

Santoso's Jihadism, Deradicalization, and Humanization: A Preliminary Investigation on Indonesian Terrorism

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Abstract

Santoso, the East Indonesia Mujahidin (Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia Timur) terrorist kingpin, was one of the products of the Deradicalisation program, which after being released from prison from this program, later became a terrorist again. Even the action is more daring and frightening. Terrorism, to some extent, has been a critical issue in Indonesia. Latest, Santoso, a frontman of terrorists based in Poso, central Sulawesi, can be terminated. His radical adventures in Poso and East Indonesia have inspired many youths in Poso and other areas in Indonesia to follow his bloody road to carry out holy war against the secular democracy in



Indonesia. The rise of acts of terrorism by Santoso at that time makes the public ask: How far is the deradicalization program? Why do the various community groups become more radical and brave against the apparatus/officers who promote the deradicalization program? Humanization leads to the prevention or overcoming of intensification of conflict and escalation of violence, covering the way for human rights violations or acts of genocide. Humanization refers to a strategy designed to reduce the dynamics of conflict that are destructive and face violence, especially terrorism, as the culmination of radicalism. Indonesia is still not free from inter-religious conflict. Religion, which should be eager to spread liberation and peace for our fellow human beings, is just often breached, even disturbing the integrity of Unity in Diversity. Deradicalization also include humanization because it takes the participation of sincere and serious attention.

[Santoso, gembong teroris Mujahidin Indonesia Timur, adalah salah satu sosok produk dari program Deradikalisasi, yang setelah dibebaskan dari penjara, dari program ini, kemudian menjadi teroris kembali. Bahkan aksinya lebih berani dan menakutkan. Untuk tingkat tertentu, terorisme telah menjadi isu kritis di Indonesia. Santoso, pentolan teroris yang bermarkas di Poso, Sulawesi Tengah dapat dihentikan. Petualangan radikalnya di Poso dan Indonesia Timur telah menginspirasi banyak pemuda di Poso dan daerah lain di Indonesia untuk mengikuti petualangan berdarahnya dalam upaya melakukan perang suci melawan demokrasi sekuler di Indonesia. Maraknya aksi terorisme yang dilakukan Santoso saat itu membuat publik bertanya-tanya: sejauh mana program deradikalisasi? Mengapa berbagai kelompok masyarakat semakin radikal dan berani melawan aparat/petugas yang menggalakkan program deradikalisasi? Humanisasi mengarah pada pencegahan atau penanggulangan intensifikasi konflik dan eskalasi kekerasan, menutupi jalan bagi pelanggaran hak asasi manusia atau tindakan genosida. Humanisasi mengacu pada strategi yang dirancang untuk meredam dinamika konflik yang bersifat destruktif dan menghadapi kekerasan, khususnya terorisme, dalam hal ini sebagai puncak dari radikalisme. Indonesia masih belum bebas dari konflik antaragama. Agama yang seharusnya bersemangat menebar kebebasan dan kedamaian bagi sesama manusia justru sering dilanggar, bahkan mengganggu keutuhan “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika”. Deradikalisasi juga mencakup humanisasi karena membutuhkan partisipasi yang tulus dan perhatian yang serius.]

Keywords: Santoso; terrorism; jihadism; humanization; deradicalization



Introduction

The emergence of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) has encouraged the Indonesian government to focus on deradicalization programs through various social, cultural, and economic alternatives, even including through campaigns in social media. However, only a handful of new ideas and concrete steps have been taken. The government should glance at the idea of a humanization program as an alternative of equivalent or complementary to the deradicalization program terrorist.

The Indonesian government did deradicalization as one way to soft (soft-approach) tackle terrorism in Indonesia after the Bali bomb in 2002, but the program is not running well. Deradicalization to alter or eliminate the radical ideologies in Indonesia up to now proved to be ineffective. This method was also applied to those who are already affected understand even long before the radical *takfiri* ideology into Indonesia along with the entry ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria).¹

We provide here an example of the process of deradicalization given to Santoso (Abu Wardah), the terrorist leader of the Indonesian Mujahidin East (MIT) who has been given positions and assets in the form of money from the subdistrict of Poso. But then, that economic capital is used to hire men in his group and fund activities nuances of radicalism. Actually, he is a hero among his followers and supporters in Poso and its surrounding area.

In the context of terrorism and Islamic extremism, Bassam Tibi describes Islamism as a political ideology based on a reinvented version of Islamic law. The reinvention of jihadism as terrorism, the invented tradition of sharia law as constitutional order, and the Islamists' confusion of the concepts of authenticity and cultural purity is a kind of religionized politics. Tibi has identified extreme Islamism as a

¹ Herdi Sahrasad and Al Chaidar, *Fundamentalisme, Terorisme dan Radikalisme: Perspektif atas Agama, Masyarakat dan Negara*, Jakarta: CSS-UI & Freedom Foundation, 2017. Dedy Tabrani, Al Chaidar, and Herdi Sahrasad, *Globalism, Terrorism and Islamism in Southeast Asia*, Jakarta: Madani Press, 2020.



