

**INTERNET, DIVERSITY AND CYBER PEACE IN
INDONESIAN CONTEMPORARY DIPLOMACY**

KAMILIA

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MALTA FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTERS IN CONTEMPORARY DIPLOMACY
MARCH 2017

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work.

Kamilia

8 March 2017

Tangerang, Indonesia

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Special thanks to my supervisor and mentor, Virginia Paque for her constant support and supervision on my dissertation; to Patrick Borg and all of my lecturers in Diplo Foundation for their generous support through my studies at the University of Malta.

For my Six-pack team as supportive classmates in University of Malta, Natalia Enciso Benitez, Philip Perinchief, Ryan Francis Renner, Andrea Giallombardo and Sandile Hlatshwayo.

I also wish to acknowledge the constant support of Dewi Nova Wahyuni and Sugeng Wibowo who have been great colleagues for their ideas, reviews, and comments on my writing. To all of the research team on the field Asih, Cung, Noni, Reza for their work on collecting qualitative data with all of the research respondents.

I dedicate this work to my family for their existence during my dissertation writing. Last but not least, to my mother, a single mother for a nation (family).

ABSTRACT

Cyber security is a challenge to development in economic, social and political sectors for the conduct of contemporary diplomacy. Within the Indonesian context, cyber conflicts based on race, ethnicity and religion are increasingly occurring, which affect national security both in online and offline spaces. In the global context, terrorism and Islam phobia are increasing both in online and offline spaces. Several incidents have occurred in France, United States of America (USA) and other countries. Managing cyber security for a state is a very complex issue. It needs several approaches: technical skills in Information and Communication Technology (ICT) security, law enforcement, and social and political analysis to implement national cyber security mechanisms.

This paper provides research and analysis on the potential of ICT for positive change as the medium of cultural diplomacy in promoting local wisdom for peace and diversity. This can be implemented by state and non-state actors. The aim is to overcome negative content, which provokes and expands conflict based on ethnicity, race and religion in Indonesia. It appears that most developing countries, such as Indonesia, are having difficulties in managing the technical aspects of cyber security. For example, there is a lack of skills in ICT literacy and security, both in state and non-state actors. There is also a problem with the enforcement of laws. In addition to the technical and regulation approach, the paper suggests the strengthening of national cyber security mechanisms in Indonesia with a social and cultural approach, “glocalization” (think global and act local), by using local wisdom that promotes peace and diversity to create Internet norms that will be an effective framework to build cyber peace for 21st century diplomacy in Indonesia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	vii
CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Methodology	4
1.2 Literature Review.....	5
CHAPTER 2 – THE SITUATION OF INDONESIA’S SOCIO POLITICAL DIVERSITY IN THE CYBER ERA	10
2.1 The Backgrounds of Racial/Ethnic and Religious/Faith Diversities in Indonesia... 10	
2.2 The Interaction of Racial/Ethnic, Religious/Faith Diversities, and the Political Dynamics in the Period of Sukarno and Suharto	13
2.3 Conflict and Promotion of Diversity and Peace in the Reformation Period (1998-present) and Cyber Era.....	17
CHAPTER 3 – CONTEMPORARY DIPLOMACY FOR PEACE BUILDING ON THE INTERNET	28
3.1 Diplomacy and Cyber Conflict Based at a Religion and a Race in Global Level	28
3.2 International Instruments for Protection of Human Rights in Online and Offline Spaces	31
3.3 Internet, Cyber Security and Freedom of Expression	34
3.4 Diplomacy and National Cyber Security Instruments in Indonesia.....	35
3.5 Diplomacy and Cyber Peace	43
3.6 The Concept of Peace and Peace Building	47
3.7 Principles and Etiquettes in Using the Internet.....	51
3.8 Promoting Local Wisdom for Cyber Peace and Cultural Diplomacy of Indonesia.	52
3.9 Internet for Digital Diplomacy	55
3.10 The Situation of the Internet User in Indonesia to Implement Cyber Peace	58
CHAPTER 4 – IMPLEMENTATION OF CYBER PEACE IN INDONESIA.....	65
4.1 Opportunities in Implementing Cyber Peace Through the Internet	65
4.1.1 The Use of ICT for Social Change	66
4.1.2 Local Wisdom to Promote Peace in Offline and Online Spaces	72

4.2 Challenges and Empowerment on Cyber Security and Cyber Peace in Indonesia	78
4.2.1 Challenges and Obstacles of ICT for Social Change	78
4.2.2 Lessons from ICT and Digital Security Training for Civil Society Empowerment	81
CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	87
REFERENCES	91

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMC – Aceh IT Media Center

APCERT – Asia Pacific Computer Emergency Response Team

APJII – Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia/ APJII (Indonesian Association of Internet Service Providers)

CERT – Computer Emergency Response Team

DDoS – Distributed Denial of Service

EU – European Union

FFI – Flora Fauna International

FGD – Focus Group Discussion

FOSS – Free and open source software

FRETILIN – Free East Timor Movement

ICT – Information and Communication Technology

ICSU - International Council for Science and UNESCO

ID CERT – Indonesia Computer Emergency Response Team

ISIS – The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

ITU – International Telecommunication Union

KKPK – Koalisi untuk Keadilan and Pengungkapan Kebenaran (Coalition for Justice and Exposure of Truth)

NYU – New York University

PD – Public Diplomacy

PUSKAKOM UI – Pusat Studi Komunikasi Universitas Indonesia (Communication Studies Center of University of Indonesia)

SDG – Sustainable Development Goals

SMS – Short Message Service (SMS)

UN – United Nations

UNAMET – United Nations Assistance Mission for East Timor

UN ESCAP - United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific

UNGA - United Nations General Assembly

UNHCR - United Nations Human Rights Council

USA – United States of America

VSAT – Very Small Aperture Terminal

WFS – World Federation of Scientists

WSIS – World Summit on the Information Society

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Sisters and brothers of the nobility and sisters and brothers of the Muslim, we have all concurred that is not the kind of nation we head towards. We head towards a nation 'of all for all.' Not for an individual, not for a group, be it the noble persons or the rich, but for all.

-Sukarno, first President of the Republic of Indonesia, in the Assembly of Investigation Efforts for Preparation of Indonesia Independence Agency
June 1, 1945 (Sukarno, 1945).

The Internet is rapidly changing the economy, and the social, cultural and political dynamics in every nation. As the largest Muslim population country in the world and having a diverse culture, Indonesia is experiencing challenges in cyber conflict based on race, ethnicity and religion. Through the use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Indonesia also has potential to build cyber peace by using local wisdom that promotes peace and diversity as a national cyber security mechanism and for the conduct of contemporary diplomacy.

Indonesia has a long cultural history, which comprises a mixture of ethnicities, races and religions that occur in the Indonesian archipelago. Cultural heritages of indigenous people, India, China, Europe, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Christian as well as Islam have shaped local wisdoms, cuisine, music, dance and architecture in Indonesia and can speak of the possibility of peace and diversity. In 2013, ethnic diversity in Indonesia comprised 633 groups identified as major ethnicities and hundreds of languages. This was in the area from the island of Sumatra to Papua Barat (Statistics Indonesia, no date).

In this diversity there are several religions/beliefs and six of them have been recognized by the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, namely Confucianism, Christianity (Protestant and Catholic), Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and faith. The diversity of ethnicity and religion/ belief

in Indonesia is the result of a long journey of cultural encounters and people of different cultural origins coming to the archipelago since the imperialism period prior to modern times. These people and cultures become Indonesia. There are five major religious and cultural influences that produce the patterns of diversity/beliefs of Indonesia today, namely the influences of Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam brought by the people of India at different periods, followed by both Protestant and Catholic Christianity. According to Forshee (2006, p. 9 -11) the influence of Buddhism and Hinduism in Indonesia entered Indonesia through trade contacts, especially with merchants from India since the first century AD. Then the influence of Christian and Catholic arrived, brought by the Dutch and Portuguese during the colonization era.

After the leadership of the first president of Indonesia, Sukarno, Indonesia was for 32 years under the dictatorship of President Suharto (1966 – 1998), in the new order period. Suharto's resignation in the reformation period in 1998 opened up democracy and human rights as well as making visible fundamentalism and extremism in Indonesia. There are many incidents, such as terrorism, discrimination and violence based on ethnicity, race and religion that spread in several provinces in Indonesia. Besides riots, the social and political situation was marked by two prominent symptoms, political conflict and political violence, after the reformation period. Terrorism and provocation of conflict based on race, ethnicity and religion are often carried out via the Internet. This sometimes continues into offline space, or, otherwise, conflicts in offline space are continued in online space. ICT is being used to recruit young jihadists to go to Syria, which is a transnational crime issue. Hate speech and bullying on the Internet, based on race, ethnicity and religion, encourages an intolerance reaction from society, which endangers national security, and threatens the motto of Indonesia *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity).

Galtung (2013, p 24-25) finds that ‘formula peace practice indicates four concrete practices requiring knowledge and skills, but the simple rules above for everyday life apply:

- Reconciling Past Trauma: clearing the past, acknowledge wrongs, wishing them undone, dialogues about how and about a future together;
- Resolving Present Conflict: making incompatible, contradictory goals more compatible, softening negative attitudes and behaviour
- Constructing Future Equity: cooperation for mutual-equal benefit
- Constructing Future Harmony: emotional resonance, in the senses of enjoying the joy and suffering the suffer of other.

On 25 September 2015, 193 countries of United Nations members welcomed the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Number 16 on the SDG agenda is peace, justice and strong institutions; ‘Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels’ (United Nations, no date). Shoelhi (2011, p.75) states that 'Diplomacy is the science of various relationships between various countries which are created as a result of mutual interests, of the legal principles of negotiations and provisions included in treaties or international agreements'. Indonesia, as a United Nations member, needs a contemporary diplomacy strategy in Internet governance to support and participate in the SDGs agenda in terms of world peace and security in cyber era (cyber peace). The world has entered the era of digital citizenship, so that cyber security becomes a necessity for the continuation of the advancement of human rights, democracy and the promotion of peace in the cyber era.

The emergence of soft power as a strategy to build nations is another mark of globalized diplomacy. Priorities in globalized diplomacy are culture, media and communications, education, science and technology (Rana, 2015). Indonesia has rich cultural heritages of local

wisdoms to promote peace and diversity, and has the potential to use cultural diplomacy both in offline and online spaces for peace building to gain national security and economic development. Institute for Cultural Diplomacy mentions that ‘Cultural Diplomacy may best be described as a course of actions, which are based on and utilize the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity, whether to strengthen relationships, enhance socio-cultural cooperation or promote national interests; cultural diplomacy can be practiced by either the public sector, private sector or civil society (Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, no date)’.

1.1 Methodology

To analyse the challenges of implementing Internet governance policy related to cyber peace and cyber security as a necessary process for contemporary diplomacy in Indonesia, quantitative and qualitative data were collected using a blended method to ensure coverage of all necessary aspects of research data and input. Interviews, observation and documentary analysis were conducted to combine and link the intersecting issues from quantitative and qualitative data findings.

The writer has experience working with several civil society organizations Bayt Al Hikmah, Women Advocacy Institution DAMAR, Gamacca, Lembaga Partisipasi Pembangunan Masyarakat (LPPM), Teman Web and Tactical Tech also academic experts from Faculty of Social and Political Studies of University of Lampung, Setara Institute and Johan Galtung Institute at national and international level who work on democracy, human rights, ICT for development, and peace and conflict resolution as resource persons for this research. In the process of collecting data, several activities such as Focus Group Discussions (FGD) on Internet, diversity and peace, as well as capacity building trainings on ICT for social movement and digital security organized

with different civil society organizations and academic experts in four areas in Indonesia, Ambon (Moluccas province), Bandar Lampung (Lampung province), Cirebon (West Java province) and Makassar (South Sulawesi province) for observation method. This paper draws on the experiences with these organisations and their teams. Interviews with collaborating resources from national and international organizations or experts were carried out to enlarge the national perspective into international perspective for research content.

1.2 Literature Review

The paper starts with an overview of the social, cultural and political situation in Indonesia related to conflict, terrorism, discrimination and violence based on race, ethnicity and religion both in offline and online spaces. The challenge in the era of reformation and democracy in Indonesia is to discuss and resolve differences peacefully. The Internet has become a social and political sphere, and is no longer seen as a communication tool only. Conflicts based on ethnicity, religion and race in Indonesia, which happens on the Internet, cyber conflict, requires a cyber peace strategy (source). While the Internet opens a space for democracy, at the same time threats on Internet space are an obstacle to the advancement of human rights, democracy and the promotion of peace. Westby *et al.* in their study *The Quest for Cyber Peace* have found ‘the entire world faces new threats arising from the Internet, and the ability of every nation state to maintain its communications, command, control and computer (C4) capabilities against attacks from terrorists, organized criminal rings and other nation states has become uncertain. ICTs present countries with unprecedented challenges to national and economic security. Individuals can now thwart authority and conduct asymmetrical attacks that can paralyze an entire infrastructure and stall

communications, and the weakest systems can now threaten the security of the greatest of nations' (2011).

This paper presents a discussion on Internet governance, cyber security and cyber peace as work fields and challenges in contemporary diplomacy. Internet governance demands multi stakeholder work, government, civil society and the private sector should work together for peace building and conflict resolution both in online and offline spaces. Twenty-first century diplomacy, or globalized diplomacy, is the moment where state and non-state actors together play an important role in development and encountering crises in many shapes. ICT removes borders in the age of the global village, and it is being used effectively to conduct the work of international relations. At same time, ICT is also used to expand conflict and terrorism, which provoke radicalisation all over the world. Siracusa (2010, p. 148) mentions that 'a defining feature of 21st century globalization is the increasing complexity of global relations and the rapidity with which information ricochets around the world, opening up new avenues for conduct of diplomacy, while helping new participants to become involved'.

The paper argues that managing cyber security for a state is a very complex issue that needs to be approached from the perspectives of technical skill in ICT, and law enforcement, as well as using social and political analysis to implement national cyber security mechanisms. Most developing countries, such as Indonesia, are obstructed in managing the technical aspects of cyber security, for example by a lack of skills in ICT literacy both in state and non state actors, as well as by the digital divide and the enforcement of law (source). In addition to the technical and regulation approach, one of the recommendations is the strengthening of national cyber security mechanisms in Indonesia with a social and cultural approach, "glocalization" (think global and act local), by using local wisdom that promotes peace and diversity to create Internet norms

that will be an effective framework to build cyber peace for 21st century diplomacy in Indonesia. While glocalisation involves a marriage between global and local, the emphasis is usually on customizing global ideas for a local context. This paper includes the partner value of taking local wisdom and sharing it on the global level. The thesis underlines the importance of not only bringing global ideas and instruments to the local environment, but the importance of incorporating local customs and wisdom into these global ideas as well. Another recommendation is to increase capacity in technical aspects of cyber security skill in state and non-state actors. Recommendations are supported by analysis and examples of success stories and lessons learned by experienced practitioners such as diplomats and experts in academic and civil society groups in their work.

An extensive review of the current literature and academic foundations was carried out to compare and contrast the different approaches used for similar studies. These provided an understanding of global tendencies and thinking to provide a background for application to the specific case of Indonesia.

For documentary analysis, see below a partial list of resources in online and print format which were analysed, together with quantitative and qualitative data from observation in four areas in Indonesia and interview process:

- Conference reports
 - International Cyber Security Norms: Reducing Conflict in an Internet-dependent World organized by Microsoft in 2015
 - International Parliamentary Conference on Peace Building: Tackling State Fragility Toolkit for Parliamentarians organized by Northern Ireland Assembly and Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in 2010

- US Sanctions and National Security organized by New York University School of Law in 2016
- Science and Traditional Knowledge organized by International Council for Science and United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2002.
- Academic papers and journals on peace and conflict resolution, cyber peace and cyber security published by national and international organizations.
- Publications from national and international level; magazine and newspapers in online and offline format.
- Books which are published by national and international publishers on topic of diplomacy, foreign policy, cyber security, internet governance, peace and conflict resolution, culture and history of Indonesia, communication, politics and national constitution of Indonesia.
- Documents of regulation and law, which are legalized by Indonesia government on constitution of Indonesia, discrimination and human rights of minority groups, cyber security, hate speech and bullying.

International document:

- Cyber Security Strategy of The European Union: An Open, Safe and Secure Cyberspace (2013)

United Nations Resolutions:

- Promotion, Protection and Enjoyment of Human Rights on Internet (2012)
- Rights to Privacy in Digital Age (2013)
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1976)
- Declaration on the Elimination of All forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief (2010)

- Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (1992).

The paper is intended for government and non-government sectors, especially from Indonesia and other developing countries, interested in internet governance, cyber peace and cyber security which link to the challenges of contemporary diplomacy and the complexity of international relations work in the cyber era. This paper will show that, in addition to a technical approach of ICT and law enforcement to cyber security, a glocalization strategy (think global and act local) using local wisdom that promotes peace and diversity for Internet norms is an effective framework to build cyber peace for national cyber security mechanisms and 21st-century diplomacy in Indonesia.

CHAPTER 2

THE SITUATION OF INDONESIA'S SOCIO POLITICAL DIVERSITY IN THE CYBER ERA

2.1 The Backgrounds of Racial/Ethnic and Religious/Faith Diversities in Indonesia

In Indonesia, from the island of Sumatra to West Papua, there were, until 2013, 633 major ethno-racial groups and hundreds of vernaculars (Statistics Indonesia, no date). Several followers of different religions/faiths exist within the racial/ethnic diversity.

These racial/ethnic and religious/faith diversities are the long-term products of the meeting between the indigenous culture and the migrant one that arrived in the archipelago – now Indonesia – from before the time of imperialism until the modern era. Indonesia's diversity resulted from at least five major religious and cultural influences. Those are the influences of Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam brought by Indians in different time periods, and the influence of Christianity (Protestantism) and Catholicism brought by Dutch and Portuguese colonials.

Prior to the period of imperialism, the people in the islands of Sumatra and Java had been exposed to the influence of Buddhism brought by the migrants from India. This could be traced from the founding the Sriwijaya Kingdom (now located in Palembang, South Sumatra). The traces of another Buddhist Kingdom, which bequeathed the Borobudur temple, are located in Central Java.

