The Indonesia's Urgency on Adopting New Approach on Comprehensive Prevention in Countering Terrorism Strategy: Lesson Learnt from the Mako Detention Facility's Riot and East Java Bombs

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Abstract

Indonesia dihadapkan pada rangkaian serangan teror pada Mei 2018, antara lain: peristiwa kerusuhan disertai penyanderaan polisi oleh narapidana terorisme di Rutan Mako Brimob Kelapa Dua, Depok pada 8 Mei 2018, aksi teror bom bunuh diri terjadi di tiga gereja secara bersamaan pada Minggu pagi, 13 Mei, bom bunuh diri di pintu masuk Polrestabes Surabaya pada 14 Mei. Rangkaian peristiwa ini menunjukkan bahwa terorisme masih menjadi ancaman keamanan di Indonesia. Sejumlah serangan teror di Indonesia diyakini dilakukan oleh kelompok teroris yang berbai'at ke ISIS. Indonesia dalam rangka penanggulangan terhadap acaman terorisme telah melakukan sejumlah pendekatan baik soft approach maupun hard approach dengan menggunakan model criminal justice. Namun demikian, Indonesia melakukan modifikasi pendekatan criminal justice dengan melibatkan peran militer. Oleh karena itu, diperlukan pemahaman terhadap berbagai bentuk yang diasosiasikan dengan hard approach? dan bagaimana strategi baru yang juga perlu dipertimbangkan melihat ancaman yang ada? Tulisan ini mencoba mengeksplorasi berbagai kemungkinan strategi baru yang diadopsi Indonesia sebagai kelanjutan dari respon PBB terhadap permasalahan ekstrimisme berbasis kekerasan. Makalah ini merupakan pengembangan lebih lanjut terhadap hasil penelitian Pusat Kajian Keamanan Nasional (Puskamnas) Universitas Bhayangkara Raya Jakarta tentang peta global terorisme.

Kata kunci: terorisme; radikalisme; manajeman lapas

Abstrak

Indonesia was confronted with a series of terror attacks in May 2018, among others: riot incidents accompanied by police hostage by terrorist prisoners at Mako Brimob Prison in Kelapa Dua, Depok on May 8, 2018, suicide bombing occurred in three churches simultaneously on Sunday morning, 13 May, suicide bombing at the entrance of Polrestabes Surabaya on May 14th. This series of events shows that terrorism remains a security threat in Indonesia. A number of terror attacks in Indonesia are believed to have been committed by terrorist groups baiting to ISIS. Indonesia in the context of countermeasures against acamanism has done a number of approaches both soft approach and hard approach by using criminal justice model. Nevertheless, Indonesia has modified the criminal justice approach by involving the role of the military. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the various forms associated with hard approach? and how do new strategies also need to be considered looking at existing threats? This paper attempts to explore possible new strategies adopted by Indonesia as a continuation of the UN response to the problem of violent extremism. This paper is a further development of the research results of the Center for National Security Studies (Puskamnas) Bhayangkara Raya University of Jakarta on the global map of terrorism.

Keywords: terrorism; radicalism; prison management.

Introduction

Indonesia has been shaken again with the terrorist attack in churches and police office. As the province where the bomb was exploded, East Java shown to be the province where difficulty of managing the terrorism attack occured. The province with many Islamic religious schools and the basis on moderate Islamic religion such as Nahdatul Ulama (NU) was challenged with several attacks. The East Java Bombs has connection with Mako Brimob detention facility riot. An analyisis made by Ali Fauzi, the former frontman Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) who is also the younger brother of the Trio Bomber Bali. Manzi, Ali Fauzi's nickname in battlefield, the Surabaya bombs was part of a revenge related to the incident at Mako Brimob. In the video clip, Instagram, it was clear picturing terrorists' prisoners being fed by the police because their hands were handcuffed on a bus journey to Nusakambangan. This triggers anger to the terrorists' networks that are all affiliated with ISIS.[1]

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[1] Kompas, "Kapolri:Waspadai Sejumlah Kelompok terkait ISIS di Indonesia" (15-5-2018) https://regional.kompas.com/read/2018/05/14/08104371/kapolri-pelaku-utama-

Why were the bombs in churches and riot in Mako? Things were not happening without process. The Mako incident was previously happened in November 2017, even though it was not as big as today. As for the bombs in churches, it was happened before, in 2000, when simultaneous movement was happened in nine cities including in Batam, Pekanbaru, Mojokerto, Bandung, and Jakarta with the delivery of 25 packages of bombs. Manzi argued that this shown the police lose the control. Is it true or is there another element that made it different with the current attack to which we need to adopt a new strategy? This paper will explore some possibilities with analytical security approach on countering terrorists with global strategies.

The Present Feature of Indonesia's Terrorist Attack

There is a strong difference between the past and the present attackts of the terrorists in Indonesia. The current terrorist attacked used women and children at the same time through family relationship.

