

## **Policy and Strategy of Deradicalization**

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**Abstract:** The radical Islamic movement in Indonesia is not a new phenomenon but has been present since the colonial era. The fundamental reason for a Muslim to be radical is because of feelings of isolation from politics and a feeling of gaining great injustice committed by the West. This caused hatred towards the West. It is also important to note that Indonesia's radical movement originated from the reform movement in the Middle East. The fall of Suharto in 1998 continued with the Reformation period which did not imply further political restrictions on the establishment of radically inspired Muslim organizations. Even so, radical Islamic-based political parties did not get a significant number of votes, thus forcing radicals to use extreme tactics to try to make a difference. Extreme actions by radicals are carried out with bomb terror to achieve their political goals.

This paper uses a descriptive qualitative approach as the main writing approach, and uses the soft power theory approach by Joseph Nye, that the most common forms of soft power employed daily include basic diplomacy, information efforts (including public diplomacy), and intelligence (Forest, 2007).

The results of this study are: (1) Government policy makers need to understand the boundaries of public diplomacy, use efficient feedback mechanisms to assess the impact of certain policies, build and encourage forums to interact with community groups, frame important issues about radicalism in a more constructive way, and carry out reforms in the education sector especially where networks of radicalism are rooted; (2) An effective public diplomacy agenda requires a commitment to educate the public to understand radicalism and responsible communication, and to motivate grassroots community campaigns to develop and disseminate effective anti-radicalism messages; and (3) It is very clear that intelligence plays an important role in effective strategies and tactics to determine where, when and how to apply hard power and soft power in responding to terrorist threats, and accurate and strong international cooperation in intelligence collection and analysis is needed to deal with the movement of radical clandestine groups that have global networks.

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### **I. INTRODUCTION**

Indonesia with more than 200 million Muslim population is the largest Muslim population in the world. This number is approximately equal to 13 percent of the total number of Muslims in the world. Even so, Indonesia is not an Islamic state ruled by Islamic law. Because most Indonesians can be said to be moderate Muslims, the majority approves of secular democracy and pluralist society.

Elections and trials have shown increasing radicalization in Indonesia, especially among young people. There are several sources of this radicalization, including domestic radicalization, but one major factor is the well-funded Saudi network of schools, scholarships, imams and mosques that try to replace local interpretations of Islam, which usually encourage democracy and peaceful relations between religions, and Wahhabism Arabia (Marshall, 2017).

The radical Islamic movement in Indonesia is not a new phenomenon but has been present since the colonial era. The fundamental reason for a Muslim to be radical is because of feelings of isolation from politics and a feeling of gaining great injustice committed by the West. This caused hatred towards the West. It is also important to note that Indonesia's radical movement originated from the reform movement in the Middle East.

When Indonesia gained independence, militant Muslim groups did not have the space to make an Islamic state in Soekarno's secular government. During Suharto's New Order administration, radical Muslim voices and organizations were suppressed because they were seen as a threat to Suharto's political power. The fall of Suharto in 1998 continued with the Reformation period which did not imply further political restrictions on the establishment of radically inspired Muslim organizations. Even so, radical Islamic-based political parties did not get a significant number of votes, thus forcing radicals to use extreme tactics to try to make a difference. Extreme actions by radicals are carried out with bomb terror to achieve their political goals.

The following table shows terrorist acts in Indonesia during 2018:

Date	Information
January	Terrorist attack on Bontoala Makassar Sector Police Command Headquarters using a Pipe Bomb.
February	- Attack on the church of St. Lidwina, Yogyakarta. - Terrorists shot First Private Sandi Novian in Papua.
March	- The destruction of the Catholic Church, South Sumatra.
May	- Riots at the Brimob Command Headquarters Detention House by terrorism prisoners. - Suicide bombings in 3 churches in Surabaya. - A suicide bombing in Surabaya. - The terrorist group "Pa'Ngah" attacked the Riau Police Headquarters

Source: National Counterterrorism Agency (2019)

Despite positive developments in the fight against radicalism, it should be noted that radical ideology remains rooted in the minds of a small part of the Muslim community. And part of that small radical community is willing to use extreme violence to realize their ideals. Therefore, the implementation of the de-radicalization program must be continuously carried out, especially with the soft power approach to avoid national noise.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Policy

Carl J. Federickas quoted by Leo Agustino (2008: 7) defines policy as a series of actions / activities proposed by a person, group, or government in a particular environment where there are obstacles (difficulties) and opportunities for implementing the proposal these policies in order to achieve certain goals (Taufiqurakhman, 2014).

Control over policy choices can be exerted by the public directly (for example through voter initiatives) and indirectly (where near-total control is ceded to a third party, most often the government, to act as the public's agent). Historically, and in nondemocratic political structures, public policy was established through edicts from the ruler and his or her authorized agents. Such choices were binding on communities through the powers and authority that they granted their monarch. The derivation of that power and authority can be military, political, economic, religious, or traditional (Schultz, 20014).