Forshee (2006, p. 9-11) asserts that the influences of Buddhism and Hinduism entered Indonesia through the contact of commerce, especially with the traders from India since the 1st century A.D. Since sea breeze conditions within South East Asia made it impossible to sail at certain periods, the Hindi traders had to stay longer within the trading port areas in Indonesia. This situation had made it possible for the ideas of culture, food processing, technology, farming innovation, religious and cultural materials brought by these Hindi traders to gradually influence the Indonesian community. This process became a political power from the coasts

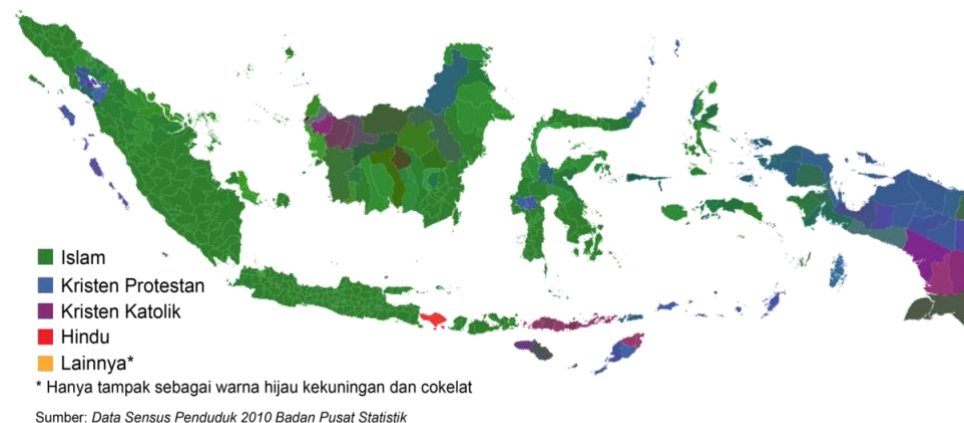
inland, to villages, and isolated areas within the land. The power then materialized in Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms in Sumatra and Java. Until the 7th century, the Sriwijaya Kingdom located on the strategic coast of Sumatra became the centre of an empire. Then, in the 9th century, the Syailendra Dynasty constructed the Borobudur Temple in Java. The pinnacle was in the late 13th century, when the Majapahit Kingdom ruled over not only the islands of Java; the arms of the Majapahit Kingdom, called the Archipelago, extended to regions outside of Java as mentioned in the Epic Saga of Nagarakartagama (1325). During the war against colonialism, the area became a reference for the Founding Fathers of the Republic of Indonesia to claim the territory of Indonesia during the process of establishing the nation and country of Indonesia.

Meanwhile, the influence of Christianity, Protestantism and Catholicism, entered Indonesia through colonialism. The influence of Protestantism in Indonesia was from the Dutch colonization, which lasted for 350 years (17th-20th century). Although in some parts of the archipelago the Muslim tribes successfully used the influence of Islam against the “foreign and infidel’ colonist, the Dutch had managed to plant the influence of Protestantism in most parts of the eastern archipelago, such as in the islands of Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Rote, Ambon, Maluku and Papua. Some other smaller parts are in the western archipelago, in Nias – between Toba Lake in North Sumatra, and Java island. The Portuguese brought in the influence of Catholicism in the 16th century, especially in the eastern part of the archipelago, such as West Timor and Flores (now East Nusa Tenggara).

The influences of Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Protestantism and Catholicism add colour to the diversity of religion and culture to date, not to mention the development of Kong Hu Cu. However, the local or customary religions do not all fade away, such as the Kaharingan within the Dayak tribes in Kalimantan and Sunda Wiwitan, which is widespread in several areas of West Java. Despite the religious/faith diversity, Indonesia has only acknowledged 6

religions/faiths. These are Islam, Christianity (Protestantism), Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, indigenous faith, and Khong Hu Cu (Confucianism), regulated in the Presidential Decree Explanation No.1 of 1965 on the Prevention of the Abuse and/or Blasphemy of Religion clause 1.

The composition of the Indonesian population based on their religious/faith, according to the census result from Statistics Indonesia in 2010 is that 87.18% of the 237,641,326 Indonesians are followers of Islam; 6.96% Protestantism; 2.9% Catholicism; 1.69% Hinduism; 0.72% Buddhism; 0.05% Kong Hu Cu; 0.13% other religions, and 0.38% unanswered or unquestioned. Meanwhile, the distribution of the religions is the following:



Besides religious/faith diversity, Indonesia is also rich in its accompanying ethnicities and vernacular languages. Based on the classification by Statistics Indonesia, the Indonesian Government, in collaboration with the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, has identified 633 major tribal groups in Indonesia until 2013. The classification refers to the literatures, such as tribal encyclopaedias and from the knowledge of networks distributed all around the archipelago. In this classification, the largest tribal proportion is the Javanese, which forms 40.05 percent of the total population of Indonesia. The second largest is the Sundanese with 15.50 percent. The other tribes make up fewer than 5 percent of the total population of Indonesia (Statistics Indonesia, no date). Each of those tribes/ethnicities has its own vernacular

language, and in the modern era or during the foundation of Republic of Indonesia, the vernacular diversity was unified by the introduction of the national language – Bahasa Indonesia. The Bahasa Indonesia or Indonesian as the language of the State is regulated in the Constitution/*UUD* 1945 (4th referendum) on Chapter XV Flag, Language, and State's Emblem and National Anthem, verse 36 (The Republic of Indonesia, 1945).

2.2 The Interaction of Racial/Ethnic, Religious/Faith Diversities, and the Political Dynamics in the Period of Sukarno and Suharto

Religious/faith and Racial/ethnic diversities of Indonesia are not static. The diversity is produced by the interaction of cultures, but the way to make meaning out of the diversity is influenced by political dynamics. In the following section, the paper synthesizes the interaction between religious/faith and racial/ethnic diversities and the political dynamics during the period of the foundation of the Republic of Indonesia, led by the First President, Sukarno, and the period of the New Order led by the Second President, Suharto, with their different political policies.

The process for the tribes in the archipelago has awakened the awareness of patriotism, reflecting on the similar experience of the struggle against colonialism in the period of imperialism. The experiences of these tribes in confronting the colonialism of the Portuguese (16th century), the Dutch (17th-20th centuries) and several more years of Japanese colonialism have awakened the unity among islands, tribes/ethnicities, vernacular languages, religions/faiths that later evolved into the Nation of Indonesia. This unity is known as the national awakening of the Indonesian, marked by the two youth movements – Boedi Utomo on 20th May 1908 and the Youth Pledge, 28th October 1928. These two waves of unity movement have kept on strengthening and supporting the proclamation of independence for the Republic

of Indonesia on 17th August 1945. In the effort to establish a nation and a country, the founding fathers had secured a knot for the religion/faith and tribes/ethnicities diversities, and others through the motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* – Unity in Diversity – and the foundation of the State, *Pancasila*, which later became the State philosophy regulated by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Building a nation comprised of hundreds of tribes, vernacular languages, and diverse religions/faiths, however, was not an easy task. Especially when it came to the establishment of a Nation and State, this diversity interacted with diverse perspectives or political ideology. In the early days of the Republic of Indonesia, there were at least three perspectives to form either an Islamist, a Nationalist, or a Communist State.

The Dutch colonialism, which enforced a stratification of social classes on the population of its colony, was another challenge. Some of the classifications were made by giving a higher position to the Chinese and Arab ethnicities than to the indigenous tribes. In their treatment of the indigenous tribes, the Dutch colonialist had also established and maintained social classes, which had its root in the feudalism of the kingdoms in the Archipelago. These two socio-political backgrounds still existed until the period of the republic. In political dynamics segregation is present and used by any political power, for any particular political objectives.

Therefore, it is not a surprise that conflicts between tribal and religious identities, and also among political views have arisen since the early days of the Republic of Indonesia. Among these are the South Maluku Movement which received the support of the Dutch Government; Darul Islam Movement in West Java and Sumatra who desired the establishment of an Islamic country; the Free Aceh Movement, which has lasted the longest – since 1953 -- and ended with the peace treaty with the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding in 2004. This social conflict between tribes/ethnicities would get worse due to the annexation politics run by the country not only during Sukarno's period but also during the New Order.

During the period of Sukarno – inspired by the extent of Majapahit Kingdom’s territory – Indonesia annexed the Dutch colony of Irian Jaya (now West Papua), was done in 1961.

Further, Collin (2005, p. 221) reports

He[Sukarno] entrusted a tough regular soldier, General Suharto, with the task of readying a 25.000 strong invasion force. In April the first guerrillas were dropped into the jungles of West Irian (also known as West Papua). The Indonesia military performance in this sporadic war was no better than indifferent. However, there was no stomach for the war in Holland and this, combined with strong United States opinion that Indonesia should have West Irian, carried the day.

The history of the annexation is followed by social and developmental disparities between the province of West Papua and other regions in Indonesia, which until now has been the fuse for conflicts, either social conflict or the conflict between the Free Papua Movement and the Indonesian government.

Meanwhile the heaviest political ideology-based conflict experienced by the Indonesians is the coup effort against the Generals in September 1965, which New Order Regime was seen as the Indonesian Communist Party’s effort to overthrow the government. The Indonesian government until this day has not resolved the event of 1965. The issue has also triggered conflict at the level of the community, especially between those who defend the rights of the 1965 victims and those who refused to believe that the incident occurred or those who supported the discourse of the New Order.

In line with the event of 1965, Sukarno’s power declined, while Suharto’s grew. Sukarno was put under house arrest in 1967 and General Suharto became the 2nd President of the Republic of Indonesia, and brought Indonesia into the system of New Order.

The Pillar of the New Order was marked by the genocide of one of the political parties, Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), after the party was claimed to be responsible for the 30 September Movement, which killed 7 officers of the Army. The genocide was committed through the control of information by closing down several print media and tightly controlling

the content of newspapers and radio that were still allowed to operate. Militia groups with the support of the police and military also carried out arrests, tortures, and mass murder in a number of places. The 1965-1966 Genocide was estimated to claim 500,000-1,000,000 lives. Meanwhile, the Indonesia National Commission on Human Rights observed from the witness reports they gathered, at least 1,956 people were killed, and 85,483 more became the victims of the genocide (*Koalisi untuk Keadilan and Pengungkapan Kebenaran/Coalition for Justice and Exposure of Truth (KKPK)*, 2014, p. 62-63). The genocide had also resulted in a closer Indonesian political orientation to the West, in that the position is related to the situation of the global cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States.

In the period of the New Order, Suharto's government had also committed a coup on East Timor (now an independent country, Timor Leste). Kadir¹ (2015, p. 130-132) performed a study showing that Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 with opposition from FRETILIN, Free East Timor Movement. The civil war between FRETILIN and the Indonesian Army took a death toll of 200,000 lives. From 1976 to 1981, the United Nations General Assembly had adopted an annual resolution and confirmed that East Timor had the right to decide their own fate. The Santa Cruz Tragedy on 12th November 1991 then persuaded the international community to handle the humanitarian issues in Timor Leste. The United Nations then Secretary General, Kofi Annan, appointed Ambassador Jamsheed Marker as the United Nations Secretary General's personal representative for East Timor in 1997. In 1999, then President Habibie decreed a policy of two options for the East Timor Province: they were allowed to choose to become an autonomous region of Indonesia or to become independent through a referendum. In June, United Nations Assistance Mission for East Timor (UNAMET) was officially established. During that period, violations against human rights had dramatically

¹ Ph.D candidate in International Law, the Faculty of Art, Law, and Social Science, Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge, the United Kingdom. Lecturer of international Law, Syiah Kuala University, Aceh, Indonesia

increased without a proper solution. On 30th August 1999, 98% of Timor Leste's population registered for the referendum. The result was 21.5% chose to become a special autonomous region and 78.5% voted for independence from Indonesia.

Suharto's period ended in 1998, marked by a protest rally from higher education students, as they demanded reform, and also by pressure from the international community. Demonstrators were shot by the military and also there was a riot in May 1998 targeting people of Indonesian Chinese ethnicity.

In other words, the leadership periods of both Sukarno and Suharto did not only have a considerable role in uniting the nation, but also their policies, in relation to the occupation of Papua and Timor Leste which resulted in the conflict for the two regions to decide to fight for their own fate, contributed to the inter-ethnic and tribal conflicts in Indonesia to date.

2.3 Conflict and Promotion of Diversity and Peace in the Reformation Period (1998-present) and Cyber Era

According to the government administration, the reformation marked the arrival of Indonesia in the period of democracy and the period of open access to information. Both periods have lived side-by-side and have developed into an era of digital age. This is the era where the country and the society are not able to separate offline from online spaces. The two worlds, online and offline are interconnected to the point where they reflect one another, both in conflict and in efforts to respect diversity and peace.

However, in the period of reformation, running democracy is not an easy task. This is due to the fact that Indonesia is still facing the legacy of conflicts occurred in the name of religious/faith and racial/ethnic and political perspective (ideology) from the periods of Sukarno and the New Order. In the period of reformation, the legacy of conflict has become worse since it is also related to economic injustice, due to the globalized liberalization of the

economy. The legacy of conflict (the period of Sukarno) due to the annexation of West Papua has worsened in this period of reformation due to the interconnectedness of the past conflicts with the exploitation of the gold mine of a foreign corporation under the authorization of the central government. The conflict has disturbed the Papuans' sense of socio-economic justice. The most extreme current conflict arising from the clash between the desire for Papua's independence and the desire for Unity of the Indonesia government occurred in Yogyakarta, there were arrest and the siege on the dormitory of Papuan students by the police on 15th July 2016 in Yogyakarta.

Meanwhile, considering the legacy of conflict from the New Order in relation to religion, Assyaukanie in the foreword of the book *Nusantara Sejarah Indonesia* (Bernard, 2016, p. xi) has worked for almost 20 years on resolution of conflict occurring in the name of religion/faith that colours the dynamics of Indonesia, especially conflict in the name of Islam. Since its early years of power, the New Order government had an antagonistic view on Islam that had motivated a radical Islamic politics. This situation has resulted in the blocked articulation of the politics of Islam. When the New Order collapsed, there was room for freedom, which motivated numerous groups of Political Islam to reach for their freedom.

Islamic groups have since garnered an important position within the country and society of Indonesia. This manifests in the form of conflict in the name of religion/faith in this period of reformation. Examples of the conflicts are attacks on minority groups and supporters of democracy, human rights, and multiculturalism. The following are descriptions of a number of conflicts in the name of religion/faith during the period of reformation.

First, the conflict of violence in Moluccas that was mostly concentrated in Ambon, is one of the worst conflicts after the fall of the Suharto regime. The conflict took a toll of almost 5,000 lives from 1999 to 2002. It also resulted in the migration of a third of the population in Maluku to North Maluku. Before the religious communal conflict erupted in the city of Ambon, there are

several inter-religion confrontations in some other parts of Indonesia. Maluku had undergone a lot of social changes during the reign of Suharto. The apparently peaceful relationship between Christianity and Islam was only the outer layer. During the period of colonialism, Christianity was given a larger access in education and political position, while the Muslim became the majority of traders and entrepreneurs. Following the government's policy for transmigration, which began in 1950s, numbers of voluntary migrants from Bugis, Buton, and Makassar grew in the 1970s. Maluku's Muslim inhabitants consequently became larger in number. In 1990, Suharto established the *Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia*/The Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI) as a tool to secure political support from the Islamic groups when its authority over the military was weakened. Soeharto used ICMI as the balance to the military. ICMI became an important source for individuals to hold strategic government positions, including in Maluku. In 1992, M. Akib Latuconsina, Director of ICMI in Maluku, was appointed as the Governor. He was the first Malukunese and the first civilian to hold the position, which is commonly held by a military official from Java. In 1996, all of the Regents in each province were Muslim. This change annoyed the Christian population and further divided Maluku along the lines of religion (*Pengelolaan Konflik/Conflict Management*, 2011, pp. 16-17). Second, violence also occurred between Muslims and Christians in Poso, Central Sulawesi, not long after the fall of Soeharto. Within four years after the conflict in 1998, around 1,000 civilians lost their lives.

Meanwhile the conflicts coming out of the difference of religion/faith and ideologies according to Tempo (2016, p. 32) have continued to occur until the past two years (2015-2016). The conflict was the eviction of those who do not share the same religion, prohibition of building places of worship, vandalizing places of worship, and violence due to differences of ideology and political choice that occurred from Aceh all the way to West Papua. The following table presents the summary for the mapping of conflicts:

Location & Province	Incident
Aceh Singkil, Aceh	October, 2015, one church in Desa Suka Makmur, Gunung Meriah, was burned down by the residents opposing the construction of a church
Bangka, Bangka Belitung	February, 2016, Regional government of Bangka gave the ultimatum for followers of Jemaat Ahmadiyah Chapter Bangka to immediately move out of Bangka
Bogor, West Java	February 2015, Az-Zikra Mosque in Sentul was attacked by a mob after an anti-Shia banner was placed there
Bogor, West Java	October 2015, Mayor Bima Arya banned the observation of Asyura for Shia followers
Jakarta	February 2016, tens of group members of several Islamic organizations held a protest rally to reject the <i>Belok Kiri/</i> Turn Left Festival suspected of having affiliations with the communists, in Taman Ismail Marzuki
Bekasi, West Java	March 2016, the building of Santa Clara Church in Bekasi was rejected by the Forum <i>Umat Islam Bekasi/</i> Islamic Followers Forum of Bekasi
Cianjur, West Java	April 2016, a number of society organizations disbanded a meeting of the survivors of 1965 in Cipanas
Mempawah, Kalimantan Barat	January 2016, more than 700 people who were members of <i>Gerakan Fajar Nusantara</i> had to leave their houses due to assaults
Yogyakarta	July 2015, Islam Jihad Front disbanded a spiritual camp

	for the children of an Adventist Church in Wonogondang, Cangkringan, Sleman, the people were accused of committing Christianization
Yogyakarta	October 2015, Islamic Followers Front disbanded the activity of Asyura for the Shia Community in Rausyan Fikr institution
Yogyakarta	February 2016, Islam Jihad Front forced the Al-Fattah Transgender Boarding School to close down
Makasar	April 2016, an education seminar held by Lazuardi Athaillah Global Islamic School was abruptly stopped by the Makasar Islam Alliance
Halmahera Utara, Maluku Utara	March 2016, Al-Khairat Islamic Boarding School in the Tobelo District was burned down after a clash among juveniles.
Tolikara, Papua	July 2015, an angry mob assaulted Muslims who were performing the Eid prayer in Tolikara. A Mushola and a market were burned down
Jayawijaya, Papua	February 2016, The Alliance of Jayawijaya Churches finally stopped the construction of Baiturrahman Grand Mosque
Manokwari, West Papua	November 2015, the Regent stopped the construction of Rahmatan lil Alamin Mosque in Manokwari

Besides the violence that opposes religious/faith diversity, there are also communal conflicts between ethnicities. Commonly, the conflict occurs between the local indigenous tribes, who have settled the longest, and the transmigrating tribes or newcomers from other provinces in Indonesia. Some of the conflicts are between the Balinese ethnicity who observe Hinduism (known as Balinuraga in the context of Lampung) and the Muslim Lampung tribe, in Desa Balinuraga and in Lampung Selatan. Humaedi (2014, p. 10) argues that the trigger for the conflict was usually a small incident exaggerated and associated with the issues of ethnicity and religion.

