

# A DISCOURSE OF REPATRIATION OF INDONESIAN EX-ISIS CITIZENS

## “Law, Human Rights, and Socio-Politics Consideration”

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***Abstract---** Pros and cons of the discourse of repatriation of Indonesian ex-ISIS citizens create a dilemma for the Indonesian government. The government has to determine the positive and negative impacts of the decisions to be taken. This research seeks to explore the discourse of repatriation of Indonesian ex-ISIS citizens from the perspective of law, human rights, and socio-political impacts and risks in Indonesia, as well as providing recommendations for policy considerations for the government. Using a case study method and secondary data, it was concluded that the Indonesian government has legal bases regarding the decision to be taken. From the perspective of human rights, the government also has reasons for taking all policies except neglecting children and families of ex-ISIS combatants. The policy recommendations are to repatriate children and families and provide a process of deradicalization and encourage international legal processes for ex-ISIS combatants involved.*

***Keywords---** repatriation of Indonesian ex-ISIS citizens, Law, Human Rights, Socio-Politics.*

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### I. INTRODUCTION

Transnational issues have always been a joint challenge involving many countries. Being different from domestic problems relatively easy to handle, transnational issues tend to be more complicated. After all, domestic problems are in certain legal territories and have more easy-to-reach access. On the contrary, distance and hard-to-reach access are the main obstacles in transnational issues. Furthermore, the occurrence of a problem is sometimes not in the jurisdiction of a country, requiring coordination between countries. In fact, in some instances, transnational issues provide uncertainty on various sides such as legal status, morality, human rights, and some of them lead to international scale debate. One of the threatening and complicated transnational issues today is terrorism, which is hard to handle as it involves national boundary traffic.

A few years back, the world was appalled by the emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Sham (ISIS) leader of the Caliphate Abu Bakr Al Baghdadi on April 9, 2013. The purpose of this movement was to establish an Islamic state and an Islamic caliphate (Daulah Islamiyyah) in Iraq and Syria. This caliphate claimed the right to hold religious, political, and military control over all Muslims throughout the world. The emergence of this group, which was influenced by Arab springs and the discourse of domination and western hegemony, was enough to get the sympathy and support of various Muslim countries having the same ideological tendencies. Many world citizens then went to the ISIS region to support the movement and wanted to live in an area justified as a caliphate. War rages and alliances involving many groups and countries created serious transnational issues at that time. In fact, until the fall of ISIS in October 2017 in Iraq, when the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) Kurds, together with the US

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coalition, managed to seize Raqqa in March 2019 in Syria. When the SDF announced its final war in Baghouz, it still posed new problems for the international world.

Then, the problem arising is the fate and status of thousands of ISIS supporters coming from outside Syria and Iraq. After this war ended, many ex-ISIS combatants and their families were imprisoned and accommodated in the region. SDF holds around 12,000 ISIS combatants, including 2,000 foreign combatants from about 50 countries. There are also approximately 12,000 foreign women and children affiliated with terror groups detained in detention camps in eastern Syria (Kurds Determined to Judge ISIS Foreign Combatants in Syria, 2020). A large number of cases of foreign detainees seem to cause a tug-of-war of responsibility between Syria and Iraq and the origin countries of these international terrorists. Although at first, Syria and Iraq were committed to carrying out legal proceedings in their territories, later, they seemed unable to handle it. Meanwhile, origin countries of foreign terrorists tended to reject their return, even many of them claimed to have revoked the nationality of those involved in ISIS. This complexity caused Donald Trump to speak up to European countries to immediately take home their citizens (Trump asked European countries to accept hundreds of ISIS members captured in Syria, 2019). This phenomenon then led to the emergence of the discourse of repatriation of ISIS combatants to their respective countries, including Indonesia.

(Wahyudin, 2020) wrote in the news: The Soufan Center stated 600 Indonesians joined ISIS in Syria, which consisted of 113 women, 100 children, and the rest were adult men. Furthermore, in 2018 the National Counterterrorism Center (BNPT) mentioned that 1,321 Indonesians tried to join ISIS in Syria. Around 600 ex-ISIS citizens are still abroad. Some 47 of them are detained, and most of the 553 others are in refugee camps. Fortunately, not all of them made it into Syria. Some of them were thwarted at home, deported by transit countries such as Turkey, yet many who managed to enter Syria and join ISIS. In short, the number of Indonesian citizens supporting ISIS in Syria and surrounding areas today is 600 people.

