

# THE INTELLIGENCE CONDITIONING FOR EX-TERRORISM CONVICTS TO PREVENT RADICALISM AND TERRORISM IN NORTH SUMATERA

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**Abstract** – The Agency of National Counterterrorism (BNPT) is an institution that is concerned about terrorism as a result of radicalism. Based on information from the BNPT, of the approximately 600 ex-convict terrorist who have been released, some of them have returned to committing acts of terrorism. This is of particular concern to the security apparatus, particularly the National Intelligence Agency (BIN), the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) and the Indonesian National Police (Polri), in preventing acts of terrorism. In addition, several areas have become locations for the realization of acts of terrorism, one of them is in the province of North Sumatera. This research aims to analyze and describe the intelligence conditioning activities for ex-terrorism convicts (Napiter) by related parties in preventing the spread of radicalism that leads to acts of terrorism in North Sumatera. The method used in this research is the theory of intelligence conditioning approaches, deradicalization theory, and synergies theory. Data was collected through interviews and observations, then was analyzed using NVIVO as a tool to categorize and make it easier to describe problems and draw conclusions. The results showed that intelligence conditioning for ex-convict terrorists have collaborated with several parties in the implementation of State Intelligence in the regions, including the BIN, TNI, Polri, and the regional government. In its implementation, terror convicts are given counseling and socialization related to nationalism, national insight, religion, and entrepreneurship. These activities are carried out while in the Correctional Institution (LP) by the LP and the police as well as after leaving the prison with monitoring from BIN, TNI, Polri, and regional governments. Besides, the process of intelligence conditioning when ex-convict terrorists are free will still have special attention through hospitality to terror convictions with persuasive communication by local officials. Furthermore, they are also given entrepreneurship assistance and independent business by local governments, as well as socialization related to the dangers of hoaxes in the digital world either from gadgets or other media. BNPT has fundamentally implemented deradicalization by synergizing all parties from other institutions. Based on the activities that have been carried out, it becomes a consideration and a concrete example that intelligence conditioning can prevent the spread of radicalism and acts of terrorism in society.

**Keywords:** Ex-Terrorism Convicts, Intelligence Conditioning, Radicalism, Terrorism

## Introduction

**A**s an extra-ordinary crime, terrorism threatens not only human peace, but also all noble values inherent in humanity. From many studies and research related to terrorism, we can found that the brutal acts and

atrocities committed by terrorist groups are only one part of the efforts to spread fear to the wider community. In other words, the object of terrorism is not only the people who directly experience acts of violence, but also the wider community who witnesses or hears news about these

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violent acts.<sup>2</sup> These crimes are increasingly becoming a threat to modern civilization. This is because the growth of groups with radical views that gave rise to these acts of terrorism is growing and spreading widely. Throughout 2019, Indonesia was hit by a number of acts of terror. The act of terror was dominated by the suicide bombing. At least, there were five terror incidents that caught public attention during 2019, namely the Sibolga bomb, the suicide bombing at the Kartasura Police Post, the attack at the Wonokromo Police, the stabbing of Wiranto and the suicide bombing at the Medan Police.<sup>3</sup>

In regard to this action, it is possible that most people in Indonesia are worried if the action will happen again in Indonesia. This concern has made law enforcement agencies in charge of countering terrorism go the extra mile to tackle it. The National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) as the institution with full authority in countering, preventing and overcoming terrorism. In 2018, at the

signing of a joint memorandum of understanding between the BNPT and the Ministry of Home Affairs related to terrorist prevention, out of around 600 former terrorist convicts who have been released, three have been known to recidivate. Cases of terrorism attacks in Indonesia such as those in Thamrin, Cicendo and East Kalimantan have revealed their roles, ISIS figures and followers who are still behind bar or have left prison.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the current trend of terrorism cases in Indonesia is still quite high, with 114 cases occurring throughout 2019. The high number of criminal cases of terrorism requires those in charge of dealing with acts of terrorism to further strengthen their strategies. One of them is the TNI, which one of its duties is to overcome acts of terrorism with an operational strategy in the form of TNI involvement with the Police or an independent TNI operation which consists of three stages, namely arrest, prosecution, and rehabilitation.

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<sup>2</sup>Agus Surya Bakti, *Deradikalisasi Dunia Maya*, (Jakarta: Daulat Press, 2016), p. 59.

