

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **INDONESIA'S POLICY IN RESPONDING THE EXISTENCE OF TRANSNATIONAL TERRORIST NETWORK**

In chapter 4 will explain about Indonesia's response to the existence of transnational terrorist network that divides into 2 ways by using counter-terrorism and also international cooperation. In this chapter explain about the roles of counter-terrorism agency that will be used by the Indonesia government to anticipate the transnational terrorist network. Also, it will explain the Indonesia government program to decreasing the values that been brought and spread by transnational terrorist network. Besides that, it will explain the international cooperation that Indonesia uses as a strategy to anticipate the existence of transnational terrorist network.

#### **A. Counter-Terrorism**

As mentioned in chapter 3 where transnational terrorist network plays an indirect role in the acts of terror that occurred in Indonesia and has also been demonstrated the role of such transnational terrorist networks. Here, it takes the role of a counter-terrorism agency that becomes a media in anticipating, preventing, and tackling the acts of terror that exist in Indonesia. The Indonesian government recognizes that the role of counter-terrorism agencies can have a significant effect on knowing the existence and movement of transnational terrorist networks in Indonesia. Therefore, the Indonesian government established a counter-terrorism agency that aims to prevent the occurrence of terrorism which is caused by a transnational terrorist network, in which the agency is called National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT).

National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT) established in 2010. This agency established the respond to the existence of transnational terrorism network that already spread in Indonesia. In addition, with the increasing terror acts against the background of transnational terrorist networks in previous

years. Besides that, the establishment of BNPT as a government respond in arranging strategy and also policies between institutes to counter-terrorism. BNPT was established based on Presidential Regulation No. 46/2010 on National Agency for Combating Terrorism which was amended by Presidential Regulation No. 12/2012 on Amendment of Presidential Regulation No. 46/2010 on National Agency for Counter-Terrorism (Perpres BNPT). In Article 2 paragraph (1) of the Presidential Decree of BNPT it is stated that BNPT has a duty, consisting of (BNPT, none):

- 1) develop national policies, strategies, and programs in counter-terrorism;
- 2) coordinate relevant government agencies in implementing and implementing policies in the field of counter-terrorism; and
- 3) Implementing policies in the field of counter-terrorism by forming task force-task force consisting of elements of relevant government agencies in accordance with their respective duties, functions, and authorities.

In order to countering-terrorism, BNPT itself has two approaches that will be used namely hard approach and soft approach. In hard approach, BNPT is more likely having cooperation with the government institutes to share information and also arrange strategies and policies in order to prevent the terrorism. Also, in hard approach, BNPT is working with the other counter-terrorism agency which is Densus 88 to identify the terrorists and which networks they are. In soft approach itself, BNPT will use a program to decrease the values of transnational terrorism network by cooperating with religious organizations and institutes.

### **1. Optimizing National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT) as Merging Internal Security**

As mentioned before, the hard approach used by BNPT is to cooperate and encourage institutions that participate in counter-terrorism activities and in

conducting law enforcement for terrorists in a transparent and professional manner. A related hard drive is continuous with the task of BNPT as an institution that makes strategies and policies in counter-terrorism efforts. In addition to having the task of formulating policies, BNPT also has the task of coordinating with other government agencies in combating terrorism. In this case, BNPT cooperates with the Indonesian Police and also Detachment 88 which can be said that Indonesian Police and Detachment 88 are the executors of the policies and strategies that have been developed by BNPT. In November 2017, BNPT coordinates with Detachment 88 to catch the alleged terrorist that related to ISIS in Bekasi (Djamhari, 2017). Besides that, in December 2017, BNPT coordinate with Detachment 88 and Indonesia police in order to catch around 19 alleged terrorist actors in several regions. Some of the alleged terrorist actors itself are the supporter of ISIS and also was militant of ISIS in Syria (Santoso, 2017). Recently, BNPT has collaborated with PPATK in seeking evidence of ISIS network funding in Indonesia (BNPT, 2017). The purpose of this activity is the Indonesian government expects that ISIS network funding in Indonesia can be stopped so as to result in the decline of ISIS network movement in Indonesia itself.

