

# TNI Strategy in Countering Terrorism: Study of Involvement of Former Terrorist Convicts with TNI in Deradicalization Activities in the TMMD Program

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## Abstract

*Collaboration between actors is needed for deradicalization programs, not only institutional actors (institutions) but actors outside of institutions need to be involved for the deradicalization process as a form of national resilience. This paper discusses the involvement of former terrorist convicts (Napiter) who are the members of the Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian (YLP) and the TNI (Indonesian Armed Forces) during the effort of deradicalization through the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa (TMMD) program. This research was conducted with the object of former terrorist convicts by conducting interviews, documentation studies and observations. The analysis of this research with a collaborative governance theory approach with qualitative research methods. From this study it was found that the synergy between TNI and ex-terrorist convicts must be integrated for deradicalization process through the TMMD implementation program so that the national resilience will be realized.*

## Keywords

Collaboration of actors; TNI; ex-terrorist convicts; deradicalization; national resilience



## I. Introduction

One form of threat that has become a national or international issue is the development of radical groups that use the name of religion that has led to terrorism. In Indonesian, the terrorism action that occur has an ideological, historical, and political linkage likewise a part of the strategic environment influence at the global and regional levels. Although the acts of terrorism that have occurred in Indonesia in recent years are mostly carried out by Indonesians and only a few people as the intellectual actors from overseas, it cannot be denied that the current terrorism actions are a combination of domestic actors (indigenous) and those who have transnational network (Prasetyo, 2016). Terrorism sounds so thrilling and scary because after its actions it is always discussed excitedly in all mass media. The consequences that are occurred other than the fear itself are the loss of life and invaluable property (Purwawidada, 2014).

The development of national law in the security sector should be a priority because by continuing this development, the Indonesian national security system will have a clear formulation based on law, as Indonesia is a country that adheres to the civil law legal system. A clear perspective on national security will be useful to counter various forms of threats, both military, non-military or hybrid in general and terrorism crimes in particular (Ankotta and Disemadi, 2020). Deradicalization must include collaboration between stakeholders to support the success of a program.

Collaboration between actors is indeed necessary for the deradicalization program, not only actors at the institutional level but also the role of non-formal actors (former terrorist convicts) embodied in the Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian (YLP). The TNI (Indonesian Armed Forces) is one of the institutional actors who also has a role in

maintaining the nation's security from terrorism as stated in the Indonesian Constitution No. 34 about TNI in Military Operation for War (OMP) and Military Operations Besides War (OMSP). The tasks in OMSP includes early empowering the defensive area and its supporting forces in accordance with the Universal Defense System and assisting the tasks of regional government. To be able to carry out these tasks, the TNI uses the Bakti Operations Pattern, one of which is implemented in the form of the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa (TMMD) which is carried out in an integrated manner by the TNI in collaboration with the National Police, Ministries, Non-Ministerial Government Agencies, Regional Governments and other Community Components. TMMD aims to assist Regency/Municipal Governments in accelerating development to improve community welfare through physical and non-physical targets and to strengthen the Unity of the TNI and people in order to prepare fighting space, fighting equipment and tough fighting conditions. The collaboration between the TNI and the Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian (YLP) is trying to reach out former terrorist convicts who are often marginalized due to various stigmas in society.

Lingkar Perdamaian is a foundation located in Tenggulun village, Solokuro district, Lamongan Regency, which was founded on 29 November 2016 by Ali Fauzi Manzi, a former combatant in terrorism case who had undergone military training in the South Philippines and he is the younger brother of the trio of Bali bombers Amrozi, Ali Gufron alias Mukhlas and Ali Imron. This foundation accommodates ex-terrorist convicts to be invited to leave their destructive thoughts and finally be able to live a normal life again with the community. However, the steps taken are not easy, many steep paths are encountered such as threats from terrorist groups that are still active, lack of skills and assets to start a life as a normal person also the stigma of people who still hate their sins and actions in the past. These obstacles and problems if not handled properly by the government and related institutions will make them desperate and eventually return to the dark path of life they have taken before. Kodim 0812/ Lamongan as one of the Satkowil under Kodam V/Brawijaya realizes this problem and try to embrace them and ask the former terrorist convicts to return to the right path within the Republic of Indonesia.

