

THE FUTURE OF INTERNET IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

E-democracy is inevitable and Indonesia as the third largest democracy in the world has to embrace it with optimistic. It will be our new nation branding at international level. It will be our new bargaining position as a nation to cooperate with others. It will be our new soft power as an emerging power. Bottom line, it will be our new future to come. In order to achieve such goal, Indonesia under the presidency of Jokowi in the next 5 years must possess willingness to provide a national legal system ready to develop e-democracy, to increase its internet penetration, and to secure its internet democracy through resilient cyber security regime.

Key words: legal policy, e-democracy, cyber security.

The Legal Policy in Establishing A Cyber Regime in Indonesia

The article focuses on the legal policy after the presidency of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004-2014). But, in my humble opinion, it is important to look back on what is reflected under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's tenure. The year 2004-2014 is an important turning point for Indonesia for three reasons. **First**, this is the period when Indonesia emerged from its domestic economic and political crisis with a sense of having consolidated its democracy. President Yudhoyono became the first directly elected President of Indonesia, the first to be re-elected and the first to completed his two elected terms.²

Second, it is under the Yudhoyono presidency that Indonesia acquired international recognition as an emerging power. This was the result of its democratic consolidation, economic growth, and relative stability, as well as its robust re-engagement with ASEAN and its

place and role in the G-20 (Group of 20), which became a summit level global forum in 2008.³

Third, President Yudhoyono has been an unusually active foreign policy president, who, even his critics concede, has worked energetically to advance Indonesia's image and influence in the region and in the world.⁴

Unlike China and Russia, but similar to India and Brazil, Indonesia is a democratic nation. Indonesia provides some of the most striking evidence that the key to status in international affairs begins at home. Indonesia might join the ranks of South Korea, perhaps the only other nation aside from highly developed Japan that currently enjoys all three aspects –democracy, development, and internal stability- in good measure. Moreover, Indonesia shows that the impact of the three elements could be inter-related in a virtuous cycle. Democratization has fostered internal stability, which in turn has promoted economic development.

Economic development and internal stability have supported the legitimization of the political system, and the consolidation of democracy.⁵

Indonesia's domestic arena challenges some powerful myths about the relationship among democracy, development, and stability. The first is that democracy is somehow inimical to development. As President Yudhoyono states, "In the past, there was a sense that countries had to choose between the two [democracy and development], but Indonesia has proven to the world that the two can go together." With a growth rate above those of the other BRICS, save China and India, and an economy projected to be among the top ten in the world, Indonesia demolishes the view popularized by the economic successes of South Korea, Taiwan, and China that authoritarian rule is needed to promote economic development.⁶

According to Fareed Zakaria, modern democracies will face difficult new challenges- fighting terrorism, adjusting to globalization, adapting to an aging society- and they will have to make their system work much better than it currently does. That means making democratic decision effective, reintegrating constitutional liberalism into the practice of democracy, rebuilding broken political institutions and civic associations. Perhaps most difficult of all, it requires that those with immense power in our societies embrace their responsibilities, lead, and set standards that are not only legal, but moral. Without this inner stuffing, democracy will become an empty shell, not simply inadequate but potentially dangerous, bringing with it the erosion of liberty, the manipulation of freedom, and the decay of a common life.⁷

This would be a tragedy because democracy, with all its flaws, represents the "last best hope" for the people around the world. But it needs to be secured and strengthened for our times. Eighty years ago, Woodrow Wilson took America into the twentieth century with a challenge to make the world safe for democracy. As we enter the twenty-first century, our task is to make democracy safe for the world.⁸

Legally speaking, the only means to secure and nurture internal or domestic condition friendly with democracy, development, and stability is legal policy. In order to achieve such condition, a country must possess willingness to provide a national legal system ready to anticipate internal turmoil, global and regional challenges.

