

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RADICAL GROUPS IN INDONESIA AFTER GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS IN LIEU OF LAW NO 2/2017 CONCERNING COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND LAW NO 5/2018 CONCERNING TERRORISM IN NATIONAL SECURITY PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract - The ratification of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 2/2017 concerning Community Organization (Perppu Ormas) and Law No.5/2018 concerning Terrorism is a strategic policy achievement in the national security sector that can be utilized by the government and civil society to stem the progress of radical groups in Indonesia, especially (but not limited to) those associated with radical Islamic movements, both those who are known to use violent approaches and those who do not. Appropriate mapping of the development of radical groups, at the level of global, regional and national strategic environments, is important because it will become the basis for the formation of broader and deeper public policies related to the fight against radicalism and radical movements in the future. Descriptive qualitative analysis based on the data, documents and phenomena that occur shows that the ratification of those laws have a significant impact if followed by decisive actions by law enforcement.

Keywords: *radicalism, deradicalization, terrorism, Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 2/2017 concerning Community Organization (Perppu Ormas), Law No.5/2018 concerning Terrorism*

Introduction

Radical group is any group that seeks to disseminate ideas, thought and action or movement that aims to make a fundamental change to the life of the people of Republic of Indonesia in contravention and/or against Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.³ These groups can employ violence, such as insurgency and terrorism, but also soft methods such

as the spread of ideology through propaganda, socio-cultural engineering, dissemination of information through mass media and social media, and so on. Terrorism is an act of violence that is very troubling and has the most tangible and significant impact on a psychological, political, and social basis, because it creates fear and directly causes fatalities and loss of property.

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On the record, 1,494 (one thousand four hundred ninety four) terrorists have been put to justice from 2000 to 2018 and 305 (three hundred and five) was captured after the suicide bombing attack in Surabaya. The total amounts to 1,799 (one thousand seven hundred ninety nine) people.⁴ While, 906 (nine hundred and six) people convicted of terrorist crimes have been released from prison, including repeat offenders. While the number of terrorist convict currently serving in imprisonment is 273 (two hundred seventy-three) people.⁵ The number of terrorist convict who still in trial (investigation, prosecution and trial) and in jail is 315 (three hundred and fifteen) people, which includes the 305 (three hundred and five) suspected perpetrators of suicide bombing attack in Surabaya. In sum there are 620 (six hundred and twenty) people. The total amount of people still in trial and in prison is 588 (five hundred eighty eight) as well as the 305 suspected perpetrators of suicide bombing attack in Surabaya. The grand

total is 893 (eight hundred ninety-three). The number of repeat offenders in the case of terrorism is 52 people.

Act of terrorism requires very strong ideological beliefs from the perpetrators. Strong belief in something that is considered absolute truth compels the perpetrators of acts of terror, especially in the case of suicide bombers, to willingly take a so-called heroic action in search of identity.⁶ Sarwono's research⁷ illustrates that terrorists initially participated in Islamic learning groups in schools or colleges or in their neighborhoods out of curiosity. Sarwono also mentioned that many of the perpetrators are motivated by revenge because their families were killed by Christians. Another motivation is that terrorists want to improve conditions, which they consider to be unfair and not in line with Islamic teachings. In the case of Bali Bombing, according to Sarwono, the suicide bombers cannot be considered as

⁴ Shodiq, MD. 2018. "Asas Kemanfaatan Hukum Deradikalisasi Tindak Pidana Terorisme dalam Sistem Peradilan Pidana di Indonesia". Disertasi Program Doktorat Ilmu Hukum. Jakarta: Universitas Jayabaya.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Singh & Mulkhan (2012) in their book *Jejaring Radikalisme Islam di Indonesia*, p.66, stated "For the young people, becoming a hero is their

most desired self-identity. In this case, theology of terror provides a path for these youth who, for their entire life, have been receiving religious education based on a white and black logic which makes it easier for them to be influenced by the idea of died as a martyr (*syahid*) and hero."

⁷ Sarlito W. Sarwono (2012), *Terorisme di Indonesia dalam Tinjauan Psikologi*.

a psychopath.⁸ According to social psychology expert, Sarlito Wirawan Sarwono⁹, one's involvement in acts of terror is influenced by the environmental factors, such as kinship, friend invitation, following senior's orders etc.¹⁰

The tendency for terrorists to be exploited by certain parties is also explained by Sarwono.¹¹ The typical people recruited as suicide bomber are young people aged 15-25 who are not confident, disoriented, and socially and psychologically isolated.¹² This is an alarming trend in Indonesia where the latest incident of suicide bombing in Surabaya (May 2018) is known to involve children and teenagers. Sarwono¹³ also mentioned that terror behavior is likely a result of learning process, not innate mental disorders.

Sarwono concluded that there were no indications/symptoms of psychosis or antisocial mental disorders. Nevertheless, in some special cases the perpetrator of

act of terror can be considered to have mental disorder such as in the case of perpetrator of mutilation to a schoolgirl in Poso.