The method of kinship or recruitment through the family line for acts of terrorism is not new. The 2002 Bali Bombing was carried out by a trio of brothers: Ali Ghufron, Amrozi and Ali Imron. Adolescents engaged in terror networks are also not the first time in Indonesia. Some of them are involved in the ISIS network in the 2016 Thamrin bomb attacks and also the Bahrun Naim network in Solo. Attempts to involve women for acts of terror have also been tried by this network by recruiting Dian Yulianti Novi, a former migrant worker who is prepared to be a bride at the Presidential Palace in 2016.

Throughout the year 2017, Indonesia faced 5 (times) cases of terror attacks that occurred in several areas such as, Bandung-West Java, Tuban-East Java, Kampung Melayu-Jakarta, Kebayoran-Jakarta and Parigi-Central Sulawesi (Picture 1). Five times of terror attacks in Indonesia are mostly carried out by groups joined with Jamaah Ansharu Daulah (JAD). As for one case of terror in Kebayoran Baru allegedly, it was done individually. Mulyadi is purely indoctrinated and affected through content on social media in cyberspace. Meanwhile, the case of terror in Parigi was conducted by the East Indonesian Mujahidin group, Santoso network.

bom-di-surabaya-baru-pulang-dari-suriah

Picture 1: 2017 Indonesia Terrorism Cases
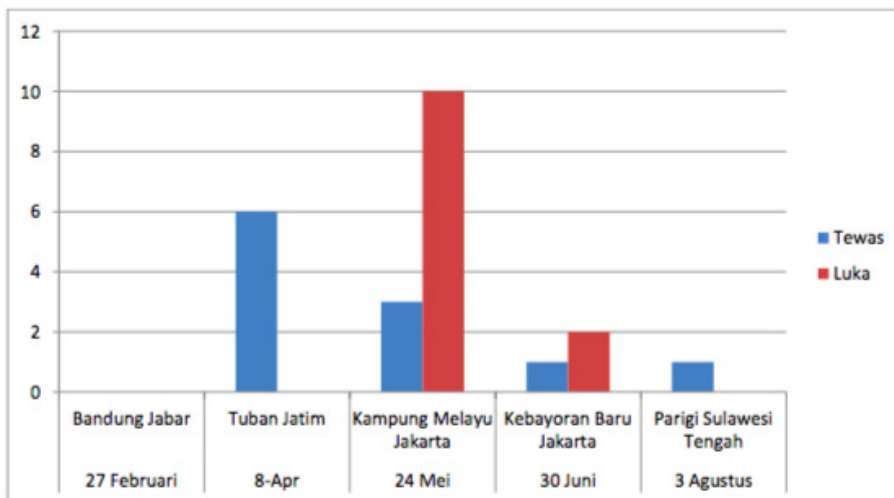
Judging from the number of cases, acts of terror in Indonesia are still relatively small compared to the acts of terror that occurred in the Middle East, Europe and South Asia. In fact, the number of terror acts in Indonesia is relatively smaller compared to other Southeast Asian regions such as the Philippines and Myanmar. The Philippines and Myanmar are Southeast Asian countries vulnerable to terror attacks compared to the Indonesian state. This proves that political instability in the Philippines and Myanmar tends to open up space for the emergence and development of acts of terror.[2] The Philippines and Myanmar in recent years are under political pressure from conflict with armed groups such as the Moro Liberation Group in the Philippines, the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) and several other small groups operating in the Philippines.

Similarly, Myanmar, during 2017 Myanmar became the world spotlight due to allegations of genocide against Rohingyas. At some point, ethnic Rohingyas allegedly established contact with some ISIS network radicalism groups thus adding to the complexity of the problem in Myanmar. The phenomenon of increasing acts of terrorism in Myanmar and the Philippines is a thesis that the political instability of a country is likely to bring violent extremism up to terrorism. Thus, the terrorist movement is a failed state waste that political instability tends to give

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[2] Puskamnas: Working Paper: "Terorisme Global 2017: Peta Terorisme dan Strategi Counter Terorisme," (Seri-01-Puskamnas-2018), 13-14.

birth to radicalism and extremism that is closely intertwined with poverty, injustice and discrimination.

This is different from Indonesia where it is acknowledged as a place for being relatively safe from terrorism threats compared to the Philippines and Myanmar. This is supported by the success measures of the government, especially the police in making arrests against a number of suspected terrorism. The development of suspected terrorism arrests in the last three years has been growing. Terrorist suspected arrest areas are also not just in such as Java, West Java, Central Java and East Java, but also in Sumatra and Sulawesi and Kalimantan. Although the escalation of terrorism cases in Indonesia is smaller, the terrorist movement in Indonesia seems to change its strategy through media propaganda.