In this regard, Allot Philip generally describes the social functions of law as being three-fold: 1) law carries the structures and systems of society through time; 2) law inserts the common interest of society into the behavior of society-members; 3) law establishes possible futures for society, in accordance with society's theories, values and purposes.⁹

With regard to this description, law is somehow functioned as architecture of society. Law will ensure that society protects its common needs and realizes its goals by influencing behavior up to its standards. Based on its temporally projected-paradigm, legal conducts now to make a possible-feasible certain kind of world and society for the present and for the future.

One of the issues that need to be anticipated by all countries is cyberspace. The internet or cyberspace means everything. It can be in the sense of politics, economy, law, governance, business, education,

security, social, and cultural. It can be good or bad, depends on how we look and anticipate it. It can be democratic or authoritarian, depends on how we direct our legal policy.

As mentioned in International Review of Law Computers and Technology, it stated that global information and communication networks are now an integral part of the way in which modern governments, business, education and economies operate. However, the increasing dependence upon the new information and communication technologies by many organizations is not without its price, they have become more exposed and vulnerable to an expanding array of computer security risks or harm and inevitably to various kinds of computer misuse.¹⁰

The Internet engenders the notion of distributed power: decentralization, openness, possibility of expansion, no hierarchy, no center, no conditions for authoritarian or monopoly control. The Internet has become vital to the broader dynamics of organizing global society, both economically and politically.¹¹

Amit describes cyberspace as a "borderless" world-a world of its own. It refuses to accord to the geopolitical boundaries the respect that private international law has always accorded to them and on which it is based. Therefore there is a need to have a different solution to this different problem. The solution lies neither in adopting a "hands-off" approach nor in simply extending mutatis mutandis the existing conflicts rules. Looking at the dismal history of private international law, the present author proposes a treaty based international harmonisation model as the most ideal one where rules are certain and predictable and at the same time

flexible in order to ensure that the potential benefits of this technology are meaningfully consumed by the human civilisation.¹²

The main issue of how to anticipate cyberspace lies on the issue of governance. How do governments of countries regulate such borderless, transnational, and ubiquitous world. Many are trying to seize it only by national law, but it will against the natural characteristic of cyberspace itself which is global and transnational. Many are also trying to push it through international instruments formed by regional entity, but it will not get so much attention and recognition from all countries concerned.

On this particular issue, Marty Natalegawa at the Seoul Conference Cyberspace, Seoul, South Korea, 17 Oktober 2013, said that we need to establish a **global arrangement** through which the cyberspace contributes to addressing the challenges of our time, such as poverty, climate change, armed conflicts, corruption and natural disasters. We must, therefore, develop and promote cyberspace principles and norms that will support and sustain development. That will bring common progress instead of marginalization of world citizens. That will promote democracy and tolerance instead of extremism and hatred. And that will strengthen cooperation and collaboration instead of confrontation and rivalry. In this regard, **Indonesia believes such norms and principles must be developed through the United Nations.**¹³

Seoul Framework for and Commitment to Open and Secure Cyberspace as a result of Seoul Conference on Cyberspace in Seoul, South Korea on 17 October 2013 stipulated that the **international**

management of the Internet should be multilateral, transparent and democratic, with the full involvement of Government, the private sector, civil society, academic and technical communities and international organizations.¹⁴

At our national level, research on cyber law is initiated by the Faculty of Law, University of Padjadjaran in 1999 through the Center of Cyber Law Studies together with the Department of Electrical Technology of Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) and the Directorate General of Post and Telecommunication which at that time was under the Department of Transportation to prepare the academic research/paper of Law on Utilization of Information and Technology. Along with this, the Institute of Legal Studies on Information Technology, Faculty of Law, University of Indonesia in 2000, together with the Ministry of Industry and Trade has also finalized academic paper on Law of Electronic Information and Electronic Transactions. In 2003, the two texts have been submitted to the President through the Secretary of State in order to be harmonized and compiled into a single bill by the Ministry of Communication and Information as its coordinator.

