

BNPT'S position as the leading sector for eradicating criminal acts of terrorism based on Law Number 5 of 2018

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Abstract

After the formation of Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, it involved collaboration with several other institutions, such as the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) as the leading sector in eradicating criminal acts of terrorism, the National Army (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (POLRI).) and the State Intelligence Agency (BIN). Aiming at creating a safe and peaceful country, this law is expected to be able to deal with criminal acts of terrorism. However, in reality this law has not been fully implemented optimally in dealing with criminal acts of terrorism in Indonesia. The formulation of the problem in this research is what is the position of BNPT as a leading sector based on Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism? The method used in this legal research is normative legal research, namely collecting data using secondary data through library research, namely reading from applicable legislation, literature books and documents related to the issues to be discussed. Data processing is based on library data obtained and then analyzed qualitatively. The results of this research are BNPT's position as a leading sector based on Law no. 5 of 2018 has not been optimal in implementing institutional prevention and control efforts to eradicate criminal acts of terrorism. This is because the coordination function between related institutions is currently considered to still be sectoral in handling and eradicating criminal acts of terrorism..

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INTRODUCTION

The problem of terrorism in Indonesia has become a serious concern for the government and the international community, becoming a political and security issue in several countries. This happens because the problem of terrorism is very complex and multidimensional when linked to the sovereignty of a country as well as the principles of fulfilling human rights and implementing democratic principles.

In the last decade, *BNPT* reported that at least 31 civil servants were arrested for being involved in terrorism networks. Each of them is 8 former members of the police, 5 former members of the *TNI* and 18 former civil servants within ministries and government institutions (Michael Josua, 2021), and the most recent includes the suspected terrorist case carried out by Zakiah Aini at the National Police Headquarters in 2021 (Fabian Pensiusun Kuwado , et al, 2021). A Sunardi Doctor in Sukoharjo in 2022 (Karanganyar Police, 2022). and a student in Malang named Ilham Alfarizi 2022 (Zainul Arifin, 2022).

The former Head of the *TNI* Strategic Intelligence Agency (*Kabais*) stated that the attack by suspected terrorists at the National Police Headquarters was the responsibility of the National Counterterrorism Agency (*BNPT*) not the responsibility of intelligence because when it comes to terrorists, eradicating terrorists, countering terrorists, the only agency that is most responsible the answer is *BNPT*. Another thing is that if the *BNPT* has not been formed, then the responsibility for handling terrorism lies with intelligence. The problem that occurs is why acts of terrorism still occur in Indonesia.

One of the conclusions of the academic study regarding changes to the law regarding counter-terrorism is that from an institutional perspective there is still no coordination in the handling of terrorism issues both nationally, regionally and internationally which has an impact on Indonesia's national security, even though the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (*BNPT*) has been established based on a Presidential Decree Number 46 of 2010 which was stipulated on July 16 2010.

In 2022, Santoso, member of Commission III DPR RI, asked the National Counterterrorist Agency (*BNPT*), *Polri*, and State Intelligence Agency (*BIN*) to avoid sectoral egos in dealing with terrorism. This was in response to the suicide bombing that occurred at the Astanaanyar police station in Bandung City, West Java. According to Santoso, acts of terrorism that continue to occur show that terrorist networks still exist. (Fersianus Waku, 2022). The Democrat Party legislator asked law enforcement officials, such as *BNPT*, *BIN* and *POLRI*, when carrying out security measures, not to act based on sectoral personal interests; don't work alone. They must comply with the rules because this is a mutual obligation. Previously, Brigadier General Ahmad Ramadhan, Karo Penmas, Police Public Relations Division, confirmed the incident. (Fersianus Waku, 2022).

Ahmad Sahroni, Deputy Chair of Commission III DPR RI from the Nasdem Party Fraction, asked Densus 88 and the National Counterterrorism Agency (*BNPT*) to work together to provide guidance to suspected terrorists in 2024 while continuing to fight terrorist networks that still exist in Indonesia. This statement was in response to the arrest of 7 (seven) individuals suspected of being involved in the Jemaah Islamiyah (*Ji*) terrorist network in Central Sulawesi (Central Sulawesi) by Densus 88 *Anti-terror POLRI*. (Chaerul Umam, 2024).

