



Implementation of the Government's Deradicalization Policy to Former Terrorism Convict in Makassar City

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Abstract. After reform, conflicts in various areas of Indonesia significantly increased in escalation. By enacting Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perppu) Number 1 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, which eventually became Law Number 15 of 2003, the Indonesian government took action against terrorism. The President also released Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 46 of 2003 in addition to those two items. In addition, the President issued Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 46 of 2010 concerning to the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT), which is in charge of developing national policies, strategies, and programs in the fight against terrorism, with deradicalization as the primary tactic. But even after the BNPT was established, there were several terrorist attacks in numerous places. This shows that the deradicalization strategy is still not being adequately put into practice. Therefore, study must be done to examine how the deradicalization approach is applied to former terrorism convict, with a particular emphasis on the bombing in Makassar City. The research method uses a qualitative approach to gather primary data from people who are knowledgeable about the research issue and a literature review to support the main data. The study's findings indicate that the deradicalization strategy has been carried out in three stages, namely by national insight, religious insight, and entrepreneurialism. The Sikawarui Appa Sulapa (Kapala) Foundation was established by BNPT is one of the results of following the deradicalization policy to provide housing for ex-napiters in the South Sulawesi Province, especially in Makassar City.

Keywords: Policy, Deradicalization, Ex-Napiters.

1 Introduction

Following reform, conflicts in different parts of Indonesia significantly increased in escalation. The change from the Orde Baru regime to reform and the transfer of power both had an impact on this. Decentralization was put into place by the government during the reform period as a way to provide autonomous areas the authority to create and run their own governments. Indonesia went through a democratic transition during this time, which left it open to horizontal and vertical conflicts and led to the rise of extreme terrorist movements. In 2000, there were 26 terrorist actions committed on Indonesian territory, according to data compiled from the Indonesian Peace Alliance (ADIA) and the Center for the Study of Radicalism and Terrorism (PAKAR). 15 terrorist actions that targeted churches and 2 terrorist acts that targeted priests were included in this total. [1] Aside from it, the "Christmas Bomb" of 2000 consisted of 16 terrorist attacks that were carried out on December 24 and 25, taking advantage of the holiday's enthusiasm.

Terrorist actions in Indonesia not only target Christian symbols but also Western religious icons. The Bali Bombing I, which took place on October 12 2002, was the greatest act of terrorism to target Western symbols. It resulted in 203 fatalities and 209 injuries. Following the initial Bali Bombing, the Indonesian Government issued Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perppu) Number 1 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, which was later codified as Law Number 15 of 2003, in an effort to fight terrorism. [2] In addition, the President issued Presidential Instruction

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(Inpres) Number 4 of 2002 concerning Criminal Acts of Terrorism, which was later repeated with the release of a national policy package for the eradication of terrorism, one of which was the establishment of a Coordinating Desk for the Eradication of Terrorism (DKPT) that was tasked with aiding the Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs in formulating policies for the eradication of terrorism. [1] [3]

In reality, no amount of legal action or law enforcement has been able to stop terrorism from coming again. There were roughly 11 terrorist attacks between 2003 and 2010, including the bombing of the Jakarta Police Headquarters Complex on February 3 2003, the Soekarno Hatta Airport in Jakarta on July 12 2003, the JW Marriot Jakarta Hotel on August 5 2003, the Australian Embassy in Jakarta on September 9 2004, the Bali Bombing II on October 1 2005, and the bombings of the JW Marriot and Ritz Carlton Jakarta Hotels on July 17 2009. [1] [2] [4] This was due to the fact that the policy of the Indonesian Government at the time was still restricted to repressing and preventing terrorist activities and the Government hadn't tackled the development of radical ideology-terrorism in society. He suggested that the Government create a body with operational authority to carry out this duty based on the Working Meeting of Commission I DPR RI and the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs on August 31 2009. In order to address the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), the President issued Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 46 of 2010 on July 16 2010. [1]

In accordance with the Presidential Decree, the BNPT was established as the entity responsible for developing national counterterrorism policies, strategies, and programs. The primary tactic used by BNPT in fighting terrorism is deradicalization. However, despite all of its efforts, the deradicalization strategy has not been able to stop terrorist attacks in Indonesia. The Cirebon Police Headquarters Bomb, the Gading Serpong Bomb, the Kepunton Solo Bomb, the Gladak Solo Post Bomb, the Poso Police Headquarters Bomb, the Thamrin Bomb, the Solo Police Headquarters Bomb, the Medan Santo Yosep Church Bomb, the Samarinda Bomb, the Church Bombing in Surabaya City, and the Makassar Cathedral Church Bombing all occurred after the BNPT was established. [2] [4] [5] This shows that the government's efforts to disengage and deideologize, particularly against former addicts who are involved in terrorist networks in Indonesia, have not been successful with their deradicalization approach. [6]

