

# **PRISON PROBLEMS:**

## **Planned and Unplanned Releases of Convicted Extremists in Indonesia**

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The **Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict** (IPAC) is the name adopted in 2013 by Yayasan Penanggulangan Krisis Internasional, an Indonesian foundation. Based in Jakarta, IPAC works on the principle that understanding conflict is the first step toward stopping it, and produces in-depth reports based on field research on six kinds of conflict: communal, insurgent, extremist, electoral, vigilante and land/resources. Indonesia is the main focus, with planned future expansion to Myanmar and Bangladesh. For more information email Sidney Jones, IPAC Director, at [sjones@understandingconflict.org](mailto:sjones@understandingconflict.org).

## CONTENTS

I.	Introduction.....	1
II.	The Numbers Game .....	2
	A. Calculating Release Dates .....	2
	B. How Many Are Getting Out?.....	5
III.	A Note on Recidivism.....	6
IV.	The Impact Of Regulation 99.....	8
	A. Requirements For Extremists and Reaction of Inmates.....	8
	B. The Impact .....	10
V.	Escapes.....	11
	A. The Tanjung Gusta Riot.....	11
	B. Earlier Extremist Escapes: The Case of Roki Aprisdianto ....	13
VI.	Prison Dynamics.....	15
	A. Nusakambangan.....	15
	1. Kembang Kuning.....	16
	2. Pasir Putih .....	17
	3. Batu.....	17
	B. Tangerang Prison.....	19
	C. Cipinang .....	20
	D. Porong .....	21
	E. Cirebon .....	21
	F. A Concluding Note on Prison Dynamics .....	22
VII.	Need For Improved Post-Release Monitoring.....	22
VIII.	Conclusion .....	23
	Appendix A: Repeat Offenders.....	24
	Appendix B: Recent Escapes From Indonesian Prisons or Detention Cells (Not Terrorist-Related) .....	25

## I. INTRODUCTION

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Many convicted Indonesian terrorists will be released over the next several years after serving time in prison. The Indonesian government has little capacity at present to provide adequate post-release monitoring, although it is taking some steps to remedy this. Under the circumstances, how much of a security risk do these releases pose? The answer is probably not as much as some people fear; the recidivism rate for convicted extremists remains low. The problem is that systems are not yet in place to keep track of individuals who are considered potential problems.

Any evaluation of risk must take several factors into account. One is the numbers involved. In early 2013, articles appeared in the regional media suggesting that 300 prisoners were due for release by the end of 2014. The National Anti-Terror Agency (Badan Nasional Penganggulangan Terorisme, BNPT) later stated the real figure was only 39. A more reasonable estimate is about 80 releases in 2013-2014, some of which have already taken place, with over 100 more in 2015-2016. No one has exact data, however, and accurate predictions are close to impossible.

A second factor is the prison experience of those scheduled for release. It is simply not possible to assess risk on the basis of the activities that led to their convictions. Some of the men that might have been judged most dangerous appear to have modified their views and behavior; others who might have seemed low risk have grown more militant because of associations made in prison. Which way an individual turns may depend less on government "deradicalisation" programs -- although interventions that provide status and income can help -- than on the nature and influence of fellow inmates and connections maintained on the outside. In general, senior JJ leaders tend to exert a moderating influence, whereas those who follow radical preacher Aman Abdurrahman are likely to keep the level of militancy high.

Other factors can also come into play, including the degree to which inmates can mix with ordinary criminal offenders. The problem of released prisoners does not relate just to those charged with terrorism but also to others they may have recruited. The largest cluster of repeat offenders among convicted extremists consists of men whose first offense had nothing to do with terrorism.

The riot in Tanjung Gusta prison, Medan, on 11 July 2013 was a reminder that in thinking about scheduled releases, one should think of unscheduled ones, too, even if the number of terrorist escapes over the last decade has been remarkably low. Overcrowding, understaffing and the poor physical condition of many Indonesian prisons combine to produce escapes of ordinary criminals so frequently that it is a wonder that not more extremists make the attempt.

To address these risks, improving the capacity of the Indonesian corrections system to analyse and respond to developments in prison is essential. It is also important for the government as a whole to recognize the need for improved post-release monitoring and allocate the necessary resources to put a better system in place.

Managing convicted extremists goes to two much larger issues, however. One is overall prison reform: the government acknowledges that the prison system as a whole is in a state of crisis and the Corrections Directorate with the Law and Human Rights Ministry has been receptive to donor assistance in trying to address it.

The second is the spread of extremist teachings in a way that generates new groups of young radicals convinced that violence is the way to address injustice, religious deviance and vice. Until the government does more to address this much more sensitive problem, the best monitoring program in the world will be of limited value.

## II. THE NUMBERS GAME

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Calculating expected release dates is not an exact science. One of Indonesia's major achievements in its approach to homegrown terrorism was to treat it from the beginning as a law enforcement matter rather than a war. Suspects were arrested by police, not the military; tried in open courtrooms, fully accessible to the public; and released when they served their sentences. For the first eight years after the 2002 Bali bombing, no one paid too much attention to what happened to them afterwards. But the 2009 Jakarta hotel bombings involved a high-profile recidivist, Bagus Budi Pranoto, also known as Urwah, who had been released a little over two years earlier after serving a short sentence.<sup>1</sup> A few months later, when police broke up a terrorist training camp in Aceh, they found that more than two dozen recidivists had had some association with the camp – mostly convicted terrorists who had returned to violence but also a few ordinary offenders who had been recruited in prison. The need to know more about prison networks and post-release activities suddenly became pressing.

As 2013 approached, it became clear that the relatively short sentences handed down to members of several jihadi groups would be coming to an end around the same time. These included some of those involved in the Aceh camp; some linked to the “book bombers”, a group operating in the Jakarta area arrested in April 2011; members of a faction of the old Darul Islam organization; and some stragglers from other cases. The questions were exactly who and how many and what danger they posed.

### A. *Calculating Release Dates*

While the Corrections Directorate within the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kementerian Hukum dan HAM) has made major strides over the last year in maintaining and expanding a database on inmates, the focus has been on entering the data rather than on analyzing it, letting alone testing its predictive value. Predictions are complicated in any case because different factors can affect when a prisoner gets out. A few key points are worth noting:

- The sentence handed down is always minus time served, so the prison term needs to be calculated from the date of arrest/detention, not the date of sentencing.
- Those convicted of particularly serious crimes, including terrorism, may begin to receive remissions, or sentence reductions, after serving one-third of their sentences.<sup>2</sup> A complicated formula determines the number of days and months to be cut, but the end result is that many prisoners with heavy sentences end up serving half the term handed down in court – and sometimes considerably less.<sup>3</sup> A controversial new regulation issued in November 2012 tightened remission procedures for convicted terrorists; its affect on release schedules remains unclear.<sup>4</sup>
- In addition to the regular remissions schedule, remissions of between 15 days and two months depending on the amount of time served are also granted on the major religious

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1 Urwah was arrested in July 2004, prior to the Australian embassy bombing, for failing to report the whereabouts of Noordin Top, the man behind the 2003 bombing of the Marriott Hotel in Jakarta. He was sentenced to 3.5 years in May 2005 and released in March 2007.

