The Effectiveness ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC in The Implementation of ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism (ACCT) to Combat Terrorism in Southeast Asia

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Abstract. This research aims to explain the effectiveness of the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) in implementing the ASEAN Convention on Counter-Terrorism (ACCT) to combat terrorism in Southeast Asia. Using qualitative research methods and data collection techniques, literature studies through various scientific works to understand and study the phenomena that will be discussed in this journal. Researchers see the potential and strength possessed by APSC in implementing ACCT in Southeast Asia. However, the existence of the ASEAN Way will complicate the implementation of the ACCT itself. Coupled with evidence on acts of terrorism in the Philippines, ACCT under the auspices of the APSC has not been able to stop the issues. The researcher also examines how each terrorist group ends, presenting that terrorist groups end up using regulation from the country itself through the domestic police, without regulatory interference from international organizations. In conclusion, the APSC has played a crucial role in enhancing regional cooperation and coordination to combat terrorism in Southeast Asia. The establishment of the ACTC and the adoption of common strategies and policies have been significant achievements in the implementation of the ACCT. However, more needs to be done to address the challenges and ensure consistent and effective enforcement of counter-terrorism laws across ASEAN member states.

Keywords: ASEAN Political Security Community, ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism, Terrorism

1. Introduction

In the study of International Relations, there are security theories. One of the security theories discussed about International Relations is non-traditional security theory which covers social, environmental, economic, political and military aspects [1]. Where terrorism is included in the idea of non-traditional

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The 6th International Conference on Business, Economics, Social
Sciences, and Humanities 2023
E-ISSN: 2830-0637

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security or, more specifically, political security. Initially, terrorism was not included in security issues, but over time, especially after 9/11, terrorism became a significant issue faced by all countries. Securitization theory makes the issue of terrorism, which was not originally security issue, an issue that experts consider in international relations [2].

After the 9/11 attacks by the international terrorist organization, Al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda created a new agenda to spread out the network to Southeast Asia. Where members from Al-Qaeda flew to Southeast Asia and started cooperation with local militant groups such as Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) [3]. Both of the terrorist organizations are financed and trained to carry out terror attacks, such as those in the Philippines and Indonesia, which is they can move quickly to other countries in Southeast Asia, such as Thailand, Singapore, and Malaysia. This movement marks the rise of terrorism activities in Southeast Asia, also known as the second wave of terrorism [4].

In addressing terrorism in Southeast Asia, ASEAN created the ASEAN Convention on Counter-Terrorism (ACCT) in 2007. Then, it was not enough because the member countries in ASEAN did not ratify the ACCT designed to address the issue of terrorism. The creation of the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) blueprint in 2009 as a new pillar of ASEAN is listed in the ASEAN Charter. It is expected to create solidarity between ASEAN member countries to overcome problems in the political and security aspects. After the creation of the APSC Blueprint, ASEAN member states gradually ratified the ACCT in the following years. By 2013, all ASEAN members had approved the ACCT [5]. With the ACCT under the auspices of the APSC, implementing the ACCT is expected to address the issue of terrorism in Southeast Asia. However, with the ASEAN Way, the effectiveness of APSC in supporting ACCT can be questioned. This is due to the different mechanisms or approaches each country in the ASEAN region uses in countering terrorism, which unfortunately limits counter terrorism efforts and becomes a common lexicon throughout the region [6].

The purpose of this research is to fulfil the value of the Security Dynamics in Southeast Asia course, to find out the strengths, effectiveness, and challenges that will be faced by APSC, in addition to conducting research journals as material learning. The benefits are follow-up research conducted by previous researchers and research conducted by developing current issues. The author hopes that the research conducted can provide help as a follow-up journal that future researchers regarding to the same phenomenon study.

Researchers used several kinds of literature as references as data in strengthening arguments and getting different perspectives from each journal. Some these articles the first is a journal entitled "ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) on Counter-terrorism: Roles and Obstacles", written by Faruq Arjuna Hendroy [7]. The journal explains how ASEAN is tackling the terrorism movement using ACCT under the auspices of the APSC. This journal also demonstrates the effectiveness of the APSC in implementing ACCT in ASEAN member countries, one of which was in the Philippines in 2011-2013. Then the second journal, entitled "The Dynamics Beyond Counter-Terrorism Measures in the Indo-Pacific", was written by Samti Wira Wibawati, Marina Ika Sari, and Yuli Ari Sulistyani [8]. This journal discusses Indo-Pacific regional cooperation in the economic and security fields. This journal mainly discusses the diplomacy that occurs in the region. However, this journal also discusses the characteristics of the APSC, which can be the centre of the strategic system in tackling terrorism,

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The 6th International Conference on Business, Economics, Social
Sciences, and Humanities 2023
E-ISSN: 2830-0637

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but the authors of this journal question the effectiveness of the APSC itself, given that ASEAN adheres to the ASEAN Way and each country has its regulations in dealing with terrorism.