totalitarian ideology. According to Tibi, Islam is a religion, whereas Islamism means regionalization of politics or religionized politics. So, what was done by the extremists is Islamism, not Islam.² Finally, borrowing Tibi's perspective, the current world is experiencing what he called the clash between fundamentalism versus common sense and that radical Islamism is a dangerous form of "religionized politics" with strong affinities totalitarianism, anti-the West, and anti-Semitism. Tibi's idea is important to prevent the growth of extreme Islamism in Indonesia to prevent the growth of terrorism and prevent the failure of deradicalization.³

Amid the current situation in which our nation is experiencing terrorism, disharmony, vulnerability, and the decline of Pancasila and pluralism in the midst of religious radicalism, Bassam Tibi's perspective on "Islamism and Islam" is very interesting and relevant. Islamism is marked by the names of Islamic extremism thinkers like Sayyid Qutb, Hassan al-Banna, or Yusuf al-Qardhawi, who are very popular in Islamic studies and political science.⁴

The feud between religious communities and schools of thought in Indonesia has increased, and the occurrence of acts of terrorism, defamation, claims misguided, anti-pluralism, otherwise extremism ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) has repeated. Islamic religious legitimacy has been made in any violence and terrorism that kill innocent human beings. A speech of hatred and hatred teachings already infecting nearly all citizens, because of due, in part, the effects of social media. The emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and its network and supporters in Southeast Asia had been enlarged in social media and cyberspace, indicating ISIS is the most extreme Islamism in the world today.

² Bassam Tibi, *Islamism and Islam*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2012.

³ Solahudin, *NII Sampai Ji: Salafi Jihadisme di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2011.

⁴ Bassam Tibi, *Islamism and Islam*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2012.



Terrorism: Reinvention of Jihadism

Santoso, the terrorist leader who had led the raid and the murder of three policemen in Palu in 2011, is a former target of deradicalization programs. Santoso group attacked a police station in Poso in 2012. Santoso also is the mastermind of suicide bombings in Poso police station in 2013. Sidney Jones, Director of the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC, 2015) cites four reasons for the lack of deradicalization program in Indonesia.⁵

First, although the former radicals have the credibility to influence the more radical sense, these efforts are a minimal success. The radicals are known to have cooperated with the police finally discredited by *the group*.

Second, the government-funded rehabilitation program to deal with the jihadists who are released from prison failed. The radicals do not have the skills, no jobs, and finally back to the circle of militants they know.

Third, the lack of an official budget for the deradicalization program, so because of financial difficulties, the police failed to fulfill promises to help they are committed to the radical group. As a result, the terrorists were disappointed and no longer interested in providing information.

Fourth, Indonesia's corrupt prison system has been shown to damage the deradicalization program. They actually make the prison a place of recruitment and a central command which is connected with other radicals.

In this case, lack of scientific knowledge about terrorism and radicalism among academics also be a reason for the failure of

⁵ International Crisis Group, "Deradicalisation and Indonesian Prisons," *Asia Report no.142*, November 19, 2007, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/indonesia/deradicalisation-and-indonesian-prisons>; See: Al Chaidar, "Menimbang Program Deradikalisasi," *Media Indonesia*, June 22, 2016, <https://mediaindonesia.com/opini/57419/menimbang-program-deradikalisasi>.



deradicalization. During this time, the concept of deradicalization which is used as a rehabilitation program in non-clinical psychology, derived from the immature theoretical formulation. Knowledge of radicalism and terrorism based on ideology and movement research is needed to break the radical ideologies wrong.

The repeated acts of terror not only caused the weakness of the Terrorism Act but also must be seen as a failure of the deradicalization of the ex-terrorists. This time deradicalization carried by BNPT and correctional institutions (Lembaga Pemasyarakatan) has failed since the suicide bombing in Poso District Police Station (2013), Central Sulawesi. The presence of suicide bombings in Solo and the wave of an exodus of terrorists into Syria and Mindanao reflects the failure of the deradicalization program, which the government heralded in an effort to prevent acts of terrorism in the country.

Based on data that the authors found in the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), the number of cases of violence and terrorism in Poso increased throughout 2015 according to table 1, as follows:

Table 1
Number of Terrorism Cases in Poso Regency 2016-2017

No	Year	Amount	Victim
1	2016	15 Cases	5 were killed including the security forces
2	2017	62 Cases	9 killed, 12 injured

Source: National Counter-Terrorism Agency, 2017

Based on table 1, the data shows that the number of terrorism cases in 2016 was 15 and killed five people, including those from the police; in 2017, there was an increase of 62 cases, killing nine people and 12 people injured. Meanwhile, based on IPAC data, in the last two years, the police have arrested 345 suspected terrorists. The details are 262 people in 2019 and 83 people in 2020.



Someone who returned to terrorism after he got out of jail is considered as a failure to deradicalization undertaken by the government. Until now, the deradicalization program does not have a clear concept. Currently, the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Religious Affairs, the National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT), and the State Intelligence Agency (BIN) still use the concept of deradicalization as a non-clinical rehabilitation program. However, the program is not integrated with each other.

