

SCAN ITHENTICATE TURNITIN - DERADICALISATION TO COMBAT TERRORISM INDONESIA AND THAILAND CASES

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Deradicalisation to Combat Terrorism: Indonesia and Thailand Cases

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Article	Abstract
<p>Keywords: Counter-Terrorism; Crime; Deradicalisation; Indonesia; Thailand.</p> <p>Article History Received: Jan 21, 2019; Reviewed: Jul 1, 2020; Accepted: Jul 27, 2020; Published: Jul 31, 2020.</p> <p>DOI: 10.28946/slrev.Vol4.Iss2. 232.pp249-260</p>	<p>Terrorism is a human-made disaster, which is usually in the form of organised crime. In prevention, terrorism cannot be done only through legal approaches alone but covers all aspects of society. While eradication aimed at combating terrorism, uncovering and addressing criminal cases and perpetrators of terror in the form of the establishment of the measures included in the crime of terror, handling, ranging up to the judicial investigation and threatened sanctions to perpetrators of terror. The method used is doctrinal with the statute approach, the conceptual approach, the historical approach, and the philosophical approach. The result shows that deradicalisation in Indonesia is carried out by BNPT for terrorists, families and sympathisers, while counter-radicalisation is carried out for the general public to increase the deterrent power of radical terrorism. In comparison, Thailand used the application of a curriculum in education as the concept of deradicalisation.</p>

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INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is a human-made disaster, which is usually in the form of organised crime. In terms of criminal law, terrorism is one of the crimes of international dimensions that widely impacted society. The impact of these crimes is massive and very terrible. In the UN congress in Vienna, Austria in 2000, the theme of "The Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders", which among other things states that terrorism as the development of violent behaviour that needs attention.

Penalization in criminal law includes, act against the law (*actus reus*), criminal liability (*mens rea*), and sanction either in the form of punishment or treatment.¹ Today criminal act often deviates from the original teaching of jurisprudence. Indonesia recognises two manifestations of criminal

¹ Muladi dalam Ifrani and M.Yasir Said, 'Kebijakan Kriminal Non-Penal Ojk Dalam Mengatasi Kejahatan Cyber Melalui Sistem Peer To Peer Lending', *Al-Adl: Jurnal Hukum*, 2020 <<https://doi.org/10.31602/al-adl.v12i1.2607>>.

law. First, the criminal law in the penal code as a *genus*, it is often called the general criminal laws. Second, the criminal laws in specific legislation as a species often refers to as special criminal laws.² The use of criminal punishment evolved from the hard measure as an act of retribution to restoration concept based on a flexible approach.³ Terrorism is an extraordinary crime in the realm of special criminal laws. Therefore, it is necessary to use extraordinary measures from the both hard and soft measure.⁴

Indonesia suffered from many terrorist attacks. Before the tragedy of the Bali bombing on October 12, 2002, Indonesia had experienced various acts of terrorism in the form of bombings in some areas, causing deaths and injuries. In 2016, Indonesia recorded several events of terrorism,⁵ started on January 14, 2016, with the attacked near the shopping centre Sarinah (JI Thamrin), Jakarta, which killed seven people (four of them are terrorists), the Solo bomb III (July 5, 2016), Medan Bombing (August 28 2016), Singkawang Bombing (November 14 2016), while the terrorist group East Mujahidin Indonesia (MI) in Gunung Biru shows its existence, which ended in February 2016 has been successful overpowered. Then, in March 2016 to January 2017, hijacking the vessel seven times around the Sulu Sea by the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) was holding seven citizens. Next November 13, 2016 (Samarinda bomb), occurs by throwing Molotov cocktails at the Ecumenical church in front of the city of Samarinda, resulting in four people were burned all over his body. In 2017 also a series of terrorist attacks took place by majority *lone wolf* and *Leaderless*,⁶ among them: Blast Pots (February 27 2017), Shooting member of Traffic Police Tuban (April 8 2017), to crash member of the Police Headquarter in Banyumas (April 11 2017), Bomb Kampung Melayu (May 24 2017), stabbing members of the North Sumatra Police Headquarters (June 25 2017), stabbing members of the National Police Headquarters (June 30 2017) and Stone Fruit bomb (July 8 2017). All of the above is a sign that the threat of terrorism is increasingly worrying. Noticeable disturbing public order and safety, and have become a severe threat to the sovereignty of the State, so that should be the prevention and eradication to keep life safe, peaceful, and prosperous.

