemkominfo can effectively prevent the dissemination of harmful content and mitigate the risks associated with cybersecurity threats.

III. Early Countermeasures.

The synergy between Polri, BNPT, TNI, and other elements of the pentahelix is crucial in early countermeasures against various threats. Mobilization, characterized by planned and coordinated efforts, is essential in creating favorable conditions for national interests and countering these threats. In line with the theory of hybrid warfare, where propaganda plays a significant role in influencing society, structured and systematic dissemination of positive propaganda (white propaganda) becomes necessary.

BNPT, as the leading sector in early countermeasures against disinformation news, radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism, plays a vital role supported by Law No. 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Terrorism Criminal Acts. The implementation of the pentahelix scheme is emphasized in the prevention and addressing of radicalism and terrorism. BNPT, in coordination with 48 relevant ministries and agencies, has implemented various actions as part of the National Action Plan for the Prevention and Countering of Violence-Based Extremism Leading to Terrorism (RAN PE). These actions encompass prevention, law enforcement, protection of witnesses and victims, strengthening the legislative framework, as well as partnerships and international cooperation.

BNPT recognizes that the fight against terrorist ideologies cannot be carried out by specific groups or agencies alone; it requires the involvement of society as a whole. Therefore, BNPT continues to engage with various stakeholders, both through synergy teams of ministries and agencies and broader societal cooperation, to prevent ideologies that contradict the values of the Indonesian nation. BNPT acknowledges that terrorism is not inherently linked to any specific religion, but terrorist networks often exploit religious narratives to gain sympathy. The agency is committed to eradicating all forms of terrorism, regardless of their political or ideological motivations. As the coordinator in counterterrorism efforts, BNPT prioritizes prevention and supports law enforcement in cases of politically motivated terrorism, such as the actions carried out by the Armed Criminal Group of Papua Separatist Movement. BNPT emphasizes the importance of coordination, particularly with law enforcement agencies, to effectively address terrorism-related crimes in Papua and other regions.

The synergy among Polri, BNPT, TNI, and other Pentahelix elements enables a comprehensive approach to counterterrorism, encompassing prevention, law enforcement, protection, and international cooperation. Through their collaborative efforts, these entities strive to safeguard national security and protect society from the threats posed by radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. By leveraging the capabilities and resources of the military, including intelligence and psychological operations, in conjunction with the efforts of other security and law enforcement agencies, the Indonesian government aims to effectively combat radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. These measures contribute to maintaining law and order, protecting national security, and fostering a safe and harmonious society.

Media, as a crucial element of the pentahelix framework, possesses significant network capital as disseminator and plays a fundamental role across various sectors of society. Its extensive reach and influence contribute to revitalizing the spirit of national consensus and cultural values, particularly within Indonesia's diverse society. Media serves as a critical instrument in preventing the dissemination of disinformation and propaganda associated with radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism. By providing the public with accurate information and countering disinformation narratives, mass media aids in cultivating resilience among individuals, making them less susceptible to the influence of radical terrorist groups. Consequently, this reduces the maneuvering space for such groups and bolsters national security.

Additionally, mass media can contribute to enhancing cyber resilience by promoting responsible usage of social media platforms. It can play a role in combating cyberbullying and mitigating its adverse effects, as social media has been identified as a medium employed for various illicit activities, including terrorist recruitment, human trafficking, and child pornography. By raising awareness and offering guidance on safe and responsible online behavior, the media can help safeguard individuals, especially the younger generation, against online threats and foster a sense of security in the digital realm.

As the guardian of public security, Polri bears the responsibility of actively participating in counter-propaganda efforts. Polri engages directly with the community through various means such as seminars, educational initiatives, online campaigns, and community events aimed at fostering national unity. By utilizing mass media platforms, Polri can disseminate positive propaganda to all segments of society, reinforcing the values and principles embedded within the Indonesian state system (NKRI), the 1945 Constitution, Pancasila, and the principle of unity in diversity (Bhinneka Tunggal Ika). This outreach encompasses all layers of society and stakeholders, ensuring a broad and meaningful impact.