Although National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) is often denied that the deradicalization program has failed, and evidence of failures can also be seen in Fadli Sadama, a recidivist who robberies in Medan and Aceh; also he uses the results of the money to commit acts of terrorism. Fadli Sadama was following the deradicalization programs undertaken by the government, but he later returned to terror activities. Deradicalization programs that rely on a change of ideology are no longer considered to address the problem of radicalism and terrorism effectively.

The government has implemented deradicalization as one way of soft-approach to tackle terrorism in Indonesia after the Bali bomb in 2002, but the program is not running well. In Indonesia, deradicalization to alter or eliminate radical ideologies proved ineffective in general. This method was not successfully applied to those already affected by the radical Takfirism ideology into Indonesia even long before the entry of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) into Indonesia.

Sidney Jones in 2013, director of the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), provides an example of the process of deradicalization given to Santoso alias Abu Wardah, the terrorist leader of the Indonesian Mujahidin East (MIT) who have been given positions and assets in the form of money from the subdistrict of Poso , But then, that capital is used to hire men in his group and fund activities nuances of radicalism.

Police claim Santoso has led the raid and the murder of three policemen in Palu in 2011. The group also attacked the police station in Poso in 2012. Santoso also is the mastermind of suicide bombings in



Poso Police in 2013. Santoso's actions have to a certain extent inspired and stimulated the actions of terrorists in Indonesia

In this regard, based on IPAC data, in the last two years (2019-2020), the police have arrested 345 suspected terrorists. The details are 262 people in 2019 and 83 people in 2020.

Table 2
Suspected Terrorist

	2019 ARRESTS		2020 ARRESTS	
Total Number	262		83	
Average Age	33		36	
	JI	Pro-ISIS	JI	JAD
<20	-	13	-	-
21-25	4	47	2	12
>26	21	167	24	45
Average age	37	32	39	34
Total Number	25	226	26	57
Convicted	24	221	1	10
Detained	1	2	25	43
Killed	-	-	-	4
Custodial Death	-	2	-	-

Source: Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict-IPAC (2021)

Weak scientific knowledge about terrorism and radicalism among academics also be a reason for the failure of deradicalization. During this time, the concept of deradicalization which is used as a rehabilitation program in non-clinical psychology, derived from the immature theoretical formulation. The knowledge of radicalism and terrorism, based on research ideology movement, is needed to break the radical ideologies; it is wrong.

A premature formulation of a deradicalization program is derived from the wrong paradigms and theories. Academics have not increased their role in investigating terrorism because of the limited



budget and knowledge. They should participate in developing the unconventional view (non-conventional perspective) about radicalism. Deradicalization programs for the militants by the Indonesian government were assessed as weak in the absence of political agreement on the forms of extremism as considered a dangerous one. During this time, Indonesia's deradicalization programs are ineffective and are not based on the research of where and how radicalization happens.

The key to developing these programs to be more effective is through in-depth research, such as ethnography of terrorism. Ethnographic terrorism contains interviews and analysis of biographical data to be key in the formulation of an effective counter-terrorism program. However, the study does not fully guarantee success in deradicalization efforts, but, at least, the programs are based on concrete data to avoid fatal failure.⁶ For that matter, the deradicalization needs to be reformed and perfected with the humanization program.

Humanization

One of the significant humanization programs is to provide formal and informal education so that terrorists recognize other humans. Terrorists will change their thinking if given community education and the introduction of more pluralistic and multicultural. Introducing them to other human communities in various locations that experienced the unfortunate will bear hidden reflections that will change the ideology of the terrorists.

Terrorists must be introduced in plural communities of diverse cultures and languages so that they know each other and appreciate the value of humanity. The terrorist had been living in a monolithic community, and there are even exclusive asocial or anti-social. Thus, a humanization program should be designed to open their minds so fond of God's creatures with different religions, professions, races, and

⁶ Marguerite Afra Sapiie, "Rethinking Deradicalization Approach," *The Jakarta Post*, January 23, 2016, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/01/23/rethinking-deradicalization-approach.html>.



beliefs. Indicates the success of deradicalization is when the former terrorists think reflectively about *what does it mean to be human*.

Through formal and informal education programs, for instance, humanities on pluralism and multiculturalism, then terrorists can know other humans. Good people usually do not kill other humans. Man who intends to kill, eliminate, or commit genocide against another human being should be excluded from the moral community of human beings themselves. Here, humanization is the fight against violence, oppression, and dehumanization. Its effect recognizes the inherent dignity of the human person and the rights of all members of the human family.⁷ We were convinced that there are some reasons that the humanization process was also important to be used in Indonesia's deradicalization programs.

First, humanization is the willingness to recognize the humanity of the opponent, the enemy. Seeing the enemy as parties outside the human community in which the moral norms in force may encourage aggression and legitimize violence. However, recognize the characteristics of human beings with one another can help to limit the escalation of conflict and violence.⁸

Second, humanization can promote dialogue that helps to remove stereotypes about a terrorist or group of people who are perceived as evil. Once a person is seen not as a criminal but as a fellow human being with moral considerations, then the conflict can be reframed in a more humane and productive way. Dialogue can also help deepen the level of understanding between groups in conflict, such as terrorists and government officials.⁹

Third, humanization can help to erode or limit the spread of terrorism and escalation of conflict and reduce the possibility of mass

⁷ Jeffrey Z. Rubin, Dean G. Pruitt, and Sung Hee Kim, *Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate, and Settlement* (London: McGraw Hill, 1994), 105.