<sup>3</sup>Devina Halim, "KALEIDOSKOP 2019: Sejumlah Teror yang Guncang Indonesia, Bom Bunuh Diri hingga Penusukan Wiranto", in <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/12/25/07485601/kaleidoskop-2019-sejumlah-teror-yang-guncang-indonesia-bom-bunuh-diri->

[hingga?page=all](https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/12/25/07485601/kaleidoskop-2019-sejumlah-teror-yang-guncang-indonesia-bom-bunuh-diri-hingga?page=all), 25 December 2019, accessed on 25 November 2020.

<sup>4</sup>Amirullah, "BNPT Minta Pemda Bantu 600 Mantan Teroris Cari Pekerjaan", in <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1068986/bnpt-minta-pemda-bantu-600-mantan-teroris-cari-pekerjaan>, 12 March 2018, accessed on 15 April 2020.

The most challenging stage of counter-terrorism operation which requires commitment and consistency is the rehabilitation stage. The TNI also has its own unit within the intelligence unit and regional command unit that is tasked with deterrence and rehabilitation. In addition, it also collaborates with the National Police and the State Intelligence Agency at the regional or central level who carry out early detection and prevention tasks, such as commissioning investigation, security and intelligence conditioning. Intelligence conditioning is efforts, activities, work and actions carried out gradually and in a planned and continuous manner in a series of intelligence activities to foster, direct and condition an environment with all its potential in order to create conducive conditions as expected.<sup>5</sup>

The main activity that is often carried out in early detection and prevention of terrorism is deradicalization, because acts of terrorism are always rooted in radicalism so that the main factor is the

understanding and thoughts of the perpetrators of terrorism. Radicalism is the understanding or thought that desires social and political change or reform (in the name of Islam) by means of violence and coercion.<sup>6</sup> According to Solahudin, a researcher at the Center for the Study of Terrorism and Social Conflict at the University of Indonesia, it was difficult to determine whether the deradicalization program was successful or failed. The program, which was initiated in 2002, does not have a database as a reference. There are at least 3 weaknesses in the deradicalization program. First, there is no measurement on the person who becomes the object of deradicalization—hence, there is no before and after intervention comparison.<sup>7</sup> The second weakness of the deradicalization program is the improper target of the program. Those who have been deradicalized are people who have been disengaged or who have committed themselves to no longer commit violence. The third weakness is the limited strength of BNPT as a

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<sup>5</sup>RM Suropto, *Kegiatan Intelijen Penyelidikan, Pengamanan, dan Penggalangan (Intelijen sebagai Indera dan Pisau Analisis)*, (Jakarta: Sumber Ilmu Jaya, 2010), p. 279.

<sup>6</sup>Walter Reich, *Origins of Terrorism: Tinjauan Psikologi Ideologi, Teologi, dan Sikap Mental*, (Jakarta: Rajagrafindo Persada, 2003), p. 98.

<sup>7</sup>Ahmad S. Rijal, "The Mufti-Mustafti approach to religious rehabilitation", *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analysis, RSIS*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2015, p. 14-20.

stakeholder. The Director of BNPT, Irfan Idris, said that his agency did not have sufficient strength and everything was completely limited. The process of deradicalization is not easy, especially since the BNPT was only established in 2010.<sup>8</sup>

The limited effectiveness of deradicalization is evidenced by the existence of one of the former terrorists who came from North Sumatra who was found to recidivate in radicalism and terrorism, namely Sibghotullah. He was a former convict of terrorism in the 2010 Medan CIMB Niaga Bank robbery. The National Police managed to reveal his involvement in the 2016 ISIS terrorism attack in Sarinah. He was involved in influencing one of the suspected terrorists in the Sarinah bombing case named Priyo Hadi Purnomo. Sibghotullah and his colleague Muhammad Soleh spread radical ideas when they were in Porong East Java Prison in 2014.<sup>9</sup>

Looking at the history of radicalism and terrorism in North Sumatera between 2000 and 2019, majority of the

perpetrators are now a free man. Of course, they cannot get rid of their former terrorist status and it does become a negative stigma that arises for the community around them. This shows that basically the majority of Indonesians disagree with and reject acts of radicalism and terrorism.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, based on global history, many people or groups have committed this terrorist act for at least two thousand years. During the span of human experience, such actions have been carried out by various people of different religions to achieve a variety of different goals.<sup>11</sup>

In June 2020, the number of former prisoners in North Sumatra Province had increased to 21 from the previous number of 18 people. With the increasing number of former terrorists who are currently returning to the midst of North Sumatra society, it is necessary to get attention and help from all parties of government and elements of society. This is needed solely so that they can continue their life to be better and acceptable to the surrounding community, so that they can

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<sup>8</sup>Jerome Wirawan, "Serangan bom Surabaya: Program deradikalisasi dinilai gagal, BNPT tak terima", in <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-44154828>, 18 May 2018, accessed on 29 June 2010.