Furthermore, Polri is entrusted with enforcing the law and taking action against individuals suspected of spreading disinformation and propaganda related to radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism through mass media channels. By actively addressing these violations, Polri sends a clear message that such activities will not be tolerated, thereby promoting a safer media environment and upholding societal security.

In summary, mass media, with its substantial network capital, serves as a potent tool within the pentahelix framework, contributing to the prevention of radicalism and terrorism. Through accurate reporting, responsible social media usage, and collaboration with Polri, the media plays a pivotal role in shaping a resilient society that is well-informed, resistant to disinformation narratives, and actively engaged in promoting national unity and security.

Business entities, in their capacity as expander, possess working capital that can contribute to the security landscape. The perspective presented by Goold, Loader, and Thumala (2010) sheds light on the dynamic relationship between security and an increasingly insecure society. As societal insecurity grows, there is an increased demand for security as a commodity. The security market responds to this demand by offering a range of products and services aimed at alleviating feelings of insecurity. However, the security industry also has a role in perpetuating fears and amplifying the sense of insecurity within society.

In this context, the responsibility of security provision has shifted from the public sector to the private sector, leading to the commodification of security. State policies and actions significantly influence the behavior of

individuals and organizations in consuming security products and services. The state's provision of security services and equipment can shape the public's response to offerings from private security companies. Consequently, security is viewed as a social commodity with implications for the relationship between society and security.

Historically, the state has been directly responsible for protecting its citizens. However, the process of liberalization has resulted in the transfer of this responsibility to society itself. Society is now expected to be the primary consumer of security services and equipment provided by the private security industry. At the same time, the state also becomes a consumer of these security products, particularly in liberalized contexts. The growth of security service companies and employment in the security services sector in Indonesia is influenced by various factors, including industrial relations within security service companies, the role of community-based security groups in promoting social integration, conflicts between paramilitary/vigilante organizations in securing security contracts, the involvement of retired military personnel in the development of security service companies, and the education and training system for security personnel recruitment.

Polri can collaborate with businesses to enhance cooperation between security actors and the community, particularly in the realm of cybercrime. This collaboration can involve the provision of cyber security infrastructure for cyber units within regional police departments. In comparison to other countries, Indonesia's technological development and information technology infrastructure are relatively lagging. The prevalence of disinformation and propaganda related to radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism in digital media surpasses the available resources and infrastructure. The limited development of technological infrastructure poses a challenge for law enforcement agencies in the early detection, prevention, investigation, and apprehension of perpetrators involved in spreading disinformation news and propaganda.

Therefore, Polri can leverage collaborations with businesses to enhance resources, infrastructure, and cyber capabilities. This partnership can help address the technological limitations faced by law enforcement agencies and strengthen their ability to combat cybercrime and other security challenges. By working together, Polri and businesses can contribute to the development of ICT infrastructure, networks, access, and applications in Indonesia, ultimately improving the country's capacity to respond to security threats in the digital realm.

Academics, in their capacity as "conceivers," possess scientific capital that contributes to the comprehension and advancement of security dynamics. Within the realm of security, academics serve as agents who hold academic legitimacy and expertise, enabling them to contribute their perspectives and knowledge on security matters. Their role extends beyond theoretical discussions and encompasses the practical application of their insights and understanding.

Researchers, including both civilian and military academics specializing in security, alongside think tanks, play a crucial role in constructing and shaping the discourse surrounding security. They possess professionalism and expertise that allow them to acquire mandates and authority from society to address security issues. Initially, the focus of security actors was limited to professionals within the security sector, such as the military, police, and intelligence agencies. However, as time progressed, other actors emerged who possessed in-depth knowledge and understanding of security, despite not belonging to the traditional security apparatus.

The presence of security experts from non-security professions has led to a division of authority when discussing security matters within society. The debate on security has shifted from a professional sociology perspective, which primarily included the military, police, intelligence, and judiciary, to an expertise sociology perspective that involves experts, academics, and think tanks. Many security personnel have also transitioned into becoming security experts or have engaged in security think tanks.

