



Indonesian National Military Operation Cooperation (TNI) And The Police of the Republic Of Indonesia (POLRI) In Tackling the Threat of Terrorism in Poso

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Abstract

Central Sulawesi became an endemic area of radicalism in Indonesia due to the widespread access to communal conflict between the Poso people and implications for the excession of social boundaries over a long period of time. The emergence of acts of terrorism colored the conflict in the Poso area. The purpose of this study is to evaluate cooperation in handling terrorism in Poso Regency which refers to Law Number 5 of 2018 which discusses the Eradication of terrorism crimes. The research method qualitatively uses a phenomenological approach with an inductive way of thinking. The results of this study found that the strategy for dealing with terrorism in Poso district was carried out with a Soft Approach and Hard Approach approach. The hard approach through counter-terrorism police Operations is formally outlined in the operation plan with the code of operations named Control Maleo, Aman Maleo, Camar Maleo, Tinombala and Madago Raya. The conclusion of this study is that the cooperation policy between the TNI and polri in the task of cracking down on acts of terrorism in Poso needs to be improved in forest areas.

Keywords: Cooperation, Operations, Countermeasures, Threats, Terrorism, soft-approach, and hard-approach

INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is a crime against humanity and civilization and is one of the serious threats to the sovereignty of every country. Efforts to deal with criminal acts of terrorism are realized by the government by making a Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002, which was later approved by the House of Representatives into Law Number 15 of

2003 concerning Criminal Eradication of Terrorism. However, Indonesia already has Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning Amendments to Law Number 15 of 2003 concerning the Establishment of Government Regulations in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism into Law.

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In the early days of reform, the radicalism and terrorism that broke out in Indonesia was ethnic radicalism. It is characterized by various collective violence and social unrest in Sampit, Poso, and Ambon. Furthermore, this ethnic radicalism then spread to tribal, class, and religious radicalism. Finally, the symptoms of the disintegration of the nation became an important phenomenon that received serious attention at that time. These forms of ethnic radicalism that lead to terrorism have cost hundreds, and even thousands of lives lost.²

In combating terrorism, the instrument of the Law aims to provide a peaceful state in society. Where peace is created when we obtain order, security and comfort in our environment thus the main goal of counter-terrorism is to eradicate criminal acts of terrorism. One of the cases of terrorism that occurred in Indonesia was in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi, an act of terrorism committed by Santoso.

Poso as one of the locations of conflict, is the oldest district in Central Sulawesi Province. Before the regime's transition from the new order to the reforms, the life of the Poso people was so safe and peaceful, because tolerance and togetherness became adhesive values in the midst of existing diversity. Apart from being an adhesive, this diversity can also be used by riots, with the trigger of trivial problems, between people, such as fights between two young men, then widened because of the diversity that has different interests, both in terms of politics, economy and socio-culture.

From a political point of view, the political interests of a particular group are related to the succession of regents and it happens that among them there are those who sit in the local government. Politicians who want to come to power and want change happen to be different religions, so each candidate rallies support by exploiting religious sentiments. Efforts were made, in addition to using religious identity, also using tribal identity to box the Poso community, so that the conflict that occurred was symbolized by religion and tribe.

Substantially, Central Sulawesi became an endemic area of radicalism in Indonesia due to the widespread access to communal conflict between Poso communities and the implications for exceeding social boundaries over a long period of time. In addition, the Central Sulawesi region became an endemic area of radical action, caused by the expansion of radical terrorist networks into Central Sulawesi based on the Poso conflict and outside the context of the Poso conflict.³

The wrong public understanding of the separation and division of TNI / Polri duties according to the Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly Number 6 and 7 of 2000 which has a negative view of the TNI is said to regain control in the task of tackling acts of terrorism in Poso with tinombala operations. This view still distinguishes foreign defense and homeland security. This view has ceased to apply since the issuance of the provisions of the People's Consultative Assembly No. 1 of 2003 concerning material review and legal status.

² Subagyo, A.2015. *Teroris(me): Aktor & Isu Global Abad XXI*. Bandung: Penerbit Alfabeta.

³ Djumantara, S., Basir, Zulfa, E.A. 2021. Strategi Polres Poso dalam Pencegahan Gerakan

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The results of the evaluation of the operations of the Terrorist Separatist Group in Papua carried out by the TNI and Polri experienced many failures that were sectoral egos that changed the separation into a joint cooperation of the duties of the TNI and Polri in tackling acts of terrorism in Papua, Aceh, Maluku and Poso. Therefore, the public's still negative view of the TNI is one of the Indonesian residents who became foreign spies and allegedly supported strong acts of terrorism again and

wanted the fall of the Indonesian government's authority in the eyes of the international community.

