THE REASONING BEHIND THE PHILIPPINE'S STRATEGY TO COMBAT GLOBAL TERRORISM UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT RODRIGO DUTERTE (2016-2018)

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ABSTRACT
Since 2014, the Islamic State has emerged as one of the deadliest threats to world peace and security, as evidenced by the increasing number of terrorist attacks carried out by IS worldwide, and the number of fatalities caused by these attacks.IS established its strongholds in Iraq and Syria and is determined to create a global caliphate through the creation of IS *wilayats* across the world. In 2016, IS began to weaken and lose territory in the Middle East which resulted in it strengthening its power in Southeast Asia by forming a *wilayat* in the Southern Philippines.The presence of IS in the Philippines has been perceived as a national security threat in the country. President Rodrigo Duterte has formulated a national strategy to combat global terrorism in the country. This study aims to determine the strategy to eradicate global terrorism in the Philippines and explain the considerations behind the formation of that strategy. This research uses neoclassical realist perspective with major concepts named national security, national interests, terrorism, and counterterrorism. The methodology used is a qualitative descriptive research methodology that provides detailed explanations and a thorough analysis. The results of this study found five strategies to eradicate global terrorism in the Philippines, namely the importance of using military force, supported by strengthening laws on terrorism, security alliances, social rehabilitation, and regional cooperation. Furthermore, the existence of these strategies derives from three main reasons, namely the increasing prevalence of IS in the Philippines, the siege of Marawi, and maritime security in the tri-border area.
Keywords: National Security, National Strategy, Global Terrorism, Islamic State, the Philippines.

ABSTRAK
Sejak tahun 2014, Islamic State muncul sebagai salah satu ancaman paling mematikan bagi keamanan dan perdamaian dunia, dibuktikan dengan meningkatnya jumlah serangan terorisme yang dilakukan oleh IS di seluruh dunia, diikuti dengan banyaknya korban jiwa yang disebabkan oleh serangan-serangan tersebut. Kelompok teroris internasional ini berbasis di Iraq dan Syria dan bertujuan untuk membangun khilafah global melalui pembentukan wilayat-wilayat yang tersebar di seluruh dunia. Pada tahun 2016, kondisi IS mulai melemah dan mulai kehilangan daerah kekuasaannya di Timur Tengah sehingga mendesak IS untuk memperkuat kekuatannya di Asia Tenggara dengan membentuk wilayat di Filipina Selatan. Kehadiran IS di Filipina telah dinyatakan sebagai ancaman bagi kemanan nasional. Pemerintah Filipina di bawah pemerintahan Presiden Rodrigo Duterte merumuskan strategi keamanan nasional untuk memberantas ancaman terorisme global di negara tersebut. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui strategi pemberantasan terorisme global Filipina tersebut dan menjelaskan pertimbangan-pertimbangan di balik pembentukan strategi tersebut. Perspektif yang digunakan ialah neoklasikal realis dengan konsep-konsep seperti keamanan nasional, kepetingan negara, terorisme, dan kontra-terorisme. Metodologi yang digunakan adalah metodologi penelitian deskriptif kualitatif yang memberikan penjelasan detil serta analisis yang menyeluruh. Hasil penelitian ini menemukan adanya lima strategi pemberantasan terorisme global di Filipina yaitu keutamaan penggunaan kekuatan militer, didukung dengan penguatan hukum mengenai terorisme, aliansi keamanan, rehabilitasi sosial, dan kerjasama regional. Selanjutnya, keberadaan startegi-strategi ini derangkat dari tiga asalan utama yaitu meningkatnya prevalensi IS di Filipina, pengepungan Kota Marawi, dan keamanan maritim di tri-border area.
Kata Kunci: Keamanan Nasional, Strategi Nasional, Terorisme Global, Islamic State, Filipin

Background

For over the past twenty years, the world has been dealing with a new level of security threats that affect the lives of thousands of people as well as states in the world. The attack on of World Trade Center twin towers in New York and the Pentagon on September 11, 2011 by Al-Qaeda terrorist group, revived the international awakening of combating terrorism particularly after the United States (U.S.) called for global campaign on "war on terror" (Castro, 2004). Terrorism, categorized as a non-traditional security, is defined as a threat or violence attack on random or symbolic targets including civilians which involves political aims and motives, designed to generate climate of extreme fear in a target audience that extends beyond the immediate victims of the violence. The act of terrorism usually being done by individuals, groups, or states (Lutz & Lutz, 2004).

The U.S initiative of "war on terror" not only influences U.S. foreign policy, security policy, and public opinion toward terrorism, but also contributes to the evolve of modern international terrorism agreements and conventions. In October 2004, the United Nation Security Council (UNSC) passed Resolution 1566 on threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist act (United Nations Security Council, 2004). Shortly after the 9/11 attack, the Council passed Resolution 1368 on the day after, declaring that 9/11 was 'a threat to international peace and security' and that is willing to take 'all necessary steps to respond to the attacks' (UNSC, 2004). In the twentieth-century, Al-Qaeda terrorist group was very prominent because it had established a wide terrorist network across the world. However, after the incident of 9/11, this terrorist group became weakened since the death of Osama Bin Laden (Lutz, 2004). Unfortunately, the decline of Al-Qaeda from global terrorism power gives rise to another global security threat known as 'Islamic State' (IS).

IS has announced its presence on the international scene on 2014 when they successfully seized large territory in Syria and Iraq (British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC], 2015). Moreover, IS was known with some different names such as ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria), ISIL (Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant), and Daesh (Irshaid, 2015). The use of "Islamic State" depicts their global ambitions to establish caliphate and to upholds Syariah law all over the world.