The discourse on scholarly and security policy is no longer solely dominated by security institutions and actors. Academics, civil society organizations, and think tanks have become influential platforms for societal engagement in security policy. The increasing number of security professionals involved in security studies indicates that

expertise in security is not solely based on institutional doctrines but also on theoretical knowledge, often referred to as scholar-soldier or scholar-policeman.

Moreover, the discourse on security policy requires support from networks of security experts, both nationally and internationally. Collaboration and knowledge exchange among security experts contribute to a broader understanding of security dynamics and the development of effective policies and strategies. In summary, academics as "conceivers" possess intellectual capital and play a vital role in the field of security. Their expertise, legitimacy, and ability to shape the discourse on security contribute to the understanding and operationalization of security perspectives and knowledge at both theoretical and practical levels.

Society, as a catalyst, possesses social capital that contributes to diverse facets of community life. A society that enjoys a positive reputation within the community has the capacity to enhance the quality of life by actively engaging in community groups and initiatives focused on character development. While technological advancements have introduced threats in the online realm, such as the dissemination of disinformation and propaganda related to radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism, it is essential to acknowledge that these negative consequences ultimately stem from human actions rather than technological errors. Since technology is created by humans, it is crucial for humans to exercise control over technology, ensuring its responsible and ethical use.

The adverse impact of social media can be attributed to the erosion of character and values embodied in Pancasila, the Indonesian state ideology. Therefore, character building becomes imperative as it molds individuals' thoughts, actions, and responses to various situations. Sudarmanto (2011) asserts that fundamental characters that should be nurtured from an early age include honesty, citizenship, courage, fairness, respect, responsibility, perseverance, care, and self-discipline.

In the field of security, social capital refers to the influence an individual gains when they can represent a group and advocate for its interests. Social capital can be observed through various networks, both state and non-state, encompassing private and societal networks. While traditional networks like NATO and the EU have solidified their presence in the post-Cold War era, non-state networks such as banking, civil aviation, and humanitarian institutions also play significant roles, particularly in crisis situations and shaping the course of conflicts. These networks contribute to the integrative function of security actors in society.

Security actors, including traditional leaders, community leaders, and religious figures, hold crucial roles in promoting normative and functional integration within society. They engage in critical assessments of social conflicts, determine appropriate conflict resolution procedures based on cultural characteristics, employ social networking strategies to foster integration, implement models of social cohesion, manage conflicts, and strive for cooperation rather than competition. Furthermore, security actors contribute to enhancing social resilience, reducing social vulnerabilities, shaping national security policies, ensuring societal oversight of security programs, and maintaining relationships with paramilitary/vigilante organizations. In summary, society possesses social capital that influences various aspects of community life. Through active participation in initiatives focused on character development and the establishment of networks and relationships, society can foster integration, address conflicts, enhance resilience, and contribute to shaping security policies and programs.

The diversity present in Indonesian society brings forth a range of challenges and opportunities. In order to transform multiculturalism into a unifying strength for the nation, active involvement and participation from all segments of society are crucial in addressing conflicts and divisive issues. The proliferation of provocative content pertaining to ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup relations is a pressing concern that requires attention. Society plays a vital role in countering propaganda and promoting unity through collaborative projects, blogs, microblogs, crowdsourcing, and social networking sites.

In the realm of countering propaganda and mitigating the impact of disinformation news, including propaganda related to radicalism, extremism, terrorism, and separatism, it is imperative to modernize early detection methods both domestically and internationally. Early detection efforts bolster the preparedness of the police, including

Polri, in managing domestic security and addressing these threats. Polri can establish strategic cooperation with traditional leaders, religious figures, community leaders, and the general public to prevent and counteract these issues. Community policing activities, which actively involve and empower the community to monitor and report changes and dynamics in their surroundings, enable the police to respond swiftly and effectively to threats or indicators of terrorism and separatism.

