

## **Collaboration Between Actors in Prevention of Terrorism: A Study of the Involvement of Former Terrorist Convicts with the TNI in Deradicalization Activities in the TNI Manunggal Development Village Program**

### **Kolaborasi Antar Aktor dalam Pencegahan Terorisme: Studi Pelibatan Mantan Napi teroris Dengan TNI Pada Kegiatan Deradikalisasi Dalam Program TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa**

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#### ***Abstract***

*Collaboration between actors is needed for deradicalization programs, not only between institutional (institutional) actors but actors outside institutions need to be involved in the deradicalization process as a form of national resilience. This article discusses the involvement of former terrorist convicts (Napiters) who are members of the Circle of Peace Foundation (YLP) and the TNI (Indonesian National Army) in efforts to deradicalize the process through the TNI Manunggal Pembangunan Desa (TMMD) program. This research was conducted with the object of ex-terrorist convicts by conducting interviews, documentation studies, and observations. The analysis of this research uses a collaborative governance theory approach as an analytical knife with qualitative research methods.*

**Keywords:** Actor collaboration, TNI, former terrorist convicts, deradicalization

#### **Abstrak**

Kolaborasi antar aktor diperlukan untuk program deradikalisasi, tidak hanya antar aktor institusional (kelembagaan) tetapi aktor diluar kelembagaan perlu dilibatkan untuk proses deradikalisasi sebagai wujud ketahanan nasional. Tulisan ini membahas tentang pelibatan mantan narapidana teroris (Napiter) yang tergabung dalam Yayasan Lingkar Perdamaian (YLP) dan TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia) dalam upaya proses deradikalisasi melalui program TNI Manunggal Membangun Desa (TMMD). Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan obyek mantan narapidana teroris dengan melakukan wawancara, studi dokumentasi dan observasi. Analisa penelitian ini dengan pendekatan teori collaborative governance sebagai pisau analisis dengan metode penelitian kualitatif. Dari penelitian ini ditemukan bahwa sinergitas antara TNI dengan mantan narapidana teroris harus secara terpadu dan terintegrasi untuk proses deradikalisasi melalui program pelaksanaan TMMD sehingga terwujudnya ketahanan nasional.

**Kata kunci:** Kolaborasi aktor, TNI, mantan narapidana teroris, deradikalisasi.

## **Introduction**

One form of threat that has become a national and international issue is the development of radicalism groups in the name of religion which have led to terrorist movements. In the Indonesian context, acts of terrorism that occurred in Indonesia have ideological, historical and political links and are part of the strategic environmental influence at global and regional levels. Even though the acts of terrorism that have occurred in Indonesia in recent years have mostly been carried out by Indonesians and only a few people as intellectual actors from abroad, it cannot be denied that current acts of terrorism are a combination of domestic (indigenous) actors and those who have transnational networks (Prasetyo, 2016). Terrorism sounds so thrilling and frightening because after the action it is always discussed with great fanfare in all the mass media. The consequences besides the fear itself are priceless loss of life and property (Purwawidada, 2014)

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

Collaboration between actors is indeed necessary for a deradicalization program, not only actors at the institutional level but the role of non-formal actors (former terrorist convicts) who are embodied in the Circle of Peace Foundation are also included. The TNI (Indonesian National Army) is an institutional actor that also has a role in maintaining national security from terrorism as stipulated in RI Law No. 34 of 2004 concerning the Indonesian National Armed Forces which states that one of the TNI's duties is to carry out Military War Operations (OMP) and Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP). The tasks in the MOM include empowering the defense area and its supporting forces in accordance with the Universal Defense System and assisting the Regional Government's tasks. To be able to carry out these tasks, The TNI uses the Bakti Operation Pattern, one of which is implemented in the form of the TNI Manunggal Build Village Program (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 the Regency/City Regional Government in accelerating development in order to improve people's welfare through physical and non-physical targets and to strengthen the Unity of the People's Armed Forces in order to prepare Fighting Space, Fighting Equipment and Tough Fighting Conditions. This collaboration between the TNI and the Circle Peace Foundation seeks to try to embrace former terrorist convicts who are often marginalized due to various stigmas in society.

The Peace Circle is a foundation located in Tenggulun village, Solokuro sub-district, Lamongan district, which was founded on November 29 2016 by Ali Fauzi Manzi, a former combatant in terrorism cases who had undergone military training in the Southern Philippines and is the younger sibling of Amrozi's Bali Bombing Trio, Ali Gufron alias Mukhlas and Ali Imran. This foundation accommodates Former Terrorist Convicts to be invited to leave their Destructive thoughts and in the end they can live a normal life again with the Community. However, the steps taken were not easy, many steep roads were encountered such as threats from terrorist groups that were still active, lack of skills and capital to start life as normal people and the stigma of people who still hate their past sins and actions. These obstacles and problems if not handled properly by the government and related institutions will make them despair and eventually return to the black path they have taken before. Kodim 0812/ Lamongan as one of the Satkowil in the ranks of Kodam V/Brawijaya, realizing this problem, is trying to get them to invite ex-terrorist convicts back to the bright path in the bosom of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in activities

The purpose of this study is how the roles of actors in the deradicalization program process are translated through the involvement of former terrorist convicts and the TNI (Indonesian National Army) in deradicalization activities in the TNI Manunggal Pembangunan Desa (TMMD) program. This study analyzes the collaboration between the TNI and the Circle of Peace Foundation which houses former terrorist convicts.

