DISTINGUISH LEGAL POLICY APPROACHES TO COMBATING ISLAMIC RADICALISM AND TERRORISM IN POST AND CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA

Arif Hidayat, Universitas Negeri Semarang Saru Arifin, University of Pecs

ABSTRACT

The movement of religious radicalization in Indonesia in its development began in the 1950s marked by the emergence of the Islamic Darul Movement or the Indonesian Islamic Army (DI/TII) under Kartosoewirjo. The emergence of the 1970s then followed this movement. The 1980s Command Jihad movement, whose main actors were former members of the Kartosoewirjo DI /TII, Abdullah Sungkar, and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, as Amirs of the Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) and the group continued to exist until 1998, the reform era in Indonesia to the present. The latest development of religion's radicalization is later formed by young groups who still have links with the previous generation's figures. The chain of religious radicalization movement is not a pure movement of jihad in the name of religion but also carries political and economic interests. Religious symbols are only used as a cover by them to realize particular interests. The government's response to the religious radicalization movement during Suharto's regime used a military approach. Meanwhile, in the democratic era is law enforcement. This paper argues that the different approaches to radicalism and terrorism in the past and modern Indonesia affect its effectiveness to tackle these problems. In the past, Indonesian government viewed radicalism and terrorism as the crime against humanity and state as well. While in recent times Indonesia sees both radicalism and terrorism as threats to national security. These differences approach according to the situation and conditions in each era so that each approach is only effective in its era.

Keywords: Radicalism, Terrorism, Military, Law Enforcement, Approach

INTRODUCTION

Terrorism today becomes the world threat with almost no exception country (LaFree & Dugan, 2007). However, the cause of terrorist rise is difference cause between one and another country and approach to view the terrorism itself. Some terrorist affiliated with the separatist group, while other not. Meanwhile, the state view to terrorism is also difference, between crime and security threat (Tóth, 2015). Some scholars have tried to connect between terrorism and immigration. Much of their findings are no connection between terrorist and flow of the immigrants, except in the case of rights-wings group in the Europe (Benedek, 2019; Bove & Böhmelt, 2016; McAlexander, 2019).

In the case of Indonesia, the growth of terrorism is influenced by both internal and external factors. Internal factor in its origin was caused by the unsatisfied of a minorities moslems people with the state system. They demanded to Islamic system for the Indonesia. However, this group choosed the external state system in struggling their idea by declaring the Indonesian Islamic state Movement. They did not take political way as the strategy to change the state system. In the modern Indonesia, the rise of the terrorism is not only influenced by their predessessors but also by the foreign influence, especially from the Middle East alumni (Asrori, 2017) who brought the ideology and have much connection to the broadest terrorism in the region, such as Syiria, Moro Islamic Movement in Philippine, Afganistan Mujahidin and so on.

Meanwhile, in the home country, especially young terrorist are formed gradually from the Islamic exclusive group that their Islamic understanding contradict with the Major Islamic group tradition and teaching (Wiyani, 2013). They construct their members to become a solid and militant person through the regular teaching and meeting. This group in its development is performing their action as the Islamic hardliner group. This group often performs self-judicial actions against society or groups of people who are considered inconsistent with Islamic teachings they believe. This group is considered as the seed of terrorism in the present Indonesian era which is known in society as radical Islamic group (Mubarok, Zaki & Fauzi, 2018).

The emergence of radical groups in a state scope is marked by the injustice received by some people who feel they have not obtained the rights they should receive. Additinally, the radical group rise to support or solidare with other moslem who are threatened injustice to their life, such as Palestinian, Philippine an other factors related (Mardiansyah, 2014; Mubarok, Zaki & Fauzi, 2018). Various efforts to tackle radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia have been made. During the Suharto era, the approach to eradicating radicalism was carried out through the military. Because they are considered treason to overthrow the government. Meanwhile, in the era of Indonesian democracy, the approach to eradicating radicalism and terrorism used law enforcement. The purpose of this article is to explore whether criminal policy or a security approach is more effective in countering Islamic radicalism and terrorism in post- and contemporary Indonesia.