Today, media propaganda through social media is instrumental in building a jihadist narrative of extremism. Twitter ISIS supporters themselves construct the Twitter space.[3] Through social media, ISIS and its network cells are spreading ideology and performing indirect recruitment. If in the past more recruitment was intended to be able to join ISIS to Iraq or Syria, after the weakening of ISIS indirect recruitment but more aimed to conduct terrorist acts independently and autonomously. The gender is also become an issue to address and it is intertwined with the use of social media. Through various media platforms, ISIS deploys method guides (obtaining logistical supplies, attack techniques, building networks, ways to get funding support, and action plan of terror) to be able to engage in acts of terrorism. In this way ISIS can recruit individuals, build a network of new terror groups with no financial resources or great power and potentially can be done anywhere. These two patterns above become the new face of global jihad in Indonesia for now and the next few years.[4]

In relation to the present in Surabaya churches terrorist attacks, police has directly identified the perpetrators of suicide bombings is Dita Supriyanto. This father included his wife and four children to commit suicide bombings. The six doers were killed with a broken body. National Chief of Police, General Tito Karnavian told the media that the perpetrators were members of JAD congregation. This group is none other than ISIS network cells. Dita is the Chairman of JAD (network Ansarut Daulah) Surabaya. This network is related to JAT (Network Ansarut Tauhid). Both

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[3] Elizabeth Pearson, *Online as The New Frontline: Affect, Gender, and ISIS-Take Down on Social Media* (UK: Routledge, 2017). 23.

[4] Puskamnas: Working Paper: "Terorisme Global 2017: Peta Terorisme dan Strategi Counter Terorisme," (Seri-01-Puskamnas-2018).

are associated with ISIS. Their leader is Abdurahman who is currently detained in Mako Brimob. Their network is linked to the ISIS terrorist network. JAD in Surabaya is part of ISIS network cell. The Chief of Police noted that both JAD and JAT members have now departed for Syria. But some have returned to Indonesia. He also noted that ISIS members in Indonesia departed as many as 1,100. A total of 500 are in Syria now. A total of 103 have left Syria and 500 are deported.[5]

Dita was reported works as a seller of various types of oils, such as pecan oil, aceri oil, olive oil, and cumin oil. While his wife, Puji Kuswati, 43 years old, every day at home to help Dita sell. His children, Joseph, FH, FS, 12 years old; and VR, nine years; go to school as usual. Dita is suspected of carrying out a bombing in the Pentecostal Church on Arjuno street. It was reported that Dita uses the car in doing the action. Before doing the action, Dita first lowered his family members, namely his wife and two daughters, in GKI Diponegoro. The blast at the Church of the Immaculate Santa Maria is also linked to this family. The explosion at the church in Ngagel was allegedly done by two sons Dita, namely Yusuf Fadil and FH. They use bombs placed on the waist. Indonesia Chief Police confirmed that all the attacks were suicide bombings with different bombs.[6]

Indonesia's terrorist attack associated with ISIS is divided into four actors and additional supported group. The fist was started with FAKSI (Islam Sharia Activists Forum)[7]. The data from CSIS research mentioned that the forum was affiliated with online media Al-Mustaqbal and was formally established in 2013 by Muhammad Fachry on which it was associated with theestablishment of the organization Al Mujahirun in 2006. It is also noted in the research that Al Mujahirun is affiliated to a British based organization headed by Omar Bakri that advocates for the establishment of a caliphate and the legalization of violence. It is identified in the research that the FAKSI's strategy in Indonesia was originally to only disseminate pro-ISIS content through offline and online platforms and later was found that the forum also has its member to go battle in Syiria with ISIS, namely Bahrun Syah and Salim Mubarok.[8] Subsequently, they were reported to form an Indonesian- Malaysian ISIS unit in Syria

[5] Puskamnas: Working Paper: "Terorisme Global 2017: Peta Terorisme dan Strategi Counter Terorisme," (Seri-01-Puskamnas-2018).

[6] This can be accessed at https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1088518/begini-kata-tetangga-soal-sosok-pelaku-bom-di-surabaya

[7] Fitriani, Alif Satria, Pricilia Putri Nirmala Sari, and Rebekha Adriana, "The Current State of Terrorism in Indonesia: Vulneable Goups, Networks, and Responses," CSIS (2012).

[8] IPAC, "The Evolution of ISIS in Indonesia," Report No. 13, (2014)

and to make plans to establish a caliphate in both countries through coordinating attacks in Indonesia, such as 2016's Thamrin Bombing.

The second actor of ISIS in Indonesia is Tauhid Wal Jihad. The CSIS's research identified it as "*an unstructured pro-ISIS community headed by Aman Abdurrahman*". Abdurrahman is the prominent figure in Indonesia ISIS and it was believed that he is the glue of disparate elements of the Indonesian ISIS network.[9] His ability to translate and disseminate the ISIS ideology in Indonesia as well as his feat of winning Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, the charismatic figure in Indonesia terrorism made him in such position. It was believed by his followers that he influenced many of Indonesian organization such as the MIB,[10] Lintas Tanzim,[11] and Front Pembela Islam (Islam Defenders Front, FPI) branch in Lamongan.

The following actor is known as the Jema'ah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT), an organisation supported by Ba'asyir after sending his member to ISIS and made his pledge loyalty (bai'at) to it.[12] Ba'asyir made his commitment after his long communication with Abdurrahman by phone.[13] This situation created disagreement among JAT members, which later formed a different organisation opposed to JAT, the Jema'ah Ansharusy Syariah (JAS), led by Muhammad Achwan and Abdurrahim Ba'asyir (Abu Bakar Ba'asyir's son).