Since ex-napiters are vulnerable to re-joining terrorist organizations and have the potential to commit similar acts of terrorism in the future, research must be conducted to examine the implementation of the deradicalization policy against them. The radical ideologies and beliefs that were ingrained while a member of the terrorist network will not entirely disappear, despite the fact that they have completed a number of correctional and deradicalization programs in Correctional Institutions (Lapas) and sworn "loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia". The study will concentrate on how the BNPT has applied its deradicalization strategy to former terrorism convict in the Makassar City. So it can be utilized as a guide in the future and applied as best as possible in the case of the Ex-Napiters in the Makassar Cathedral Church Bombing. On March 28 2021, this incident happened and 85 persons were detained as a result since they were related. There are currently 20 persons who have been freed and are considered ex-napiters, while 65 other people are still in prison and won't be released until 2024. [7] Therefore, government policy action is required to create a suitable deradicalization plan in supporting these ex-napiters.

2 Research Methods

This research method uses a qualitative approach to get the main data from people who are knowledgeable about the research issue. In addition, a literature review is also used in this research to gather secondary data to support the main data collected from qualitative approach. The literature review contains reviews, summaries and the author's thoughts about several library sources in the form of articles, journals, books and internet information related to the topic discussed. The data collection technique is carried out by searching for articles in journal databases and research articles, books and information via the internet then collecting and recording them as literature sources.

3 Discussion and Research Results

The base word radical is where the term "deradicalization" originates. The process by which people shift their perspective of the world from the conditions of a society that tends to be "normal" to a culture that tends to be "extreme" is frequently referred to as "radicalization." In some instances, the person will then engage in the following phase, which involves doing violent acts. Deradicalization, though not widely defined, is essentially an effort to persuade terrorists and those who support them to give up using violence to further their objectives, such as public diplomacy initiatives that seek to "calm hearts and minds." Deradicalization has gained popularity in the counter-terrorism cycle because it can be seen as a counseling process that aims to change how religious texts are understood, to provide distance or release a person's ties to specific terrorist groups, and to support the rehabilitation and reintegration of individuals or groups associated with terrorist groups to return to society. [8] Through a program of motivational reorientation, reeducation, and resocialization as well as by promoting social welfare and equality for individuals or groups who have participated in terrorist actions with society at large, this deradicalization is achieved. In addition, it highlights the need for the deradicalization program to be able to release the ideas held by the terrorist or terrorist group while also halting the spread of radical ideology within them.

Therefore, deradicalization must be implemented in conjunction with ideology. This is because ideology is the main key in the process of awareness and ideological reorientation of people or terrorist groups to return to true teachings. The radicalization process which began with recruiting, self-identification, indoctrination, and an incorrect perception of jihad is essentially reversed throughout the deradicalization phase. As a result, the identification and classification of napiters and ex-napiters which is done using a humanist approach, soul approach, and independence is the first step in the deradicalization process. [8] The deradicalization program essentially operates under the presumption that radicalization precedes terrorism. Therefore, deradicalization activities that involve altering preconceived notions or thought patterns that are deemed incorrect or abnormal are more effective in combating terrorism. Deradicalization is a proactive step in preventing terrorism, but it must be taken with prudence due to Indonesian society's variety and its susceptibility to social conflict. Deradicalization must therefore be used in an organized manner in everyday life at all levels of society as a "counter-ideology of terrorism" notion. Deradicalization is a topic that is now being discussed, however it still has limits because it mainly focuses on terrorists and their networks, leaving the surrounding community unaffected.

3.1 Implementation of the Deradicalization Policy for Ex-Napiters

Eliminating the causes of terrorism implies getting rid of the things that motivate terrorists to commit their crimes. It was discovered that in a number of instances, former inmates who had received training repeated the same behaviors. Deradicalization policy is one of the government's attempts to address this issue as a result. In this situation, ex-napiters must be able to own their errors, change for the better so they don't commit crimes again, and be able to do away with their radical ideology so it can be accepted by society. The inclusion of ex-napiters as guiding targets in the deradicalization policy is a reflection of the state-protected rights of ex-napiters. It is intended that this initiative will help ex-napiters reintegrate into society and their social networks. One method of deradicalization is the use of rehabilitation and social reintegration programs, which work to help people internalize ideals by enhancing their psychological, financial, and emotional ties and boosting their self-esteem.

