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# **Analysis of The Indonesian Government Initiative of The National Action Plan on Counter Violent Extremism that Lead to Terrorism**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This article aims to determine the urgency of the government in this case BNPT in initiating the National Plan of Action on counter violent extremism that leads to terrorism. The growing spread of terrorism is evident in the massive nature of violent extremism. Currently the terrorist movement is growing and growing both domestically and at regional or international levels. Indonesia faces an increasingly dynamic and complex development of terrorism in line with changes in the international and regional strategic environment, as well as the changing mode of operation of terrorist attacks. The Collaborative Governance strategy can be used to analyze the urgency of the need for the preparation of the National Action Plan (NAP) where the NAP by BNPT is needed to address push factors and pull factors of terrorist acts in Indonesia. This strategy puts forward involvement together all stakeholders in co-operation and coordination to produce an integrated and comprehensive counter-terrorism policy. From the perspective of Collaborative Governance, the establishment of the NAP can be expected to lead to decreased radicalism, increased prevention programs in ministries / institutions, strengthening inter-ministerial / institutional coordination, increasing partnerships between ministries / institutions / institutions civil society, and increased public participation in countering violent extremism leading to terrorism.

**Keywords:** Violent Extremism, Terrorism, Plan of Action, and Collaborative Governance.

## **1. Introduction**

Since 2002 Indonesia has been a target of terrorist attacks. The attacks and developments of terrorism in Indonesia are generally closely related to the strategic environment changes both nationally, regionally and internationally. The cases of terrorist attacks in Indonesia occurring between 2002-2009 were largely perpetrated by terrorist groups linked to Jamaah Islamiah and Al Qaeda networks: 2002 (10 cases); 2003 (15 cases); 2004 (5 cases); 2005 (19 cases); 2006 (17 cases) and in 2009 there were two bombing cases that were bombing at Hotel J.W. Marriott and Ritz Carlton Hotel on July 17, 2009.

After the Bali bombings of October 12, 2002, the Indonesian government placed terrorism as an extraordinary crime, and dealt with it with extraordinary action in an active, professional and integrated policy. This policy is demonstrated by serious action to punish the perpetrators, dismantle their motives and networks. The Government makes a strong political commitment to fight against any terrorism its motives and with any group of its affiliates, as

well as mobilize sufficient resources support to combat acts of terrorism and open up to cooperate with other countries in the fight against terrorism.

The Government through Presidential Regulation (Presidential Regulation) no. 46 Year 2010 as already amended by Presidential Regulation no. 12 of 2012 then established the National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT), which in Article 2 paragraph 1 mandates the BNPT to: First, develop policies and strategies and national programs in the field of counter terrorism. Second, coordinate the relevant agencies in the implementation of policies in the field of counter terrorism, and third, implement policies and strategies in the field of counter terrorism. The placement of BNPT as an agency under the presidency is also intended to improve the effectiveness of coordination among ministries/agencies/government agencies in counterterrorism and at the same time involve community participation. The policy of counter terrorism is also strengthened by the enactment of Law Number 9 Year 2013 on the Prevention and Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism Financing.

Currently the terrorist movement is growing significantly and increasingly threatening both domestically and at regional or international levels. The country faces an increasingly dynamic and complex development of terrorism in line with changes in the international and regional strategic environment, as well as the changing mode of operation of terrorist attacks. Understanding and analyzing strategic environmental changes can help in developing the right framework in countering terrorism. The linkage between terrorist attacks in Indonesia and international and regional conflicts and the emergence of ISIS should be given serious attention without prejudice to the awareness of BNPT and other ministries/agencies dealing with terrorism against other sources of terrorism threats. ISIS's propaganda of radicalism has encouraged several domestic terrorist networks in Indonesia and its sympathizers to volunteer to become an affiliated party with ISIS. This has an impact on the increasing threat of terrorism perpetrated by domestic terrorist networks and well-organized and individualized sympathizers (lone wolf). In addition, ISIS's propaganda of radicalism has also affected the increasing number of Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTF) originating from Indonesia.

The growing spread of terrorism threats as well as the situations that support terrorism are evident in the massive nature of violent extremism. Not only using offline mediums through the direct meeting, this terrorist network also uses various online means through information and communication technology, especially the internet. This has proven effective in expanding their propaganda and agitation in spreading the teachings and influencing the public to sympathize and support terrorist acts. This method they do starting from

recruitment of Indonesian citizens to join in a group of radical organizations that lead to terrorism, until the occurrence of violence. Included in the increasingly widespread recruitment pattern is the inclusion of women and young people in various forms, ranging from sympathizers, members, to suicide bombers.