The research made by CSIS indicated the fourth actor in Indonesia's ISIS network is the Front Pembela Islam (FPI) branch in Lamongan which is headed by Siswanto.[14] Commonly, FPI is not considered as terrorist group, but since FPI Lamongan is led by Siswanto, the student of Aman Abdurahman, the FPI Lamongan has different characteristic than the overall structure of FPI in general.[15] Nevertheless, the evident is still little that the FPI Lamongan has a relation with terrorist attacks.

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[9] IPAC, "The Evolution of ISIS in Indonesia," Report No. 13, (2014)

[10] IPAC, Weak, "Therefore Violent: The Mujahidin of Western Indonesia," Report No. 5, (2013)

[11] International Crisis Group, "*Indonesia: Jihadi Surprise in Aceh,*" Asia Report No. 189, (2010)

[12] Fitriani, Alif Satria, Pricilia Putri Nirmala Sari, and Rebekha Adriana, "The Current State of Terrorism in Indonesia: Vulneable Goups, Networks, and Responses,"

[13] International Crisis Group, Indonesia, "Jihadi Surprise in Aceh," Asia Report No. 189, (2010)

[14] International Crisis Group, Indonesia, "Jihadi Surprise in Aceh," Asia Report No. 189, (2010)

[15] International Crisis Group, Indonesia, "Jihadi Surprise in Aceh," Asia Report No. 189, (2010)

The additional supported actor to the Indonesia network to ISIS is the Indonesian Syirian deportee.[16] As noted in the research of CSIS, the group is very least recognized but actually made a real effect such as what happened to the current attack.[17] Unfortunately, the research did not further explain the evident of the effect. Nevertheless, the existence of this group needs to   address for a concern. It is estimated by the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of International Affairs, and the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme, BNPT), there are around 500 individuals, with 72% of these being women and children of deportees.[18]

The relevant question to address is on how the counter terrorism strategy response to the existence of women and children in the group of terrorist. As it is the case with the Mako incident and Surabaya bombs, it is inevitable that the involvement of women and children is formed in the family format.

The Global Threat of Terrorism and Strategy on Countering Terrorism

Based on the media research made by Puskamnas (Pusat Keamanan Nasional or National Security Study Center of Universitas Bhayangkara Raya-when?) indicated that the patterns of acts of terror in the world seem increasingly deadly. Terrorists not only use one mode, but a combination of several attack modes in a single action. The pattern of shootings and bombings is still the instrument of terror both groups of Islamism and communism and others (Picture 1).

In the year 2017, it was recorded 1241 terror attacks. The attacks have killed 8007 persons and wounded 1140 persons. The escalation of terrorist attacks increased in May (152 cases), June (149 cases), July (207 cases) and August (194 cases). Attacks on terrorist organizations have declined from September to December 2017. In the year 2017, it was recorded 1241 terror attacks. The attacks have killed 8007 and wounded 1140. The escalation of terrorist attacks increased in May (152 cases), June (149 cases), July (207

[16] International Crisis Group, Indonesia, "Jihadi Surprise in Aceh," Asia Report No. 189, (2010)

[17] International Crisis Group, Indonesia, "Jihadi Surprise in Aceh," Asia Report No. 189, (2010)

[18] Maneti, Francesca and Iocavino, Gabriele, *"The Evolution of Jihadist Radicalisation in Asia" European Center for Democracy*, 78.
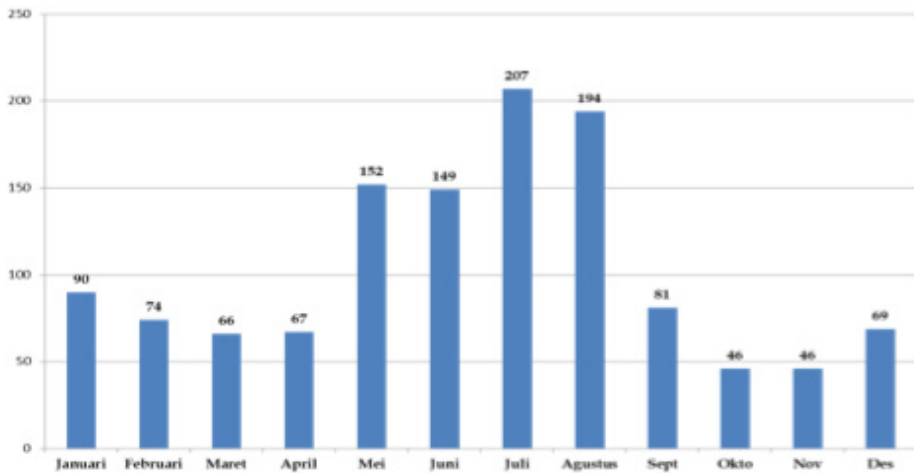
cases) and August (194 cases). Attacks by terrorist organizations have declined from September to December 2017 (Picture 2).