2 Government Regulation 28/2006 on Amendments to Government Regulation 32/1999 on Conditions and Implementing Procedures Related to Prisoner Rights. This was further amended in a circular from the Corrections Directorate dated 5 October 2007.

3 After serving the first year, a prisoner may have two months deducted; after the second year, three months; after the third year, four months; after the fourth and fifth year, five months; after the sixth year and above, six months.

4 Government Regulation 99/212 on The Second Amendment to Government Regulation 32/1999 on Conditions and Implementing Procedures Related to Prisoner Rights; see section C, below.

holidays of each religion (e.g. Idul Fitri for Muslims, Christmas for Christians).

- Special remissions of an additional month are granted to blood donors and to prisoners with specific jobs inside the prison. In Jakarta, those jobs are generally available for a fee of Rp.3,000,000 (about \$300).
- On every tenth anniversary of Indonesian independence, a special anniversary remission (*remisi dasawarsa*) is granted of one-twelfth of the sentence up to a maximum of three months. 2015 will be one of those years.
- Convicted terrorists are eligible for parole, or conditional release (*pembebasan bersyarat* or PB) after they have served two-thirds of their sentences. The process of securing parole, starting with a review at the prison to approval by the head of the Corrections Directorate, generally takes about two months.<sup>5</sup>
- The prison head can recommend denial of conditional release if the prisoner has not exhibited good behavior, although denial is rare.

The best guide to when convicted terrorists will be released is precedent. Over 270 prisoners have now been released after having served sentences for terrorist crimes.<sup>6</sup> An analysis of those releases shows that with the regular remissions policy in effect, sentences of seven years and under are subject to systematic and largely predictable reductions, as follows:

**Table 1: Sentences vs Time Served for Shorter Terms**

SENTENCE	ACTUAL TIME
3 years	2.5 years
4 years	3 years
5 years	3.5 years
6 years	4 years
7 years	4.5 years

All of the above are give or take a few months, but the data are remarkably consistent over time.

With sentences longer than seven years, it becomes harder to predict. If we look at released prisoners who had eight-year sentences, the amount of time actually served varies from under four to over seven years, although the average is just over five.

5 Interview with former inmate, 12 August 2013. The process is as follows: Once a prisoner has served two-thirds of his sentence, a Corrections Observation Team (Tim Pengamat Pemasyarakatan, TPP) meets to assess the individual concerned. The team includes the head of the prison, the head of prison security and other department heads, and the wardens for the inmate's cell block. If they agree on parole, they send a letter to the provincial justice office (*kantor wilayah* or *kanwil*). That office then sends a letter to the Director-General of Corrections, recommending approval. A letter from the Director-General is then sent back to the TPP which meets again. With terrorism cases, it is at this point that Detachment 88 or BNPT must sign off on the release.

6 The 270 figure is mostly for crimes committed from 2002 onwards but it also includes those arrested for bombings or attempted bombings in 2000 and 2001, including the Christmas Eve bombings across 11 cities in December 2000. It is also important to note that most but not all of these individuals were charged with terrorism; anyone arrested before the 2002 Bali bombings would have been charged under the ordinary criminal code or Emergency Law 12/1951 that bans possession, distribution, sale or use of explosives and other weapons; the Anti-Terrorism Law only went into effect in early 2003. Some of those arrested after 2003 were also charged with ordinary offences such as robbery under the Indonesian criminal code.

**Table 2: Released Prisoners with Eight-Year Sentences**

NAME	ARRESTED	RELEASED	TIME SERVED	CASE
Agus Purwantoro	Mar 2008	Aug 2013	5 yrs 5 mos	Arrested in Malaysia bound for Syria
Abdul Aziz	Oct 2005	Jan 2013	7 yrs 3 mos	Constructed Noordin's website for Bali II
Taufik Kondang	June 2007	Feb 2013	5 yrs 8 mos	Abu Dujana group
Dwiwidiyarto	Nov 2005	Apr 2011	5 yrs 5 mos	Bali II group
Kasim Wally	Nov 2005	Feb 2010	4 yrs 3 mos	Villa Karaoke bombing, Ambon
Ahmad Rofiq Ridho @ Ali Zein	Jul 2005	Aug 2009	4 yrs 1 mo	Withholding info on Noordin Top after Australian embassy bombing
Ilham Riadi	Dec 2002	Sep 2007	4 yrs 8 mos	Makassar bombs (Dec 2002)
Sardona Siliwangi	May 2003	Mar 2007	3 yrs 9 mos	Marriott bombing (2003)
H.Aceng Suheri	Jan 2001	2005	4 yrs+	Christmas Eve bombings (2000)

Prisoners with ten-year sentences have been generally been released after five or six years. Those with 15-year sentences have been paroled after anywhere from just over six years to around eight and a half. And prisoners with 20-year sentences have been released after six years, as with one of the 2003 Makassar bombers, or almost nine, in the case of one of the Christmas Eve bombers. Ironically, then, the worse the crime, the better the chance of getting drastic sentence reductions, but other factors may come into play: long-term prisoners may be more likely to develop relations of trust with prison authorities.

One final table is worth looking out before proceeding to estimates: a list of prisoners paroled so far in 2013:

**Table 3: Partial List of Prisoners Paroled in 2013 (through 10 August)**

NAME	SENTENCE	ARRESTED	RELEASED	TIME SERVED	CASE
Haris Amir Falah	4.5 yrs	May 2010	Aug 2013	3 yrs 3 mos	Funding Aceh camp (JAT)
Hariyadi Usman	4.5 yrs	May 2010	Aug 2013	3 yrs 3 mos	Funding Aceh camp (JAT)
Syarif Usman	4.5 yrs	May 2010	Aug 2013	3 yrs 3 mos	Funding Aceh camp (JAT)
Baharudin Latif	5 yrs	Dec 2009	Jun 2013	3 yrs 6 mos	Withholding info on Noordin Top, his son-in-law
Nur Afifudin	7 yrs	Jun 2007	Jun 2013	6 yrs	Hiding Abu Dujana
Agus Purwantoro	8 yrs	Mar 2008	Aug 2013	5 yrs 5 mos	Arrested in Malaysia en route Syria (JI)
Abdul Aziz	8 yrs	Oct 2005	Jan 2013	7 yrs 3 mos	Made Noordin Top's website for Bali II
Taufik Kondang	8 yrs	Jun 2007	Feb 2013	5 yrs 8 mos	Abu Dujana group (JI)
Rusli Mardani	10 yrs	Oct 2008	Mid-2013	5 yrs	Loki attack 2005, bomb-making
Yudit Parsan	10 yrs 3 mos	Feb 2007	Apr 2013	6 yrs 3 mos	Poso shootout 2007
Irwanto Irano	14 yrs	May 2006	Aug 2013	7 yrs 3 mos	Beheading of Poso schoolgirls
Muthalib Patty	15 yrs	Feb 2005	Jul 2013	8 yrs 5 mos	Villa Karaoke bombing, Ambon