The conflicts occurred and were interconnected between offline and online, they are intertwined and worsened the situation for diversity and peace. The conflicts occur due to the escalating freedom of the press in the period of Reformation, and due to the new medium, called the Internet, which has also reconstructed the socio-political lives of the Indonesians. The following are the details of cyber conflict based on ethnicity, religion, and race:

1. Opinion/Chinese ethnicity based discrimination speech

Data Source: Blog

Link: <http://muhajirismail1981.blogspot.co.id/2016/07/etnis-cina-sudah-dikasih-hati-jangan.html>

Date accessed: 10th August 2016

Data citation:

Blog Title “*Etnis cina sudah dikasih hati jangan minta jantung*”/”Chinese ethnicity, don’t ask for more than you can bargain for”



2. Ethnicity based discrimination against Papuans

Data source: Website (harianpapua.com and membunuhindonesia.net)

Link: <http://www.harianpapua.com/20160803/8008-stop-pikir-merdeka-sekolah-saja-yang-benar.html>

<http://membunuhindonesia.net/2016/07/bahaya-tindakan-represif-berbasis-discrimination-dan-rasis-di-yogyakarta/>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CG9mvkBcyNA&feature=youtu.be>

Date accessed: 14th August 2016

Data citation:

Blog title:

“Stop Pikir Merdeka, Sekolah Saja Yang Benar””Stop thinking about independence, just get a proper education”

“Bahaya Tindakan Represif Berbasis Diskriminasi dan Rasis di Yogyakarta””The danger of repressive action based on discrimination and racism in Yogyakarta”

Youtube title:

“Cita-citata Lecehkan Masyarakat Papua””Cita-citata harassed the Papuans”



3. Discriminative oration based on religion

Data source: Youtube and Website Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cDusFXdea48>

Date accessed: 28th August 2016

Data citation:



4. Religious provocation

Data source: Facebook (Muhammad Exan Pattone)

Link:

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1007144472733778&set=a.140584882723079.28158.100003147039591&type=3&theater>

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=997339903714235&set=a.140584882723079.28158.100003147039591&type=3&theater>

Date accessed: 12th August 2016

Data citation:

“Pancasila itu berdasarkan Al-Quran”/”Pancasila is based on the Koran”



5. Religion-based discriminative posts

Data source: Twitter (Dealova @@donqsok)

Link: <https://twitter.com/donqsok/status/764845069991944193>

Date accessed: 28th August 2016

Data citation:

“Sekarang gw mo nanya, kenapa kalian begitu ngotot dirikan gereja di pemukiman Yasmin? Apa bogor itu hanya seluas yasmine?”/”I’d like to ask you a question now,

why are you so insistent on building a church in Yasmine? Do you think Bogor is only as large as Yasmine?”



The democratization of media and the Internet in the period of reformation has the potential to worsen racial/ethnic and religious/faith diversity-based conflicts, since the intolerant views of diversity and the hate speech practiced in the offline space is also widely spread in the online space. This is also due to the fact that the government has not been able to control the democratization and the speed, and also the flexibility of the shift to the Internet media:

Social media technology has democratized almost every single public debate to an unimaginable level. It is not always necessarily for the better. Media Democratization has escalated since the fall of the New Order, whereas the country's concern and the ability are all limited for monitoring and controlling the freedom of speech. This type of technology is moving flexibly, converting format from one medium to another, and its characteristic is interactive (Ariel, 2015, p. 15).

Observing the situation, today's Internet has become a second space inhabited by both citizens and countries, which are connected and influencing each other within their own first world – offline. Internet has become a political space, the place for citizens and countries to have a dialogue for their own interests. The Internet and digital technology have transformed into a space for consensus to fulfil and interpret/redefine ever-developing citizenship rights. In entering the era of the Internet, therefore, the citizenship regulation that is only managing the relations between the citizens, and the citizens and the countries within the offline space is no

longer sufficient. A regulation to control the citizens' national life within the Internet online space, or training in digital citizenship is very much needed.

Digital Citizenship is a concept, which helps teachers, technology leaders and parents to understand what students/children/technology users should know to use technology appropriately. Digital Citizenship is more than just a teaching tool; it is a way to prepare students/technology users for a society full of technology. Digital citizenship is the norms of appropriate, responsible technology use. Too often we are seeing students as well as adults misusing and abusing technology but not sure what to do. The issue is more than what the users do not know but what is considered appropriate technology usage (Digitalcitizenship, 2016).

Cyber conflict based on ethnicity, religion, and race, that currently occur, is the continuation of the socio-political conflicts that are occurring from several periods of Presidential leadership of Republic of Indonesia. Analysis of the social and political conflicts in Indonesia that occur in online and offline spaces shows that Indonesia needs good governance in managing digital citizenship to overcome cyber conflict based on ethnicity, religion and race.

CHAPTER 3

CONTEMPORARY DIPLOMACY FOR PEACE BUILDING ON THE INTERNET

Norms cannot guarantee that states will never violate agreed upon principles, but they will put violators on notice within international community. And from norms that gradually become accepted a stronger framework can eventually emerge.
Wolfgang Ischinger, German Ambassador, in *The Munich Security Conference*,
(Microsoft, 2015, p. 1)

3.1 Diplomacy and Cyber Conflict Based at a Religion and a Race in Global Level

Internet is changing traditional analysis of foreign policy and geo politics. Geo-cyber dimensions are forcing a new paradigm in analysing national and economic security interests, affecting the conduct of nation states and geo political blocks. Westby mentions ‘Geo-cyber stability is defined as the ability of all countries to utilize the Internet for economic, political and demographic benefit while refraining from activities that could cause unnecessary suffering and destruction’ (2011, p 4-5).’

Diplomacy work has been influenced in ICT for three main areas in international relations field. ‘First, new topics from Information Technology (IT) find their place on the agendas of international meetings. Second, diplomats increasingly use new ICT tools to facilitate their daily work. And third, the Internet and other technologies have created whole new environment in which diplomacy operates today and in which it will have to work tomorrow (Galvez, 2015). The reality of globalization era is the world in crisis situation of cyber warfare or cyber conflicts. Cyber attack towards Internet infrastructure is threatening national security and civil society at individual level. Terrorism, radicalisation and hate speech or hate crime provoke conflict situation based on race, ethnicity and religion worldwide. Social media such as Twitter and Facebook, YouTube and other applications on Internet can be the medium to extend chaos.

For most cases, from social and political conflicts which already happen in offline space, then social media will create cyber crime that includes 'identity theft and data (information resources), piracy accounts (e-mail, IM, social networks), the spread of malware and malicious code, fraud, industrial espionage, hostage-critical information resources and cyber warfare or war in cyber space' (*Setiadi et. al.* 2012, p. 2).

In 2015, there were two terrorist attacks in Paris, France. Before recent Paris attack with bombings and mass shooting in November 2015, we should not forget that in January 2015, there was a three-day incident of terrorist attack in Charlie Hebdo offices in Paris. Controversy of Charlie Hebdo cartoon displaying a crude caricature of Prophet Muhammad tested the patience of Muslims globally. Shortly after the January 2015 incident, the right to offend movement was spread to support the freedom of expression of Charlie Hebdo journalists.

Another controversy happened after recent Paris terrorist attack on Friday, 13th November 2015. An anonymous hacker group declared a war to fight against the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) terrorist group. People are still debating the controversy of Charlie Hebdo and the right to offend movement might cause cyber conflict.

Anonymous hackers have been doing their action to fight against terrorist group since January 2015, after the incident in Charlie Hebdo offices. Internet is used by terrorist groups to recruit followers through medium of website, social media and instant messaging applications. Anonymous hackers have been shutting down social media and websites related to ISIS movement, exposing list of suspected ISIS extremists. On one side, the anonymous group is doing more good than harm to people globally. However, on the other side, Greenemeir (2015) in his analysis explains, 'efforts to take down the terrorist organization's Websites and expose its supporters could interfere with carefully planned law enforcement operations.'

In an effort to combat terrorism, some countries are facing issue of cyber security *vs.* privacy. Edward Snowden revelation in 2013 on mass surveillance case opened up the facts of global communication surveillance programs. The reasons given by governments behind mass surveillance are for the purpose of national security and combating terrorism. The revelation also exposed how Facebook, Google and Yahoo are doing data mining of Internet users to contribute in mass surveillance or possibly to sell.

Intercepting communication on telephone and the Internet media, such as e-mail, short message service (SMS) or online document storage is violating privacy and human rights of individual and country level. Surveillance case is not only occurring among nations, but also from government to civil society level, such as recording a person's telephone conversations or obtaining such data from other electronic devices. 'One form of electronic surveillance developed by law enforcement results in attaching a "bug" to a person's telephone line or to a phone booth and recording the person's conversation' (Cornell University Law School, no date).

While people are debating on terrorism, cyber war and the rights to privacy and freedom of expression in online space, the Muslim society is concerned about the rise of Islamophobia in France and other countries after Charlie Hebdo incident, let alone after the recent terrorist attacks in Paris. There were several physical attacks against Muslims in France. Recently, social movement #JeSuisHijabi on the Internet is one of the efforts made by Muslim women in the west as a campaign for their rights to wear hijab and feel secure to be a Muslim in west countries.

Preventive diplomacy is one of strategies used by nations to prevent the conflict. State and non-state leaders from all over the world must anticipate the upcoming impact of terrorism, cyber war, surveillance and Islamophobia. Benjaoui (2000, p. 29) finds that preventive diplomacy is a

form of diplomacy that is used to prevent disputes between countries, overcome the problems of war, or prevent the conflict from spreading to other places.

3.2 International Instruments for Protection of Human Rights in Online and Offline Spaces

In response to the conflict based on religion and race worldwide, there are several international instruments for the protection of human rights. United Nations together with international society have been in discussion and debate for the protection of human rights on Internet.

United Nations instrument, protection towards ethnic, religion/faith and other background diversities are arranged in *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (UN, 1976), which has been ratified by the Indonesian government with enactment, article 12/2005. The fundamental instrument of human rights about the freedom of choosing one's religion/faith, especially article 18 includes: '(1) Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching; (2) No one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice; (3) Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others; (4) The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.'

Additionally, there is the Declaration on the Elimination of All forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief that was conceived through United Nations General

Assembly resolution Article 36/55 on 25 November 1981. The Declaration furthermore describes the freedom of religion/faith in more details when compared to International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Since it is in the form declaration, it is non-binding in nature for the states parties. Although it is legally non-binding, this declaration reflects a broad consensus from the international community that it has strong moral values in the practice of international relationships in general. Article 6 of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, Resolution 36/55 (UNGA, 1981) describes: ‘in accordance with article 1 of the present Declaration and subject to the provisions of article 1, paragraph 3, the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion/faith should include, inter alia, the following freedom:

- To worship or assemble in connexion with a religion or belief, and to establish and maintain places for these purposes;
- To establish and maintain appropriate charitable or humanitarian institutions;
- To make, acquire and use to an adequate extent the necessary articles and materials related to the rites or customs of a religion or belief
- To write, issue and disseminate relevant publications in these areas;
- To teach a religion or belief in proper places for related purposes;
- To solicit and receive voluntary financial and other contributions from individuals and institutions;
- To observe days of rest and to celebrate holidays and ceremonies in accordance with the precepts of one's religion or belief;
- To establish and maintain communications with individuals and communities in matters of religion and belief at the national and international levels.’

Protection related to ethnic and minority communities is also specifically regulated in Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic

Minorities Adopted by United Nations General Assembly Resolution 47/135 of 18-December 1992. This declaration was inspired by the provisions of article 27 of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights including ethnic, religious, and language minorities. It also promotes the protection of people's rights that belong to national or ethnic, religious and language minorities to contribute in political and social stability of the country they live in. Resolution 47/135 (UNGA, 1991) emphasizes 'the constant promotion and the realization of the rights of those who belong in national or ethnic, religious and language minorities as an integral part of holistic development of the citizen and within the democratic framework based on provisions. It will contribute to a stronger concordance and alliance among nations and countries. The declaration obligates countries, inter alia, to: protect the existence and national identity of ethnic, culture, religion and language minorities in their regions and will encourage a promotion of identity and take precise legislative actions and other steps to achieve goals.'

In the context of cyber or the Internet era, the United Nations also guarantees the protection of human rights in online space including the diversities, which, therefore, goes in line with human rights protection in offline mode. On 5 July 2012, the Human Rights Council of United Nations has adopted Resolution on Promotion, Protection and Enjoyment of Human Rights in the Internet. The resolution was supported by 70 member countries of the Human Rights Council, including China, Brazil, Nigeria, Ukraine, Tunisia, USA, England and Indonesia. The resolution basically affirms its operating principle in paragraph 1 by stating that human rights owned by individual in offline world should also be protected in online spaces. The basic principles of human rights in relation to the Internet include privacy, freedom of expression, rights to receive information, protection of culture, languages and diversity, and rights for education (Kurbalija, 2012).

Mass surveillance is violating the rights to privacy and freedom of expression for Internet users globally. Amnesty International report (2015) provides 'A poll commissioned by Amnesty

International, which questioned 15,000 people from 13 countries across every continent, found that 71 per cent of people are strongly opposed to their governments spying on their Internet and phone communications.’ United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHCR); United Nations General Assembly approved Resolution on the Right to Privacy in Digital Age” on 18 December 2013 (United Nations, 2013). The Resolution 68/167 (UNGA, 2013) calls upon Member States to ‘review their procedures, practices and legislation on the surveillance of communications, their interception and collection of personal data, including mass surveillance, with a view to upholding the right to privacy by ensuring the full and effective implementation of all relevant obligations under international human rights law.’ In December 2014, UNHCR established a permanent mandate of Special Rapporteur on the right to privacy. The initiative became the agenda for United Nations to pay full attention on privacy rights in the upcoming years. Recently, experts of electronic communication and foreign policy discussed sanction over surveillance case as diplomatic agenda (NYU School of Law, 2016).

The approval of Resolution on the Right to Privacy in Digital Age is symbol of international anger for mass surveillance and it is also aimed for broader context of respecting privacy and human rights of every citizen as well as country level on digital age. Spying on intercepting phone conversation and the Internet communication is condemned by global society.

3.3 Internet, Cyber Security and Freedom of Expression

Society is demanding more transparency on surveillance done by governments for the purpose of national security. Censorship and filtering content of the Internet as public order often appear as grey area of how it should be regulated and implemented nationally.

There are two issues of the Internet policy related to the Internet freedom and online terrorism. First, freedom of expression vs. protection of public order is a never-ending debate between Article 19 (freedom of expression) and Article 27 (protection of public order) of Universal

Declaration on Human Rights. Second, cyber security vs. privacy to control online terrorism gives impact on privacy as part of human rights. In relation to cyber diplomacy agenda, Barston mentions that ‘the development of the Internet for global communication has brought two issues to the edge of international agenda: the global regulation of Internet and cyber security’ (2013, p.126). This also refers to World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) in 2005 which adopted working definition of Internet governance ‘the development and application by governments, the private sector, and civil society, in their respective roles, of shared principles, norms, rules, decision-making procedures, and programmes that shape the evolution and use of the Internet’ (WSIS, 2005).

The Internet freedom and online terrorism are examples of the increasing non-state actors who fuel political participation in cyber diplomacy. As a public and political sphere, the Internet is affecting the growing awareness on social, economic and political changes in society, creating some debates in Internet governance.

3.4 Diplomacy and National Cyber Security Instruments in Indonesia

Indonesia as the most Muslim-populated country is perceived as one of the bases of terrorist or Islamist extremism network. Besides cyber terrorism, Indonesia has also been experiencing national level cyber conflicts based on race, religion and ethnicity. Cyber conflicts in global and national level are demanding diplomatic and cyber security strategies that can prevent disputes between countries, to overcome the problems of war, or prevent the conflict from spreading to other places.

Terrorism is massively attacking cyber space. Cyber terrorism is the politically motivated use of computers and information technology to cause severe disruption or widespread fear in society. Their motives can be Distributed Denial of Service (DDoS) attacks, take control the

social media accounts that belong to government bodies, fraud to steal money from bank to fund their movement, organize campaign to support their terrorism and many more. Muslim people from Indonesia are lured for Jihad in Syria mainly through preaches on Internet. According to Indonesia's counterterrorism agency, on January 2014, there were about 50 Indonesians who had gone to fight in Syria (Kwok, 2014).

In response to cyber conflict in global level and contributing to world peace, it is recommended to provide foreign policy of Republic of Indonesia to address digital governance and citizenship in cyber era as a contemporary diplomacy movement. 'Today's foreign policy is as much about digital citizenship as it is about digital government and digital economy. It is about understanding who the players are and understanding how to interact with them. It is as much about local communities as it is about the international arena' (Bisogniero, in Sandre, 2015). Cyber security has become an agenda in E-diplomacy as the enforcer of world peace and security in cyber era. 'One of the main functions of diplomacy in the future will be to manage conflict and tension increasingly interconnected cyber world. There is a growing need for this function of diplomacy. By whom, how and where it will be performed remains to be seen' (Kurbalija, 2010).

National cyber security instruments are a set of strategies applied in many countries for digital governance and citizenship in national level. The European Union (2013, p.3) in its Cybersecurity Strategy describes cyber security as 'safeguards and actions that can be used to protect cyber domain, both in the civilian and military fields, from those threats that are associated with or that may harm interdependent networks and information infrastructure.' Cyber security management is regulated through technical mechanism of the ICT security skill or socio-political strategy in every country, similar to the form of regulation or legal policy in national and international level.