According to Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, the definition of terrorism based on Article 1 Paragraph 2 is that terrorism is an act that uses violence or threats of violence to create a climate of widespread fear or terror and can result in mass casualties as well as damage or destruction to crucial strategic objects, the environment, public facilities, or international facilities with ideological, political and security motivations. The Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) defines terror as an endeavor to instill fear, horror, and cruelty by an individual or a certain group. [8] Additionally, according to Black's Law Dictionary, terrorism is defined as an unlawful activity that violates criminal law and has elements of violence or has a dangerous effect

on human life in order to intimidate civilians, influence governmental policy, or influence state administration through kidnapping or murder. [9]

Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning Amendments to Law Number 15 of 2003 concerning the Determination of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism into Law contains the deradicalization policy. In addition, the policy regarding deradicalization is outlined in two other regulations: Government Regulation (PP) Number 77 of 2019 concerning Prevention of Criminal Acts of Terrorism and Protection of Investigators, Public Prosecutors, Judges, and Correctional Officers and Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 46 of 2010 concerning the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT). According to these regulations, deradicalization of ex-napiters (individuals or groups) exposed to the radical ideology of terrorism, takes place over the course of three stages, including:

- a. Development of national insight;
- b. Fostering religious insight; and/or
- c. Entrepreneurship. [10] [11]

Development of national insight can take the form of state defense activities; safeguard the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia; maintaining state ideology; practice and appreciation of Pancasila; archipelago insight; and/or strengthening national values. Fostering religious insight can take the form of religious tolerance; social harmony within the framework of national unity; and/or religious harmony. And entrepreneurship can take the form of guidance, mentoring and empowerment in the field of job training; business cooperation; and business capital. However, in actuality the outcomes of identification and assessment form the basis for these three steps. This is done on ex-napiters within a maximum of 30 days after they have completed their term, and it involves gathering data on ex-napiters, conducting interviews, observations, and clarifications, as well as processing and analyzing the data. [11]

The results of the identification and assessment will be included in the identification and assessment report which contains at least the identity; level of exposure to radical ideology of terrorism; the results of the development of the Deradicalization program that has been implemented; tendency to join a terrorist group network or commit a criminal act of terrorism; and deradicalization recommendations. The deradicalization policy is implemented within a maximum period of 6 (six) months from the results of identification and assessment and can be extended 1 (one) time for a maximum period of 6 (six) months based on the results of the BNPT assessment involving relevant ministries/institutions, academics, practitioners, religious figures, and/or community figures. Furthermore, BNPT monitors, evaluates and records the results of the implementation of ex-napiter deradicalization by involving relevant ministries/institutions. [11]

3.2 Case Study: Makassar City

The years 2002–2021 saw a number of terror acts in Makassar City, such as the bombing of McDonald's Mall Ratu Indah and the NV Hadji Kalla car showroom on December 5, 2002, the Molotov cocktail incident at the Mandala Monument on November 11, 2012, during the Golkar Party Birthday celebration, which targeted Syahrul Yasin Limpo, the then-governor of South Sulawesi, and the Molotov cocktail throwing incident at the Bontoala Police Station on January 1, 2018, carried out by the Makassar Jamaah Ansharu Daulah (JAD) network on January 1. [X] Aside from that, the most recent act of terror was a suicide bombing at the Makassar Cathedral Church on March 28, 2021. It was perpetrated by the Villa Mutiara Makassar group, specifically members of the JAD Makassar network or Ansharu Daulah Indonesia (ADI) Makassar. [12]

According to the findings of an interview with Mr. JRM (Coordinator of the BNPT Deradicalization Team for the South Sulawesi Region), the deradicalization policy has been put in place for ex-napiter in the Makassar City. Through three stages—fostering national insight, religious insight, and entrepreneurship—the deradicalization policy has been implemented in accordance with Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 46 of 2010 concerning the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) and Government Regulation (PP) Number 77 of 2019 concerning Prevention of

Criminal Acts of Terrorism and Protection of Investigators, Public Prosecutors, Judges, and Correctional Officers. [7] Previously, ex-napiters underwent an identifying procedure no later than 30 days after serving their sentence. Interviews, observations, clarification, data processing, and analysis are all used in the identification process.

Through national defense initiatives and talks on national insight, the BNPT works with the TNI, Polri, BIN, and regional governments, particularly Kesbangpol, to build national insight. While this is going on, the Terrorism Prevention Coordination Forum (FKPT), Religious Leaders, Community Leaders, Youth Leaders, and other regional personalities are working with the BNPT to generate religious insight. This is due to the fact that entrepreneurship is the last phase of the deradicalization strategy, which aims to assist former addicts in meeting their basic requirements in order to prevent them from getting involved in radical causes and terrorist organizations once more. He contends that acquiring both national and religious awareness must come first for ex-napiters receiving aid with their entrepreneurial endeavors. So that the offered entrepreneurial assistance is not abused to support previously active radical activities and terrorist organizations. [7]