Policies to combat terrorism must be based on several principles; first, the protection of civil liberties and respect for and protection of individual rights. Restrictions on democratic rights as it only does the rights that are not included in non-derogable rights, in an interim period and for the public interest. Second, restriction and prevention of abuse of power by the State. It can be done by fully implementing the principle of checks and balances in the process of formulation and decision-making, policy implementation institutions functional specialisation and availability of public accountability mechanisms for implementing the policy.⁷

The provision on terrorism includes two aspects of prevention (anti) and eradication (contra). In prevention, terrorism can not be done only through legal approaches alone but covers all aspects

² Ifrani and Yati Nurhayati, 'The Enforcement of Criminal Law in the Utilisation and Management of Forest Area Having Impact Toward Global Warming', *Sriwijaya Law Review*, 1.2 (2017), 164.

³ Yati Nurhayati, Ifrani, and Abdul Hali Barkatullah, 'The Issue of Copyright Infringement in 4.0 Industrial Revolution: Indonesian Case', *Jurnal Media Hukum*, 26.2 (2019), 124.

⁴ Muladi, *Counter Terrorism As Special Crime (Extra Ordinary Crime)* (Jakarta: Paper presented at the Seminar on Management of Terrorism As Special Crimes, 2004).

⁵ Obsatar Sinaga et al., *Terrorism Right in Indonesia Dynamics and Repressive* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2018).

⁶ Sinaga.

⁷ Budi Hardiman, *Terrorism: Definition, Roots, and Regulation* (Jakarta: Impartial, 2003).

of society. Acts of terror (usually) related to a feeling of being mistreated, oppression and belief, so that prevention must be able to eliminate it by justice and liberation from poverty at the operational level can be done with early detection (early warning system). While eradication aimed at combating terrorism, uncovering and addressing criminal cases and perpetrators of terror in the form of the establishment of the measures included in the crime of terror, handling, ranging up to the judicial investigation and threatened sanctions to perpetrators of terror.⁸ Legally, terrorism is any act intentionally using violence or threats that create an atmosphere of terror or fear against those who spread or cause the massive victim, by robbing the independence or the loss of life and property of others or causing damage or the destruction of the vital objects are located or to the environment or public facility or facilities international. The penal approach is certainly not quite able to cope with terrorism. It can be seen in the increasing number of convicted terrorists and terrorist suspects arrested and executed is a signal that terrorism is growing and developing in the community through the dissemination of religious doctrine that is sacred and must be implemented even their lives are at stake. Purposing against religious teachings which part is the primary source of hatred towards everything outside the beliefs and views of the terrorists. However, the doctrines always resulting in the recruit of several new terrorists; they are referred to as the "bride" who are ready to carry out the mission journey to heaven. It is what often happens in Indonesia, according to the ideology that carries out the suicide bombing is a short path to God. Different from Indonesia, in Thailand, terrorist activities often related to the uprising in Southern Thailand. This uprising resulted in the birth of insurgent groups in Southern Thailand which has resulted in political and economic instability in Thailand until today. It is interesting to find different motives for terrorism in South East Asia.

Furthermore, The concept of deradicalisation needs to be strengthened by the government's commitment to eliminate the social and economic injustices in the wider community. The implications of deradicalisation approach alter the substance of the law, the legal structure and legal culture in the fight against terrorism. The three elements of the anti-terrorism legal system should lead to the deradicalisation of terrorism as a step toward "free of terrorism" in Indonesian society. The fighting efforts against terrorism should not only use force deployment pattern and then handle it through acts of violence, but it would be better if the handling prioritises prevention by using the soft power, by rehabilitations. Besides, the indispensable role of community leaders and religious leaders to provide the correct religious education to reduce the development of radical ideology.

Looking back to the social theory in the flow of criminal defence with his famous character is Filippo Gramatica, which in its development, is split into two streams that flow radical (extreme) and the flow is moderate (reformers).⁹ Opinion radical pioneered and maintained by F. Gramatica, that one of his writings titled "The fight against punishment" (*La Lotta Contra La Pen*). Gramatica found: "social protection laws should replacing the existing criminal law. The main purpose of the social protection law is to integrate these individuals into the social order and not a criminal prosecution against his actions".¹⁰

⁸ Hardiman.

⁹ Mahmud Mulyadi, *Criminal Policy* (Medan: Pustaka Buangsa Press, 2008).