In response to cyber terrorism or cybercrime in general, many countries have developed Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT). In Indonesia, the community of techies independently created the Indonesia Computer Emergency Response Team (ID-CERT) team since 1998. This community also works with CERT teams in Asia Pacific region such as Japan, South Korea and Australia and created Asia Pacific CERT (APCERT). ID-CERT reactively responds to society requests related to Spam, Networking incident (DDoS attack, deface, etc.), phishing, malware and others (Indonesia CERT, no date). CERT can provide assistant when it comes to incidents and attacks, but not when it comes to the use of the Internet by terrorists for propaganda or for internal communications that provoke conflicts. Another institution established by Indonesia government is Indonesia Security Incident Response Team on the Internet Infrastructure/Coordination Centre (ID-SIRTII/CC), in accordance with the State Ministry of Communications and Information Regulation Number 26/PER/M.KOMINFO/5/2007 on Internet-Protocol-Based Telecommunications Network Utilization Security, which was published on May 4th, 2007. The main duties of ID-SIRTII/CC are to coordinate with relevant parties on IT security (information systems security); to do early monitoring, early detection and early warning against threats to the telecommunications network from within and outside the country, especially in the security measures of network utilization; and to create/run/develop and record the database of log files and Internet security statistics in Indonesia (ID-SIRTII, no date). In terms of legal policy, Indonesia already has Law No. 11 of 2008 on Information and Electronic Transactions.

In terms of the analysis of policies and regulations in Indonesia that provide protection against discrimination and abuse regarding ethnics, religions an races, it is important to understand the spirit of respect for the diversity of religions/beliefs, races and other identities, at least through referring to the view of Sukarno, the founding father of the country, towards Republic of Indonesia. It is important to visit the idea of diversity because the main problem faced by a

country with diverse religions/beliefs, ethnics and other identities are the contestation and rivalry between the diverse particularistic values. This main problem also arises in contestation on Internet that has become a politic space for the citizen and the country.

The following is the main idea of Sukarno's view on diversity in the beginning of the development of Indonesia nation: According to Hasani (2011, p. 11 - 12) pluralism (diversity) is a natural condition that initiates a new order called nation. Pluralism is an underlying condition of a pre-nation that will be passed when the establishment of the nation has been verified. Therefore, the establishment of nations becomes the resolver of particularism that arises in every different value system. Regarding religious beliefs, Sukarno stated that:

Divine Principle! Not only that the Indonesia nation ought to believe in God, but each Indonesian citizen ought to believe in her/his own God. ... Let us all believe in Gods. Indonesia nation ought to be a country in which every citizen can worship her/his God freely. All citizens ought to believe in God in a cultured manner where there is no 'religious egoism.' And Indonesia is ought to become a Nation that believes in Gods! (Sukarno, 1945).

With that construction, Sukarno defined a nation as a universal framework that resolves various particularistic value systems including religions, social classes, ethnicities and groups. Hasani (2011, p.11 – 12) finds that 'by putting nation as a 'unifier' Sukarno viewed diversity as a 'natural condition' that generically underlies all citizens before a nation is established. Therefore, a nation, from the point of view of Sukarno, transforms this natural condition to become a 'legal condition'. In strengthening the identity of the country and nation, Sukarno did not intend to kill particularistic systems such as religions, customs and ethnicities, but to put it under a statehood belief.'

The particularistic system addressed in the statehood belief is further translated into the nation's motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, which means unity in diversity. According to experts (Kansil and Christine, 2011) *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is regulated in Clause 36 A of the 1945 constitution. After being amended for four times (in 1999, 2000, 2001 and 2002), it says that 'The symbol of the Nation is Garuda Pancasila with *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as the motto.' This motto is also written on the ribbon held by the Garuda Bird. This motto is taken from the statement of a literature, Empu Tantular, which means, 'among difference there is unity.'

According to the Rector of Proklamasi 45 University, Raharjo (2016, p.7) 'Pancasila consists of five essences: (*Sila* one) Believe in the one supreme God as a basic framework of the citizens' morality and behavior. (*Sila* two) Justice and civilized humanity as a social basis between compound individuals, religions and groups to create humanity and civilization when every citizen achieves their human right. (*Sila* three) The unity of Indonesia as a bond that forms kinship and mutual cooperation principles. (*Sila* four) The democracy led by understanding among honourable representatives from parliament house serves as principles of leadership and the citizens' representation. (*Sila* five) Social justice for all the people of Indonesia is the purpose of the nation, the citizen and the country. All of them are not supposed to be overlapping but stand integrally.'

Those basic philosophical outlooks on Pancasila and the motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* are later translated into constitutional protections that are more operational and binding on the 1945 constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The protection of the citizen against discrimination includes expressing and preserving the diversity of customs and religions/beliefs, as well as other assurances relevant to the rights of free thinking, to express ideas and to use technologies that are directly related to the citizens' activities on the Internet.

The protection of the citizen against discrimination based on the diversity of races, religions/beliefs and other factors is based on three clauses on the 1945 constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. First, Chapter X – Citizens and Residents, Clause 27, Article (1) that protects the position of all citizens within the law and government. Second, Chapter XA – Human Rights, Clause 28 A that protects the rights of all individuals to live and sustain their life and livelihood. Third, Clause 28D Article (1) that assures every individual to have the rights of fair legal recognition, security, protection and certainty, as well as equal treatment before the law (Republic of Indonesia, 1945). The protection of the diversity of tribes, ethnics and customs is regulated in two clauses on the 1945 constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. First, clause 36A that says that the symbol of the Nation is Garuda Pancasila with *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as the motto. Second, clause 32(1) on protection from the nation related to the freedom of the citizens in sustaining and developing their cultural values, and article (2) says that the nation respects and protects traditional languages as national cultural treasures (Republic of Indonesia, 1945). The protection of the citizen against discrimination in relation to the diversity of religions/beliefs is regulated on the 1945 constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Chapter XA, Human Rights, Clause 28 E article (1) that said that every individual has the right to have a religion and practice religious rituals according to the religion; to choose education, work, and nationality; to choose residents in the nation and leave it, and the rights to come back. (2) Every individual has the right to believe in a belief, express their ideas and behaviour according to their heart (Republic of Indonesia, 1945).

According to Halili (2015, p.4), in various instruments of international human rights, the freedom of religions/beliefs is substantially seen as an individual right that cannot be reduced or postponed regarding the fulfilment (non-derogable rights). Therefore, the freedom of

religions/beliefs, both for individuals and groups, has to be protected by nations. Non-derogable rights principle emphasizes that rights are absolute and therefore cannot be dismissed or postponed in any situation.

The right of speech is regulated in 2 clauses on the 1945 constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. First, in Chapter ZA – Human Rights, Clause 28E (3): Every individual has the rights of association, assembly and express ideas. Chapter X - Citizens and Residents, Clause 28 about freedom of association, assembly and express ideas in spoken and written forms is protected by law (Republic of Indonesia, 1945).

1945 constitution of the Republic of Indonesia also protects the rights related the use of technology which is very closely related to the Internet era in 2 following clauses: Clause 28C (1) every individual has the right to develop themselves through the fulfilment of their basic needs, to get education and take benefit from the knowledge and technology, art and culture. Chapter XA - Human Rights, Clause 28 F said that every individual has the right to communicate and receive information for personal development and social environment, as well as the tight to search, collect, own, save, process and deliver information using any available platform (Republic of Indonesia, 1945).

In the level of regulation, the followings are the other laws and policies that go in line with the constitution. The protection of citizens against discrimination on the diversity of races and ethnicities is regulated in clause 7 of Indonesian Republic Law No. 40 of 2008 on the Elimination of Racial and Ethnical Discrimination (Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia, 2008): The clause regulates the responsibility of the national and regional government to protect the citizens that are discriminated through courts, indemnities

and eliminate and revise or change, dismiss or cancel laws and regulation that are discriminative. The racial and ethnical discriminations regulated in the Clause 1 refer to all forms of distinction, exclusion, restriction or selection based on race or ethnic, that led to reduction or revocation of recognition, acquisition or implementation of human rights and basic freedom in an equality in the field of civil, politic, economy, social and culture. The aforementioned race refers to nation groups based on physical characteristics and lineage. While ethnics are groups of people based on beliefs, values, customs, language norms, history, geography and family relationships.

The regulation that prohibits the exhibition and deployment of hate is regulated in the following laws and regulations:

- Discriminative act is regulated in clause 4 and clause 7 of Indonesian Republic Law No. 40 of 2008 on the Elimination of Racial and Ethnical Discrimination (Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia, 2008). Discrimination refer to showing hatred towards people with different race and ethnicity by making writings or pictures to be placed, displayed or distributed in public places or any place where they can be seen or read by other people and making a speech, a statement or particular words in public places or any place where they can be heard by other people;
- Circular Letter No: SE/6/X/2015 on Hate Speech Handling (Indonesian National Police, 2015) describes that hatred refers to something intended to provoke or incite hatred towards individuals and/or groups of people in various communities which are distinguished by the aspect of tribe, religion, cult, religion/belief, race, intergroup, skin colour, ethnicity, gender, disability and sexual orientation. While the distribution of hate speech refers to campaign oration, banner, social media, demonstration, religious lecture, printed and electronic mass media and pamphlet. This Circular Letter also

described the duty of Indonesian National Police to perform preventive actions and intelligent and legal attempt according to applicable laws.

- Clause 28 of Republic of Indonesia Law No.11 of 2008 on Information and Electronic Transaction (Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia, 2008) regulates the prohibition to all individuals to intentionally and without any entitlement spread information that aims to provoke hate or hostility between particular individuals and/or groups of people based on ethnicity, religion, race and intergroup.

3.5 Diplomacy and Cyber Peace

Cyber war and cyber security are frequently considered as negative peace approaches that prioritize national security and select action and thought patterns of military techniques. Cyber peace is one of the strategies in peace building on Internet to address cyber conflict, which has been discoursed as positive peace.

Since 2011, the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) as the leading United Nations agency for information and communication technology issues, in collaboration with World Federation of Scientists (WFS), has been promoting the concept of cyber peace in response to cyber war, cyber terrorism and cybercrime globally. Wegener *et al.* (2011) in her study have found that:

'Important planks for peace and a culture of peace are not only the non-use of force, and the promotion and practice of non-violence, but a shared set of values and modes of behaviour, international order and lawfulness, positive, dynamic participatory processes and human rights (cited are, among others, adherence to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and understanding, promotion of conflict resolution).'

The work on cyber peace also involves the peace research community. ITU believes that, to achieve the mutual goal of ensuring Cyber Peace, collaboration between ITU and members of the science and technology community is critical. The effort to confront the threat of cyber war cannot be effective without the involvement of those with expert knowledge and insight of the technologies that are changing the global landscape. The quest to cyber peace is calling ITU country members to support the initiative globally.

The pattern used by cyber peace is human security or individual to whom safety is prioritized, not the nation's, and the development of peaceful behaviour in the cyber space. Cyber security and cyber peace can be two mutual things that support one another for the safety and peace in the national, international and civil society level. Both of the cyber security and cyber peace mechanism integrate the role of state on non-state actors to create cyber security in positive peace framework. Roff on her research finds that:

Violence, then, may happen between individuals, between structures and individuals or even between structures. It does not merely focus on the human agent, but also include objects, as well as physical and psychological states. Thus, on Galtung's account 'peace as the absence of violence' comes in two distinct forms: negative peace and positive peace. Negative peace is the absence of direct personal violence. Positive peace, however, is the absence of structural violence. Achieving positive, then is to change the social structure that enables stratification, inequality, and disequilibrium. It is a more robust concept than the absence of individuals directly harming each other physically or mentally. From a cyber security perspective, both the human security and positive peace framework give us better purchase on establishing cyber security in hopes for cyber peace. (Roff, 2016, p.8).

To implement cyber peace Indonesia that contributes to the realization of cyber peace in the global level, it is important to understand the socio-political condition in the *Orde Baru* (New Order) period, reformation period and digital era in Indonesia. Since Reformation period (1998), Indonesia has been facing at least two challenges in attempting to reform the politic, social, culture and economy. The two situations are: (1) a transition period from the authoritarian style of New Order period to the democratic period as a consequence of the opening of democratic doors; 2) digital era that changes and influences all aspects of life, including the statehood, which is also experienced globally by other countries around the world. The characteristics of the digital era are the fast speed of the publishing and spreading of information with no racial, religious, state and national barriers and the fast speed of technological development, which tend to push forward democratization in all aspects of life.

The two situations support, among others, the practices of freedom of speech for citizens that has been given constitutional protection, which in the 1945 constitution. However, the protection of the freedom of speech exists in the mind of some Indonesian citizens who inherit intolerance issues towards the reality of the nation that is diverse regarding religions/beliefs, ethnicities that come with other outlook diversity. Some of the roots of the inherited issues are the annexation of Indonesia to Papua (Sukarno Presidency period); monolithic in discoursing the 1965 event; the existence of Islamic groups that have gained their space during the end of New Order (Suharto Presidency period) that continuously claim their political space until Reformation period. The reclamation efforts were materialized through intolerant behaviours to other minor Islamic groups, other religions/beliefs and groups that promote diversity; and other ethnical conflicts that come with different religions, such as Balinuraga-Hindu and Lampung-Muslim in Lampung province.

With this kind of mind set, democratic doors that have been opened and digital technology acceleration are becoming risky in terms of them being the space for conflicts. The conflict

spaces can take the form of: intolerant education such as praising a certain religion/belief, ethnicity, political view and disparage everything outside its fundamentals; incitement, hatred spreading and appeal or threat to perform discrimination, violent and attack expressed through the exposure of community leaders, religious leaders and state officials in the television, online media, BBM broadcast and social media—Facebook, Twitter, LINE, etc. The use of the Internet as conflict space comes with, correlated to and influences the offline-world.

To face the two challenges, citizens need to have the initiatives to recover justice and unity of the nation, which include the recovery of respect towards diversity and peace, which are promoted through the Internet. The efforts to promote diversity and peace also remind Indonesia nation to have their ways of life in accordance with the philosophy of the nation which is Pancasila and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*; the philosophy that taught citizens to respect each other and to prioritize unity and justice in diversity. Also, the constitutional protection of 1945 constitution of the Republic of Indonesia on equality protection for all citizen and the protection against discrimination based on religions/beliefs, ethnicities, races and intergroup. The efforts to promote diversity and peace are also in line with other laws and regulations that are more technically regulate the protection of the diversity of religions/beliefs and ethnicities and the prohibition of hate provocation, they are: Indonesian Republic Law No. 40 of 2008 on the Elimination of Racial and Ethnical Discrimination, Indonesian Republic Law No. 11 of 2008 on Information and Electronic Transaction and Circular Letter of the Head of Indonesian National Police No: SE /6/X/2015 in the Handling of Hate Speech.

Therefore, the efforts to promote diversity and peace through the Internet are steps that go in line with the philosophy, constitution, laws and other relevant regulations. It is crucial to have a strategy and effort to encourage and support the state and non-state actors to be involved in the promotion of diversity and peace through the Internet. Every state and non-state actors can play

the role of those promoters with a proper provision in terms of perspectives, knowledge, principles and etiquettes in using the Internet, as well as the skills to utilize the Internet.

3.6 The Concept of Peace and Peace Building

This subsection will provide a brief explanation on peace and peace building as a step in the process of peace that can be done by citizens. This explanation is expected to provide basic knowledge for the citizens that will be involved as peace builder concerning the issue of respect towards the diversity of religions/beliefs and ethnicities both in their community or the developing discourse in the national level to which their local surroundings will be affected.

In order to understand peace, Galtung (2003, p.3-5) suggests citizens understand violence. This is because the effort to make peace is closely related to the effort to reduce violence (remedy) and avoid violence (prevention). He divided violence into three categories; they are: (1) indirect violence that come from the social structure itself –between people, between groups of people (citizens), between groups of citizens (alliance, territory) in the world. Inside an individual, there is also an indirect mental violence that is undesirable that come from personality structure; (2) structural violence in the form of repression and exploitation that come from the structure of political decisions and economical transactions; (3) cultural violence that is symbolic, in religion and ideology, in language and art, in knowledge and the law, in the media and education. The function of this cultural violent is to legitimate direct violence and structural violence. The aforementioned violence influences one another from cultural violence via structural violence to direct violence.

Arise from the assumptions above, it can be understood: *Peace = direct peace + structural peace + cultural peace*. But according to Galtung, that definition is faced with a big problem because it is too static. Therefore he proposes a dynamic peace concept, it says: *Peace is what we possess when creative conflict transformation is done without violence*. In other words,

peace can be seen as a system characteristic, a context in which particular things can especially happen. The meaning of peace requires the system and actors involved in a conflict to be creative and avoid violence because the transformation process of conflict into peace ought to be carried peacefully or contain a low structural and cultural violent level. The system and the involved actors at least have to carry low violence level. A process that happens in the middle of peace cultured atmosphere that legitimate creative and nonviolence handling of conflict, by eliminating physical and verbal violence.

In understanding peace as a transformation process of conflict into peace, citizens also need to understand the types of conflict in the steps of addressing conflicts. According to Baadilah (2016), 'in Indonesian context, conflict can be understood as some things related to the initial situation of the transition to democracy marked by the following conflicts:

1. Conflict in a form of opposition, marked by the arising of the will to decide one's faith (of self-determination), and to further be separated (succession/separation) from Indonesia, such as the conflict between a freedom movement and the government of the Republic of Indonesia in Aceh and Papua.
2. Communal conflict or civil war between communities of different ethnics, religions, social classes, political affiliations, between native inhabitants and transmigrates and the conflicts that occur because of socio-economic and cultural factors such as those in Maluku, Poso, Sambas, Sampit, Pontianak and Lampung.
3. Social class conflict consists of modes of production conflict; natural resources conflict; ethnical and racial conflict; religious conflict; sectarian conflict; political conflict; communal conflict; territorial conflict; regional conflict; inter-state conflict.