In addition, BNPT also launched a map of terrorist networks in Indonesia which are spread over 10 points of Indonesia, namely Mujahid West Indonesia in Lampung, NII in South Kalimantan, East Indonesia Mujahid Daeng Koro Santoso in Poso, and Asmar group in Sulawesi. While in Ambon there is a group of Walid, JAT in Bali, also group Bima in West Nusa Tenggara. While in Java, there has MIB led Abu Omar and Abu Roban, NII Tasikmalaya, and Solo network group (Trianita, 2014). With the unveiling of this terrorist network map, BNPT hopes that other relevant agencies can provide more focus on these areas to monitor and cope with the

movement of terrorist networks. In addition, the existence of this network map can detect the existence and involvement of transnational terrorist networks in terror acts in Indonesia.

Not only there, BNPT also began to supervise the boundaries of the state. This is because the boundaries of the state become the entry point of transnational terrorism network arrival and this if left unchecked will increase the spread of transnational terrorist networks in Indonesia. Therefore, BNPT recently made SOPs in securing and monitoring terrorism threats at state borders (Pinardi, 2015). This is based on the number of members of the network of transnational terrorism that goes to Indonesia through the borders of a remote country so difficult to be detected by the parties concerned. In addition, this supervision is also caused by the movement of ISIS network in Malawi, Southern Philippines that could spread to Indonesia through the border between Philippine and Indonesia, namely Miangas Island. This supervision is done to prevent ISIS network members in the Philippines to enter the territory of Indonesia (Nailufar, 2017).

In addition that related to hard approach, Indonesia has issued Law Number 15 the Year 2003 on Counter-Terrorism and Law Number 9 the Year 2013 on Prevention and Eradication of Terrorism Financing Crime. Furthermore, in the framework of strengthening efforts to combat terrorism financing, Indonesia has also adopted a Joint Regulation on the Inclusion of Identity of Persons and Corporations in the List of Terrorist and Terrorist Terrorists and Blocking Organizations as well as Merta on the Funds of People or Corporations Listed on Terrorist and Terrorist List of Terrorist Organizations (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2016).

## **2. Deradicalization to Prevent the Spreading of Transnational Terrorist Network Values**

In the previous subchapters, BNPT's ways of dealing with the spread of transnational terrorist networks in Indonesia are not growing. Such measures are one of the external preventions where BNPT is more focused on preventing the development of transnational terrorist networks through tightening surveillance of areas that are believed to be the site of a network of transnational terrorism. However, basically, the spread of transnational terrorist networks is also derived from the order of life of Indonesian society in which the diversity of living in the community.

The Indonesian government is trying to understand the ways and mediums of transnational terrorist networks in spreading their group values. Therefore, the Government of Indonesia through BNPT created a soft-approach in which the purpose of this soft-approach is to eliminate the values and understandings brought by transnational terrorist networks. The target of this soft-approach is the general public and also the former terrorist who is serving his sentence. This Soft approach is one of the BNPT programs called deradicalization.

Deradicalization is one of the preventives counter-terrorism measures that have the goal to neutralize or restore radical and perilous insights by way of nonviolent approaches. The purpose of this deradicalization is to reverse the understanding of the actors involved in radical understanding to return to more moderate thinking (Balitbang Hukum dan HAM, 2016). In general, this deradicalization program is more specialized for ex-terrorists who are undergoing their sentences, this is because to reduce the spread of radical understandings and with the existence of this program is expected that these former terrorists do not return to their terrorist network.

Basically, the deradicalization of the stretcher by BNPT has four approaches namely, re-education, rehabilitation, resocialization, and reintegration (Hikam, 2016). These four approaches have different roles in terms of their delivery. The first is that re-education is an approach that prioritizes the repudiation of radicalism by teaching enlightenment to society about radicalism and its dangers which aim at not developing the radical understanding among the people. In addition to terrorist prisoners, re-education is done by enlightening the doctrines deviated by transnational terrorist networks that transnational terrorism networks teach violence to achieve their goals. It is then expected that these terrorist inmates will later realize that committing suicide such as suicide bombings is not the real meaning of jihad but is a jihad meaning dictated by transnational terrorist networks.