IS declaration of itself as a state is designed to promote it as an Islamic caliphate and its leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, as the caliph (Ganor, 2015). Further, it upholds an ideology of waging offensive jihad to establish God's rule on earth (*Hakimiyya*). To IS, all of the 'crusaders', 'disbelievers' or 'apostates' have to be defeated. In the propaganda magazine of IS called *Dabiq,* it has declared:

> *The flag of Khilāfah will rise over Makkah and al-Madīnah, even if the apostates and hypocrites despise such. The flag of Khilāfah will rise over Baytul-Maqdis and Rome, even if the Jews and Crusaders despise such. The shade of this blessed flag will expand until it covers all eastern and western extents of the Earth, filling the world with the truth and justice of Islam and putting an end to the falsehood and tyranny of jāhiliyyah, even if America and its coalition despise such…(Dabiq Magazine, 2014)*

Based on the statistical data provided by 'National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism', IS has shown a serious threat to global security due to the increasing numbers of attacks worldwide along with the mass of casualties brought by the attacks.

Figure 1. 1 IS' Attacks Worldwide 2014-2017
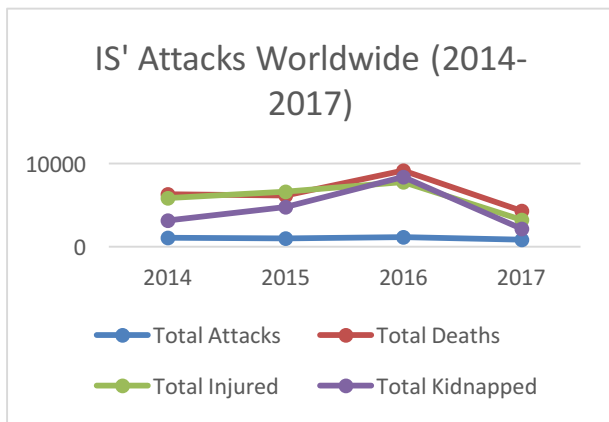
Derived from the data above, the highest point of IS activities happened in 2016 with total of 1,153 attacks worldwide, increased by 18,99 percent from 969 of total attacks in 2015. (National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses [START], 2017). The total deaths caused by IS also has significantly increased by 48,59 percent with total deaths of 9,180 in 2016 from 6,178 in 2015. Furthermore, there was an increasing number of the total injured from 6,608 people in 2015 to 7,789 people in 2016, with an increase of 17,87 percent. Lastly, the most significant increase of IS activities in 2016 was the total kidnapped with 8,391 hostages in 2016, increased by 74,63 percent from 4,805 in 2015 (START, 2017).

The number of attacks attributed to IS outside of Iraq and Syria increased 80%, from 44 in 2015 to 79 in 2016. This does not include attacks attributed to other organizations that have pledged allegiance to IS (START, 2017). Beyond Iraq and Syria, IS and perpetrator groups that have pledged allegiance to IS carried out attacks in more than 20 different countries.

This shocking reality amplifies that IS as global security threat. Moreover, in expanding its ideology and propaganda all over the world, IS utilizes the sophisticated use of the internet and social networks such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram to reach vast audiences while evading censorship. They skillfully produce intimidating videos that full of vicious terrorist attacks in which have intensified IS' influence (Ganor, 2015).

Nevertheless, three months after the declaration of its caliphate, IS appears to be crumbling down and losing some of its territory in Iraq and Syria, revenue degradation, and has dropped the number of foreign fighters joining IS, from 2,000 recruits every month to less than 50 which makes IS has to contend with desertions and fighting between foreign and local fighters (Griff & McAuley, 2016). They are now facing ferocious attacks from a coalition of 67 countries led by the U.S. on the one hand and Russia and Iran on the other, and is now in retreat (Siyech, 2016).

Figure 1. 2 Comparison of IS-controlled Territory in Syria

In October 2014, the radical Islamist group controlled the central Syria all the way to the outskirts of Baghdad therefore IS territory in Syria and Iraq was at its maximum (see Figure 1.2). However, the map showed in 2017 that IS had lost large of its territory and now is only limited to the sparsely inhabited border territories between Iraq and Syria (Kranz & Gould, 2017). Although IS is facing great territory losses in the Middle East, the threat remains challenging. According to UN research, there is still up to 300,000 of IS fighters in Iraq and Syria (McKernan, 2018).

IS remains committed to its operating slogan of "remaining and expanding", fighting to retain control of existing territories or recover lost ones, and declaring provinces where there is substantial local support. IS has been clear about this intention to turn to Southeast Asia as one of its major sites for operations where more than 60 groups have pledged allegiance to IS, along with IS declaration of establishing *wilayat* in the Southern Philippines (Munos & Taylor, 2017).

Since 2016, many of IS strongholds in the Iraq and Syria were taken down by the local government and coalition attacks. Thus, this indicates that IS influence in the Iraq and Syria is lessened and becoming weaker (Gunaratna & Hornell-Scott, 2017). As the situation goes on, it has driven IS to seek for another potential region to be declared as its new stronghold that possess political instability and lack of governmental infrastructure. Until June 2016, the IS central announced to declare the Southern Philippines as its *wilayat* in the Southeast Asia.

The Philippines is an archipelago of more than seven thousand islands which consists of variety of ethnic, tribal, and religious group. It is the twelfth most populated country in the world with population of more than a hundred and five million. Demographically speaking, Philippines' ethnic is fragmented as more than one-fourth of the Philippines population does not belong to any of the country's six largest ethnic groups (Watts et al., 2014). Today around 81% of the country's citizens are Roman Catholic Christians. Of the remaining people, 11% are from other Christian denominations and around 5.6% are Muslim, mainly based in the southwest area of the country (World Population Review, 2018).

Furthermore, the Philippines has undergone long history of Islamic militancy began with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) that demanded for greater autonomy from the central government in Manila. In 1990, after several split and splintering within MNLF, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) continued to commit insurgency throughout the Southern Philippines (Patrick & Collin, 2017). There are others several terrorist organizations that are listed by the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) such as; New People's Army (NPA), Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), Maute Group, the Rajah Soliaman Revolutionary Movement, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), the Bangsamoro Islamic Freedom Fighters (BIFF), and Ansar Khilafah Philippines (AKP) (Fabe, 2013).