<sup>9</sup>Poltak P. Nainggolan, *Ancaman ISIS di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2018), p. 141.

<sup>10</sup>Interview with Ruruh Setyawibawa (Head of North Sumatera Kominda), 23 June 2020.

<sup>11</sup>Walter Reich, *op.cit*, p. 338.

eliminate their intention to repeat the same mistakes again.<sup>12</sup> Based on this explanation, it is necessary to have activities that can provide an approach to former terrorism convicts. One of them is intelligence conditioning which needs to involve all parties, such as the BNPT, BIN, TNI and Polri as an effort to prevent radicalism and acts of terrorism.

### **Research Methodology**

This research employs qualitative research method through descriptive explanation. Qualitative research is a research method that is oriented towards natural symptoms. Given this orientation, it is naturalistic and basic and cannot be done in a laboratory but must be carried out in the field.<sup>13</sup> According to Sugiyono, qualitative research is based on the philosophy of post positivism and is used to examine the conditions of natural objects. Contrary to this method is experimentation, in which the researcher is the key instrument, the sampling of data sources is carried out in a purposive and snowball manner, the collection technique is triangulation (combined),

the analysis is inductive/qualitative, and the results emphasize meaning rather than generalization.<sup>14</sup>

Qualitative research is research that intends to understand the phenomena experienced by research subjects, such as behavior, perception, motivation, action, etc., holistically, and by means of descriptions in the form of words and language, in a special context. It is natural and utilize various natural methods.<sup>15</sup>

Data were collected by combining data sources, data analysis was inductive/qualitative. The data comes from primary and secondary sources. Primary data were obtained from informants through interviews and observations of research respondents. The resource persons in this study were officers involved in overcoming terrorism at BIN, the TNI BAIS Task Force Commander, the Head of the Belawan Port Police Security Intelligence Unit, the Commander of the Intelligence Unit Kodim 0201/BS and Asintel Lantamal I Belawan. Meanwhile, secondary data were obtained from documents and

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<sup>12</sup>Interview with Ruruh Setyawibawa (Head of North Sumatera Kominda), 23 June 2020.

<sup>13</sup>John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (4th ed.), (California: Sage publication, 2014), p. 276

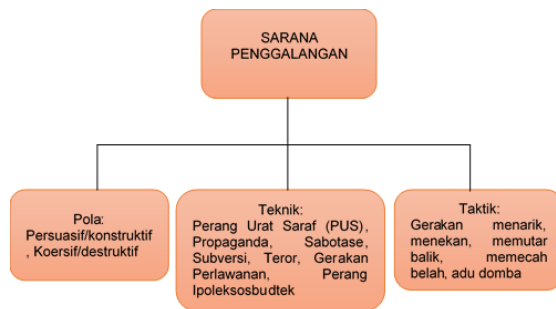
<sup>14</sup>Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan Pendekatan Kuantitatif: Kualitatif dan R&D*, (Yogyakarta: Alfa Beta, 2012), p. 35

<sup>15</sup>Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif (Edisi revisi)*, (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2017), p. 6.

other literature that support this research. Data collected in the form of interviews and documents, then processed using Nvivo 12 Plus software.<sup>16</sup> Processing is carried out through the data reduction stage, data presentation and drawing conclusions. Furthermore, there are theories that are used as references in discussing intelligence conditioning activities.

The theories used in exploring the intelligence conditioning of former terrorists to prevent radicalism and terrorism in North Sumatra Province are the theory of intelligence conditioning, deradicalization theory and the theory of synergy. With the theory of intelligence conditioning, we will discuss the methods of intelligence conditioning that can be applied. In this study, it focuses on the implementation of intelligence conditioning which involves many parties so that it can be maximized. Intelligence conditioning, according to Yohanes, includes the appropriate patterns, techniques, tactics and media. Given that intelligence conditioning is a

psychological operation, the psychological objects to pay attention to include emotions, attitudes, behavior, opinions and motivation (ESTOM). The following shows a diagram of the intelligence conditioning tools.<sup>17</sup>



**Figure 1.** Intelligence Conditioning Means  
Source: Wahyu Y. Saronto, *Intelijen (Teori Intelijen dan Pembangunan Jaringan)*, (Yogyakarta: ANDI, 2018).

