

Solahudin,
March 2018

HOW DANGEROUS ARE INDONESIAN RETURNEES & DEPORTEES?

Introduction

- After the onset of the Syrian conflict, Muslims from many countries came to Syria. They joined with opposition groups and waged war against the Basar Ashad regime. The majority joined with ISIS or with JN, the Alqaeda affiliate in Syria. The UN calls those who went to Syria and Iraq to fight as FTF (Foreign Terrorist Fighters)

From 2014-2017 there were around 30,000 FTF in Iraq and Syria from around 100 countries. Including more than 600 Indonesian FTF

Foreign Fighters By Region



8,717 ● Former Soviet Republics

7,054 ● Middle East

5,718 ● Western Europe

5,319 ● The Maghreb

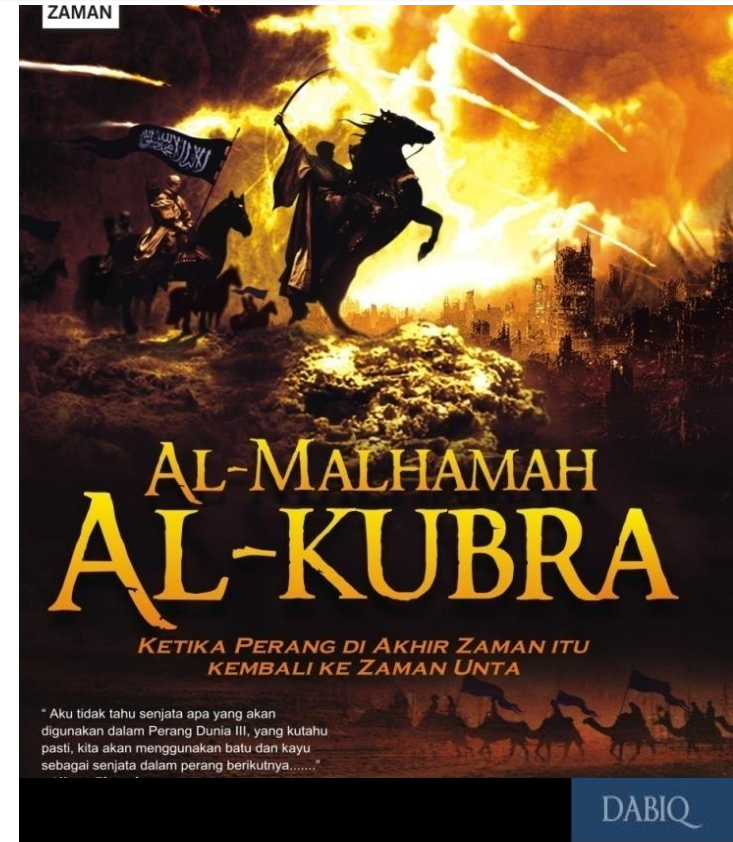
1,568 ● S and SE Asia

845 ● Balkans

439 ● North America

MOTIVATION 1: PROPHECY

For some Indonesian extremist, The Syrian conflict seemed to be a fulfillment of Islamic prophecies that the great battle at the end of time would take place in Sham (Greater Syria) where the Imam Mahdi would lead Islam to victory. Many of ISIS FTF went to Syria because of this motivation. Their belief is also being re-enforced by other prophecy that said before Armageddon takes place, in the end of the world a caliphate will be established in Syria and led by a descendent of Prophet Muhammad. Most ISIS supporters believe that Abu Bakar Al Baghadi is a descendent of Prophet Muhammad.



PART 3 :

SHAM IS THE LAND
OF MALAHIM

MOTIVATION 2: LIVE UNDER SHARIAH

- For extremists, it is obligatory for all Muslims to live under shariah law. In their view, before ISIS declared its caliphate there were no Muslim countries in the world who really implemented the true Shariah, including Saudi Arabia. At that time, Muslims were still permitted to live under non Shariah law because it is an emergency situation. Now the situation has changed, ISIS has already declared the caliphate and this new Islamic state really have commitment to implement the Sharia. So, now it is compulsory for every Muslim to move to Syria and Iraq, to join with ISIS and live under fully shariah law. ISIS also distribute some propaganda videos and photos that show life under Islamic State is as normal as in any other city in the Middle East. ISIS propaganda even claimed life under Islamic State is better than life in their own countries because people are free to implement Shariah and also for Muhajirun (people who come to Syria) ISIS will provide a job, free food, housing, free school for kids and also medical aid. Many Southeast Asian extremists joined ISIS because of these motivations.