Nachrum Waili Sahalong	15 yrs	Feb 2005	Jul 2013	8 yrs 5 mos	Villa Karaoke bombing, Ambon
Anif Solchanudin	15 yrs	Nov 2005	Jul 2013	7 yrs 8 mos	Bali II
Wira Hadi	19 yrs	Dec 2002	Mid-2013	10 yrs 6 mos	2002 Makassar bombings

There are several interesting aspects in the above list. Irwanto Irano, for example, was arrested at the same time for the same crime and received the same sentence as Lilik Purwanto alias Haris, but Haris remains in prison. One explanation offered was that Haris until January 2013 was held at Jakarta police headquarters – therefore outside the remit of Corrections Directorate – and no one was keeping track of when his conditional release was due. The oversight has been corrected, and he will probably also be released this year.

A few prisoners as a matter of principle do not seek conditional release. It does not affect remissions, which they continue to receive automatically, but it can mean they stay in prison much longer than would otherwise be the norm.

### B. *How Many Are Getting Out?*

Using past practice as a guide, IPAC's rough estimate for those due for release between January 2013 and the end of 2014 is about 80. That is double the number in a list drawn up by Corrections in February 2013, which IPAC understands is now being revised.<sup>7</sup>

The Corrections list of 39 prisoners includes several who were released in 2012 and several who were never members of extremist groups.<sup>8</sup> More worrisome, it does not include many of the prisoners who in fact have been released since the list was compiled, suggesting that Corrections itself is not sure when prisoners are being paroled. Only five of the twelve men in Table 3, for example, were on the list. The problem may be in the data coming in from the field – the list did not include any data from the big prisons in Surabaya (LP Porong) and Semarang (LP Kedung Pane), for example; or from the main prisons in Palu, Central Sulawesi or Ambon, Maluku, all of which have released inmates this year. It also may be because the information used in calculating releases was based on the actual end of a sentence, rather than parole dates. These shortcomings are a concern, though, because BNPT is now using the same list and therefore underestimating the numbers involved.

Those likely to be out by the end of 2014 include individuals from several groups:

- The minor players in the 2009 hotel bombings. The three students arrested for helping hide the fugitives after the bombings, for example, all received four and a half years; they will almost certainly be out this year.
- The Jemaah Islamiyah men arrested in Central Java with Abu Dujana in 2007, most accused of hiding weapons.
- Many of the men arrested in 2010 who were linked to the Aceh training camp. Several of the JAT officials who helped finance the camp were released in August 2013. Many of the participants received seven-year sentences, meaning that with remissions, they should be

7 Direktorat Jenderal Pemasyarakatan, "Daftar Narapidana Teroris Yg Masih Menjalani Pidana/Tahanan di Lapas/Rutan Seluruh Indonesia Yang Akan Bebas Pada Tahun 2013-2014", February 2013.

8 Among those on the list who were released in 2012 were Aziz Mustofa, Moh. Jibriel and Ata Sabiq. Four men on the list (Syahrul bin Sudirman, Herudin alias Heru, Marno bin Kimo and Wiyanto bin Parim) were convicted for sending bomb threats unrelated to jihadism – two for sending threats to an elementary school after their children were not accepted there. Two are Christians, part of a group of fourteen arrested for lynching a Muslim fish trader after three Christians accused of masterminding the worst massacre of the Poso conflict were executed.

due for parole in mid-2014.

- The 2011 book bombers. With the exception of Pepi Fernando, the group's leader, most received relatively light sentences of three to three and a half years.
- Members of Abu Umar's group arrested in 2011 mostly for hiding arms and ammunition and withholding information. They were generally given lenient sentences of three to five years.
- The members of the Palembang group arrested in 2008 who are still in prison.

IPAC estimates that well over 100 more could be released in 2015 and 2016 as the remaining members of the above groups and some of the men arrested in more recent waves complete their terms.

Before anyone hits the panic button, however, we need to keep in mind first, that no one should begrudge these men – and one woman -- their freedom when it comes.<sup>9</sup> By Indonesian law, they will have paid their debt to society. Second, as will be seen in the next section, the recidivism rate remains low, despite some high-profile cases and some clusters of cases that deserve more analysis. We need to understand more about who goes back to violence and why, but most of these people will not return to crime. The question is how predict the trouble-makers. One thing is for certain: the nature of the crime or even the group they belonged to is a poor guide to future behavior.

### III. A NOTE ON RECIDIVISM

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The term “recidivist” is used fairly loosely in Indonesia to refer to any repeat offender, but definitions are critical. According to the U.S. Justice Department:

Recidivism is measured by criminal acts that resulted in the re-arrest, reconviction or return to prison with or without a new sentence during a three-year period following the prisoner's release.<sup>10</sup>

If we use a five-year period for Indonesia as the “recidivism window” and use previous convictions, rather than arrests as the basis for calculation, and – crucially – include terrorist suspects killed in police operations before they could be brought to justice a second time, then the recidivism rate for terrorist offenders is around 10 per cent.

Since the first Bali bombing in 2002, Indonesian police have arrested and tried around 700 terrorism suspects, most of whom have been brought to trial with a near 100 per cent conviction

<sup>9</sup> The only woman currently in prison on terrorism charges is Nurul Azmi Tibyani, who was arrested in March 2012 in Bandung and sentenced to four years in January 2013 for withholding information on several fugitives, including her husband, accused of helping finance terrorist activities in Poso. Three other women have been convicted but are now free. One of these is Putri Munawaroh, who was arrested when her husband, Hadi Susilo, was killed with Noordin Top and Urwah in a police operation following the 2009 Jakarta hotel bombings. She was sentenced to three years in June 2010 for concealing weapons but was acquitted of terrorism charges, and she was paroled in July 2011. While she was still in prison in Jakarta, she was married long-distance to Ridwan Lestahulu, a convicted prisoner from Ambon, serving time in Porong prison in Surabaya, with vows exchanged using the video function of their respective smart phones. Once Putri was released, she moved to Surabaya to meet the husband for the first time, and thanks to the practice of conjugal visits, is now pregnant with their first child.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=tp&tid=17>, accessed 31 August 2013.

rate.<sup>11</sup> Of some 270 released after serving their sentences, 28 have been re-arrested or killed in police operations on suspicion of involvement in terrorist acts (see **Appendix A**). The figures are not exact because different agencies have slightly different data sets.