In early 2020, many media began to raise the issue of the repatriation of these Indonesian ex-ISIS citizens. Most of the media highlighted the humanity side. One trigger of the polemic is the interview of a BBC international journalist to Nada Fedulla, one of the girls living in the Al Hol refugee camp that her father took to the ISIS since 2015 (Indonesian ex-ISIS citizen in Syria wanting to return home: 'I am exhausted. I am very grateful if Indonesia accepts us home', 2020). In a series of interviews, she mentioned, her family, including his father, wanted to be repatriated and accepted in Indonesia. This video, along with other narrative discourses, then creates polemics and discourse in the country, which is then responded with various opinions from various sides such as citizenship law, human rights, humanity, and others. However, the public shows disapproval of their repatriation and blasphemes them. Repatriating ex-ISIS, who had left their homeland to join the terrorist movement and even burning their passports, were inappropriate and unnecessary. Not to mention the risks that must be faced since they have been radically indoctrinated, which feared to create security and order problems in the country. Indonesian public anxiety and fear are evident with their comments crowded on social media.

Such public discourse indirectly creates a dilemma for the government. Moreover, this issue had become an opposition political commodity shouting for the government to repatriate ex-ISIS citizens for humanitarian reasons (Putri, 2020). Indonesian Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law, and Security (Menko Polhukam) Mahfud MD recently firmly conveyed that there would be no repatriation of ex-ISIS citizens (Revised Statement, Mahfud Mentioned No Court Required for Revocation of Citizenship of Terrorism Suspects, 2020). However, hitherto, the government has not made a final decision on what actions will be taken regarding the repatriation. Polemics of various parties' opinions are still personal opinions or represent institutions. Thus far, the government is still counting all impacts and risks nationally and internationally. This discourse and the problem of repatriation of ex-ISIS is one of the

severe issues faced by the government of this period. In addition to having an element of radicalism, this problem includes transnational aspects involving many countries, international territories, and the crush of various aspects and sides.

Any policy the government taken will have risks and impacts. The government needs to calculate carefully to make the best decision. On a discourse basis, the government is forced by the aspects of law and humanity. Therefore, this article will be interesting as it discusses the discourse of repatriation of ex-ISIS and their families in terms of legal aspects, human rights, and socio-political impacts. In more detail, this article will discuss how the discourse of repatriation of ex-ISIS citizens from the perspective of Indonesian law, human rights, socio-political impacts and risks, and what recommendations need to be provided to address and decide on this issue.

## II. RESEARCH METHODS

This research utilized a case study method. Creswell stated the focus of a case study is the case specification in an event, covering individuals, cultural groups, or a portrait of life. Creswell further revealed several characteristics of a case study, namely: (1) identifying cases for a study; (2) The case is a system bound by time and place; (3) Case studies use various sources of information in gathering data to provide a detailed and in-depth description of the response of an event, and (4) Using a case study approach, researchers will spend time in describing the context or setting for a case (Creswell, 1998, p. 37-38).

Case studies are also said to be an exploration of a bound system or a case or various cases which, from time to time, go through in-depth data collection and involve various rich sources of information in a context. This system is bound by time and place, while cases can be studied from a program, event, activity, or individual (Creswell, 1998, p. 61).

This study employed secondary data as a method of data collection. Secondary data refers to data sourced from existing literature and references and is related to the case discussed. Secondary data in this study were taken from books, journals, and news about the discourse of the repatriation of ex-ISIS citizens and their families.

### **Issues of the Islamic State and the Allure of ISIS for Some Indonesians**

The issue of a state based on Islam under the Islamic Caliphate is still a living discourse today. There are still many among the Indonesian Muslim community who believe and are interested in living under the Khilafah Islamiyah. The caliphate for them is always a dream to be re-established after the fall of the Ottoman Caliphate in 1924. They have a belief that Islam is the basis of all things, including concepts and foundations of the country, making them expected to realize a better life. This primary way of thinking is seen in the SMRC survey, where 9.2 percent of Indonesians agreed to be replaced by the Khilafah (Ihsanuddin, 2017).