There are four steps in addressing conflicts and avoiding more critical situations (Northern and Commonwealth, no date), as follow:

- Conflict Prevention means to prevent and resolve a conflict before it causes violence is cheaper, in a financial term, compared to addressing it when it has been escalated or worse. Prevention involves acts to resolve the cause of conflicts: acts that strengthen the government, increase access to Human Rights, support economic and social development, destroy weapon and develop the custom of resolving conflict without violence.
- Peace making is the first step in resolving violence conflict. Peace requires diplomatic steps to start a negotiation for cease-fire/peace agreement approved by all parties involved in the conflict. The agreement process needs to be done both at a formal level and a non-formal level to end the violence conflict. Peace making also covers the use of armed force to prevent, suppress or stop hostility between the parties in conflicts.
- Peacekeeping. In a situation where peace agreement runs brittle, the existence of neutral groups such as foreign party, military expert, civil servant and Human Rights expert can help encourage conflicting groups to avoid the recurrence of violence. Peacekeeper can involve the development of and policy about buffer zone, demobilization and military aid disarmament, the development of communication between parties and the protection of humanitarian aid delivery.
- Peace building can be in the form of efforts to address the root of violence conflicts to strengthen the relationship between conflicting groups with the aim to achieve long-term stability through peace, democracy and development. Peace building is more than rebuilding infrastructure; it also rebuilds the institutions and mechanism that support the function of civilization: a civilization where rivalry on needs and interests is managed through negotiation and prioritize consensus instead of using violence.

Peace building is also a process to preserve sustainable and complex peace that will depend on the acknowledgement of how peace, democracy and development are mutually reinforcing. Without democracy and equal economic development and

sustainable peace building will not survive and inequality can cause fidgetiness; and without peace, the enjoyment of the development will rapidly disintegrate. Therefore, peace building strategies much address both development and the governmental priorities. The government must rebuild the basic function of a nation (security, law enforcement, income management, public service and the improvement of economic development and poverty reduction) and rebuild the relationship between citizens and the nation [the structure and process that facilitates communication and involvement between citizens and state institutions and support the effective and legitimate nation] (Northern and Commonwealth, no date).

Considering that step, state and non-state actors can be involved in the peace building process. According to expert (Sommer, no date) there are seven roles that can played by state and non-state actors in the peace building process they are in protection, monitoring, advocacy, socialization, social cohesion, facilitation and service delivery:

1. In protection, peace builders protect individual freedom and rights against attacks and despotism from the nation or other authorities.
2. In monitoring, peace builders monitor the centre of power, the state apparatus and the government.
3. In advocacy, peace builders articulate interests and raise citizens' awareness.
4. In socialization, peace builders contribute to the establishment and the development of democratic practices among citizens.
5. In social cohesion, peace builders strengthen the bond between citizens, develop social provision, and develop communities.
6. In facilitation, peace builders become the intermediary between citizens and the nation.
7. In service delivery, state and non-state actors delivers public services that can become the entrance for the civil society to be functioned.

According to above roles, peace builders at least take their socialization role and social cohesion efforts, especially those who will use Internet to optimize the roles. To play the peace builder roles, there are several things to be ethically considered for state and non-state actors who will work for peace. As well as principles and etiquettes in using Internet so that they can optimally play the peace building roles. The third guideline will be elaborated in the following subsection.

3.7 Principles and Etiquettes in Using the Internet

To work using the Internet, there are three things peace builders need to understand before starting their work. First, knowing the personality or personal ethical behaviour that they need to develop. Second, understanding the principles of using the Internet that respects diversity and peace, that goes in line with the philosophy of the nation, the laws and relevant regulations. Third, mastering the techniques and skills to use Internet technology.

Galtung (2003, p.597-600) suggests that the people who work for peace must have the skills, but not having the skills does not mean that they should be eliminated to do honest work, not to achieve popularity, but to work invisibly instead. As people who work to reduce sufferings and improve live that include all life, human and nature, peace builders must train themselves in relation to brain realism and heart idealism as elaborated below:

- Brain realism, the ability to absorb, produce and store holistic knowledge, not just trans disciplinary, and global knowledge, not only transnational – knowledge that is realistic to achieve adequacy.
- Heart idealism, because the struggle for peace also usually means the struggle to surpass empiric reality (and knowledge are usually empiric-based) that frequently do not let conflict to transform in a peaceful and non-violence way. Imagination in the form of utopian situations, which are more peaceful and go beyond empiric situation, is also

needed. Compassion and fortitude are also needed. Fortitude is the ability to keep going despite no positive feedback or no feedback at all.

3.8 Promoting Local Wisdom for Cyber Peace and Cultural Diplomacy of Indonesia

To realize cyber peace, Indonesia can implement the glocalization strategy (think global and act local) by using the local wisdom that respects diversity and peace values in Indonesia. The effort to promote diversity and peace through local wisdom approach can also potentially be used as a diplomatic strategy of Indonesian culture that can contribute to the realization of cyber peace and build the national brand.

In international relations scope, Indonesia as the largest Muslim-populated country in the world is perceived as one of the bases of Islamic terrorism, extremism, and fundamentalism. Considering the cyber conflict situations based on ethnicities, religions and races in a national level, and the increasing cyber conflict of Islam phobia and terrorism in a global level, Indonesia needs cyber peace to develop peace values on the Internet. Moreover, building the national brand is needed to form positive opinions from people internationally towards Indonesia as a peaceful country and nation, even though the majority of Indonesian citizens are Muslim and have diverse ethnicities, religions, and races.

The Bali bombing in 2002 that killed 202 people is one of the examples of how people from other countries responded by making a travel warning to Indonesia. This event has been affecting the economic situation of the people in Bali and Indonesia that are dependent on tourism economy sector because there was a drastic decrease in terms of the visitors and tourism investment in Indonesia, especially Bali. Since Bali bombing, it takes a quite long time to rebuild the trust from the international public towards Indonesia as a safe and comfortable tourism destination for international tourists. A study by Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia revealed that diplomats as foreign political executives have to have a sense of

awareness and consciousness about two points:

- 1) National interest and the mastery of the history of the nation's battles and the national movements, the struggle for independence, etc.
- 2) Megatrend that arises from the dynamics and dialectics of international relations and international politics.

Public diplomacy has been done by several nations in the world such as Australia, Canada, South Africa and several other countries to achieve trust or good reputation with the national and international public. Indeed, public diplomacy effort aimed at supporting the success of the foreign policy of a nation and the national interests. Tourism industry that depends so much on public attractions is very affected by the brand image of a nation. This is because the goal of brand image is to influence public opinions in seeing a country as a positive and attractive.

To promote local wisdom culture that respects diversity and peace values in Indonesia is a message that can be delivered by state and non-state actors collaboratively in public diplomacy on Internet. Without mutual support and same perspective between state and non-state actors, the goal to build positive image to the external parties of Indonesia will decrease the credibility of the Indonesian public diplomacy effort. In globalization and cyber era, the practice of diplomacy is not only carried out by state actors such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or ambassadors, but civil society can also be involved in people to people diplomacy. This process is expected to support the implementation of Indonesian public diplomacy, which is by providing balance or similarity between the opinions and perceptions of the people in a domestic scope of the nation and the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia.

Public Diplomacy (PD) originally referred to attempts by governments to influence foreign publics, to shape their views on issues and to take a more favourable view of them. It has been called: 'efforts by the government of one nation to influence public or

elite opinion in a second nation for the purpose of turning the foreign policy of the target nation to advantage.’ This led to the observation that PD was a form of government-directed propaganda. From the perspective, PD covered activities directed at foreign publics. Consequently, parallel activities by governments to secure the understanding and support of home publics concerning the external policy had to be called ‘public relations’ or domestic outreach, since diplomacy is not conducted at home (Rana, 2015).

In addition to referring to the constitution and the mechanism of cyber security in Indonesia and at the global level, cyber peace mechanism in Indonesia can be implemented through two approaches including the use of ICT to promote local wisdom that respect peace and diversity, and developing cyber peace norms and principles based on local wisdom. State and non-state actors as peace builders can implement both of the strategies by disseminating and strengthening the social cohesion in utilizing local wisdom on Internet.

3.9 Internet for Digital Diplomacy

Free and open source software (FOSS) or applications, which could be used in E-diplomacy, should be seen as an opportunity because it needs zero cost. Diplomats around the world are using social media such as Twitter, Facebook, Blog or Wikipedia for public diplomacy.

Sandre (2015, p.47-48) on his interview with Macon Phillips, the Coordinator of International Information Programs, US Department of State, wrote that three pillars of Digital Diplomacy are communication, accessibility and transparency, also about participation. Twiplomacy is a success action done by some diplomats in using Twitter for an engaging conversation with state and non-state actors. A quote from Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/Vice-President of the European Commission: “*Twitter has*

proven to be a revolutionary social network even in politics. It is an extraordinary channel of diplomacy and communication” (Twiplomacy, no date).

The use of soft power such as the promotion of Indonesian local wisdom culture to develop peace norms or values on Internet (cyber peace) is one of the functions of culture diplomacy in cyber era. An expert Benu (2014, p.xii) mentions that:

A constructive culture element is encouraged to become the identity of a nation and it is used as a diplomacy tool to win, dominate and gain benefit from the relationship between nations. America considers culture as an industry that draws benefit (profit making entertainment industry), while Canada considers culture as the nation’s identity politics. All nations, especially Indonesia, must be able to encourage their national treasures as identities as well as comparative advantages that can be used as competitive advantages in international cultural diplomacy that draw benefit for the advancement of nations and countries.

Among the rampant coverage of a war in the news that provokes numerous conflicts on Internet and other mass media, it is important to provide information contents that can reduce the tension or reconcile conflicts. Peaceful journalism perspective or peaceful news coverage using local wisdom through Internet space is a method that can be used by peace builders on Internet. Chairullah *et al.* (2015) in citing Johan Galtung and Ross Howard suggested that:

To publish information about conflicts or wars, health journalism informs more on how patients battle against their illness and find out the cause. By adopting this writing style, media prioritize the way to change the war into peace or to find an alternative solution to end the war without using violence. Media can be a conflict resolution tool

when the information is covered skilfully, respecting human rights and representing various perspectives.

In the context of global communication on Internet where every individual can become a reporter, journalist or publisher that is usually called citizen journalism, citizens are expected to be able to carry out a conflict sensitive journalism. The practice of using local wisdom as a conflict resolution strategy and to promote peace and diversity in Indonesia have actually been done by many cultures in several areas in Indonesia for centuries.

Liliweri (2014, p. 221) in taking a quote of Plato stated that:

Local knowledge is a complete library; it is apparently more valuable than all kinds of wealth. Anyone who claims to have the desire to learn to achieve truth, happiness, wisdom or knowledge must become an admirer of a book. 'Book' usually contains local knowledge from a particular culture.

Based on the report of ICSU (2002),

Traditional knowledge includes how a local community understands, interprets meaning presented by its surroundings, then how they formulate (something) using languages, symbols, names, resource usages, spiritualities and worldviews in a system classification.

The security and management of diversity and the spirit of peace unity in the constitution and local wisdom will then be the soul of the principles and etiquettes in using Internet. They are expected to be the guideline for state and non-state actors that want to promote diversity and peace (peace builders) using the Internet (cyber peace). This effort is also in line the definition

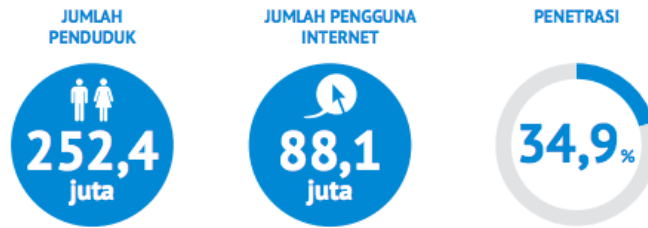
Internet governance that instructs collaborations of multi-stakeholders in creating the appropriate Internet. As written in Wikipedia, good governance is “indeterminate term” that is used in the international development of how public constitutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources. The concept of good governance centres on the responsibility of governments and governing bodies meets the needs of mass as opposed to selected groups in society. Good governance as outlined in United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (UN ESCAP), 2009) has eight major characteristics; “participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law.”

In coherences with practicing good governance, democratization is often used to emphasize peaceful conflict management and accountability. Democratic governance is encouraging state and non-state actors to work in participatory, equitable, inclusive and law-abiding decision-making process.

3.10 The Situation of the Internet User in Indonesia to Implement Cyber Peace

In implementing peace building that involves the participation of state and non-state actors, Internet becomes a strategic media to promote local wisdom. This is because the number of the Internet user in Indonesia is quite high. Therefore it has the potential to make a massive national movement for cyber peace.

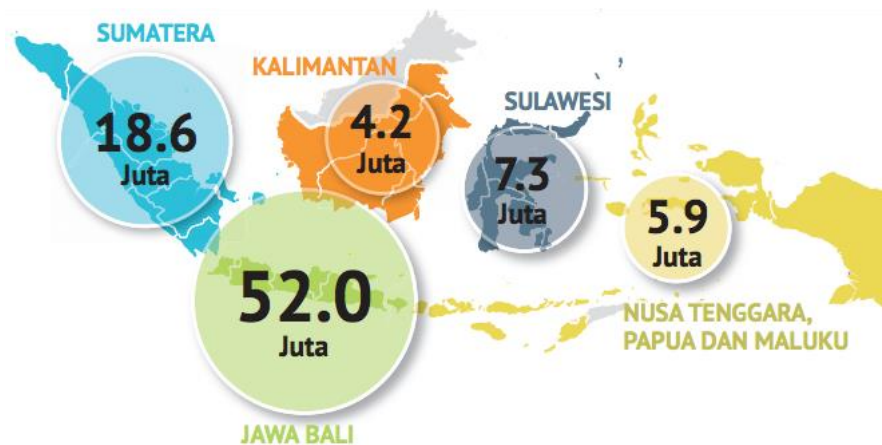
The following is the result of a research titled Indonesia Internet User Profile 2014 employed by Indonesian Association of Internet Service Providers (Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia/ APJII) and Communication Studies Center of University of Indonesia (Pusat Studi Komunikasi Universitas Indonesia/ PUSKAKOM UI) to understand the behaviour of Internet user in Indonesia. APJII found that the number of Internet user in Indonesia is 88 million people until the end of 2014.



Population (252,4 million) Internet User (88,1 million) Penetration (34,9%)

Source: Indonesia Internet User Profile 2014 – APJII & PUSKAKOM UI

In terms of regional population, the highest number of the Internet user is in West Java, which is 16.4 million users, followed by East Java, which is 12.1 million users, and Central Java, which is 10.7 million users.



The Number of Internet User According to Regional Population in Indonesia

Source: Indonesia Internet User Profile 2014 – APJII & PUSKAKOM UI

User Profiles According to Gender and Age



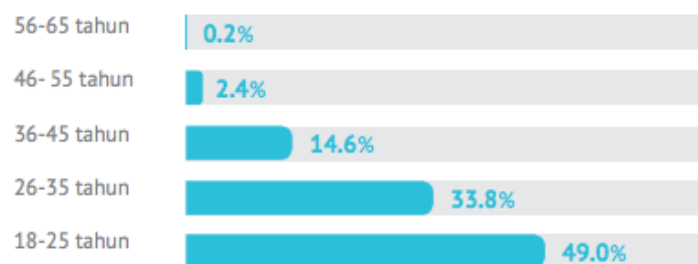
Female 51%

Male 49%

Source: Indonesia Internet User Profile 2014 – APJII & PUSKAKOM UI

The research from APJII in 2014 found that there are more female Internet users than male Internet users. The majority of Internet users live in urban area.

According to the age, the majority of the Internet user in Indonesia is between 18-25 years old, which is almost a half of the total Internet users in Indonesia. Meaning, it can be said that the segment of Internet users in Indonesia consist of those who are categorized as ‘digital natives’. Digital natives are the people who were born during the development of digital technology. In other words, they belong to a generation where Internet had already existed when they were born—they are under 24 years old. Additionally, digital immigrants are those who were born before Internet was found—they are above 25 years.



The Number of Internet User According to Age

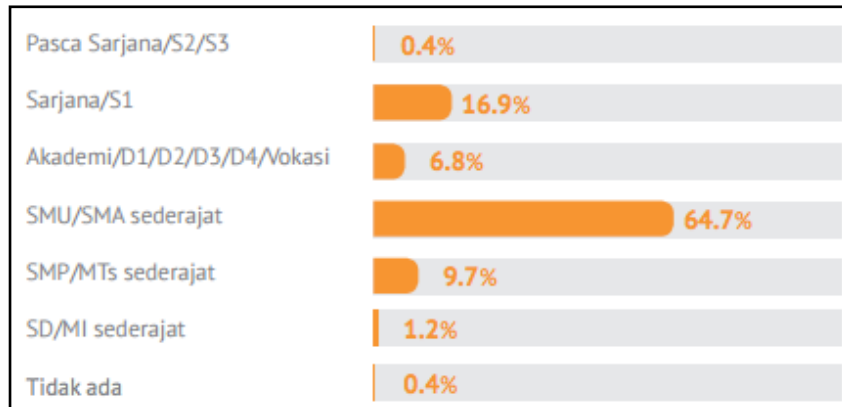
56 – 65 years old: 0.2%
46 – 55 years old: 2.4%
36 – 45 years old: 14.6%
26 – 35 years old: 33.8%
19 – 25 years old: 49.0%

Source: Indonesia Internet User Profile 2014 – APJII & PUSKAKOM UI

User Profiles According to Educational Background

In the entire provinces, the Internet users in Indonesia are mostly high school graduates. There are very few Internet users with the educational background as didn't finish primary school and master degree graduates. The result of this research shows that there is no significant difference

between the number of high school graduates Internet users in the rural and urban area and eastern and western Indonesia. Meaning, most Internet users in Indonesia, in every province, both in eastern and western Indonesia, and in rural and urban area, have graduated from high school.



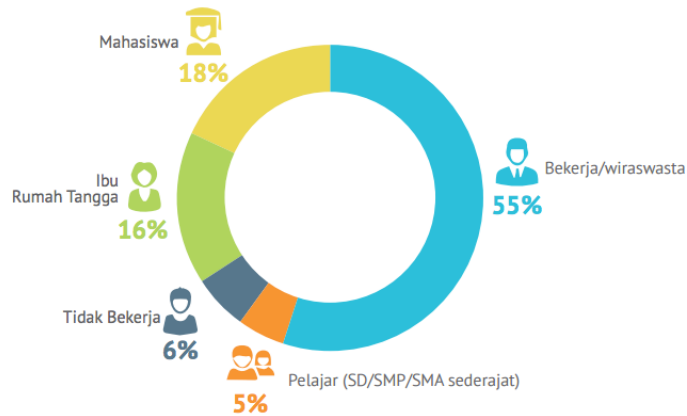
Master degree/Phd	: 0.4%
Bachelor degree	: 16.9%
Senior high school	: 64.7%
Junior high school	: 9.7%
Elementary school	: 1.2%
No education	: 0.4%

The Number of Internet User According to Educational Background

Source: Indonesia Internet User Profile 2014 – APJII & PUSKAKOM UI

User Profiles According to Activities and Occupation

The majority of Internet users in every province, both in western and eastern Indonesia, on the urban and rural area, are employees and entrepreneurs. After entrepreneurs, second most Internet users in Indonesia are tertiary students and housewives. Meanwhile, very few Internet users in Indonesia are students (Elementary School/Junior High School/Senior High School).