The 10 per cent figure is a little misleading, however. It would be slightly higher with the inclusion of men arrested but not convicted who later went on to commit terrorist acts: this would include Qomarudin alias Mustaqim and Rachmat Puji Prabowo, both ex-JI members who were detained in 2004 on suspicion of withholding information about Noordin Top, were released without charge and then went on to take part in the Aceh camp. It does not include men who served time in prison and went on to play supporting roles for terrorism but in a way that did not violate any law: several of the Poso combatants who were arrested in 2007 and then joined the local JAT chapter in 2011-2012 would fall in this category.

And the largest group of repeat offenders linked to terrorism consists of 21 men whose first crime had nothing to do with violent extremism (and therefore are not included in the 10 per cent calculation), including eight men who were recruited in prison. Three of the latter were drug dealers recruited by Imam Samudra and Amrozi in Kerobokan Prison, Bali in 2004 who went off the radar screen after their release, and in one case, escape, sometime before 2007, only to reappear in 2012 plotting a third Bali bombing.

Ordinary criminals have various reasons for joining jihadis, from increased status to the possibility of extra perks to the chance to atone for past sins. Their recruitment should be of particular concern, because it is unlikely that any system in use at the moment for assessing high-risk detainees will pick these people up. Authorities have a hard enough time monitoring freed jihadi bombers whose names, background, appearance and whereabouts are well-known; a petty thief or drug dealer is not likely to warrant any special monitoring at all. The concern about convicted terrorists being released is understandable, but that may not be where the real problem lies.

The fact that the next largest cluster of recidivists involves those who took part in the Aceh training camp underscores the appeal of *idad* or military preparation. Even with the debacle of the camp's discovery and destruction – arguably the biggest setback for the jihadi movement since the first Bali bombing – many groups were still willing to risk joining camps set up by Santoso in Poso and the Abu Umar network in South and Southeastern Sulawesi. (Men who joined military activities in Poso from 2011 onwards are another cluster.) It suggests among other things that carefully designed Outward Bound programs, combined with religious instruction, for youths in vulnerable areas might be an attractive alternative to extremist study groups. But several of the men who took part in Aceh were also natural leaders of the jihadi movement, and their recidivism may have had less to do with the camp per se than with the desire to assert command and show to their followers that even after prison, they could wield authority.

The third cluster, some of whose members also joined the Aceh camp, is a group involved in a radical discussion group in Laweyan, Solo associated with Urwah, one of the recidivists killed by police with bombing mastermind Noordin Top in 2009. Some members of this group were directly associated with Noordin; others are a new generation, recruited by Urwah. The continuing role of this group in inspiring violence highlights that there is as much danger from extremist preaching as from direct participation in criminal activities. The problem is that preaching is almost as easily done from behind bars – everything from lectures by speaker phone to smuggled CDs – as from people who are actually present in the flesh. The radical ideologue Aman Abdurrahman alias Abu Sulaiman, known to be more hardline than the better-known Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, continues to exert a huge influence through his writings, even though he is in a top

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11 Indonesian police in May 2013 used the figure 840 but that includes people arrested and later released for lack of evidence as well as those shot and killed in operations. See <http://hankam.kompasiana.com/2013/05/10/kepala-bnpt-840-teroris-ditangkap-60-ditembak-mati-558918.html>.

security prison in the Nusakambangan complex.

#### IV. THE IMPACT OF REGULATION 99

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In November 2012, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights issued Regulation 99 in an effort to tighten conditions for granting remission and conditional release to serious offenders, including narcotics dealers, corruptors and terrorists. The new regulation did not ban remissions, as misinformation reaching some inmates suggested, but under Article 34A, it required good behavior to be verified by institutions not connected to the prison system; a written loyalty oath to the Indonesian government; and willingness provide information to prosecutors and police. It also required convicted terrorists to take part in government “deradicalisation” programs.

The new regulation ignited a storm of controversy, not just among extremist inmates but also among other categories of affected prisoners, especially corruptors, whose wealth often led to luxury cells, frequent trips out of prison, and early release. Under its terms, the Anti-Corruption Commission had to sign off on remissions and releases, just as the National Narcotics Agency and Detachment 88, the counter-terrorism police, had to do for drug dealers and terrorists respectively. The difference was that corruptors had the funds to mount a legal challenge. On 12 June 2013, former Justice Minister Yusril Ihza Mahendra filed a petition for judicial review to the Supreme Court on behalf of two officials convicted of taking cuts from public projects, arguing that the new regulation was discriminatory and violated their human rights.

Less than a month later, on 11 July, the riot in Tanjung Gusta prison in Medan erupted, initially over a cut-off of electricity and water but with the alleged injustice of Regulation 99 adding fuel to the very real fire. It became clear that one negative repercussion of the regulation was to allow some of the most dangerous offenders to join forces against the prison administration. Capitulating to political pressure, the Minister of Justice issued a circular the day after the riot that Regulation 99 would not be applied retroactively and that no one convicted before 12 November 2012 would be affected. Word from the prisons, however, suggests that understanding of the circular varies wildly from place to place. One result, however, is increased polarization between hardliners and pragmatists.

##### A. *Requirements for Extremists and Reaction of Inmates*

The regulation began to be applied in early 2013, with different prisons developing slightly different wordings for the required statements. In Kedung Pane prison, Semarang, prisoners are asked to sign a “Justice Collaborator Statement”, countersigned by a Detachment 88 official, which reads:

I the undersigned [...] state truthfully that I am prepared to cooperate with law enforcement officials (police, prosecutors, Detachment 88) to investigate the crime that I have been accused of and I am prepared to help expose the crime I committed. This is a truthful statement and if I violate the terms of this statement I am prepared to be charged in accordance with existing laws and regulations.<sup>12</sup>

The English term “justice collaborator” was first used in connection with witnesses in corruption cases who were willing to provide information in exchange for lighter sentences, but now a number of prisons including Cipinang, Semarang and Porong (Surabaya) are using it for the

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<sup>12</sup> Translation of copy of Justice Collaborator Statement obtained by IPAC, August 2013.

pledges of cooperation that convicted terrorists are being asked to sign under Regulation 99.<sup>13</sup> Of all the Regulation 99 requirements, it is this one that rankles the most because it seems to be asking inmates to become informants.