¹⁰ Mulyadi.

Moderate outlook maintained by Marc Ancel who call flow as "Defense the Sociale Nouvelle" or "New Social Defense" or "new social protection". He said: "every community requires the existence of social order, which is a set of rules that not only complies with the requirements for a life together but in accordance with the aspirations of citizens in general. Some views, according to Moderate namely:¹¹ a) Aiming to integrate the ideas or conceptions of community protection into a new conception of criminal law; b) Protection of individuals and communities dependent on the exact formulation of the criminal law, and this is no less important than the life of society itself.

While the umbrella law relating to the crime of terrorism is still referring to the fundamental constitution of Indonesian Republic which is the 1945 Constitution, while the legal product produced by the executive and the legislature concerning the eradication of terrorism includes the stipulation Government Regulation in Liew of Law No. 1 of 2002, Law No. 15 of 2003, Government Regulation No. 2 of 2002, and Law No. 5 of 2018.

Furthermore, if we look at the various literature in the fields of sociology and criminology, the types of terrorism are actually varied. For instance, Gus Martin divides terrorism into five categories, which are: (1) state terrorism; (2) dissident terrorism; (3) criminal terrorism; (4) international terrorism; and (4) religious terrorism. State terrorism usually committed by established governments against their enemies, while dissident terrorism is terrorism committed by various non-governmental actors against governments, specific groups, or other perceived enemies. Moreover, criminal terrorism is terrorism in which the goal is financial or political gain; whereas international terrorism is terrorism in which the goal is a global effect, or the target is an international symbol. Moreover, lastly, religious terrorism is terrorism motivated by an absolute belief that an otherworldly power has sanctioned and commanded.¹²

The religious terrorism arguably very dangerous because the application of violence and deceive in the name of greater faith. Therefore, it is very critical to use the correct approach to this type of terrorism. Radicalisation is fast becoming one of the most acute and pressing safeguarding issues.¹³ While there are several concepts of measures to prevent and eradicate terrorism, however, the authors believe that deradicalisation is the most effective measure to combat religious terrorism.

Problems that may arise from the tendency of radicalism synonymous with violence even to commit suicide to the diversity of life believed. Goals and targets preventive deradicalisation phase is the public at large, either if they have already carried the radicalism and especially those who have not been affected by radicalism. The abuse in carrying out the concept of commanding the good and forbidding the evil should not be used for ways of violence. It is also a separate issue to be solved. In this study, we believe it is also necessary to include a comparative study on deradicalisation between Indonesia and Thailand. Thus this study tries to answer why many terrorist attacks occur in Indonesia and Thailand and how deradicalisation concept for terrorism in Indonesia compared to Thailand.

¹¹ Edward A. Tomlinson, 'Non-Adversarial Justice: The French Experience', *Maryland Law Review*, 42.1 (1983).

¹² Gus Martins, *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues - Gus Martin - Google Books*, SAGE, 2016 <<https://doi.org/10.1186/1743-0003-6-23>>.

¹³ Matt Dryden, 'Radicalisation: The Last Taboo In Safeguarding And Child Protection? Assessing Practitioner Preparedness In Preventing The Radicalisation Of Looked-After Children', *Journal For Deradicalization*, 13 (2017), 101. Also See Jocelyn J. Bélanger et al., 'Radicalization Leading To Violence: A Test Of The 3n Model', *Frontiers In Psychiatry*, Vol.10, 2019, DOI : 10.3389/fpsyt.2019.00042

RESEARCH METHODS

The method used is doctrinal with the **statute approach**, the **conceptual approach**, the **historical approach**, and the **philosophical approach**.¹⁴ According to Peter Mahmud Marzuki¹⁵ "statute approach is done by examining all applicable laws and regulations relating to the legal issues are being addressed. Law approach is the approach of using legislation and regulations". The normative juridical approach that uses conception.¹⁶ *legis positivist* it saw identical **leg¹ norms** made written and enacted by institutions or authorities. This conception of viewing the **law as a normative system** which **is independent**, introverted and detached **from the real-life** of society.¹⁷

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The Concept of Terrorism

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, which killed almost three thousand civilians, led to profound changes in societal viewpoints, political agendas, and the legal authority to combat terrorism and threats of terrorism. The United States continues to struggle with questions of how to keep its population safe while maintaining the principles of democracy and the rule of law that are essential to the nation's character.¹⁸

The terrorists (actors) and terrorism (action) are derived from the Latin word *terere*, which means making a shake or vibrate. The word "terror" could also give rise to horror, in the Black Laws Dictionary,¹⁹

"The criminal act of terrorism is an activity involving elements of violence or who pose a danger to human life effects in violation of criminal law, and intended to intimidate the civilian population, influence government policy, affecting the implementation of the state by means of abduction and murder."