### **Research methods**

The method 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). The techniques or methods used by researchers to collect data are interviews, documentation studies and observation. This study uses qualitative data analysis as stated by the Interactive Model Miles, MB, & Huberman, AM (2014), which in principle consists of several procedures, namely: data reduction, data display, drawing conclusions/ verification (Conclusion) as something that interweaves before, during, and after data collection in a parallel form.

### **Analysis And Discussion**

#### **The synergy of the TNI (Indonesian National Armed Forces) with former terrorist convicts through a collaborative governance approach.**

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

The deradicalization program involving terrorist convicts was carried out in 2005 and was pioneered by the National Police, in particular the Police Bomb Task Force (Satgas) under the leadership of Brigadier General Pol. Surya Dharma. The initial goal of this program is to make certain terrorist prisoners to be cooperative with the Police and are expected to be able to provide various information that supports investigations and investigations (Prasetya, 2016). In the theoretical approach, collaborative governance requires cooperation between parties, processes and structures in public policy which constructively involve actors from various levels, both at the level of government and/or public agencies, private institutions, and civil society in order to achieve public goals as a whole. Together (O'Flynn, Janine and Wanna, 2008: 3).

The collaboration between the TNI and former terrorist convicts who are members of the Circle of Peace Foundation is a form of involvement outside the government

structure with the same goal as expressed 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 that running (Ansell & Gash, 2008). The collaborative governance process has several supporting factors, namely starting conditions, institutional design, facilitative leadership, and collaborative process as the core (Ansell & Gash, 2012). Each of these aspects is reduced to a more detailed variable.

Initial conditions are measured into prehistoric aspects regarding cooperation or conflict, the level or level of trust, and the incentives that are the source or driver of participation. Institutional design is seen from the aspect of having basic rules 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 leaders for collaborative processes, equality between collaborators and clarity and certainty of information. As for aspects of the collaboration process, it will depend heavily on the establishment of face-to-face dialogue through good faith in order to maintain trust between actors as the basis for the emergence of commitment to the process and mutual understanding between collaborators on the common goals being collaborated on.

Collaboration between the TNI and other stakeholders as a driving force for the successful process of the deradicalization program because the TNI has intelligence and territorial capabilities as stated in Article 7 paragraph (2) of Law Number 34 of 2004 and has a chain of command to the village level through Babinsa (Bintara Pembina) Village). The TNI is the foundation for enforcing the law against terrorism and taking pre-emptive, preventive and repressive actions against the threat of terrorism. The TNI cannot carry out its duties as a single institution. With the synergy between the TNI and other stakeholders in de-radicalization, it is hoped that it will 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 being joint results.

### **The Circle of Peace Foundation as a TNI Partner in the Deradicalization Process**

Concern for the families of former tororis convicts intrigued Ali Fauzi, a former Filipino bomb maker who really hates the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and the ranks of the state's security guards (police and military). The police and the TNI for

him are thaghut, traitors to religion. Therefore, for Ali Fauzi, the police and the TNI as security guards for the state must be massacred/killed by acts of violence for betraying religion. One day when Ali Fauzi became sick and vomited blood which was then taken to the hospital and paid for by a member of the police, Ali Fauzi appeared amazed that not all police and military were arbitrary people who 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 Circle of Peace Foundation (YLP). YLP is a foundation engaged in countering terrorism movements in Lamongan Regency in general. This foundation is also motivated by the fate experienced by the families of various former convicts (terror convicts). Families of ex-convicts become families isolated from association, the local community considers them to be destroyers of the good name of the village. In addition, their children also experience difficulties in finding work. The Circle Peace Foundation's name is associated with past tragedies which always carried out radical actions in the name of religion.

The vision of this foundation is "caring for ukhuwah to knit peace" with the mission of providing a new community for former convicts and combatants so that they do not return to their old communities. The general objective of this foundation is to serve as an alternative place for ex-terrorist convicts to go home for the first time before associating with the wider community. The Circle of Peace Foundation (YLP) actually started its activities in 2012, but it was only inaugurated in 2016. The journey of this institution was not short and its existence in carrying out this deradicalization needs to be appreciated. The Peace Circle Foundation (YLP) together with the TNI (Indonesian National Army) in Lamongan district work together to carry out the deradicalization process by collaborating on the TMMD (TNI Manunggal Pembangunan Desa) program.

### **Collaborative efforts of the TNI and Former Terrorist Convicts in the deradicalization program**

Deradicalization efforts with the implementation of TMMD in Lamongan district are in accordance with the theme, namely "Sharing Synergy to Build the Nation" which involves the community, religious leaders, traditional leaders, youth leaders and other national components so that they can make a positive contribution and active participation in the implementation of activities. This activity was carried out after going through

lengthy planning in the previous year starting from development planning meetings at the village level, sub-district level, district level until finally it was able to enter the regional government work plan and the TMMD activities were realized the following year.