Since IS declaration of the caliphate, many of domestic terrorist groups in the Philippines pledged allegiance to IS. The terrorist group has expanded its reach to the region of Southeast Asia particularly to the Southern Philippines, marked by the raised of black flag of IS in the city of Marawi on May 23, 2017 (Griffiths, 2017). Not only that, there is rising number of attacks perpetrated by IS-affiliated groups across Mindanao which caused many of people died.

The Southern Philippines is the only part of the Philippines archipelago with a sizable Muslim population, since at least the 1970s and the government has battled for decades with multiple rebel groups fighting for an separate Islamic state in the South (McKerdy & Berlinger, 2017). However, the attack in Marawi did not necessarily committed by IS alone but also IS-affiliated terrorists group that came from Philippines' domestic terrorist group, other terrorists group in Southeast Asia, and incoming foreign terrorists.

Figure 1.3 Philippines' Terrorism Index

According to the Philippines Terrorism Index, the terrorism index in Philippines increased to 7.13 in 2016 from 7.10 in 2015 (see Figure 1.1). The average is 6.65 from 2002 until 2016, reaching an all-time high of 7.27 in 2014 (Trading Economics, 2018). Surprisingly, the Philippines ranks 12 out of 162 countries worst affected by terrorism, according to the Institute for Economics and Peace's Global Terrorism Index for 2014 (Guzman, 2016). By the data shown, it depicts the emerging threat of the terrorism, particularly coming with the presence of IS in the Philippines which conducts attacks on government forces, and bombings in the country.

Considering the casualties and fatalities caused by the IS-affiliated activities in the Philippines, their existence become a threat to national security of the country as well as endanger the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. Also, the fragile location of the Southern Philippines known as the tri-porous borders, provides ease movement for terrorists to travel and infiltrate the Southern Philippines. In the other words, the Southern Philippines could be a fertile ground for the IS to executes its mission as well as recruiting people to fight with them.

As the response of this national security threat, the government of the Philippines under President Rodrigo Duterte utilizes the military power as the front line of strategy to combat global terrorism. By recognizing the real threat of global terrorism in the country, the government reinforces its rule of law regarding terrorism act. Also, taking into account its alliance with the U.S., the government of the Philippines strengthens its counter-terrorism cooperation with the country. Moreover, in the regional cooperation, the government enhances its cooperation with Indonesia and Malaysia to tackle the issue of maritime security in the Sulu-Sulawesi Seas.

Regarding the explanation above, there is an urgency to study on the national strategy of the Philippines to combat global terrorism, and the reasoning behind those strategies. Not only that IS will expand its influences in the Philippines to turn the Southern Philippines into its *wilayat,* but also the growing threat of IS in the Philippines presents a regional and international threat that needs to be addressed promptly. Hence, there is an urgency for the government of the Philippines to eradicate the threat with a solid and manageable counter-terrorism strategy.

However, there is still lack of resources or researches that discuss about the strategy of the Philippine under the administration of President Rodrigo Duterte to combat global terrorism, and particularly the reasoning behind those strategies.

This research aims to know the strategies to combat global terrorism in the Philippines under the administration of President Rodrigo Duterte and to describe the reasoning behind the formulation of the strategy. The following is the research question: "What are the reasonings behind the Philippines' strategy to combat global terrorism under the administration of President Rodrigo Duterte?"

Literature Review

To give a fundamental understanding of this study and to achieve the objectives of this research, the literature review will be classified into four categories which are the history and development of global terrorism, national strategy to combat global terrorism, the history

and development of Philippine's national strategy to combat global terrorism, and the national strategy of the Philippines to combat global terrorism under the administration of President Rodrigo Duterte.

The Nature of Global Terrorism and the Development of Global Counter- terrorism

The 9/11 tragedy convinced the world that terrorism had been a significant problem to international peace and security. Considering the complexity of terrorism itself, terrorism is perceived as a threat to the environment, human rights violation, in which it represents a global phenomenon (Carberry, 1999). The complexity of terrorism is elaborated comprehensively in the book of 'Global Terrorism'. Terrorism is defined as follows:

> Terrorism involves political aims and motives. It is violent or threatens violence. It is designed to generate fear in a target audience that extends beyond the immediate victims of the violence. The violence is conducted by an identifiable organization. The violence involves a non-state actor or actor as either the perpetrator, the victim of the violence, or both. Finally, the acts of violence are designed to create power in situations in which power previously had been lacking (i.e. the violence attempt to enhance the power base of the organization undertaking the action (Lutz & Lutz, 2004).

According to Carberry (1999), there are three global nature of terrorism. First, terrorism is not limited to any one region, one state, or jurisdiction; but the impact goes beyond one designated area. Second, the advancement of terrorists' mobility to cross borders. Third, the victims of terrorist attacks might be varied and not necessarily even member of the same state (Carberry, 1999). Renato Castro De Cruz understands the nature of global terrorism as "threat without threateners." (Castro, 2004).

In the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attack, states agree that international

cooperation and global movement are required in combating this issue. Therefore, the post 9/11 world has been actively developing and pursuing its counter-terrorism strategy. An article by Michael Stohl about global terrorism explains Global War on Terrorism as the first global respond and the U.S.' strategy to combat global terrorism. This strategy focused on the use of military power through the launching of Operational Enduring Freedom in 2001 and later the attack on Iraq by the deployment of Operation Iraqi Freedom in 2003 (Stohl, 2008). This article presents a critique to the U.S.' counter-terrorism strategy that opted a war-fighting strategy rather than criminal justice approach to counter-terrorism. Stohl (2008) argues that the Bush administration's counter-terrorism strategy had to be more likely as a s state repression in states.

> But what has not been examined closely is the relationship between these choices and the subsequent increase in both human rights violations and state repression in states that the U.S. has recruited into its War on Terror.