Making public policy is extraordinarily complex. It involves public opinion, media attitudes, expert ideas, active citizens, business and labour leaders, elected representatives, presidents and governors, judges, and bureaucrats. (Cochran, 2011).

### 2.2 Strategy

The concept of strategy has been adopted from the military and adapted for use in business. In business, as in the military, strategy bridges the gap between policy and tactics. Together, strategy and tactics bridge the gap between ends and means (Nickols, 2016).

In the 1987 edition of his book, *The Concept of Corporate Strategy*, Andrews presents this lengthy definition of strategy: "Corporate strategy is the pattern of decisions in a company that determines and reveals its objectives, purposes, or goals, produces the principal policies and plans for achieving those goals, and defines the range of business the company is to pursue, the kind of economic and human organization it is or in-tends to be, and the nature of the economic and non-economic contribution it intends to make to its shareholders, employees, customers, and communities (p.18)."

Understanding the threat of radicalism which is the embryo of the emergence of terrorism, strategies are needed to reduce the ability of these groups. The strategy developed is counterterrorism using a strategic approach that must integrate meticulously measured hard power and soft power (Forest, 2007).

#### 2.2.1 Hard Power

Hard Power is a coercive approach to international political relations, especially one that involves the use of military power (Oxford Dictionary Online). Hard power, the ability to coerce, grows out of a country's military and economic might. Hard power remains crucial in a world of states trying to guard their independence, and non-state groups such as terrorist organizations willing to turn to violence (Ilgen, 2006).

The term hard power is the use of not only military but also economic means to influence the behavior of other actors. Hard power also includes police power, border controls, and anti-terrorism measures. The state's three tools of action are diplomacy, economic means, and military/police means (Matlary, 2018).

Hard power enables states wielding carrots and sticks to get what they want. The effectiveness of any power resource depends firstly on context and we know that the current context requires complex and global

answers. The ongoing trend of change we bear witness to is challenging this old paradigm and as a consequence has made power less tangible and the use of force less effective (Pallaver, 2011).

### **2.2.2 Soft Power**

What is soft power? It is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments (Ilgén, 2006). Soft power is the ability to attract people to our side without coercion. Legitimacy is therefore central to soft power (Pallaver, 2011). According to Joseph Nye, former dean of Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, the term "soft power" encompasses the realm of economics and the nuanced world of negotiated relationships among nations and transnational actors. While economic and financial incentives are important, the most common forms of soft power employed daily include basic diplomacy, information efforts (including public diplomacy), and intelligence (Forest, 2007).

Soft power emerges from the cultural appeal, political ideals and policies of a country. When policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, soft power is increased. But soft power will increasingly be important in preventing terrorists from recruiting supporters, and for dealing with transnational problems that require multilateral cooperation (Ilgén, 2006).

### **2.3 Radicalization**

Koehler, in his book of *Understanding Deradicalization Methods, Tools and Programs for Countering Violent Extremism (2017)* stated that generally, radicalization is used to describe how a person becomes a terrorist or extremist, typically as a result of a process to adopt certain ideas leading to the use of violence. From the perspective of the European Commission for example, radicalization is a process of embracing opinions, views and ideas which could lead to acts of terrorism (Reinares et al., 2008, p. 5). Similarly focusing on the aspect of violence, Bosi et al. (2014a, p. 2) understand this individual change as "a process forming through strategy, structure, and conjuncture, and involving the adoption and sustained use of violent means to achieve articulated political goals."

## **III. METHODOLOGY**

This paper uses a descriptive qualitative approach model as the primary writing approach. The data used in this writing is secondary data, where secondary data is generally in the form of evidence, records, or historical reports that have been compiled in archives (documentary data), both published and unpublished (Moleong, 2014).

The techniques used to collect data in this paper are: (1) Study of literature, a series of activities related to the method of collecting literature, reading, recording, and processing research materials; (2) Documentaries, documentation studies conducted by reading previous writing reports and journals relating to this writing. In this method, the author simply moves the relevant data from the source or document needed; (3) Discussion, collecting data by discussing ideas with people who are competent in this matter to solve certain problems related to this paper; (4) Intuitive-Subjective, is the involvement of the author's opinion about the problem being discussed (Ghofar, 1999).

## **IV. DISCUSSION**

Overall, this study provides an important example of how research on terrorists can inform our own counterterrorism strategy, a strategy that must integrate the carefully measured application of hard and soft power.