The implementation of the government's strategy in tackling the threat of terrorism in Poso based on the code of cooperation operations between the TNI and Polri each year is as follows: Table 1.1 The Indonesian Government's Strategy in Tackling the Threat of Radicalism and Terrorism in Poso.

Password Operation	Deterrence	Enforcement	Recovery	Information
Maleo Control Operation	Early Detection & Early Prevention	Patrolling, Sweeping and Arrests	Deradicalization, Reeducation and Reintegration	Completed in 2012
Maleo Security Operation	Early Detection & Early Prevention	Patrolling, Sweeping and Arrests	Deradicalization, Reeducation and Reintegration	Completed in 2014
Maleo Gulls Operation	Early Prevention	Sweeping and Arrests	Reeducation and Reintegration	Completed in 2015
Tinombala Operation	Early Prevention	Sweeping and Arrests	Reeducation and Reintegration	Completed in 2019
Madago Raya Operation	Early Warning	Law Enforcement	Controlling	Completed in 2022

The 2016 shooting of the leader of the Eastern Indonesian mujahideen terrorist group in Poso, Santoso, since the tinombala operation involved a balanced force of the TNI and Polri working together and uniting in the task of eradicating acts of terrorism in Poso with the code of operation Tinombala. In the Madago Raya operation in 2021, Santoso's successor was Ali Kalora, who was shot dead. Ali Kalora's successor is Askar aka Pak Guru who was shot dead in 2022. Next Year, it is likely that the Recovery operation will be carried out in the form of Reintegration of prisoners of terrorist prisoners who will be returned to the people requiring control and

supervision so as not to repeat the suicide bombing case at the Astana Anyar Police Station in Bandung.

Based on the problems described earlier, it can be identified that the problem comes from the inaccurate target of implementing the radical movement prevention strategy and the absence of a benchmark for success in preventing radical movements in Indonesia, so that in implementing the radicalism prevention strategy, an increase is needed, especially in Poso. This includes efforts in prevention and monitoring even though in the end the terrorist network in Poso has been cut off.

RESEARCH METHODS

Phenomenology is a method in qualitative research that aims to unravel the meaning or look for an essence of one's experience. Phenomenology is a method of studying the experiences that a person suffers in order to get the meaning of the phenomenon. Phenomenology uses interview techniques to collect data. This means that when you want to interpret and take the essence of a phenomenon, the source must be the perpetrator or sufferer of the event under study.⁴

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

One of the defense and security approaches that is still problematic in Indonesia today is the absence of security strategies, patterns and systems that can synergize the roles and duties of all national security instruments. Because, in the face of the threat of asymmetric warfare that occurs such as the Islamic State Iraqy and Syria (ISIS), it is impossible to overcome comprehensively without cooperation and coordination between actors and national security agencies.

The problem is that the National Security Bill (RUU Kamnas), which is designed for synergy and coordination, has not been completed after more than a decade of discussion in the national legislation program. Indonesia experienced a kind of fear of drafting regulations that smelled of a "security political approach", because in the past, the Anti-Subversion Law in force during the New Order era was used to ensnare radical activists and political figures, which when we entered the Era of Democratization was categorized

as a policy that violated human rights and discrimination against citizens.⁵

To talk about terrorism is to talk about a motive of interest that a particular group brings to get what they want. The mission of terrorism is a major mission carried out by this interest group, whether in the form of ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, human rights, etc., missions to show a great goal that they achieve and desire. Therefore, it is not uncommon for separatists or adherents of terrorism to take action by risking their physical souls to carry out missions to achieve goals.

So it is not a taboo if a group or individu is willing to die by suicide in order to achieve the mission. It is not terrorism if there is no extraordinary interest behind it. It can be said that terrorism cases are indeed 'booming' (rampant) globally, which makes every country feel threatened by the existence of this people. Any country can be targeted by terrorism, and it depends on how much it interests the country, including in Poso, Indonesia.

With a population of 248,345, the use of Indonesian in Poso is also faced with Pamona and Kaili languages and the existence of Christianity which amounts to 60.8%, followed by Islam 33.6%, Hinduism 5.6% and Buddhism 0.1%. In addition, this region is still faced with the terrorists of the East Indonesia Mujahideen (MIT) in Poso who still leave their traces.