Picture 1: Pattern of Terrorist Attack
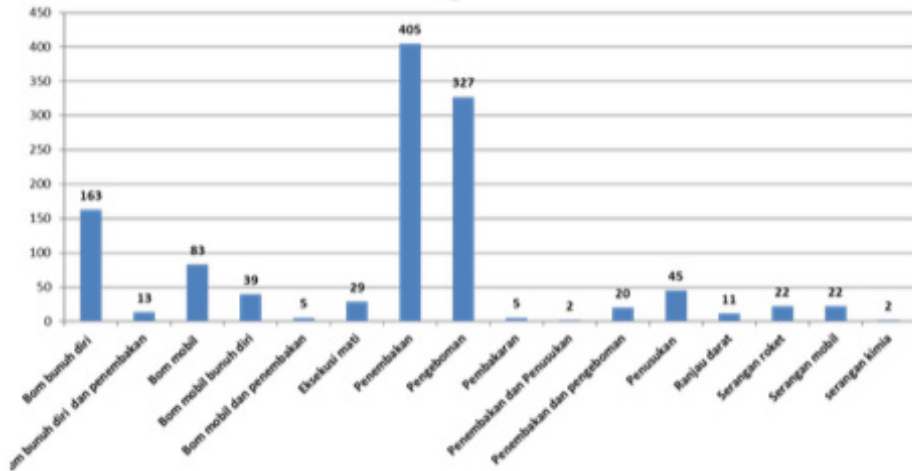
Source:Puskamnas

**Picture 2: Number of Terorist Attacks**

Source:Puskamnas

ISIS in 2017 is still part of the list of the most deadly terrorism and active terrorist attacks. In 2017, ISIS became the terrorist organization

with 441 attacks, followed by Taliban (111), Boko Haram (92), Al Shabab (89) and Al-Qaeda (51). Thus, five (5) large groups of terrorism in the world are still excluded by Islamist groups. (Picture 3). The five terrorist organizations at the top have a major base of strength in the Middle East and Africa. This is in line with the dominant ISIS attack spread map in the Middle East and Africa region.

Picture 3: Terrorist Organisations with Their Number of Attacks
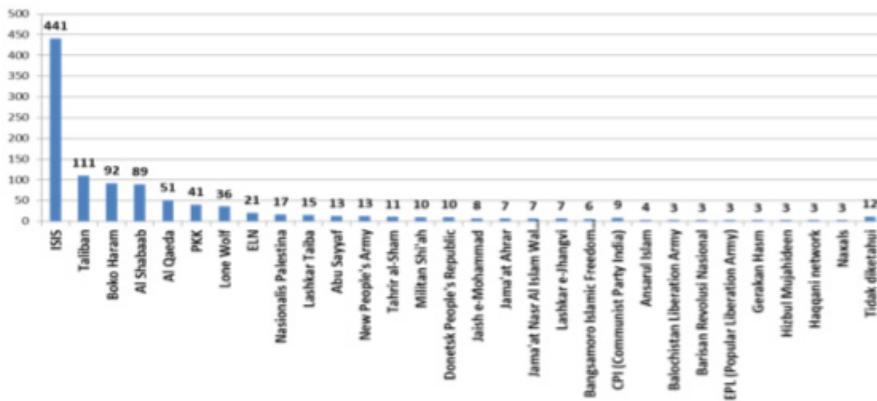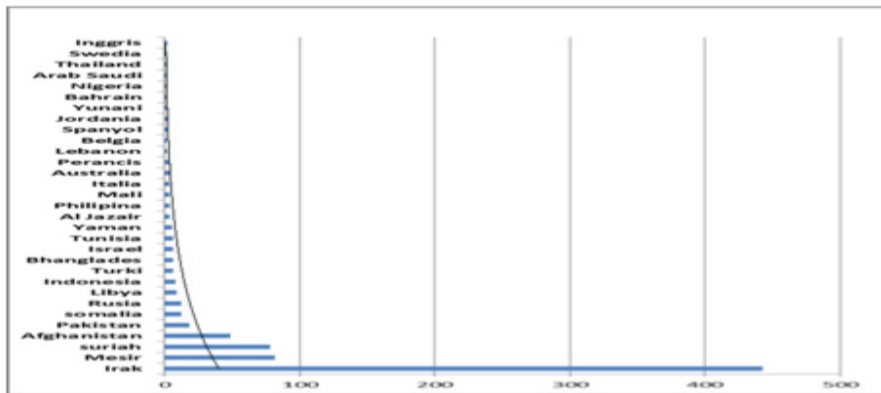

Source:Puskamnas

The research also indicated that the patterns of acts of terror in the world seem increasingly deadly. Terrorists not only use one mode, but a combination of several attack modes in a single action.

The battle of Mosul (Battle of Mosul) became a battleground for the growth and development of radicalism. The conflict that started from the confrontation of opposition groups and the government turned into a proxy war with the inclusion of several groups and interventions of other countries. For example, Hezbollah and Iran's political interests face Saudi Arabia. This circle of Mosul conflict involves a wide variety of groups, ranging from Islamism, the Left, and the Nationalists. In fact, the ISIS power base in Iraq and Syria involves a number of other countries on behalf of peace, they are involved in destroying ISIS. For example, Russia, China and Iran, they do not just add The Haqqani group is currently headed by Sirajuddin Haqqani, the deputy leader of the Afghan Taliban, who has been waging a brutal campaign in the country since the US invasion. The Haqqani group itself was first established by Jalaluddin Haqqani, a mujahidin commander who fought the Soviets in the 1980s.