### **4.1 Hard Power**

According to Cambridge Dictionary Online, hard power is defined as the use of a country's military power to persuade other countries to do something, rather than the use of cultural or economic influence. Hard Power is needed to anticipate threats and secure society from political violence. However, policy-making and analysis are needed from just a military point of view. Indeed, the literature on terrorism and counterterrorism indicates that there are significant limitations on the use of military force as an instrument of coercion, particularly in confronting terrorism (Zimmermann, 1994).

Fighting terrorism and rebellion requires the provision of government and institutions that serve the people, not just the elite. Thus, in developing the capacity to prevent and defeat terror threats, expertise in law enforcement, economic development, rule of law and judicial mechanisms is needed. Such efforts illustrate the important role of what is called a country's soft power instrument, such as diplomacy, economic influence, information, and intelligence (Forest, 2007).

The military response can temporarily disrupt terrorist operations. Whether military power is an effective deterrent is problematic. Military strength also has its drawbacks. It can result in friendly victims and

innocent deaths. It can create terrorist martyrs and provoke retaliation, and can alienate world public opinion and reduce international cooperation (Lesser, 1999).

Joseph Nye points out that soft power is much more effective than hard power in most cases because it relies on persuasion and attractiveness, whereas hard power is coercive. The moment coercion is removed, the induced behaviour may stop as well. Persuasion, however, often leads to a target to accept something, or even to embrace it on an intellectual or emotional level (Matlary, 2018).

## **4.2 Soft Power**

Joseph Nye stated that the term “soft power” encompasses the realm of economics and the nuanced world of negotiated relationships among nations and transnational actors. The most common forms of soft power employed daily include basic diplomacy, information, and intelligence (Forest, 2007).

### **4.2.1 Diplomacy**

The summary of Gullion’s concept stated that public diplomacy is deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications (Snow, 2009).

Diplomatic efforts are very important to deal with the state sponsoring radicalism. Public diplomacy has an important role in shaping government perceptions and policies. This effort has a strategic influence on the environment in which the activity is carried out. The use of appropriate methods is very important for the success of diplomacy. At the same time, ineffective campaign strategies can be counterproductive and can cause populations to distrust and create hostility towards the entities that carry out the campaign. Government policy makers need to understand the boundaries of public diplomacy, use efficient feedback mechanisms to assess the impact of certain policies, build and encourage forums to interact with community groups, frame important issues about radicalism in a more constructive way, and carry out reforms in the education sector especially where networks of radicalism are rooted.

The relationship between policies and public diplomacy strategies is very important in areas that are the source of many radical threats. This can be seen how the government's deradicalization policy is in the spotlight and a source of dissatisfaction from certain parties that is sometimes linked to the issue of Human Rights. It is common in Indonesia to hear comments that support the view that if the government implements a deradicalization program it is perceived as anti-Islamic.

In fact, the key factor that drives hatred towards the government is the perception that government action is due to political pressure from foreign countries. Because of this, some religious leaders have called for jihad to fight injustice. This is very important for the government to reduce pressure on radical groups by ensuring greater balance or perceived balance regarding its policy on radicalism.

### **4.2.2 Information**

Information as part of a comprehensive counterterrorism strategy involves communicating interesting ideas and visions to the wider community in the hope of influencing their behaviour. This strategy is to win their hearts and minds or win the war of ideas (Forest, 2007). Soft power is the main means used by the state to combat radical ideology. This radical group is usually based on a vision of the future that is believed by group members cannot be achieved without resorting to violence.

Historically, ideas and visions have rarely been defeated by pure kinetic power. In fact, the use of hard power in many cases actually strengthens the appeal and perception of the ideological validity of a radical group. Most terrorist groups use strategic influence through pictures, words, videos, etc., to get support and recruitment. They try to connect with individuals to an intellectual and emotional level that can be used as an excuse to use violence to achieve their goals. Religion provides radical moral legitimacy to use violence in the name of holy war (Juergensmeyer, 2004).

According to Steve Simon (2003), ideology and religious beliefs provide a lens through which group members see their goals in life, and thus traditional prevention strategies are unlikely to succeed, given the group's willingness to die in the process of battle and given messianic trust to members of this radical group.

At present, the main battleground in the war of ideas or ideology is the Internet. The struggle for influence online between the government and radical groups involves various forms of strategic communication. Members of a global terrorist network use the Internet to provide motivational, ideological and operational information to potential recruits and supporters. They offer a simple and clear message for joining global jihad. Individuals who have joined can participate in providing funds, a safe place, and support.

Unfortunately, in this era of "internet of things" where online information is easily accessible, the community has the power to undermine the strategic communication and public diplomacy efforts carried out by the government. This is largely due to ignorance and irresponsibility. Thus, an effective public diplomacy agenda requires a commitment to educate the public to understand radicalism and responsible communication, and to motivate grassroots community campaigns to develop and disseminate effective anti-radicalism messages.