الدراسة البوسنية

اجواء مدينة الموصل ليلا



الدراسة البوسنية

منطقة الزهور



حياة المسلمين في شهر رمضان - صلاة الفجر



الحركة التجارية في منطقة البوصرة



MOTIVATION 3: to help Muslims under attack by Shi'a



Media reports about atrocities against Sunnis by Shi'a sparked solidarity among extremist group in Indonesia and Malaysia. They were leaving for Syria to defend Sunni Muslims who were being oppressed by the Syrian regime. From 2013-2014, the majority of people went to Syria because of this motivation.

An example is Ustad Lotfi Arifin, 48, from Kedah, Malaysia. He was also a veteran of Afghanistan. He was one of the first Malaysian citizen leaving for Syria. He actively appealed to Malaysians to come to Syria to help Muslim under attack. Firstly he and most of Malaysians joined **Ajnad al-Sham, not ISIS**. He died after being shot in Hama, Syria on 14 September 2014. After he was killed, some of the Malaysians joined ISIS.

NOT SAME AS AFGHANISTAN

- Around 200 Indonesians went to Afghanistan from 1985-1993 to get military training. After they have military capacity, they planned to go back to Indonesia to wage jihad against the repressive government. For this reason, they were prohibited to fight against the Soviets.
- Mostly, people going to Syria don't have any intention to come back. They sell all of their property before leaving for Syria, and travel with their family.
- Almost there is no push factor people leaving for Syria. Because in Indonesia there is no persecution, no intimidation, no discrimination, no injustice. There are only pull factors.
- But different with Malaysian cases. If we look the data around 40 ISIS supporter in Malaysia. The majority of them come from lower middle class, they don't have any permanent job and mainly either former or PAS supporters. (Mazlee Malik, 2018, ISIS in Malaysia Understanding the Causes and Motivations)

Concern of Returnees

- The Indonesian government is now concerned about returnees and deportees. The government worry that they will conduct attacks at home. According to the police, now there are more than 80 returnees and more than 500 deportees.
- Reason for concern: Indonesia has experience with returnees from overseas training--Afghan alumni and Moro alumni--coming home and becoming involved in terrorism.
- This presentation will assess the danger of returnees and deportees from Syria-Iraq and the Philippines.

SportOkay.com

BNPT: Ratusan Alumni Suriah Tersebar di Seluruh Indonesia

Tim VIVA »

BERITA > NASIONAL
Senin, 3 Juli 2017 | 16:08 WIB

PILIHAN REDAKSI


-  Pembuat Video Porno Anak di Bandung Diminta Dikebiri
-  Kematian Dolores O'Riordan Banjir Belasungkawa
-  Bangbang Soesatyo jadi Ketua DPR, Jokowi Ingatkan Kerja Sama