1 Definition of terrorism for the first time discussed in the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism (ECST) in Europe in 1977, there is **an increase paradigm meaning of Crime against State becomes Crime against Humanity. Crime against Humanity includes criminal offences committed to creating a situation that resulted in individuals, groups, and the general public are in a tense atmosphere. Terrorism is** categorised as an attack as part of a widespread or systematic attack was directed against the civilian population, primarily directed to the souls of the innocent. Exclamation need for legislation welcomed considering the pros and cons debated definitions of terrorism is still a multi-interpretative, generally leads to polemic regarding the state interest.²⁰

Terrorism is an emotionally charged morally laden and political contentious concept, which has nevertheless emerged as a critical and unavoidable feature of the legal landscape, both internationally and domestically.²¹ This definition of terrorism also excludes acts of violence in

¹⁴ Peter Mahmud Marzuki, *Legal Research* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2005).

¹⁵ Marzuki.

¹⁶ Yati Nurhayati, 'Perdebatan Antara Metode Normatif Dengan Metode Empirik Dalam Penelitian Ilmu Hukum Ditinjau Dari Karakter, Fungsi, Dan Tujuan Ilmu Hukum', *Al Adl*, 5.10 (2013), 15.

¹⁷ Ronny Hanitijo Soemitro, *Legal Research Methodology and Jurimetri* (Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia, 1988).

¹⁸ Kent Roach, *Comparative Counter-Terrorism Law* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

¹⁹ Muladi, *Democracy Human Rights and Law Reform in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Habibie Center, 2002).

²⁰ Hery Firmansyah, *Terrorism Efforts in Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Journal of the Faculty, 2010).

²¹ Kent Roach and George Williams Victor V. Ramraj, Michael Hor, *Global Anti-Terrorism Law and Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

which the terror component is incidental or secondary to some other primary objective.²² The death of the owner-operator of a major logging company, for example, maybe the primary goal of some environmental extremists who wish to eliminate his voice or his particular quality of leadership, or more likely, the owner could be about to influence some item of legislation that is clearly in opposition to the environmental extremist group's goal's.

Terrorism is often referred to as extraordinary crime. Terrorism is also considered a *generic humanist hostes* (enemy of mankind), so it requires extraordinary measures²³ because of the following factors: 1) Terrorism creates the greatest danger to human rights. In this case, is the right to life and the right to be free from terror; 2) The target of terrorism is random or indiscriminate which tends to sacrifice innocent life; 3) The possibility of using weapons of mass destruction by utilising modern technology; 4) The tendency for negative synergy between national and international terrorist organisations; 5) Possibility of cooperation between terrorist organisations and organised crime both national and transnational in nature; 6) Endanger international peace and security. Terrorism as a crime has developed into a transnational crime.

According to Loebby Lukman, terrorism is an extraordinary crime because of the striking difference in perception between the perpetrators and their victims. For his group, the perpetrators of terrorism are considered as heroes, but their victims are considered as treason.²⁴ Deradicalization comes as a prevention strategy becomes an alternative to counter classic terrorism strategies that tend to use violence or a hard measure approach.

Deradicalization for Terrorism in Indonesia

Various acts of terror that occur in Indonesia tend to be carried out by actors who have a radical understanding of religion and are adjusted to the goals set by the group that is the centre or reference of these actors. Radicalism which can end in acts of terrorism can be caused by many things, including dissatisfaction, feeling marginalised, alienated, and hopeless.²⁵

Indonesia shows the seriousness in handling and preventing and eradicating terrorism which can be seen from the issuance of law No 5 of 2018 on the amendments to Law No 15 of 2003. There is also Presidential Regulation No. 12 of 2012 on the National Counterterrorism Agency, which is supported by the police through the Special Anti-terror Forces 88, plus the power of intelligence generals, and even the involvement of the TNI (Indonesian National Army) with a pattern of Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP); On the other hand the Majelis Ulama Indonesia also affirmed its partiality with the issuance of the MUI fatwa No 15 of 2004 on terrorism (law).