Deradicalization is an effort made systematically and programmed to return a radical thought, attitude, and behavior of a person or group to normal or non-radical conditions. This is a response to the conditions in society where many individuals are exposed to radical ideas and manifested in destructive and dangerous behavior for themselves and the lives around them.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, the synergy theory postulates that in carrying out intelligence conditioning, it must be

<sup>16</sup>Agustinus Bandur, *Peneilitian Kualitatif Studi Multi Disiplin Keilmuan Dengan Nvivo 12 Plus*, (Bogor: Mitra Wacana Media, 2019), pp. 152-153.

<sup>17</sup>Y. Wahyu Saronto, *Intelijen (Teori Intelijen dan Pembangunan Jaringan)*, (Yogyakarta: CV Andi Offset, 2018), p. 66.

<sup>18</sup>Najahan Musyafak, *Deradikalisasi NKRI (Pesan Damai dari Jawa Tengah)*, (Semarang: CV. Rafi Sarana Perkasa, 2017), p. 11.

done in close cooperation and coordination between related stakeholders.

The results of this study will later describe or construct in-depth interviews with research subjects being researched so that they can provide a clear picture of the Intelligence Conditioning of Former Terror Convicts to Prevent Radicalism and Terrorism in North Sumatra.

### **Result and Discussion**

In preventing radicalism, the strategy is to use not only hard approach, but also soft approach in the form of community development (to anticipate the potential for radicalism) and intelligence conditioning of terrorists and former terror convicts by carrying out deradicalization efforts both socially and individually as well as monitoring and pursuing the flow of funds (follow the money) of terrorists.<sup>19</sup> Basically, intelligence-gathering activities against former terrorists in North Sumatra were carried out in synergy with several regional state intelligence administrators. Based on the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 67 of 2013 concerning the Coordination of

State Intelligence, it is stated that Binda is the coordinator of state intelligence administrators in the regions. The Regional Intelligence Committee (Kominda) is a coordination forum for the leaders of State Intelligence administrators in the regions. The chairman of the provincial Kominda is Kabinda, whose membership consists of regional intelligence leaders, namely TNI intelligence in the regions (Kodam, Lantamal and Lanal), National Police Intelligence in the regions, Prosecutor Intelligence in the regions, Head of National Unity and Politics and Intelligence Ministries/Non-Ministerial Government Agencies in the regions.

The intelligence conditioning of former terrorists in the North Sumatra region was limited in nature because since the BNPT was formed in 2010, everything related to terrorism has become its duty. Especially for former terrorists who have been included in the deradicalization program by the BNPT, both given while in prison and after former terrorists were free. The programs that can be given to ex-terrorists outside of prison are national, religious and entrepreneurial insights in

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<sup>19</sup>Ahmad Jazuli, "Strategi Pencegahan Radikalisme dalam rangka Pemberantasan

Tindak Pidana Terorisme", *Jurnal Ilmiah Kebijakan Hukum*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2016, p. 207.

accordance with local wisdom in their area.

This research will discuss about the appropriate method to be applied in intelligence conditioning ex-terrorists but still maintaining the basic rights of ex-terrorists who have been declared free from the sentence. Former terrorists in North Sumatra still need to get support from all components of the nation. This will be more optimal if done in synergy by all security forces and elements of society.<sup>20</sup> The implementation of intelligence conditioning needs to refer to the national program that has been launched by the government, namely the deradicalization program where the leading sector is BNPT.<sup>21</sup> If the state defense and security apparatus such as the TNI and Polri, which have the potential for resources, participate in intelligence conditioning former terrorists, then of course the expected results will be optimal.

