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### **OPTIMIZATION OF GOVERNMENT: TNI AND POLRI ROLES THROUGH GOOD GOVERNANCE CONCEPT IN COUNTERING RADICALISM ISSUES IN INDONESIA**

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#### **Abstract**

Radicalism has become a real threat faced by all countries in the world, including Indonesia. This condition occurs because radicalism is the origin ideology of terrorism which has been confirmed as an extraordinary crime for the world. So, the Indonesian government needs to pay special attention to counter the radicalism issue which is now growing rapidly in Indonesia. This article was written to analyze the Government, the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), and the Indonesian National Police (Polri) roles in countering radicalism issues in Indonesia through good governance concept. This article is written based on the result of phenomenology research used literature study approach of various literature that is relevant to the research topic. Based on the study, the results show that the countering process of radicalism issues conducted by the government of the Republic of Indonesia has not been well managed, because there is no strong legal basis concerning radicalism in Indonesia. Additionally, the weak synergy between the TNI and the Polri, which is tasked to countering radicalism issues, is also become an obstacle for eradicate

radicalism issues in Indonesia. Therefore, optimizing the role of the Government, TNI, and Polri are needed by prevention, mapping, detention, and contra radicalism actions. On the other hand, those three parties must strengthen their synergy and cooperative in performed their roles in maintaining public security and national security from the dangers of radicalism.

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## INTRODUCTION

The development of strategic environment has cause dynamic and complex spectrum of threats which are implicated the national defense, including for Indonesia, such as natural disasters, violations of border areas, human and arms smuggling, natural resources theft (illegal logging, illegal fishing, illegal mining), sea piracy, drugs abuse, separatism, terrorism, including radicalism (Ministry of Defense of Republic of Indonesia, 2015). Nowadays, radicalism is considered one of the non-military threats to state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national safety of Indonesian. This is because radicalism has a relation to terrorism which has become a transnational crime (Fanani, 2013).

Radicalism is defined as a concept which always fights for fundamental changes from a system, such as economic, political, social, cultural, and educational systems or other life aspects (Zulfadly, 2017). This opinion is supported by the results of Asrori's research which revealed that radicalism is a concept made by a group of people who want a drastic change in social and political reform by using various methods, such as violence (Asrori, 2015).

In Indonesia, radicalism has developed rapidly in various ways using various tools, for example, the internet. In this context, the internet is used by radical groups for recruitment, training, education, and fostering a process of their member networks to spread terror by suicide bombings or other violence in several regions of Indonesia. This process executed underground through the dissemination of negative content which is containing propaganda and counter-pluralism (Ghifari,

2017). The development of radicalism is very dangerous for Indonesian because this ideology is the origin of terrorism which has been confirmed as an extraordinary crime by all governments in the world (Jazuli, 2017). Therefore, a means which can be implemented by the Indonesian government to counter the ideology of radicalism is needed.

One of the means which can be conducted by the Indonesian government to overcome these radical groups is through optimizing the role of good governance elements in Indonesia, e.g.: the Government, the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), and the Indonesian National Police (Polri). The reality, until now there is still no clear regulation on countering radicalism, so the role of the government, TNI, and Polri in handling the cases of radicalism are still not clearly outlined. Moreover, there are still no specific researches describing the optimization of the government, TNI and Polri roles in countering the development of radicalism in Indonesia, so that there are nothing research results which can be used as a reference in optimizing the roles of good governance elements in facing radical groups. Base on that perspective, this article will discuss further the optimizing of the government, TNI, and Polri roles through good governance concepts in countering radicalism issues in Indonesia.