The idea of having such regulation for activities in cyberspace based on the three (3) main concerns, namely: 1) the need for legal certainty for the perpetrators of the activities in the cyberspace considering that the existing regulations have not entirely accommodated the cause; 2) an attempt to anticipate the implications arising from the use of information technology; 3) the existence of a global variable which are free trade and open markets (WTO / GATT).

With regard to the establishment of regulation in cyberspace itself, we can use two different approaches, which are: 1) is it necessary to create new norms and regulations specifically to the activity/activities in cyberspace?; or 2) is there any necessities to implement regulatory models known in the real world to the virtual world?. According to these legal questions, what is more proportional to Indonesia will have to be a compiled draft law on information technology which is more oriented to the overall setting (umbrella provisions).

Government of Indonesia provides support for the development of information technology, especially information management and electronic transactions along with the legal and regulatory infrastructure, so that the utilization of information technology can be conducted safely by pressing negative consequences to a minimum. Based on the foregoing, the Indonesian government felt the need to propose a draft law regulating the activities of information and electronic transactions, hence the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology through the Directorate General of Telematics Applications have been preparing and comprising the Draft Law of Information & Electronic Transactions (ITE). Having come a long way since 1999, Draft Law on ITE eventually became law approved in the Plenary Session of the House of Representatives on March 25, 2008, the President then set the Law Number 11 Year 2008 on Information and Electronic Transactions (ITE Law) and it entered into force on the date of 21 April 2008.

The Government through the Ministry of Communications and

Information Technology has also prepared draft law on cybercrime/information and technology crime that criminalize illegal cyber-conducts according to the Council of Europe Convention 2001 which is already set in the ITE Law. This attempt to harmonize our law with the Council of Europe Convention is also intended to be able to accede the Council of Europe Convention 2001. As we are full aware, to be able to accede the Council of Europe Convention 2001, a State must first

harmonize its law at national level with the convention. Currently the Government c.q. the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology has also proposed for Draft Law on the accession of the Council of Europe Convention on Cybercrime 2001. Having Indonesia as a party to convention will bring a greater opportunity for Indonesia to participate in the process of formation of cyber law at the international level.

At regional level, compared to other Traditional Countries of ASEAN (Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand), Indonesia is rather late in establishing its cyber law regime.

Countries	Cyberlaw Regime
Brunei Darussalam	Computer Misuse Act 2007
Cambodia	<i>Still working on the first draft</i>
Indonesia	Law Number 11 Year 2008 Concerning Electronic Information and Transactions
Laos	<i>Still working on the first draft</i>
Malaysia	Computer Crimes Act 1997
Myanmar	Electronic Transaction Law 2004
Philippines	Republic Act No. 10175: An Act Defining Cybercrime, Providing for Prevention, Investigation and Imposition of Penalties Therefor and For Other Purposes 2011
Singapore	Computer Misuse Act 1998
Thailand	Computer Crime Act B.E. 2550 (2007)
Vietnam	Law Number 67 on Information Technology 2007

From the table above, the understanding that can be obtained is that in the future, Indonesia will have to quickly response and adjust to global changes. It will have to make its system work much better that it currently does. And that means making legal policy more effective. More responsive. More adaptive. More resilient.

I can recall what the next president envisions Indonesia for the next five years term of his tenure. Jokowi in his Missions, Visions, and Programs of Actions 2014: Road to

Change for Indonesia with Sovereignty, Independent, and Identity, stated under one of its basic principles of TRISAKTI, that political sovereignty embodied in the construction of political democracy is based on the wisdom of representative deliberation. People sovereignty will be the character, values and spirit that built through mutual cooperation and unity of the nation.

In the third presidential debate, Jokowi also stressed that to carry out the principles of independent-active

foreign policy, Indonesia should strengthen the development of national defense. One of them is to modernize the power of its main weaponry system for military defense with cyber/hybrid technology.