In its implementation often ministries / institutions place the issue of countering terrorism as a sectoral issue, which is only the main task of BNPT. As a result, measures of countering violent extremism are not integrated in the overall implementation of government duties and obligations. To address these challenges the government, in this case BNPT, needs to push a strategy or policy that can cope with violent extremism that can lead to terrorism in a more integrated, sustainable and integrated way by involving all stakeholders.

## **2. Violent Extremism Threat and Challenges**

In 2006, the United Nations (UN) has approved the United Nations Global Counter Terrorism Strategy, in which one of its pillars emphasizes the importance of 'measures to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism'. This suggests that a shift in counterterrorism strategy, initially reactive to the global war on terror, has been preventive in tackling the various forms of violent extremism that have led to terrorism. UN Security Council Resolution 2178 of 2014 then explicitly states the importance of involvement of civil society and all stakeholders in Counter Violent Extremism (CVE). The UN defines that "Violent extremism is the beliefs and actions of people who support or use violence to achieve ideological, religious or political goals. This includes terrorism and other forms of politically motivated and communal violence ". (UN, 2014).

To address the root causes of terrorism requires efforts to resolve the root causes of violent extremism such as terrorism. The UN mentions two main points that encourage violent extremism, namely: (1) Conditions conducive and structural context; and (2) The process of radicalization. In the aspect of conditions conducive and structural context, the push factor of violent extremism is the lack of social economic opportunities, marginalization and discrimination, poor governance, violation of human rights and rule of law, unresolved conflict, and radicalization in prisons. Meanwhile, aspects of the radical process include individual backgrounds and motivation, collective victimization and disappointment, distortion and abuse of religion / beliefs, political ideology, ethnic and cultural differences, social networking, and leadership. The following scheme describes these two things:

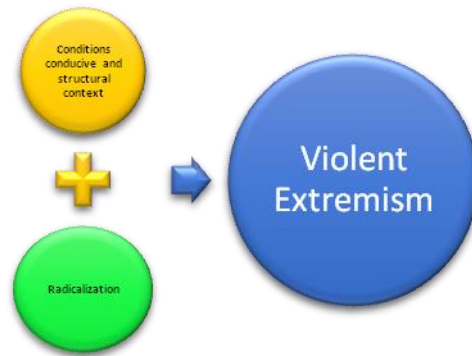


Figure 1. The scheme of push factors of violent extremism

Initiatives to address the root causes of violent extremism are called Counter Violent Extremism (CVE). In countering terrorism, CVE initiatives need to be developed in a comprehensive, participatory and sustainable manner and involving all stakeholders. Partial, exclusive and short-term activities are not CVE programs that can have an impact on expectations. In February 2016 the United Nations General Assembly accepted unanimously the draft UN Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism submitted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. In the Plan of Action, there are seven priority areas that need to be addressed in Prevention/CVE, namely (a) Dialogue and Conflict Prevention; (b) Strengthening Good Governance, Human Rights and Rule of Law; (c) Engaging Communities; (d) Empowering Youth; (e) Gender Equality and Empowering Women; (f) Education, Skill Development and Employment Facilitation; and (g) Strategic Communication, Internet and Social Media. The seven priority areas are recommended for UN member states to be able to run the CVE program (UN, 2016).

The international strategy responds to these two issues and serves as a guide for countries to counter violent extremism. BNPT, as mandated by Presidential Regulation, acting as coordinator of policy makers, strategies and national programs of counter terrorism, including implementing the CVE initiative (BNPT, 2015).

In counterterrorism BNPT has been implementing CVE program initiatives since 2010 when BNPT began to take shape. In countering terrorism, besides using hard approach through law enforcement, BNPT is also a soft approach. The soft approach that includes de-radicalization and counter-radicalization efforts is based on the principles of CVE. Deradicalisation is carried out both within prisons and outside prisons against terrorists and former terrorists, in an effort to reduce and break their radical level. While counter radicalization is done to the public at large in an effort to prevent people from being exposed to radicalism and engaging in terrorist activities. Counter radicalization is run through counter-narrative programs, both

in the real world and cyberspace that is currently the influence of cyberspace in the life of society is getting bigger. In running the deradicalisation and counter-radicalization of BNPT as coordinator in counter-terrorism have coordinated and cooperated, both with other related government agencies, as well as community organizations and various communities in Indonesia, even with other bilateral, regional and multilateral governments (BNPT , 2015). However, the challenges of CVE initiative run by BNPT are also getting bigger. The Thamrin bomb event of 2016 and a number of other violent and terror events continue to occur in several locations in Indonesia, conducted by groups or individuals affiliated with ISIS. In the period 2016 to November 2017, there were at least 12 terrorist attacks in Indonesia, conducted by groups claiming to be affiliated with ISIS. No less than 28 people died, and 51 others were injured. In general, the target of the attack is the police or state apparatus, which they consider as false (thogut) to be fought, as well as religious minorities in Indonesia.

