




# Analysis of The Application of Deradicalization And Constraints And Obstacles: A Case Study of Bandung Suicide Bombing

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## Article Info

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## Abstract

**Introduction:** The concept of deradicalization itself has been running for the first time since 2005 but there is no guide or patent concept for this program. The effect given through the deradicalization program must be recognized is not optimal, but this does not necessarily make deradicalization a failed innovation, keep in mind that the existence of the deradicalization program is an answer to the handling of terrorism that is considered hard and intimidative (hard approach), while the more subtle ways of dialogue and religious approach (soft approach) is considered also able to neutralize the values of terrorism in someone who is already radical.

**Purposes of the Research:** The real purpose of de-radicalization in general is to prevent repeated terror incidents by former prisoners, because the National Police itself has the task of being able to detect and prevent acts of violence that insurgents.

**Methods of the Research:** The research method used is normative legal research with a statute legal approach and a conceptual approach

**Results of the Research:** The deradicalization Program is not a program that can be assessed directly as a failed program, deradicalization must be remembered as a reflection of the bad and hard handling (hard approach) so that the form of humanism and respect for human rights can actually be reflected by the existence of deradicalization, with the existence of deradicalization also illustrates that the perpetrators of terror or ex-prisoners have hope to return to normal life, also indicates that the government pays attention to those who commit this crime.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

On December 7, 2022, the bomb terror case shook the country again, terror cases at the end of the year are not new to Indonesia, if you look back, several terror cases occurred at the end of the year such as the Christmas Eve bomb in 2000 which occurred in several churches in the near future. Cases like this cause prolonged fear and trauma to all Indonesian citizens and especially to Christians who worship with worry, the government itself always sets special security in guarding Christmas and New Year activities (nataru). When examined, of course, this is not without cause, but can be assessed as a trauma to a terror attack that is responded to by maximally securing nataru's activities.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lihat: Kompas, dalam <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2022/12/07/14460041/aksi-terorisme-marak-terjadi-jelang-natal-dan-tahun-baru-mengapa>

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The suicide bombing case that occurred at the Astanaanyar police station added to a long series of terrorism cases, at that time the police officers were preparing for the morning assembly before duty, shortly afterwards the perpetrator who was driving a motorcycle immediately broke in and shortly after there was an explosion that spewed several projectiles such as nails, glass, and so on. Based on data obtained through the bodies of police officers began to match fingerprints and face recognition, and obtained the result that the suicide bomber was an ex-napiter named Agus Sujatno who had previously languished in prison Nusakambangan for 4 years because of the same case, namely terrorism.<sup>2</sup>

The examination and identification carried out by the police showed that the perpetrator Agus Sujatno was an ex-napiter who had a red radical status or level, in a statement given by the National Police Chief General Pol. Listyo Sigit, the perpetrator while in the detention cell is a prisoner who is difficult to communicate and cooperate in carrying out a series of deradicalization processes, against prisoners who have red status, the police themselves apply special techniques and approaches, this makes red status prisoners get more attention to handling deradicalization.<sup>3</sup>

In this case, there is an opinion that the de-radicalization has not been maximized and seems ineffective in reducing the terror aspect significantly. The concept of deradicalization itself has been running for the first time since 2005 but there is no guide or patent concept for this program. The effect given through the deradicalization program must be recognized as not optimal, but this does not necessarily make deradicalization a failed innovation, keep in mind that the existence of the deradicalization program is an answer to the handling of terrorism that is considered hard and intimidative (hard approach), while more subtle ways of dialogue and religious approaches (soft approach) are also considered able to neutralize the values of terrorism in someone who is already radical.<sup>4</sup>

The real purpose of deradicalization in general is to prevent repeated terror incidents by former prisoners, because the National Police itself has a duty to be able to detect and prevent acts of insurgent violence.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, in this paper, the author aims to highlight further related to what are the obstacles that hinder the course of de-radicalization so that against some ex-prisoners, they again commit acts of terror.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. METHOD

This study uses the type of normative legal research (doctrinal research). Doctrinal legal studies analyze authoritative texts (with binding legal force) and readers whose power is persuasive (reinforcement). Texts that have binding legal force are the main legal material that includes laws and regulations relevant to the research problem. In this regard, considering that this normative legal research analyzes the rule of law, the objects under