This article is organized as follows. After explaining the context of the situation that prompted this study, the second portion will investigate the relationship between Islamic extremism and the increase of terrorism as reflected in media coverage. Following that, the Indonesian counter-radicalization and counter-terrorism strategy will be discussed, followed by a discussion of counter-radicalization and counter-terrorism techniques throughout history and in contemporary Indonesia. Finally, as a conclusion, the paper's key argument and future recommendation will be underlined.

RADICALISM AND TERRORISM AND THE ROLE OF MEDIA

In the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) radical means fundamentally (to the principle), it is very hard to demand change (government law), move forward in thinking or acting. While ism is a flow or understanding. Radicalism is an understanding that requires a change or renewal in social and political concepts by means of violence. The word radicalism terminology comes from the word radix which means root. The meaning is then extended to belief, which is then developed into the word radical, meaning more adjuncts. Until the public assumption that radical people have a detailed and deep understanding, such as roots, have the determination to maintain their beliefs. A different response was conveyed by Tarmidzi Taher as Chairperson of the Indonesian Mosque Council in his time who revealed that related to radicalism had a positive meaning, namely tajdid (renewal) and islah (improvement), a spirit of change towards goodness. The debate related to the notion of radicalism is still widely discussed at the level of experts and figures in Indonesia (Yunus, 2017).

Radicalism is closely related to terrorism, both of which constitute acts of violence or threats to the diversity of life found in Indonesia. In connection with this, according to Zunly Nadia, there are several factors underlying the emergence of radicalism, namely, first, the scriptural understanding in interpreting texts of religious teachings. Second, social and political factors. Third, the idiological factor of anti westernism, and fourth, the factor of capitalism and the problem of poverty (Nadia, 2012). According to Abu Rokhmad, three factors cause a person to become radical, namely, firstly, an incorrect and literal understanding of religion. Second, global politics which as Muslims feel entitled to retaliate for the injustice and authority of the US and Europe against the Islamic world, including containing solidarity with Palestine (Rokhmad, 2012).

The threat arises from minority groups who reject and do not believe in the system adopted by the state. This distrust gave rise to a movement that wanted both social and political change by means of violence. Efforts can be made through religion as an identity factor. However, Saiful Mujani provided an analysis if radical Islamic masks in the guise of Islam were not genuine phenomena born in Indonesia but originated in the Middle East, such as the radical ISIS group which was the result of interconnection between external influences from the Middle East that had brought Pan-Islam, Muslim Brotherhood and Caliphate in Indonesia (Umar, 2010). The influence is built through networks between contemporary Islamic organizations, for example Jamaah Islamiyah, Jamaah Ansarut Tauhid, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia and other organizations spread throughout Indonesia. The development of radical groups is supported by supporting organizations so that it has a strong influence. This was conveyed by Azyumardi Azra & Ahmad Syafi'i Maarif who concluded that the development of the Islamic movement in Indonesia came from transnational organizations.

Meanwhile, there is strong connection between media and teorrorism promotion. Terrorism with the media becomes an interesting set of studies because both parties have a mutual symbiotic relationship where both parties are equally beneficial. This view is similar to Williams's thought that the relations of mass media and terrorism are often interpreted as intrinsic mutual dependency and syimbiotics. Modern terrorism utilizes Laswll's communication model to create an effect on the public in the form of terror. In the empirical realm, where the bomb explosion plan in Serpong, Tangerang was revealed, it further strengthened and realized that the media was participating in the Pepi Fernando terrorist act. The terrorist network is attempting to blow up a gas pipe which, incidentally, is near the Church. Systematically what Pepi wants to do by doing documentation and the results will be disseminated to the parties related to the funding network. In order to facilitate the mission, terrorists recruited reporters from one of the private TV stations who were tasked with documenting the bomb explosion (Sukarno, 2011).

The basic problem that is currently faced in reporting issues related to radicalism and terrorism is objectivity and truth. In the world of journalism, this value determines the quality of output that will be delivered to the public. Interesting illustration related to the coverage of the September 11 tragedy, according to Chermak & Grenwald about coverage of terrorism, that there are several obstacles faced by journalists when covering terrorism news such as media access, media frames and the value of news. In essence, a reporter has difficulty in covering, but on the other hand, the implications of the application of technology and communication increasingly provide guarantees related to the enforcement of independence and objectivity.`

One of the real examples ever published by Time magazine about the "confession" of Umar Al-Faruq that connects the "sleep cells" of the terrorist movement in Indonesia with Al Qaeda has obtained some unclear sources. Even then, reports circulated, that when Al-Faruq was captured in Tangerang, Indonesia was later detained temporarily in Jakarta and moved to Guantanamo until later released and whereabouts are unknown. There was also news related to Selamat Kastari who was released from a Singapore prison triggering a lot of questions because at that time it was reported that a wound on the leg could freely escape surveillance. From these examples, it is clear that objectivity and truth are two things that are difficult to apply in reporting terrorism or radicalism (Table 1).