⁸ Susan Opatow, "Drawing the Line: Social Categorization, Moral Exclusion, and the Scope of Justice," in *Conflict, Cooperation and Justice: Essays Inspired by the Work of Morton Deutsch*, ed. Morton Deutsch, Barbara Bunker, and Jeffrey Rubin (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1995), 360.

⁹ Jay Rothman, *Resolving Identity-Based Conflict in Nations, Organizations, and Communities* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1997), 44.



violence or genocide. Parties who consider others as people or each other as human will make people (terrorists) find it much more difficult to rationalize the rough tactics, justify brutal acts, or ignore human rights norms.¹⁰

Fourth, humanization can also play a role in preventing terrorism and conflict resolution more generally. Humanization can be an important component in building a cooperative relationship between the conflict parties and build mutual trust and promote constructive resolution. Humanity realizes the opposing parties, for example, can pave the way for mutual respect, mutual trust, and mutual maintain common security.¹¹

Fifth, humanization can also pave the way for mutual or two hostile parties while building confidence by making equality a fellow human being and creating shared norms to limit the conflict. There should be a mutual awareness that each party, terrorist, and state apparatus must treat the other with fairness, equality, and respect as a very deep expression of humanity. In this case, human equality means that all human beings should be fair, equal, and have mutual respect.¹²

It should be underlined that terrorism is a crime against humanity and civilization and is one of the serious threats against the sovereignty of each state, including Indonesia. Nowadays, terrorism has already an International crime that causes danger to the security and peace in the world and undermines society welfare. The eradication of terrorism is needed continuously and unceasingly in planning and action so that the rights of the people can be protected and promoted highly.

Furthermore, humanization can focus on commonalities of interests that recognize the common humanity of one's opponent.

¹⁰ Michelle Maiese, *Humanization Beyond Intractability*, Eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess, Conflict Information Consortium (Boulder: University of Colorado, 2003).

¹¹ Morton Deutsch, "Justice and Conflict," in *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*, ed. Morton Deutsch and Peter Coleman (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, Inc., 2000), 51.

¹² David Hamburg, "Preventing Contemporary Intergroup Violence," in *The Handbook for Interethnic Coexistence*, ed. Eugene Weiner (New York: Continuum Publishing, 1998), 31.



Humanization can occur through the exchange of information and ideas and the discovery of common goals.¹³

Humanization can also allow one party saw another that their opponents are also dignified human beings. Thus, humanization can be an essential component of countermeasures of terrorism and conflict transformation to find a constructive resolution. A key in developing these programs to be more effective is through in-depth research, for example, ethnography of terrorism. Ethnographic terrorism contains interviews and analysis of biographical data that is very good to be a key in the formulation of an effective counter-terrorism program. However, the research does not fully guarantee the successes in deradicalization efforts, so that the programs that are not based on concrete data would be guaranteed to fail.¹⁴

BNPT was established in 2010 after the bombing incident in two major hotels in Jakarta and the unfolding of a plan to attack President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, all of which occurred in 2009; it seems lesser adequate and mature in formulating this terrorist rehabilitation program. The program then failed to provide a practical solution when Indonesia was hit by two bombings in Bali in 2002 and 2005, targeting tourist areas in the south of the Bali island. In two events, 230 people were killed while hundreds of others were wounded. The second attack was conducted by Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), which is affiliated with al-Qaida.

Since then, the elite “Densus 88” counter-terrorism has focused on tackling the terrorist threat in formal- legal action. Nevertheless, detachment is also often accused of committing abuses of power against innocent civilians along the way. Meanwhile, BNPT continues to work with former members of radical groups and the great scholars of the Middle East to fill a lecture in several prisons and schools. However,

¹³ Michelle Maiese, *Humanization Beyond Intractability*. Eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Information Consortium (Boulder: University of Colorado, 2003).

¹⁴ International Crisis Group, “Deradicalization and Indonesian Prisons,” *Asia Report no.142*, 13, November 19, 2007, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/indonesia/deradicalisation-and-indonesian-prisons>.



this program was also judged to be ineffective and only became a laughingstock by academicians. Indonesia is at a high level of vigilance after the bombing and shootout action in *Jalan Thamrin*, Jakarta (2016), in which four civilians and four terrorists were killed. ISIS claimed to be behind the attack, the first attack of the militant group in Southeast Asia. Here, it can be revealed that at least two of the perpetrators are former convicts who have been serving their sentence under a deradicalization program and were released from jail.

The emergence of ISIS has encouraged the Indonesian government to focus on deradicalization programs through campaigns in social media. However, it is only a handful of new ideas that have been done. The government should glance at the idea of a humanization program as an alternative of equivalent or complementary to a deradicalization program for the former terrorists.