With such principles, democracy is still becoming one of Indonesia's national interests and priorities for the next five years. It is crystal clear that in the next five years, Indonesia will have to make democratic decision effective, reintegrating constitutional democratic ideals into the practice of democracy in all aspects, and most importantly, to establish and direct our legal policy to its common needs and goals. Two of them, according to above mentioned, are e-democracy and cybersecurity.

Indonesia: The Third Largest e-democracy in the World

Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous country in the world, nobody doubts that. Indonesia is the place where democracy, Islam, and modernity can go hand in hand, nobody questions that. Indonesia is the third largest democracy in the

world, nobody challenges this fact. Indonesia is a country with significant influence to promote home grown democracy, nobody seems to be disagree with that. But, how about Indonesia as the third largest e-democracy in the world? The answer would be, not yet, because Indonesia is still far behind Japan, Brazil, Germany, United Kingdom, France, Mexico, and South Korea in terms of internet penetration.

According to *Internet Live Stats*, Indonesia is in the 13th rank after South Korea. With the total estimation of 253 million of population, 42 million of its people are internet users. It means that the internet penetration goes more or less about 17% of total estimated population. It is also open up our perception about possibilities and chances to improve our internet penetration in the future to 500% to the other 210 million.

Take South Korea for example, the internet penetration in the country goes about 92% of total estimated population. From the total population of 49,5 million people, 46 million of them are netizen.

Rank ^a	Country	Internet Users	1 Year Growth %	1 Year User Growth	Total Country Population	1 Yr Population Change (%)	Penetration (% of Pop. with Internet)	Country's share of World Population	Country's share of World Internet Users
1	<u>China</u>	641,601,070	4%	24,021,070	1,393,783,836	0.59%	46.03%	19.24%	21.97%
2	<u>United States</u>	279,834,232	7%	17,754,869	322,583,006	0.79%	86.75%	4.45%	9.58%
3	<u>India</u>	243,198,922	14%	29,859,598	1,267,401,849	1.22%	19.19%	17.50%	8.33%
4	<u>Japan</u>	109,252,912	8%	7,668,535	126,999,808	-0.11%	86.03%	1.75%	3.74%
5	<u>Brazil</u>	107,822,831	7%	6,884,333	202,033,670	0.83%	53.37%	2.79%	3.69%
6	<u>Russia</u>	84,437,793	10%	7,494,536	142,467,651	-0.26%	59.27%	1.97%	2.89%
7	<u>Germany</u>	71,727,551	2%	1,525,829	82,652,256	-0.09%	86.78%	1.14%	2.46%
8	<u>Nigeria</u>	67,101,452	16%	9,365,590	178,516,904	2.82%	37.59%	2.46%	2.30%
9	<u>United Kingdom</u>	57,075,826	3%	1,574,653	63,489,234	0.56%	89.90%	0.88%	1.95%
10	<u>France</u>	55,429,382	3%	1,521,369	64,641,279	0.54%	85.75%	0.89%	1.90%
11	<u>Mexico</u>	50,923,060	7%	3,423,153	123,799,215	1.20%	41.13%	1.71%	1.74%
12	South Korea	45,314,248	8%	3,440,213	49,512,026	0.51%	91.52%	0.68%	1.55%
13	<u>Indonesia</u>	42,258,824	9%	3,468,057	252,812,245	1.18%	16.72%	3.49%	1.45%

Source: *Internet Live Stats* (www.InternetLiveStats.com) Elaboration of data by *International Telecommunication Union (ITU)*, *United Nations Population Division*, *Internet & Mobile Association of India (IAMAI)*. *World Bank*.

July 1 2014 Estimate

Internet User = individual, of any age, who can access the Internet at home, via any device type (computer or mobile) and connection.

In my opinion, in order to become the third largest e-democracy in the world, Indonesia needs to increase its internet penetrations to 50% of its total estimated population. With a raised from 42 million of netizens to 126

million of netizens, it will be in the 4th rank after China, United States, and India. Since China is not democracy, Indonesia will be in the 3rd rank after India and automatically becomes the third largest e-democracy in the world.