Jalaludin Haqqani is also a mediator of contact liaison close to Saudi Arabia's jihad group, including with Usama bin Ladin. The Haqqani movement is currently the most lethal group in the series of acts of terror in Afghanistan[19].

Picture 5: Map of ISIS Distibution in Countries

Source:Puskamnas

ISIS distribution map is almost uniformly distributed worldwide. The ISIS phenomenon is not just targeting Islamic countries. Moreover, ISIS is also targeting Europe and America. The attacks in Europe were supported by ISIS. They come from different backgrounds but are united by the same vision and mission idea of an Islamic state. The weakening of ISIS after the destruction of Mosul and Raqqa, made ISIS change its strategy through media propaganda and lone wolf. The phenomenon of lone wolf is now the new face of ISIS jihad global. Global jihad is interpreted to be "the glocalization" of jihad that ISIS sympathizers spread terror in their respective regions, not least in Indonesia and Southeast Asia in general.

The research showed the map of terrorism attacks based on the countries of the region, Australia & Oceania is the country's most minimal area of terrorism threats occurred (picture 6). The level of threat of terrorism in the territory of Australia & Oceania reaches 0%. In contrast, the Middle East is the region most often facing terrorist attacks, reaching 30%. Followed by Africa (29%), Central Asia, East and South (21%), Europe (9%), Southeast Asia (7%) and America (4%).

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[19] Puskamnas: Working Paper: "Terorisme Global 2017: Peta Terorisme dan Strategi Counter Terorisme," (Seri-01-Puskamnas-2018).

Picture 6: Map of Threat Map based on Region
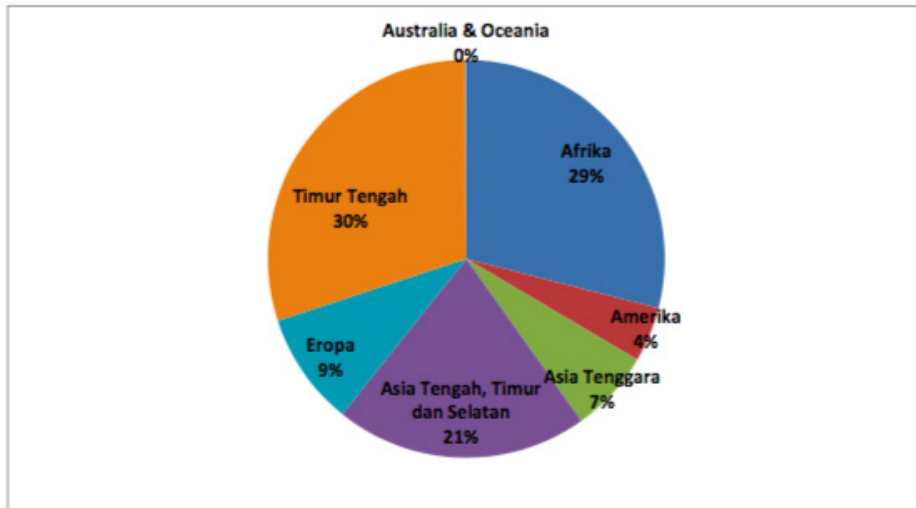
Source:Puskamnas

Terrorism attack map by region shows that Europe region more often faces terrorism threat than Southeast Asian region (7%) or America (4%). In 2017, the city of London at least experienced 3 (three) times terrorist attacks conducted in lone wolf and organic. On March 22 at Westmisnter, a British vehicle attack by British Khalid Masood, on June 3, three perpetrators, Khuram Butt (UK), Rachid Redouane (Morocco-Libya) and Yousses Zaghba (Italy-Morocco), carried out a combination attack of vehicles and stabbings against people on London's bridge and Darren Osborne's (British citizens) acts of a state terror act that killed one person and injured dozens. The most lethal acts of vehicle terror occurred on the Las Ramblas Highway, Barcelona-Spain. This vehicle attack action killed about 15 people and dozens injured.

The data shows that the terrorist is still the unprecedented threat in international world and peace. The framework in foreseeing counter terrorism strategy is looking into the typology of the counter terrorism strategy. The study on counter terrorism divides the typology of strategy into three categories: (1) war model CTS; (2) extended criminal justice CTS; and (3) Criminal Justice CTS.[20]

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[20] Vinita Privedarshi, *Typology of Counter-Terrorism Strategies: A Comparative Study of India and Israel* (New Delhi: KW Publisher, 2010).

The war model CTS is the strategy on which the military plays an important role. It sees the terror as a strategy to achieve political goal, whereas the extended criminal justice CTS, the terror is seen as an extraordinary crime that deserves special treatment. The main actor of this strategy is intelligence agency. The criminal justice CTS have police as the main actor and sees terror as an act of crime. This framework of the strategy is the basis of analysis to assess the data. Understanding the type of the strategy ahead, it is important to identify the organization of terrorist that conducting the attack. The comparison data between 2015-2018 shows ISIS will remain the main organization of doing the attack.