Terrorists will change their thinking if they are *taught* informal/formal education about human beings and the introduction of more pluralistic and multicultural education. Introducing them to other human communities in various locations that experienced the bombing and the unfortunate will bear inner reflection that will change the ideology of the terrorists. Terrorists must be introduced in plural communities of diverse cultures and languages to know each other and appreciate the value of humanity. The terrorist had been living in a monolithic community, and there are even exclusive asocial or anti-social environments. Thus, there should be a design of a humanization program that opened their minds so found of God's creatures with different religions, professions, races, and beliefs. One of the indications about the success of the deradicalization program is when the former terrorists think reflectively about what does it mean to be a human being.

Humanization Approach: Why Not?

Through the Coordinating Minister Political, Legal, and Security, Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, the government is considering granting a pardon to the rest of the members of the Santoso group on the condition of surrender. Previously, the amnesty was also promised to *Minimi Din*, the former leaders of armed groups in Aceh, which



surrendered.¹⁵ By emphasizing the persuasive power, Minister Luhut Panjaitan has shown a wise and humane attitude, which in our opinion, is proof that the Joko Widodo government put forward a humanist approach. These humane ways could open the hopes to sensitize the terrorists in Poso and other areas to return to the embrace of the motherland in order to avoid casualties again.

With the humanist approach, the Jokowi government has shown the real humanization based on Pancasila (the state ideology) in dealing with terrorists who hold the ideology of Islamism as an alternative to destabilize the country. This approach also aborts the terrorists' assumptions and feeling that the government wants them killed or captured so that in their perception, there is only one choice: to kill or be killed.

In our opinion, for the Poso terrorists, this humanist approach will open the window of hope for them to down the mountain and surrender. And, it is possible that in the future, they would not be damned and condemned as the country's enemies that must be destroyed forever. Responding to the humane approach of the Jokowi government, even they can make dialogue with the authorized officials about what they want and what they would otherwise require before surrendering down the mountain.

Although in dealing with terrorism, the humanization rarely finds than deradicalization program, in our opinion, it is time to use the humanization in dealing with terrorism that that never stops. Combating terrorism must be conducted in various ways and methods, and a humanization program is an approach that is relevant and important because it put priority on humanity. Violence should not be resolved by force, referring to the views of Mahatma Gandhi and Johan Galtung.

¹⁵ Hans Nicholas Jong, "Govt to Grant Amnesty to Aceh Rebels," *The Jakarta Post* January 2, 2016, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/01/02/govt-grant-amnesty-aceh-rebels.html>. See: Mohamad Irfan, "Kelompok Santoso Ditawari Pengampunan," *Media Indonesia*, July 22, 2016, <https://mediaindonesia.com/politik-dan-hukum/57494/kelompok-santoso-ditawari-pengampunan.html>.



Furthermore, that is our reason why humanization is needed in tackling terrorism in this country.

The terrorists are the children of the nation who are distrust Pancasila, disappointed and frustrated, get deviant ideology, misguided association, and misinterpret the Quran and soon. They need the enlightenment of humanity and the real Islamic enlightening. As human beings, they need a new environment and new friends and get to know about the difference, pluralism, and multiculturalism.

Escape from Dangerous Network or Group

It should be understood that inmates in the case of terrorism need to be helped to escape from their network or group. If accompanied by an approach that is humanity, this step is believed to be an effective deradicalization measure. Without the disengagement program of the group, the inmates of terrorism will be hard to escape from their dangerous network or group.

This condition is suspected of contributing to many former inmates of terrorism who remain radical, even more, dangerous when they are out of prison. They include the Indonesian Mujahidin Eastern Santoso alias Abu Wardah was shot in 2016, Sunakim alias Afif the bomber Thamrin, Jakarta, last January, and Bahrin Naim became one of the leader's wings Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) from Indonesia.

Inmates in the case of terrorism generally also hate the views, groups, or parties that are different from them. Therefore, introduction to the different cultures and groups has also become important to them. Again, we call this humanization. Shared humanity must be grown back in the soul of terrorist inmates because they generally have a view or erroneous understanding of other human beings.

Humanization can be done through intensive dialogue and introducing a culture or group that is different from them (terrorists). Violence can only be faced with tenderness. In this case, humanity should be implemented, emphasized, and prioritized. So the humanization program can help the terrorists after freeing from prison to be humane people.



One of the humanization programs is to teach the inmates of terrorism to dialogue with *Ulamas*, Islamic scholars, and community elements, training to make various things, entering new understanding through the movie, or bringing the perpetrators of terror to the victims of terrorism. Regarding this, the rehabilitation approaches for the prisoners of terrorism are also still useful, helpful, and beneficial. The method is performed, among others, teaching the prisoners were in dialogue with *Ulamas*, Islamic scholars, and community elements, training to make various things, entering new understanding through the movie, or the perpetrator meeting with victims of terrorism.

The meeting between the prisoners and victims of terrorism be one way to touched their hearts and make them aware that their actions that cause suffering to others. In this regard, in order to prevent the dissemination of radical understanding in prison. It is important that it should be assessed segregation inmates terrorism cases with inmates other matters as soon as possible.