Carrying out acts of terror also requires a certain level of intelligence. Act of terror is not a trivial task – it requires careful planning and risk calculation. Some terrorists even went as far as carrying out simulations to ensure the success of the suicide bombing. In addition to intelligence, leader of terrorist group also needs organizational and leadership skills. Terrorists who have been arrested are proven to also have a family and a normal relationship. They also have children, and can express their love to their family. Intelligence, organizational ability, and normal family life are evidence that these terrorists are relatively normal people, not people with mental disorder.

Crenshaw¹⁴ states that terrorism is not an irrational act but a result of strategic decision making process.

⁸ Sarlito W. Sarwono (2012), *Terorisme di Indonesia dalam Tinjauan Psikologi*, p. 61-62 stated “But my personal meeting with terrorist suspects and based on the things identified from the video of three Bali bombers taken a few days before the bombing, as well as the literature review I have carried out, it can be inferred that there is no indication that those three were having mental disorder or personality disorder.”

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. XVIII.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 67 “They were merely executors recruited from young people who thirst for values, self-identity, or want to escape from their stressful environment. The intellectual actors, people who act behind the scene, simply use them for their benefits.”

¹² *Ibid*, p. 69.

¹³ Sarlito W. Sarwono (2012), *Terorisme di Indonesia dalam Tinjauan Psikologi*.

¹⁴ Crenshaw (1988). The subjective reality of the terrorist: Ideological and psychological factors in terrorism. In R.O Slater and M. Stohl (Eds)

Therefore, terrorists are not forced to commit violence in act of terror but they are doing so out of their volition. This shows that acts of terrorism are carried out by rational perpetrators.

Acts of terrorism that employ violence will certainly cause casualties. Victim of act of terror can be categorized into three types, i.e. direct victims or people who became victim due to being on the scene, usually passed away, disabled, or physically injured, and psychologically traumatized. The second type is secondary victims, such as families of direct victims. Direct victim who is a breadwinner of a family will certainly impact the livelihood of their family if they passed away or become disabled. Psychologically, these secondary victims will have to deal with the loss of their family member and will have to see their loved one become unproductive and they will be forced to commit tremendous measure to survive. The third victim is indirect victims or people who do not experience the direct impact of terrorism or are not related to the victim, but are nevertheless affected by the acts of terrorism. For example, they went out of business because people are afraid to

come out of their home due to terrorism or have difficulties when going overseas.

Family members of terrorists are also indirect victim. The media and public scolding will make them feel intimidated and isolated. In addition, people will grow to hate the family members of terrorists even if they were not aware of and never approve nor commit act of terrorism. The public, especially children, can also become indirect victim of act of terror because they will be forced to consume exaggerated information on terrorism from mass media. Media often uses repeat broadcasting and vulgar content to increase their rating while neglecting its impacts to young viewers. Violent images portrayed by this information will leave bad impression in the mind of children and will have a negative impact to their mental condition if they are not prepared to consume it.

Currently Indonesia already has organizations that accommodate victims of act of terror, especially victims resulted by bombing attack. One of the organizations is called Indonesian Bombing Victim Association (ASKOBI) who, in August 2014, already has 690 members consisted of 85% Indonesian

Current Perspective in International Terrorisme. Basingtoke. Hampshire: Macmillan.

citizen and 15% foreigner. Members of ASKOBI are direct victim of bombing attack, secondary victim, and indirect victim. ASKOBI is currently advocating to increase the government's attention to their members.¹⁵

Terrorism is very harmful, but there have been no cases where individual or group can successfully achieve their goal permanently through act of terror. States who conduct act of terror will also lose in the end due to international pressure, unless the state in question is a superpower with firm grip of international network. Nevertheless, act of terror will prove to be more harmful than it is beneficial – not only harmful due to resulting in direct victim, secondary victim and indirect victim, act of terror will also harm the economy (investor will be reluctant), tourism (travel warning), and international relations.

In Indonesia, act of terror committed by individual or group almost never yield any benefit in the sense of achieving its organizational goal. Act of terror since 1981, Woyla, up to acts of terror in 2017 such as Poso Incident has never succeeded in achieving its main political

goal. The small benefit gained by individual or group terrorists, if any, is gaining public and media exposure and having their political messages be disseminated through news.

The ratification of Government Regulation in lieu of Law No. 2 of 2017 concerning Community Organization (Community Organization Law) and Law No. 5 of 2018 concerning Terrorism (Terrorism Law) is expected to create a shift in the dynamic of radical groups in Indonesia. Before the ratification of Community Organization Law and Terrorism Law, law enforcers only have limited authority to handle dangerous community organization that might endanger national security. The ratification of Community Organization Law and Terrorism Law is very essential and needs to be observed because it will significantly impact the measures carried out by the government to deal with community organizations that contradict the law, including radical community organization.