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<sup>2</sup> Kompas, dalam <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2022/12/08/120000965/bom-bunuh-diri-mapolsek-astanaanyar-pelaku-eks-napiter-nusakambangan?source=widgetML&engine=V> diakses pada 19 Desember 2022 lihat juga Frisca Alexandra, Analisis Kajian Terorisme dan Radikalisme Dalam 3 Persepektif Teoritis, *Jurnal Paradigma*, 6 no 3, (2017), 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, Kompas diakses pada 20 Desember 2022

<sup>4</sup> Arief Rifkiawan Hamzah, Radikalisme dan Toleransi Berbasis Islam Nusantara, *Sosiologi Reflektif, Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta*, 13 no 1 (2018): 23

<sup>5</sup> M. Tito Karnavian, *Indonesian Top Secret: Membongkar Konflik Poso*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2008)

<sup>6</sup> Saifudin Asrori, Mengikuti Panggilan Jihad Argumentasi Radikalisme dan Ekstremisme di Indonesia, *Jurnal Aqlam*, 4 no (1) 2019: 119-125 lihat juga Muhammad Mustofa, Memahami Terorisme: Suatu Prespektif Kriminologi, *Jurnal Kriminologi Indonesia*, 2 no 3 (2002): 31

study are regulatory documents and library materials. in this case the object of this study in the form of rules or literature related to related to cases of terrorism, action, and Prevention of terrorism through de-radicalization , the authors use several approaches to research a field of science so that research focuses on solving problems following a predetermined scope. This approach in this study consists of legal and conceptual statute approach approach. The legal approach to law is carried out by examining laws and regulations. This statutory law approach is used to examine laws or laws related to related to terrorism cases, prosecution, as well as the Prevention of terrorism through deradicalization . Regarding the conceptual approach, it is carried out based on legal principles obtained in the view of legal scholars or other legal doctrines by not deviating from the existing regulations this approach is necessary because there are no rules that govern it.

### 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1 Implementation of deradicalization Program in Indonesia

Deradicalization, also known as counter-radicalization, is a continuous, planned, systematic, and integrated process that is carried out against people exposed to or groups exposed to radical terrorism with the intention of stopping the spread of radical terrorism itself.<sup>7</sup> currently, the application of deradicalization is carried out through an approach that refers to several disciplines, namely Psychology, Social, law, and religion, the end goal of which is to neutralize pro-violence understanding.<sup>8</sup>

The implementation of deradicalization is coordinated by the National Counterterrorism Agency, which must be carried out or in cooperation with related institutions, namely the National Police, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (kemenkumham), and other stakeholders. Deputy 1 BNPT in the field of prevention, protection and deradicalization is one of the responsible in this program. If you look at the reference in the Blueprint by BNPT<sup>7</sup>, there are at least 2 applications of this deradicalization, namely:<sup>9</sup> a) In prisons, deradicalization is carried out through the identification stage followed by a process of rehabilitation, reeducation, resosiliation, observation and periodic evaluation. The first stage is targeted at prisoners in prisons who are serving their prison terms; b) Outside prison, this stage is de-radicalization which also carries out the identification process, counter-radicalism development, observation, and evaluation, this second stage targets those who have been free or completed their detention (ex-prisoners), prisoners ' families, and community groups who are considered to have been exposed to radicalism.

The author tries to explore some research conducted by several research institutions in Indonesia, Lazuardi Biru which is one of the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) conducted research in 2011 with vulnerable time in June to July, in his writing stated that Indonesia is still vulnerable to acts of terror and radicalism, the figure was 43.6 percent in

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<sup>7</sup> Undang-undang No.5 tahun 2018 Tentang Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Terorisme Pasal 43 C ayat 1

<sup>8</sup> Petrus R Golose, *"Deradikalisasi Terorisme, Humanis, Soul Approach dan Menyentuh Akar Rumput"*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Pengembangan Kajian Ilmu Kepolisian, 2009): 62-63 lihat juga Imran Tahir, M. Irwan Tahir, Perkembangan Pemahaman Radikalisme Di Indonesia, *Jurnal Ilmiah Administrasi Pemerintah Daerah* 12 no 2 (2020): 75 lihat juga Ahnad Maulana dkk, Atas Nama Jihad : Konstruksi Pemikiran Radikalisme dan Terorisme, *At-Tabbayun*, 1 no 1 (2022): 42-45