Further, there is an approach to rehabilitation. Here, the approach through rehabilitation has two meanings: self-development and personal coaching. A self-reliance is a form of coaching that prioritizes training and coaching for ex-terrorism prisoners in preparing skills and expertise. This coaching aims to prepare ex-prisoners so that once they get out of prison, they have the provision of skills and can also open their own jobs. While personality guidance is a coaching by approaching by way of dialogue to terrorist prisoners so that their thoughts can be re-like all and have a comprehensive understanding and it can also accept parties who differ with them. The rehabilitation approach is done by cooperating with various parties such as police, correctional institution, Ministry of Religious Affairs, community organization, and others.

Meanwhile, the approach of re-socialization and reintegration is an approach designed by BNPT by guiding them in socializing and reuniting with the community. It is hoped that these approaches will

provide them with the means to lead a life after leaving the penitentiary. To realize the objectives of this deradicalization BNPT it coordinated with Penitentiary.

These deradicalization approaches aim to make terrorist prisoners later on out of jail or back into society these former terrorist prisoners no longer join terrorist networks and no longer commit acts of terrorism as they once did. In addition, with these deradicalization approaches it is hoped that former terrorist prisoners can eliminate the radical elements of the teachings held by previous terrorists. The guidance of terrorism prisoners aims to make the convict aware of his actions so that when he returns to society he will be good, both religiously, socially and morally so as to create harmony and balance in the midst of society (Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Hukum dan Hak Asasi Manusia, 2006).

To help these ex-terrorist prisoners, BNPT is also doing the whole thing through the distribution of venture capital. However, this approach is considered less successful because there are still some supporters in this approach. According to BNPT chief of Komjen Suhardi Alius, the partner of BNPT Center for Deradicalization Center about 700 ex-Napier (terrorism prisoners). Suhardi asked the local authorities in order not to complicate the ex-capital in taking care of the population or other documents (Mufarida, 2017). This is because so that these former terrorist prisoners can re-run a decent life.

In addition to deradicalizing terrorist prisoners, BNPT also deradicalized with the Foreign Terrorist Fighter who had just returned from the transnational terrorism areas of network such as Iraq and Syria. This de-radicalization aims to eliminate the radical understandings they get when in these areas. In addition, with this deradicalization expected when these FTFs re-enter Indonesia territory, at least they do not bring radical understandings that they can spread in Indonesia. This

can suppress the number of transnational terrorism network members in Indonesia.

Before deradicalizing the FTF, BNPT first coordinated with the Turkish government on the return of Indonesian citizens (WNI) from Iraq and Syria. It aims to detect the involvement of Indonesian citizens in ISIS activities in Iraq and Syria. However, this detection problem is constrained because there are no rules that can be used to sort out suspected alumni of ISIS aka terrorist combatants (Tempo.Co, 2017). Therefore BNPT cooperates with the Turkish government in investigating the background of the activities of the Indonesian citizens who came from Iraq and Syria.

After that, the WNI will follow the process of deradicalization by BNPT in the process of de-localization later BNPT in cooperation with the Ministry of Social which is aimed at the process of monitoring citizen in the process of deradicalization takes place. Before BNPT conducts a deradicalization process, the Indonesian citizens must go through the verification system provided by BNPT. Then, these citizens will begin the process of deradicalization. This deradicalization process will be placed in Bambu Apus, East Jakarta and will take one month. After going through this deradicalization process, the Indonesian citizens will be brought back to their respective home with the supervision of BNPT and Indonesia Police. In addition, with the return of the Indonesian citizens to their respective regions BNPT hopes the Regional Government participate in overseeing the activities of citizens to not re-fall into terrorism.

In addition to working with the above-mentioned government agencies, BNPT also collaborates with religious-based organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as well as Religious Ministry (Kemenag). This is because NU and Kemenag have an important role in the life order of society in Indonesia. In addition, with the



involvement of NU and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, this can reduce the radical understanding that spread into the environment of Indonesian society.