In the prison complex on Nusakambangan island, off the coast of south Java, the pledge to cooperate with authorities was included in a five-point statement that inmates were asked to sign. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, perhaps Nusakambangan's most famous inmate, drew upon his own case to denounce each of the five points in a 29 June statement that he smuggled out of his Super Maximum Security cell:

- Regret or remorse for crimes committed? "I have no regret for helping military training in Aceh because the aim of the training was to strengthen the capacity to defend Islam from enemy attacks; such training is not just permitted by Allah, it is required."<sup>14</sup>
- Obedience to Pancasila and the Indonesian state? "Pancasila is an idolatrous ideology created by man, not God. As a Muslim I am only obliged to be loyal to Islamic law."<sup>15</sup>
- Obey the Indonesian government? "Indonesia is based on the idolatrous ideology of democracy, where sovereignty is with the people, not God. Every Muslim should be obedient to God, not the Indonesian government."<sup>16</sup>
- Take part in deradicalisation programs? "Deradicalisation is an attempt by Detachment 88 to destroy loyalty to the law of God and hostility toward idolatry."<sup>17</sup>
- Help law enforcement officials? "I am not willing to cooperate with upholders of the unenlightened law of the *kafir* state of Indonesia; rather we must distance ourselves from that law and disavow it."<sup>18</sup>

He concluded:

The fact is that the criteria for conditional release and remission have been engineered by the Indonesian idolaters as an effort to turn mujahidin into apostates, so there can no longer be any doubt: mujahidin who accept these apostate conditions become *kafir* (unbelievers) even if in their hearts they reject them.<sup>19</sup>

Aman Abdurrahman took a similar stance in a tract written on 21 June from his cell in Kembang Kuning prison (a different prison than Ba'asyir's in the Nusakambangan complex).<sup>20</sup> He drew on a copy of the Regulation 99 statement used in Cirebon prison where he had once been

13 See "Masa Depan 'Justice Collaborator' di Indonesia", [www.kompasiana.com](http://www.kompasiana.com), 11 January 2013. The term *per se* does not appear anywhere in Regulation 99.

14 <http://www.voa-islam.com/news/indonesiana/2013/08/13/26238/tanggapan-ustadz-baasyir-atas-syarat-zalim-remisi/>, accessed 18 August 2013.

15 <http://www.voa-islam.com/news/indonesiana/2013/08/14/26257/ustadz-baasyir-pancasila-adalah-ideologi-syirik-haram-diamalkan/>, accessed 18 August 2013.

16 <http://www.voa-islam.com/news/indonesiana/2013/08/15/26277/ustadz-baasyir-indonesia-berhukum-thaghut-umat-islam-dilarang-patuh/>, accessed 18 August 2013.

17 <http://www.voa-islam.com/news/indonesiana/2013/08/16/26298/ustadz-baasyir-deradikalisasi-rukun-dengan-kemunkaran-haram-diikuti/>, accessed 18 August 2013.

18 <http://www.voa-islam.com/news/indonesiana/2013/08/17/26319/ustadz-baasyir-syarat-remisi-rekayasa-thaghut-murtadkan-mujahidin/>, accessed 18 August 2013.

19 *Ibid.*

20 <http://millahibrahim.wordpress.com/2013/06/21/ya-rabbi-penjara-lebih-hamba-sukai-daripada-memenuhi-ajakan-merdeka/>, accessed 18 August 2013.

detained, presumably given to him by a visitor.<sup>21</sup> With copious references to religious texts, he argues that there is no excuse for prisoners to accede to the terms of Regulation 99. They are not in a life-threatening situation. If prisoners under duress were forced by their captors into a single statement of apostasy and then released, one might be able to argue that it was an emergency situation and the prisoner would not necessarily deserve the label of *kafir*. But if prisoners are repeatedly asked to take part in idolatrous activities and sign idolatrous statements in exchange for the promise of remissions and release, and they do so without being subjected to torture or death threats, then they deserve to be considered apostate.<sup>22</sup>

Most jihadi prisoners, including senior Jemaah Islamiyah leaders, take a more relaxed attitude. In their view, prison by definition is a form of duress, and therefore to make statements that appear to be siding with idolaters is permissible. Some also argue that being in prison is analogous to war, and in wartime, lying is permitted as a tactic to defeat the enemy. There is therefore nothing wrong with signing on to cooperate with authorities or pledge to uphold Pancasila because it is simply a tactic to get out.<sup>23</sup> One longer-term prisoner said cheerfully, “So what if we agree to expose criminal cases? Our cases were solved a long time ago, there are no secrets left. And if police ask for help in the new cases, we can always say, ‘What do we know? We’ve been in prison all this time!’ ”<sup>24</sup>

### B. *The Impact*

Not surprisingly, the different attitudes toward Regulation 99 have deepened divisions among jihadis in many prisons. In some cases, jihadis have used opposition to the regulation from corruptors and druglords to gain influence over them.

A particularly bitter diatribe against the pragmatists, written by a Cipinang prisoner, appeared on the Facebook page of Al-Malhamah Al-Kubra.<sup>25</sup> He notes that he is one of eleven inmates who refused to attend a “break the fast” event during Ramadan sponsored by the “Pancasila Clinic” (Klinik Pancasila) and one of nine – out of some 70 extremist inmates -- who refuse to apply for remission or conditional release under the terms of Regulation 99.<sup>26</sup> He contrasts his group with the senior *ustadz* [teachers] in the prison who do whatever they are asked by the prison administrators, even as they insist their enthusiasm for jihad is undiminished.<sup>27</sup> While the writer never names the *ustadz* in question, it is clear that he is referring to the JI leaders, Zuhroni alias Mbah and Abu Dujana.

21 In Cirebon, prisoners are asked to sign a letter titled “Statement of Loyalty to the Unitary State of Indonesia”. It reads: I the undersigned state that 1) I am aware that my action violated the law and it was appropriate that I be punished; 2) I regret what I have done and will not repeat it in the future; 3) I will be loyal to the government and Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), will obey all laws in force and am ready to defend the NKRI from all threats to its unity; and 4) As a citizen of NKRI I acknowledge Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the basis of the state and will uphold all their provisions. I am making this statement in full consciousness without pressure from any parties, and if I violate any part of it, I am ready to accept the consequences.” Quoted in Aman Abdurrahman, “Ya Rabbi penjara lebih hamba sukai daripada memenuhi ajakan mereka” (Oh Lord, I prefer prison to accepting their terms”), posted on millahibrahim.wordpress.com, 21 June 2013.

22 Ibid.

23 IPAC interview, inmate at LP Porong, July 2013.

24 Ibid.

25 It is not clear who runs the page, but “Al-Malhamah al-Kubra” in Islam is the final battle at the end of time, roughly equivalent to Armageddon, that some interpretations say will be between Islam and the West.

26 For a list of the eleven inmates, see Section VI(c). KLINIK Pancasila, one of BNPT’s deradicalisation programs, was set up in Cipinang Prison in 2013 and another is set to open in the near future in the Nusakambangan complex. KLINIK is an acronym for Konsultasi Langsung Ideologi Negara Indonesia Kesatuan, roughly Direct Consultation on the Ideology of the Unitary Indonesian State. It is the brainchild of Dr Dodi Susanto, who once served as an adviser to the army chief of staff on nationalism and is said to be very close to the military. The deradicalisation section of BNPT is run by a former Kopassus officer, Major General Agus Surya Bakti. He holds a number of odd records, including getting the most participants into a program for brushing teeth in the morning.