Overall, governments are involved in a war of ideas and global perceptions that trigger radical groups, some of which use violence to pursue their ideological goals. The success of the government in the strategic communication battle room is the second most important determinant of whether the global war against terror strategies will produce a victory for the government.

#### **4.2.3 Intelligence**

It can be argued that among a nation's soft power instruments, none are more vital to the success or failure of countering terrorism than accurate intelligence. It is very clear that intelligence plays an important role in effective strategies and tactics to determine where, when and how to apply hard power and soft power in responding to terrorist threats. Absolute accuracy in all efforts to collect and process intelligence data is a huge task. Good intelligence can disrupt potentially catastrophic terrorist plots. Bad intelligence can make matters worse. But worst of all, ignorance resulting from a lack of accurate intelligence can be lethal, as proven by the 9/11 attacks (Forest, 2007).

According to the 2000 National Commission on Terrorism (2000), good intelligence is the best weapon against terrorism. In addition to ensuring the highest quality and accuracy of information obtained through intelligence activities, the report also highlighted a need for eliminating bureaucratic barriers to the recruitment of informants as well as encouraging greater flow of information between law enforcement, policymakers, and analysts.

Lack of cooperation between institutions is a weakness of the government in carrying out de-radicalization resulting in disasters such as the Bali Bombing I and II. Another cause of failure is the weak mastery of foreign languages by the intelligence apparatus. Radicals often design terror attacks using language that is not understood by the intelligence apparatus. However, this kind of failure is also experienced by other countries' intelligence.

At the operational level, intelligence success or failure often determines whether terrorists are captured or killed. But on a strategic level, intelligence failure can exacerbate terrorist threats, more than failing in other national power instruments. According to US National Intelligence Strategy (2005), this intelligence activity identified several important strategic objectives which were separated into two categories, namely: mission objectives and company goals. The first category is highlighting how the government intelligence community will be: (1) defeat terrorists by disarming their operational capabilities and taking initiatives from them by promoting democracy; (2) prevent and fight the spread of bomb weapons; (3) develop innovative ways to penetrate and analyze the most difficult targets; and (5) Anticipating the development of strategic problems and identifying opportunities and vulnerabilities for decision makers.

In the second category, is how intelligence agents will increase their capacity to maintain competitive advantage over forces that threaten the nation's security. These goals emphasize the integration of agents, increase labour initiatives, provide greater access to intelligence for those who need them, exploit new scientific and technological developments, and strengthen foreign intelligence relations (US National Intelligence Strategy, 2005).

Domestic intelligence is very important in effectively combating radicalism and terrorism. Accurate and strong international cooperation in intelligence collection and analysis is needed to deal with the movement of radical clandestine groups that have global networks.

Domestic policy requires strategic thinking when there is a conflict of interest. When the use of force is in progress, there must always be a strategy because military forces are difficult to mobilize for political effects because they involve the risk of life and death and cause material damage. In short, domestic policy generally must be based on strategy, the use of force is a must, although often it is not.

## **V. CONCLUSION**

The military response can temporarily disrupt terrorist operations. Whether military power is an effective deterrent is problematic. Military strength also has its drawbacks. It can result in friendly victims and innocent deaths. It can create terrorist martyrs and provoke retaliation, and can alienate world public opinion and reduce international cooperation. Soft power is much more effective than hard power in most cases because it relies on persuasion and attractiveness, whereas hard power is coercive. The moment coercion is removed, the induced behaviour may stop as well. Persuasion, however, often leads to a target to accept something, or even to embrace it on an intellectual or emotional level (Matlary, 2018).

Diplomatic efforts are very important to deal with the state sponsoring radicalism. Public diplomacy has an important role in shaping government perceptions and policies. This effort has a strategic influence on the environment in which the activity is carried out. Government policy makers need to understand the boundaries of public diplomacy, use efficient feedback mechanisms to assess the impact of certain policies, build and encourage forums to interact with community groups, frame important issues about radicalism in a more constructive way, and carry out reforms in the education sector especially where networks of radicalism are rooted.

The community has the power to undermine the strategic communication and public diplomacy efforts carried out by the government. This is largely due to ignorance and irresponsibility. Thus, an effective public diplomacy agenda requires a commitment to educate the public to understand radicalism and responsible communication, and to motivate grassroots community campaigns to develop and disseminate effective anti-radicalism messages.

It is very clear that intelligence plays an important role in effective strategies and tactics to determine where, when and how to apply hard power and soft power in responding to terrorist threats. Good intelligence can disrupt potentially catastrophic terrorist plots. Bad intelligence can make matters worse. Domestic intelligence is very important in effectively combating radicalism and terrorism. Accurate and strong international cooperation in intelligence collection and analysis is needed to deal with the movement of radical clandestine groups that have global networks.

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