The purpose of this study is to determine the role of actors in the deradicalization program process which is translated through the involvement of former terrorist convicts and the TNI in deradicalization activities in the TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa (TMMD) program. This study analyzes the collaboration between the TNI and the Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian (YLP) which shade the former terrorist convicts. The method that is used in this study is a qualitative research method, with the aim of finding, understanding, explaining, and obtaining a description of the cooperative relationship between the TNI and former terrorist convicts in the deradicalization program (Neuman, 2014). Techniques or methods used by researchers to collect data are interviews, study documentation and observation. This study uses qualitative data analysis as proposed by Miles and Huberman (2014) in principle consisting of several procedures, namely: data reduction (data reduction), data presentation (data display), drawing conclusions or verification (concluding drawings).

## II. Research Method

This research approach is descriptive qualitative with data collection techniques in the form of In-Dept Interviews, observations, and document studies. The analysis technique used is the Interactive Model Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (2014), namely data condensation, data display (data display) and conclusion/verification (Conclusion) as interwoven before, during, and after collection of data in parallel forms, to build general insight is referred to as an analysis.

## III. Results and Discussion

### 3.1 The synergy between the TNI (Indonesian Armed Forces) and former terrorist convicts through a collaborative governance approach

The current implementation of the deradicalization program carried out by authorized institutions such as the TNI-Polri is only limited to the level of policy makers at the Headquarters or central level as in the scope of the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs and BNPT, has not been able to be implemented to the front unit level such as at the Koramil (Babinsa) and Polsek (Bhabinkamtibmas) (Prasetyo, 2016). Deradicalization efforts should be through collaboration with various parties, not only those who have the authority, but also elements of the community who have links to be involved. The involvement of civil society in the specification of ex-terrorist convicts also needs to be included in the deradicalization process.

The deradicalization program with the involvement of terrorist convicts was carried out in 2005 and was pioneered by the National Police, in particular the Police Bombing Task Force under the leadership of Brigadier General Pol. Surya Dharma. The initial goal of this program is to make certain terrorist prisoners cooperative with the police and are expected to provide various information that supports investigations and investigations (Prasetya, 2016). In the theoretical approach of collaborative governance, it demands cooperation between the processes and structures in public policy that involves constructive actors from various levels, both at the government level and/or public agencies, private institutions, and civil society to achieve public goals together (O'Flynn, Janine and Wanna, 2008: 3). Not only in formal institutions cooperation process, but also the involvement of civil society also has a significant influence if it is included in the process, especially in terms of deradicalization.

The collaboration between the TNI and former terrorist convicts who are members of the Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian (YLP) is a form of involvement outside the government structure with the same goal as stated by Ansell & Gash that the government has a need to formalize the involvement of parties outside the government in a special institution to maximize the process. walking (Ansell & Gash, 2008). The collaborative governance process has several supporting factors, namely starting conditions (initial conditions), institutional design (institutional design), facilitative leadership (leadership facilitation), and the collaborative process (collaboration process) as the core (Ansell & Gash, 2012). Each of these aspects is reduced to a more detailed variable. The collaboration process factor is and is treated as the core of the model with the initial conditions, institutional design, and leadership facilitation being represented as important factors in influencing the collaboration process.

Initial conditions are measured in terms of prehistory regarding cooperation or conflict, level or level of trust, and incentives that are sources or drivers of participation. Institutional design is seen in terms of the basic rules of where and how collaboration takes

place, inclusive participation, formal forums, and transparent processes. Leadership facilitation is measured in the presence of mediation and facilitation from the leadership for a collaborative process, equality between collaborators and clarity and certainty of information. As for the aspect of the collaboration process, it will depend on the establishment of face-to-face dialogue through good faith to maintain trust between actors as the basis for the emergence of commitment to the process and mutual understanding between collaborators towards the shared goals being collaborated.