Thorough observation to this new dynamic is significant because of several reasons: *Firstly*, although the government

¹⁵ “Adrianus: Penegakan Hukum Saja Tak Bisa Tangkal Terorisme” in Tempo.co on 10 September 2011,

<https://nasional.tempo.co/read/355532/adrianus-penegakan-hukum-saja-tak-bisa-tangkal-terorisme>, accessed on 26 November 2018.

has issued and ratified Community Organization Law and Terrorism Law that can be expected to serve as a more decisive instrument to mitigate radicalism, it still needs to be supported by other instruments including politics, economy, social and culture. *Secondly*, radicalism and radicalization in Indonesia has become a political, social and cultural phenomenon whose roots entrenched deeply in our nation's history. *Thirdly*, there is a strong tendency for radical groups in Indonesia to utilize civil society organization as a vehicle to move in a clandestine manner outside of the government's oversight. *Fourthly*, civil society organization in Indonesia has a better capacity to support the long-term goal of de-radicalization movement than any other governmental agencies.

Analysis in this study is expected to assist the state in reading the dynamic that will occur after the ratification of Community Organization Law and Terrorism Law and in preparing the strategies to answer all of the possibilities that might occur.

Research Methods

This study employs qualitative descriptive analysis to analyze the phenomenon that might occur after the ratification of Community Organization Law and Terrorism Law with regards to the development of radical groups in Indonesia, including acts of radicalism and terrorism committed by those groups. In addition, this study also analyzes the measures carried out by the government to deal with radical groups with regards to the Community Organization Law and Terrorism Law.

The method employed in this study is data and information collection through library research and analysis on secondary data through literature review and access to online sources.

Discussion

Radicalism and Terrorism: Perspective of Securitization Theory

US Department of State defines terrorism as “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.”¹⁶ Act

¹⁶ Rex A. Hudson and Marilyn Majeska (ed), *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism, Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?* Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, Washington, 1999,

p. 12, in http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/Soc_Psych_of_Terrorism.pdf, accessed on 1 September 2015.

of terror is unlike regular act of crime. Michael R. Ronczkowski in *Terrorism and Organized Hate Crime: Intelligence Gathering, Analysis and Investigations* explained a fundamental difference between terrorism and street crime. Terrorist group fights to achieve political goal, while criminal commits crime to fulfill short-term needs.

The terrorist groups that grow within the span of the last two decades are mostly motivated by ideology, either secular or religious ideology, unlike the non-ideological act of crime. Act of terror is usually committed in group, while act of crime is mostly individual-oriented. Ability-wise, terrorists are highly trained people who are motivated to achieve certain goal, while criminals are mostly common people. The goal of terrorism is usually to launch an attack, while criminals usually care more about how to escape their crime. Based on the above explanations, we can infer that terrorism is indeed different from act of crime, although there are some similarities, e.g. both of them use violence.

The threat of act of terror is inseparable to the method employed by the state to safeguard their citizen from these threats. This is closely related to the theory of securitization. Barry Buzan

mentioned that securitization is the identification of certain issue (either political or non-political) to be used as security agenda. Process of securitization does not only involve security issue, but also military, economy, social, environment, cultural and other issues. It is appropriate to turn the issue of radicalism as the root of terrorism in Indonesia as one of the main agenda of security system.

The occurrence of act of terror indicates that the state's securitization efforts have not been optimal. Act of terror is a threat with high level of risk due to its potential to cause fatalities hence it must be prevented. The concept of securitization can be interpreted as state obligation in protecting its citizen as best as they can.

Although in general the role of securitization is dominated by the state, the involvement of citizen in securitization is also essential, especially in the case of radicalism and terrorism. One of the threats of act of terror is the perpetrator can disguise themselves as part of the society – hence the involvement of society will be important as they are can be the closest person to the perpetrator. Social and cultural approach as part of people's securitization efforts is important to

prevent the occurrence of radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia. The concept of securitization which is carried out by the state in collaboration with the civil society of Indonesia is an important strategy to prevent people from becoming a victim of radicalization. Securitization must also be able to protect the people from radicalization process, from being exposed to radical narratives, from accepting and approving radical ideologies, and from becoming radical who can easily use violence to force their political agenda.

Development of Radicalism and Radical Movement in Strategic Environment

Development of Radical Groups at Global Level

The phenomena of radicalism and radical movement at global since the 9/11 tragedy has shown no sign of change; meaning there have been no decline, in quantitative and qualitative terms, of its diffusion and intensity. Some superpower states have succeeded in their war on terror through military approach, e.g. the killing of Al-Qaeda mastermind, Osama bin Laden, and the destruction of ISIS power in Syria and

Iraq, as well as in South, Central and Western Asia. Nevertheless, all of those successes have not been able to weaken the act of terrorism in other parts of the world. Reports from mass media and social media is always filled to the brim with act of terror in the Western hemisphere (Europe, US) and Third World countries (Africa and Asia).

The threat of radicalism at global level becomes more relevant if seen not only through externality dimension, but also ideological dimension. There have been no signs of decline in the support to transnational radical ideologies, especially one that uses the interpretation of Islamic teaching. What actually happened is the development of hybrid Islamic radical ideology, i.e. transnational *jihadi* and *takfiri* ideology combined with home grown radical ideology.¹⁷ The emergence of radical powers such as Taliban, Boko Haram and dozens of Islamic radical groups in Middle East, Central Asia, Western Asia and Southeast Asia is evidence of the growth of hybrid radical ideology. The same is also true for the development of secular radical ideology, such as the growth of ethno-nationalism

¹⁷ Hikam, M. A. 2016. *Deradikalisasi: Peran Masyarakat Sipil Indonesia Membendung Radikalisme*. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.

and racism within the political constellation of western countries which might be influential in the future (Hikam: 2016).