This simple and basic thinking is then added to the social aspects of Indonesia, where there is injustice, inequality, and Western dominance and hegemony over the world. News of the conflict in the Middle East continues to form emotions of hatred for Western domination and imperialism. In addition to these basic things, the doctrines about the Islamic state are massive in Indonesia. Some radical elements, even groups that openly aspire to the Islamic militancy, are very militant in conveying their ideas and ideologies. It must be admitted that many of the Indonesian Muslim communities are indoctrinated with their ideas, causing these communities to wait and want to live under a state based on Islam and the caliphate.

The emergence of the ISIS movement in the Middle East a decade ago indicated the realization of a dream for this group of people. Despite the massive coverage in the media highlighting the negative impression, there is no denying that many Muslim communities have other opinions and even support it. It happened due to the propaganda from ISIS spreading through various social media. Through this propaganda, ISIS was able to attract the sympathy of Muslims from various countries to conduct jihad, making ISIS not just a local movement in Iraq and Syria, but had become a transnational movement. From here, the features of globalization were seen as causes, as well as being instruments or facilities for seeding religious-based resistance movements. Stated so because the emergence of radicalism and extremism based on religion is often referred to as a response to the pathology of globalization (Arif, 2010).

More specifically, Joseph Chinyong Liow stated that the ISIS factors enter Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, are: first, the same theological and religious views as the ISIS group. Some Muslims see a connection in Islam that will eventually establish the Khilafah ala Minhaj Nubuwwah or Islamic Caliphate along with the fall of authoritarian rule in the Arabian Peninsula. Second, ISIS calls for sectarianism against Shia, where the conditions of Southeast Asia are deemed to support the politics of sectarianism. It can be seen from the Shia ban in Malaysia, while its existence is not recognized in Indonesia. Third, the existence of sympathy and a sense of the same fate as Muslims towards the Syrian community then pushed the Muslim community in Southeast Asia to set out to conduct jihad in the name of humanitarian missions and religious vocation (Liow, 2014).

Such facts make ISIS able to disseminate its ideology online in Indonesia, making it known and expected by some people. Due to the popularity of ISIS, many Indonesian citizens have left for the country secretly passing through Turkey and other countries' borders. This wave of departure has been anticipated by the government by thwarting some Indonesians wanting to join ISIS. Nevertheless, many of them have made it to escape and to date have remained in the ISIS region to support and join its struggle, or were settling there as they believe it belongs to the territory of the Islamic Caliphate. However, all of this became a global problem and burden when eventually ISIS collapsed, and its ex-combatant prisoners and their families were displaced in the country.

### **Law Perspective on the Discourse of the Repatriation of Ex-ISIS Citizens and Their Families**

The dilemma of this issue certainly involves the law as the basis of the policy to be carried out. In this case, there is no specific law. The revised Terrorism Law in 2018 contains the most crucial articles concerning human rights and citizenship. In the revision of the Terrorism Law based on input from various members of the special House of Representatives (DPR) committee together with the government work committee, it noted a crucial issue, namely removing criminal sanctions for revocation of citizenship status. Law No. 15 of 2003 concerning Eradication of Terrorism Criminal Acts Article 12b, previously regulating the sanction of revocation of citizenship for terrorists, has been removed. Hence, when referring to this, ex-ISIS terrorist citizens still own Indonesian citizenship. The problem is that terrorism is across the country and belongs to a group claiming to be the state, Daulah Islamiyah (Islamic State). In a nutshell, they left Indonesia and came to a new country because they were lured in by the existence of that country using Islamic law as the basis of the state. Moreover, there was a rumor spreading that they had burned their Indonesian passports. The issue of citizenship then arose when the collapse of the ISIS group and de jure was indeed not recognized as a state by the international. Therefore, the validity of their Indonesian citizenship status is questioned. However, if referring to the law above, in legal status, they are still Indonesian citizens.

If the government is reluctant to repatriate ex-ISIS citizens, the law basis for the revocation of citizenship for those involved in terrorism in Article 12b cannot be used as it has been revised. In this case,

the government must interpret other articles if it does not want to repatriate ex-ISIS citizens. Because after all, the only reasonable reason not to repatriate them is the revocation of citizenship.

Another law that can be used as a reference for this problem is “Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 12 of 2006 concerning Citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia”. In Chapter IV on “Losing Citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia” Article 23, three items are supporting such problem, namely item d which reads “entering the foreign army service without prior permission from the President”, item e which reads “voluntarily entered in foreign state service” and item f which reads “voluntarily taking an oath or declaring a loyal promise to a foreign country or a part of that foreign country”.