TNI collaboration with other stakeholders as a driving force for the success of the deradicalization program because the TNI has intelligence capabilities and territorial capabilities as stated in Article 7 paragraph (2) of Constitution Number 34 of 2004 and has a chain of command to the village level through Babinsa (Bintara Pembina Village). The TNI is the cornerstone of law enforcement to eradicate terrorism and take pre-emptive, preventive, and repressive actions against the threat of terrorism. The TNI cannot carry out a single institutional task. The synergy between the TNI and other stakeholders in deradicalization is expected to be able to eliminate the development of terrorism in Indonesia. Synergy is togetherness in thinking and acting to achieve common goals with the results obtained are joint results, and are more effective, efficient, also optimal than implementing partially or individually.

### **3.2 Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian (YLP) as TNI Partner in the Deradicalization Process**

Concern for the families of former terrorist convicts intrigued Ali Fauzi, a former Filipino bomb maker who hates the Republic of Indonesia and the nation security force (police and TNI). Police and TNI for him are a thaghut, a traitor of religion. Therefore, for Ali Fauzi the police and TNI as nation security guards must be slaughtered/killed with violence for betraying religion. One day when Ali Fauzi was sick and vomiting blood which then was taken to the hospital and paid for the hospital expense by a member of the police, Ali Fauzi was amazed that not all police and TNI were the person who arbitrarily acted without values and ethics.

Departing from this concern, an idea emerged from Ali Fauzi to establish a foundation for deradicalization in Lamongan which was later named the Lingkar Peace Foundation (YLP). YLP is a foundation engaged in countering terrorism movements in Lamongan Regency in general. This foundation is also motivated by the various fates experienced by the families of former convicts (terrorist convicts). The families of ex-convicts are isolated from society, the local community considers them to be destroyers of the village's good name. In addition, their children also have difficulty in finding work. The name of the Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian (YLP) is associated with the tragedy of the past which has always carried out radical actions in the name of religion.

The vision of this foundation is "to take care for ukhuwah to create peace" with the mission of providing a new community for ex-convicts and combatants so that they do not return to their old communities. The general purpose of this foundation is as an alternative to the former terrorist convicts' first return home before interacting with the wider community. The Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian (YLP) actually started its activities in 2012 but was only inaugurated in 2016. The journey of this institution is not short and its existence in carrying out deradicalization needs to be appreciated. The Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian (YLP) and the TNI (Indonesian Armed Forces) in Lamongan district work together to carry out the deradicalization process by collaborating on the TMMD (TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa) program.



### **3.3 Collaborative efforts of the TNI and ex-terrorist convicts in the deradicalization program**

Deradicalization efforts with the implementation of TMMD in Lamongan district are in accordance with the theme, namely "The Synergy of Building the Country" which involves the community, religious leaders, traditional leaders, youth leaders and other components of the nation to provide positive contributions and active participation in the implementation of activities. This activity was carried out after going through a long planning in the previous year starting from the development planning meeting at the village level, sub-district level, district level until finally it was included in the local government work plan and realized TMMD activities the following year. At this planning stage, Kodim 0812/Lamongan caught the anxiety of ex-convicts in the Solokuro sub-district and the existence of villages that were still remote in the area so that finally a plan was made to conduct activities that could raise people's welfare and overcome ideological vulnerabilities in the form of the 109th TMMD.

At the beginning of this planning, it was very difficult especially to convince these ex-terrorist convicts to be invited to TMMD activities because: 1) There was doubt from the ex-terrorist convicts whether they could be reinstated by the community due to the past sins they had inscribed. 2) The fear from the society itself if the presence of the former terrorist convicts can influence the people's thought to become terrorists. 3) Economic reasons, where former terrorist convicts have to work to earn money while in TMMD activities do not get wages. 4) Minimum carpentry skills of ex-terrorist convict.