In regard to those facts, it is estimated that radicalism and act of violence, including terrorism, at global level will continue to be a serious threat, because its roots have not been dealt with. The root of problem is the condition of global structure which is still dominated by unfairness and inequality between the North (developed countries) and the South (developing countries). This became the driver and catalyst for the emergence and development of ideologies that justifies anti-systemic movement, asymmetric conflicts, political identity, and the use of violence including terrorism. Those radical ideologies are obviously not only the monopoly of religious believers, including Islam, but also other groups.

The Development of Radical Groups at Regional Level

At regional level, especially Indo-Pacific region, radical groups are reported to

have consolidated among themselves and became more assertive in committing acts of violence. The latest case in South Philippines, namely the attack to and subjugation of Marawi city¹⁸, is only one of the many evidences that radical movement, which is dominated by separatist group of *jihadi* and *takfiri* group, remains a serious regional threat. Furthermore, ISIS-backed groups in South Philippines have also been responsible for the various acts of terrorism under the guise of Islam in many area, including South Thailand, Myanmar and of course Indonesia.¹⁹ Countries such as Malaysia and Singapore, despite not directly experiencing and becoming the main target of terrorism, are still worried of such possibilities occurring.

This means that the influence and development of those radical groups at global level has spilled over to regional level and, as such, reinforced the idea that war on terror has not been successful in stopping their growth. If we also take into account the ideological dimension of radicalism, the situation become increasingly complicated. The

¹⁸ Taken from <https://internasional.kompas.com/read/2017/05/25/17395241/serangan.sayap.isis.di.marawi.-tewaskan.21.orang>. It mentioned that the attack from Maute militia, Mindanao-based ISIS

wing organization in Southeast Asia, has caused 21 deceased.

¹⁹ Hikam, M. A. 2016. *Deradikalisasi: Peran Masyarakat Sipil Indonesia Membendung Radikalisme*. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.

development at regional level shows that *jihadi* and *takfiri* ideology continue to expand in frontier area such as in South Thailand and South Philippines. It has also become an alternative ideology capable of uniting the separatist groups that have been fighting against the legitimate government in those two areas.²⁰

Not to mention the issues concerning the repression against minority group in Myanmar, i.e. Muslim Rohingya, which also serve as one of the gateways for the dissemination of *jihadi* and *takfiri* ideology in that area.²¹ This is exacerbated by the growing trend of religious nationalism spirit within a society which is supported by a military-dominated regime. In South Thailand, especially Patani, separatist movement is completely dominated by *jihadi* and *takfiri* ideology and has gained support from the society and some number of elites in Bangkok – in order to wage the issue of religious nationalism.²²

Therefore, radicalism at regional level has now undergone a fusion process between the political aspiration of

separatist movement and the expansion of *jihadi* and *takfiri* as their ideological foundation. They share the same narrative on the inevitable rise of pan-Islamism regime governed by an Islamic Caliphate in Southeast Asia, as an integral part of a global Caliphate Empire. They believe that this scenario is not beyond the realms of possibility.²³

From a geo-strategic perspective, region might be an essential alternative given that radical groups in the Middle East and South Asia have been set back in terms of their military and politics. Countries with strong Muslim population at the region is a strategic target to be turned into a headquarter for the development of *jihadi* and *takfiri* group, as well as its movements. The success (albeit temporary) of ISIS group at the region in utilizing its dormant cells in Marawi to the point of subjugating the city, is an important and strategic test case. The terrorist group has not only shown its success in military operation, but also in developing its ideological influence within civil society.

²⁰ Hikam, M. A. 2016. *Deradikalisasi: Peran Masyarakat Sipil Indonesia Membendung Radikalisme*. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

The Development of Radical Group at National Level

The phenomenon of radicalism and radical movement in Indonesian society is not something new. Groups who attempt to commit acts of violence, including terrorism, in order to usurp the national philosophy of Pancasila and 1945 Constitution, has been around since a few years after Independence Day, for example the 1948 Communist Revolt, DI/TII, Permesta, the 1965/30 September Movement, separatist group (Aceh and Papua), and Islamic radical groups after New Order who continue to be active to this day.²⁴ Radicalism and radical movement in Indonesia can be controlled effectively during the era of New Order, especially through an authoritarian political system which is dominated by military and civilian bureaucracy. Either radical right and left cannot materialize into a worthy threat, although they did not disappear at all. This is especially applied to the radical left and separatism who remain dormant up to the fall of New Order. Even Islamic radical in Indonesia, who were able to continue its activity clandestinely, was still categorized as

domestic-oriented movement. Indonesia governed by an authoritarian regime was not only successful in deterring threats, but also successful to create a political and ideological hegemony. But despite all of those order and tranquility during the New Order era, the regime still cannot survive from legitimation crisis in 1998.²⁵

The reform era delivers a significant change to the national strategic environment, which includes democratization process followed by political openness, human rights protection, and also the strengthening of civil society vis-à-vis the state. However, the 20 years process of democratization still cannot reach the most important stage of democratic consolidation. Although democratic system in Indonesia after its reform has been recognized by the world, it is essentially still a formalistic democracy. This brought serious implications especially in the development of civil society who is the backbone of a constitutional democratic system.