In 2011, BNPT and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) signed a memorandum of understanding. The Memorandum of Understanding contains the cooperation program of counter-radicalization and also deradicalization. Basically NU is a religious organization that focuses more on the existing educational system in Indonesia which is the basis of NU in implementing the process of deradicalization in Indonesia. In the process of deradicalization, NU played an active role by using the strategy of Islamic Cultural Dakwah which emphasized that Islam is present in Indonesia with full peace by adapting local values. With the mixing of local values is expected to facilitate the community in accepting the deradicalization process.

In addition, NU also plays an active role in deradicalization through the world of education. Whereas in this education world the process of deradicalization is more centered on pesantren and madrasah. This is because pesantren and madrasah can be a starting point for the existence and distribution of transnational terrorist networks because radicalism is developing in these two places. In addition, BNPT and NU also held several workshops, one of which is about deradicalization which in this workshop focuses more on the process of deradicalization in cyberspace (Lembaga Infokom dan Publikasi Nahdlatul Ulama, 2017). This is because now the spread of radical ideas spread by transnational terrorist network is more likely through cyberspace.

One could say that one of the emergences of radicalism in Indonesia is pesantren, this is because of the excessive religious doctrines that are usually considered true by the terrorists, therefore arises from the suspected terrorist pesantren. And to restore the good religious values, pesantren become the target of deradicalization of

BNPT which has the purpose to stop, neutralize or at least neutralize radicalism. The role of pesantren in minimizing and changing religious radicalism are (Ramadhan, 2010):

- a. The need to socialize moderate religious understanding as a counter-culture effort against a culture of violence or a worldview that tolerates violence.
- b. Humanistic religious teaching for non-pesantren youth and the wider community at large. A number of writings and books of fundamentalists much to read the intellectuals of young non-*santri* pesantren or community in studying Islam. While references from the pesantren world that offer humanist Islam are less proportional.
- c. Preparing cadres of pesantren who are agents of change, to construct a humanist society and to develop a culture of peace in society.
- d. Seeks dialogue between radically-valued pesantren and traditional-style pesantren. Dialogue is done without judgmental pretensions, but by using an empathetic approach. In this way, it can understand what the intergroup choices are. From here the intergroup will feel 'in and out' within the territory of its dialogue partner.
- e. Improve the function of boarding school as an institution "tafaqquh fiddin" in addition to the santri also for the community environment pesantren. Conducting regular activities in the form of a seminar, discussion, halaqah, bahtsul masail between boarding school
- f. Internally: Strengthening ideology,  
Institutional Strengthening, Discourse

Development and Universal Islamic Attitudes, an anticipation of penetration of understanding and radical discourse.

- g. Externally: Building work among fellow ponies, minimizing radical Islamist network, intensifying religious dialogue approach, intensifying gait of religious social development, developing pluralist, Tolerant, Inclusive and Multi-Cultural Islam, and straightening the meaning of jihad, Khilafah and multicultural

BNPT also involves the Ministry of Religious Affairs in preventing terrorist radicalism that has spread in the Indonesian society by signing a memorandum of understanding in 2015. The purpose of this cooperation is to increase synergy and coordination in preventing and combating terrorism in the country through a religious approach. In a four-year memorandum of understanding that can be amended as agreed by both parties, it covers various aspects of religious approaches deemed to prevent and combat terrorism. The aspects mentioned in Article 2 include: (1) the organization of communication, information and religious education; (2) the organization of religious education activities, the establishment of houses of worship, and the empowerment of religious community organizations; and (3) the preparation of the terrorism prevention and prevention module; (4) organizing the development of religious counselors' insights, mosque management, and administrators of religious community organizations on the dangers and strategies of counterterrorism prevention and control; and (5) other activities agreed upon by both parties (Bimas Islam, 2016).

With the cooperation between BNPT and also Kemenag can succeed the process of deradicalization in Indonesia. This is evidenced by the existence of 45.000 religious counselors representing the Ministry of

Religious Affairs is ready to help the process of deradicalization of BNPT (Koran Sindo, 2018). With the number of religious counselors who participated in the process of deradicalization, it is expected that radical understandings that have been spread in the environment of Indonesian society which is primarily carried by transnational terrorist network can decrease.