In our opinion, the inmates' case of terrorism must be classified into three groups: inmates ideologue, radical inmates, and inmates sympathizers. The classification is significant to facilitate the government in addressing and alleviating convict of terrorists after release from prison. The National Agency could carry it out for Combating Terrorism (BNPT). Here, inmates of terrorism ideologue, for example, should be placed in separate cells and the maximum supervision. The inmates of radical or militant followers were placed in a special cell for coaching. Inmates classified as sympathizers could be placed in the same cell with common prisoners with special precautions.

In this way, expected, after they are free from prison, convicts of terrorists no longer go back to the old behavior and association that plunges them into the environment of violence: the world of terror. In this humanization program, however, not all methods of works because the success of the method also depends on the tendency of every person (terrorist)

So far, according to data in the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, the spread of terrorism inmates until February 2016 is as follows: around 204 terrorists are currently scattered in 47 different prisons in 13



provinces. Previously, as many as 598 inmates of terrorism are free and released into society.

Hundreds of these former terrorists surely needed to be monitored. It is development with a humanist approach that allows them to be good people, blend them into society, and separate them from their old environment and networks that had made them come into a cycle of violence. The government and society should help and empower them social-economically to be useful and meaningful human beings for their family and society. Eventually, they can rediscover Islam for the mercy universe, Islam *rahmatan lil 'alamin*.

To some extent, the success or failure of the deradicalization program by the Indonesian government is influenced by the humanist approach; and that is done by the government (BNPT, Police) to people who contaminate a radical ideology and understanding. Currently, in the running of the deradicalization program, the government would often disregard the humanist approach and that it limits the association of people who are considered as extremists.

We would like to emphasize that a humanist approach must also accompany a deradicalization program. This approach is still lacking is applied. In this context, setting the social, economic, political, legal, and cultural also great affects the confidence of people who have lodged understood radicals who hate the country and its people. As long as they are not sure this country is a humane country, they will not stop doing resistance. Like or dislike, this is a necessary prerequisite.

We must bear in mind that Santoso, a terrorist group leader who was assassinated, is one upbringing national deradicalization program in about 2004. At that time, Santoso was still a sympathizer, not a leader. However, instead of conviction and repentance, he was even and precisely concerned, only made a more massive terror movement again and became leader of the movement.

Santoso, a fugitive terrorist, has often enlivened the news over the last several years. It seems to be difficult for law enforcement to capture him. Actually, long before he became a prominent fugitive, Santoso was considered “benevolent” and even joined a government deradicalization program.



Santoso or Abu Wardah, is an example of a man who was initially radicalized conventionally before the era of radicalization through the internet and social media, which has now become a trend. It was said to be conventional because the radicalization occurred through personal approaches and meetings as well as direct physical forging by elements of terror groups, which are neatly structured.

The introduction of Santoso to violent networks in the country started many years before the era of the Islamic State (IS) movement in Indonesia and ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). Communal religious conflict in Poso, Central Sulawesi, became the initial channel for Santoso's actualization, which later raised his profile in the circle of violent groups.

The popularity of Santoso seemed to reach its peak in 2014, when he, together with a group he led, the East Indonesia Mujahidin, pledged or declared an oath of loyalty to ISIS and distributed a voice recording of the oath via YouTube. He also claimed to be an element of ISIS in Indonesia. In this regard, ASEAN countries have cooperated to overcome terrorism in the region with quite good achievements.

Differences and Monopoly of Truth

We would like to remind the reader that people who have sensibly radical ideology are those who are less sociable with various differences. Neither are the differences in ethnicity, religion, race, or nation. Since childhood, people who only have sensible radical ideology have been grouped in their community, and they were never aware of these differences.

Therefore, another step that must be done in the implementation of the deradicalization program is to introduce social interaction, larger and wider. Unfortunately, during this time of deradicalization, they also interact very limitedly, even is still a serious issue. They (terrorists) felt that are the truest; it is risky for Indonesian people.

So, in our opinion, outside of the efforts to succeed deradicalization program is a humanization program that emphasizes persuasion and education of humanities, both formal and informally, to make the participants of the deradicalization program understand more



about the others. Pluralism and multiculturalism which in turn is able to sensitize them to become moderate and good Muslims, not vice versa

It should be remembered that there is much early childhood education across Indonesia that has confined themselves to their differences emphasizing the differences and mutual monopolize their respective religious truth. For instance, in our country, there are many schools that implement the prohibition to shake hands with the teacher that, in fact, women. Even in some textbooks, too, are taught not need to respect other religions.

Actually, these are all the embryos that have been implanted since childhood. The condition is very dangerous and more easily infiltrated radical ideology that stronger again. The only way to give a wider interaction with groups and communities with different social-cultural backgrounds is to introduce pluralism and multiculturalism.

We can imagine if since childhood was introduced by people and teachers of different ethnicities, religions, and others, the writers are sure that they would not have the heart to commit acts of terror and other crimes against humanity. Based on this research, one way considered effective to resolve for eradicating terrorism is to engage in a humanist approach, such as dialogue, education on pluralism, multiculturalism, empowering the terrorist and former terrorist families socio-economically. With the dialogue, terrorism suspects can recover and return to the true teachings of Islam and can return to the community; efforts dialogue also was conducted certainly not one or two times.