Based on the theory of deradicalization from John G. Horgan, it is stated that deradicalization is divided into

two components, namely behavioral disengagement as a reduction or cessation of physical involvement in violent activity or radical action and psychological disengagement as a change in attitude or belief.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, according to Dr. Petrus Reinhard Golose, it is necessary to apply a soul approach as a method of deradicalization with the aim of reorienting thoughts through elements of Islamic culture, without violence. The reorientation process itself is a conversion or reversing of radical thinking to become non-radical by emphasizing the improvement of moral values.<sup>23</sup> The scope of the deradicalization program is not only for the prisoners, but also for the families of the prisoners. Because when the prisoner returns to society, the conditions in their environment have supported the changes that have occurred in them. This at the same time encourages ex-terror convicts to enlighten those around them and help the government to prevent the

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<sup>20</sup>Interview with Ruruh Setyawibawa (Head of North Sumatera Kominda), 23 June 2020.

<sup>21</sup>Interview with Andy Prasetyo (Kasubdit Bina Dalam Lapas Khusus Teroris BNPT), 8 July 2020.

<sup>22</sup>John G. Horgan, "Deradicalization or Disengagement: A Process in Need of Clarity

and a Counterterrorism Initiative in Need of Evaluation", *Jurnal Internasional Psikologi Sosial*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 2009, pp. 291-298.

<sup>23</sup>Petrus Reinhard Golose, *Deradikalisasi Terorisme*, (Jakarta: CV. Aksara Simpati, 2009), p. 125.



process of radicalism in society.<sup>24</sup> Due to the above considerations, the two components of deradicalization need the attention of all parties. To stop or break the radical beliefs of former terrorists, the BNPT can synergize with religious and community leaders, while to stop physical involvement in violent activities, the resources possessed by the TNI and Polri have great potential to do so.

According to the synergy theory of James A.F. Stoner, the best level of cooperation is synergistic, namely cooperation that is high level, bound by mutual trust, and integrated so as to produce a greater output than the sum of its parts.<sup>25</sup> If the intelligence conditioning of ex-terrorists is carried out in synergy, it is believed that the goal of the deradicalization program will be achieved, which in this case, the former terrorists can fully return to love NKRI and Pancasila.

The main theory used in this discussion is the theory of intelligence conditioning. Intelligence conditioning can be understood through four aspects, namely pattern, technique, tactics and available media.<sup>26</sup>

1. Intelligence conditioning Patterns  
The exact pattern used in intelligence conditioning former terrorists in the North Sumatra is persuasive. A soft approach is required. Activities can be carried out by visiting the homes of former terrorists either periodically or on an impromptu basis. The visit can be filled with the provision of social assistance in the form of materials or basic needs. Besides that, it can also establish active communication promoting brotherhood that can contribute ideas or training in increasing independence in the part of former terror convicts.
2. Intelligence conditioning Techniques  
The intelligence conditioning technique that can be used is the propaganda technique. Propaganda is the main element of psychological operations, which is carried out by deliberate communication to influence a behavior.<sup>27</sup> In the era of increasingly sophisticated information technology, which has entered the industrial revolution 4.0, the negative impact is also felt in the

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<sup>24</sup>Saefudin Zuhri, *Deradikalisasi Terorisme*, (Jakarta: Daulat Press, 2017), p. 105.

<sup>25</sup>James A.F. Stoner, *Management (Third Edition)*, (London: Prentice Hall, 1995), p. 101.

<sup>26</sup>Y. Wahyu Saronto, *op.cit*, p. 66.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 72

midst of state life. Many websites and social media accounts carry out cyber propaganda and radicalism. To prevent this, it is necessary to carry out propaganda from the government. Negative propaganda or hoax news from irresponsible parties must be traced and overcome through continuous cyber patrols, further clarification and delivery of the actual news. Apart from delivering propaganda through social media, the intelligence conditioning party can also deliver positive messages directly, one of which is through lectures and discussions.

### 3. Intelligence conditioning Tactics

According to intelligence theory, the tactic of intelligence conditioning consists of pulling, pressing, turning, splitting and fighting. Most of the ex-terror convicts in the North Sumatra have changed for the better, so what needs to be applied in intelligence conditioning is an interesting and pressing movement. An interesting movement was carried out with the aim that they could return to being loyal citizens of the Republic of Indonesia. One of the activities that can be carried out is through the training of independent businesses

provided by government agencies in the regions.