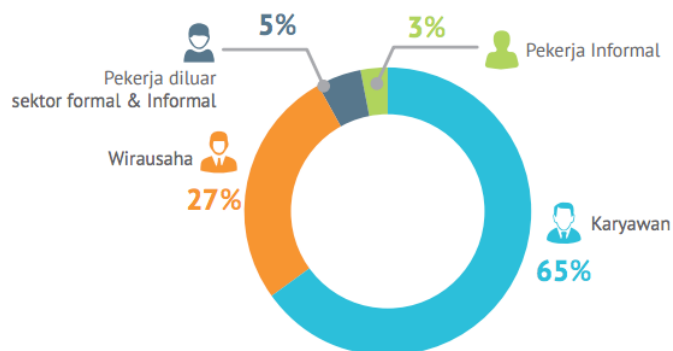


University student: 18%
Housewives: 16%
Unemployment: 6%
Student (elementary, junior and senior high school): 5%
Employment: 55%

Indonesian Internet Users' Activities Data

Source: Indonesia Internet User Profile 2014 – APJII & PUSKAKOM UI

In terms of occupation, most Internet users in Indonesia in every province work as employees and entrepreneurs. It was found both in the eastern part and western part of Indonesia, and both in the rural area and urban area in Indonesia. Only in West Papua, the Internet users work as entrepreneurs. 80% of Internet users in West Papua work as entrepreneurs.

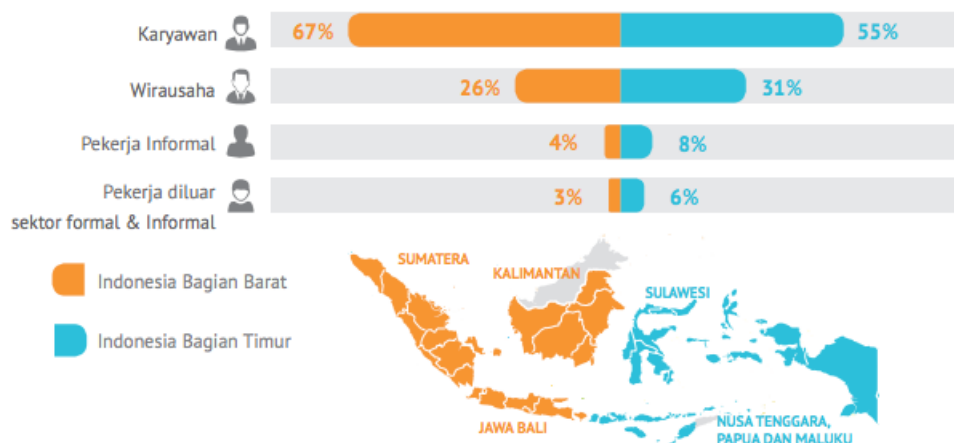


Informal worker: 5%
Entrepreneur: 27%

Employee: 65%

Internet Users' Occupation Data in National Level

Source: Indonesia Internet User Profile 2014 – APJII & PUSKAKOM UI



Employee: 67% (west) and 55% (east)

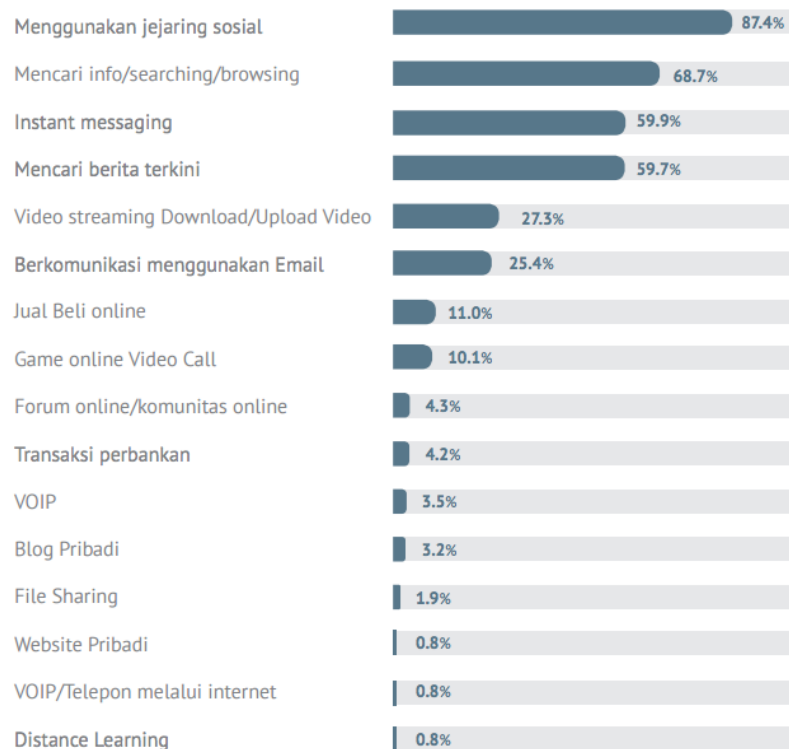
Entrepreneur: 26% (west) and 31% (east)

Informal worker: 4% (west) and 8% (east)

Internet Users' Occupation Data (Western and Eastern Indonesia)

Source: Indonesia Internet User Profile 2014 – APJII & PUSKAKOM UI

The following data represents the activities of Internet users in Indonesia when accessing Internet:



Social networking: 87.4%
Searching/browsing: 68.7%
Instant messaging: 59.9%
News: 59.7%
Video streaming/upload video: 27.3%
E-mail: 25.4%
File sharing: 1.9%
VOIP: 0.8%

E-commerce: 11%
Game online: 10.1%
Online forum: 4.3%
E-banking: 4.2%
VOIP: 3.5%
Personal blog: 3.2%
Personal website: 0.8%
Distance learning: 0.8%

Source: Indonesia Internet User Profile 2014 – APJII & PUSKAKOM UI

The data of Internet users in Indonesia can be used as a reference in promoting local wisdom to achieve peace on the Internet. In the implementation process of making cyber peace effort more effective, it is suggested to consult the active Internet users data based on the region, age, educational background, occupation and activities types of digital citizen.

CHAPTER 4

IMPLEMENTATION OF CYBER PEACE IN INDONESIA

A nation's strength ultimately consists in what it can do on its own, and not in what it can borrow from others.
Indira Gandhi

4.1 Opportunities in Implementing Cyber Peace Through the Internet

There are a number of successful experiments in the use of ICT for social change in Indonesia. These experiences can become examples and motivation for peace builders on the Internet. The patterns of interaction and communication on the Internet have changed. They are grinding down the hierarchical divide between state and non-state actors in social, political, economic, and cultural areas due to the network-of-networks and global nature of the Internet. The Internet has caused an evolution in lives both for those people who have got access to the Internet and for those who have not.

In 2005, the United Nations created a concept of the information society. Now is the time when the multimedia potential of ICT is used for development. For developing countries, such as those in Asia and Africa, the Internet is like two sides of a coin; it can be a means of supporting or inhibiting development. According to Wikipedia, Indonesia's history of the Internet began in the early 90s when it was known more as *Paguyuban* (community) networks. Then there was a warm sense of cooperation, familiarity, and collaboration among its users.

Before the era of modern and advanced communication channels, war was a matter of physical human conflict. The digital age is the battle of ideas and influence through a strategic use of ICT. A well-known writer and Internet consultant, Clay Shirky, states: ‘You do not actually control the message, and if you believe you control the message, it merely means you no longer understand what’s going on’ (Lichtenstein, 2010). In politics, communication is an important instrument since, nowadays, information is power. Soyomukti (2013, p. 23) mentions that ‘communications which involve interests to achieve, implement and share power are what we call political communications.’ The Internet becomes a political communication tool as it gains power globally.

The rapid development of ICT has brought numerous changes, where one of them the use of ICT in social movements has boosted social change in Indonesia. Some of the social movements that have been conducted this way are the following: disaster management, protest campaigns about government policy, support of public information transparency – which previously were not open to public - and educational initiatives. “Social media” describes online media where the users can easily participate, produce contents and share them with other users. The most common social media platforms used by the public are social networking sites, blogs, and wikis. Social media has become widely popular in Indonesia since 2002. Currently, ICT has become one with the conduits of social movements in Indonesia. This follows the growth of the Internet infrastructure in Indonesia, which has reached the Eastern regions of the country. There is a growing alternative among ICT tools that can be used, such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, Blogspot, Instagram, and Path.

4.1.1 The Use of ICT for Social Change

In the era of the information society, state and non-state actors are organized and linked globally for gaining political power. ICT has been used for shaping the Internet as a public and political sphere where everyone can be a publisher, reporter, or journalist, and reach national as well as international public support.

There are several success stories from a number of civilian groups in organising social change, not only locally but they could also mobilise support from international communities by mobilising networks. The following examples are some of the successes of Indonesian civil society in organising online social movements, networks, or groups that can have some influence over real offline social changes.

***Koin Peduli Prita* (Coins for Prita): The Use of ICT to Mobilise Solidarity and Influence Social Justice Regulation**

This ‘Coins for Prita’ movement was triggered by an event where Omni International Hospital filed charges against Prita Mulyasari for writing a complaint e-mail in response to the hospital’s poor quality service in 2008. In a criminal case, in response to Omni Hospital’s charges, *Kejaksaan Negeri* (District Attorney) Tangerang filed charges against Prita seeking for her to be locked up for 6 months for alleged libel. The prosecutor held her for 23 days. As reported by Jakarta Post (2009), she was charged a fine of USD 21,400 by the court's decision, based on the report of Omni International hospital under a defamation case based on Article 27 of UU ITE (Law on Information and Electronic Transactions) and also Articles 310 and 311 of the Criminal Law. The case of Prita Mulyasari in 2009 was an important moment for the reform of the Law on Information and Electronic Transactions and the Criminal Law in Indonesia.

This movement, 'Koin Peduli Prita', persuaded the community, especially the Internet users, to gather coins to be donated to Prita Mulyasari. The money would then be used to pay off Prita's fine of USD 21,400 to OMNI International Hospital Alam Sutera. The movement arose from the concerns of *Milis Sehat* (Lit. Healthy Mailing List) activists, and then became a communal movement shared and amplified through Facebook and Twitter. This 'Koin Peduli Prita' movement kept on gaining support from the society.

The unfair attitude of Omni Hospital and the law enforcers at that time had unleashed the wrath of the society. Besides protesting against Prita's imprisonment, the public gathered 'Coins for Prita' which summed up to a total amount around USD 73,000. After going through a number of legal procedures, and with the persistent support of the civil society for Prita, *Pengadilan Negeri* (District Court) Tangerang finally set Prita free.

AirPutih: the Use of ICT to Manage Aceh Tsunami Disaster in 2004

In 2004, ICT was used for the management of an extraordinary disaster, the tsunami in Aceh and Nias, North Sumatra. AirPutih dedicated itself as an ICT Emergency Response Team who went to the disaster scene to assist in the disaster management by providing the infrastructures for the Internet, a media centre, and the website to serve as a central database of disaster information. The support then evolved into supplying an Early Warning System – a system to provide early warning for tsunami potential earthquakes by sending text message to mobile phones and also to desktop or notebook computers.

The extraordinary disaster that hit Aceh was on 26th December 2004. There was a terrible earthquake in the Indian Ocean, on the west coast of Aceh on 3.298° N and 95.779 E, at a depth

of 10 km approximately 160 km west of Aceh. The 9.3 expand earthquake was the worst one to hit both South East Asia and South Asia in the last 40 years. The earthquake created a tsunami (tidal wave), which claimed more than 126,000 casualties in Aceh.

A group of youngsters who worked in the field of ICT were motivated to contribute to the disaster management in Nanggroe Aceh Darrusalam and North Sumatra. On the initiative of the members whose background is IT, the *Air Putih* team was formed to assist in Aceh disaster management, which later was called Aceh IT Media Center (AMC). Their initial effort was to establish a simple website using the URL www.airputih.or.id to mobilise assistance from communities and to bring in more ICT experts to Aceh to rebuild the collapse of its Internet network and to build the media centre needed to update the most current situation in Aceh. The efforts gained support from many different parties, from APJII (Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia/Association of Internet Providers in Indonesia), from a number of ICT companies in Jakarta and from other parties. The support provided was in the form of grants, Internet infrastructure equipment, and transportation to Aceh.

When they first arrived in Aceh, the AirPutih team managed to install an Internet network by using bamboo poles tied into an 18-metre high tower. The network went online in the evening and it became the only Internet network to allow for the exchange of post-disaster information to and from Aceh. Two days later, an Internet network was built at Aceh Governor's office *Pendopo* in Peuniti, and at the Indonesian Red Cross/Red Crescent post in Leung Bata.

Meanwhile, the Air Putih team of volunteers in Jakarta created the www.acehmedicenter.or.id website. Through this website, all important information from Aceh could be distributed to the world, when most of the communication facilities had collapsed due to the terrible damage to

the telecommunications infrastructure inflicted by the earthquake and the tsunami. One of the most beneficial features in the website was the *Missing Person*, a feature for web visitors to input the data of victims who had not been located. This data was crosschecked with the data at the Crisis Centre headquarters.

After the efforts made by the AirPutih team became more beneficial for disaster management, countless support began to flow in, from individuals, companies, organisations, and government institutions. IT companies like IBM, Hewlett-Packard, Intel, Acer, Dell, and Cisco System Indonesia assisted by providing the necessary equipment, notebooks, servers, routers, and broadcasting towers, to assist in the Internet installation in Aceh. A number of international organisations, such as the Jesuit Refugee Service, Flora Fauna International (FFI), also participated in the development of Aceh Media Centre in several locations. With all this support, Aceh Media Centre stepped further from the simple idea of assisting in the recovery of the post tsunami Aceh Internet network, and the previously spontaneous volunteers agreed to unite under an organisation named the AirPutih Foundation.

In a broader sense, AirPutih Team's activities in Aceh and Nias have been successful in the following:

1. Establishing wireless technology based IT infrastructure and Internet access through Very Small Aperture Terminal (VSAT);
2. Facilitating Internet access distribution to the public, to educational, government and non-governmental organisations, and to the United Nations, to support the speed and transparency of the reconstruction and rehabilitation processes in Aceh and Nias, North Sumatra;
3. Opening Media Centres in Banda Aceh, Calang and Nias as access points

4. Providing training in effective IT use aimed at the locals;
5. Developing and organising the portal www.acehmediacenter.or.id.

The good strong will to assist the victims, even though it was done with considerably limited resources and funds, was able to come up with concrete actions, and the role taken by AirPutih had managed to bring benefit for diverse parties. Transparency also became the keyword in building trust from the parties who were interested to contribute. As a result, all of the elements, the NGOs, government, and also the industrial world have all contributed and gained benefit from what had been done by AirPutih through its provision of the Internet infrastructure, media centre and data centre in the tsunami disaster management in Aceh and Nias, North Sumatra.

The activities done by AirPutih in Aceh and Nias during the post tsunami 2004 were examples of social movement activities spontaneously undertaken by civil society to participate in contributing to disaster management. The positive impact of their activities won them the unexpected response and support from various parties at national and international levels. The role of ICT in disaster management is also worthy of note, where it turns out that ICT is needed in facilitating parties' communication media and information publication media.

The successes of both the Coins for Prita Movement and AirPutih in the use of ICT are examples showing that the Indonesian civil community is able to influence social justice regulation and also to mobilise both national and international solidarity. The Internet has become a politically capable communication medium if it can be organised by Internet users and by Internet policymakers to evolve effectively.

4.1.2 Local Wisdom to Promote Peace in Offline and Online Spaces

Based on the success of the Coins for Prita Movement and AirPutih in the use of ICT that is effective for social change within the online space, an appropriate content selection strategy is needed to achieve an institution's or a civil community's vision and mission, in the creation of a campaign and solidarity mobilisation. To implement cyber peace, the long-standing tradition of local wisdom and ethnics' art in Indonesia's regions can be used as a conflict resolution strategy, or as the contents in a campaign or mass mobilisation to promote peace.

The following are some of the examples of local wisdom from 4 regions in Indonesia that have become the traditions and culture in the daily lives of the ethnic communities in some parts of Indonesia:

Maluku Province

- *Tifa* and *Totobuang* are traditional musical instruments and have never been influenced by the outside world. *Totobuang* music is the indigenous music of the people living in the Christian majority area, and in its performance, it is played together with *Sawat* music, which otherwise can only be played by the people living in the Muslim majority area. *Sawat* music is known by its Islamic nuance, while *Totobuang* is more attached to the Christian one. The combination of the two types of music is not only promoting artistic values and local culture, it is also filled with peaceful values and companionship between the Muslims and Christians in Maluku.

Local wisdom in art and culture in terms of the collaboration between *Sawat* and *Totobuang* music is still implemented in Maluku now. Although Maluku no longer has any conflict between Islam and Christianity, this practice is still preserved to maintain the companionship between the Muslims and the Christians.

One of the examples is the performance held recently at the Rehobot Church, Kudamati. When the Christians entered the first week of Advent, before Christmas, there was a small performance that showed the combination of *Sawat* music and the Church's horns (replacing *Totobuang*) by the Mosque's Youth and the Church Trumpeters. This was done as a part of the region's support for Muslims, to uphold inter-religion harmony and companionship, not only before Christmas but also within the lives of the community.

- *Masohi*, a term for a cooperation or collaboration in working or completing a task. In the post conflict Ambon, the Muslims and Christians often do *Masohi*, such as working together in building mosques and churches. This is done to grow mutual respect, a sense of helping each other, and harmony among the people. This local wisdom is often done within the villages that have multiple varieties of religions living together, such as Muslims, Christians, Catholics, and others. After the inter-religion conflict in Maluku, the religious and ethnic leaders initiated these activities to grow solidarity and harmony within the community.

Cirebon, West Java

- Batik Mega Mendung is a form of art that symbolises the plural fusion of Indonesian, Chinese, and European cultures. The Mega Mendung pattern depicts the clouds that appear during cloudy weather. The philosophy of the pattern carries the meaning that every human being has to be able to subdue his or her anger/emotion in whatever situation. People's hearts are expected to be at peace, even when in anger, just as the clouds that only appear during cloudy weather can also calm the surrounding situation. The colour of the Mega Mendung batik is also a symbol for leadership, where the blue

coloured cloud symbolises the character of a leader who has to safeguard the community under the leadership.