Polri's competitive advantage lies in its close connection with the community and its role in safeguarding, nurturing, and serving the community, enforcing the law, preventing legal violations, and maintaining public order and security, as stipulated in Law No. 2 of 2002. By directly engaging with the community, Polri gains valuable information that can be shared and coordinated with other relevant institutions such as BIN, BAIS, TNI, BSSN, Kemkominfo, and BNPT. Polri also serves as a judicial subsystem responsible for law enforcement in Indonesia, encompassing both prevention and enforcement. Therefore, collaboration between Polri, the Trias Politica, and all components of society is crucial in ensuring cybersecurity, upholding public order, and promoting overall security in the country.

The government's initiative to establish a fourth branch within TNI to bolster the country's cyber defense capabilities represents a significant breakthrough. In light of this development, it is proposed that Polri should adopt a similar approach. Polri, being entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining domestic security, already possesses the authority, granted by the President of Indonesia, to carry out functions related to the prevention and countermeasures against terrorism and separatism through the Directorate of Cyber Crime under the Criminal Investigation Department (Bareskrim) of the National Police Headquarters (Mabes Polri).

However, the current structure of cyber units within regional police (Polda) is relatively limited, presenting challenges for Polda in addressing cybercrime that impacts all regions of Indonesia. Commissioner of Police Alfis Suhaili, the Senior Investigator of the Cyber Crime Directorate, has emphasized the necessity of adjusting the structure of cyber units in each Polda according to geographical conditions and available resources. This is because cybercrime affects all regions equally, and it is no longer feasible to differentiate the structure based on factors such as workload indices, geographical conditions, and resource availability. The expanding nature of cyber threats necessitates the establishment of specialized divisions in each Polda to effectively combat cybercrime, as cybercriminal activities are not confined solely to major cities.

By adapting the structure of cyber units and enhancing their capabilities, Polri can more effectively address the challenges posed by cybercrime throughout Indonesia. This includes augmenting the resources and capacities of cyber units in Polda, particularly in regions that may encounter similar forms of cybercrime but have limited resources and infrastructure. The adjustment of the organizational structure within Polri would align with the government's endeavors to strengthen cyber defense and ensure comprehensive security in the digital realm.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1 Conclusions

Throughout the course of human history, war has remained an inevitable danger, and the knowledge gained from previous conflicts will provide a foundation for future confrontations. Therefore, it is of utmost importance for Polri to proactively take measures to raise awareness and preparedness, safeguarding civil order and preventing crises from escalating into civil emergencies, military emergencies, or even all-out warfare. The avoidance of social unrest is crucial, as it can potentially lead to political turmoil. The examples of Iraq and Libya, internal conflicts in African nations, and the utilization of asymmetric warfare in Angola, Tibet, Egypt, and Sri Lanka demonstrate how political and social unrest can escalate into civil or military wars. These conflicts involve diverse actors and strategies, with outcomes shaped by distinct historical and regional factors.

In the era of Geopolitics V, social media has become a powerful tool for spreading threats and propaganda, even within Indonesia. The increasing complexity of societal subsystems (subcultures), driven by the desire for personal

freedom as Indonesia approaches its centenary of independence, presents challenges to societal integration. Sociologists are actively addressing security issues and working towards establishing social order.

While social media has led to cultural and normative shifts, it has also given rise to new forms of criminal activity. The dissemination of disinformation, driven by ethnic, religious, and racial biases, and the proliferation of hate speech online pose risks of conflicts and national fragmentation. The combination of high cyber threats and low digital literacy creates vulnerabilities in cybersecurity within Indonesia.

The rich diversity within Indonesian society, intensified by the increasing individual preferences that shape various subcultures, presents an increasingly dynamic landscape with both challenges and opportunities. In order to harness the potential of multiculturalism as a unifying force for the nation, it is crucial to actively involve and engage all segments of society in addressing conflicts and divisive issues. The widespread dissemination of provocative content related to ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup relations is a pressing concern that requires immediate attention. The occurrence of various social conflicts throughout Indonesia's history, as well as in the present, creates obstacles to social integration, primarily by eroding the population's sense of security. Establishing a sense of security within society is a fundamental prerequisite for ensuring the overall cohesion of the Indonesian social system. Therefore, cultivating a sense of security in society should be a primary focus within the framework of promoting social integration, employing measures such as normative integration, functional integration, and coercive interventions (Wirutomo, 2012).