Indonesia

Year (July 1)	Internet Users**	User Growth	New Users	Country Population	Population Change	Penetration (% of Pop. with Internet)	Country's Share of World Population	Country's Share of World Internet Users	Global Rank
2014*	42,258,824	9%	3,468,057	252,812,245	1.18%	16.72%	3.49%	1.45%	12
2013*	38,790,767	2%	872,427	249,865,631	1.22%	15.52%	3.49%	1.43%	12
2012	37,918,340	27%	7,979,498	246,864,191	1.26%	15.36%	3.49%	1.51%	12
2011	29,958,841	14%	3,656,969	243,801,639	1.30%	12.28%	3.48%	1.31%	17
2010	26,281,872	60%	9,847,779	240,676,485	1.34%	10.92%	3.48%	1.28%	17
2009	16,434,093	-11%	-2,112,087	237,486,894	1.38%	6.92%	3.47%	0.93%	19
2008	18,546,180	39%	5,181,459	234,243,489	1.42%	7.92%	3.47%	1.18%	18
2007	13,364,721	23%	2,514,774	230,972,808	1.43%	5.79%	3.46%	0.97%	17
2006	10,849,947	34%	2,764,090	227,709,821	1.44%	4.76%	3.45%	0.94%	17
2005	8,085,858	41%	2,331,586	224,480,901	1.44%	3.60%	3.45%	0.79%	18
2004	5,754,271	11%	547,092	221,293,797	1.44%	2.60%	3.44%	0.63%	18

*estimate

** **Internet User** = individual who can access the Internet at home, via any device type and connection.

Source: **Internet Live Stats** (www.InternetLiveStats.com)

Elaboration of data by *International Telecommunication Union (ITU), World Bank, and United Nations Population Division.*

In this study conducted by The Berkman Center for Internet and Society explores the global effect of the Internet on democracy over the period of 1992 to 2002 by observing the relationships between measures related to democracy and Internet prevalence. The results show a significant correlation between Internet penetration (measured as the

estimated number of Internet users per 1,000 people) and a common indicator of a nation's level of democratization provided by the Freedom House. With a multivariate linear regression model, It shows that this correlation maintains even when we control for a nation's geographic region, economic level, and social development. Our findings suggest

that a 25% increase in Internet penetration links to a one point jump on the 14 point Freedom House democracy index while still accounting for regional and socio-economic development. Indeed, we find that Internet penetration explains more variation in the level of democratic development within a country than does literacy rates and some of the regional categories.¹⁵

Al Gore at the International Telecommunication Union, on March 21, 1994 said that the Global Information Infrastructure (GII) will not only be a metaphor for a functioning democracy, it will in fact promote the functioning of democracy by greatly enhancing the participation of citizens in decision-making. And it will greatly promote the ability of nations to cooperate with each other. I see a new Athenian Age of democracy forged in the fora the GI will create.¹⁶

Whether direct Internet democracy is good or bad is quite beside the point. It is inevitable. It is coming and we had better make our peace with it. We have to better educate ourselves so that we can make good decisions. Restricting the power of the people is no longer a viable option. The Internet made it obsolete.¹⁷

According to these descriptions above, e-democracy is inevitable and Indonesia as the third largest democracy in the world has to embrace it. It will be our new nation branding at international level. It will be our new bargaining position as a nation to cooperate with others. It will be our new soft power as an emerging power. Bottom line, it will be our new future to come.

In order to achieve such goal, Indonesia under the presidency of Jokowi in the next 5 years must possess willingness to provide a

national legal system ready to develop e-democracy, to increase its internet penetration, and to secure its internet democracy through resilient cyber security.

Enhancing Cyber Security

As mentioned before that modern democracies will face difficult new challenges- fighting terrorism, adjusting to globalization, and adapting to an aging society- in terms of this explanatory description, e-democracy will also have to ensure that its netizen protects its common interest of democratic environment in cyberspace.