After the formation of Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, it was not only handled by the Police Agency (*POLRI*) but there was additional synergy from several institutions such as the National Counterterrorism Agency (*BNPT*), the National Army (*TNI*) and the State Intelligence Agency (*BIN*). This research focuses on handling terrorism institutionally. The formulation of the problem in writing this research is what is the position of *BNPT* as a leading sector based on Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism?

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The research used is normative legal research, namely an approach based on applicable laws and regulations (Marzuki, 2017). The specifications of this research are included in the category of descriptive analytical legal research, namely research that attempts to describe legal problems, the legal system and examine or analyze them according to research needs. (Soekanto, 1986) The method of collecting data is using secondary data through literature study, namely reading applicable laws and regulations, literature books and documents related to the problems to be discussed. Data processing is based on the literature data obtained and then analyzed qualitatively so that conclusions can be obtained from the problems that have been determined.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The government has an obligation to protect the entire Indonesian nation, all of Indonesia's blood and participate in implementing world order as a philosophical basis in the spirit of eradicating terrorism. Conditions in Indonesia are related to troop readiness, with Indonesia's target being efforts to measure the defense strength of the *TNI* and *Polri*. With the organization of terrorist groups, the government has used its power and authority through laws and presidential regulations.

Terrorism is an act that uses violence or threats of violence that creates a widespread atmosphere of terror or fear, which can cause mass casualties, and/or cause damage or

destruction to vital strategic objects, the environment, public facilities or international facilities with a motive, ideology, politics, or security disturbances. Terrorism is also related to transnational, organized crime, and is even an international criminal act that has a wide network, which threatens national and international peace and security. (Law 5 of 2018).

After the formation of Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, it was not only handled by the Police Agency (*POLRI*) but there was additional synergy from several institutions such as the National Counterterrorism Agency (*BNPT*), the National Army (*TNI*) and the State Intelligence Agency (*BIN*).

This law was created with the aim of creating a safe and peaceful country, and handling criminal acts of terrorism can be carried out optimally. However, in practice, this law has not been able to optimally handle criminal acts of terrorism that occur in Indonesia. With the existence of this law, *BNPT* as the leading sector is expected to be able to handle the eradication of criminal acts.

Indonesia's efforts to combine approaches to fighting radicalism and terrorism have emerged as the best approach in the long term. In dealing with terrorism and radicalism, the hard approach is defined as steps used by the state that focus on the function and role of the security apparatus, especially the National Police and Military and their use of force, which includes, among other things, tactical attacks, arrests, infiltration and murder. A more humanist soft approach, on the other hand, is seen as the functions, roles and activities of non-security state apparatus (such as the Ministry of Education), as well as non-state actors (such as Islamic mass organizations), which do not use violence. (Golose, 2009).

However, as stated by Jimly Asshiddiqie, the trend of forming new state institutions, one of which is *BNPT*, is like a mushroom in the rainy season in large numbers, but problems actually arise when it is not based on a mature and comprehensive design (Jimly Asshiddiqie, 2015). Its presence for the sake of ideas is very reactive, sectoral and impromptu, but is wrapped in high idealism and heroism, so that without a comprehensive and comprehensive design regarding the need for the formation of state institutions it disrupts the function of the state institutions themselves. (Jimly Asshiddiqie, 2015).

State institutions are not a concept that terminologically has a single and uniform term. In the English literature, the term political institution is used to refer to state institutions, whereas in Dutch terminology there is the term *staat organen*. Meanwhile, Indonesian uses state institutions, state agencies, or state organs. (Ni'matul Huda, 2007) The definition and understanding of state institutions is very diverse, it can no longer be limited to the three legislative, executive and judicial institutions. In the text of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, some of the organs in question are mentioned explicitly by name, and some are explicitly mentioned only by their function. There are also state institutions or organs whose names and functions or authority will be regulated by lower regulations. (Ni'matul Huda, 2007).