This research is expected to resuscitate all relevant institutions and agencies in Indonesia about the importance of the Government, TNI, and Polri roles in countering radicalism issues. So, the results of this study can be one of the best references in developing and optimizing the

role of those three institutions in handling the radicalism issues occurring in Indonesia.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Radicalism in Indonesia

Etymologically, 'radicalism' based on Latin, namely: 'radix' which means root, so that 'radicalism' can be defined as a movement that wants to change a system from its roots or foundations (Nurasarastriya, 2015). The term 'radicalism' is defined as the process of adopting an extreme belief system, including the willingness to use, support, or facilitate violence, as a method to predispose social changes in society (Rabasa et al., 2010). In Indonesia, radicalism can be categorized into two forms, namely 'idea' and 'action' radicalism. As an idea, radicalism is an abstract idea which becomes the initial concept of radicalism and has set into all activities that support violent ways as the main means to achieve a goal. Meanwhile, as an action, radicalism has been conducted through anarchic actions, both in the political, social, cultural, and religious realms (Ramakhrisna, 2009).

Radicalism in Indonesia emerged as a result of social and political changes which was characterized by three main factors, namely: (1) the development of the global strategic environment which facilitate the spreading of Islamic views in the Middle East to Indonesia by radical groups; (2) the infiltration of Wahhabism views which was influenced by the idea of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab who came from Saudi Arabia to Indonesia; and (3) the increasing of poverty in Indonesia which causing marginalization feeling in certain groups of Indonesians (Asrori, 2015). This condition has become a challenge (as well as a threat) to the social and political stability in Indonesia.

Some studies even show that the determinant factor emerging the radicalism among Indonesian young generation occurs as a result of psychological factors, the political conditions in domestic and

international, textuality religious teachings, and the disappearance of domestic role models which causes Indonesian generations to seek new charismatic figures who are radicalism figures (Widyaningsih, 2017). Besides, the rapid development of information and communication technology, such as the development of the internet and social media, has caused the disseminating process of radicalism among Indonesians to become easier and fast. So, it is not surprising if lately there have been many cases related to the recruiting agenda of radical group members through the internet and social media (Ghifari, 2017).

### Good Governance Concept

Good governance is a concept that has been studied by experts for decades ago. The word 'good' in terms of "good governance" contains two meanings, namely: (1) values which uphold the wishes or desires of the people and values which can enhance the ability of the people to achieve the national goals to achieve sustainable national development and social justice; and (2) functional aspects of the government which are effective and efficient in conducting their duties to achieve those objectives (Sedarmayanti, 2004). While the word 'governance' is defined as a decision-making process that determines which decisions will be implemented or not be implemented. Correspondingly, the word 'governance' can also be defined as a way of managing people's interests in the name of and for the people (Handoyo, 2010).

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia in the 'Government Regulation No. 101/2000 (Government Regulation No. 101, 2000) on Education and Training of Civil Servants' defines good governance as a government which develops and applies the principles of professionalism, accountability, transparency, excellent service, democracy, efficiency, effectiveness, rule of law and acceptable by all Indonesian. Good governance is a principle that emphasizes balance relations between society and the state, as well as

relations between the state and individuals (personals) (Zuhro, 2010). In its implementation, good governance has eight main principles, namely: (1) Rule of Law, (2) Accountability, (3) Consensus, (4) Transparency, (5) Efficiency and Effectiveness, (6) Responsiveness, (7) Inclusivity, and (8) Participation (Astomo, 2014).

According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), good governance requires the synergy of the three main domains in its implementation, specifically: State, Community, and Private sector (Rasul, 2009). These three domains must be interrelated and collaborate inequality, without any attempt to dominate each other (Nuraini, 2011). In other words, any public policy determined by the government must involve various parties, both state, community, or private sector following applicable regulation (Windiani, 2017). So that the eight elements of good governance can be carried out properly in a country's governance system.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This article is a qualitative research result using a phenomenology research design. According to Denzin and Lincoln (Denzin & Lincoln, 2009), phenomenology research is an approach that focuses on a certain phenomenon. This study aims to identify and understand the meaning of an experience related to the phenomenon being studied. In this study, researchers describe and understand how to optimize the role of the government, TNI, and Polri in countering radicalism issues that occur in Indonesia.