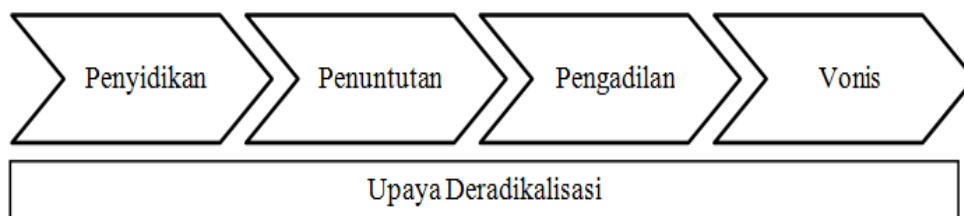
<sup>9</sup> BNPT, *"Blueprint Deradikalisasi"*, Jakarta, 2013, 37 lihat juga Nuhrison M. Nuh, Faktor-Faktor Penyebab Munculnya Faham/ Gerakan Islam Radikal di Indonesia, *HARMONI Jurnal Multikultural & Multireligius* VIII (2009): 36

the previous year (2010), decreased to about 1.44 percent which the previous figure was at the percentage of 45.4 percent. The number of respondents in the study was about 4840 people spread across 33 provinces in Indonesia, a number that shows the decline is still not showing significant changes or in other words Indonesia is still prone to the spread of radical ideology and terrorism.<sup>10</sup>

Further forward to the 2020 research conducted by BNPT in collaboration with several stakeholders, namely Alvara Strategi Indonesia, the Nusa Institute, Nasaruddin Omar Office, and the R & D of the Ministry of religious affairs with an index using a scale of 0-100, the potential for radicalism in 2020 is at 14.0 or 12.2 percent, while the previous year was at 38.4 based on the survey, there was a significant decrease, and deradicalization can be said to be one of the factors in the decline in radical phenomena in society, while this needs to be evaluated periodically, numbers and percentages can change quickly.<sup>11</sup>

The implementation of deradicalization is coordinated by BNPT but in reality in the field, the police as law enforcement or the first door to handling crimes and crimes do a lot and implement this deradicalization process. The National Police through one of their divisions, Densus 88 AT, which handles terrorism cases in Indonesia, made significant changes to the handling of terrorism, when referring to the process carried out by BNPT through several stages described above, namely identification, rehabilitation, and resocialization, the National Police also first implemented the process.

The author conducted an interview with one of the members of Dit Idensos, one of the divisions in Densus 88 AT, all stages of de-radicalization by the police were carried out since the suspected terrorists were arrested, those who became suspects were immediately secured and had immediately received rehabilitation through dialogue and a humanistic approach, including the families of the perpetrators of terror, the police immediately identified and profiled in order to prevent the widening understanding of the perpetrators to the family, note the flow below:<sup>12</sup>



The plot illustrates that all stages in the process of convicting suspects of terror cases are carried out with coaching and deradicalization efforts, so broadly speaking this deradicalization effort has actually been carried out since someone was arrested and suspected of being a terror offender, this is of course better than done after the verdict has

<sup>10</sup> <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2011/10/05/15592674/Survei.Indonesia.Masih.Rentan.Aksi.Radikalisme?1>

<sup>11</sup> BNPT dalam Rakornas Pencegahan Terorisme dapat dilihat dalam Republika <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/qlmk6y291/survei-potensi-radikalisme-di-indonesia-menurun> diakses pada 20 Desember 2022 lihat juga Muhammad Najib Azca, Yang Muda Yang Radikal, *MAARIF Institute for Culture and Humanity* 8 no 1 (2013): 18

<sup>12</sup> Wawancara dilakukan dengan salah satu anggota Direktorat Identifikasi dan Sosialisasi Densus 88 AT (DIT IDENSOS), yaitu AKBP Jim Brilliant SIK sejak terakhir tulisan ini dibuat, beliau menjabat sebagai Kani 1 Subdit Sos Dit Idensos Densus 88 AT



come out or after being a prisoner, a humanitarian approach is carried out in order to erode the seeds of terror. In addition, the advantages of the application of deradicalization since the arrest are that the police can provide the results of evaluating the development of the defendant in the terror case to the judge in court, if the results are good enough, then this can be a recommendation in the trial by the judge, and of course be an advantage for the perpetrators of terror.<sup>13</sup>