Responding to this problem, Kodim Commander actively communicates with the former terrorists through a social interaction (visit) to the Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian (YLP), ask the former convicts to do an exercise together, provides free grocery and involves them in Community Development activities to prevent radicalism at Kodim HQ. In addition, Kodim Commander also carried out communication with the cangkrukan model with the village leader, religious leaders, and local youth leaders about the plan to involve former terrorist convicts in TMMD activities in their village. This is to eliminate people's fear to the presence of ex-terrorist convicts' plan in their village which is worried to affect the community with the radical ideology.

Thanks to long and intensive social communication, finally the implementation of the 109th TMMD activity can be conducted by empowering all community components to work on physical and non-physical targets that have been planned previously. The active participation of ex-terrorist convicts makes this activity even more meaningful and has its own value. Together with TNI, Polri, government and private institutions also the community collaborate each other to work hard to complete every objective that have been set. During the 30 days of performing these activities, they chatted and worked together to remove the barriers and negative stigma that had appeared in their thoughts and feelings. This activity has completed 15 units of livable housing, 900 m of concrete rebate roads, 2500 m of irrigation canal pipes, 2 units of shelter houses, dredging of reservoirs, normalization of irrigation channels, construction of volleyball fields and 1 unit of Neighborhood Security Post. In addition, TMMD activities also completed some non-physical targets as if blood donation activities, national insight, socialization of radicalism prevention and 12 other non-physical target activities. At the end of the activity, a ceremony for the Pledge of Love to the Republic of Indonesia was held. The form of this activity is the raising and saluting the red and white flag conducted by ex-terrorist convicts who were involved in TMMD activities located in the yard of the house that they have built and witnessed by the community and officials who were present as evidence of their love and loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia.

The involvement of ex-terrorist convicts in TMMD is very beneficial for all parties apart from the Lamongan Kodim 0812 as the organizer, this activity is also useful for: 1) Neutralizing Radical understanding in their thoughts and souls and supporting Deradicalization activities performed by BNPT. 2) Helping ex-terrorist convicts to be more confident in front of the community, from being an enemy of the community to being a useful person. 3) As a penance for their past, this is in accordance with their expression that there are not a good people without a past and no bad people without a future. 4) Demonstrating the existence of their awareness, love, loyalty to the community and the Republic of Indonesia. 5) Provide inspiration for other terrorist convicts, both those who are outside and still in prison to leave their Radical understanding and return to being loyal to the of the Republic of Indonesia. 6) Providing an understanding of the dangers of terrorism to the community through their outreach activities. 7) Increase the intimacy of former terrorist prisoners with the community when carrying out physical activities together something that is rarely found in other areas because in general the live of terrorist prisoners rarely socialize and even tend to isolate themselves. 8) Increase the intimacy of former terrorist convicts with the TNI-Polri where previously they were two mutually hostile parties. 9) There is an openness about the problems faced by ex-convicts to help relevant institutions to find solutions. 10) As a manifestation of the state's presence in paying attention to former terrorists. 11) Adding skills for ex-terrorists.

The success of the TMMD activity by involving former convicts also received appreciation from the TNI leadership through winning in three TMMD Competition categories at once, namely the Task Force Commander Category, Kapendam Category and Electronic Media Category, each of which won the 2nd Place. One of the strong reasons for this victory was the ability of Kodim in mobilizing ex-convicts and other components of the nation to be actively involved in TMMD activities.

#### **IV. Conclusion**

The involvement of ex-terrorist convicts with the TNI and other components of the nation in TMMD activities is a strategic value in terms of improving community welfare which can accelerate regional development and can create strong regional resilience. The synergy in collaboration between actors such as TNI, Ministries or non-ministerial government agencies and local governments, ex-terrorist convicts and all other components of society to be implemented in an integrated and unified.

With the large benefits of involving former terrorist convicts in TMMD activities as a manifestation of TNI Service Operations, it is recommended that the TNI provide a priority program for Satkowil with former terrorist convicts in their area to intensively conduct TNI Service Operations activities because this has proven to be effective in the Deradicalization program.

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