Then the third journal, entitled "How Terrorist Groups End: Lessons for Countering al-Qaida", written by Seth G. Jones and Martin C. Libicki [9]. The journal explains how terrorist organizations end. The journal explains how military forces, politicization, and the power of domestic police in the country itself stop terrorist organizations. The journal "Waves of Political Terrorism", written by Jeffrey Kaplan, explains how terrorist groups emerge over time, starting with the wave of anarchy, the wave of anti-colonialism, the right-wing wave, and finally, the religious wave, where the spiritual tide is still happening today [10]. The last is a journal entitled "The Role of the ASEAN Convention on Counter Terrorism in Handling Terrorism in the Philippines in the 2011-2013 Period" by Giuliani Agustha Namora. This journal explains a lot about the terrorist acts that occurred in the Philippines in 2013 by the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). This journal also explains the Philippine state's efforts in tackling terrorism movements, one of which is implementing the ASEAN Convention on Counter-Terrorism (ACCT) [11].

After reading approximately six journals as references, researchers concludes that the APSC's implementation of the ACCT can be questioned, considering how an ASEAN Way can reduce the effectiveness of the APSC itself. This then raises a research question regarding the effectiveness of the APSC in tackling terrorism in Southeast Asia through the ACCT.

2. Method

This research uses a qualitative method to find and understand the meaning of the phenomena discussed in this journal. Then, the results are described textually. This research uses a literature review as a research method, such as collecting data through journals or other scientific works related to the topic or phenomenon that is the focus of the Case Study in this journal. If based on the source, researchers use secondary methods, where the data is not obtained directly by the author in the form of archives and documents. The author also uses literature study techniques as a data collection technique through journals and other scientific works related to the phenomena that the author will examine.

3. Results and Discussions

3.1 Terrorism in Southeast Asia

Terrorism is an activity carried out by transnational crime organizations to spread terror to the public with political intentions to change a country's system or order [12]. 9/11 was the starting point for developing a new wave of terrorism, the Religious Wave of Terrorism. Islamic countries are at the heart of this wave [13]. After 9/11, George W. Bush, as President of the United States, declared the Global War on Terror as a form of securitization, where what was originally not a significant security issue became a security issue that must be prioritized [14]. After the attack on the United States, Al-Qaeda then made a new agenda of expanding terrorism networks in various parts of the world, one of which is the Southeast Asian region [15]. In spreading its ideology, Al-Qaeda collaborated with local terrorism organizations such as Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) and Moron Islamic Liberation Front (MILF).

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The 6th International Conference on Business, Economics, Social
Sciences, and Humanities 2023
E-ISSN: 2830-0637

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One example of a terrorist attack occurred in Mindanao, Southern Philippines. The inequality between religions in the Philippines has made several groups fight back and even commit acts of violence and terror. These groups are alleged to have links with JI and Al-Qaeda. The rebellion by the MILF in 2001 resulted in one death, a foreign tourist. Then another example of terrorist attacks is in Indonesia itself. The Bali bombing in 2002 carried out by Jamaah Islamiyah killed 23 people. Then acts of terrorism also occurred in Jakarta in 2016, but unlike in 2002, the international organization that attacked Jakarta was ISIS [16].

3.2 APSC on ACCT Implementation in Southeast Asia

The ASEAN Political-Security Community Blueprint was created in 2009 but was formalized in 2015 as ASEAN's pillar of political and security cooperation. The APSC has three characteristics: (1) Community regulation based on Southeast Asian peoples themselves who have shared values and norms (2) An integrated, stable, safe and solid region is a shared responsibility and comprehensive security (3) A dynamic and cohesive region and interdependence. These three characteristics of the APSC open up opportunities for ASEAN to create a strategic system for tackling and countering terrorism [17].

The establishment of the APSC Blueprint in 2009 can make the ACCT, which was initially not ratified by ASEAN member states, to be ratified, and in 2013, all members ratified the ACCT. This proves the APSC's power in ratifying the ACCT to tackle terrorism in Southeast Asia [18]. Then the ACCT can also demonstrate the ability of APSC in assisting the handling of terrorism in the Philippines in 2011-2013 through information exchange and the provision of capacity building through training and technical cooperation, as well as regular meetings in organizing strategies and action plans [19].