## **B. International Cooperation**

Transnational terrorist network becomes a separate problem for the Indonesian government. This is due to the existence of transnational terrorist network itself has an impact on terrorism activities in Indonesia. In this case, the government of Indonesia undertakes various efforts to anticipate the development of the transnational terrorist network in Indonesia especially the transnational terrorist network in cooperation with radical organizations based on religion. It is because of this that the Indonesian government has little difficulty in detecting the movements and threats that the transnational terrorist network will cause.

In anticipating the existence of the transnational terrorist network, one of the Indonesian government's efforts is to conduct various international cooperation either through cooperation between countries and cooperation with the international organization and also join into counter-terrorism alliance. This international cooperation is based on the existence of a common goal which aims to prevent the spread of transnational terrorist network even more widely.

### **1. Cooperation with Philippine**

Transnational terrorism network is not only a problem for Indonesia but also a problem for the Philippines. This is because the development of the transnational terrorist network in the Philippines is also a problem that can threaten the security. The existence of transnational terrorist network in the Philippines itself is almost similar to the existence of transnational terrorist network in Indonesia, namely the transnational terrorist

network has links with radical groups that have existed in the Philippines such as the attachment between al-Qaeda and Abu Sayyaf. This underlies the cooperation between Indonesia and the Philippines to prevent the spread of Al-Qaeda network in the two countries.

The cooperation between Indonesia and the Philippines is through cooperation between the police agencies in which the Indonesian government is represented by the Indonesian Police Force (POLRI) while the Philippines government is represented by the National Police of the Philippines (KNP). Both of these police agencies also signed the memorandum of understanding as a form of this cooperation agreement, this memorandum of understanding was signed on March 8, 2011. In the contents of Memorandum of Understanding between the Police of the Republic of Indonesia (Police) and the National Police of the Philippines (KNP) an increased threat of transnational crime that includes terrorism. Recognizing the importance of effective co-operation between the parties to law enforcement in the prevention, overcoming of crime and capacity building contained in article 4 of which the contents constitute the scope of such cooperation, and the parties will cooperate in preventing and overcoming transnational crime especially crime related to terrorism is contained in the contents of chapter 4 no 2 a (Meisandi, none).

The forms of cooperation contained in the Memorandum of Understanding have contained in article 5 of which the contents are (Meisandi, n.d):

To implement this Memorandum of Understanding, the parties will:

- 1) To exchange information and intelligence documents, in accordance with national provisions and within the limits of their respective authorities.

- 2) Establish coordinated joint activities between the police, in accordance with national provisions and within the limits of their respective authorities, to prevent and combat transnational crime.
- 3) Cooperate in improving human resources including personnel exchanges, education and training and comparative studies.
- 4) Establish joint committees as bodies responsible for the implementation of this Memorandum of Understanding.
- 5) Cooperate in other activities agreed upon by the parties.

With the memorandum of understanding, the Police and the KNP can cooperate in the prevention of acts of terrorism committed by the transnational terrorist network. This form of cooperation is the exchange of intelligence information, sharing experiences of each party in the process of overcoming terrorism and transnational terrorist network, and conducting military training that is useful in dealing with the transnational terrorist network. It is hoped that with the cooperation between the two countries, the development of transnational terrorism network both in Indonesia and also in the Philippines is not increasingly widespread.

In 2017, the Indonesian government again reinforced cooperation with the Philippines in the face of transnational terrorism network (Fajar, 2017). This is based on the ISIS network that is trying to take over the southern Philippines. At this time the Philippine government is fighting the spread of one of the transnational terrorist networks which are ISIS. The existence of ISIS in the Philippines also has a relationship with one of the radical groups already existed in the Philippines which is Abu Sayyaf. Both of ISIS and Abu Sayyaf posed a real security threat to the Philippine government. This is because these two terrorist groups

occupy an area in the southern Philippines that aims to establish an Islamic state in the region using violence.

In this partnership, the governments of Indonesia and the Philippines focus more on the fight against the ISIS network in the Philippines. This is because of the 8 Indonesian citizens who joined the ISIS network in the Philippines. In addition, to prevent the spread of the ISIS network from entering Indonesian territory, the Indonesian government invited the Philippine government to conduct a joint patrol in the Sulawesi seaboard that borders both countries. This is done to prevent ISIS militant from the Philippines to enter Indonesian territory and vice versa (Jakarta Greater, 2017).