History of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (*BNPT*), is a non-ministerial government agency (*LPNK*) in Indonesia which has the task of carrying out counter-terrorism from the government. The establishment of *BNPT* cannot be separated from the Bali I bombing incident on October 12 2002. As the number one person in this country, Megawati immediately issued Presidential Instruction Number 4 of 2002 after the bomb explosion which killed approximately 200 people. The President gave a mandate to the Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs (Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs) who was then held by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono to make a study and national strategy for countering terrorism.

After obtaining the mandate, the Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs formed a Terrorism Eradication Coordination Desk (*DKPT*) based on Ministerial Decree Number: Kep-26/Menko/Polkam/11/2002. *DKPT* has the task of assisting the

Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs in formulating policies for the eradication of non-criminal terrorism, including aspects of deterrence, prevention, response, termination of settlement and all necessary legal action.

Main Duties and Functions of *BNPT* In accordance with Presidential Regulation Number 46 of 2010, BNPT has several tasks, namely: a. Develop national policies, strategies and programs in the field of counter-terrorism. b. Coordinate relevant government agencies in implementing policies in the field of counter-terrorism. c. Form a task force consisting of elements from relevant government agencies in accordance with their respective duties, functions and authorities.

BNPT Strategic Target Increasing society's deterrence from the influence of radical terrorism; Effective protection of vital objects, residential areas, public areas and Indonesian assets abroad from terrorist attacks; Increasing the capacity and professionalism of government officials implementing counter-terrorism; Achieving the interests and recognition of Indonesia's role in overcoming terrorism through international cooperation; and Achieving effectiveness in implementing the Institution's duties in countering terrorism through professional internal management.

Goals, Vision and Mission Eradication of terrorism aims to protect citizens and national interests as well as create a safe and peaceful national and international environment by not fostering radicalization and stopping terrorism. Vision Terrorism is a real and active threat, if comprehensive efforts are not taken to handle it at the level national and regional, can endanger the stability of national and state life.

This comprehensive effort includes operational enforcement efforts, protection, prevention and deterrence, handling and upstream problems (root of the problem) and deradicalization efforts. Mission To eradicate terrorism, it is necessary to take the following steps: 1) Counteract and prevent terrorism by eliminating correlative causal factors that can be exploited to justify acts of terrorism. 2) Eradicating terrorism by defeating terrorist organizations by destroying their hideouts, leadership, command, control, communications, material and financial support.

Regarding the theory of state institutions or organs, it cannot be separated from political, social, economic and historical developments that occur in this world. State institutions or organs are organs of a state, which carry out state activities, including forming norms and/or implementing these norms. According to Jimly Ashiddiqie, state institutions or organs can be defined narrowly as any institution that is not formed as a community institution that can be called a state institution. (Satjipto, 2010).

Based on the background above, this article will discuss "The Position of the National Counterterrorism Agency (*BNPT*) as Sector Leader Based on Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism".

A. BNPT's Position As A Leading Sector Based On Law Number 5 Of 2018 Concerning The Eradication Of Criminal Acts Of Terrorism.

In eradicating criminal acts of terrorism, aspects of simultaneous, planned and integrated prevention need to be prioritized to minimize the occurrence of criminal acts of terrorism. Optimal prevention is carried out by involving relevant ministries or institutions as well as all components of the nation through national preparedness, counter-radicalization and de-radicalization efforts coordinated by the National Counterterrorism Agency (*BNPT*).

After the formation of Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, it was not only handled by the Police Agency (*POLRI*) but there was additional synergy from several institutions such as the National Counterterrorism Agency (*BNPT*), the National Army (*TNI*) and the State Intelligence Agency (*BIN*).

In order to provide a stronger legal basis to guarantee legal protection and certainty in preventing and eradicating criminal acts of terrorism, as well as to meet the legal needs and development of society, it is necessary to make proportional changes while maintaining a balance between the needs of law enforcement, protection of human rights, and socio-political conditions in Indonesia.