Other examples of counter-terrorism strategy in general, in addition to the use of military, are from functionalist approach and cyber counter-terrorism. In his article, De Cruz concludes that the best strategy to counter-terrorism is through cooperative security or functionalist approach rather than military mode. Taking the example of the U.S. approach to Southeast Asia after the 9/11, the functionalist approach emphasized on giving support to other states' counter-terrorism program, intelligence sharing, law-enforcement cooperation, initiating poverty alleviation measures, and institutionalizing international economic reforms (Castro, 2004). In addition to that, Stohl shows the actual implementation of De Cruz's argument through Global Coalition Against Terrorism by the U.S. which provide significant diplomatic

assistance to their partners in the coalition building (Stohl, 2008).

Rohan Gunaratna argues that the best way to counter-terrorism is through strategic counter-terrorism. He emphasizes the core of strategic counter-terrorism through the community engagement to build social resilience and counter extremism and rehabilitation and reintegration to deradicalize terrorist and extremists (Gunaratna, 2017). This article proposes that strategic counter-terrorism, alternately referred to as countering violent extremism (CVE), could assist in preventing the radicalization of those who are vulnerable.

Moreover, I found an interesting article which discuss about the use of internet as a tool for counter-terrorism. The advancement of technology also greatly influences the development of global terrorism as of now the world has witnessed the growing use of the internet by terrorists in spreading ideology. According to Lewis, the internet facilitates global terrorism for a basis planning, command, control, and communication among their organizational structure; and is primarily uses if for propaganda (Lewis, 2005).

Despite the development of counter-terrorism strategies, these efforts remain hindered by several reasons such as states' varying definition of terrorism, differing international legal system, and conflicting conceptions of the proper role of government (Carberry, 1999). Carberry (1999) argues that the global terrorism threat must compel states to look beyond its national border and national interest to be more cooperative with other states' policies. Through this, a better integration, uniformity, and harmonization can be fully achieved.

Since 2014, the world is facing the newly global threat known as IS. In the first half of 2016, it dominated the global threat scene by escalating its attacks in North America, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, the Caucasus and Asia (Gunaratna, 2016). According to Hudson, although IS has managed to build its global terrorism network, it has lost 47 percent of its territory in Iraq and Syria, and is under several pressure by coalition attacks (Hudson, 2016). Likewise, Rohan Gunaratna reveals that the threat of IS remains challenging because IS still committed to its operating slogan "remaining and expanding", and need to be taken into account its expansion to declare a *wilayat* in the southern part of the Philippines as its caliphate in Southeast Asia (Gunaratna, 2016).

He ends the article by providing four recommendations to counter the global terrorism threat by IS. First, he argues that the center of gravity of terrorism is ideology, thus the Arab and Muslim world should promote tolerance and moderation among vulnerable segments of the Muslim communities. Second, there is a need of global leadership to counter-terrorism, thus the major power should collaborate to build military, intelligence, economic and strategic communication capabilities. Third, the promotion of inter-religious harmony and social cohesion is very important to prevent terrorist from spreading disunity and rupture in the society. Lastly, Gunaratna successfully explains that IS growing activities in the cyber space should be dismantled with partnership between government and technology firms and service providers (Gunaratna, 2016). Thus, Gunaratna's article completes the Lewis' writing about *The Internet and Terrorism* by providing a more comprehensive recommendation on how government and non-governmental organization can collaborate to counter-cyber-terrorism.

Neighboring Countries National Strategy

The previous category presents a broader and deeper understanding about the nature of global terrorism and the development of global counter-terrorism strategy. In fact, some of

academics and practitioners also contributes to excellent general recommendations that can be done by states in regard with counter-terrorism strategy. Hereinafter, I will elaborate in a more specific way counter-terrorism strategy that had been used by countries such as India and Australia. This category aims to provide a review of states' national strategy to combat global terrorism that in the future might become consideration or option for the Philippines' government to combat global terrorism. I have compiled some significant articles discussing about the implementation of national strategy to combat global terrorism, in which can be divided into two strategy: global strategy and national strategy.

In an article written by Puroshotham and Prasad, there is an in-depth discussion about how India improved its strategies to combat and counter-terrorism through its global counter-terrorism strategy. The global effort of India to counter-terrorism is adopted from Global Counter Terrorism Strategy issued by UN in 2006, in which all member states gave their signatures. The global instrument to counter-terrorism contains wide array of measures ranging from strengthening state capacity to counter terrorist threats to better coordinating United Nations System's counter terrorism activities (Puroshatham & Prasad, 2009). This article suggests the five-d-strategies to demolish global terrorism: Dissuasion, Denying, Deterring, Developing, Defending. In brief, the effort to counter-terrorism should involve active participations for governments, UN, and the private sector, by sending firm message that terrorism is unacceptable in any form thus all acts of terrorism should be eradicated.

On its national strategy, this article criticizes that India still has weak intelligence gathering and weak preventive measure (from Parliament to Judiciary) in combating global terrorism. However, there is merely a few articles that discuss about the national strategy

of India to counter-terrorism but rather provide suggestions on how to improve India's national strategy to counter-terrorism. Puroshotham and Prasad (2009) suggest that in order to have a strong counter-terrorism strategy in India, it should have firm national policy makers to create deterrent effect to terrorist. Also, it requires efficient and reliable intelligence system along with effective intercourse between the security forces of the country and its intelligence agency. Moreover, there is a need of high-level anti-terrorist squad which would have its branch in every state and trained taskforce for handling the situation after terrorist attack.

As for Australia, an article titled 'Degrading and Managing Risk: Assessing Australia's Counter-terrorist Strategy' by Andrew O'Neil questions if Australia has a coherent strategy with its counter-terrorism approach. On the global scale, Australia is more leaning to the American-led campaign on Global War on Terrorism. O'Neil (2007) argues that,

Australia has seriously compromised its capacity to counter terrorist threats by becoming too closely involved in supporting the American-led 'global war on terrorism' and associated (mis)adventures, especially the invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003.

By this means, O'Neil claims that the Howard government has acted directly against Australia's interests by increasing the terrorist threat through the irrational pursuit of closer ties with the U.S.