The technic use in the different category of typology is divided into soft approach and hard approach. The different is only on weighing of one approach to another. The war CTS model is more likely to have hard approach heavier than the soft one. The hard measures are related to the use of military and/or law enforcement techniques, which include the use of force, intelligence and surveillance, as well as killing, capturing or detaining terrorists. On the other hand, the soft approach seek to moderate the radicalization process by engineering the individual's integration into society. It is related to rehabilitation and prevention aspects such as deradicalisation programme.

The higher of the attack can be linked to the harder of counter terrorism strategy. States can increase the power and/or has tendency to change and/or modify the strategy. The states with criminal justice system can shift to extended criminal justice system because state needs to response quicker the threat by using the preemptive approach through the use of intelligence. This cannot guarantee to effectively handle in responding the root cause of the problem of the terrorism, which would be the issue of the preventive mechanism embedded in counter terrorism strategy (CTS). The preventive measures were addressed by United Nations through Counter Violent Extremism Action Plan, which touch upon the subject of women, children, and prison management.

The latest UN CTS is concerned with tackling the root cause of terrorism. The approach is so-called 'prevention of violent extremism' (PVE). Before the UN launched the Plan of Action on PVE, there have been a number of Resolutions issued by the UN Security Council addressing terrorism and extremism. After the September 11, 2011 attacks, the UN adopted Resolution 1373 on the Counter Terrorism Committee (CTC). Five years later, (2006), there was a consensus to change from reactive action toward prevention and more comprehensive approaches to terrorism by working on areas of "conducting the spread of violent extremism",

including strengthening the state, and law and human rights enforcement as a basis for rejecting terrorism. Another resolution issued was DK 2122 on aiming to stregthen women role in all stages of conflict pevention i.e the importance of increasing attention to women, religion and security, which are relevant areas. Resolution 2129 was the Establishment of Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED). Resolution 2178 encourages states to strengthen local communities, non-state actors to create counter narratives, including empowerment of young people, families, women, religion, culture and education.

In addition to a resolution directly responding to terrorism and extremism, the UN also issued a more specific resolution to address the conditions of women in conflict areas known as Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. In October 2015, the United Nations organized a global study on the implementation of resolution 1325 in various parts of the world. This resolution is in the form of the National Action Plan (RAN), and the increased commitment of many countries related to the women's agenda, peace and security.

There are also very serious findings related to the rise of fundamentalism and extremism in conflict-affected and post-conflict countries, which was then responded by the UN Security Council by issuing resolution 2242 on the integration of PVE into the women's agenda of peace and security. The emergence of the PVE approach announced on 15 January 2016 by the UN Secretary General marked a shift in both CT and CVE approaches, as it still features a security-oriented approach. PVE approach with seven pillars that exist are: 1) Dialogue and Prevention of conflict; 2) Strengthening of governance, human rights and rule of law; 3) Strengthening Community Involvement; 4) Youth Empowerment; 5) Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment; 6) Education, Skills and Working Facilities; 7) Strategic Communication, the Internet and Social Media, is expected to shift the approach of UN member states to pay more attention and intervene in the root causes of problems that foster terrorism.

Indonesia Preventive Measures on Countering Terorism

Looking into the newly amandement of Indonesia Law on Terrorism Eradication, it is shown that Indonesia is still using the criminal justice CTS model, but higheing to the hard approach. It is obvious that this law is in response to the Mako incident and Surabaya bombs. The punishment is added one third if the prepetator involves children in his/her action. The

good side of the law was that it made the prevention portion mentioned expicilty: national resilience, contra radicalisation, and deradicalisation. However, the lacking part is in relation to women and children in the act of terrorisme, especially on how their position has to be responded in the soft approach compare to male perpetators. Furthermore, the issue of prison management in relation to Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of the Prisoners did not also address in relation to deradicalisation. The writer, who is also conduct a profesional audit work on prison management, has proven that the fulfilemnt of the fulfillment of the standards can lead to the secure and conducive situation. It can be a security alarm with human rights approach.

The president Jokowi also addressed the importance of having soft approach.[21] The growing spread of terrorism threats as well as the situations that support terrorism are seen by the increasingly massive violent-based extremism. Not only using offline mediums, this extremist group also uses various online tools based on 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.

The method they do starts from the recruitment of Indonesian citizens to join a group of radical and / or extremist organizations that lead to terrorism, to public terror on the day of the 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 response to the threats and trends of global terrorism, the Secretary-General of the United Nations issued the Action Plan, the UN Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism, as a strategy of combating violent extremism (PVE) adopted by the UN General Assembly in January 2016. the UN mentions two main points that encourage violent extremism, namely: (1) Conducive conditions and structural context; and (2) The process of radicalization. In the aspect of conducive conditions and structural context, the push factor of violent extremism is the gap of social economic access, marginalization and discrimination, poor governance, human rights violations and rule of law, unfinished conflict, and radicalism in Correctional Institution (detention facility). Ali Fauzi once indicated that the prison is a place to fertilise the growth of terrorism. Meanwhile, aspects of the radical process also

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[21] This news can be accessed at http://en.republika.co.id/berita/en/national-politics/18/03/18/p5s8pf414-counterterrorism-needs-hard-and-soft-approaches-jokowi

include individual background and motivation, collective victimization and disappointment, distortion and abuse of religion / beliefs, political ideology, ethnic and cultural differences, social networking, and leadership.