Today, it has become one of the tasks of international community to secure cyberspace from all forms of threats, transnational crimes and transboundary challenges such as cyber-attacks, cyber-crime, and cyber-terrorism.

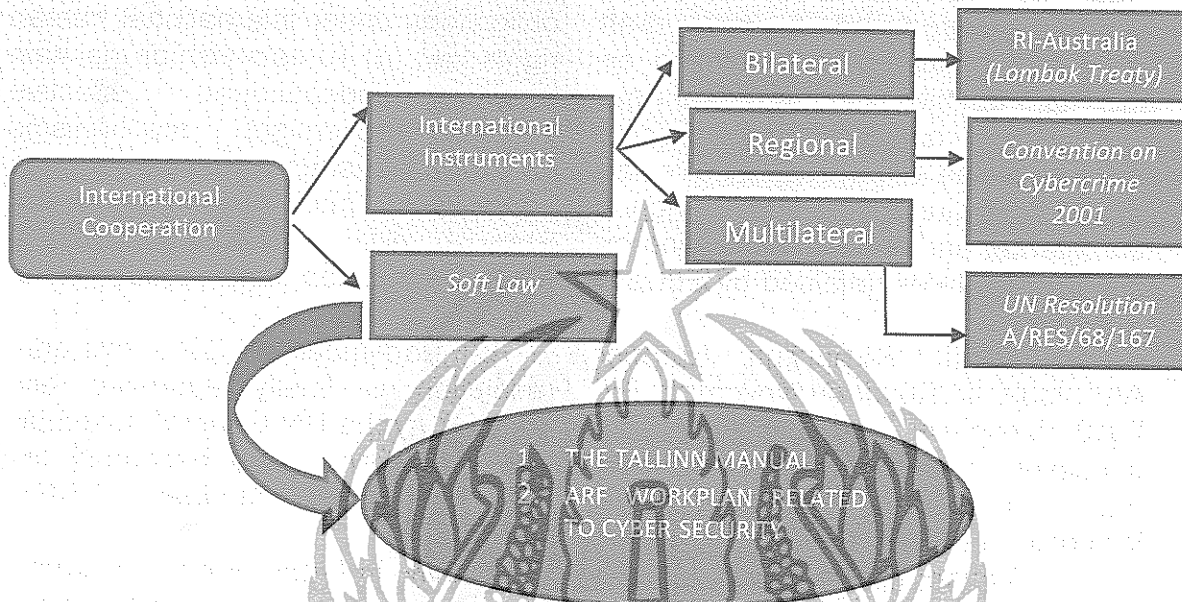
A research conducted by Norton Cyber Crime recently shown that every day, over 1 million people have become target of cybercrime. More than two-third or 69% of netizens have experience such cyber-misbehavior in their lives. Every second, there are about 14 people around the world who happened to be the victim of such misconduct. The damage or loss caused by cybercrime is about US\$ 114 billion or Rp 696 trillion per year. Based on the loss time of targeted victims caused by cybercrime, there will be additional loss of US\$ 274 billion.

Norton Cybercrime Report also revealed the fact that 10% of adult netizens have experience to be the victim of cybercrime through cellphones. The fact shown that the culprit were focusing their effort to mobile devices such as cellphone, tablet, pad, smartphone, smart

watches, laptop, and other wearable devices.

In order to secure our internet democracy, the presidency of Joko Widodo has to carry out international cooperation through agreements or other forms of international

cooperation. International cooperation can also be done in the form of the formulation of norms or international principles that can later be recognized as customary law. These efforts will further bring forward the application of our national legislation to be effective.



At regional level, Indonesia is an active member of ASEAN Regional Forum, and is very active in the process of formulating cyber security regime in the region. During the 20th Meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam, on 2 July 2013, the Ministers (the Foreign Ministers and Representatives of all ARF participants) have discussed non-traditional security threats and challenges, such as cyber security.