This deradicalization Program also aims to achieve a less radical point, namely reducing patterns of behavior and comments related to something that is radical can be stopped, also cultivating the nature of believing in the existing system, and cultivating trust to return to society and reject things that are contrary in democracy to achieve a goal, therefore on the other hand deradicalization must exist, imprisonment or criminal is not enough therefore deideologization deradicalization should be maintained as an innovation that has become a mainstay.

### 3.2 Obstacles, constraints and shortcomings of deradicalization programs

It must be admitted that with all the efforts that exist, deradicalization still has many loopholes, so that the resulting output is also not optimal and not on target, causing repeated incidents in some former prisoners such as the suicide bombing case in Bandung. Terrorism behavior is actually not always related to what is called radical, or not always related to ideology, if we try to expand our point of view then there are at least two important things that make deradicalization can not run optimally, namely: (a) Economic factors, this one factor is related to poverty which is often the background for someone to commit crimes, as well as cases of terrorism. The emergence of the feeling that poverty is a rebuke or punishment from God against the Indonesian government that has not implemented Islamic law as a legal basis, encourages this crime to be used as a justification for jihad. In some terror cases that occurred in Indonesia, terrorism suspects admitted that there was a promise by someone to provide funds to them, as well as the lure that his life would be prosperous, for example in the suicide bombing case at the Solo Police Headquarters in 2016, an interval of 1 month after the incident the police arrested the alleged funder in several acts of terrorism, he was Munir Kartono.<sup>14</sup> this is a shortage as well as notes that in addition to deradicalization, the issue of breaking the chain of funding for terrorist members must be immediately sought a way out, as an effort to prevent, although it has been revealed that the charity box case was used as one of the media to raise funds, the National Police and BNPT appealed that citizens must be careful in making donations.<sup>15</sup> economic factors need to be considered, many of the ex- napiter who worry about their lives after coming out of prison, the fact that companies often ask for SKCK as a formal condition to find work often hinders the lives of ex-napiter so it does not rule out that they return to the wrong path, if this happens, then of course deradicalization will add to the list of failures; (b) Socio-cultural, deradicalization programs must be accompanied by attention to socio-cultural elements. Problems regarding culture and habits, tend to lead a person to choose the path

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<sup>13</sup> Ray Adhari Jajuri, Rahmat, Analisis Kebijakan Counter Radikalisme Melalui Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragam, *Jurnal Civil Hukum* 6 no 2 (2021): 164-167 lihat juga Arif Hidayat, Laga Sugiarto, Strategi Penangkalan dan Penanggulangan Radikalisme Melalui Cultural Reinforcement Masyarakat Jawa Tengah, *Jurnal USM Law Review* 3 no 1 (2020): 147-150

<sup>14</sup> Republika, dalam <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/r21lpq396/pendana-bom-bunuh-dirimapolresta-solo-2016-minta-maaf>

<sup>15</sup> Kompas dalam <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2021/09/15/16283361/teroris-manfaatkan-kotak-amal-bnpt-kita-perlu-waspada-kepada-siapa-kita-beri>

of violence, in other words violence as an effort to get a better life and higher social status. one of the indicators of de-radicalization focuses on restoring the position for ex-prisoners to be able to return to society, but the pattern in the community itself has not changed, the fact is that many Indonesians still choose violence over deliberation, this is an important point that deradicalization not only eliminates erroneous thoughts but must also provide an understanding that violence is never the right choice in overcoming problems.<sup>16</sup>

The author sees that changing ideology is a fairly difficult thing is also very sensitive, related to that there is an element in the concept of deradicalization that is quite hard, namely by confronting one belief with other beliefs so as to forget the way about how to change one's psychological tendencies towards an ideology, which is done so far it focuses on ideology it self.<sup>17</sup> Deradicalization seeks to sensitize the ideology of a radical group that comes from a false religious doctrine, obviously it is quite difficult to touch one's beliefs and understandings by bumping into them directly.