As one of the strategies to respond to the problems above, there is a need to develop an action plan for Indonesia as a new approach toward the growth of violance extrimism. The National Countering Terorism Bureau can lead this approach as the new strategy to tackle the root cause of the problem addressed by the UN and is now showing the urgency especially after the Mako detention facility's riot and the bombs in East Java. The existence of the Action Plan is expected to be a guide in overcoming push factor and pull factors of violent extremism lead to terrorism in Indonesia. The current terorist attack can be seen as the warning of the missing part of NGO's work on women and children issue in relation to countering terorism. A guide from the government is necessary as it is requested by UN as plan of action. A number of key issues that serve as the driving force behind terrorist acts in Indonesia: (1) the potential for large communal conflicts, often underpinned by primordial and religious sentiments, given the diversity of Indonesians; (2) economic inequality; (3) differences in political views; (4) unfair treatment; and (5) religious motivation, including religious life intolerance.

Prior the incident in Mako and the Bombs in Surabaya, the government has conducted deradicalisation as part of the preventive measures in countering terrrorisme, and NGO conducted many activities in relation to women and children deportees from Syiria. The question is why the incident and the bombs are still happening in the form of unpredictable format such as using family to mobilise the attack? Where is the loopholes? Does Indonesia government have the comprehensive prevention approach in countering terrorisme that taken into account the women, children, and prison management especially in their deradicalisation program? Is there any policy in response to the need and the call of UN.

From the past one year, Indonesia Bureau on Countering Terrorism (BNPT) has tried to develop a policy on National Action Plan on Countering Violent Extrimism (RAN PE). It is still in process prior issuing into, expectedly, Pesidential Regulation (Perpres). It takes into account the need of comprehensive prevention including deradicalisation programe with prison management coherance.

The issuance of RAN PE can be the answer the legal vacuum of violent extrimism lead to terorism as well as the missing part of women

and children and prison management. It can be the instrument of support in regulating the issue that can be as a guideline. So far the relevant laws and regulations focus more on efforts to eradicate terrorism in the framework of law enforcement (hard approach). While the soft approach to minimize acts of terrorism, although some have been done, is still limited. The soft approach cannot be ignored. The harder the approach the higher the intense of the conflict will possible raise. Thus, it cannot fully rely upon the hard approach. The systematic soft approach is atually the missing part of the current puzzle of counter sterorism strategy. The whole society and whole govenemt should work together in this new approach. Such conditions reaffirm the urgency of formulating a national action plan that is capable of integrating the overall role of each ministry/institution in preventing violent extremism. The action plan will be the measure in order to overcome the process of radicalization and violent-based extremism, which leads to terrorism. The goal is not for active terrorists, but building community resilience, including vulnerable communities, and/or assisting individuals in the process of leaving violent-based extremism.

Conclusion

The Mako detention facility's riot and East Java's Bombs indicate the security problem is in connection with the missing part of soft approach as addressed by UN in its Plan of Action on Countering Violent Extrimism. As the ISIS still becomes the main organisation with the global threat to lauch an attack, the state is responsible to develop a more systematical strategy of preventive measures that address the push and the pull factor of violent extrimism. The issue of gender, social media, youth, and prison/detention facility prevention of radicalism are the main issues to consider in order for Indonesia to develop the comprehensive approach in countering terorism.

The comprehensive prevention approach means to address the push and pull factor of terrorism including the issue of women, children, and prison management. This is part of the maxiumum effort to the counter terorism. This lack of fullfiling the need of those issues can lead to the disruption. The time is running and the time is competing between the countering the terrorism and the act of terorism. The winner is the one who can articulate and manage the opprotunity with the maximum effort.

Thus, the lesson taken from the Mako incident and the Surabaya Bomb was that the previous NGO's approach to address women and

children need to be reviewed. It is time for the government to make the preventive comprehensive strategy with more effective technics, which involves whole government and whole society as requested by UN. RAN PE can be the document to fill the need as well as to address the issue of women, children, and prison management in the deradicalisation pogramme with human rights standard aspect.

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United Nations Resolutions number 1373 on Counter Terrorism Committee

United Nations Resolutions number 2122 on aiming to stregthen women role in all stages of conflict pevention

United Nations Resolution 2129 on the Establishment of Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED)

United Nations Resolution 2178 encourages states to strengthen local communities, non-state actors to create counter narratives, including empowerment of young people, families, women, religion, culture and education.

United Nations Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security.

United Nations Secretary General on Plan of Actions to Prevent Violent Extrimism

United Nations Security Council Resolution 2358 (2017) on UNSOM assistance to Somalia in the implementation of the National Strategy and Action Plan to Prevent and Counter Violent Extremism