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

In response to this problem, the Dandim communicated actively in stages with the former terrorists in the form of a Gathering at the Peace Circle Foundation (YLP), inviting former convicts to exercise together, providing basic food assistance and involving them in Komsos Development activities to prevent radicalism at Makodim. In addition, the Dandim also carries out communication using the graft model with the village head, religious leaders and local youth leaders regarding plans for the involvement of former terrorist convicts in TMMD activities in their village. This is to dispel people's fear of the planned presence of ex-terrorist convicts in their village who are worried that it could affect people exposed to radical ideology.

Thanks to long and intensive social communication, finally the implementation of the 109th TMMD activity could be carried out by empowering all community components to work on the physical and non-physical targets that had been planned beforehand. The active participation of ex-terrorist convicts makes this activity even more meaningful and has its own value. Together with the TNI, Polri, government and private agencies and the community, they collaborate with each other to work hard to complete every target that has been set. During the 30 days of carrying out the activity, they mingle and work together to remove negative barriers and stigma that have so far appeared in their thoughts and feelings. This activity has produced 15 units of Livable Residential Houses, 900 M of Concrete Rebate Roads, 2500 M of Irrigation Channel Pipelines, 2 units of halfway houses, dredging ponds, normalization of irrigation canals, construction of the Volly field and 1 Poskamling Unit they have worked on. In addition, TMMD activities also complete non-physical targets in the form of blood donation activities, national insight, outreach to

prevent radicalism and 12 other non-physical target activities. At the end of the activity, a ceremony of the NKRI Love Pledge was made. The form of this activity was to raise and pay homage to the red and white flag carried out by former Terrorist Convicts who were involved in TMMD activities taking place in the courtyard of the community house that they had just finished building witnessed by the Community and Officials who were present as proof of their love and loyalty to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, TMMD activities also complete non-physical targets in the form of blood donation activities, national insight, outreach to prevent radicalism and 12 other non-physical target activities. At the end of the activity, a ceremony of the NKRI Love Pledge was made. The form of this activity was to raise and pay homage to the red and white flag carried out by former Terrorist Convicts who were involved in TMMD activities taking place in the courtyard of the community house that they had just finished building witnessed by the Community and Officials who were present as proof of their love and loyalty to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, TMMD activities also complete non-physical targets in the form of blood donation activities, national insight, outreach to prevent radicalism and 12 other non-physical target activities. At the end of the activity, a ceremony of the NKRI Love Pledge was made. The form of this activity was to raise and pay homage to the red and white flag carried out by former Terrorist Convicts who were involved in TMMD activities taking place in the courtyard of the community house that they had just finished building witnessed by the Community and Officials who were present as proof of their love and loyalty to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The involvement of former terrorist convicts in TMMD is very beneficial for all parties apart from the Lamongan 0812 Kodim itself as the organizer, this activity is also useful for: 1) Neutralizing Radicalism in their minds and souls and supporting Deradicalization activities carried out by BNPT. 2) Helping Former Terrorist Convicts to be more confident in front of the Community, from the beginning as an enemy of society to be a useful Person. 3) As a redeemer for their past mistakes, this is in accordance with their expression that there are no good people who have no past and no bad people who have no future. 4) Demonstrate their existence regarding their awareness, love, loyalty to the community and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. 5) Providing inspiration for other terrorist convicts, both those outside and still inside prison, to



abandon their radical understanding and return to loyalty to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. 6) Providing understanding about the dangers of terrorism to the public through the extension activities they carry out. 7) Increasing the familiarity of former terrorist convicts with the community when carrying out joint physical activities, something that is rarely found in other areas because in general the life of terrorist convicts rarely socializes and even tends to isolate themselves. 8) Adding Familiarity to Former Terrorist Convicts with TNI-Polri where previously they were two opposing parties. 9) There is openness about the problems faced by ex-convicts so that it helps related institutions to be able to find solutions. 10) As a manifestation of the presence of the State in caring for former terrorists. 11) Add skills to former terrorists.

The success of TMMD's activities by involving former convicts also received appreciation from the TNI leadership through winning in three TMMD Competition categories at the same time, namely the Dansatgas Category, Kapendam Category and Electronic Media Category which each won 2nd place. One of the strong reasons for the victory was the ability of the Kodim in Mobilizing former convicts and other national components to be actively involved in TMMD activities.

## **Conclusion**

The involvement of former terrorist convicts with the TNI and other national components in TMMD activities has strategic value in terms of increasing people's welfare which can accelerate development in the regions and can create strong regional resilience. Synergy in collaboration between actors, namely the TNI, ministries/non-ministerial government agencies and local governments, former terrorist convicts and all other components of society to be implemented in an integrated and integrated manner.

With the large benefits of the involvement of former terrorist convicts in TMMD activities as one of the manifestations of TNI Service Operations, it is recommended that the TNI provide a priority program for satkowil where there are former terrorist convicts in their area to intensively carry out TNI Service Operations activities because this has proven to be effective in the Deradicalization program.

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