- The architectural art of the *Masjid Merah Panjunan* (Pajunan Red Mosque) located in Cirebon symbolises the fusion of the culture and religions of Hinduism and Buddhism. Inside the mosque building, there are some ceramic plates that are attached to the walls of the mosque. These symbols are represented in the process of building the mosque.

Toraja and Makassar, South Sulawesi

- **Five Genders Culture in South Sulawesi**

The five genders are as follows: *Uruane*, *Ma'kundrai*, *Calabai*, *Calalai*, and *Bissu*. *Uruane* is male, *Ma'kundrai* is female, *Calabai* is a male performing the role of a female, having the behaviour of a female. It is like a female having the body of a male. *Calalai* is a female performing the role of a male, acts as a male, or it is like a male in the body of a female.

Bissu is a group of Bugis monks and is genderless. This group of *Bissu* is generally known as beyond gender, not a male nor a female, or as a person who performs the roles in rituals, where they become the medium between humans and gods. Actually, everyone can become a *Bissu*, which means that the four mentioned gender identities *Uruane*, *Ma'kundrai*, *Calabai*, and *Calalai* may become a part of *Bissu*. This *Bissu*, however, is an impartial gender identity. *Bissu* means *Ma'bessi*. *Bessi* means clean. The person does not experience menstrual cycle, and thus, they are considered clean, having the character of a female without having a period. Therefore, the person's body is always sacred. In the Bugis-Makassar community, the one that is most possible to have an individual connection with the god is a female. However, during a menstrual cycle, a person is considered unclean and is not allowed to establish a spiritual connection

with the gods. Therefore, the role is filled with the presence of a *Calabai*. The *Calabai* is the person with a female soul but who does not experience a menstrual period. The position of *Calabai*, therefore, is considered to represent the female, and that is why the *Calabai* is more dominant as a *Bissu*. However, not all *Calabai* can become a *Bissu*. Only certain *Calabai* called *Tungke' lino* can become a *Bissu*. *Tungke' lino* is a *Calabai* who has been chosen by gods and can become a *Bissu*.

Pemaisari dance is the dance performed by the *Calabai* (transvestite) in Bone and some parts of South Sulawesi. In the past, the transvestite in the Royal Palace commonly performed the dance. The dance is still often performed during cultural events. The existence of such a dance suggests that the people of South Sulawesi are tolerant towards gender diversity and identity.

- One of the indigenous cultures of Tanah Toraja South Sulawesi is the *Tongkonan* traditional house. *Tongkonan* is a traditional house of Torajan. It consists of a wooden structure whose roof looks like a pair of horns adorned with carvings with dominant red and black colours. The word “*Tongkon*” comes from the Torajan language, which means to sit down or to sit together. One of the functions of *Tongkonan* is as a place to deliberate or to do certain rituals. *Tongkonan* also functions as the centre of culture, centre of family councils, as a place for family regulation, a place for collaboration, the centre for dynamics agents, motivators, and social stabilisers. Therefore, the function of *Tongkonan* is not only as a place to sit together, but also includes all aspects of life. Other than a traditional house, the Torajan also knows three types of *Tongkonan* according to the ethnical roles as follows: 1) *Tongkonan Layuk* – as the centre of ethnic authority and the place to make regulations; 2) *Tongkonan Pekaindoran* or *Pekanbera* –

the place to implement the regulations and ethnic laws; 3) *Tongkonan* Batu Ariri – the place to provide family counsels for those within the root of the one who established the *Tongkonan*. The *Tongkonan* is not only a traditional house, but also a symbol of the Torajan unity, based on kinfolk relationship, genealogy, flesh and blood relationship.

One *Tongkonan* is a symbol of one-clan members who owns a traditional house. In this *Tongkonan*, the religions of the members are not relevant. As long as the person is a member of one *Tongkonan*, all religions can join in. When they want to build a place of worship, there is no conflict in Toraja, in terms of building this place of worship even if it is located near others, because they are the members of one *Tongkonan*. According to the Torajan, the *Tongkonan* is more important than a conflict arising from the plan to build a place of worship. Even during the construction of the place of worship, the members can collaborate as they are bonded in one *Tongkonan*. There can be many members in one *Tongkonan*. It is possible for a *Tongkonan* to have members who are Muslims, Christians, Hindu, or other types of religions.

Tongkonan is still a well-preserved culture. Due to this *Tongkonan*, there is less conflict in Toraja. The *Tongkonan* traditional house also becomes a symbol of Torajan unity. When there is an issue that has to be deliberated, then the *Tongkonan* traditional house is the place for deliberating.

- In Onto, Bantaeng, South Sulawesi, there is a dance called Tari *Passaungangtau* (human quarrel). The dance was conceived to minimise existing conflict. There was a tendency for people in the past within the region to settle conflict in a physical brawl. Brawls between villages often occurred. To prevent wider conflict, the brawl is converted to a duel on an arena between two combatants, and this practice is called as *Passaungangtau*. For example, when there is a conflict between one community and another, then the way to solve the conflict is through a duel on an arena through certain

agreed means. After the duel, then the conflict is considered over. Nowadays, *Passaungangtau* has become a dance in the region of Onto, Bantaeng. Although a duel arena is no longer provided, the dance is still commonly performed.

Lampung Province

- There is this book that is often mentioned by the traditional leaders in the ethnic Lampung, which is called *Kuntara Raja Niti*. Inside the book, there is a legacy of values passed down in the tradition of ethnic Lampung. The values are as follows: 1) *Piil Pesenggiri* which means the behaviours that reflect moral values, aware one's place and responsibility in the society; *Bejulug Beadek*, which means having the personality according to one's traditional title; *Nemui Nyimah*, which means open characteristic, and kind towards guests; *Nengah Nyampur*, which means active in the society and not being individualistic; and *Sakai Sambayan*, which means collaboration and helping each other within the community.

Nemui Nyimah and *Bejulug Buadeg* are the two pillars in *Piil Pesenggiri* of the Lampung community. *Nemui Nyimah* is known as the ways to welcome and entertain guests, where in a wider sense it means that the ethnic Lampung has to uphold the values of peace and companionship in accepting difference from outsiders. *Bejulug Buadeg* indicates that outsiders must be considered as kinfolks and therefore be adopted as members of the family through traditional law.

- In 2005 in Lampung, a Balinese musician called *Bli Wayan* initiated the preservation of sound or musical instruments collaboration called *Gamolang Pring* or *Cetik Lampung*. He requested for the assistance of a Lampung artist called Syafril Yamin, who is active in making and playing *Cetik Lampung* music, to notate the music into musical rhythm notation and beat type emanating from *Cetik Lampung*. As an indigenous ethnic

Lampung, Syafril Yamin, has mastered the art of making and playing this Lampung traditional musical instrument. Meanwhile, *Bli Nyoman* has the expertise in interpreting rhythm and musical notation. The problems of initiating the musical collaboration occurred because Bli Nyoman is not originally from Lampung. The efforts of these two persons were challenged by the conservative ethnic community and also by members of the Balinese and Lampungnese ethnic groups who were often involved in inter-ethnic conflicts in Lampung. Syafril Yamin then solved the situation by using one of the pillars of *Piil Pesenggiri, Bejulug Buadeg* to adopt Bli Nyoman as his brother, and to bestow a traditional title on Bli Nyoman. Gamolan Pring remains a popular art among the Lampung community and has become a learning material in schools. The assistance of the musical notation made by Bli Wayan makes it easier for the community, especially school students, to learn the art of Gamolan Pring.

The examples of local wisdom that have been discussed and described by providing explanations of the philosophical meaning of each art form and culture from some parts of Indonesia are only several examples that can be used as a reference for cyber peace contents. There are many other forms of local wisdom in Indonesia that can be explored. Indonesia's rich traditional culture teaches the peace and wisdom of the traditional ethnic leaders and communities in solving conflicts.

4.2 Challenges and Empowerment on Cyber Security and Cyber Peace in Indonesia

4.2.1 Challenges and Obstacles of ICT for Social Change

The use of effective ICT for social change is not only through using a meaningful content message, but it also requires literacy in using effective Internet technology. Communication

management in media content management that is appropriate to the characteristics of the target audience group, based on age, region, and level of education, is also required.

To identify the challenges and obstacles in ICT literacy skills faced by the civil society who uses the Internet in Indonesia, the writer of this thesis organised qualitative research on ICT literacy and digital security. The regions that become the areas of research are Cirebon (West Java Province), Maluku Province, Lampung Province, and Makassar (South Sulawesi Province). The selection for the research areas is based on the writer's past experience as one of the trainers for ICT training for social change and digital security for civil society in those four regions. Besides, the four regions are located on different islands in Indonesia, to allow for varieties of perspectives from each island in Indonesia.

The writer uses qualitative data on the challenges and obstacles faced by the respondents in using smartphones, computers, and the Internet for the individuals who have and have not participated in the training. The total number of research respondents is 40, with 10 of them coming from each region. Generally, there are a number of challenges and obstacles faced by the civil community in the use of ICT for social change and digital security, as follows:

1. Internal Human Resources Limitation in Organisations to Comprehend the Use of ICT

The limitations in the capacity of the human resources in understanding and using ICT for social change have become an obstacle. The issue begins from the weak perspective and comprehension of the organisation leader or a group of civil society in viewing ICT as the strategic medium to support social change that results in the conditions for the success of the use of ICT not being met. The use of ICT requires policy decisions from

the group's leader, who is able to provide full support, where the implication of the policy may have an impact on the policy of resources allocation, such as funding, human resources, strategic partner selection, and program planning.

Another obstacle is the capacity of the organisation staff or the person in charge of the use of ICT for social change. Often the ignorance of the organisation staff or the person in charge on the methodology or the stages that have to be followed in the use of ICT has resulted in failure. Failure often occurs due to reckless planning and focusing more on developing the tools for ICT. As a result, the developed tools are not appropriate for the target audience. Moreover, the human resource capacity is limited in operating the tools used for social change, such as the capacity for website management or social media management.

2. Weak Planning

An organisation or a civil community individual is often unaware of program planning or ICT related activities. Generally, the organisation's focus is only on the process of tool making, but they do not think of planning for the operation of the developed tools, let alone of further improving the tools. As an example, an organisation may invest a quite large sum of money for website development, but it does not have any preparation for website operation, such as preparing for the infrastructure, hiring appropriate and qualified human resources, or budget allocation for technical and security maintenance. Therefore, we find many civil society organisations that have initiated social movements that implement ICT fail to survive, and their developed tools are not well managed.

3. Lack of Awareness about Digital Security

Lack of awareness about and skills in digital security of the civil society organisations have become major issues in the success of social movements, either at an individual level or among the social movement organisation actors who develop various tools to support social movements. At the individual level, several cases of data loss due to missing laptops, viruses, or other disturbances have become the obstacles for these individuals. Moreover, cases of hacked email, or of hacked social media accounts such as on Facebook and Twitter have often occurred.

At the organisation level, the developed tools, such as websites or social media, in some cases have faced the obstacles of hacker infiltration, or hacked websites which resulted in changes to the website interface. Furthermore, awareness of the need to secure important accounts on the media used by the organisation is rather low. In some cases, the organisation's own website, and also its social media account, is not under the control of the organisation or the civil society group itself, but the operational control is by an external party. The negative impact for the organisation is that they have to start from zero in developing their website, social media, or other ICT tools after they have experienced a security breach in their used media or ICT tools. This is due to the organisation's lack of control of their own tools.

4.2.2 Lessons from ICT and Digital Security Training for Civil Society Empowerment

The experience of the writer, who has been involved in an ICT trainer team for social change and digital security in some parts of Indonesia, has provided a number of lessons from the training processes. The lessons are then made into qualitative research material to recommend

the improvement of ICT literacy and digital security for individuals or civil society groups in general.

The writer, who has participated in a trainer team, has organised a set of ICT and digital security training as an effort to improve the capacity of civil society in the use of ICT in 4 cities, namely at Bayt Al Hikmah in Cirebon (West Java), DAMAR Women Advocacy Institution in Lampung, Gamacca Makassar, and the Community Development Participation Institution in Ambon. In general, the training is meant to improve the skills and knowledge capacities of the participants in the use of ICT for social change and to improve the participants' skills in securing their computer and smartphone devices to support organisational works, so they acquire the basic technical skills of cyber security.

During the training, the materials delivered in each region are different, but they are made appropriate to the skills and needs of the participants. Each training begins with providing questionnaires to all of the participants to measure the capacity of the participants in using ICT, which includes computer skills, smartphone or cellular phone skills, and their use of the Internet. The questionnaire also provides a space for the participants to report the problems they face in relation to the use of computers and cellular phones. The result of the questionnaire is then used as the basis to decide on the materials for the training.

In general, the training participants in the 4 cities are quite enthusiastic about following the training and receiving real benefit since the materials and the delivered practice are relevant to their needs and provide the answers to the problems they face in relation to the use of computers or smartphones. This can be seen from the results of the evaluation at the end of the

session where the participants give their scores on 3 aspects, the materials, trainers, and logistics.

Some lessons that can be taken from the ICT and Digital Security training in the 4 cities are as follows:

1. The administration for the ICT training requires thorough planning. There should be comfortable and adequate space availability, standard equipment, and an Internet connection. The need for a fast and stable Internet connection is crucial, since, during the training, the participants may need it to access the sites that provide digital security tools. Space availability and a conducive environment must also be provided, so that the participant's concentration and focus would not be disturbed during the training. These lessons are relevant, especially during the session in Ambon, Maluku, where slow and unstable Internet access disturbed the process of training. The availability of a backup Internet connection is beneficial during Internet connection errors. The unequal distribution of Internet infrastructure, otherwise known as the digital divide, in some parts of Indonesia, especially in the eastern regions of Indonesia, was demonstrated.
2. In administering ICT training that requires special equipment such as notebook computers or smartphones, special preparation to establish availability of the equipment to participants is required. The lesson was relevant during the training in Makassar, where one of the training materials was on digital security for Android smartphones. However, there were some participants who did not have an Android smartphone, so in the training they were not able to practice the explanations given by the trainer. The digital security tool or application available in the training is generally meant for Android smartphone users. Other than the smartphones, standard specifications for

computers are also required, in consideration of the weight and size of cyber security applications provided during the training.

3. Flexibility in the administration of the training is also needed in considering the situation and the scale of the participants' needs. This lesson was learned during the session on the computer optimisation material, which in reality required extra time, especially during the training in Ambon, Maluku. The participants became enthusiastic when the trainer delivered material on the way to optimise computers and make them faster with minimum trouble. Most of the participants felt that the speed of their laptops was giving them trouble, so the trainer offered an extra session after the end of the training.

4. Training on ICT for social change and digital security was the need requested by almost all of the participants. During the training, not all of the materials provided in the training module were available, due to the need for new materials that came up during the process of the training, so the trainer had not prepared written material. In such a situation, the trainer provides the explanation on the method to find a method, which follows the proverb saying 'give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime'. The trainer explained that the available knowledge on ICT is vast. Furthermore, the rapid development of ICT may result in the module having a relatively short span of material relevance. It is highly possible that today's module will no longer be relevant in the following 6 months. The trainer provided a way to find a solution by providing some tips on how to make use of the Google search engine to find the solution for the problem being faced. In addition, the explanation on the habits or the behaviour to be adopted in using ICT for digital

security was also delivered in the form of training material. Therefore, the approach was not purely technical, but also raised awareness and comprehension, and taught behaviour outside of the technical materials. One lesson was to always secure one's netbook or laptop during travel or meetings, and not to leave it without supervision. Furthermore, not to share any passwords of Internet accounts with other parties.

Based on the writer's own experience in delivering ICT training for social change and digital security, some empowerment recommendations for civil society groups in the use of ICT and Digital Security to improve capacity in the future are as follows:

1. Improve the capacity in the use of ICT of institution leaders or individuals

The comprehension of the institution leader or civil society group in viewing ICT as an organisational strategic tool for social change has become a crucial factor. The understanding will result in the improved availability of probability factors for the success of social change from the use of ICT. The factors are the following: policy, work plan design, structure and task sharing, and human resources allocation. The institution or organisation leader has to enrich his/her insight and knowledge on how to manage an ICT based organisation, an organisation that puts ICT as the organisation's strategic tool to achieve the organisation's vision and mission and also as a strategic tool for social change.

Skill capacity improvement for individual or organisation staff is also needed, especially for the individual responsible for the media, communication, and campaign in either the managerial or the technical area. The individuals working in the managerial area require capacity empowerment on methodological understanding, so the use of ICT goes through appropriate processes and stages from planning, developing, operating, to

further development. Meanwhile, individuals working in the technical area require technical skill empowerment on operating and organising the ICT tools used.

2. The need for comprehensive planning

To build a social movement through the use of ICT is better done with comprehensive planning, which covers building, operating, and developing. The planning should not focus only on building the tools, but also think about when the tools are developed and operated.

3. The need for digital security awareness

The social movement initiated by civil society groups will raise negative reaction from the opposing parties who have different views on a social and political issue. Therefore, when the civil society group is going to make use of ICT for social change, they have to be aware of the importance of security on their devices, from the personal level to the institutional level. Speaking of the personal level, security measures on the devices used by the individuals who have an important role within an institution or organisation must secure the computer, laptop, or smartphone's existing data. At the organisation level, security measures on the tools or technologies used by the organisation, such as websites, social media, or SMS gateways are needed.

Based on the writer's explanation on her experience as a trainer of ICT for social change and digital security, it can be concluded that the literacy capacity for human resources of the Indonesian civil society groups still need more improvement. ICT for social change and digital security education and training, and other supporting factors, such as modules or publications, are needed to support the process of state and non-state actors' capacity development.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The ubiquitous presence of the Internet demands innovations permitting the conduct of contemporary diplomacy on Internet governance, cyber security and cyber peace. The complexity issues of Internet governance, cyber security and cyber peace are related to economics, society, culture and politics among different countries. Included in all those challenges, especially those posed by the need for, Indonesia also has the opportunity, through the use of ICT, for nation building in promoting cyber peace both at the level of state and of non-state actors.