Conflict I which occurred on December 24, 1998 where in the month of Ramadan coincided with Christmas Eve, some young men were drunk but were reminded and did not accept so that there

⁴ Theodore A. Coulombis, and Wolfe Hasting Wolfe. Introduction to International Relations. Power and Justice. (Washington, D. C: Prentice Hall. 1986), hal 380.

⁵ Mukhtar, S. 2016. Strategi Pemerintah Indonesia Menghadapi Terorisme dalam Era Demokratisasi. *Reformasi*, Vol 6 (2). Hal. 143-153.

was a conflict that was religious. On April 16 to 19, 2000, there was an interfaith youth fight at the Poso terminal that expanded to the burning of 267 houses, 3 churches, cars and other vehicles. On May 23, 2000, the Christian community counterattacked and carried out a massacre in Pesanteran Wali Songo, forming the two camps to carry out acts of mutual attack and sweeping.

To respond to the development of this situation, the TNI, which has the task of Military Operations Other Than War, in order to assist the police (Polri) needs to launch what is called "Operation Balance," which is another territorial operation, outside of what has been done so far, to prevent acts of terrorism from affecting or spilling over into other areas, especially nearby areas.⁶

The result was to get radical groups to enter from outside the Poso region. From the Islamic group there are Laskar Jihad (Jafar Umar Talib) and the Islamic Defenders Front (Habib Riziq) and others. From the Christian group there are Brig Manguni (north Sulawesi) and Laskar Christ (Tibo and his friends, East Nusa Tenggara), and others. Many casualties and other negative impacts of this conflict, namely 577 people died, 384 people were injured, 7,932 houses were burned, 510 public facilities were burned, and 76,677 people were displaced to other areas. This certainly caused psychological trauma as well as a sense of resentment and a sense of injustice in the legal settlement for Muslims because of the many victims in the 2000 conflict. Until on December 20, 2001, the

Malino-1 declaration peace agreement occurred.

Since the conflict broke out peace efforts have been carried out by both the Poso Regional Government, the Central Sulawesi Provincial Government, the Central Government, the security forces and the Poso Community as it was carried out on August 22, 2000 the signing of the Sintuvu Maroso Referendum, but the conflict broke out again. The second peace effort resulted in the Malino Declaration on 19 – 20 December 2001 and formed the Malino working group. However, after the signing of the Malino-1 agreement, violent actions in Poso continued to occur.⁷

In order to get a clear picture after the Malino-1 declaration, that is, a picture of the development of radicalism and terrorism that has occurred in Poso. First, in 2000 there were still found acts of violence from the Islamic Group, namely Jemaah Islamiyah, allegedly the Al-Qaeda network that carried out acts of revenge against Christian groups. Second, In 2005 radicalism escalated into acts of terrorism with many killings committed by Islamist groups against Christian groups due to revenge at the beginning of the riots before Malino-1. Third, in 2008 a resistance group was formed to fight the forces of the TNI and Polri in the Poso forest, namely the Hasanudin Radical Taklim Group. Fourth, In 2011 the MIT Terrorist Group led by Santoso carried out the assassination of the TNI and Polri in a guerrilla tactic manner in the forest. Fifth, From 2014 to 2021 the MIT Terrorist group expressed its support for ISIS. Chronology as shown below:

⁶ Nainggolan, P.P. 2016. Mengapa Indonesia Sangat Rawan dari ISIS/IS?. *Politica Vol 7, (2)*. Hal. 145-173.

⁷ Wijaya, N. 2020. Resolusi Konflik Berbasis Budaya oleh Masyarakat Kabupaten Poso. *Jurnal Kolaborasi Resolusi Konflik.*, Vol. 2 (1). Hal. 1-73.