Deradicalisation becomes actual as a form of new approaches for preventing and overcoming threats and dangers of terrorism in Indonesia. The word itself comes from the deradicalisation of the English language deradicalisation the word essentially a radical. The word is often used to

²² Jeremy R. Spindlove Clifford E. Simonsen, *Terrorism to Day; The Past, the Players, the Future* (Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006).

²³ Ali Masyar, *Gaya Indonesia Menghadapi Terorisme: Sebuah Kritik Kebijakan Hukum Pidana Terorisme Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mandar Maju, 2009).

²⁴ Folman P. Ambarita, 'Penanggulangan Tindak Pidana Terorisme', *Jurnal Bina Mulia Hukum*, 7.2 (2018), 146.

²⁵ Sadarusalam and others, 'Strategi Kontra Propaganda Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme Dalam Menanggulangi Perkembangan Radikalisme Kontemporer Di Indonesia', *Jurnal Peperangan Asimetrik*, 4.3 (2018), 41-60.

describe the process by which individuals transform their ¹ view of the world from the condition of a society that tends to "normal" society tends towards the "extreme". In some cases, these individuals will then involve themselves in the next stage of performing acts of violence.²⁶

Indonesia uses the deradicalisation program for a terrorist in the penitentiary, which slightly differs from the global trend. In several other countries, the de²radicalisation program display similarities, or at least have a similar approach or pattern such as France, the Netherlands, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States. These countries' programs seem to focus on security, with only a limited awareness of promoting reform.²⁷ On the other hand, their approaches can be found to be different. For example, of the five countries named, only the Netherlands implemented 'concentration' system, where all terrorist prisoners are held in one place at the high-security prisons located in Vaugh. However, the re²maining four countries applied dispersal and (partial) concentration policies.²⁸ Meanwhile, the foundation of Indonesia's distinct program is underpinned by two principal factors: First, is that Indonesia has terrorist prisoners; and second, that there is an in²dication of the spread of radicalisation in Indonesian prisons.²⁹

According to Taufik Andrie, deradicalisation program in Indonesian prisons could be identified by several activities, such as providing conflict management training or inviting an Islamic scholar from Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) to have a discussion with terrorist prisoners.³⁰ Furthermore, according to Petrus Reinhard Golose, there is three critical, crucial deradicalisation program, namely:³¹

"1) Humanist means efforts to eradicate terrorism must be in accordance with human rights enforcement. Moreover, combating terrorism, should also be able to create prosperity, equality, and justice for all people, for the accused, or convicted of terrorism; 2) Soul approach means that the fight against terrorism is done through excellent communication and education among law enforcement officers and the suspects or convicts of terrorism and not using violence and intimidation; 3) Touching the grassroots is a program that not only addressed to those arrested or convicted of terrorism, but this program also is directed to investigators and members of the public who have been exposed to radical ideologies, as well as instil multiculturalism to the public."

More broadly, deradical¹isation is every effort to neutralise radical ideologies through an interdisciplinary approach, such as law, psychology, religion and socio-cultural for those affected to understand the radical and/or pro-violence.³² ¹Whereas in the context of terrorism posed by radical religious understanding, and defined as a process to align the narrow religious understanding, fundamentally, be moderate, extensive and comprehensive.³³

Deradicalization program basically starts from the assumption that terrorism started from radicalism. Therefore, efforts to combat terrorism more effectively through the deradicalisation.

²⁶ Farid Septian, p114.

²⁷ Peter R. Neumann, *Prisons and Terrorism: Radicalisation and De-Radicalisation in 15 Countries* (London: International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence, 2010).

²⁸ Neumann.

²⁹ I Gede Widhiana Suarda, 'A Literature Review on Indonesia's Deradicalization Program For Terrorist Prisoners', *Mimbar Hukum*, 28.3 (2016), 526–43.

³⁰ Taufik Andrie, 'Kehidupan Di Balik Jeruji: Terorisme Dan Kehidupan Penjara Di Indonesia', *Institute for International Peace Building Position Paper*, 2 (2011), 11–14. In I Gede Widhiana Suarda, "A Literature Review on Indonesia's De-radicalization Program For Terrorist Prisoners".

³¹ Petrus Reinhard Golose, *Deradicalisation Terrorism, Humanist, Soul Approach, and Touching Grassroots* (Jakarta: Police Science Research Development Foundation, 2009).

³² Golose.