Given the rapid development of ICT worldwide, the Ministers at the 20th Meeting of the ARF on 2nd July 2013 recognised that the ARF is a good platform to enhance collaborations among ARF participants to effectively mitigate

cyber threats and combat cyber crimes.¹⁸

According to the Chairman's Statement of the 20th ASEAN Regional Forum above, it is clear that the future of internet and internet security have become one of the ASEAN Regional Forum's objectives of work in the near future.

The Chairman Statement also states that in this regard, the Ministers noted the progress of the development of the ARF work plan related to cyber security. They tasked the officials to further deliberate the elements of the work plan at the next relevant ARF ISM/ARF ISG on CBMs and PD/ARF SOM with a view of finalizing the work plan at the next ARF Ministerial meeting.

With its comprehensive approach of work plan related to cyber security, I am very optimistic that in the near future, ASEAN Regional Forum and its region will have its own soft law related to the future of internet and cyber security.

At the multilateral level, or the United Nations, Indonesia, Brazil and Germany introduced a new draft resolution entitled UN Resolution on the Right to Privacy in the Digital Age. This work is considered to emphasize the role of the UN in response to the outbreak of wiretapping and spying via the internet and telecommunication by the United States unfolded by Edward Snowden.

UN Draft Resolution Number A/C.3/68/L.45/Rev.1 on November 20, 2013, comprises elements and basic principles, as follows: (a) To respect and protect the right to privacy, including in the context of digital communication; (b) To take measures to put an end to violations of those rights and to create the conditions to prevent such violations, including by ensuring that relevant national legislation complies with their obligations under international human

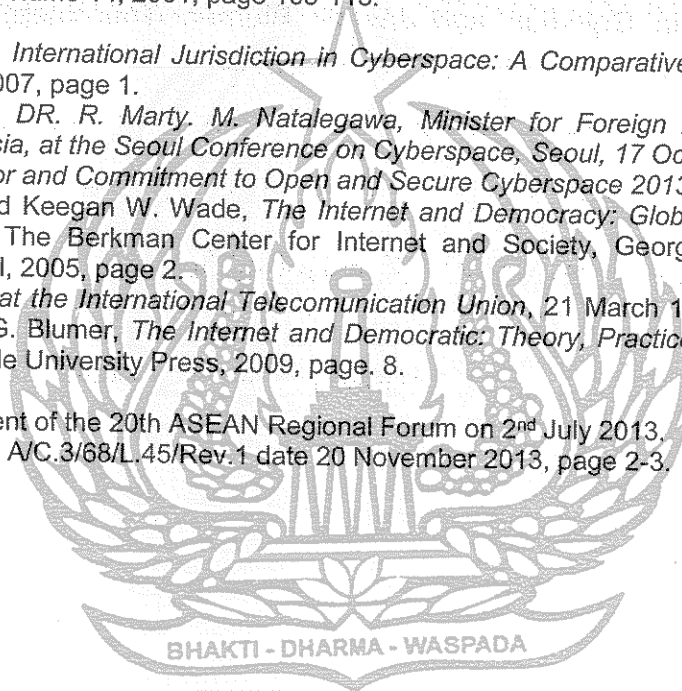
rights law; (c) To review their procedures, practices and legislation regarding the surveillance of communications, their interception and collection of personal data, including mass surveillance, interception and collection, with a view to upholding the right to privacy by ensuring the full and effective implementation of all their obligations under international human rights law; (d) To establish or maintain existing independent, effective domestic oversight mechanisms capable of ensuring transparency, as appropriate, and accountability for State surveillance of communications, their interception and collection of personal data.¹⁹

On December 19, 2013, this draft resolution is finally approved and adopted by the UN General Assembly with acclamation and becoming the UN Resolution number A/RES/68/167.

Finally, in terms of cyber security, I believe that Indonesia has to be full aware that the threat is real, so that the legal framework (at national, bilateral, regional multilateral level) has to be the building blocks to stop it.

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minister for foreign affairs. The articles expressed are his own.
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