At the regional level, ASEAN Member States of Association (ASEAN) are still a country vulnerable to the threat of international terrorism. Following international pressure to halt the rate of Al-Qaeda-affiliated Jemaah Islamiyah, countries in the region must face a new threat of terrorism in the form of foreign terrorist fighters (FTFs) traveling from Southeast Asia to join ISIS, and the wave of combatants' return to the post-emergency ISIS in Iraq and Syria by global forces. Six months after its founding, ISIS formed a special military unit, "Katibah Nusantara", which consists mainly of foreign terrorist fighters from Malaysia and Indonesia. Katibah Nusantara helped ISIS in achieving its ambition to make Southeast Asia part of the "caliphate" all over the world. In April 2015, the unit demonstrated military capability by occupying some Kurdish-controlled territory in Iraq. ISIS uploaded propaganda to its website in both Malay and Indonesian. At least 800 Indonesians have traveled to Iraq and Syria since the beginning of the conflict, including women and children. Some have returned to Indonesia which sooner or later is feared to be a source of security threats in Indonesia. Not a few return through land and sea borders are minimal infrastructure, so that immigration is not detected. (US Department of States, 2016)

Indonesia is also faced with the issue of growing radicalism and intolerance which is also a driving force for the development of violent extremism that leads to terrorism. A number of surveys conducted by the Wahid Foundation in 2017 show that the majority of Muslims (male and female) are being unsupervised (57.1%). This number increased compared to the survey in 2016 by 51%. In general, surveys indicate that compared to 2016 the scale of intolerance in 2017 increases (Wahid Foundation, 2016).

### **3. National Action Plan (NAP) on Counter Violent Extremism (CVE)**

To respond to violent extremism that leads to terrorism, BNPT then attempts to publish the NAP on CVE. The issuance of the NAP on CVE also aims to address the legal vacuum and supporting regulations for reference in the handling of violent extremism, and address the need for institutional coordination among ministries and agencies. So far the relevant laws and regulations focus more on efforts to eradicate terrorism in the framework of law enforcement (hard approach). While the approach is soft approach to minimize acts of terrorism, although some have been done, but the scope and scope is still limited. Similarly, the actors involved are still limited to ministries and agencies that directly have authority in law enforcement and security actors, but have not involved all ministries and agencies to jointly increase the barbarity, overcome violent extremism, and prevent terrorism .

Departing from these conditions and needs as well as mandates owned by BNPT, especially those related to the formulation of policies, strategies and national programs in the field of counter terrorism, as well as coordination of related government agencies in the implementation of counter terrorism, reaffirms the urgency of formulating a national action plan that is able to integrate the overall role of each ministry / institution in countering violent extremism. Counter Violent Extremism according to the NAP is measures in order to overcome the process of violent radicalization and extremism. The targets are in addition to active terrorists, as well as for building community resilience, including vulnerable communities, and / or assisting individuals in the process of abandoning extremism.

BNPT from the outset formulated this action plan by involving various relevant stakeholders from both Ministries / Institutions and civil society so that implementation can be done by each Ministry / Institution related to civil society involvement and participation. The approach involving multiple stakeholders in the drafting and implementation of action plan emphasizes the whole of government approach and whole of society approach which is an integral part of soft and hard approach in counter terrorism. The NAP adopted a four-pillar framework for countering violent extremism, which includes: (1) Prevention Pillars (preparedness, counter-radicalization and protection); (2) Pillar of de-radicalization (3) Pillars of law enforcement and strengthening of the legislative framework; and (4) Pillars of partnership and international cooperation.

In an effort to ensure consistency in the implementation of the NAP on CVE, the main thing emphasized, in addition to its own action plan, is related to its coordination and monitoring mechanisms, including through: 1. Strengthening coordination mechanisms among ministries / agencies, which are responsible for the implementation of the NAP on CVE; 2.

Strengthening the capacity of ministries / agencies as the implementation of the NAP on CVE, so as to place efforts to overcome violent extremism as an integral part of the implementation of ministry / institution / institution duties and functions, not as sectoral agenda; and 3. Establishment of working groups as coordination chamber between ministries / institutions / institutions implementing NAP on CVE, as well as involving community participation in it.

In its institutionalization, the NAP on CVE will be pushed into a formal policy through the establishment of a Presidential Regulation, in this case the regulation on the NAP for Countering Violent Extremism that lead to terrorism. This Presidential Regulation further becomes the reference in the implementation of the action plan for all ministries / institutions / institutions, including in the coordination mechanism and its monitoring and evaluation.