Through examining historical precedents, such as the Sriwijaya and Majapahit kingdoms, it becomes apparent that the decline of these empires was not a consequence of foreign invasions, but rather stemmed from prolonged periods of political and social unrest, ultimately culminating in internal conflict. A parallel can be drawn to the American Civil War, which resulted in staggering casualties estimated between 752,000 and 851,000, representing approximately 2% of America's population in 1860 and standing as the most devastating civil war in recorded history. Extrapolating this toll to the current population of Indonesia, it would amount to a staggering 5.4 million lives lost.

Through careful examination of recent political, social, economic, and security events, concerns have emerged among various stakeholders regarding the erosion of national ideology and its implications for the sustainability of Indonesia as a nation-state. Many Indonesians seem oblivious to the ideological warfare and conflicts of interest that turn developing countries, including Indonesia, into battlegrounds. This ideological, political, economic, and socio-cultural warfare occurs simultaneously and are interconnected. Developed nations, driven by their pursuit of economic resources, seek to impose their thinking patterns, political, social, and economic systems on developing countries under the guise of globalization.

The proliferation of globalization and the rapid advancements in IoT technology have introduced new dynamics to global geopolitics. These developments have been accompanied by the emergence of VUCA (Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, Ambiguity), which has triggered the evolution of hybrid warfare strategies and the involvement of non-state actors beyond traditional nation-states. These non-state actors have effectively exploited vulnerabilities in both the physical and cyber realms. The rapid progress of IoT technology has given rise to the virtual world, particularly through platforms such as social media, which has become a new medium for virtual interactions. Unfortunately, the misuse of social media has transformed it into a laboratory and a battleground for state adversaries in the era of hybrid warfare.

In hybrid warfare, the methods and patterns employed differ from conventional warfare, which relies on sophisticated and costly machinery for mass destruction. Hybrid warfare places greater emphasis on unconventional, non-kinetic, or soft power capabilities that can disrupt ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, and defense security stability. Psychological warfare, disinformation, and propaganda are utilized to achieve these aims. These soft power methods present inherent dangers and can have significant impacts as they operate covertly, inducing psychological disturbances, polarization, and even societal disintegration. Furthermore, these methods often do not violate the "below threshold" principle outlined in Article 2(4) of the UN Charter, which prohibits the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

Consequently, addressing hybrid warfare proves more challenging than physical warfare or hard power, as it targets the very foundation of a nation—its people and the unity of their vision.

In hybrid warfare, the use of hard power is intentionally avoided to prevent direct confrontation between major powers, as witnessed in World Wars I and II. Instead, proxy wars or insurgencies are employed to maintain conflicts on a smaller scale, limiting the potential for foreign intervention or humanitarian forces. This strategy aims to minimize the risk of extensive human rights violations and make it difficult for external actors to intervene effectively.

In the future, with the advancements brought about by Industry 4.0 and the potential emergence of Society 5.0, technologies such as Artificial Intelligence (AI), Big Data, and cloud computing are expected to play a significant role in shaping propaganda operations. It is conceivable that unfeeling automatons, possessing the capacity to operate incessantly, akin to Chat GPT, may be utilized for such intentions. These robots will exhibit a diverse range of capabilities, such as artistic drawing, comedic creation, musical composition, and involvement in intricate and manipulative propaganda dialogues with humans. This highlights the importance of cybersecurity management and building resilience as a strategic imperative to safeguard national interests amidst the multidimensional threats presented in the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

Empirically, the Fourth Industrial Revolution has had a profound impact on the resilience of national strength across multiple dimensions. This impact encompasses factors such as geography, demography, natural resources, ideology, politics, economy, socio-cultural, as well as defense and security. Therefore, it becomes crucial for nations to proactively address and adapt to these advancements to ensure the protection of their national interests in an increasingly interconnected and technologically-driven world.