Table 1 MEDIA COVER ON TERORISME		
Period	Frame	
Before 1998	Known as the extreme right or certain religious-based radical movements	
From 1999 - 2000	There has been no mention of terrorists, previously known as the term Security Troubling Movement (Gerakan Pengacau Keamanan)	
From 2001 - 2008	The term terrorist began to emerge after the Bali Bombing I explosion and the September 11, 2001 tragedy. At that time, the Radical Islamic movement through the representation of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), Pondok Pesantren Ngruki. In this era terrorist activists were associated with people or groups of people who had studied in Moro and Afghanistan	

	who were calling for Western and US symbols.
2009	Sometime during the bombing of the Ritz-Charlton hotel, secondly, SBY stated that the incident had links with those who were disappointed with the results of the presidential election. Shortly after the statement, the frame of terrorism had shifted to SBY's political rivals who at the time were trying to challenge the recapitulation results of the General Election Commission vote count related to the alleged markup of the voter list.
2009 - present	Jamaah Anshoruttauhid is considered an extension of JI through the central figure Abu Bakar Ba'asyir

INDONESIAN POLICY TO TACKLE RADICALISM AND TERRORISM

Indonesia has taken some efforts to tackle the radicalis and terrorism ranging from soft policy to hard policy. The soft policy uses education path to prevent the young generation from threat of the radicalism and terrorism influences. Regarding the soft policy, Indonesia universities in counteracting the issue of radicalism have been carried out since the era of President Jokowi in period 1, based on the inculcation of Pancasila ideology in universities. Pancasila becomes the spirit of learning activities in educational institutions. According to Article 1 Paragraph 1 of Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, that education is a conscious and planned effort to realize an understanding of realizing the atmosphere of learning and the learning process so that students actively develop their potential to have religious spiritual strength, self-control, personality, intelligence, noble character, as well as the skills needed for themselves, society, nation and state. The development of learning for students in the educational environment does need innovation and creativity from the teacher as the model maker of learning, including lectures that occur in tertiary institutions.

According to Haidar Adam as a Lecturer at Airlangga University, related to the focus of radicalism and terrorism which is currently developing there need three roles that must be taken by universities in neutralizing the understanding of radicalism and acts of terrorism in society. First, universities are policy makers. The academics who currently serve on campus must be proportional and must be agents of change who can instill good character in students that radicalism and terrorism cannot be justified. Second, guarantee academic freedom. The nuance of the campus, supported by academic scholars, is expected to be able to examine every problem that occurs in the community in a deep and structured manner so as to minimize the existence of misinterpretations. Radicalism and terrorism arise from misinterpretations. The assessment that has been carried out is able to reach the appropriate academic justification point. Third, become an expert, namely by studying things related to problems that occur in society by providing an enlightening view. Of the three roles that can be taken by universities as the frontline in eradicating radicalism in the world of education, it needs a concrete role from academics to be able to jump right in to overcome the development of radicalism in the campus world (SiagaOnline, 2018). According to Mahfud MD, radicalism is a movement that wants to change the system beyond what has been agreed upon. This certainly considers those who are not in his group as enemies (Yogi, 2020).

This condition is our concern, especially in the field of education when printing a strong nation's successor equipped with qualified science and technology. Danu Damarjati related to the article "Questioning Radicals" considers that the element of "violence" has entered the understanding of radicalism. The purpose of using violence is to change the social and political conditions drastically. Paul McLaughlln states that the development of radicalism has been divided into two sides. One side is appealing to some circles and on the other hand is disgusting for other parties. Radicalism contains meaning related to the soul of heroism, but there is also cruelty (McLaughlin, 2012). Karl Mark 1844 states that to be radical is to understand to the roots. The intended understanding reaches a concrete level, namely political economy. This has a different meaning after the 17th century, which changed from the meaning of action to the demand for fundamental change. There are two characteristics of radicalism, namely, first, radicalism is characterized by utopianism, which is to crave a perfect socio-political system 'like a fantasy'. The utopian meaning here is bad because it is interpreted as an impossible condition

to be realized and efforts to realize it are classified as dangerous. Second, it is extreme in its action. There are two extreme meanings in question, namely not taking a position in the middle in the political spectrum or not including moderate or centric. Furthermore, the extreme in this case uses violence to achieve a certain goal.