KOMPAS.com NEWS EKONOMI BOLA TEKNO SAINS ENTERTAINMENT OTOMOTIF LIFESTYLE PROPER

Ancaman Baru, Alumni Suriah

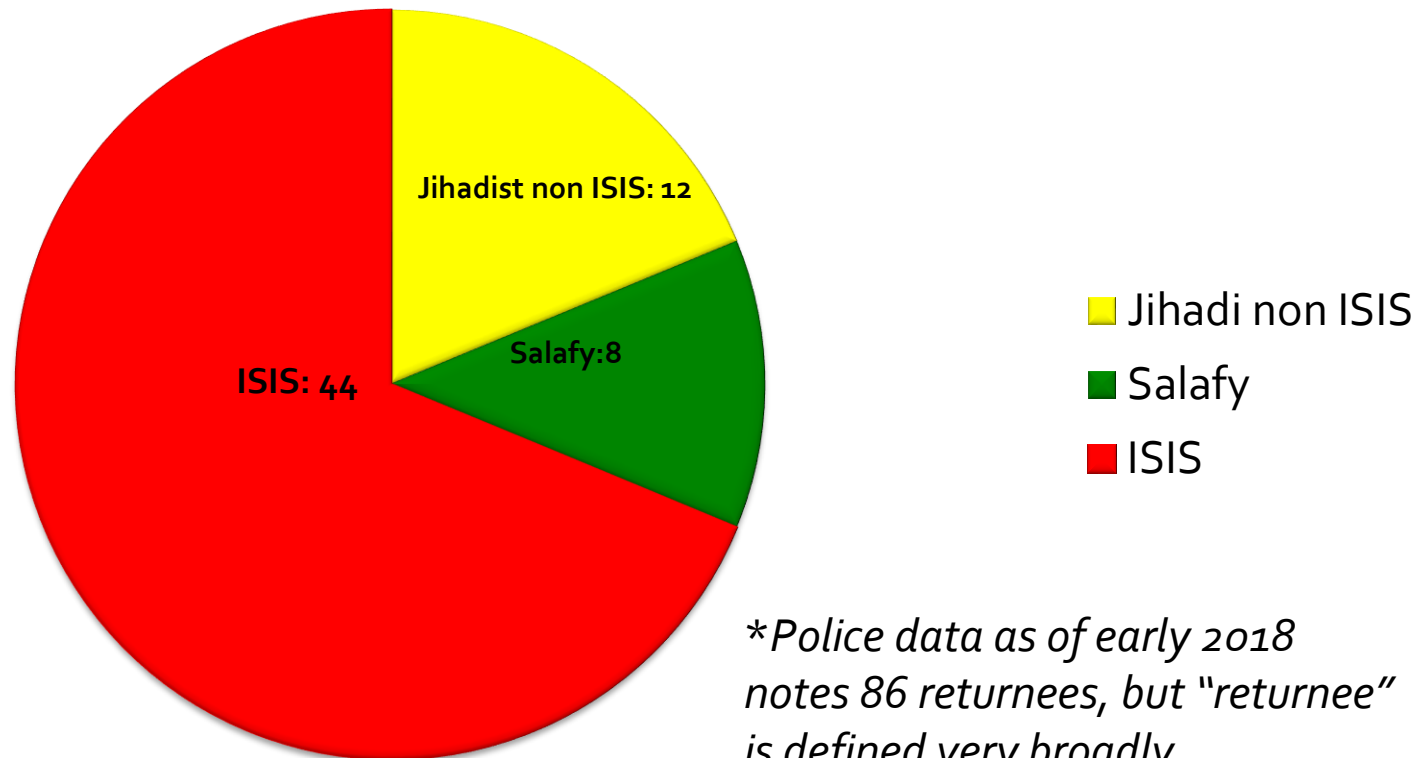
AIMAN WIT-JAKSONO
Kompas.com - 10/07/2017, 08:58 WIB