MDL, an ex-napiter involved in the 2002 Makassar bomb case, is one of the ex-napiters who can serve as an example of how BNPT has carried out this deradicalization strategy. MDL has finished the BNPT deradicalization program in the meantime. Specifically, MDL receives entrepreneurship assistance from BNPT, which enables him to maintain a catering business that he still operates now, support his basic requirements, and avoid engaging in terrorist actions in the future. In addition, the BNPT established the Sikawarui Appa Sulapa (Kapala) Foundation as part of the deradicalization policy implementation. MDL served as Chairman of the foundation which was established to provide housing for former terrorism convict in South Sulawesi Province after their liberation. [7] Through this foundation, BNPT is able to accept and help ex-napiters in the South Sulawesi region, particularly Makassar City.

In order for the deradicalization strategy that was implemented for the ex-napiters in the Makassar bombing case to be applied to the ex-napiters in the Makassar cathedral church bombing case in the future. Makassar Cathedral Church bomb went off following the second mass on 28 March, 2021. Based on information in the Special Work Visit Report of Commission III DPR RI to South Sulawesi Province following the Makassar Cathedral Church attack, it is known that the bomb was a suicide explosion carried out by 2 perpetrators going by the identities of Yogi Safitri Fortuna and Muh Lukman HS. According to information provided by Inspector General Pol Merdisyam (South Sulawesi Regional Police Chief), the two suicide bombers were riding a Honda motorcycle with the registration number DD 5984 MD and were riding in tandem with the intention of entering the grounds of the Makassar Cathedral Church but they were stopped by church security. [12]

There were 19 people hurt as a result of the bombing, and two attackers died there. Six men and thirteen women out of the total of 19 injured victims were classified as having mild injuries and receiving outpatient care, while 15 of the victims suffered moderate to serious injuries and were hospitalized at Bhayangkara Hospital and Siloam Hospital Makassar. According to intelligence from Densus 88 Police Headquarters, the organization known as the Villa Mutiara Makassar group, an affiliate of Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) that Ansharut Daulah Indonesia (ADI) Makassar, was responsible for the bombing of the Makassar Cathedral Church. This is the result of law enforcement actions taken against 23 members of the ADI Makassar terrorist network between January 6 and 15 2021, including the deaths of Mohammad Rizaldy Saleh (Amir ADI Makassar) and his son-in-law Sanjai Ajis for resisting arrest. [12]

Based on data dated September 6 2023, 85 persons were detained for their role in the Makassar Cathedral Church Bombing case, 20 of whom were released from prison without having completed their terms and now have the status of former terrorism convict. Another 65 people will be released between now and 2024, and they will all reside in Makassar City. Therefore, a deradicalization strategy that is appropriate for developing ex-napiters must be developed through government policy involvement. The identification of ex-napiters with the initials MRZ bin MJD on October 14 2023 at the Tahfizul Qur'an Islamic Boarding School, District Biringkanaya, Makassar City, is an example of the identification work done by the BNPT on ex-napiters in the Makassar Cathedral Church Bombing Case. [7]

In the meantime, MRZ bin MJD, a former prisoner in connection with the Makassar Cathedral Church Bombing case, completed his term on September 27 2023 and is now on conditional release from the Class IIB Prison in Kota Agung Lampung Province. This is the first stage in figuring out the kind of counsel that can be given to MRZ bin MJD, namely national insight, religious insight and encouraging entrepreneurship. The three levels are completed in stages thus ex-napiters who haven't concluded their work on national insight development can't move on to religious insight development. Likewise aid with entrepreneurship cannot be provided to ex-napiters who have not finished developing their national and religious perspectives. [7]

4 Conclusions

Fostering national understanding, religious insight, and entrepreneurship are the three steps of BNPT's deradicalization program for former prisoners after their release. To evaluate the ex-napiters who would receive the deradicalization program, the BNPT first performed an identification stage before implementing these three stages. The BNPT has been operated in accordance with Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 46 of 2010 and Government Regulation (PP) Number 77 of 2019 concerning the prevention of terrorist crimes and the protection of investigators, public prosecutors, judges, and correctional officers. Through three stages of fostering national insight, religious insight, and entrepreneurship, BNPT has carried out the deradicalization policy in accordance with the rules that apply to the former terrorism convict in the Makassar City. The establishment of a Foundation Sikawarui Appa Sulapa (Kapala) to house ex-napiters in the South Sulawesi Province post-liberation region is one of the results achieved by BNPT in implementing the deradicalization policy. So in order for the deradicalization strategy that was implemented for the ex-napiters in the Makassar bombing case to be applied to the ex-napiters in the Makassar cathedral church bombing case in the future.

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