However, repeated up to a dozen meetings and dialogues, all of the terrorists who were imprisoned or terrorist detainees could come back to become civil Muslims and be good human beings. That is no easy task. It takes time to implement the humanitarian approach to the par ex-offenders not to repeat the act of terrorism. What is clear, to educate, rehabilitate, and changed the way terrorists take a long time. No less important, deradicalization, the governments, and communities should also be approached to the families of the perpetrators of acts of terrorism. That is to say, the families of the perpetrators of acts of terrorism should not be excommunicated and isolated.



Role of Family and Close Friends

Most crucially, in many cases, the deradicalization program was being damaged as a result of government policies that assume and stamp the family of former terrorists as anti-Islam. The counseling is psychologically exhausting for former terrorists who see attempts to deradicalization as an insincere action, loaded with camouflage and hypocrisy.

We have also learned from various countries in the success of deradicalization programs, for example, of ideas and experiences in Germany, Australia, and Egypt. Germany adopted a humane approach by relying on family and friends of prisoners Neo-Nazis, radicalize, or terrorists. The approach was first used on a group of neo-Nazis, concluding that the ideology of militant, radical, and extremist cannot be deradicalized through the power of coercion and cooptation but by the power of persuasion and gentleness/warmth of their family and close friends themselves.

Counter-terrorism expert Anne Aly from Edith Cowan University in Australia said the deradicalization has largely been programmed extensively, with prevention through increasing social cohesion such as education of multiculturalism and pluralism, grants for sports competitions, and training/seminar on inclusive leadership. Nevertheless, a study by the Australian National University and the *Global Terrorism Research Center* in 2015 found the fact that the deradicalization efforts have “failed to achieve the target for those most in need of assistance”.¹⁶

Furthermore, then only when the humanist approach (humanization) has been made by empowering the family and those closest to the subject of terrorism and anti-social behavior, this deradicalization program could produce results. In Australia, the involvement of priests in prison and psychologists is needed, but it was not enough, so the main focus remains on the family unit. Even though in Australia, a key contributor to deradicalization (and vice versa, i.e.,

¹⁶ Rachel Olding, “The multi-million dollar deradicalisation business,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 12, 2016, <https://www.smh.com.au/national/the-multi-million-dollar-deradicalisation-business-20160212-gmske3.html>.



radicalization) is a family of former terrorists themselves. That is why the family unit is very important in the Humanization Program. The role of the family and closest friends becomes very relevant and significant to complete the deradicalization that is considered a controversial and failed program. In Egypt, during the 1980s and 1990s, there are three forces that make de-radicalization-based ideology in Egypt run effectively.

First, deradicalization touches on the religious doctrine that was delivered to the living rooms of the former terrorists. Egyptian Islamic leaders, especially Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) in Cairo, to understand, a number of religious doctrines have been misunderstood by terrorist-anarchist groups and their families and a grip to handle them in carrying out a bloody campaign without feeling guilty. In this context, ideology-based deradicalization succeeded in destroying the main force-anarchist terrorist groups, and convince their families in order to become Muslim tolerant, wholesome, and true.

Second, the deradicalization of Egypt up to the terrorists and their families were fitted and reinforced with structural strength, especially in Egypt's internal JI. Things for deradicalization initiated and carried out by JI spiritual leaders, such as Sheikh Najih Ibrahim Abdullah, Sheikh Ali Sharif, and Osama Ibrahim Hafiz.

Third, the authority of Islamic sciences. Sheikh Najih Ibrahim Abdullah, Sheikh Ali Sharif, Sheikh Usama Ibrahim Hafiz, and more respected because they are figures with qualified Islamic science, both internally are respected in the context of JI and the Egyptian public in general. Deradicalization can be effective because it involves people who occupy the top position in the JI structure of Egypt. Structural strength is able to bring the family carriage JI Egypt to run consistently with the content of the deradicalization intimation.¹⁷

¹⁷ Hasibullah Satrawi, "Deradikalisasi Berbasis Ideologi," *Kompas.com*, October 29, 2011, <https://money.kompas.com/read/2011/10/29/03584393/deradikalisasi.berbasis.ideologi?page=all>.



Today under the government of Abdel Fattah Saeed Hussein Khalil El-Sisi, the former Commander of the Armed Forces of Egypt who has a role in ending President Islamist Mohamed Morsi, and ratified as president of Egypt after Picks highway Egyptian president in 2014 on May 29, 2014, deradicalization programs with humanization, focused on tackling and overcoming radicalism of the Muslim Brotherhood (IM), former terrorists and their families, in the manner and method by Egypt's social and cultural conditions that exist.

In this case, Hasibullah Satrawi, a Muslim Scholar graduated from Al Azhar University and an analyst of Islamism and Middle East Studies at the Moderate Muslim Society, Jakarta, noted that, so far, there are different actions and policies between Egypt and Indonesia in implementing deradicalization program so that it failed to some extent. Satrawi *said that it is* true there are some former terrorists in Indonesia who are trying to do the role of deradicalization as Nasir Abbas et al. However, this attempt was not optimal such as in Egypt.