The data collection technique used in this research is the study of literature. According to Creswell (Creswell, 2016), a literature study or documentation approach is research conducted through the collection of qualitative documents, such as books, journals, newspapers, magazines, reports, and other documents, relevant to the research topic. The process of literature

study begins by searching for relevant literature to several topics, like:

1. Radicalism in Indonesia;
2. The concept of good governance; and
3. The role of the Government, TNI, and POLRI in countering the radicalism issues in Indonesia.

This search process begins by searching the relevant topics in various journal databases and websites through Google and Google Scholar. Besides, an offline search of books, printed journals, and policy documents in the library of Indonesia Defense University was also conducted. This search is devoted to literature published from 2002 until 2018. The obtained data will be analyzed through three steps, namely: (1) data condensation, (2) data display, and (3) conclusion drawing/verification (Miles et al., 2014).

## DISCUSSION

### The Role of Indonesia's Government in Countering Radicalism

The government, in the term of good governance, acts as a regulator and controller of radicalism issues that arise and develop in the community. As a regulator, the Indonesian government has a role in making policies to countering radicalism issues that have been developing in Indonesia. However, there are no clear and explicit rules regarding radicalism issues. In the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 5/2018 (Law Number 5, 2018) about the Amendment of Law No. 15/2003 concerning the Establishment of Government Regulations No. 1/2002 about Eradication of Terrorism into Laws, it is considered that this law does not discuss the radicalism issues and how to counter it. In the laws, the government just explains about the terrorism issues. Whereas terrorism and radicalism are two different things. In this context, radicalism is a manifestation of the terror movement which can cause extraordinary crime to create instability in various aspects of people's lives (Zaidan, 2017). Therefore, to optimize

government roles as a regulator in countering the development of radicalism issues, the Indonesian government needs to make specific policies related to eradicating the radicalism issues in Indonesia. This policy can be a Presidential Regulations or Laws which discuss radicalism issues, how to handle it, and what sentences are appropriate for the suspected.

Whereas as a controller, the government must continue to supervise all groups which are allegedly become a radical group accompanied by sustainable precautions, such as guidance to the community regarding the dangers of radicalism. On the other hand, the government must conduct a de-radicalization program to all members of radical groups and terrorists who have been arrested by the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT). The de-radicalization program is an effort to stop, negate, and neutralize the radical ideology which has been adopted by someone of a group of people (Hikam, 2016). Besides, the de-radicalization program is aimed to transform someone radical become unradical by alienating the person from his radical groups, and to reassert his belief that radicalism and terrorism are dangerous and will bring a negative impact to national stability (Aspihanto & Muin, 2017).

To optimize the government's role as a controller in countering the development of radicalism issues, the Indonesian government needs to take all preventive efforts in preventing the development of radicalism issues in Indonesia. These preventive efforts can be conducted by 1) instilling the Pancasila values in the minds of Indonesians, so that the community has a strong foundation to reject the radical ideology which is harmful to the state ideology and the state sovereignty, 2) strengthening the coordination between the Government, TNI and POLRI, in preventing all efforts which can bring radical ideology to Indonesia, and 3) implementing the participation principles in good governance while gathering information related to radicalism issues

developing in the community. This step is necessary because all information needed by the government about radicalism issues must originate from the community before reach the government. Besides, the government must always 4) creating and maintaining the religious stability and harmony among all religious groups by activities that will enhance the solidarity sense among those religious groups in Indonesia. Considering that Indonesia is one of the countries which recognizes the diversity of religions adhered to by its people (Adiwilaga & Harija, 2018).

### **The Role of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) in Countering Radicalism in Indonesia**

In the Law No. 34/2004 (Law Number 34, 2004) about the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) explained that TNI, which is divided into Army, Navy and Air Force, serves as defense tools of the Republic of Indonesia and has to implement the national defense policies in enforcing the national sovereignty, maintaining the territorial integrity and protecting the national safety, by conducting the Military Operations for War (MOW), Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW), and actively participate in regional and international peacekeeping tasks [26]. The radicalization issue is one of the TNI tasks that is mandated in MOOTW.