³³ Amirsyah, *Align Against Deradicalisation One Understood Thought, Concept and Implementation Strategy* (Jakarta: Khazanah Grafindo Studies, 2012).

The essence is to change the perception or mindset that is considered wrong and perverse. Prevention of terrorism through the concept of deradicalisation is a proactive step and need careful consideration pluralistic Indonesian society and pluralism vulnerability to social conflict. The concept of deradicalisation should be used as a "counter-ideology of terrorism" and institutionalised in people's everyday lives until the bottom layers of society.

The benefits of deradicalisation program are counter terrorism, prevent radicalism, ideology comparison, dodge the provocation of hatred, enmity in the name of religion, prevent people from indoctrination, and community participation reject terrorism. Deradicalization program which has been running at the moment should be re-granted support by the government along with the broader community.

Basically, the deradicalisation is an attempt to persuade the terrorists and their supporters to renounce the use of violence. As a public diplomacy effort aimed at "winning hearts and minds".³⁴ Deradicalisation became popular in the cycle of counter-terrorism, which could also mean a process of counselling aimed at modifying the interpretation of texts religious, a gap or break the bonds (disengagement) someone from *jihadist* groups (a Muslim who advocates or participates in a crusade for a principle or belief) in particular, or support for the rehabilitation and reintegration of terrorist convicts into society.³⁵ De-radicalisation substantively aims to change the actions and ideologies of individuals or groups. In contrast, disengagement concentrate on facilitating behaviour change unties (disengage) and reject the use of violence.

Deradicalisation terrorism embodied by motivational reorientation program, re-education, re-socialisation, and seeking social welfare and equality with other communities for those who have been involved in terrorism and for investigator. Furthermore, Golose, stressed that the deradicalisation program to be able to let go of the ideologies of the terrorists themselves or stop the spread of the ideology. So that in practice (deradicalisation) needs to be done simultaneously with de-ideology.³⁶ De-ideology awareness is a critical element of terrorist ideology and reorientation process to return to the actual teachings. Deradicalization process is a reversal of the process of radicalisation that starts from the recruitment, self-identification, indoctrination, and understanding of jihad are misled.

Deradicalization in Thailand

Initially, terrorist activities in Thailand were closely related to the uprising that occurred in Southern Thailand. Rebellions in Southern Thailand are active in Narathiwat, Pattani and Yala Province. Violence also occurred in the Songkhla region, especially in some areas that are dominated by Muslim populations, namely in Hat Yai, and the commercial hub area.³⁷ This group desires to be independent of a Buddhist population living in northern Thailand since 1902, which has resulted in political and economic instability in Thailand until now. The Thai government also admitted

³⁴ International Crisis Group, *Deradicalisation and Indonesian Prisons* (Asia Report, Nr. 142, 2007) <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/45470/142_deradicalisation_and_indonesian_prisons.pdf>.

³⁵ Group.

³⁶ Petrus Reinhard Golose, *Loc.Cit.*

³⁷ Neil J. Melvin, *Conflict in Southern Thailand, Islamism, Violence and the State in the Pattani Insurgency*, Sirpri Policy Paper (Sweden, 2007).

that it was quite challenging to find out the motives let alone deal with thoroughly the attacks carried out by the separatist movement.

The old perception basically inspired the separatist movement that carried out the terror that the ethnic Thais who constituted the majority of Buddhists were persecuting ethnic Malay Muslims (there are about 1.3 million ethnic Malays in Yala, Narathiwat and Pattani, 80% of the population of the province, out of a total population of 65 million Thais). Most experts believe that the violence and terror that occurred in Southern Thailand is a desire to have its autonomous region.³⁸ As a result of the suffering of Thai Muslims who had happened, it was made by terrorist groups in the Southeast Asian region to offer material support to separatist groups in Thailand.

There is some evidence found by security forces in Thailand that "foreign jihadist" groups are also active in Southern Thailand. The active jihadist groups or international terrorist groups in Southern Thailand can be seen from the various terrorist acts that occurred in Thailand and the entry of international terrorist members who were wanted by the US to come to Thailand. For example, on January 12 2012, Hussein Artis was arrested. Artis was born in Lebanon and used a Swedish passport when he left for Thailand at Suvarnabhumi Airport, which is a member of the Lebanese international terrorist group under the auspices of Hizballah which is an Iranian Islamic terrorist group. One of the other bombing suspects is Saeid Moradi, an Iranian national, was in Thailand using a tourist visa.