On the other hand, Australia's national strategy for counter-terrorism is incorporated within these three pillars: domestic legislation, intelligence, and regional assistance and engagement. Its domestic legislation had been focusing on the draft of anti-terrorist legislation and amendments to existing Acts passed since 2001 (O'Neil, 2007). Besides domestic legislation, Howard administration fully optimistic with the Australian

Intelligence Community (AIC) as the 'front end' of Australia's counter-terrorist strategy. As part of its national strategy, Australia tighten its relationship with Southeast Asia's countries to counter-terrorism included expanded intelligence exchanges with consentient states, particularly Singapore, the Philippines, and Thailand, as well as enhanced cooperation with Indonesian authorities in bolstering joint investigative and forensic evaluation techniques (O'Neil, 2007). Moreover, the most momentous initiative under Howard administration is the creation of the National Counter-Terrorism Committee (NCTC), two weeks after the Bali bombings. The government claims NCTC as 'an effective nationwide counter-terrorism capability' and ensuring the sharing of 'relevant intelligence and information between agencies and jurisdictions.

The explanation above depicts the dynamic of the national counter-terrorism strategies of India and Australia as it is following the global situation of terrorism and the relevance to their domestic situation. Also, those strategies highlight the importance of strong intelligence system of the state and intercourse of security forces, agencies, and jurisdiction to create an effective national counter-terrorism strategy.

The National Strategy of The Philippines to Combat Global Terrorism Under the Administration of President Rodrigo Duterte.

Many articles have discussed about the history of terrorism in the Philippines and the national counter-terrorism strategy in the Philippines. However, only few have mentioned about the growing activities of global terrorism in the Philippines and the national counter-terrorism strategy of the Philippines under President Rodrigo Duterte. Therefore, the following review intends to elaborate literature of the current global terrorism activities in the country and how the Duterte's administration responds to it.

In regard to global terrorism in the Philippines, most of studies have discussed Mindanao as the most critical region used as the terrorist's sanctuary in Southeast Asia. Ins his article, Collier discusses the growing role of Mindanao as the regional terrorist crossroads and as the weakest link in the entire regional counter-terrorist effort (Collier, 2006). Further, more complete exposure about global terrorism activities in the Philippines has been discussed in two articles titled 'Southeast Asia Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Thailand, Singapore, Online Extremism, and Assessing the Feasibility of a *Wilayah Mindanao*', which highlight the presence of IS in Southeast Asia, especially when IS militants managed to capture control of parts of Marawi City in Mindanao in 2017 (Habulan et al., 2018).

Some articles reveal the strategy of IS to penetrate the Southern Philippines is through propaganda called "The Solid Structure" in which inviting sympathizers in Southeast Asia, stating: "If you cannot go to [Syria], join up and go to the Philippines" (Habulan et al., 2018). IS also promotes Mindanao to be a permanent haven for foreign fighters or to be the caliphate of IS in Southeast Asia (Franco, 2017). Another reason of why the Southern Philippines becomes a fertile ground for IS-affiliated terrorists and rising foreign fighters are because of its strategic location as the porous borders in the tri-border area between the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia that has facilitated the easy movement of jihadists to travel undetected from one country to another (Gunaratna, 2017). In order to deter the Philippines to be transformed into IS global caliphate, through her article, Angelica Habulan suggests that the Southeast Asian nations need to work together to counter such narratives through collective CVE and policy-based initiatives promoting tolerance,

moderation and coexistence (Habulan et al., 2018).

The urgency to discuss more about the issue of global terrorism in the Philippines is not fully supported by the availability of information regarding the current national counter-terrorism strategy of the Philippines under Duterte's administration. Surprisingly, I only found an article related with this issue. An article by Joseph Franco discussing the national counter-terrorism strategy of President Rodrigo Duterte which emphasizes the use of intelligence-driven and peace talks negotiation through the Mindanao Peace Process. Through that peace process, the government is making sure that the draft Bangsamoro Basic Law passes into law (Franco, 2017). Also, the government is now focusing on rebuilding Marawi after the catastrophe result from IS attack known as "The Battle of Marawi". At the end, this article concludes that Duterte should immediately formulate a nationwide CVE that brings together civilian and military stakeholders as an effective national counter-terrorism against global terrorism in the Philippines.

Theoretical Review

In conducting its counter-terrorism strategy, the Philippines is focusing its effort to the AFP (military power), declaring martial law, strengthening the criminal justice system, peace-building efforts of the government (Government of Philippines, 2017). These strategies reflect that the state is the central and therefore, the most relevant perspective of International Relations to understand this issue is through the lenses of realism.

Realism

The focal point of realism lies on the debates over state's national security and foreign policy. Realism argues that the priority of state is the state's national interests in which whatever enhances or preserves a state's

security, its influence, and its military and economic power (Rourke, 2009).

There are six basic shared features that identify realist theory. First, realist believe that the international system exists in a state of anarchy in which there is no entity more powerful than states and because of that there is lack of authority in international system and thus the international system is depicted as an arena of struggle for power (Goldstein & Pevhouse, 2009). Second, power is the defining feature of the international environment and that states are to act in an anarchic world through self-help to achieve their national interests (Collins, 2016). Third, realism regards states as unitary actors, meaning that the choices and strategies taken represents the state as a whole. Fourth, realism sees states as rational actors. Fifth, realism defines that states assess each other in terms of their power and capabilities. Sixth, realists see states as the key actors in the international system and argues that international institutions play less important role than states.

Following the various type of realism, I decided to use Neoclassical Realism as the theoretical foundation of this research because the theory can be best explained the relation between state's national security strategy through the means of military power toward potential threat, particularly the threat coming from non-state actor. This not only influences the states' domestic behavior, but also their behavior in the international system in term of the foreign policy.

National Security

In the book titled *Politik Global,* Jemadu argues that the concept of national security remains highly related with the use of military threat in solving disputes between international actors (Jemadu, 2017). Moreover, Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde (1998), proposed a study analysis for security that maintains the priority of military

aspect in defining the concept of national security as response to development of security studies in globalized world. There are three criteria for certain issue to be categorized as "security threat", that are it is an existential threat (which is anything that questions the recognition, legitimacy, or governing authority), an emergency policy needed to solve the issue, and the conduct of mechanism outside of political procedure in normal situation. The security concept is therefore being revised and broadened to include sectors such as economic, environmental, transnational issue and societal developments.