Deradicalization also gets obstacles when the perpetrators of terror who are being rehabilitated in prisons have a red status, this indicates that the prisoner has a high level of radicals, in contrast to those who are green status which indicates a low level of radicalism, in red status conditions often napiter shut down, difficult to communicate, and seem rebellious so that the process of deradicalization does not run optimally like the example of suicide bombers in Bandung.

Deradicalization has not been evenly carried out and attempted by various parties, as previously described above, that in handling terrorism and Prevention Through deradicalization must work together with all relevant stakeholders, one of the main factors is because the regulation is not strong. Law no.5 of 2018 has indeed become the latest rule regarding terrorism, after that PP no.77 in 2019, after the two regulations came out, a presidential regulation should have been issued that also highlights this deradicalization issue, Why is this important? If the Presidential Regulation has been dropped then the regional head regulation comes out, then the ministerial regulation, if the issue of deradicalization has been regulated at every institutional and governmental level then of course this will run optimally.<sup>18</sup>

The emptiness of the rules or the existence of half-regulation finally makes stakeholders feel not obliged to participate in the deradicalization program, the urgency of terrorist prevention with deradicalization does not fully exist in all agencies and institutions because the regulations do not flow to the bottom, this is very important because the bureaucracy in each institution and agency is different also related to the work program, if the regulations do not go down, it is only natural that deradicalization does not go down and spread evenly, whereas it would be better if the prevention and understanding of

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<sup>16</sup> Andrew Silke, "Prisons, Terrorism and Extremism "Critical Issues in Management, Radicalisation, and Reform" New York: Routhledge, 2014 p. 126

<sup>17</sup> Adhe Surya Bakti, "Peta Pelaku Bom Thamrin" Makalah dalam Forum Discussion Group "Isis dan Gerakan dan Jaringan teroris Baru", Pakar (Pusat Kajian Terorisme), Jakarta, 2016 hasil penelitian sosial menyebutkan bahwa Sunakim dan Juhanda para pelaku bom Samarinda pada tahun 2016 merupakan contoh kegagalan deradikalisasi di dalam penjara. Keduanya justru menjadi lebih radikal dan kembali melakukan aksi terorisme setelah keluar dari penjara

<sup>18</sup> Reeza Andi Nova, "Kajian Implementasi Undang-undang No.5 Tahun 2018 tentang Tindak Pidana Terorisme (Studi Kasus Deradikalisasi Detasemen Khusus 88 AT Polri)", Tesis, Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia, 2022 lihat juga Ria Angin, Membangun Kesadaran Kritis Generasi Muda dari Radikalisme dan Terorisme yang Mendorong NKRI, *Jurnal Penngabdian Masyarakat IPTE*, 4 no 2 (2018): 124-127

Pancasila ideology always continue to be strengthened by each institution to defeat the radical ideology, so that the concept of prevention is really carried out carefully.

Still related to the distribution of deradicalization that has not been maximized, BNPT itself has a considerable budget, but what is done actually seems formal and certain things, this is still often the case only with seminars and FGDs (Focus Group Discussion), the lack of penetration of targets exposed to radicalism makes deradicalization also hampered, this should be responded to by monitoring conditions in the community, as well as monitoring the prisoners in the community, education and socialization must enter the interior of Indonesia, not only in big cities, therefore, the existing budget is expected to be maximized its use, if all levels of society understand about radicalism and counter terrorist contract then of course early detection can occur, and prevention can be done.<sup>19</sup>

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Based on what has been described above, this paper assesses that the deradicalization program is not a program that can be assessed directly as a failed program, deradicalization must be remembered as a reflection of the bad and hard handling (hard approach) so that the form of humanism and respect for human rights can actually be reflected by the existence of deradicalization, with the deradicalization, it also indicates that the government is paying attention to those who commit these crimes. Meanwhile, this paper also tries to look neutrally that deradicalization still has too many gaps and short comings, in some aspects of deradicalization is only used as a formality, claims to the success of deradicalization are often too fast, the fact that bandung bombers have gone through the stage of deradicalization indicates that homework related to handling and preventing terrorism is still too much, and, the government must immediately make serious rules that break through all institutions and agencies so that every element of the country can work together in deradicalization and counter terrorism.

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