Nowadays, the TNI roles in countering radicalism issues were manifested in the de-radicalization program. But this program is only limited into the level of policymakers at the Headquarters level, such as Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (Kemenkopolhukam) and National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT), so it has not been able to be implemented by the frontier unit level, such as *Bintara Pembina Desa* (Babinsa). However, the TNI has succeeded in overcoming some of the radicalism issues which have occurred in Indonesia. For example, the TNI has succeeded in dismantling and destroying the Darul

Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army (DI/TII) movement and the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) terrorist networks. Furthermore, the TNI, through its de-radicalization program conducted by BNPT, has succeeded mapping 400 people which is suspected as members of the JI terrorist in several regions of Indonesia, including their families who had been captured.

To optimize the role of the TNI in countering the development of radicalism issues in Indonesia, the TNI must conduct various preventive efforts by coaching all Indonesians carried out by Babinsa. Besides, the TNI must always use existing operating units, such as the 81 Counter-Terrorism Unit (Sat-81/Penanggulangan Terror) from the Indonesian Army, Jala Mengkara Detachment (Den-Jaka) from the Indonesian Navy, and Detachment-90 Bravo (Den-Bravo) from the Indonesian Air Force, as well as Indonesian State Intelligent Agency (BIN) to execute operations aimed to detect and map the radical groups which have been spreading the radical ideology in Indonesia (Prasetyo, 2016).

### **The Role of Indonesian National Police (POLRI) in Countering Radicalism in Indonesia**

Law No. 2/2002 (Law Number 2, 2002) about the Indonesian National Police of the Republic of Indonesia (Polri) explained that POLRI is a state instrument that has to maintain security and public order, enforce the law, protect and serve the public. In this context, the Indonesian National Police has the authority to take any action and prevent all actions which have the potential opportunity to destroy the existence of Indonesia, including radicalism. Enforcement and prevention efforts are realized by empowering the role of *Bhayangkara Pembina Keamanan dan Ketertiban Masyarakat* (Bhabinkamtibmas) in conducting guidance in each village, as well as by the role of community leaders, religious leaders and traditional leaders in conducting coaching, performing

workshops and counseling on prevention and enforcement the development of radical groups in several regions of Indonesia (Marpaung, 2015).

According to the Chief of Indonesian National Police, Police General Tito Karnavian, the Indonesian National Police has implemented five strategies as an effort to prevent the radicalization process which occurs in Indonesia, i.e.:

1. Neutralization of people who potentially become a sender (people who recruit members of radical groups in Indonesia).
2. Weakening the radical ideology which has been or will be disseminated by radical groups in Indonesia by strengthening the understanding of Indonesians to the Pancasila.
3. Disseminating and teaching the Pancasila values to vulnerable groups of Indonesians who are targeted by radical groups.
4. Supervising all media which has the potential opportunity to be a means of disseminating radical ideology in Indonesia, such as television channels and social media.
5. Re-instilling the social and cultural context of Indonesia to all Indonesians.

Those five strategies are executed by all members of *Bhabinkamtibmas* accompanied by the assistance of religious, traditional, and community leaders in all regions of Indonesia (Erdianto, 2017).

### **The Optimization of Government, TNI and Polri Roles through Good Governance Concept**

In countering radicalism issues, the government is one of the most important elements, especially in formulating policies regulation, or laws relating to countering radicalism issues. Nowadays, the Polri is given more authority than the TNI to conduct an investigation and countering actions of radicalism issues in Indonesia, because it involves the element of public security. However, in executing its operations, the Polri can request the TNI assistance to counter the radical groups