4.2 Recommendations

Drawing lessons from countries that have effectively responded to hybrid warfare threats, such as Russia, the States, Singapore, the Netherlands, and China, it is imperative for Indonesia to comprehensively develop the draft of Law on Cyber Security and Resilience (RUU KKS) by engaging all relevant stakeholders. Considering the Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, and Ambiguity (VUCA) phenomenon in the hybrid warfare era; and Indonesia's commitment to the Total People's Defense and Security System, which aims to uphold national sovereignty, preserve territorial integrity, and protect the safety of the entire nation from any threats, the RUU KKS should entail the involvement of all citizens, national resources, and artificial resources. To avoid overlapping functions and tasks, the RUU KKS should possess a cross-sectoral nature in terms of both regulation and implementation.

In order to effectively address the multidimensional threats presented by the new era of hybrid warfare, it is necessary to employ a combination of soft power strategies and intelligence operations. This approach aims to weaken or eliminate the enemy's strength through attrition or annihilation, utilizing strategic surprise to prevent enemy states and their allies from establishing competitive advantages. It is favored over an approach that relies solely on numerical force. Intelligence operations, which involve studying the nature of threats, raising awareness, and contributing to the formation of legislation, should not be constrained by existing laws, however, to prevent abuses of power and human rights violations, these activities must be controlled and measured, particularly in the lead-up to the 2024 Presidential Election. Mr. Andi Widjajanto, the Governor of the National Resilience Institute of Indonesia (Lemhannas RI), emphasizes the importance of digital intelligence capabilities in effectively addressing the growing number, sophistication, and organization of digital threats from external actors.

In order to uphold security, order, and justice in society, the nation, and the state, it is crucial for the government to ensure the fairness, benefits, and predictability of law enforcement. This concept aligns with J.J. Rousseau's theory of the social contract, which suggests that individuals willingly exchange their personal freedoms for the protections and freedoms guaranteed by the state, encompassing political, economic, socio-cultural, security, and peace-related aspects. Emile Durkheim, in his work "The Rules of the Sociological Methods," emphasized the universal nature of crime across all societies. While the manifestations of crime may evolve over time and

individuals may exploit gaps in static criminal laws, it is the shared responsibility of the government and society to establish punishments that represent the moral boundaries upheld by society. These sanctions may be normative, such as imprisonment, fines, and execution, or social in nature, such as isolation or shame. Although law enforcement in Indonesia is considered a last resort when preventive measures such as socio-cultural practices, customary law, and local culture prove ineffective, it remains crucial for maintaining societal security and order, in line with the legal maxim coined by Prof. Dr. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, "law without power is merely wishful thinking, and power without law is tyranny."

The Durkheimian perspective emphasizes society's ability to respond to crime through various community efforts, which are integral to societal development. Formal law enforcement activities aim to create social conditions and engage in social engineering to maintain and preserve social control, ensuring peaceful social interaction. Therefore, actions by radical and extremist groups that attempt to obscure, distort, or eliminate historical sites or insult the ancestors of the Indonesian nation should be deemed intolerable and subject to punishment according to applicable regulations.

In the face of VUCA (Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, and Ambiguity), it is crucial to collectively adapt and respond to rapidly changing dynamics within a limited timeframe. This requires effective collaboration among stakeholders across different entities and organizational structures. To address future security threats, the Indonesian National Police (Polri) can adopt the "pentahelix" approach, which emphasizes collaboration with diverse stakeholders such as government institutions, ministries and agencies, academia, mass media, businesses, and communities. Each stakeholder should have clear motivations based on their roles and competitive advantages, enabling them to contribute solutions and knowledge.

The government can utilize its authority capital for regulation and control, while the media can leverage its network capital for information dissemination. Businesses, with their working capital, can contribute to expansion efforts, and academics, with their scientific capital, can generate innovative ideas and concepts. The community, drawing on its social capital, can accelerate progress. This approach prevents excessive concentration of power within a single institution, recognizing that absolute power tends to be ineffective and prone to corruption.