If the word state becomes a problem again, the government can utilize the point d. This point is interesting because if another law basis is clashed with the word “state” - bearing in mind, ISIS is an unacknowledged state -, in this article, it does not mention the state but only “foreign troops”. Therefore, it is very relevant to be used as a law basis for not repatriating ex-ISIS citizens with revocation of citizenship. All that remains is administrative matters by the president or relevant authorities. The policy to revoke citizenship is no longer a problem in the international arena as Indonesia can follow the UK, which has done a lot of revocation of citizenship for its citizens joining ISIS.

Moreover, the interesting issue to be considered is the statement of “loss of citizenship”. In this case, the ex-ISIS citizens lose citizenship status by themselves, not because of a revocation by the president. This law eases the position of the government. Therefore, the citizenship status of those involved in ISIS can be declared lost rather than revoked, allowing the government to be free from arbitrary impressions.

The government can be more flexible in making decisions since regulating citizens on a cross-country scale, especially for such issues, requires strategies and adjustments to the current dynamics. Article 31 of Law No. 12 of 2006 stated that “someone who loses the status of an Indonesian citizen can get it back”. The requirements and steps are contained in the Government Regulation No. 2 of 2007 Article 43 to Article 47. In such cases, the government can swiftly play the situation. To promote the firmness and dignity of the nation, the government can relinquish citizenship, but in the future, as developments occur if new problems or significant impacts arise, Article 31 can still be used as the basis. In a simple sense, in the future, after the trial process, it is still possible that the ex-ISIS combatant will regain citizenship if the conditions, qualifications, and commitments are met.

This regulation is enough as the law basis for ex-ISIS combatants, but for their families, it remains a problem. For the category of children, there is a law stating that the state has to provide protection. Article 15 of Law No. 23 of 2002 says: “Every child has the right to get protection from (a) Abuse in political activities, (b) Involvement in armed disputes, (c) Involvement in social unrest, (d) Involvement in events containing elements of violence, (e) Involvement in warfare”. Moreover, Article 59 of Law No. 23 of 2002 also says: “The government and other state institutions are obliged and responsible to provide special protection to children in emergencies”. Article 60 of Law No. 23 of 2002 states, “Children in an emergency as referred to in article 59 consists of (a) Children who become refugees, (b) Child victims of riots, (c) Child victims of natural disasters, (d) Children in situations of armed conflict”.

The children referred to above are those under the age of 18 years. Unfortunately, the family of ex-ISIS combatants not only consists of children but also adolescents, wives, and even the perpetrators’ parents. It is what creates the dilemma and uncertainty for the government. On the one hand, they are just the family brought by the perpetrators, who now become refugees. On the other hand, they have the sense and maturity to decide and determine their involvement in ISIS. Moreover, no one knows the extent of their radical ideology.

## **Human Rights Perspective on the Discourse of Repatriation of Indonesian Ex-ISIS Citizens and Their Families**

Article 15 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights says (1) Everyone has the right to citizenship. (2) No person may be arbitrarily deprived of his citizenship or denied the right to change his citizenship (Universal Declaration of Human Rights). This statement functions to protect the existence and human rights. In modern times when all regions of the world are part of a particular country, stateless status or not having citizenship is a threat to those concerned. People in this position have vulnerabilities, discriminatory threats, and other non-humanitarian treatment. People in this position have no protection, rights, or other privileges when all matters are administered and based on state status.

If the issue regarding the discourse of the repatriation of ex-ISIS citizens is citizenship, then according to this declaration, it should not be carried out by the state. Campaigns carried out by many institutions such as UNHCR and others do not prohibit but only reduce the revocation of citizenship for ex-ISIS citizens. Indeed, such an act requires long consideration. If their citizenship is revoked, they will have severe problems and difficulties in Syria. They probably will suffer and encounter misery for having no guarantee. Their fate will be determined by the attitude of the state controlling the territory. Those who are stateless will be freely used, and it definitely violates human rights.

The government needs to look further in terms of human rights. In this context, it might be quite understandable that ex-ISIS families deserve more attention and even protection, especially children only following or obeying the perpetrators' orders. It is in accordance with Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which says (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence in any country. (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own country, and return to his country (Universal Declaration of Human Rights). The ex-ISIS combatant families are not the initiator of their arrival in the ISIS territory. Alternatively, in this case, the government must explore in depth the role of each individual to provide fair policies.