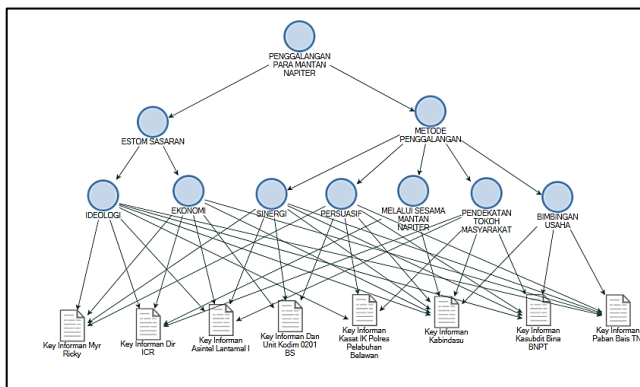
Meanwhile, the pressing movement is to suppress feelings and closed thoughts for a small number so that radicalism does not revive. The pressure movement can be carried out through a family approach or through respected figures from the former terror convicts. The hope is that the concerned begins to worry and leave this wrong understanding.

### 4. Intelligence conditioning Media

Intelligence conditioning media that can be used include personal contact by the Intelligence/Security apparatus with former terrorists. In addition, Local Government officials, related Ministries/Institutions and respected family and community leaders can also make the contact. The use of information technology facilities is also an absolute must because currently the majority of Indonesians and even the world are users of social media and the internet. Relevant ministries/institutions need to work harder in counteracting hoax news, especially regarding issues of intolerance and radicalism.

In general, all informants considered that the right intelligence conditioning for ex-terrorists was a soft approach and a soul approach, namely putting forward an approach from the heart or the grassroots. The role of agencies in the regions is needed because the location is closer to the former terrorists in their territory.

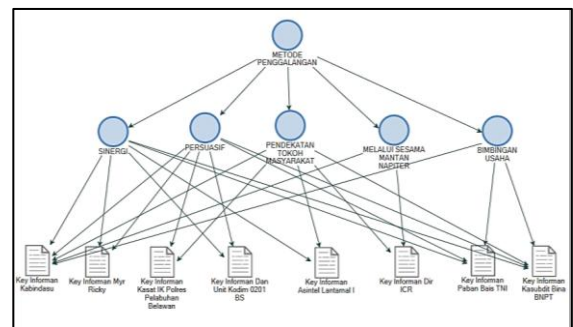
The following are the results of NVivo data processing, which show the process of intelligence conditioning activities carried out by researchers to informants.



**Figure 2.** NVivo Processing Result  
Source: Author

The above figure shows that the intelligence conditioning of ex-terrorists is carried out in a soft approach and soul approach using persuasive methods of intelligence conditioning, reminding each other between former terrorists, approaches from community leaders, ex-terror convicts are given entrepreneurial insight, and mutual support and synergistic monitoring

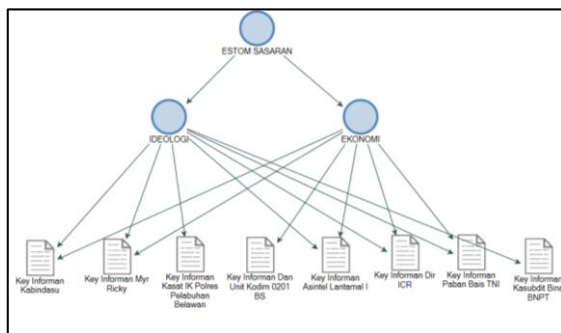
between parties. Furthermore, from a psychological point of view, the objects that are focused are related to the ideological and economic fields. This is because most people who are involved in acts of terrorism are those who are constrained by the economy and weak ideology. More details related to the process of intelligence conditioning methods with the psychological approach implemented are shown in Figure 3 and Figure 4 below.



**Figure 3.** NVivo Processing Result on Intelligence conditioning Method  
Source: Author

Most of the informants argued that in intelligence conditioning former terrorists, it is necessary to have synergy with all existing elements, including social forums. Most of the ex-terrorists in the North Sumatra are considered to have been able to adjust to a new, better life. Because of the patterns used in intelligence conditioning in a persuasive way or a soft approach and soul approach.

Some of the former terrorists are still close-minded and do not want to recognize the Republic of Indonesia, so efforts are needed to use fellow ex-terrorists who used to have the same network. In addition, approaches through family or respected figures can also be taken. This still requires attention from intelligence to carry out its supervisory function. Thus, all existing developments are monitored for the purpose of creating a conducive security situation, one of which is by preventing the development of radicalism in North Sumatra.