27 Ibid.

Refusal to accept the terms of Regulation 99 thus becomes a fairly good indication of militancy that probably should trigger particular attention to post-release monitoring, and there are others – for example refusal to attend Friday prayers in the prison mosque on the grounds that it is a *mesjid dhirar* or a mosque used by hypocrites and enemies of Islam. One of the accusations the Cipinang writer makes against the JI leaders is that they attend Friday prayers in the main prison mosque even when a smaller place of worship is available inside their own block.<sup>28</sup>

But if rejection of the regulation is a sign of militancy, it does not follow that acceptance is a sign of rehabilitation. As noted above, police and prison officials learned this the hard way in 2010 when they found that JI's Abu Tholut and KOMPAK leader Abdullah Sunata, thoroughly cooperative while serving their sentences, went straight back into plotting violence as soon as they were out.

## V. ESCAPES

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Most of the concern about convicted terrorists leaving prison has focused on those formally released or about to be released. The Tanjung Gusta riot in July, however, has focused attention on the potential for escapes of high risk inmates, especially given the woeful physical condition of many prisons; the frequency of escape of ordinary criminal convicts (**See Appendix B**); and the belief among militants that freeing detained Muslims is obligatory. Under the circumstances, it is surprising that extremist escapes have been so few, but a recent rash of prison breaks and the newfound solidarity over opposition to Regulation 99 among terrorists, corruptors and drug dealers raises the possibility of more.

### A. *The Tanjung Gusta Riot*

Tanjung Gusta, the main prison in Medan, North Sumatra, erupted in violence in the late afternoon on 11 July, in the middle of Ramadan. Electricity and water had been cut off since 4 a.m., the fourteenth time there had been a blackout since May. Back-up generators did not work. The prison was bursting at the seams with 2,660 inmates, more than twice its capacity of 1,054, and at the time of the riot, only eighteen staff were on duty.<sup>29</sup> Around 4:30 pm, dozens of prisoners in one area began joining together to demand water because they wanted to prepare to break the fast. A guard's efforts to disperse them led inmates to break down a wall and then set fire to the prison's administrative center. In the ensuing chaos, five people died, several guards were briefly taken hostage, and 212 prisoners escaped, of whom about half were quickly recaptured. As of late August, 95 were still at large, including one convicted terrorist; three others were captured in Riau between 22 and 27 August.<sup>30</sup>

Another convicted terrorist emerged as the spokesman for the thousands of angry inmates. When the riot broke out, Marwan alias Wak Geng was serving a 12-year sentence for his role in robbing the CIMB-Niaga Bank in Medan in August 2010 to raise funds for jihad. He had been with the first group of prisoners demanding water in the afternoon, but helped authorities bring the riot under control in exchange for promises of negotiation. When he was given a police loudhailer, with the flames of the burning prison as a backdrop, he was able to quiet the rioters but demanded a meeting with senior government officials. At the top of the list of grievances was not the lack of water, but the revocation of Regulation 99.

On Friday morning, 12 July, Wak Geng was one of seven prisoners taken to meet Justice

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28 Ibid.

29 "LP dalam Kondisi Darurat," *Kompas*. 19 July 2003.

30 "Pasca-Rusuh, 98 Napi Tanjung Gusta Masih Buron," *Tempo.co*, 17 August 2003.

Minister Amir Syamsuddin who had flown to Medan. The result was a new circular from the minister, announcing that Regulation 99 would not be applied retroactively.<sup>31</sup> Wak Geng's reputation soared.<sup>32</sup> The whole episode underscored how transformative the prison experience can be, because no one would have taken the young man interviewed on Metro TV in October 2010 after his arrest, quietly going over every detail of the bank robbery, for anyone with leadership potential.<sup>33</sup> By his own admission, he took part in the robbery less out of ideological zeal than for his cut of the proceeds. But the generally high status of terrorist prisoners compared to ordinary inmates, combined with his closeness to Fadli Sadama, one of the terrorists who escaped, may have given him the stature in prison that allowed him to take on the role of spokesman and negotiator when the opportunity arose.<sup>34</sup> A few weeks after the riot, Wak Geng was moved to Nusakambangan.

One interesting question is how changes in status inside prison might affect post-release behavior. KOMPAK leader Abdullah Sunata's reputation in Cipinang prison, Jakarta, plummeted when he took a second wife who was the sister-in-law of another inmate. His cellmates saw it as selfish, when many mujahidin in prison were still bachelors. It would be interesting to know if the ostracism that followed had any impact on Sunata's determination to play a leadership role when he got out.

The riot at Tanjung Gusta almost certainly had nothing to do with the wave of al-Qaeda-linked prison breaks later in July, with a mass escape from Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq on 22 July, from a prison in Benghazi, Libya on 27 July, and on 30 July from one in northwest Pakistan. Those escapes, however, enabled Indonesian extremists to work the Tanjung Gusta case into discussions on radical websites, including an exhortation to all Muslims to help the four "brothers" who escaped.<sup>35</sup>

Fadli Sadama, the only one of the four still at large, is certainly high-risk, but his days at large are probably numbered now that his friends have been caught – although he is almost certainly smarter than they were.<sup>36</sup> Agus Sunyoto, Nibras and Abdul Gani Siregar, the other three, had only gone as far as Riau, still in Sumatra, where they were found together with another longtime fugitive who had also been involved in the CIMB-Niaga robbery.<sup>37</sup>

31 Surat Edaran Nomor M.HH-04.PK.01.56.06 Tahun 2013 Tentang Petunju Pelaksanaan Pemberlakuan Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 99 Tahun 2012 Tentang Syarat Dan Tata Cara Pelaksanaan Hak Warga Binaan Pemasyarakatan, 12 July 2013.

32 "Wak Geng Tenangkan Napi Tanjung Gusta & Tuntut Bertemu Denny Indrayana", *voa-islam.com*, 12 July 2003.

33 For interview, see <http://www.metrotvnews.com/read/newsvideo/2010/10/04/114380/Tersangka-Ada-16-Perampok-Bank-CIMB-Niaga-Medan/2>

34 Wak Geng was recruited by Fadli Sadama for the bank robbery, according to Sadama's testimony. After the riot, Wak Geng noted in an interview that Fadli was one of the prisoners demanding water when the trouble began.

35 <https://www.facebook.com/AlMalhamahAlKubra>, 17 July 2013, accessed 20 August 2013. Under a copy of the police wanted poster of the four escapees, the instruction read: "Brothers, if you have the chance, it is obligatory to take in the mujahidin who escaped from the thaghut prison and forbidden to leave them stranded!"

36 Fadli Sadama, 31, from Daek Lingga, Kepulauan Riau, 26 April 1982 is a three-time recidivist with extensive contacts in Malaysia. He was first arrested in 2003 for robbing the Lippo Bank in Medan, an operation led by Toni Togar, considered one of Indonesia's most dangerous inmates. Fadli was released in August 2007, returned to Malaysia to work for six months. He was arrested again in July 2009 for lending a gun to a former cellmate from Tanjung Gusta, a drug dealer turned jihadi, for a bank robbery in Bireuen, Aceh, and was sentenced to eighteen months. He was released in July 2010 and helped plan the CIMB-Niaga robbery. He then went to Malaysia to try and buy guns and was arrested there in October 2010. Extradited in December 2010, he was tried in 2011 and was serving an eleven-year sentence at the time of his escape.