f t g+



Number of Returnees: 64

Number of Returnees Identified by Name from 2013 to Aug 2017 **



**Police data as of early 2018 notes 86 returnees, but "returnee" is defined very broadly.*

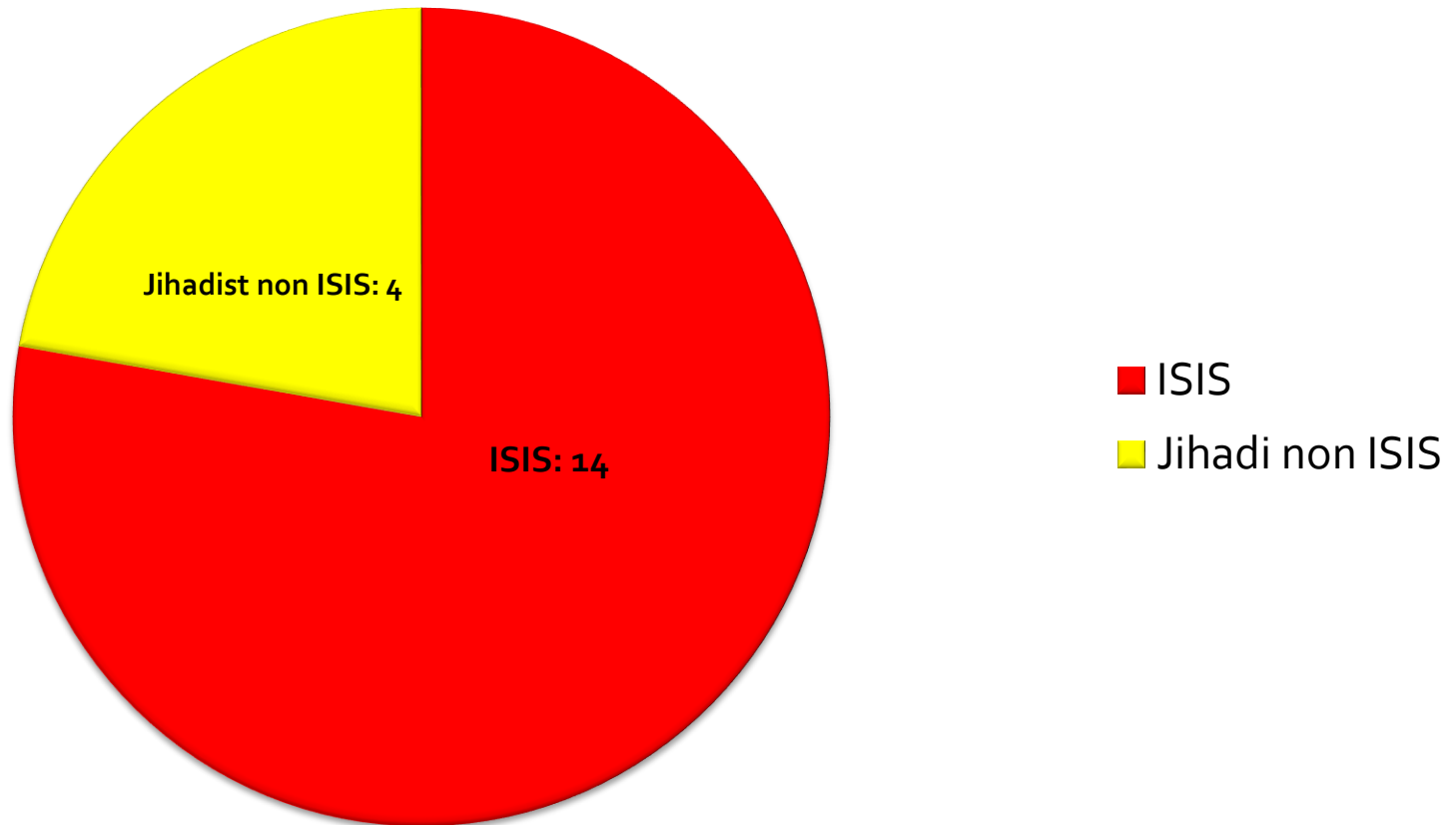
GE NDER DIVISION OF RETURNEES

Gender Division of Returnees



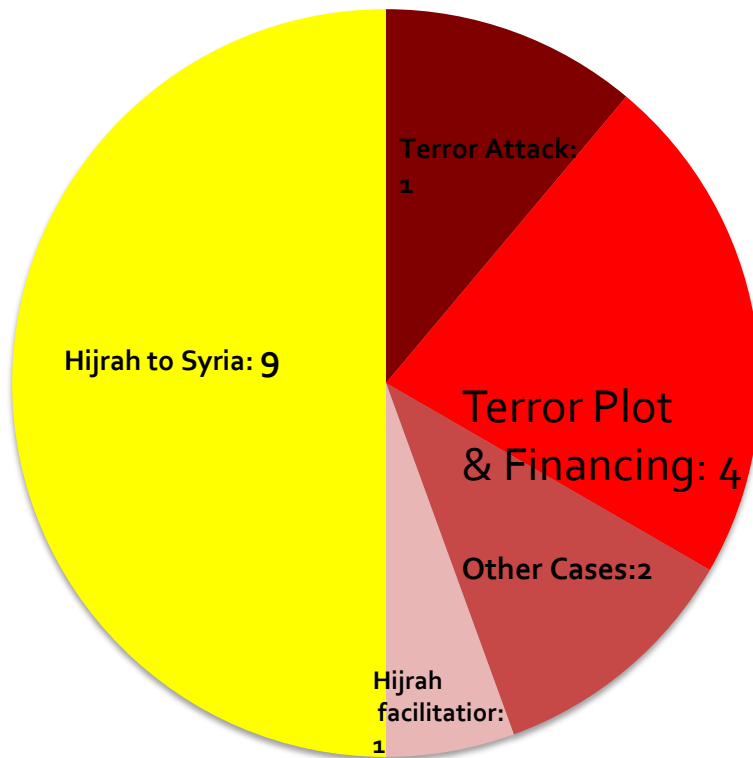
Number of Arrested Returnees: 18

Number of Arrested Returnees as of December 2017



Charges against Returnees & Motivation for Returning (1)