Violence which is identical with radicalism reveals that the wrong understanding of society which is related to radicalism has led to religious factors. Special attention is also directed at the ranks. This is important considering the data from BNPT in 2018 (BBC Indonesia, 2018) there were 41 mosques in the ministry and state-owned enterprises that were exposed to the issue of radicalism. According to Abdul Muta'ali, the Head of the Study Program of the Police of the University of Indonesia University, revealed that university support for BNPT. He said he appreciated the steps taken by BNPT in making policies based on theory and research as a guide to be applied in the field. This, of course, makes countering terrorism uninterrupted and right on target (Muta'ali, 2020).

"This public lecture is in order to provide support to BNPT related to counter terrorism. We read BNPT lunge at this time is quite good. When we listen to Mr. Adang's public lecture it is extraordinary, it turns out that terrorism and radicalism can be proven on the basis of research, theory, this is needed by the academic world. So the data is not 'he said' or according to Google and Wikipedia. I think if this is socialized, conveyed to the public, the response to terrorism will be extraordinary, clear and clean, zero terrorism ".

The same thing was expressed by Muhammad Syauqillahhe said that:

"In the future, we hope BNPT friends will be involved in the research and education process in our study program. However BNPT friends are the leading sector. Involving universities in the context of the terrorism issue in Indonesia is also very necessary, I encourage my friends to get involved so that the input of BNPT colleagues will be even better. Research can also be developed, for example, BNPT has a lot of data, how to process it in the form of reports or policies in the future, it also requires human resources, we can collaborate with SKSG UI and BNPT institutions themselves" (BNPT, 2020).

Academically terrorism is categorized as "extraordinary crime" and crime against humanity. This is because terrorism has created the greatest danger against human rights and its random targets have resulted in innocent people becoming victims. In addition, the network formed in terrorism has a negative synergy with the international world which threatens international peace and security. In general, acts of terrorism cannot be underestimated because they ignore the values of humanity, religious values and the dignity of the Indonesian people, so that matters related to terrorism need to be rejected (Aji, 2013).

Terrorism enters complex problems, both in terms of the perpetrators, their motives and their causes. The complexity of the existence of religious radicalism resulted in many debates which became debates by experts. In a scientific paper in the form of a thesis with the theme of Radical Islam "we get a picture that the emergence of terrorism originated from a repressive New Order regime that has used its roles to suppress Islam as a political force in Indonesia. Emphasis which impact on the term Radical Islam. The first case that was taken up was the Komando Jihad (hijacking of Woyla aircraft) which was allegedly the first terrorism event in Indonesia.

The term radicalism is often associated with terrorism because it is considered as the root cause of terrorism. Brian Michael Jenkins, explains that "Terrorists don't fall from the sky, they emerge from a set of strongly held beliefs. They are radical. Then they become terrorists ". Theoretically, Afadlal explains how the shift from radicalism to terrorism moves from the concepts of fanaticism and radicalism. Models that can be understood with a picture of violence will be confronted with violence and one form is the terrorism movement. In line with the explanation, Muhammad Mustofa gave an example related to the efforts of the United States in

capturing Osama bin Laden by bombing Afghanistan. This seems clear that the religious ideology motivation is not easily destroyed by military action and even reinforces militancy. From this picture shows there is a causal relationship between terrorism and radicalism. Although it should be noted that radicalism here is not only limited to religious radicalism, including politics as well as others.

According to Tb. Ronny Nitibaskaraterrorism can be carried out because of political, economic, rescue, and revenge motivation, even madness motivation (Nitibaskara, 2002). More specifically, Arsyad Mbaisaid that radicalism is the root of terrorism. This is influenced by the existence of radical ideology which is the cause of a lot of terror in Indonesia. Both radicalism and terrorism require countermeasures that go through several stages. This is why because policy makers include counter radicalization and deradicalization in one law as an inseparable unit (Pratiwi, Dian Esti & Afkar, 2020).