**Figure 4.** NVivo Processing Result on Psychological Fields Target  
Source: Author

The indicator of the success of the intelligence conditioning activity is that it can change the ESTOM of the intelligence conditioning target. The target of

intelligence conditioning is humans, in this case former terror convicts who have intelligence and feelings. Intelligence conditioning activity is intended as an operation to change or condition human emotions, attitudes, behavior, opinions and motivations so that this operation can also be called a psychological operation. The five ESTOM factors basically have a very strong interrelation and are inseparable.

In intelligence conditioning activities, the money or economy factor is a classic problem. In conditioning the target, economic problems have a very big influence in changing one's ESTOM. Meanwhile, ideological factors are another biggest factor that needs the attention of all Indonesian people, especially in North Sumatra.

By referring to John G. Horgan's theory of deradicalization, which states that deradicalization is divided into two components, namely behavioral disengagement as a reduction or cessation of physical involvement in violent activity or radical action and psychological disengagement as a change in attitude or belief.<sup>28</sup> When faced with a

<sup>28</sup>John G. Horgan, "Deradicalization or disengagement?: A process in need of clarity and a counterterrorism initiative in need of

evaluation", *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 2008, pp. 3-8.

situation where there is still an involvement of a small number of former terrorists in carrying out radical acts of terrorism, it is necessary to evaluate that ex-terrorists still need supervision and assistance outside of prison. This is in line with Deborah's statement that there are still many acts of terrorism that occur due to recidivism.<sup>29</sup>

Most of the former terror convicts have received deradicalization programs from the BNPT in prisons, but there are still a small number of them who have not received them in prisons due to limited space capacity of the Special Terrorism Prisons. For this reason, the role of intelligence is needed in conducting intelligence conditioning in the area where the former terrorists live, especially for former terrorists who have not had the chance to receive a deradicalization program. This is very relevant to be implemented because it is supported by the resources of the intelligence apparatus in the regions.

According to the synergy theory, every problem that exists in a nation and state cannot be solved only by the strength and ability of one component. However, it takes synergy and

cooperation between two or more components of the nation, including the existing problems of radicalism and terrorism.

Likewise, in the formation and promotion of former terror convicts, a strong and solid synergy is needed. Intelligence in carrying out its duties requires cooperation from other stakeholders, both government officials and the community.

For the intelligence community in the regions, it consists of several agencies, both BIN, TNI, Polri and other ministries and institutions including community forums such as the Forum for the Coordination of Prevention of Terrorism (FKPT). If all of these elements coordinate with each other and establish close communication, the results of the intelligence conditioning of the former terrorists will be optimal as expected by the central government.

### **Conclusion, Recommendation, and Limitations**

Based on the results of the research and discussion previously described, it can be concluded that the intelligence conditioning methods that can be applied

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<sup>29</sup>Deborah Sanur, "Upaya Penanggulangan Terorisme ISIS di Indonesia dalam Melindungi

Keamanan Nasional", *Jurnal Politica*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2016, pp. 25-44.

include, first, according to the theory of intelligence conditioning, by means of a pattern, technique, tactics, and available media. Another method that is compatible is the theory of deradicalization and the theory of synergy. Of the three theories, there are similarities in determining the right pattern for intelligence conditioning for former terrorists, namely a persuasive approach or a soft approach is needed, as well as a heart-to-heart or soul approach which is believed to touch the conscience. However, assertiveness is still needed in terms of intelligence conditioning tactics, namely suppressing the sense or thought of radicalism and terrorism so that it does not revive, so as to stop the development of radicalism and terrorism. In terms of intelligence conditioning techniques, white propaganda is needed through broadcasting positive news related to the principles of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as well as a counter to hoax news.

Based on the conclusion, we can make the following recommendations for related parties. The research that has been carried out can prove that the Intelligence conditioning theory, Deradicalization theory, and Synergy theory can be used as a reference or tool

to analyze the conditions of former terrorist convicts through both psychological and social approaches. The use of data processing tools with NVivo for data triangulation (data validity) and to analyze data in a structured, sharp and comprehensive manner so that the analysis can be optimal.

The method used in this research can be used as a reference for other qualitative research. The intelligence conditioning of ex-terrorists can continue to be carried out using the available patterns, tactics, techniques and media. One of the objectives of intelligence conditioning is the support of the deradicalization program launched by the government which requires synergy through good coordination and communication between government officials and other elements of society.

This study discusses intelligence-gathering methods that can be applied to former terrorists. In this case, the intelligence conditioning method is discussed with the theory of intelligence conditioning and collaborating with the theory of deradicalization and the theory of synergy.

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