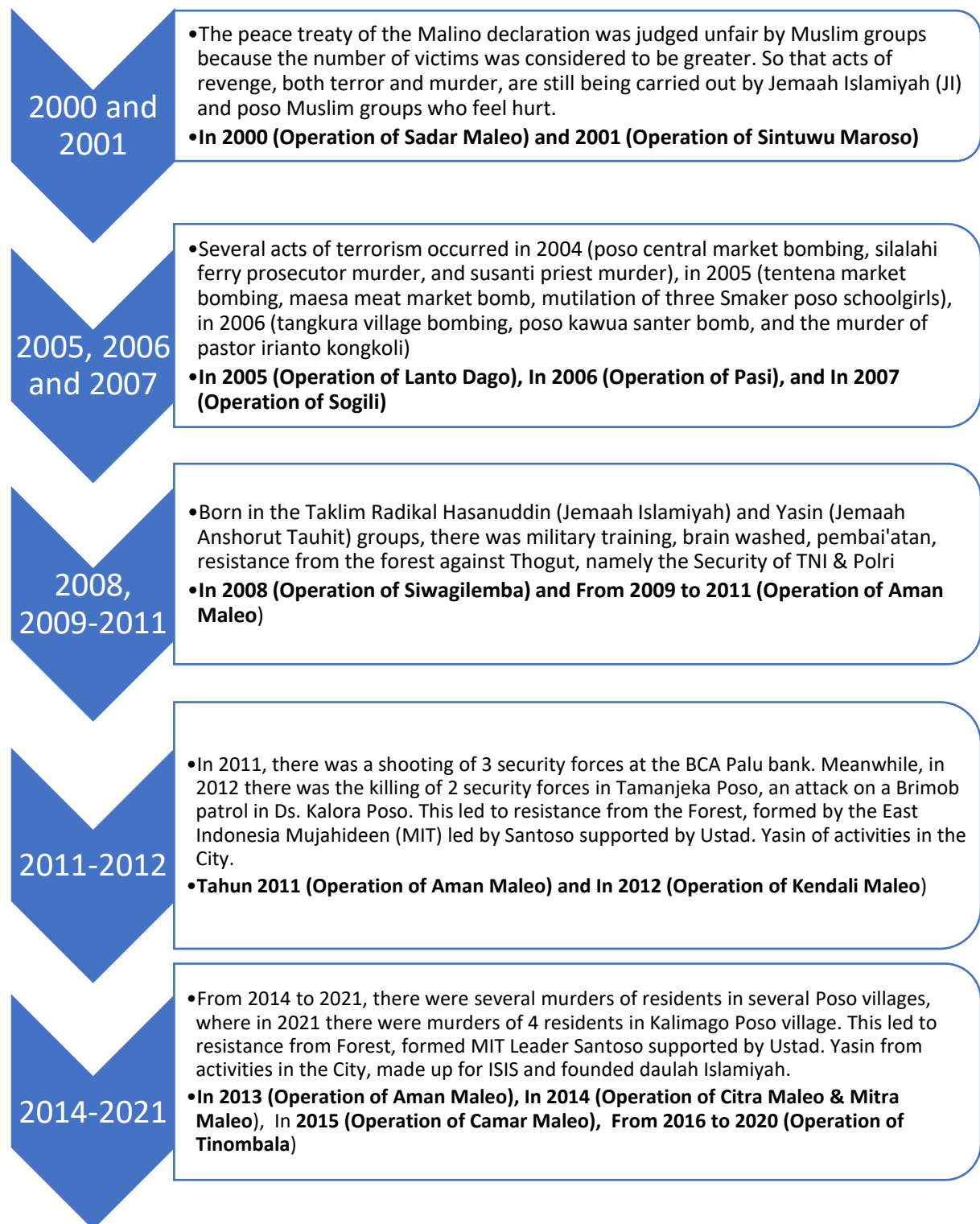


Figure 1.1 The development of radicalism and terrorism in Poso

Source: processed author (2022)

In 2022, the operation in poso is called Operation Mandago Raya. Madago Raya

operations in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi continued even though the East Indonesia Mujahideen (MIT) Poso group

no longer exists. Currently, the operation codenamed Madago Raya has entered the fourth stage. Currently, the personnel of the Madago Raya task force are 644 people

who are members of the TNI/Polri. The operation was extended to make the public calmer and also to anticipate invitations from certain parties to re-recruit as terrorism groups⁸

It is understood that, in the framework of the extension of the task force on the grounds that, First, it makes the society calmer. Then the public did not re-recruit invitations from terrorism parties to re-recruit. The community is also not affected by invitations from people to commit intolerant acts. That's the purpose of the operation we're now proceeding. Previously, the Madago Raya task force knocked out one terrorist member of the East Indonesia Mujahideen (MIT) Poso group who entered the Police's People Search List (DPO) on behalf of Askar alias Pak Guru in a shooting contact some time ago. The death of Askar, aka Pak Guru, ended the Central Sulawesi Regional Police's Search for People List (DPO) against members of the East Indonesia Mujahideen (MIT) Poso.