The conceptions used in the use of the term radicalism vary depending on which version we look at. In the perspective of social psychology, radical is interpreted as an attitude that encourages motivation and behavioral menujembelakan as a whole is considered the most basic values of a belief, belief, ideology, or religion or other things. From the point of view of religious groups, radicalism is a movement that seeks to change the total social and political order by violence.

APPROACHES TO COUNTER RADICALISM AND TERRORISM

In the decade of 1970-1980s, Indonesian radical groups emerged with the same demand, namely to make Islam as the state ideology. They are members of the Darul Islam Indonesia group and the Indonesian Islamic Army. Because their movement approached treason against the state, the Suharto government at that time used a military approach in eradicating this radical Islamic group. In this context, the actions of these radical Islamic groups are seen as a form of criminal crime targeting the state.

In the recent time, the radicalism related to the development of terrorism. Therefore, the eradication of terrorism includes strategies in eradicating the radicalism movement by changing understandings that are believed to be true so as not to become radical. Radicalism has the meaning of overhauling a system that applies within the realm of territory through total social and political which is done by setting aside values, norms by teaching intolerant, fanatical, exclusive or anarchist attitudes (Articel 1 (7) of PermenPPPA No. 7 of 2019). The reshuffle in the social and political structure that occurred due to radical understanding that has spread to the layers of society without regard to the risks that occur. The need for firmer arrangements to be a deterrent point in criminal law sanctions in Law No. 5 of 2018 concerning Changes to Law Number 1 of 2003 concerning Establishment of Government Regulations in lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002 concerning Eradication of Terrorism Criminal Acts Being Law Article 43 F letter c regulates the function of the BNPT in carrying out counter radicalization and deradicalization.

Counter radicalization is a planned, integrated, systematic, and continuous process that is carried out on people or groups of people who are vulnerable to radical Terrorism understandings that are intended to stop the spread of Terrorism radicalism. Program packaging by the Government by involving several relevant stakeholders. There is also a de-radicalization program. That is a planned, integrated, systematic and continuous process carried out to eliminate or reduce and reverse the radical understanding of Terrorism that has occurred. The regulation that has been regulated in the framework of Law No. 5 of 2018 requires BNPT as the frontline body in preparing technical guidelines that can be easily understood by each agency coordinated by BNPT.

The role of the BNPT in combating perpetrators and victims of radicalism is one variable with terrorism, the way is to straighten out understanding through the de-radicalization program. According to Petrus Reindhard Golose, deradicalization can be simply interpreted as a process or attempt to eliminate radicalism. While the broader meaning, deradicalization is included in

efforts to neutralize radical notions through interdisciplinary approaches, such as law, psychology, religion, and social culture for those who are influenced by radical and or proviolence ideas. Counter Narative contains an explanation which is a program of reduction and rehab, which is to provide a different perspective of truth with the aim of undermining the perception of terrorists who are wrong and reconstructing the ideology that underlies acts of terrorism. Deradicalization is carried out on ex-terrorists to cut off ex-terrorists and their groups so that they do not return to violence.

Tackling radicalism in Indonesia today used the legal approach. The government is focused on eradicating radical issues by forming the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT). According to Irfan Idris there are four characteristics said to be radicalism, namely First, radicalism can be caused by a sense of wanting to make changes quickly using violence in the name of religion. Second, to disbelieve others, third, to support, spread and invite to join ISIS. Finally, interpreting jihad in a limited way (Tribun News, 2019). In another session, the BNPT did not want to debate the definition of the word radical which so far there has been an action by the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (Kominfo) to have blocked 22 Islamic sites because it was considered to spread radical understanding. Arief Dharmawan as Deputy of Enforcement and Capacity Building of BNPT explained that the content on blocked websites is contrary to the philosophy of Indonesia and Islam (Andi, 2015).

Website blocking efforts are a preventive measure to prevent the spread of radicalism and terrorism movements through social media. This is needed in order to ward off neatly structured movements carried out *via* social media. Prevention is needed to be done given the massive radical movement that is symptomatic in the community. Actually the effort that can be done is not a problem if it is not followed by acts of violence.