The structural weakness above gave rise to non-democratic aspirations in Indonesian society, including the aspiration of radical ideology. With the

²⁴ Hikam, M. A. 2016. *Deradikalisasi: Peran Masyarakat Sipil Indonesia Membendung Radikalisme*. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.

²⁵ Muhammad AS Hikam, *Deradikalisasi: Peran Masyarakat Sipil Indonesia Membendung Radikalisme*, (Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2016), p. 29-40.

change to global strategic environment after Cold War, Indonesia became a part of transnational radical movement, especially one that uses IJT as its foundation. Various schools of thought and organizations such as Muslim Brotherhood, Hizbut Tahrir, Al-Qaeda, Jemaah Islamiyah and lastly ISIS, can easily enter and plant its root, which in turn synergize with domestic Islamic group such as Islamic State of Indonesia.²⁶ It can be said that radical groups and movement after the reform in Indonesia are characterized by its transnational, or at least international-domestic network. Despite most of its supporters being Indonesian Muslim, narratively and ideologically they tend to be part of a transnational movement, including Caliphate-ism or Pan-Islamism.

The weak condition of national security after reform has been utilized by radical groups that employ violence, including terrorism, since 1999/2000. The horizontal riot which causes many fatalities occurred in Maluku and Sampit,

as well as the act of terror in Bali in 2002 and also in many big cities in Indonesia, such as Jakarta, Semarang, Bandung, Medan, Poso, etc.²⁷

Islamic radical organizations emerge under different name but mostly with the same figurehead and, certainly, the same radical ideology. The narratives of Anti-Republic of Indonesia, anti-infidel government, anti-infidel ruler, building an Islamic State, a Caliphate State, and so on became an integral discourse of their movement. The most alarming radical group in Indonesia, due to its sheer act of terror, is the one affiliated with ISIS. Act of terror in Thamrin (14 January 2016) has been admitted to be ISIS' doing. Suicide bombing in Surakarta Police Headquarter (5 July 2016) was committed by Jamaah Anshar Daulah Khilafah Nusantara (JADKN) led by Bahrun Naim who is a figurehead in ISIS from Indonesia. The act of terror in Kampung Melayu (24 May 2017) was committed by JAD group who is affiliated with ISIS. IN addition to act of terror committed by ISIS, the National

²⁶ Hikam, M. A. 2016. *Deradikalisasi: Peran Masyarakat Sipil Indonesia Membendung Radikalisme*. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.

²⁷ Taken from an article titled "LSI: Ini 5 Kasus Kekerasan Paling Mengerikan di Indonesia" in *Liputan6.com* on 23 December 2012, [https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/473537/lsi-ini-5-kasus-kekerasan-paling-mengerikan-di-](https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/473537/lsi-ini-5-kasus-kekerasan-paling-mengerikan-di-indonesia)

indonesia. According to press release from Lingkaran Survei Indonesia and Yayasan Denny JA, the five worst cases of violence are ethnic conflict in Maluku and Maluku Utara, Dayak versus Madura in Sampit, May 1998 Riot, Transito Mataram, and South Lampung, accessed on 26 November 2018

Police of Indonesia has prevented and arrested ISIS member before they can commit their atrocity. The plan to attack in Solo on 17 August 2015 was foiled through the arrest of some perpetrators. That plan to attack several places of worship and police office was funded by Bahrn Naim, an ISIS figurehead from Indonesia.²⁸

In November 2016, Majalengka terrorist network was apprehended by Densus 88 in South Tangerang. This network was a part of Jamaah Anshor Daulah (JAD) group who is an underling of Bahrn Naim. Another arrest was made in Serpong, Payakumbuh, Deli Serdang, in late December 2016, and they admit to be an underling of Bahrn Naim. This clearly indicated that acts of terror in Indonesia are linked with ISIS.²⁹

ISIS-affiliated radical movement in Indonesia is mostly influenced by the activity of Indonesian citizen who became

an ISIS leader in Syria. Three Indonesian citizen has been known to have an important position in ISIS. The first is Abu Jandal or Salim Mubarak Attamimi. Abu Jandal once uploaded a video threatening the then TNI Commander, General Moeldoko. Abu Jandal reported dead around September 2016. The role of Abu Jandal in ISIS-affiliated radical group in Indonesia was recruiting and assisting Indonesian who sympathized with ISIS' cause to travel to the Middle East.³⁰

The second figure is Bahrumsyah. This Indonesian citizen was found dead in Syria in March 2017 and got his highlight due to uploading a video to invite Indonesian citizen to join with ISIS in the Middle East. Bahrumsyah was known to lead a terrorist group called Mujahidin Indonesia Barat before going to Syria.³¹

The third figure is Bahrn Naim. He was the brain of many acts of terror in

²⁸ Taken from an article titled "Adaptasi Model Teror JAD dan Prediksi Kekuatan Pasca Bom Surabaya" in indonews.id on 21 May 2018, <http://indonews.id/artikel/13517/Adaptasi-Model-Teror-JAD-dan-Prediksi-Kekuatan-Pasca-Bom-Surabaya/> accessed on 26 November 2018.