Various efforts were made in order to deal with the movement of terrorism radicalism in Central Sulawesi Province, especially in Poso Regency. Starting from the policy of security operations carried out by the security forces, to the guidance of former terrorism. The Central Sulawesi BNPT policy in dealing with radicalism

consists of two parts, namely deradicalization and counter-radicalization. First, deradicalization is an effort to reduce radical activities and neutralize radical understanding for those involved in terrorists, former terrorism convicts and members of the public who have been exposed to radical terrorism (BNPT). Deradicalization has a long-term program that works at the ideological level with the aim of changing the doctrine and interpretation of terrorist religious understanding (Tressa, R., 2021)⁹.

Terrorism is also not always synonymous with national liberation movements and political ideologies, because what is judged is their violent actions that attack civilian (non-combatant) targets, and on the other hand are not necessarily related to symbols of the state and power such as political elites, the military and so on. The acts of violence carried out, whether by individuals, forces or groups against innocent civilians are used in achieving certain goals as a form of resistance to the existing system. As a consequence, whether groups such as states, political organizations, or organizations based on ideology and primordial values, even individuals may be categorized as having committed an act of terrorism.¹⁰

Terrorism studies that have been carried out have found three main things that color central Sulawesi terrorism centered in Poso, namely (1) the ideological spirit that drives terrorists is religious dogmatic, so it appears as a fundamental-

⁸ Musabar. 2022. *Operasi Madago Raya Tahap IV dilanjutkan sampai Akhir Desember*. Diakses di <https://sulteng.antaranews.com/berita/255725/operasi-madago-raya-tahap-iv-dilanjutkan-hingga-akhir-desember-pada-22-desember-2022>.

⁹ Tressa, R., 2021. Kebijakan Penanganan Terorisme di Kabupaten Poso. *Jurnal Ilmiah Admnistratie*, Vol 17 No. 1. Hal 25-33.

¹⁰ Junaid, H. 2013. Pergerakan Kelompok Terorisme dalam Perspektif Barat dan Islam. *Sulesna*, Vol 8 (2). Hal. 118-135.

radical or extreme right movement; (2) the obsession of the struggle carried out is the charity of *ma'ruf nahimungkar*, which is an Islamist slogan to eradicate all forms of evil, by which their version that power (government) is the most responsible party, and (3) Poso terrorism is part of national and global terrorism that is interrelated through a complex network.¹¹

Deradicalization is becoming popular in the counter-terrorism cycle, which can also mean a counseling process aimed at modifying the interpretation of religious texts, distancing or disengagement a person from a particular jihadi group, or support for the rehabilitation and reintegration of terrorist prisoners into society. Second, prevention efforts through counterradicalism are a planned, integrated, systematic, and continuous process that is carried out on people or groups of people who are vulnerable to being exposed to radicalism which is intended to stop the spread of radical terrorism (Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2018).

Counterradicalism activities are carried out for people who are vulnerable to being exposed to radicalism and terrorism sympathizers. This activity is carried out directly or indirectly through counter-narrative, counter-propaganda and counter-ideology both through mass media, socialization among the public and anti-violence campaigns is the task of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT).

Efforts to prevent radicalism in Poso Regency are carried out through security operations, the Regional Government in collaboration with the

BNPT and related government agencies such as the ministry of religion conducts socialization and guidance related to the prevention of radicalism, providing assistance to synagogues and Islamic boarding schools. Meanwhile, the deradicalization program is only carried out by the police and BNPT using pre-emptive and preventive patterns.

In addition, BNPT only focuses on counseling in islamic boarding schools and houses of worship, is less proactive in providing counseling in the school environment, as well as universities in the Poso Regency area, even though youth are very vulnerable to accepting doctrines or understanding radicalism. President Joko Widodo took steps differently than previous presidents. Jokowi makes a strategic policy that combines hard power and soft power approaches in an effort to tackle radicalism that leads to terrorism in Indonesia.¹²

The combination of soft power and hard power approaches is developed by building cooperation between the BNPT, Polri, TNI and other law enforcement while still prioritizing counter-terrorism policy principles based on the rule of law, accountability, human rights and democracy. Furthermore, it issued Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 7 of 2021 concerning the National Action Plan for the Prevention and Countermeasures of Violent-Based Extremism Leading to Terrorism from 2020 to 2024. In Poso Regency itself does not have regional regulations related to handling social conflicts or preventing radicalism and terrorism. However, the local government has made an Integrated Action Plan for Poso Regency to Handle

¹¹ Ali, M.N. 2016. Studi Terorisme di Sulawesi Tengah. *Al-Ulum*, Vol 16 (2). Hal. 496-516.