1. BNPPT'S Position as a Leading Sector.

The National Counterterrorism Agency is a non-ministerial government agency (*LPNK*) which carries out government duties in the field of counterterrorism. In carrying out its duties and functions, *BNPT* is coordinated by the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs. *BNPT* is led by a head who is under and responsible to the president. Since the issuance of Presidential Regulation Number 12 of 2012 concerning Amendments to Presidential Regulation Number 46 of 2010 concerning the Counter-Terrorism Agency, the position of Head of *BNPT* has been elevated to Ministerial level.

Previously, *BNPT* was formed based on Presidential Regulation Number 46 of 2010. Previously the forerunner of this institution was the Terrorism Eradication Coordination Desk (*DKPT*). Main Duties and Functions:

- a. Formulate, coordinate and implement national policies, strategies and programs for countering terrorism in the fields of national preparedness, counter-radicalization and de-radicalization.
- b. Coordinate between law enforcers in countering terrorism.
- c. Formulate, coordinate and implement national policies, strategies and programs for countering terrorism in the field of international cooperation.
- d. Develop and determine national policies, strategies and programs in the field of countering terrorism.
- e. Organizing coordination of national policies, strategies and programs in the field of counter-terrorism.
- f. Implementing national preparedness, counter-radicalization and de-radicalization.

After the issuance of Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, several institutions such as the National Counterterrorism Agency (*BNPT*), the Police Agency (*POLRI*), the National Army (*TNI*) and the State Intelligence Agency (*BIN*) are expected to be able to synergize and cooperate professionally in carrying out tasks as regulated in the provisions of the Law.

The role of the Indonesian National Police is as mandated in Law no. 2 of 2002 concerning *POLRI* is the spearhead in providing protection and a sense of security to the community by eradicating perpetrators of criminal acts of terrorism in Indonesia, such as arresting perpetrators, preventing, carrying out inquiries and investigations, and even shooting dead terrorist perpetrators. One of the efforts made by the National Police is to form a Special Anti-terror Detachment (Densus 88) which is at the forefront of eradicating acts of terrorism. (H.M.S. Urip Widodo, 2014).

The role of the *TNI* in dealing with terrorism is explained by the military's deployment in dealing with terrorism as stated in Law (UU) Number 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesian National Army. Where Article 7 Paragraph (2) of the Law states that one of the main tasks of the *TNI* in carrying out Military Operations Other Than War (*OMSP*) is to overcome acts of terrorism. The involvement of the *TNI* in handling criminal acts of terrorism in Indonesia will use the concept of prevention, action and recovery. The role of the *TNI* so far in handling criminal acts of terrorism in Indonesia is a task of assisting the Police, if the situation is beyond the capabilities of the Police then the *TNI* can act. (Monica Resinta, 2019). The separation of roles and authority between the *TNI*, *POLRI* and *BNPT* in handling criminal acts of terrorism must be clear, as well as the

limitations regarding actions that can be taken by the *TNI* in dealing with terrorism and forms of criminal acts of terrorism that require the involvement of the *TNI* (Monica Resinta, 2019).

BIN's role in handling terrorism is as stated in Article 31 letter b of Law Number 17 of 2012 concerning state intelligence, namely that the State Intelligence Agency has the authority to carry out wiretapping, examine the flow of funds and extract information on targets, one of which is related to terrorist activities. The existence and activities of State Intelligence cannot be separated from the issue of confidentiality. In this Law, Intelligence Secrets are part of state secrets which have a Retention Period. In order to support Intelligence activities to act quickly, precisely and accurately, the State Intelligence Agency is given the authority to carry out wiretapping, examine the flow of funds and extract information on every person related to terrorist activities, separatism, espionage and sabotage which threaten security, sovereignty and safety of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The direction of regulating the handling of terrorism in one law is the formation of a Terrorism legislation which becomes the *lex generalis* for preventing and countering terrorism through a formulation that is more in line with the character of terrorism and unifying and synchronizing and harmonizing various provisions for preventing and countering terrorism in various regulations. other legislation. With the existence of this Law, strong and comprehensive regulations have been formed for overcoming and preventing criminal acts of terrorism in Indonesia. Strong legal regulations are in the form of laws that maintain harmonization and synchronization with other laws and regulate firmly and in detail regarding strategies and approaches to handling terrorism problems. (BPHN, NA UU 15/2003, 2011).