37 Agus Sunyoto alias Agus Gapplek, 28, from Karanganyar, Solo, was found together with Ridwan alias Ismail, also known as Ridwan Cina, an ethnic Chinese convert to Islam who had reportedly helped finance the CIMB-Niaga operation. Nibras and Abdul Gani were captured close by. Another one of the robbers, Makmur alias Bram, had fled to Jakarta after the robbery where he sought protection with the Darul Islam leader Abu Umar, who sent him to Sulawesi for military training. Two and a half years after he fled Medan, Makmur was killed by police after a gold store robbery in Tambora, Jakarta in March 2013, carried out by former members of Abu Umar's group.

### B. *Earlier Extremist Escapes: The Case of Roki Aprisdianto*

Before the Tanjung Gusta riot, there had been several cases of convicted terrorists escaping, but most were quickly recaptured.<sup>38</sup> Two recent cases attracted national attention, mostly for what they revealed about lax security. In one case, an inmate named Basri simply walked out of a prison in Ampana, Central Sulawesi on 19 April 2013 with the full knowledge of prison authorities. He had been given leave many times in the past, both to visit family and to deal with a business he was running from prison selling diesel oil, but he had always returned on schedule. In this case, he did not come back, but the prison head did not even report him missing for four days. Despite suggestions that he might have joined Santoso's network in Poso, most of his fellow inmates believe he was desperate for money and had no intention of joining a risky jihad operation. The case of Roki Aprisdianto, however, exemplifies what authorities feared could happen with the four from Medan.

On 6 November 2012, Roki walked out of Jakarta police headquarters dressed as a woman, wearing a *cadar*, a full body veil with just the eyes exposed. Although he had been tried and sentenced to six years in December 2011 for leading an assassination squad composed mostly of high school students from Klaten, Central Java, he was still being held in police custody and had not yet been moved to a prison.

He had purchased the clothing from another inmate, saying they were for his wife. Once dressed, he walked out the front entrance with no one stopping him and headed for the bus terminal, stopping once to change clothes. He arrived in Solo the next day and went straight to a mosque associated with the radical anti-vice organization, Tim Hisbah, and contacted his old friends. By 20 November, they were already starting to make bombs to target police.

While on the run, however, Roki wrote a contemptuous account of life at Jakarta police headquarters (Polda Metro Jaya), which helps explain how easy it was to escape. He writes:

Earlier I had been imprisoned in Block A and Block C in the back of Brimob headquarters. The supervision was super-tight. During visiting hours, a policewoman from Detachment 88, curses upon them, would take part in guarding, checking and searching everything brought in by our sisters. It was a different world in the Jakarta police headquarters (Polda) where the security was substandard. I kept thinking about escape in Brimob but the opportunities were very limited. We were always watched, almost every hour someone came around to check. In Polda, the cells were open 24 hours a day. The door to the block was locked but we could visit from cell to cell. I was in Block D on the fourth floor. Every floor had two blocks, and the fourth floor was exclusively for terrorists. (I'm not ashamed of calling ourselves terrorists. I'm proud to be called a terrorist by the enemies of Islam! That's what I am!) We terrorists were only allowed to have visitors on Tuesday from 10 am to 2 pm, while narcotics prisoners could get visits every day until 3 pm. [...]

As soon as visiting hours began, all the blocks would be opened so we could go in and out of the visiting area even if we didn't have visitors. Visitors were free to enter the blocks and come into our cells. In our block, we had four rooms that were known as "Biological Rooms" (RB) where our wives were free to come in and out.

38 The cases, in addition to the two described below, are Basri Manuputty, responsible for several bombings and attempted bombings in late 2011, escaped from Ambon prison on 6 November 2012, was recaptured soon after. Fadlun, a prison recruit working with the military wing of JAT in Poso under Santoso, escaped while being taken to trial on 8 May 2012; he was recaptured on 26 April 2013. Safrizal, a four-time recidivist recruited by Toni Togar in Tanjung Gusta prison, led a mass outbreak of 42 prisoners from Meulaboh prison, West Aceh in May 2012 but was quickly recaptured. Jasmin bin Kasau, a member of Laskar Jundullah arrested in connection with a 2004 bomb attack on a café in Palopo, South Sulawesi, escaped from Makassar prison in September 2007 where he was serving a 20-year term.

If visitors came in a group, only one of them would have to hand in an identity card. In the visiting area, visitors were free to go in and out without being checked again. Often they would go out to a food stall to get takeaway lunch so we could eat together. Maybe when I walked out the guards thought I was a visitor who was going out to get rice...

I know that all the facilities and the treatment we had were for the purpose of de-radicalisation. On the fourth floor, we were bombarded with that program. Maybe you won't believe that we were free to have hand phones and laptops. Even though it was formally forbidden, every guard knew we had phones. We'd take calls in front of their faces. So no one should be surprised to learn that almost every brother there had a Facebook account.

Ah, Polda! I still feel solidarity with a few brothers there, especially with my friends from the book bombs and Abu Umar's group. Not a day passed that we didn't chat there. I was sorry to leave them but I had to move on...<sup>39</sup>

Roki was rearrested on 10 December 2012, but in the month that he was free, he managed to get a small group together to build a rudimentary bomb that two members planted in front of the police station in Pasar Kliwon, Solo on 20 November. A passerby saw it, however, and it was quickly dismantled by a bomb squad. He was tried again and sentenced to nine years in August 2013, which he will presumably have to serve on top of the time remaining from his first sentence.

Security reportedly has improved in Polda since Roki's escape, but he may now be taunting authorities about lax security at Cipinang Prison. The diatribe against the Cipinang pragmatists cited in Section IV bears many of the hallmarks of Roki's writing. Whether or not it is he, the author expresses frustration that he could not persuade other members of the terrorist block to escape by building a tunnel.

We're relatively free here to bring things in and out because the system for checking isn't that tight. In fact one could say it's easier for us than for other prisoners. Shouldn't we be using this to smuggle in things that we need for operations [*amaliyah*]?

It's so easy for us to receive things from brothers on the outside. There's a lot of funding coming in. We're in a special block; all the brothers here have been convicted of terrorism. We aren't mixed with other prisoners. The freedom here is quite extraordinary, especially during Ramadan when for 24 hours a day we're free to move around within the block. Normally, our cells are unlocked before morning prayers, so we can only move around from 3 am to 9 pm. But during Ramadan, we're just locked in the block at 9 pm [ie the cells are left unlocked]. Now, under these conditions, it should be relatively easy to free ourselves if we worked together to break down a wall or build a tunnel. We could instruct trusted brothers to rent a house in the complex by the prison so they could dig underground toward our block. But ideas like these stay unrealized in the face of the "commanders" here. We're only a minority here, and it would be difficult to carry out any action without the other brothers' support...<sup>40</sup>

39 "Catatan Hati Seorang Singa Penjebol Dinding Bengisnya Penjara "Roki Aprisdianto alias Atok Prabowo", <http://anshoruttauhidwassunnahwaljihad.blogspot.com/2013/01/catatan-hati-seorang-singa-penjebol.html>, 22 January 2013.