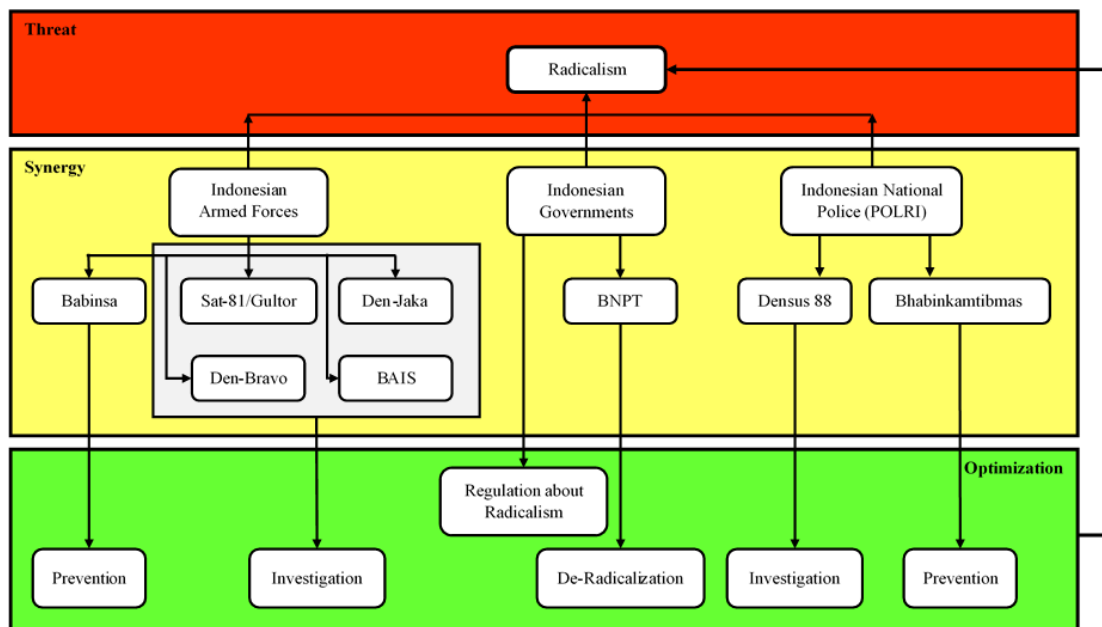
which have been developed in Indonesia (Praditya, 2016). But, the requesting assistance process must certainly be following the mandate of the applicable law.

The synergy between these three agencies is needed as an effort to fulfill the functional needs of both parties, namely: to maintain the public security and the national security of the Republic of Indonesia, specifically to counter the radicalism issues which is currently growing rapidly in Indonesia. Additionally, this synergy is also needed as a means to follow up on all preventive and repressive efforts which have been conducted by the TNI and the Polri against the radical groups, so that these agencies can provide strict sanctions as well as deterrent effects to all members of radical groups or another group who intend to disseminate their radical ideology in Indonesia. The synergy between these three agencies can be conducted through prevention, investigation, detention, and deradicalization actions. The optimization of the Government, TNI, and

Polri roles through good governance concept in countering radicalism issues in Indonesia can be illustrated as in Figure 1.

### CONCLUSIONS

Good governance is one of the concepts which can be applied by the Indonesian government to counter the development of radicalism issues in Indonesia. In its implementation, good governance must be implemented by three main domains, especially the Government, TNI, and Polri. Based on the study, the results show that the countering process of radicalism issues conducted by the government of the Republic of Indonesia has not been well managed, because there is no strong legal basis concerning radicalism in Indonesia. Additionally, the weak synergy between the TNI and the Polri, which is tasked to countering radicalism issues, is also become an obstacle for eradicate radicalism issues in Indonesia. Therefore, optimizing the role of the Government, TNI, and Polri are needed by prevention, mapping, detention, and contra radicalism actions. On



**Figure 1.** Optimization the Government, TNI, and POLRI Roles as Good Governance Elements in Countering Radicalism Issues in Indonesia

Source: Illustrated by Author (2019)

the other hand, those three parties must strengthen their synergy and cooperative in performed their roles in maintaining public security and national security from the dangers of radicalism.

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