The massive number of rebel groups in Southern Thailand also prevented the Thai government from identifying the leader who directed the rebellion because the rebellion group in Thailand did not have authority over other rebellion groups. Some reports state that the Barisan Revolusi Nasional-Coordinate (BRN-C) is coordinating the uprising, others say that the Pattani United Liberation Organization (PULO) which has a higher profile is known internationally than the BRN-C which coordinates the uprising in Thailand, the rebellion group the other is the Pattani Islamic Mujahidin Movement (GMIP).³⁹

The Thai government has the Supreme Command of the Royal Thai Armed Forces which operates at the counter-terrorism operational level. There are also other institutions, such as the Counter-Terrorism Program by the Royal Thai Navy, the National Security Council (NSC) spearheaded by the Thai Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thailand Maritime Enforcement Coordination Center (THAI-MECC), Martial Law against insurgency in Southern Thailand (Emergency military and curfew in Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat areas in 2004) and Expansion of counter-terrorism measures in the financial sector, TNC and Narcotics.

Furthermore, Today in Thailand, there is no Khilafah-based religious radicalism or hard-line religious views from outside influences. Even the separatist movement in southern Thailand is not directly related to radical Islamic groups, but somewhat local in nature. According to Prof. Kriya from the southern region of Thailand, a majority of Muslim-Malays believes that the Thai government, in general, sees religion as the central issue of conflict. The Thai government implements Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) and Prevention of Violent Extremism (PVE) to counter radicalism, including the application of a curriculum that is in accordance with local culture as well as the concept of deradicalisation that has been in force until today.

³⁸ Melvin.

³⁹ Melvin.

Minority issues also not a problem in Thailand, as long as their freedom of worship is guaranteed by the constitution. The Thai community and government are aware that inter-community problems are not religious issues, but rather local perspectives and government efforts in religious education are more about maintaining Thai stability. Because of the State's obligation to fulfil, protect and respect human rights even though they have different views from the majority, similarly, if someone has a different view of the State.

Deradicalization Strategy: A Final Comparison

The influence of social movements (NU and Muhammadiyah) has become community organisations for fighting terrorism ideology in Indonesia, by revitalising the teachings that Islam is "rahmatan lil 'alamin" that rejecting and strictly prohibiting the use of violence in order to achieve the goals of religion. NU and Muhammadiyah have the same perception that "eliminating evil cannot be done with evil too." No ethical or moral reason can justify an act of violence, especially terror (ism).

While the influence of social movements in Thailand is not significant in terms of suppressing terrorism and ideology, it is because, in Thailand, the movement and the acts of terrorism are not directly related to Islam, which factually only exists in the Yala, Narathiwat and Pattani regions. The impact of deradicalisation in Indonesia, both in quality and quantity feels very much different from that of Thailand. It can be seen from several aspects, namely laws, legal instrument, and cases quantity.

The terrorism policy in Indonesia became a serious concern from the government. It can be seen, on the one hand, from the issuance of Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning Eradication of Terrorism Crimes, Presidential Regulation Number 12 of 2012 Regarding The National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT), which is supported by the police through Counterterrorism Special Detachment 88, plus the power of intelligence, even the involvement of The Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) with the pattern of Military Operations Other Than War (OMSP). On the other hand, there is also the Fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council Number 3 of 2004 that the law of terrorism is "haram" (prohibited/sinful).⁴⁰ Meanwhile, in Thailand, there are no specific laws on terrorism. This is related to the royal system that applies in the country. The policy is only related to the formation of tactical institutions that move at the operational level of counter terrorism.

CONCLUSION

There are some shifts in the concept of terrorism, especially after the events of 9/11 in the United States, which indirectly arouse the role of the international community in handling and overcoming terrorism. Various approaches have been carried out by countries in overcoming terrorism, one of which is by reforming ideology through deradicalisation. Some countries that do this are Indonesia and Thailand. The two countries carried out two different models of deradicalisation following the context of their respective regions. Deradicalisation in Indonesia is a soft approach carried out by BNPT special programs. It is implemented for terrorists, families and sympathisers, while counter-

⁴⁰ Fatwa MUI No 3/2004 on Terrorism

radicalisation is carried out for the general public to increase the deterrent power of radical terrorism. While in comparison, Thailand implements Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) and Prevention of Violent Extremism (PVE) to counter radicalism, including the application of a curriculum that is under local culture as well as the concept of deradicalisation that has been in force until today.

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