²⁹ This data is obtained from an article titled "Waspada Konser Akhir Tahun Kelompok Bahrn Naim" in [Detik.com](https://news.detik.com/kolom/d-3377979/waspada-konser-akhir-tahun-kelompok-bahrn-naim/komentar) on 22 Desember 2016, <https://news.detik.com/kolom/d-3377979/waspada-konser-akhir-tahun-kelompok-bahrn-naim/komentar>, accessed on 26 November 2018.

³⁰ Taken from an article titled "Sepak terjang Abu Jandal, Panglima ISIS asal Indonesia", in

<https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/sepak-terjang-abu-jandal-panglima-isis-asal-indonesia.html>, accessed on 26 November 2018.

³¹ Latest news from many sources mentioned that Bahrn Syah has died. This statement can also be seen in an article quoted from an article titled "Bahrumsyah, Komandan ISIS Asia Tenggara Asal Indonesia Tewas" in [Liputan6.com](https://www.liputan6.com), <https://www.liputan6.com/global/read/2886764/bahrumsyah-komandan-isis-asia-tenggara-asal-indonesia-tewas>, accessed on 26 November 2018.

Indonesia and is believed by many to have died in early December 2017.³² The death of Bahrin Naim significantly weakened ISIS-affiliated radical groups in Indonesia. The report on several acts of terror in Indonesia who received technical and financial backing from Bahrin Naim shows that he played a significant role in them. This also reinforced the idea that Bahrin Naim's death will weaken the power of terrorist group in Indonesia. With no technical and financial support from Syria, radical groups will be less likely to commit another act of terror.

With ISIS group in Iraq and Syria now being scattered, its affiliated group in Indonesia will automatically be weakened. By observing data from various sources, ISIS combatants in Iraq and Syria is currently moving and building a base in Afghanistan to potentially commit act of terror in Russia. Other combatants, such as the one coming from Europe, are expected to return to their home countries in order to turn into a dormant cell, waiting for the next momentum to strike again. The Soufan Center in October 2017 stated that there are 600 Indonesian citizen who have joined with ISIS and

Syria, consisting of 113 women and 100 children, with the rest being adult men. In that report (update March 2017), 50 has returned to Indonesia and 384 stayed, while the rest was unknown. Although the data has been updated, especially after ISIS in Iraq and Syria received an attack from multinational forces, strong link between Indonesian radical groups and ISIS persists nevertheless. From around 600 who became a sympathizer in Middle East, only few of them became combatant. Most of those Indonesian sympathizers only went there without becoming a trained combatant. However, they still possess some threat because they have been strongly brainwashed and could potentially apply their experience in conflict area in Indonesia.

It is expected that not all Indonesian citizen who became ISIS combatant will return to Indonesia, because some of them has been killed and joined with other combatant to continue their action. However, some of them who do return to Indonesia after the defeat of ISIS are combatants which should be scrutinized because they have a potential to commit act of terror in Indonesia.

³² Rumours of the death of Bahrin Naim is still a mystery, as can be seen from an article written by BBC Indonesia, "Bahrin Naim, terduga 'dalang teror', dikabarkan tewas, sumber

jihadis belum beri keterangan" on 4 December 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-42220265>, accessed on 26 November 2018.

With the defeat of ISIS in Iraq and Syria, and the general condition in Middle East who may disappoint the Indonesian ISIS sympathizers who went to the Middle East, some of them might choose to become a dormant cell, or no longer supporting ISIS due to their disappointment. The opportunity to commit another act of terror will grow smaller due to the lack of technical and financial support, such in the case where Bahrin Naim still alive. Act of terror could still potentially happen but they are expected to be committed by lone wolf who move by themselves and cannot be easily detected. Despite its recklessness, acts of terror committed by lone wolf tend to be small in scale due to their lack of skills and abilities. Other phenomenon that has been absorbed is radical group became smaller in size into a family unit. One real example is the perpetrators of terror in Surabaya in May 2018.

One of Indonesian radical groups who is quite active in committing act of terror is Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD). This radical group is known to be affiliated with ISIS and led by Aman Abdurahman who has received death sentence and in line for execution. As the currently strongest radical group in Indonesia, JAD was initially formed to be the loyal retainer

of ISIS leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. Thus it should be no surprise if the acts of terror committed by JAD will be claimed as ISIS' doing.