Indonesia, as the largest Muslim populated country in the world and as a United Nations member, has the opportunity and the responsibility to take a role in promoting diversity and peace to support Sustainable Development Goals on peace, justice and strong institutions. Conflicts, terrorism and Islam phobia in the world are increasing after incidents that happened in France, the United States and other countries. In this Internet era, the conflicts that happen in offline space become expanded into the Internet space, or vice versa, because the Internet creates no border. Anti-tolerance movements spread widely on the Internet. Social media, such as Twitter and Facebook, audio and video media such, as YouTube, and other applications on the Internet are being used to extend chaos. Internet governance, the combating of cyber terrorism, and cyber security are on the diplomatic agenda in 21st century diplomacy, for the advancement of world peace and security in the cyber era.

In response to cyber conflict at a global level, and to contribute to world peace, the Republic of Indonesia has to have a foreign policy to address digital governance and citizenship in the cyber era. Another action that should be done is to initiate an early warning system to prevent conflict by looking for information, history and facts related to the causes of Islamic terrorism, extremism and fundamentalism, and how it impacts Muslims all over the world. Numbers of Islamic fundamentalist and Islam phobic groups are reported to be creating conflicts in daily life in online and offline spaces. Quick action to stop the tension is crucial before it gets worse, and creates a heavier burden in eradicating terrorism.

To support the national cyber security mechanism in Indonesia, and global peace, it is important to implement cyber peace processes that include state and non-state actors through people-to-people diplomacy. Cyber war and cyber security are frequently considered as negative peace approaches that prioritize national security and select action through military patterns and techniques. Cyber peace is one of the strategies in peace building on the Internet to address cyber conflict, which has been described as positive peace.

In situations where diplomacy is facing the negative impact of ICT, civil society groups in Indonesia reach success in mobilizing support and social change both at the national and the international level. This affects the decision-making and political dynamics in national and international affairs. The lesson from positive use of ICT, both in the diplomatic service and at the civil society level is the changing environment of diplomacy, which now involves both state and non-state actors who play important roles in shaping foreign affairs policy and public opinions.

Conducting informal diplomacy with interlocutors such as scholars, research institutions and civil society groups is a strategy to promote peace and diversity in society. Cultural diplomacy through the Internet, with local wisdom as the approach in Indonesia that promotes peace and diversity, is one of the strategies that can be used for peace building in online and offline spaces. Peace building through the Internet can be effective through collaboration with civil society in order to implement multi-stakeholder work and to optimize people's power for public diplomacy. Comprehensive understanding on cultural heritage preservation, such as cultural history and local wisdom, which promote peace and diversity, needs to be developed in the national education system. Human values of anti-discrimination and anti-violence should be disseminated through the education system in schools, universities and other social institutions. Local wisdom that has been practiced by several ethnic groups in Indonesia as a tradition for peace and conflict resolution, between ethnic groups and between religions, can be developed into modern and positive Internet contents to implement cyber peace. The implementation of the multi-stakeholder work of Internet governance in Indonesia, that includes the government, private sector, scholars and civil society, should involve the practitioners of local wisdom in several areas in Indonesia. Ethnic leaders, indigenous society and also cultural experts in Indonesia can be important resources for local knowledge in the management of Internet norms for cyber peace that implements glocalization (think global and act local).

Publishing research, class modules and other publications on cyber peace and cyber security to counteract online radicalization and cyber conflict will offer important resources to analyse present and future challenges of diplomacy in Indonesia. Sustainability in promoting cyber peace or peace building on the Internet should be supported by sufficient Internet infrastructure and digital literacy. In the Indonesian context, there are challenges in optimizing the use of ICT for diplomacy work. Those challenges are the digital divide in some areas, and lack of literacy

on ICT use and on cyber security both at state and at non-state actors levels. Science should be supported with technology by building skills in ICT literacy and cyber security both in the diplomatic service and at civil society level.

In the 21st century, Indonesian diplomacy should actively participate in the global Internet governance processes to counter online conflict and radicalisation at regional, national and international levels. Conversations on policymaking, on cyber peace and cyber security, as well as other topics in Internet governance are demanding competency in E-diplomacy. Law enforcement in eliminating discrimination and violence based on ethnicity, race and religion both in online and offline spaces is one of the main instruments for the advancement of peace building and cyber peace in Indonesia. Complexity and intersection issues with security, privacy, social, politics, culture, and economics on the Internet are topics on the negotiation table of Internet governance. There is also a need for more capacity building in Internet governance and E-diplomacy for contemporary diplomacy work in Indonesia.

In collaboration, diplomats and all state and non-state actors can achieve peace building in online and offline spaces through conscientious effort toward building knowledge sharing, resources, cultural values, non-discrimination, and discussion environments.

REFERENCES

Amnesty International (2015) *Two years after Snowden: protecting human rights in an age of mass surveillance*. London: Amnesty International, International Secretariat. Available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/act30/1795/2015/en/> [accessed 10 November 2016].

Antara News (2015) Indonesia, China agree to combat cyber terrorism. 10 February. Available at <http://www.antaranews.com/en/news/97741/indonesia-china-agree-to-combat-cyber-terrorism> [accessed 10 November 2016].

Asshiddiqie J (no date) *Pancasila dan Empat Pilar Kehidupan Berbangsa* [Pancasila and Four Pillars of Nationality]. Available at http://www.jimly.com/makalah/namafile/184/PANCASILA_DAN_4_PILAR_BARU.pdf. [accessed 1 October 2016].

Association for Progressive Communication [APC] (2014) *UN Resolution: Promotion, Protection and Enjoyment of Human Right on Internet*. Available at <https://www.apc.org/en/system/files/L.24%20Oral%20Revisions.pdf> [accessed 1 October 2016].

Baadilah I (2016) *Conflict Analysis*. Presentation on iPlural Workshop, Jakarta.

Barston RP (2013) *Modern Diplomacy (Fourth Edition)*. New York: Routledge.

Benjaoui M (2000) *The fundamentals of preventive diplomacy*. New York: Routledge.

Chairullah E *et al.* (2015) *Study of Conflict and Peace*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.

Coalition for Justice and Truth (2014), *Menemukan Kembali Indonesia: Memahami Empat Puluh Tahun Kekerasan Demi Memutus Rantai Impunitas* [Reinventing Indonesia: Understanding Forty Years of Violence for Breaking the Chain of Impunity] Jakarta: Coalition for Justice and Truth.

Constitutional Court of The Republic of Indonesia (1945) *Undang Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945* [Constitution of The Republic of Indonesia 1945]. Available at http://www.mahkamahkonstitusi.go.id/public/content/profil/kedudukan/UUD_1945_Perubahan%204.pdf [accessed 1 October 2016].

Cornell University Law School (no date) *Electronic Surveillance*. Available at https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/electronic_surveillance [accessed 10 November 2016].

European Union (2013) *Cyber Security Strategy of The European Union: An Open, Safe and Secure Cyberspace*. Available at http://eeas.europa.eu/policies/eu-cyber-security/cybsec_comm_en.pdf [accessed 10 November 2016].

Forshee J (2006) *Culture and Custom of Indonesia*. London: Greenword Press.

Galtung J (2013) *A Theory of Peace Building Direct Structural Cultural Peace*. Oslo: Kolofon Press.

Galtung J (2003) *Studi Perdamaian: Perdamaian dan Konflik, Pembangunan dan Peradaban* [Peace Studies: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization]. Surabaya: Pustaka Eureka.

Galvez L (2015) *The Internet and Change in Diplomacy: Tools, Techniques, Approaches. E-diplomacy 1505 Lecture 1*. Malta: Diplo Foundation.

Greenemeir L (2015) Anonymous Cyber War with ISIS Could Compromise Terrorism Intelligence. *Scientific American*, 19 November. Available at <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/anonymous-s-cyber-war-with-isis-could-compromise-terrorism-intelligence/> [accessed 10 November 2016].

Hasani I (2011) *Dokumen Kebijakan Penghapusan Diskriminasi Agama/Keyakinan* [Policy Document on the Elimination of Discrimination against Religion/Belief]. Jakarta: Pustaka Setara.

Heryanto A (2015) *Identitas dan Kenikmatan Politik Budaya Layar Indonesia* [Identities and Enjoyment of Cultural Politics on Indonesian Screen]. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.

Humaedi A (2014) Kegagalan Akulturasi Agama dan Isu Agama dalam Konflik Lampung [Failure of Religion Acculturation and Religion Issues in Conflict of Lampung]. *Jurnal Analisa*, Volume 21 Nomor 02 Desember p. 149-162. Available at <file:///C:/Users/Folio%2013/Downloads/11-11-1-PB.pdf> [accessed 1 October 2016].

Indonesia Computer Emergency Response Team (no date) *About Us*. Available at <http://www.cert.or.id/tentang-kami/en/> [accessed 10 November 2016].

Indonesian National Police (2015) *Surat Edaran No: SE/6/X/2015 tentang Penanganan Ujaran Kebencian (Hate Speech)*. Available at <https://www.kontras.org/data/SURAT%20EDARAN%20KAPOLRI%20MENGENAI%20PENANGANAN%20UJARAN%20KEBENCIAN.pdf> [accessed 1 October 2016].

Indonesia Security Incident Response Team on Internet Infrastructure/Coordination Center (no date) *History ID-SIRTII/CC*. Available at <http://idsirtii.or.id/halaman/tentang/sejarah-id-sirtii-cc.html> [accessed 10 November 2016].

Institute for Cultural Diplomacy (no date) *About*. Available at http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/index.php?en_culturaldiplomacy [accessed 10 November 2016].

International Centre for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) (2011) *Indonesia Keluar Jalur, Keadilan Transisi di Indonesia Setelah Jatuhnya Soeharto Laporan bersama ICTJ dan KontraS* [Indonesia Off the Track, Transitional Justice in Indonesia since the Fall of Soeharto: A joint report by ICTJ and The Commission for Disappearances and Victims of Violence]. Jakarta: International Centre for Transitional Justice.

International Council for Science and UNESCO [ICSU] (2002) *Science and Traditional Knowledge*. Report from ICSU Study Group on Science and Traditional Knowledge, Series on Science for Sustainable Development No.4, 2002. Available at

<http://www.icsu.org/publications/reports-and-reviews/science-traditional-knowledge/Science-traditional-knowledge.pdf> [accessed 10 November 2016].

Jakarta Post (2009) *Prita Complained Not Defamed: Experts*. 6 June. Available at <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/06/06/prita-complained-not-defamed-experts.html> [accessed 10 November 2016].

Kadir YA (2015) *Revisiting Self Determination Conflict in Indonesia: An International Law Perspective*. Depok, Jawa Barat: Faculty of Law University of Indonesia.

Kansil SH and Kansil CS (2011) *Empat Pilar Berbangsa dan Bernegara* [Four Pillars of the Life of the People and of the Nation] Jakarta: PT Rineka Cipta.

Kurbalija J (2015) Introduction to Internet Governance. *Introduction to Internet Governance 1502 Lecture 1*. Malta: Diplo Foundation.

Kwok Y (2014) The ISIS Extremists Causing Havoc in Iraq Are Getting Funds and Recruits From Southeast Asia. *Time* 17 June. Available at <http://time.com/2888423/isis-islamist-state-in-iraq-and-syria-indonesia/> [accessed 10 November 2016].

Lichtenstein J (2010) Digital Diplomacy *New York Times* 18 July. Available at http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/18/magazine/18web2-0-t.html?_r=1 [accessed 10 November 2016].

Liliweri A (2014) *Pengantar Studi Kebudayaan* [Introduction to the Cultural Studies]. Bandung: Nusa Media.

Mason C (2005) *A Short History of ASIA*. Macmillan: Palgrave.

Microsoft (2015) *International Cyber Security Norms: Reducing Conflict in an Internet-dependent World*. Available at download.microsoft.com/download/7/6/0/7605D861-C57A-4E23-B823-568CFC36FD44/International_Cybersecurity_%20Norms.pdf [accessed 10 November 2016].

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia (1996) *Sejarah Diplomasi Republik Indonesia Dari Masa ke Masa Periode 1945 – 1950* [History of Diplomacy of the Republic of Indonesia from Time to Time for the Period of 1945-1950] Jakarta: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia.

Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia (2008), *Undang Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 11 Tahun 2008 tentang Informasi dan Transaksi Elektronik* [Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 11 of 2008 on Information and Electronic Transactions]. Available at <http://www.hukumonline.com/pusatdata/detail/27912/nprt/1011/undangundang-nomor-11-tahun-2008> [accessed 1 October 2016].

Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia (2008) *Undang-undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 40 Tahun 2008 tentang Penghapusan Diskriminasi Ras dan Etnis* [Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 40 of 2008 on the Elimination of Discrimination against Race and Ethnicity]. Available at <http://www.komnasham.go.id/instrumen-ham-nasional/uu-no-40-tahun-2008-penghapusan-diskriminasi-ras-dan-etnis> [accessed 1 October 2016].

New York University School of Law (2016) *US Sanctions and National Security* [video]. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=39iznet4LBM> [accessed 10 November 2016].

Northern Ireland Assembly and Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (no date) *International Parliamentary Conference on Peace Building: Tackling State Fragility Toolkit for Parliamentarians*. London: CPA UK Houses of Parliament. Available at <http://www.cpahq.org/cpahq/cpadocs/CPA%20UK%20IPCC%20Toolkit%20Feb%202010.pdf> [accessed 10 November 2016].

Pengelolaan Konflik di Indonesia, Sebuah Analisis Konflik di Maluku, Papua dan Poso [Conflict Management in Indonesia, An Analysis of the Conflicts in Maluku, Papua and Poso] (2011) Geneva: Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) dan Current Asia and the Centre for Humanitarian Dialog. Available at <https://istayn.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/pengelolaan-konflik-di-indonesia.pdf> [accessed 1 October 2016].

Perwita AAB and Sabban N (2015) *Kajian Konflik dan Perdamaian* [Conflict and Peace Studies]. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.

Rahardjo DM (2016) Desa Pancasila [Pancasila Village] *Kompas*, 22 July p.7.

Rana K (2015) Public Diplomacy: Concepts & Methods *Public Diplomacy 1602 Lecture 1*. Malta: DiploFoundation.

Roff HM (2016) Cyber Peace, Cyber Security Through the Lens of Positive Peace, March 2016 *New America - Cybersecurity initiative*. Available at <https://na-production.s3.amazonaws.com/documents/cyber-peace.pdf> [accessed 10 November 2016].

Sandre A (2015) *Digital Diplomacy: Conversations on Innovation in Foreign Policy*. Maryland: Rowman & LittleField.

Setiadi F *et al.* (2012) An Overview of the Development Indonesia National Cyber Security. *International Journal of Information Technology & Computer Science (IJITCS)* p. 2. Available at <http://workspace.unpan.org/sites/internet/documents/G3ID12%20An%20Overview%20of%20the%20Development%20Indonesia%20National%20Cyber%20Security.pdf> [accessed 18 November 2016].

Shoelhi M (2011) *Diplomasi: Praktik Komunikasi Internasional* [Diplomacy: International Communications Practice]. Bandung: Simbiosis Rekatama Media.

Siracusa JM (2012) *Diplomacy: A Very Short Introduction* New York: Oxford University Press.

Sommer MC (no date) *Role of Civil Society in Peace Building*. Ludwig Boltzmann Institute Human Right. Available at http://bim.lbg.ac.at/files/sites/bim/epf_seminar_christine_sommer_0.pdf [accessed 1 October 2016].

Soyomukti N (2013) *Komunikasi Politik: Kudeta Politik Media, Analisa Komunikasi Masyarakat & Penguasa* [Political Communication: Political Media Coup, Communication Analysis of Society and Autocracy]. Malang: Intrans Publishing.

Statistics Indonesia (2016) *Laporan Bulanan Data Sosial Ekonomi Juli 2016* [Monthly Report of Socioeconomic Data July 2016]. Jakarta: Statistics Indonesia.

Statistics Indonesia (no date) *Mengulik Data Suku di Indonesia* [Investigating Data of the Tribes in Indonesia]. Available at <https://www.bps.go.id/KegiatanLain/view/id/127> [accessed 1 October 2016].

Statistics Indonesia (2010) *Penduduk Menurut Wilayah dan Agama yang Dianut* [Population by Region and Religion Affiliation]. Available at <http://sp2010.bps.go.id/index.php/site/tabel?tid=321&wid=0> [accessed 1 October 2016].

Tempo (2016) *Laporan Utama Penyemai Sejuk Ayat-ayat Tuhan* [Main Report: Preaching the Kind Messages in God's Verses] 4 – 10 Juli, p. 31-36.

Twiplomacy (no date). Available at <http://twiplomacy.com/blog/twiplomacy-study-2015/#> [accessed 10 November 2016].

United Nations [UN] (no date) *Sustainable Development Goals*. Available at http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/16-00055p_Why_it_Matters_Goal16_Peace_new_text_Oct26.pdf [accessed 27 January 2017].

United Nations (2013) *Third Committee Approves Text Titled Rights To Privacy in the Digital Age As it Takes Action 18 Draft Resolutions*. Available at <http://www.un.org/press/en/2013/gashc4094.doc.htm> [accessed 10 November 2016].

United Nations (1976) *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*. Available at <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx> [accessed 26 January 2017].

United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (UN ESCAP) (2009) *What is Good Governance?* Available at <http://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/good-governance.pdf> [Accessed 10 November 2016].

United Nations General Assembly [UNGA] (2010) Resolution Article 36/55. *Declaration on the Elimination of All forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief* (A/Res/36/55). Available at <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/36/a36r055.htm> [accessed 26 January 2017].

United Nations General Assembly [UNGA] (1992) Resolution Article 47/135 *Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* (A/Res/47/135). Available at <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/47/a47r135.htm> [accessed 26 January 2017].

United Nations General Assembly [UNGA] (2013) Resolution Article 68/167 *The Right to Privacy in Digital Age* (A/Res/68/167). Available at http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/68/167 [accessed 26 January 2017].

Westby JR *et al.* (2011) *The Quest for Cyber Peace*. Geneva: International Telecommunication Union. Available at http://www.itu.int/dms_pub/itu-s/opb/gen/S-GEN-WFS.01-1-2011-PDF-E.pdf [accessed 10 November 2016].

Wolf L (2000) *Corporate Compliance and Human Rights in Japan*. Paper presented at the Australasian Law Teachers' Association Conference, University of Canberra, 2–5 July.

World Summit on the Information Society [WSIS] (2005) *Tunis Agenda for the Information Society*. Available at <http://www.itu.int/wsis/docs2/tunis/off/6rev1.html> [accessed 10 November 2016].