3.3 APSC Effectiveness in Countering Terrorism in Southeast Asia Through ACCT

With the APSC, it is expected to support the ACCT convention created to tackle terrorism that occurs in the Southeast Asian region. However, what needs to be underlined is that implementing ACCT in responding to terrorist movements is only through information exchange providing capacity building through training. ACCT does not directly go to the field and unite military forces in ASEAN member countries in conducting operations against terrorism threats [20]. Just like when ACCT was implemented to combat terrorism in the Philippines in 2011-2013. The implementation of ACCT could not stop the terrorism movement in the Philippines, even though the Philippine government had implemented the procedures provided by ACCT. The movement of terrorism in the Philippines is increasingly chaotic with the development of religious extremist groups that are accomplices of ISIS. It can be said that almost US $600,000 was transferred from ISIS centres in the Middle East to carry out the 2017 terrorist attack in Mawari city that left 1000 people dead. Significantly, the procedures provided by ACCT have not succeeded in reducing the number of terrorist acts in the Philippines. The ASEAN Way principle of 'non-intervention' precludes ASEAN member states from pursuing the option of joint military engagement as other countries have done in combating terrorism in the Middle East [21].

After explaining the three characteristics of the APSC itself, the question arises about how the regulation of the APSC itself runs in ASEAN member countries and adjusts to the national regulations

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The 6th International Conference on Business, Economics, Social
Sciences, and Humanities 2023
E-ISSN: 2830-0637

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in each country. They realize how the regional organization strategy is made and how the threat of terrorism evolves from time to time. To solve the problem of terrorism, APSC should unify all alternative strategies into a comprehensive and strict anti-terrorism regulation that allows all opportunities in bilateral or multilateral stages while still considering sovereignty as a fundamental principle. Moreover, the strategy should not overlap with domestic regulations, where states have more authority than security cooperation regimes and mechanisms. The problem arises when the approach chosen differs between countries and security cooperation mechanisms to deal with terrorism activities. This is what makes the effectiveness of ACCT implementation by APSC decrease [22].

ASEAN has the principle of the ASEAN Way, where a country or regional organization should not interfere in a country's internal affairs and must respect that country's sovereignty. This can also complicate the existing regulations. According to the journal "ASEAN and the development of counter-terrorism law and policy in Southeast Asia", ASEAN regulations are likely to remain weak in the future because ASEAN has many uncertain obligations in the organization. It is conceptually inadequate, and its deterrence is not very effective. The main strength of ASEAN is only providing procedural assistance in investigations and extradition arrangements, similar to how ACCT provides procedures as a program of the APSC pillar in the security field [23].

In addition, the APSC Blueprint does not provide a clear timeline for implementing these provisions. The APSC Blueprint does not offer conditions to regulate how the ASEAN Member States should report on the implementation progress. In addition, the APSC Blueprint will not impose any sanctions or provide any incentives should member states violate or exceed their obligations in the blueprint. The compliance problem is exacerbated by the fact that the APSC Blueprint has low legalization. The standard legal bindingness of the APSC will not result in material consequences for violators [24].

3.4 How the Terrorist Group Ended

Through a book entitled "How Terrorist Groups End: Lessons for Countering al Qaida", the researcher can conclude that the evidence presented in this book shows that most terrorist groups do not end through military force and rarely achieve victory. Instead, terrorist groups end because they adopt non-violent tactics and join the political process or because local law enforcement agencies capture or kill key members. In cases where the terrorist group has minimal objectives, such as policy change, the government may be able to reach an agreement with the group. But where there is no bargaining space to allow the terrorist group back into the political arena. In this book, Jeffey Kaplan argues that domestic policing is most effective in defeating terrorist groups. The police have a permanent presence in towns, cities, and villages; a better understanding of local communities than other security forces; and better intelligence. This allows them to be best suited to understand and penetrate terrorist networks [25].

In this regard, ASEAN, through the APSC and ACCT conventions, should pay attention to stimuli; the decision-making processes that utilize these stimuli to arrive at a decision; the actual behaviour that subsequently occurs; the influence of various institutional settings on attention, processing, and behaviour; and the influence of other variables of interest on attention, processing, and behaviour.