This approach aligns with the principles outlined in Law No. 7 of 2012 concerning the Handling of Social Conflicts and Presidential Instruction No. 2 of 2013, which highlight the involvement of various elements of the government and the community in addressing domestic security disruptions. These elements include religious figures, traditional figures, community leaders, peace activists, representatives of conflicting parties, and other relevant community institutions, as emphasized by the Secretariat General of the Judicial Commission, Republic of Indonesia (2019) in response to threats and disruptions.

By embracing the "pentahelix" approach, Polri can enhance collaboration with diverse stakeholders, leveraging their strengths and perspectives to effectively respond to the challenges posed by the VUCA environment and ensure security and stability. Furthermore, Polri should strengthen cooperation with other countries, international organizations, and communities to develop a comprehensive and forward-looking projection of future threats. This projection should be collaboratively formulated with all stakeholders, including the legislative, executive, and judicial components of the Trias Politica, to establish specific strategies, tools, and conditions for effectively combating potential threats. The objective is to foster consensus and evolve together at the supra structural level of the state in a balanced, harmonious, and coherent manner.

To address the paradox of religion and jihad, it is essential to strengthen moral and ethical education alongside character education. Islamic educational institutions can play a crucial role in cultivating a generation that respects national values and religion. This can be achieved through the integration of religion, science, and technology; the transformation of Islamic education; and the democratization of Islamic education. The goal is to achieve "Islam Wasathiyah" in maintaining the unity and integrity of the Indonesian Republic (NKRI) enriched with diversity, leading towards the concept of Rahmatan Lil Alamin (Islam as a blessing for the entire universe). As Islam is the majority religion in Indonesia, the successful implementation of Islamic education in fostering noble character will contribute to building the character of the nation.

In response to the separatist movement of the Papua Separatist Movement (PSM), the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo has issued directives to implement comprehensive measures aimed at addressing separatism in Papua. These measures encompass various approaches that prioritize welfare, socio-cultural aspects, and functional aspects. These measures must recognize the importance of addressing the underlying factors that contribute to the separatist movement. For instance, in the context of Papua, the government, along with all the components of the pentahelix can work synergistically to realize Papua as the center of the culture, economy, and civilization of the Melanesian race in the world. This recognition stems from the fact that in 2015, nearly 80% of the Melanesian race in the world was in Indonesia, spread across the Maluku Islands, East Nusa Tenggara, and Papua, with the remaining 20% being spread across various Asia-Pacific countries such as Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste, Fiji, New Caledonia, and the Solomon Islands.

By focusing on well-being, efforts can be made to improve the welfare and socio-economic conditions of the Papuan people. This includes initiatives aimed at enhancing access to education, healthcare, infrastructure development, economic and cultural opportunities. The socio-cultural aspect places emphasis on the importance of safeguarding and showing respect for the distinctive cultural heritage and traditions of the Papuan people. By recognizing and valuing their cultural identity, initiatives can be implemented to foster cultural exchange, promote intercultural understanding, and enhance social cohesion. This socio-cultural approach not only aligns with the principle of "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Tanhana Dharmma Mangrva", but also recognizes the intrinsic value of indigenous customs and culture, contributing to the cultivation of a strong sense of nationalism, patriotism, and the preservation of cultural richness.

Understanding and honoring the values and traditions of the Papuan people are crucial for maintaining harmony and coherence within society, which resonates with Emile Durkheim's functionalism theory. According to this theory, society functions as a social system where each element plays a vital role in maintaining balance and stability. Religion, in particular, serves as an integral component of collective strength, further reinforcing the importance of preserving cultural heritage and promoting social cohesion among diverse communities. In conclusion, the socio-cultural approach underscores the need to preserve and respect the unique cultural heritage and traditions of the Papuan people. Active involvement and participation of the Papuan community are crucial in shaping the integrated development of Papua's Astagatra, ensuring that their voices and aspirations are included in the process.