BNPT's position as a leading sector is not explicitly mentioned in Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, but various stakeholders stated that BNPT's position in fighting terrorism is the main sector when analyzed. Based on Article 43B paragraph (3), Implementation of national preparedness as as intended in paragraph (1) is carried out by the relevant ministry/institution under the coordination of the body carrying out affairs in the field of counter-terrorism.

Article 43 C paragraph (2) counter-radicalization as referred to in paragraph (1) is carried out by the Government coordinated by the body that carries out affairs in the field of counter-terrorism by involving the relevant ministries/institutions. Article 43 paragraph (3) deradicalization as referred to in paragraph (1) is carried out by the Government coordinated by the body that carries out affairs in the field of counter-terrorism by involving the relevant ministries/institutions. Article 43 F letter b organizes coordination of national policies, strategies and programs in the field of counter-terrorism.

In efforts to overcome terrorism, *BNPT* emphasizes integrative and comprehensive efforts, prioritizing a persuasive approach with various programs that touch the roots of problems, namely ideology, social, economic and injustice. In implementing its program, BNPT involves all components of the nation, both government and society. In this position, BNPT becomes the leading sector which coordinates all the potential power of various elements of the nation in overcoming terrorism.

So with the enactment of Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism. So *BNPT* as the main sector (leading sector) which has the authority to be at the forefront has the authority to formulate and make policies and strategies and be the coordinator in the field of institutional prevention of terrorism. The policy direction for implementing the prevention of radical terrorism must be able to run effectively, efficiently, measurably, consistently, integrated, institutionalized and sustainable. The direction of this policy includes preventing the spread of ideology and

radical groups of terrorism through socialization, preventive intelligence and training facilitation. Program monitoring and control is also carried out to provide protection, as part of preventing terrorism.

2. Obstacles in Handling Terrorism

Based on data obtained from the National Counterterrorism Agency (*BNPT*), it was revealed that 364 people suspected of being connected to radical terrorist groups had been prosecuted by the National Police's Special Detachment 88 Anti-terror throughout 2021. Head of *BNPT* Boy Rafli Amar explained that of the 364 people who had been prosecuted, they were being examined and investigated. carried out on 332 people. Then, three people were transferred to general punishment, 13 people died, and 16 people were returned. Several efforts have been made to several terrorist network groups that are still active in spreading radicalization cells, to continue counter-radicalization and expand communication with the community. (Mutia Fauzia, 2021).

Differences in goal orientation and structural formality appear to be the cause of lack of coordination between *BNPT* and prisons. By having national priority tasks, namely prevention, national preparedness and deradicalization involving ministries, institutions, regional governments, communities and the private sector. In this case, *BNPT* is the leading sector (Core) in carrying out policy coordination between institutions in carrying out policy network cooperation. (Taufiqurochman, Muhammad, 2021).

To optimize the eradication of criminal acts of terrorism, it is necessary to strengthen institutional functions, especially the coordination function carried out by the National Counterterrorism Agency, as well as the monitoring mechanism carried out by representative institutions, in this case the complementary bodies in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia which carry out tasks in the field of counterterrorism.

Paul R. Lawrence and Jay W. Lorch (in Hartono, 2016) revealed 4 (four) types of differences in attitudes and ways of working that complicate the task of coordinating, namely differences in goals, time, interpersonal and formality of structure. Regarding obstacles to the implementation of the coordination function between institutions in eradicating criminal acts of terrorism: The aim of eradicating terrorism is a form of state obligation carried out by the Indonesian Government. So there is no reason for differences in objectives between one institution and another; Time can be categorized as a form of institutional activity planning between institutions that can be carried out in a preventive, repressive and evaluative nature; Relations and collaboration between institutions and structures both internally and externally, integrated institutional task forces at both the top level, both centrally and regionally.