Acts of terror committed by JAD in Indonesia includes Thamrin attack (January 2016), Samarinda (November 2016), Kampung Melayu (May 2017) and Surabaya (May 2018). The last attack by JAD in Surabaya is quite unique because it involved a real family unit in suicide bombing attack. The bombing in three churches was committed by a family consisted of parents and their four children, while the bombing in Police Headquarter was committed by a five-member family, one of whom survived. After the act of terror in Surabaya, JAD continued its attack in Riau Police Headquarter.

It should be noted that civil society in Indonesia is an important vehicle for the development of radical ideology and radical movement, in addition to state agencies and electoral politics. At the same time, the openness of the democratic society in Indonesia also allows the penetration of various influence and religious teaching, especially through telematics technology, modern religious education institutions, and exceedingly fast international mobility.

This is part of the rise of religious awareness which became popular in late 1970s and early 1980s, especially among educated youth and urban middle class. The global phenomenon which mostly occurred in Islamic states also affects Indonesia and creates many implications. As a result, the religious awareness also signifies the rise of religious-based ideology, including Islamic fundamentalism and radicalism.

The structural dynamic of a national society and the rise of religious awareness will result in many positive and negative implications for the people of Indonesia, especially Muslim community in this post-reform era. These implications will prove to be contradictive and cannot possibly be understood in short time by experts, hence increasing its complexity. The state who is also not entirely consistent in issuing strategic public policies (politic, economy, social, culture, and defense and security) will further complicate the map of Islamic radical movement in Indonesia.

Map of Radical Movement in Indonesia: The Three Scenarios

Radical movement in Indonesia which is characterized by possession of political goal, is influenced by two things. The first is radical group who sympathizes and is

affiliated with ISIS, while the second group which is affiliated with the Hizbut Tahrir transnational network. In preventing and dealing with those radical groups, we need to be aware of scenarios that might befall those radical groups after the implementation of Community Organization Law and Terrorism Law. This must be taken into account since the authority to deal with those groups was very limited before the ratification of these two laws. The ratification and enforcement of Community Organization Law and Terrorism Law will certainly carry its own risks and consequences.

There are three scenarios that can be expected namely optimistic scenario characterized by positive situation for Indonesia, transformative scenario in which radical movement still exists but manageable, and the pessimistic scenario in which the radical groups grow stronger and bring negative impact for Indonesia.

Optimistic Scenario

In this scenario, radical groups no longer have any place in Indonesia. Community Organization Law and Terrorism Law eliminates the opportunity for radical groups to exist and campaigning their ideology. Groups that support caliphate system such as HTI withers away and no

longer have any supporter due to strict enforcement of law backed by civil society of Indonesia.

ISIS-affiliated radical groups run out of energy due to no longer receiving financial and technical support from the Middle East after the defeat of ISIS. With ISIS focusing its efforts to build a new base in Afghanistan, Southeast Asia especially Philippines and Indonesia are no longer their objective. Indonesian citizen who fights for ISIS in Iraq and Syria moves to Afghanistan, while those who return to Indonesia becomes dormant cell or even reintegrate as law-abiding citizen who reignite their belief in Pancasila due to being disappointed with their situation in Iraq and Syria which was far from what they were promised during recruitment.

Nationalism increases, as well as unity. Pancasila is defended by the united nationalism of the people of Indonesia followed by trust to the government and commitment to fight back any threat of foreign ideology which threatens Pancasila.

Transformative Scenario

This is a scenario in which radical group begins to use political vehicle and legitimate organization to fight by adapting and joining with Islamic group,

organization or political party. The need of political party to masses of people opens up opportunity for radical group especially HTI to join and plant their root by disseminating their ideology in the parent organization.

The government faces difficulties in dealing with these caliphate supporters because they belong to a legitimate political party. Some of the radical figure might even find a position in governmental agency due to gaining access from political party.

They might also be reinforced by Indonesian citizen who return from Iraq and Syria. Due to being brainwashed with Islamic state ideology but still unable to achieve their goal through ISIS, they use their experience in Syria to fight through another way – all for the sake of achieving their dream of living in an Islamic state. These ISIS sympathizers will then join with ex-HTI members in their clandestine movement and some figures might emerge by utilizing their vehicle in Islamic political party.

However, after election season is over, political parties that shelter HTI member will begin to realize its influence. Due to no longer needing significant mass support, they will start to purge their members. People who continue to

advocate for caliphate ideology will be dealt with and be put to justice. In addition, those figures will also be de-radicalized. Although taking quite a long time and process, radical group who hides themselves in political constellation can finally be uprooted and restricted.

Pessimistic Scenario

The heated and unhealthy political dynamic as well as the use of political identity to achieve political agenda become a gateway for radical group. In this pessimistic scenario, radical group succeeds in taking control of certain political party with similar platform (religion-based) and can finally influence political decision and policy. Support of caliphate movement will finally be legitimated and its existence will only be even more relevant.

Radical groups who employs act of terror, specifically ISIS-affiliated groups, start to arouse the people who became dormant after their return from Iraq and Syria. The state fails to identify those dormant cells and fails in its effort to secure their citizen. Acts of terror are committed against security apparatus

which is seen as the number one enemy of radical groups, and innocent people will die because of it.