¹² *ibid*

Social Conflicts in the Regions in 2020, by coordinating between existing government agencies.

Apart from this, one example of a fairly successful activity is illustrated that there are three activities carried out by the former jihadist Poso as a peace fighter: First, being a resource person on counter terrorism activities. Second, it became part of the deradicalization process of the Eastern Indonesia mujahideen group. Third, invite or attract ten former Poso jihadists to join and become peace fighters.¹³ This shows that there is one side that is struggling to eliminate the negative influence of terrorism.

In addition to conducting security operations, the TNI / Polri also takes a community approach by donating to houses of worship and Islamic boarding schools, providing business capital assistance to former terrorists, giving lectures on strengthening Pancasila values in schools and universities to prevent the development of radicalism. Based on the results of the study, the problem of Terrorism in Poso Regency can be overcome through cooperation between stakeholders with collective action using a collective action theory approach (Bogason, 2001)¹⁴.

This is also in accordance with the mandate of Law Number 5 of 2018 Article 43i paragraph (4), that one form of national preparedness is carried out through community empowerment. This means that the community must play a role in efforts to prevent and deal with terrorism radicalism

in the Poso Regency area. In addition, the spirit of governance has focused on compatibility between policy actors, namely the government (state), private sector (private) and civil society (Utomo, 2005:5)¹⁵. Or in other words, the formulation of policies carried out in a Society Centered Approach, namely placing state power under the control of citizens.

CONCLUSION

The problem of terrorism can only be solved through cooperation and coordination between various stakeholders (stake holders), both government agencies and the community. For this reason, the TNI and Polri continue to conduct joint exercises considering the importance of TNI-Polri cooperation for terrorism. To assist in handling cases related to terrorism, the Attorney General's Office established a task force to handle terrorism and transnational crimes so that it is hoped that the resolution of terrorism cases can be carried out better.

The handling of terrorism in Poso Regency is carried out in accordance with Law Number 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of terrorism crimes amendment to Law No.15 of 2003 concerning the establishment of Government regulations in lieu of Law No. 1 of 2002 concerning the eradication of criminal acts of terrorism into law. Efforts to deal with terrorism in Poso district are carried out with a Soft Approach and Hard Approach approach. The hard approach through

¹³ Thahir, L.S. 2020. From Jihadists to peace Warriors. Mentoring Poso Islamic Jihadists Using the Heart, Hand, and Head Approach. *Jurnal Hunafa: Studia Islamika*, Vol 19 (1). Hal. 1-28.

¹⁴ Bogason, Peter. 2001. Public Policy and local Governance. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited: UK.

¹⁵ Utomo, Warsito. 2005. Administrasi Publik Indonesia di Era Demokrasi Lokal, Bagaimana Semangat Kompatibilitas Menjiwai Budaya Birokrasi. Pidato Pengukuhan Jabatan Guru Besar pada Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik 26 Februari 2005, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta

counterterrorism police Operations is formally outlined in the operation plan, where each operation uses a specific cipher, namely Operation Control Maleo I to V 2012, Operation Safe Maleo I to IV 2013, Operation Safe Maleo I to ! V 2014, Operation Camar Maleo I to IV 2015, Operation Tinombala I to IV 2016, Operation Tinombala I to III 2017 and Operation Tinombala 2018 to 2019, as well as operation Madago Raya in 2020 and extended until December 2022.

Meanwhile, the soft approach with a community approach is to give donations to houses of worship and Islamic boarding schools, provide business capital assistance to former terrorists, give lectures on strengthening pancasila values in Madrasahs, recitation groups, schools and universities to prevent the development of radicalism. However, the policy of dealing with terrorism carried out in Poso Regency has not involved the active role of the community in the policy formulation process or in the evaluation of its policies.

Furthermore, this study recommends to local governments that efforts to combat terrorism be carried out on an ongoing basis starting from prevention, enforcement and evaluation of programs involving the role of the Poso community. In addition, prevention is carried out by developing local wisdom through the concept of "Sintuwu Maroso" which can be formulated in detail both from political, economic and community aspects to become a main concept for handling terrorism in Poso district.

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