In this regard, deradicalization should include humanization because it takes sincere and serious attention from the family of former terrorists, friends/colleagues, and the closest community environment because they know better physical and mental requirements for ex-terrorists.¹⁸

On the one hand, Nasir Abbas and his colleagues could not occupy a strategic position in a terrorist network in Indonesia. On the other hand, they are also considered to have no authority to dismantle the Islamic teaching that is taught by a number of terrorists. As a result, the ex-terrorists in Indonesia failed to attract carriage of terrorism to “mass conversion”, as happened in Egypt.¹⁹

Regarding the experience of Egypt, Satrawi noted there are five books published by Egypt related to the dismantling of a number of

¹⁸ Gazi Saloom, “Outgroup Contact in the Process of Leaving Terrorism Qualitative Study of Deradicalization and Disengagement Among Former Jamaah Islamiyah Members in Indonesia,” *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 19, no 1 (2019): 41-61, <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v19i1.10272>.

¹⁹ Hasibullah Satrawi, “Deradikalisasi Berbasis Ideologi,” *Kompas.com*, October 29, 2011, <https://money.kompas.com/read/2011/10/29/03584393/deradikalisasi.berbasis.ideologi?page=all>.



teachings that are often misunderstood and exploited by terrorists. The books are *Al-Mubadarah Liwaqfil Unfi* (Notices on Deradicalization), *Hurmatul Ghuluw Fi Ad-din was Takfiril Muslimin* (Prohibition of Religious Radicalism and Takfirism toward Fellow Muslims), *Tasliythul Adhwa' ma Ala al-Jihad fi Waqa'a min Akhta'* (Uncover Errors in Understanding Jihad), *An-Nushuh wa At-Tabyin fi Tashihi Mafahimi Al-Muhtasibin* (Advice of Deradicalization Enforcement on Good and Unjust), as well as *Iydlahul Faq'an Su'alati Ahli Al-Kitab* (The Answer to the Statement about Expert of Religions).

All of the above books bring the spirit, which is to dismantle the understanding that a number of religious doctrines are often used as justification for violence and terrorism. All of the books written Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) are critical figures in Egypt who have the authority of Islamic science.²⁰

Satrawi also said, it is true that during this time, there are some leaders and scholars who tried to dismantle the number of religious teachings that are misunderstood and manipulated. This is evident from the statements of the scholars of mass organizations in Indonesia (as MUI, NU, and Muhammadiyah) condemning the actions of the terrorists. However, streamlining efforts of radical religious thought are also does not an effective impact on the terrorists. Not solely because the Indonesian Islamic scholars' authority has been doubted and ruled out, but because they do not originate from "terrorist leaders" with a very strategic structural position.

As an initial idea to close and overcome the weaknesses of the Deradicalization Program, we convey the idea of the importance of the Humanization program. Here, humanization is a response to prevent escalation of violence. Humanization recognizes the inherent dignity of humans, recognizes the humanity of its opponents and the human rights of all members of the human family. Humanization allows people to

²⁰ Hasibullah Satrawi, "Deradikalisasi Berbasis Ideologi," Kompas.com, October 29, 2011, <https://money.kompas.com/read/2011/10/29/03584393/deradikalisasi.berbasis.ideologi?page=all>.



recognize the characteristics of humans who are considered enemies or their opponents so that it can help people to limit the escalation of extreme violence. As long as conflicts or social tensions are prolonged, feelings of intense hatred and alienation often arise between the parties involved, and then humanization is needed to prevent or block dehumanization actions that face physical violence.

Conclusion

Humanization leads to the prevention or overcoming of intensification of conflict and escalation of violence, covering the way for human rights violations or acts of genocide. Humanization refers to a strategy designed to reduce the dynamics of conflict that are destructive and face violence, especially terrorism, as the culmination of radicalism. Admittedly, the current situation of Indonesia is still not free from inter-religious conflict. Religion, which should be eager to spread liberation and peace for our fellow human beings, is just often breached, even disturbing the integrity of Unity in Diversity. In this regard, deradicalization should include humanization because it takes the participation of sincere and serious attention from the family of former terrorist, friend or colleague, and the closest community environment because they know better physical and mental requirements for the ex-terrorists

The rise of radicalism brought by the trans-national Islamic movement after the fall of *New Order* in 1998 has been endemic everywhere, even in the *Reformasi Era*, in which Islamic radicalism dan sectarianism is growing alarmingly. This movement stretches from puritanism, Salafism bearers of the caliphate, to acts of terrorism in Indonesia. The emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) has raised the cells of Islamist radicalism, which threatens public security and civil society in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. They are expected to understand what steps should be adjusted individually and socially for former terrorists and radicals, based on diverse reasons, to prevent terrorists and radical Islamists come back into violent extremism with claims in the name of Islam.

The program of deradicalization and humanization should not be separated from each other because it is a comprehensive program to help



ex-terrorists from prison so that when they are free from prison, they can return to society and be amputated from the old network of violence that plunged them into brutal terrorism.

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