Given an example, there is a plague of bird flu spreading rapidly across the country. In this context, this disease becomes national security issue because it rises 'existential threat' (Jemadu, 2017). Similar thing with the issue of terrorism, realists tend to assume that terrorism is an existential threat and of that the military can handle the threat for the sake of national security (Nincic, 1992). Therefore, the concept of national security will help us to analyze how the Philippines responds to a national threat (existential threat) that comes from non-state actor (terrorist group) with the utilization of military power.

Nevertheless, the issue of national security cannot be discussed comprehensively without taking into account the national interest of the state. Miroslav Nincic (1992) introduces three principles that should be fulfilled in order to interpret national interest. First, the interest must be vital to the state and the achievement should be the priority for the government and the people. Second, the interest should be related with international affairs, or affected by it. Third, the interest should be beyond the interests of particular groups but belong to the whole people of the state. Moreover, realism describes national interest as the state interest's as a unitary actor which emphasizes its national power to preserve national security and survival of that

state (Jemadu, 2017). Given the understanding, the connection between national security and national interest can be described that national security means military power capable of protecting national interests. Sam C. Sarkesian (1989) provides definition which show the important relation between national security and national interest, as follows:

> The confident held by the great majority of the nation's people that the nation has the military capability and effective policy to prevent its adversaries from effectively using force in preventing the nation's pursuit of its national interest.

Terrorism and Counter-terrorism

As mentioned above, Neoclassical Realism acknowledges potential threat to the state which comes from non-state actors. This research will emphasize the state's strategy in facing potential threat coming from non-state actors named global terrorism.

A. Terrorism

By any means, the conduct of terrorism can never be justified. Before discussing the objectives of terrorism, it is important to establish some keywords of terrorism act (Sarkesian, 1989): 1) Violence; 2) Carried out by individuals, non-governmental organizations, or covert governments agents or units; 3) Target civilians; 4) Uses clandestine attack methods, such as car bombs and hijacked airliners; 5) Attempts to influence politics. Rourke (2009) argues that the objectives of terrorism is not merely about killing and wounding people or destroying physical material. Beyond that, terrorism aims to create fear in a civilian population in order to use its discontent as leverage on national government or other parties to a conflict (Goldstein, 2009).

Although the conduct of terrorism is seen as similar, it should be distinct between domestic terrorism and international terrorism. Domestic terrorism is the attacks by local

nationals within their country against a purely domestic target for domestic reasons. However, international terrorism defines as terrorists attacking a foreign target, either their own country or abroad (Rourke, 2009).

Moreover, many scholars had studied about the underlying factors that have been theorized to contribute to the existence of terrorism into three factors: political, economy, and changes brought by globalization. In the book of 'Global Terrorism' by Lutz & Lutz (2004), it explains that terrorism rises from dissidents who are not satisfied with the current government and demand for political changes. Government repression to some groups can also generate violent struggle to overthrow the regime. Further, Lutz argues that economic globalization has caused unequal distribution of wealth and this have fueled frustrations within states that can breed terrorism. Lastly, modernization and globalization bring changes into the structure of values and norms, including religion as a belief system. As globalization greatly marks with western culture and values, those are seen as threatening to local religions and cultures which indirectly contributing to terrorism.

B. Counter-terrorism

The threat of terrorism should be contended by state through some of counter-terrorism techniques included: 1) Security and Intelligence; 2) Law Enforcement; 3) Military; 4) Judicial; 5) Diplomatic; and 6) Political Cooperation. In the book of 'Combating Terrorism', Gunaratna mentions that the exchange of information between security and intelligence services across the world has been the oldest form of counter-terrorism techniques which it manifests through conducting joint operations against terrorist. This effort also supported by law enforcement that provides collection and analysis of counter-terrorism intelligence (Gunaratna,

2005). When the intelligence and law enforcement fail to achieve an effective counter-terrorism, the deployment of military operations takes role to combat terrorism (taking example of U.S. military operation in Afghanistan against Al-Qaeda).

Another type of counter-terrorism techniques is judicial. Gunaratna argues that it requires governments to be more committed in developing up to common standards in its legislation, at least regionally. However, this remains difficult to be met due to the diverse legal system (Gunaratna, 2005). Diplomatic can also be a counter-terrorism technique as it is considered the first line of action against foreign terrorist groups operating overseas. An effective diplomatic measure should be supported by economic carrots and military sticks in order to yield desire result. Lastly, Gunaratna (2005) explains that terrorism can be countered politically when head of governments and states places terrorism on their national agenda. This should be reflected on their national strategy and policy so that the real action of counter-terrorism can be done effectively.

The Presence of IS in the Philippines

In 2015, IS officially declared their existence in the Philippines by appointing Isnilon Hapilon (senior leader of ASG group[1]) to be the leader of IS in the Philippines. Tracing back to his records, Isnilon Hapilon was the leader of ASG in Basilan for five years and the deputy leader for six years (Gunaratna, 2016). The strategy of IS in designating a highly experienced terrorist leader to lead IS *wilayat* in the Philippines projects a long-term threat to the security of the country as well as the region. The most significant development of global terrorism threat in the Philippines was the support given by its domestic terrorist groups to IS. Thus, the IS possesses the

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[1] ASG refers to Abu Sayyaf Group

biggest terrorist threat to the Philippines by numbers of domestic terrorist groups pledging their loyalty to IS and its caliph Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi. Earlier in December 2015, IS released a video featuring four battalions – ASG, Maute Group, AKP, and BIFF, led by Hapilon, pledging fealty to IS (Weiss, 2016).