In addition to blocking the sites that have been carried out, we need full support from the academic world to provide research and studies to resolve issues regarding radicalism and terrorism as consideration of recommendations in making policies and decisions taken. With the assistance of academics in the field of research, it can help the policy taken by the BNPT to counteract precisely and quickly (BNPT, 2019).

From the empirical side of the targets desired by radical groups is youth. After the Al Qaeda network, ISIS is one of the terrorist groups that shocked the world with brutal actions in bombing opponents. ISIS has a great influence and develops very quickly with the target being young people. Since 2014 it is estimated that more than 15 thousand people have joined ISIS. The transition period experienced by young people is likely to experience what is called Quintan Wiktorowicz, a micro-sociological process that brings them closer to the acceptance of new ideas that are more radical. Such conditions make them vulnerable to the influence and solicitation of groups of violence and terrorism. According to BNPT, youth groups are the target object. Problems experienced by young people always feel dissatisfied, irritable, and frustrated both in social and government conditions.

This condition is so alarming when looking at various facts that show the closeness of youth with a culture of violence. The presence of ISIS has become a new scourge for young people with various provocations, propaganda, and tempting calls for violence. This is seen in the violent political movement in Syria. Some examples of Indonesian citizens who died in Iraq while joining ISIS. Wildan was a santri at Pondok Al Islam in Tenggulun, Lamongan, which was managed by Amrozi's family convicted by the 2002 Bali Bombers. The judge's policy in deciding any legal issues that enter the court has legal consequences. Judges who try defendants with capital punishment are deemed not to support the deradicalization program prepared by BNPT. But for judges who impose imprisonment within a certain period of time has carried out the mandate of the BNPT to be given a straight understanding in the form of a de-radicalization program. This shows the contribution of the court as a unified whole in supporting the deradicalization program for terrorists.

This is in accordance with the decision of the South Jakarta Court No. 2189/Pid.B/2007/PN.Jkt. The cell with the defendant AD was one of the important leaders in the Al Jamaah Al Islamiyah organization. In this case the defendant was charged with committing a

criminal act of terrorism as regulated in the Law on Combating Terrorism Criminal Acts. The defendant was sentenced to 15 years in prison. This decision was lighter than the demands of the Public Prosecutor who wanted the defendant to be sentenced to life imprisonment. This court's decision becomes the way for a deradicalization program for terrorism convicts. When you see the legal considerations, *i.e.*:

"Considering that the defendant who has the potential for education in the field of religion, of course, still exists and can contribute to the service of the nation/state and religion, therefore the panel believes that the defendant has realized the mistake and can offer invitations to the good defendants who are accused existing in correctional institutions or those that are still outside the institution to both return to the community with sincere intentions after undergoing a criminal period."

With legal considerations believed by the judge, the convict was still given the opportunity to improve and mobilize his motivation to return to positive things. It should be noted that the chain can cut off radical and terrorist activities at stages that cannot be carried out by a single institution, such as the court. In this case the correctional institution also has the same share so that after being given the opportunity to the convicted person, guidance in the form of deradicalization can be carried out according to the applicable guidelines, so as to create a sense of justice to be achieved (Wijaya, 2010).

CONCLUSION

Terrorism that grew in Indonesia during the early days of reform and democratization in 1998 still has links to the ideology of terrorism groups in the Suharto regime in the 1970-1980s. At the present time, theorism in Indonesia arises as a result of the influence of the terrorist ideology in the Middle East brought by alumni affiliated with world terrorist groups. However, among the young terrorists, the process of growing terrorism in them is transformed from an exclusive Islamic religious education system. Their education system, which is closed and doctrinal, has resulted in an intolerant militant attitude towards Islamic groups outside them. In this context of democracy, the approach chosen by Indonesia in dealing with the problem of radicalism and terrorism is the security approach that prioritizes law enforcement. This approach is indeed soft, not as harsh as the criminal approach used by the government during the Suharto regime. The criminal approach in the past in dealing with radical and terrorist groups has put forward military power to solve problems quickly. In this regard, this paper suggests that the legal approach taken by Indonesia in eradicating radicalism and terrorism should be carried out in stages between preventive and repressive measures, so that the eradication of radicalism and terrorism can run more effectively.

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