While on strengthening the coordination mechanism, Head of BNPT directly control its implementation. Strengthening of this coordination can be supported by the formation of Working Group involving elements of ministries / institutions / institutions, as well as the community. This working group contains the following ministries / agencies: Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of Internal Affairs; Ministry of Justice and Human Rights; Ministry of Communication and Informatics; Ministry of PPN / Bappenas; Ministry of Religion; Ministry of Social Affairs; Ministry of Education and Culture; Attorney General's Office; Police; TNI; State Intelligence Agency; and PPATK. While the Working Group Secretariat itself can be established in BNPT, as a coordination room, monitoring, as well as controlling the implementation of this action plan.

Coordination can be conducted periodically within a period of 3 (three) months, to see every progress in the implementation of the NAP by each ministry / institution / institution, while identifying the challenges in implementation, and finding solutions to solutions. This periodic coordination is also intended to avoid any misalignment and / or overlapping of NAP implementation. In coordination, as an integral part of the monitoring process, its implementation should refer to the principles of: centralized and integrated, continuous and sustainable, objective and professional, transparent, participatory, empowering, accountable and timely.

Furthermore, the measurement and assessment of the achievements of all actions require the evaluation process of the implementation of the NAP to determine its suitability with the targets and capabilities to overcome the existing problems and / or anticipate problems that will arise. Evaluation of the plan and implementation of this action is carried out by the Working Group, at the end of the current year, so that each period can be identified



challenges and obstacles in the implementation of the NAP, to then formulated solutions and solutions strategy. In general, this coordination and monitoring and evaluation process is essential to ensure the fulfillment of targeted success indicators and their impacts, implementing Action in accordance with the plan, identifying and anticipating the various problems faced in implementing the NAP, and providing suggestions to encourage change and improvement of the NAP implementation.

With this continuous process of coordination and monitoring of the evaluation, the expectation of the establishment of the NAP can lead to decreased radicalism, increased prevention programs in ministries / institutions, strengthening inter-ministerial / institutional coordination, increasing partnerships between ministries / institutions / institutions civil society, and increased public participation in the prevention of violent extremism.

The initiation of the drafting of the NAP on CVE is in line with a new government strategy developed by Ansell and Gash called Collaborative Governance, whereby this strategy prioritizes the involvement of all stakeholders. Ansell and Gash define Collaborative Governance as:

A governing arrangement where one or more public agencies engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets. (Ansell and Gash, 2007).

An important component of the term collaborative governance is "governance." The process of organizing a state involving many actors in solving public problems in various sectors is a must by the current government. The concept of governance itself includes the integration between various sectors that exist within a country, in this case the state can no longer dominate or solve a problem without any involvement from other sectors such as non-governmental organizations, including communities within a country. Collaborative governance encourages cooperation and coordination in solving problems facing the state.

Based on Ansell and Gash's description above, it is understood that the Collaborative Governance Concept allows for a deliberative forum, in which the stakeholders involved can engage in a dialogue process until it reaches a consensus on a particular public issue. There are at least four important aspects of Collaborative Governance, namely the existence of deliberative forums, multiple actors covering state and non-state actors, consensus-oriented, and public policy-related.

In the context of NAP on CVE, the formation of working groups can be a coordination space between ministries / institutions / institutions implementing NAP, as well as involving

community participation in it so as to create a good dialogue between state and non-state actors so as to strengthen coordination mechanism and monitoring and evaluation in countering extremism based violence that leads to terrorism in an integrated and comprehensive mitigation effort.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The dynamics of the development of terrorism today expose governments to complex violent extremism challenges, which require creative initiative, engage all stakeholders and contain contextual responses. An effective CVE program needs to be designed to address the various factors that drive violent extremism that leads to terrorism. BNPT as coordinator of counter terrorism in Indonesia, since its establishment in 2010 has been implementing CVE initiatives in order to prevent and counter terrorism. The initiative of NAP on CVE preparation by BNPT is needed to overcome the push factor and pull factors of terrorism acts in Indonesia identified in the CVE BNPT strategy guidelines (2015), namely (1) the potential for large communal conflicts , often underpinned by primordial and religious sentiments, given the diversity of Indonesian society; (2) economic inequality; (3) differences in political views; (4) unfair treatment; and (5) religious motivation, including religious life intolerance. With this continuous process of coordination and monitoring of the evaluation, the expectation of the establishment of the NAP can lead to decreased radicalism, increased prevention programs in ministries / institutions, strengthening inter-ministerial / institutional coordination, increasing partnerships between ministries / institutions / institutions civil society, and increased public participation in countering violent extremism leading to terrorism.

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