Choosing the Southern Philippines as the basis of IS in the Southeast Asia region can be understood from two significant reasons: Philippine's history in dealing with domestic and international terrorist groups, and geographic reason. For the last two decades, the Philippines has been an important arena for domestic, regional and global terrorist groups. Since 1994, when JI established their first training camp (*Hudaiybiah*), the Philippines emerged as the training ground for Indonesians, Malaysians, Singaporeans, Thai Muslims and Arabs trained by Al-Qaeda (Gunaratna, 2016). Further, in terms of its geography, its porous borders in the tri-border area between the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia, the area known for smuggling networks, arms trafficking and kidnappings, has become a hotbed for extremism and jihadism.

The Philippines' Strategies to Combat Global Terrorism

As the response of this national security threat, the government of the Philippines under President Rodrigo Duterte utilizes the military power as the front line of strategy to combat global terrorism. This is shown by the preeminent role of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) in tackling *terrorisma* and enforcement of martial law at the time of Marawi attack (Franco, 2017). In recognizing the real threat of global terrorism in the country, the government reinforces its rule of law through the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2018 (House of the Representatives of the Philippines, 2018).

Also, the government of the Philippines strengthens its counter-terrorism cooperation with the U.S., implementing development program (PAMANA) to promote peace building across the country, and enhance its regional cooperation through the Trilateral Maritime Patrol (Indonesia – Malaysia – the Philippines).

Reasonings of the Strategies

The formation of strategies to combat global terrorism under the administration of President Rodrigo Duterte needs to be understood by discussing the previous counter-terrorism strategies in the Philippines and further elaborating logic behind the construction of the current strategies.

I divide the history of Philippine's counter-terrorism strategies into three period. The first period emphasizes on the use of military repression by Ferdinand Marcos in which he heavily relied on the AFP role to combat terrorism and with the imposition of martial law across the country from 1872-1981 (Watts et al., 2014). The second period also known as transitional period which often involved conventional operations in which force was applied indiscriminately and began to forge peace agreements with each major terrorist groups. The third period signifies the cooperation between the U.S. – the Philippine in combating terrorism. Further, the government reduced the emphasis on force and instead focusing on development popular support and peace negotiations, and the increasing role of the police in maintaining internal security in conflict-affected areas (Watts et al., 2014)

Table 3.1 Philippine's Strategies on Counter-terrorism

Period	Strategy
1972-1986	Strong State Repression, Containment
1987-2000	Containment
2001-2015	Classic-counter insurgency, Conciliation

However, considering that global terrorism remains the most potent security threat to the Philippines, these variety of strategy are perceived inadequate to eradicate the terrorism threat from its grass hoot. Mostly, the problem happened because of lack of the previous governments capacity to implement these strategies effectively in the face of military opposition which hindered the success of their implementation.

Hereinafter, the following is analysis on the reasoning factors behind the establishment of President Rodrigo Duterte's strategy to combat global terrorism in the Philippines.

The Rising Prevalence of Terrorism in the Region

Philippines has had a long history of terrorism whereby terrorists have perpetrated a series of terror attacks across various installations within the country. The penetration of IS into the country has increased the number of terrorist attacks in the Philippines in which caused serious casualties including deaths of thousands of people and destruction of property worth billions of dollars.

Figure 3.1 Terrorism Activities in the Philippines 2014-2017

The figure above shows that from 2015, terrorist attacks in the Philippines were around 480 to 500 incidents (see Figure 4.4). The total deaths are increasing significantly until it reached its peak point in 2017 with 327 victims from 260 victims in 2015 (START, 2017). This data proves that the presence of IS in the country has inspired the IS-affiliated group such as AKP, Maute, and BIFF to commit more of terrorist attacks. The government has been officially acknowledged some attacks which suspected IS-affiliated groups as the perpetrator.

Moreover, below is some of the most fatal accidents of terrorism attacks perpetrated by IS-affiliated groups in the Philippines:

April 2016
The incident as a fight between government forces and IS, the group that fought the AFP was actually led by Hapilon. The counter-offensive led to the killing of 18 AFP members and injuring of 53 others, a significant setback for the government (Gunaratna, 2016).

September 2016
One of the most serious terrorist attacks by pro-IS militants in 2016 was the bomb attack in September in Davao City. The blast was masterminded by the Maute Group.

May 2017
During the Battle of Marawi City, radical groups aligned with IS attacked, occupied, and destroyed several key public buildings and held dozens of civilians' hostage as human shields. They also

reportedly massacred and beheaded captive civilians (Amnesty International, 2017).

From the accidents above, most of the incidents happened in the region of Mindanao. The high prevalence of terrorist attacks in Mindanao is largely due to the fact that the region hosts many terrorist groups, particularly those that were already pledging allegiance to IS. Some of the cities also have adversely affected by the activities of these terrorist groups across Mindanao include Davao, Zamboanga, Tawi-Tawi, Sulu, Basilan, Lanao del Sur, Maguindanao and Cotabato provinces (Gunaratna & Stephanie, 2016).

Generally speaking, these attacks were not executed without any determined objective from the perpetrator. Concentrating their attacks in Mindanao indicates that these terrorist group would like to actualize the chief purpose of removing the entire Mindanao district from its allegiance to the government of the Philippines, establish an independent Islamic state in the Southern Philippines, and eventually declaring the Southern Philippines as the IS' *wilayat.* This is obviously a political-driven motive in which these terrorist groups aim to overthrow the central government by establishing their own government.

The real threat shown by the terrorist in separating the Southern Philippines also directly threaten the territorial integrity of the country in which this issue should be counted as a national security threat to the Philippines. If the government fails in its efforts to control and stop the activities of these terrorist groups, in the long run, the entire country of the Philippines, would be controlled by the terrorist.

Siege of Marawi

The siege of Marawi is the most recent and most serious crisis perpetrated by IS terrorist groups taken place in Marawi, the capital city of Lanao del Sur province in the southern Philippine island of Mindanao. Marawi became the first city outside the Middle East and North Africa to fall to IS (Samuel, 2017). Before that, the Islamic State Philippines (ISP), led by Isnilon Hapilon, had been planning for the siege of Marawi since March-April 2017, and that the instructions came from Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi himself (Buan, 2017).