However, the government can be more assertive toward ex-ISIS combatants as they are involved in terrorism. On one side, they made a legal mistake involving or supporting terrorism. On the other side, they involved family and children in their terrorism practices. In this case, aspects of human rights can be slightly released to account for their actions. Nevertheless, several issues require re-review. The government can better see the level of their involvement, whether they are involved in terrorism practices or limited merely to sympathizers or supporters.

## **Socio-Political Impacts and Risks for the Indonesian Government**

Seeing the above explanation, Indonesia has a law basis and reasons for taking all decisions except ignoring the families of ex-ISIS combatants brought or involved and exploited by the perpetrators. The real problem considered by the government is the socio-political aspect, especially for domestic affairs. The problem faced by the government at this time can be called extraordinariness as it relates to real radicalism, or at least those involved have an anti-Pancasila ideology with the understanding that this country is a thoghut state. It then clashed with the issue of citizenship and the existence of Indonesian citizens in the international territory where international parties were unable to handle it and wanted to be managed by their respective countries (repatriated). This situation is dilemmatic, and many aspects must be at stake.

Socio-political impacts and risks of repatriation are: First, the falls of state dignity. The dignity of the country, which has been abused by the ex-ISIS citizens by leaving the country and joining the new destination country symbolized by the burning of Indonesian passports, cannot be underestimated. The state will lose its authority when circumstances force it to repatriate the ex-ISIS citizens. The commitment to eradicate terrorism and protect the sovereignty and the Indonesia people from the dangers and threats

of terrorism will be questioned. If terrorism occurs in the domestic territory, then legal action and process are easy to carry out. However, the problem is that they have left Indonesia to join and become part of a country having committed major and sadistic terrorism. The repatriation of ex-ISIS citizens will be the country's defeat against the undermining and arrogance of terrorist movements and groups.

Second is the real threat of radical ideology. Up to now, the issue of radicalism remains a vigilance continuing to be eradicated by the Indonesian government. One form of radicalism and terrorism is that it does not recognize and disagree with the Indonesian state. The Indonesian government and its people have the status of thogut, which in the most radical level they are allowed to be killed. Their departure to the ISIS region clearly showed they had such ideology and had the potential to commit treason and violence in Indonesia. Looking at the history of recent acts of terrorism in Indonesia, many of which led to such a motive. Most of them are ISIS sympathizers and supporters accomplishing ISIS's call to execute terror in their respective countries. Such an issue will continue to exist and can lead to the emergence of counterinsurgency and order actions in the future.

The third is social unrest. The public rejection that had been seen on social media indicated public concern and fear of them. Terrorism is frightening and causes trauma for the Indonesian people after the many terrorist incidents occurring. Their adventures will create social fears and paranoia that will severely disrupt social harmony in Indonesia. Moreover, the character of Indonesian society is aggressive and less rational. Surely, the repatriation of Indonesian ex-ISIS citizens will lead to commotion or even anarchists. Security and order will be at stake. The public will try to expel and distance the ex-ISIS from their social sphere. Any approach will be difficult, considering that Indonesian society, in general, is more dominated by emotional factors. Persuasion for small problems is sometimes difficult to do, especially for such real problems.

The repatriation of ex-ISIS and their families will lead to difficult circumstances. They might receive discrimination, abuse, and even violence. It is hard to imagine that they will be repatriated to their social environment in Indonesia. Acceptance in various social communities will be difficult. In the social eyes, the stigmatization of ISIS is extremely bad and sadistic. Revenge sentiments for their arrogance for leaving the country will never be extinguished.

The repatriation will provide impacts on the socio-political, such as, first, the government will continue to be undermined by human rights institutions such as the National Human Rights Commission and NGOs. It will be known as a country ignoring humanity, especially if it neglects the families of ex-ISIS citizens. Besides, the Indonesian government was deemed not to have followed the declaration of human rights as it had revoked their citizenship. Contradictions or the clash of crimes with human rights will never run out. These two approaches seem to always be confrontational in determining the ideal position of humans. Moreover, human rights have become political arguments, covert interests, or ridden discourse for specific agendas. The legal process that must be accepted by the perpetrators is sometimes dialectic with aspects of human rights. Not that it is wrong, but debates must always be applied as long as it reaches a proportional conclusion and result.

The authors believe that many of the Indonesian people have empathy, especially for the ex-ISIS combatant families. Regarding this issue, it will significantly affect and give a bad impression if the government neglects them. Most of them are children or parents of perpetrators who do not understand at all and are victims of involvement of ex-ISIS combatants.