The state will enter into emergency situation because the government has begun to be usurped by caliphate ideology supporter and can no longer operate its security function due to the sheer acts of terror by ISIS combatants who return to Indonesia.

Strategies in Response to Those Scenarios

To anticipate the situation as explained in transformative and pessimistic scenarios concerning radical groups in Indonesia, an effective strategy will be absolutely required. By using the concept developed by Prunckun,³³ the authors recommend four steps to deal with terrorism, namely prevention, preparation, response and recovery. In the context of radical group in Indonesia and today's variables and conditions that might influence them, the recommended strategy is as can be seen in Table 1.

³³ Hank Prunckun, *Handbook of Scientific Methods of Inquiry for Intelligence Analysis*, Scarecrow Professional Intelligence Education Series, No.

11, (Toronto, UK: The Scarecrow Press, 2010), p.178.

Table 1. The Strategies in Response to the Scenarios

No	Stage	Strategy	Explanation
1	Prevention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The preventive measure is conducted by strengthening intelligence agency in carrying out early detection and prevention of radical movement. By taking into account the now existing legal umbrella and prohibition of radical group, early detection and prevention must be followed by firm action. • Strengthening the role of Indonesian civil society to supervise and protect their environment from the influence of radical ideology 	Carried out by intelligence agency and other technical agencies such as Ministry of Religion, regional government and especially the civil society
2	Preparation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Under the assumption that radical group can no longer be prevented, preparations to deal with it must be carried out. What must be done is strengthening the capacity of civil society organization to deter the influence of radical group by strengthening nationalism and moderate ideology that upholds unity and Pancasila • If the radical group manage to penetrate political party and capable of carrying out political activity, moderate group must prepare instruments of resistance, through political means as well. Map and rally political parties that still uphold Pancasila and nationalism 	Cooperation between state agencies, civil society organizations and political organizations.
3	Response	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Law enforcement apparatus carry out its duty assertively in accordance with applicable laws. Organizations that uphold non-Pancasila ideology shall be punished through legal action • International cooperation must be carried out to restrict the movement of transnational network from influencing the radical groups in Indonesia • If act of terror occurs, quickly implement response to minimize its impact by prioritizing the safety of people 	BNPT, Police, BIN, TNI as support
4	Recovery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After getting control of the situation, recovery is the next important step. This is important given that post-emergency situation resulting from terrorist attack will create direct and indirect victim. Recovery can also be done through de-radicalization program. 	BNPT, regional government, provincial government, Ministry of Religion.

Civil society organizations in Indonesia (community organization, media, NGOs, professional association, scholars etc.) have a very important task in the near future. If radical groups managed to gain access to influence strategic policies, the situation faced by countries such as Iraq and Syria could possibly be experienced by people of Indonesia.

Conclusion

Based on the above explanations, it can be assumed that the threat of radicalism will remain a serious strategic issue for the Republic of Indonesia in the future. Despite the hard power of security apparatus has successfully dealt with acts of terror, such in the case of cooperation between BNPT, Police (specifically Densus 88), and TNI, there is still a serious threat from the spread of radical ideology and movement. The case of HTI who wishes to build a Caliphate system and replacing the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as well as its Pancasila and 1945 Constitution, is the most damning evidence. The enactment of new Community Organization Law aims to provide stronger legal basis to anticipate

radical movement after the dissolution of HTI.

In anticipating the threat of radicalism in Indonesia in the future, the involvement of civil society is the main priority. Civil society has subjective and objective interest with regard to the dynamic and implication of radical group in Indonesia in the future, because radical ideology will eliminate the fundamental value of Indonesian society which includes tolerance, independence, togetherness, and compliance to agreed laws.³⁴ Radicalization and radical movement will negatively impact the growth and development of civil society organization in Indonesia as it will increase the heat of conflict and weaken solidarity. This subjective goal is reinforced by objective interest, namely defending the existence and sustainability of the Republic of Indonesia as a *sine qua non* for civil society in Indonesia.

Therefore, national de-radicalization movement that goes in depth to the grass root level is inevitable, not only for the sake of democratic consolidation but also the sustainability of our nation. De-radicalization cannot be simply entrusted

³⁴ Tentang konsep masyarakat sipil, lihat, Muhammad AS Hikam, *Demokrasi dan Civil Society*, (Jakarta: LP3ES: 1999).

to the state and its apparatus, although they remain the most important partner for Indonesian civil society. The development of national de-radicalization movement needs to be effective in long term, be sustained generations after generations, and its implementation must be diverse in nature. Every civil society organization in Indonesia has unique capacity to create and develop innovative methods suitable to their environment and expertise.

After the ratification of Community Organization Law and Terrorism Law, opportunities will still arise for possibilities and dynamics that will significantly affect the continuation of democratic consolidation in Indonesia and its civil society. Although existing rules are expected to curtail the growth of radical organizations, the extent of its effectiveness in deterring the spread of *jihadi* and *takfiri* ideology remains to be seen – especially in strategic groups such as state apparatus, epistemic community, professional middle class, and youth in general.

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