Charges Against Arrested Returnees



MOTIVATIONS FOR RETURNING

- The 5 returned to undertake acts of terror
- he was disappointed that he couldn't join ISIS, returned to Indonesia so that he could join ISIS and wage war at home.
- he was ordered to return by JI
- He went to Syria to check out the truth about ISIS, then decided to return once he understood what was happening
- He was ordered by ISIS to return to facilitate more departures to Syria
- 9 returned disillusioned because the living standards did not meet expectations or because of ISIS conflicts with the opposition .

Legal Case and Motivation for Returning (2)

- Only those who wish to return to commit acts of violence are dangerous, such as the five who either were involved in or planned terror
- Those arrested simply because they had gone to Syria and returned disillusioned are not likely to get involved in terrorism in Indonesia.

WHY WEREN'T OTHER RETURNEES ARRESTED?

There are many reasons why some returnees have not been arrested.

- Police have limited legal tools available to arrest those who have gone to Syria. Terrorism as a crime punishable under Indonesian law has to take place in Indonesia, not in another country.
- Some of those who returned disillusioned were considered to be not dangerous and were therefore put into a deradicalisation program run by the National Anti-Terrorism Agency (BNPT).
- The police simply don't know where some of the returnees are. This includes both ISIS and non-ISIS returnees – they have heard that they're back, but they don't know where.
- Police have allowed some returnees that they don't consider dangerous to return home freely, such as Salafis.

MOTIVATIONS OF RETURNEES NOT ARRESTED AND THE LEVEL OF RISK THEY POSE

- Non ISIS jihadists: they have come back either because they are disappointed or because they have finished their task. In general, the non-ISIS jihadist consider jihad in Indonesia to be illegitimate because Indonesia is a Muslim country.
- The salafis generally returned after they finished their task such as delivery of humanitarian aid. They never considered violence in Indonesia legitimate.
- Disillusioned ISIS returnees are also seemingly not interested in conducting jihad operations in Indonesia.
- It is critical to track down the other ISIS returnees, find where they are living and investigate their motivations for return as some may be committed to acts of violence.

DEPORTEES

- In addition to returnees, Indonesia also has a problem with deportees – mostly those caught in Turkey before they could cross over into ISIS-controlled territory. From 2015 to the present, more than 500 Indonesians have been deported.
- Some 60 percent are women and children.
- Most tried to go to Syria because of three reasons. First, they wanted to live under Islamic law. Second, they wanted to meet the Imam Mahdi (the Islamic messiah who according to some hadith would appear in the final battle at the end of time in Sham – Greater Syria -- to lead Islamic forces to victory). Third, they wanted to join a jihad to fight.
- Indonesia has no law under which it can detain people just for having tried to go to Syria.
- Some 26 deportees have been arrested for other crimes they committed before they left or for having violated laws on terrorist financing.

26 Detained Deportees: Charges Against them and Motivation for Leaving

Motivation



Charges Against Arrested Deportees



WHAT CONDITIONS COULD PROVOKE RETURNEES AND DEPORTEES TO RETURN TO VIOLENCE?

- Most of the returnees and deportees who come back to Indonesia are not interested in conducting terrorism attacks at home. But it is important to remember that there are conditions that would provoke some individuals to return to violence. Communal conflict is one – if Muslims are seen as being under attack by non-Muslims, this could be a trigger as it was in the Poso and Ambon conflicts.
- For all of the training that took place on the Afghan border between 1985 and 1994, there was no violence by Afghan alumni in Indonesia until Ambon erupted in 1999 and local Muslims began dying. Training in Mindanao began long before Ambon and Poso erupted, but it was stepped up in response to those conflicts. Some 50 Mindanao alumni (plus 7 Kashmir alumni) became combatants.

THANK YOU