The siege was conducted on 23 May 2017, led by the Maute Group also known as the Islamic State Lanao (ISL), with IS fighters infiltrating Marawi under the cover of attending a Tablighi Jamaat convention. They began on capturing key government buildings and setting fire to churches and schools (Gunaratna, 2017). It was estimated that IS had some 300 fighters at the start of the attack in Marawi. They comprised of 150 ISL fighters, 40 foreign fighters (mostly Indonesians and Malaysians), 50 *Yakans* and *Tausog* from the Abu Sayyaf Group, 30 *Balik Islams* (converts to Islam) and 30 Maguindanaon people. As the ongoing-armed conflict intensified, they received reinforcements from Lanao, Maguindanao and Basilan provinces.

According to the information released by the government, more than 800 militants including terrorist leaders Isnilon Hapilon and Omar Maute and 160 government troopers were killed in armed clashes since May 23. The crisis also displaced about 360,000 individuals or 72,000 families. (Romero, 2017). This is the highest military death toll in recent Philippines history.

Not only by launching physical attack, IS also attempted to gain Muslim support and legitimacy for its military action in Marawi through propaganda in social media. In the Telegram chat groups, IS proclaiming that Marawi is an 'Islamic State' and labeled the siege as an expansion of the Islamic State into East Asia. Furthermore, IS portrays government soldiers as 'crusaders' and frame the siege as a fight between good and evil, and between Islam and non-believers.

Regional Maritime Security in the Tri-Border Area

Maritime security in the Sulu-Sulawesi Seas plays prominent role in determining the development of global terrorism, particularly IS' operation in the region. Due to its strategic location, the Sulu-Sulawesi Seas are important because they facilitate the cross-border movement of millions of people as well as international navigation. According to one recent estimate by the Indonesian foreign ministry, every year more than 100,000 ships pass through the Sulu-Sulawesi Seas carrying 55 million metric tons of cargo and 18 million passengers (Parameswaran, 2016).

Figure 3.2 Map of the Sulu-Sulawesi Seas

However, the tri-border area had been long exploited by terrorists as a key transit hub between the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia (see figure 4.5) (Ayunida, 2015). The porous with almost no control of the government in Southern Philippines suits IS designs to reinforce and consolidate its presence in the region (Gunaratna, 2017). In relation to the IS' attack in Marawi, they used the existing linkages among Southeast Asian jihadists which make Mindanao vulnerable to infiltration by returning foreign fighters. Proven during the IS siege in Marawi, at least 40 foreigners engaged in combat with the security forces.

The 'terrorist transit triangle' is also known for the ease of movement for other undocumented individuals. For example, General Santos City in Eastern Mindanao is a known ingress point for Indonesian militants but has limited intelligence coverage available. This distinct geography and border configuration once provided JI a conducive environment for the movement of logistics to launch its attacks. Further, Maute and Abu Sayyaf terrorists in Mindanao have often kidnapped tourists, fishermen and sailors in the Sulu archipelago, which includes the Sulu Sea and the northern limit of the Celebes Sea (Chan & Soeriaatmadja, 2017).

From March to July 2016, ASG conducted a total of five separate kidnap-for-ransom attacks in the area. The newest case involved the hijacking of a South Korean cargo ship sailing through the Sulu Sea (Channel News Asia, 2016). Transnational criminal activities sustain the group's operations; ASG is reported to have accumulated USD 7.3 million in ransom money just in the first half of 2016.

Therefore, reminding that the threats in that area have also grown more serious, the government should be able to tackle this maritime issue by conducting a more coordinated response from the countries involve namely the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia. Ensuring security in the tri-border area requires the cooperation of those parties which could be implemented in the form of more advance joint military patrol and joint military exercise.

Conclusion

Since 2014, IS declared its existence to the international scene that promotes itself as an Islamic caliphate and to establish God's rule on earth. Starting from the Syria, it began to spread fear across the world by conducting attacks worldwide with the mass casualties brought by the attacks. The terror of IS as global threat reached its peak in 2016. In 2017, IS facing great territory losses in the Middle East and led them to amplify their forces in the

Southeast Asia by declaring the Southern Philippines as IS *wilayat* in the region.

There are two major reasons of why IS chose the Southern Philippines to be its *wilayat.* First, the Southern Philippines is home for domestic terrorist groups in the country and basis for Southeast Asia's terrorist training camp. Secondly, the tri-border area in the Sulu-Sulawesi Seas is recognized as a hotbed for extremism and jihadism. The presence of IS in the Philippines was supported by several domestic terrorist groups in which they believe that by supporting IS, it can liberate Mindanao from the central government to be an independent Islamic state for Filipino Muslim. Therefore, the presence of IS in the Philippines possesses a national security threat to the country.

In combatting this issue, the government took six courses of actions: amendment of the legal basis of terrorism, military power through AFP, martial law, U.S. – Philippines Security Cooperation, PAMANA programs, and the enforcement of Trilateral Maritime Patrol. Among the six strategies mentioned, military is the primary strategy of the Philippines to eradicate the threat of terrorism in the country.

Subsequently, there are three reasonings upon the formulation of the strategy. The first reasoning is the rising prevalence of terrorism in the region and long history of armed movement operation in the area. The IS-affiliated groups have committed more attacks across the country which mainly taken place in Mindanao, and also resulted in rising death toll. The most serious crises of the attacks are the siege of Marawi which became the second reasoning of the formulation of the strategy to combat global terrorism. The siege of Marawi had proven that IS was establishing its *wilayat* in the Southern Philippines by involving domestic fighters and foreign fighters and had caused hundreds of people killed. Considering the casualties caused by this incident, the siege of Marawi is the highest military death toll in recent Philippines history. Lastly, the government took into account the aspect of maritime security in the Sulu-Sulawesi Seas that had been exploited by terrorist groups as their key transit hub in Southeast Asia due to the lack of governance or government control in that area.

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