- a. In the context of prevention (Preventive) after the issuance of Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, it was handled by several institutions such as the National Counterterrorism Agency (*BNPT*), the Police Agency (*POLRI*), the National Army (*TNI*) and the State Intelligence Agency (*BIN*). who are expected to be able to synergize and cooperate professionally in carrying out tasks as regulated in the provisions of the Law.
- b. In the context of repressive action, as based on the facts from several incidents at the regional level, the absence of *BNPT* in carrying out its function as a leading sector is something that greatly influences the lack of institutional coordination. This is of great concern to the public that soft approach efforts have not been carried out optimally. That the *POLRI* through Densus 88 in the regions prioritizes repressive measures in disclosing and arresting suspected terrorists. As we all know, *BNPT* is only located at the center and has limited coordination coverage in each region and

several regions in Indonesia. The *BNPT* task force in the context of taking action must continue to uphold Human Rights (*HAM*), especially in the use of violence and firearms by adhering to the basic principles: Each member of the task force carries out their duties based on the provisions of statutory regulations; The use of firearms is a last resort after other non-violent efforts are no longer effective (Last Resort); The use of firearms is only in forced circumstances or in emergency defense in accordance with Article 48 of the Criminal Code (Overmacth) and Article 49 (Noodweer). The use of violence with weapons must be balanced (procedural) with the threat faced; Every action taken must be legally accountable).

- c. In the context of the deradicalization (Evaluative) program carried out by *BNPT* or Development Activities carried out by Correctional Institutions (Lapas). There is a difference in concept between the *BNPT* which uses deradicalization and the Director General of Pas which uses personality development and independence development. Even though the activity program organized by the Director General of Pas itself is what is intended as deradicalization by *BNPT*. However, the Director General of Pas is reluctant to use the term deradicalization, apart from because it carries a negative stigma and so far no coordination has been carried out. Differences in understanding about deradicalization in accordance with the mandate of the law have resulted in less effective handling of terrorists in prisons. Therefore, cooperation and humility between officials in the two institutions up to the prison level is needed in handling terrorist convicts. (Minardi, 2021) Between *BNPT* and Prisons, competition is prioritized to prioritize sectoral egos, but there is a difference in orientation between *BNPT* and Prisons which triggers a lack of coordination. (Minardi, 2021).

In a study regarding the communication aspects of the deradicalization program, (Minardi, 2021) found that *BNPT* does not have a written and comprehensive communication strategy, which is the core of the research problem. However, a communication planning strategy is a written statement about a series of actions that must be carried out in a communication activity to change the desired behavior. (Kenmada Widjanto et al).

Conflicts between institutions can arise due to conflicts of authority due to regulations, due to conflicts between officials' interests in carrying out professional activities and their respective personal interests, which then triggers wider conflicts, namely conflicts between state institutions. (Ni'matul Huda, 2014).

To ensure the implementation of the counter-terrorism program for all stakeholders, the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (*BNPT*), continues to increase outreach to stakeholders who participate in collaboration with *BNPT*, such as Ministries/Agencies, Community Organizations, Religious Leaders and Community Leaders. One of them is by holding Socialization and Coordination of the Synergy Task Force between Ministries/Agencies. There are three activities in the field of prevention carried out by *BNPT* together with all Ministries/Institutions and regional governments as well as the entire community, namely National Preparedness, Counter-radicalization and Deradicalization. For this reason, *BNPT* formed a Synergy Team with Ministries/Agencies and Regional Governments, to work together to erode the chain of spread of radicalism starting from remote areas. (*BNPT*, 2021).

A goal must have a clear direction. Clear direction requires a purposeful plan. Without a directed plan, goals can go astray and not meet expectations. Likewise with communication. Communication, as an action that has a purpose, must be planned well. Otherwise, the communication objectives will not be as expected.

CONCLUSION

BNPT's position as a leading sector is based on Law no. 5 of 2018 has not been optimal in implementing institutional prevention and control efforts to eradicate criminal acts of terrorism. This is because the coordination function between related institutions is currently considered to still be sectoral in handling and eradicating criminal acts of terrorism.

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