Secondly, on an international scale, if the government revokes the citizenship status of ex-ISIS citizens and does not repatriate them, it will create international hassles regarding their condition and whereabouts. They will continue to be in refugee camps in an area controlled by a particular country, and those involved will be imprisoned without a transparent legal process. The war that has been happening has created various problems for Syria and Iraq. Until now, these countries have not been able to resolve

legal issues for those involved in ISIS, especially for foreign citizens related to the structure and system of the country, which has not been recovered.

The government will also continue to be encouraged by international parties to repatriate its citizens to reduce the international burden. The international world in this matter has a serious dilemma between assertiveness in terrorism, humanity, and the handling of prisoners and their families. Nevertheless, almost all countries remain firm and want them to be tried in the region. Although in reality, the trial process has not yet been fully realized. One of the points of the problem happening is that they are adrift without clarity of status. From there, the UN voiced to give clarity of status. In this case, detainees must be tried or released (UN: Tens of thousands of ISIS prisoners in Iraq and Syria must be tried or released, 2019).

Seeing the above explanation, the Indonesian government is not too confused with mentioned aspects such as law or human rights. The real dilemma is the sovereignty and readiness of the country regarding the impacts and risks of the existing socio-political choices. Dealing with the international world regarding the existence of hundreds of Indonesian citizens on the land of other countries after being involved in significant terrorism is not easy. Likewise, to repatriate them, national pride, national security in the future, and the commitment of the government in tackling terrorism will be at stake. Because after all, joining the terrorism movement is an act of terrorism that has legal consequences and a real threat to the nation.

### III. CONCLUSION

A discourse on the pros and cons of repatriating ex-ISIS citizens creates a dilemma for the government because any policy taken has positive and negative impacts. Legally, even though Law No. 15 of 2003 regarding Eradication of Terrorism Criminal Acts Article 12b concerning revocation of citizenship for terrorists has been revised, the government can still use “Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia No. 2 of 2007 concerning Procedures for Obtaining, Losing, Cancellation and Reclaiming Citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia”. In Chapter V, Article 31, point C to revoke citizenship and not repatriate to the homeland. Several laws regulate the protection from the government for the children of the ex-ISIS combatants. It is stated in Article 15 of Law No. 23 of 2002, Article 59 of Law No. 23 of 2002, and Article 60 of Law No. 23 of 2002.

From the perspective of human rights, the revocation of citizenship is very contrary to the declaration of human rights (Article 15). However, it is still possible to revoke citizenship since they have involved in a massive and brutal terrorist movement, and revocation of citizenship has been carried out by Britain to its citizens joining ISIS. Hence, the human rights approach is appropriate for the families of the perpetrators. Article 13 stating that everyone has the right to return to his country. Therefore, the families of ex-ISIS combatants should get the possibility, opportunity, and appropriateness to retain their citizenship and return home.

In this case, the government has law bases for any policy that will be taken. For the perspective of human rights, the government also has reasons to behave, even if it conflicts with the exclusive rights of ex-ISIS combatants. However, for the families of ex-ISIS combatants, the government has no choice but to provide protection. The real problems and the dilemma considered are the impacts and risks of socio-political policies that will be taken. If repatriation is performed, the government will lose the nation’s dignity related to the commitment to eradicate and protect its citizens from the threat of terrorism and trigger paranoia and turmoil in society. If they are not repatriated, the government will get negligent claims on humanitarian aspects by human rights organizations in the world and at home. In addition, the government will burden the international world related to its citizens residing in the territory of other countries without certainty.



Based on the discussion and considerations concluded above, the recommendations provided are as follows: The first thing that must be clear is that the government protects and repatriates ex-ISIS combatants. The limitation on this matter could be extended to the family by first reviewing that they were not really involved in the terrorist practices in the area and were only brought by the perpetrators. The community turmoil in the country can be mitigated by conducting a strict deradicalization process first in a place within a specific time frame. Once they feel sufficient and free, they may return to the community with the status of people monitored directly by the authorities.

For the ex-ISIS combatants, the government does not need to repatriate them or revoke the citizenship of those actively and deeply involved in the ISIS movement. The government must also encourage and collaborate to conduct international proceedings to provide legal certainty to them. After the legal process and decision are passed, further consideration is made by looking at the situation and developments by the Indonesian government.

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