In addition, the functional aspect of these measures aims to strengthen governance and administrative structures in strengthening the integrated development of Papua's Astagatra. This involves enhancing the capacity and effectiveness of local institutions, promoting good governance practices, and ensuring the equitable provision of public services to all residents. The active involvement and participation of the Papuan people still are crucial in building an integrated Papua's Astagatra. By empowering and engaging the local community in decision-making processes and development initiatives; their voices, aspirations, and needs can be effectively addressed in fostering a sense of ownership, inclusion, and unity. By implementing these comprehensive measures, the government aims to address the root causes of separatism in an inclusive and harmonious way to promote the unity, integrity, and development of the region that benefits all its residents and contributes to the overall progress and prosperity of the Indonesian nation.

However, the diverse composition of the nation poses a formidable challenge in terms of unifying and harnessing the strengths of all its constituents. To confront this challenge, the government must assume a central role in countering propagandistic efforts and promoting the morals, ethics, character, and esteemed culture of the nation. This entails nurturing values such as tolerance, consensus-building through deliberation, mutual cooperation, patriotism, nationalism, national vigilance, national insight, and a national perspective grounded in the four fundamental consensuses: the Pancasila ideology, the motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Tanhana Dharmma Mangrva," the 1945 Constitution, and the Unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia.

Pancasila, as an open ideology, maintains its relevance and suitability in addressing the ever-evolving dynamics of Indonesian society, nation, and state for several compelling reasons:

1. As a philosophy, Pancasila embodies a comprehensive conception that places human dignity and worth at its core. It recognizes the significance of human values and their functional role across all aspects of existence.
2. As an ideology, Pancasila encompasses universal values derived from the character and spirit of Indonesia's ancestors. It serves as a moral compass, guiding the nation's future and providing norms, ethics, and a spirit of self-control. It promotes harmony, balance, and unity in communal, national, and state life, based on applicable laws.
3. As the foundation of the state, Pancasila holds a position as an objective norm, the highest norm, and the source of the basic laws of the Republic of Indonesia. Sociologically, it regulates societal life, while ethically and philosophically, it governs personal behavior and the pursuit of truth in nation-building. Pancasila, as the ideal law, encompasses three dimensions: the dimension of reality, rooted in the authentic values of our nation and perceived as the guiding principle of societal existence; the dimension of idealism, shaped by human contemplation and applied in communal life; and the dimension of flexibility, designed to adapt to the evolving dynamics of society and its environment.

Pancasila is characterized by its motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Tan hana Dharma Mangrva," which highlights the unity in diversity and the absence of dual truth except devotion to the homeland and nation. This motto reflects the versatility and adaptability of Pancasila as an ideology that promotes the respect for local customs and cultures, inclusivity, unity, and progress, while also valuing diversity. Pancasila provides a solid foundation for the Indonesian nation, emphasizing the importance of these principles in building a strong and cohesive society.

The objective of this high level propaganda is to win the hearts and minds of the people, which leads to national reconciliation, reconstruction, and integration. To effectively implement white propaganda and national algorithms during the transition from the postmodernism era to the forthcoming era of Metamodernism, the active involvement of the general public is crucial. The social capital held by the general public within their communities plays a significant role and can be harnessed through various means, including collaborative projects, blogs and microblogs, crowdsourcing, and social networking platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, TikTok, Facebook, and WhatsApp. By actively engaging the general public in these initiatives, their collective influence and participation can be utilized to shape a cohesive community and foster a sense of national identity.

Securing victory in warfare is undeniably crucial; however, it is of greater significance to attain such triumph without causing physical harm or casualties. The ultimate goal of victory should be to establish a stable and prosperous state for all members of society. This perspective emphasizes the attainment of strategic victory rather than solely focusing on physical achievements. Following each battle, the desired outcome should involve promoting national reconciliation, facilitating reconstruction efforts, and fostering integration in line with the principle of unity in diversity, as there is no duality in truth, except devotion to the homeland and nation. This approach aims to protect the entire Indonesian populace, enhance the collective well-being, enlightening the life of the nation and contribute to global peace through an approach centered on prosperity and security.

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