3.5 Challenges Faced by the APSC of Countering Terrorism in Southeast Asia Through the Future

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The 6th International Conference on Business, Economics, Social
Sciences, and Humanities 2023
E-ISSN: 2830-0637

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ACCT Convention

In the future, APSC will face many security challenges, such as terrorism. Terrorism can also lead to other issues, such as money laundering, human trafficking, drug trafficking and bank break-ins. Terrorism groups need funds to carry out their actions. In addition to data provided by international terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda or ISIS, terrorism groups seek data through the abovementioned issues. In addition to monitoring and combating the threat of terrorism, APSC must also monitor the funding that flows within the terrorist group, especially if the financing is through drug trafficking, bank robbery, money laundering and human trafficking [26].

Another challenge that the APSC must face is the advancement of sophisticated technology, where terrorism can carry out Cyber Terrorism and hacking that terrorists can also carry out. The author sees an opportunity that hacking carried out by terrorism has the potential to become a major threat because these terrorists can steal and learn technology developed in other countries to carry out attacks. Terrorism also propagates and spreads its radical ideas through social media. With the development of the times and the growth of globalization, it will be easier for terrorism to spread its ideas to the world community. Terrorism also sometimes conducts its recruitment through social media platforms. Mass media also spreads terrorism faster and constructs the fear that terrorists deliberately create.

Challenges also come from ASEAN itself regarding procedures and regulations hindered by the ASEAN Way principle of non-intervention. APSC will find it challenging to implement ACCT in ASEAN member states, where policies and regulations overlap [27].

4. Conclusion

After 9/11, the international terrorist organization, Al-Qaeda made a new agenda to expand its terrorist network worldwide, one of which is in Southeast Asia. Al-Qaeda members flew to Southeast Asia and created cooperation with local militant groups such as Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) [28]. Both terrorist organizations are financed and trained to carry out terror attacks, such as those in the Philippines and Indonesia, which can then move quickly to other countries in Southeast Asia, such as Thailand, Singapore, and Malaysia. This movement marks the rise of terrorism activities in Southeast Asia, also known as the second wave of terrorism.

ASEAN then created the ASEAN Convention on Counter-Terrorism (ACCT) in 2007 to combat terrorism in Southeast Asia. However, the convention was not ratified by ASEAN member states. Then ASEAN created the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) Blueprint in 2009. A year after the creation of the APSC, little by little, ASEAN member states ratified it, and then, in 2013, all ASEAN members successfully signed the convention. The APSC has three characteristics: (1) A regulatory community based on Southeast Asian peoples themselves who share common values and norms (2) An integrated, stable, secure and robust region of shared responsibility and comprehensive security (3) A dynamic and cohesive region of interdependence. These three characteristics of the APSC open up opportunities for ASEAN to create a strategic system for tackling and countering terrorism.

In implementing ACCT under the auspices of APSC, ACCT provides procedural assistance to ASEAN countries facing the threat of terrorism by exchanging information and providing capacity

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The 6th International Conference on Business, Economics, Social
Sciences, and Humanities 2023
E-ISSN: 2830-0637

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building through training. However, ACCT does not directly go to the field and unite military forces in ASEAN member countries in conducting operations against terrorism threats [29]. Just like when ACCT was implemented to combat terrorism in the Philippines in 2011-2013. The implementation of ACCT could not stop the terrorism movement in the Philippines, even though the Philippine government had implemented the procedures provided by ACCT.

After seeing the implementation of ACCT, APSN is considered to have failed in stopping the terrorism movement in the Philippines. The effectiveness of APSC regulations and procedures in the ACCT is questionable because the effectiveness of APSC is considered poor for various reasons, one of which is because of the ASEAN Way. The principle of non-intervention adopted by ASEAN member states complicates the ACCT procedure. The APSC should unify all alternative strategies into a comprehensive and strict anti-terrorism regulation that allows all opportunities on a bilateral or multilateral stage while still considering sovereignty as a fundamental principle. In addition, the strategy should not overlap with domestic regulations, where states have more authority than security cooperation regimes and mechanisms. The problem arises when the approach chosen differs between countries and security cooperation mechanisms to deal with terrorism activities. This is what makes the effectiveness of ACCT implementation by APSC decrease.

Then APSC also has to face challenges such as advanced globalization, where terrorism is easier to spread ideas. APSC also faces various other issues, such as money laundering, human trafficking, and drug trafficking, as a result of terrorism itself because to carry out terrorist acts, funds are needed to fulfil the operation.

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The 6th International Conference on Business, Economics, Social
Sciences, and Humanities 2023
E-ISSN: 2830-0637

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