## **2. Cooperation with Australia**

In addition to cooperating with the Philippines, the Indonesian government also cooperates with the Australian government. You could say the cooperation between the two countries is established after the 9/11 event. To begin the cooperation, on February 7, 2002, the governments of Indonesia and Australia have signed the Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Government of Australia on Combating International Terrorism, which entered into force on the date of signature and is valid for one year but may be extended as agreed by the parties (Ansari, 2016). This Memorandum of Understanding contains the awareness of both governments that it is necessary to strengthen international cooperation comprehensively in the eradication of terrorism, given the possibility of a threat to the stability and security of the people in both countries. For that reason, Indonesia and Australia want to increase counter-terrorism cooperation between their respective countries in the fields of defense, security, intelligence and law enforcement.

Eight months after the establishment of the cooperation, Indonesia experienced a terror act commonly called Bali Bomb I. In this Bali Bomb I, many of the victims are Australian. Therefore, the Australian government is back in cooperation with the Indonesian government to investigate the actors behind the acts of terror. In your cooperation, the two countries are represented by their respective state police agencies. This cooperation agreement resulted in an agreement to form a joint operation which was established on October 18, 2002. In this operation at least Australia surrendered its 500 state police (Simanjuntak, 2016). In addition, the federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is also involved in this joint operation, the FBI's role itself is a key partner and the most important contributor to the investigation. The result of this joint investigation is that terrorists are members of Jemaah Islamiyah and this terrorist act is supported by al-Qaeda.

Subsequently, in 2004, the governments of Indonesia and Australia again signed an agreement between the Police Protocol and the Australian Federal Police (AFP) to establish the Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation (JCLEC). The role of JCLEC itself is to provide education and training with international standard facilities for Indonesian law enforcement officers (Kompas, 2010). This training will be useful for investigating transnational crime, especially the eradication of terrorism and transnational terrorist network.

Cooperation between the governments of Indonesia and Australia in combating transnational terrorism re-established. Precisely on December 21, 2015, the two countries undertook a Memorandum of Understanding which in this MoU recognizes that cross-border activity between Indonesia and Australia can bring real threats to the stability and security of both countries, especially among the people (Simanjuntak,



2016). Therefore, both parties recognize that it is necessary to strengthen international cooperation, especially cooperation between Indonesia and Australia at all levels, such as in the foreign ministry, defense, security, and intelligence and law enforcement agencies from both sides in combating terrorism as well as transnational terrorism network comprehensive.

Indeed, Indonesia and Australia cooperate in overcoming terrorism, one of them is by exchanging intelligence information between the two countries. This information exchange is considered important in order to know and anticipate the acts of terrorism as well as the movement of the transnational terrorist network in the two countries. An example of this exchange of information is there is a terrorist action info from Australia and Singapore. This was followed up by continuous monitoring of the movements of groups already registered in the Indonesian government's DPO. Apparently, these people are ex JI (Jemaah Islamiyah) and ISIS (Savitri, 2015).

In addition, the governments of Indonesia and Australia collaborated in monitoring the movement of activities from transnational terrorist networks using social media as their media in recruiting members and disseminating radical ideologies. Because the focus of this collaboration is the cyber world, the governments of Indonesia and Australia strengthened cooperation in terms of cybersecurity (Humas Polkam, 2017). This is because Australia itself has good resistance in terms of cybersecurity. With this cybersecurity, it is expected that the spread of radical understanding of transnational terrorist network can be detected and can be prevented from spreading.

Furthermore, Australia also invited Indonesia to cooperate against the existence of ISIS network in the Philippines. This is because with the existence of ISIS network in the Philippines it can be a threat to the security

of Australia. It is not possible that ISIS militants in the Philippines are moving to Australia, this is the foundation of Australia in inviting Indonesia to fight ISIS network in the Philippines. In this partnership, Australia calls on Indonesia to further strengthen its strategy to counter extremism by violence, strengthen the legal framework for counterterrorism and better detect border threats by adopting a more integrated regional approach to border governance (Indonesia Embassy, 2017).