40 "Meneropong Cipinang Dari Inbox", op.cit.

While there is little support for men like Roki, the overcrowded and decrepit state of Indonesian prisons means that more escapes are a real possibility, especially for those detained in less than maximum security prisons.

## VI. PRISON DYNAMICS

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Information from several prisons where convicted terrorists are detained shows that in general, the high-profile prisoners are fairly closely supervised, especially those who are sent to Nusakambangan. Even there, however, close supervision is not always possible when terrorists offenders and other inmates are allowed to mix.

Radicalization and recruitment in prison may be more of a problem in places where the prison authorities believe they are dealing with low-level inmates who are not much of a threat. The prison in Tangerang is one example, where members of many of the smaller groups were sent. Convicted terrorists can intermingle freely with other prisoners, and a single militant leader can have a pernicious influence. In each prison, a range of different factors, from the physical layout of the prison to the management skills of the prison head to the quality of the guards can come into play in determining how extremist influence is controlled.

Each prison has its pragmatists and rejectionists, with the latter by and large being followers of Aman Abdurrahman. But pragmatism and deradicalisation are not the same; the fact that a prisoner cooperates with prison authorities and takes part in “guidance” programs does not guarantee that he has disengaged from violence and as we have seen, deception is used by some as a deliberate tactic.

Where leaders like Mbah in Cipinang have been able to exert a moderating influence, it is not because they have changed their ideology but because they have impressed on their followers the importance of understanding the local context (*waqi*). One former prisoner, still committed to jihad but convinced that the local context makes the costs too high, said:

Any operation has to be based on three things. There has to be a religious reference that justifies it, so that it is clear the operation is halal. The benefits have to outweigh the costs, so we don't trigger a disaster. And there has to be the capacity, in terms of personnel and logistics. If one of these three conditions isn't met, the operation should not go ahead.<sup>41</sup>

Just as importantly, being a rejectionist and refusing to salute the flag or go to a Pancasila Clinic are signs of militancy but they do not ensure that the individuals in question will return to crime after release. Many in this category are in fact not particularly well-educated or knowledgeable about religion and removing them from their radical mentors might make them less militant.

In short, predicting behavior is not easy. Nevertheless, following the prison dynamics can provide some guide to how limited resources available for post-release monitoring can be better targeted.

### A. Nusakambangan

As of August 2013, the Nusakambangan prison complex, regarded as the most secure in Indonesia, was home to 59 convicted terrorists, spread out among six prisons: Batu, (21 inmates); Permisian (7); Pasir Putih (14, including four moved from Tanjung Gusta in late August); Kembang

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<sup>41</sup> IPAC interview, Jakarta, July 2013.

Kuning (12); Besi (3); and Narkotika (6).<sup>42</sup> Many of the inmates were transferred from other prisons because they were considered hardliners or in need of particularly close supervision; such moves always involve coordination with Detachment 88 and the approval of the Corrections Directorate.

Each one of the prisons has its own dynamics, and they change as new prisoners come in and others are released. IPAC was able to get information on three of the prisons as follows:

### 1. Kembang Kuning

The twelve terrorist inmates are divided in two groups, with five in a special block and seven in the general block with other prisoners. The first group consists of the influential salafi jihadi scholar and preacher Aman Abdurrahman; Iwan Darmawan alias Rois and Achmad Hasan, both sentenced to death for their role in the 2004 Australian embassy bombing; Aris Widodo, from Abu Dujana's group and Ali Azhari from the Aceh training camp. The latter two are not considered high-risk, and Aris Widodo should be out this year, Ali in 2015.

The seven in the general block include Toni Togar, a former JI member who helped orchestrate the CIMB-Niaga robbery from his cell in Tanjung Gusta before he was moved to Nusakambangan in June 2011 and his cellmate, Mushola, serving an eight-year sentence for his role in the Cirebon mosque bombing. Others in the same block are Arifin Nur Haryanto, also from the Cirebon group; Arif Syaifudin and Sikas, Abu Dujana's men, who could be eligible for parole this year and next respectively; Priyatmo, from the Abu Umar group; and Ali Umar Yusuf, one of the Lampung participants in the Aceh training camp.

There is relatively easy movement and communication between the two blocks, to the point that authorities are reportedly concerned about possible recruitment of ordinary prisoners, even though they are generally more alert to the danger than officials at other prisons.

From the prison authorities' perspective, the inmates fall into two factions, with Aman Abdurrahman, Mushola, Arifin and Ali Umar seen as the super-militants, and all the others more or less cooperative. Aman and his followers refuse to attend Friday prayers in the prison mosque because they consider it a *mesjid dhirar* and will not take part in flag-raising ceremonies. Aman reportedly even refuses to eat food prepared by the prison and cooks for himself with firewood that he buys from other prisoners and raw materials brought in by his family and friends.<sup>43</sup> None of the men around Aman is likely to be out in the next two years, and even if Regulation 99 is not applied retroactively, prison authorities could use their refusal to take part in prison activities as grounds for further delaying their parole.

Rois and Toni, by contrast, take part in most prison activities and are regulars at Friday prayers. But their apparent cooperation may stem from their analysis that deception is a permissible strategy to pursue in emergency situations. On some ideological matters, they take a harder line than Aman.<sup>44</sup>

42 The four are Wak Geng, Jaja Miharja, Beben Choirul and Anton Sujarwo, all linked to the CIMB-Niaga robbery.

43 IPAC information from confidential source in Nusakambangan, August 2013.

44 At the time of the Cirebon bombings, Aman wrote that by his reading of Islamic law, it was not permissible, even though some were using his writings on *mesjid dhirar* as justification. Rois, however, wrote a ringing endorsement of the attack, in which he also lit into its critics, and had it posted on radical websites. The two also differ over *fa'i*, robbing non-Muslims to raise funds for jihad. Aman takes the position that it should be discouraged, because it can undermine respect for the faith and do more harm than good. For Rois, not only is *fa'i* an essential fund-raising tool, but ability to pull off *fa'i* operations and obtain supplies for war is a mark of Islam's chosen vanguard, *thaiyah mansurah*.

## 2. Pasir Putih

Pasir Putih, with a capacity of 498, had 374 inmates as of July 2013, including ten convicted terrorists. The best known is Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, who was moved to a "super-maximum security" cell here from neighboring Batu Prison in February 2013. He shares it with three other inmates, one of whom is Hari Kuncoro, Dulmatin's brother-in-law. Six other inmates are in the same block but different cells, and Abu Husna, a senior JI leader due out next year – and not considered a high risk – has a cell in a different block. Abu Husna, who also smokes, a habit considered idolatrous by the hardliners, is in charge of the prison mosque, a position known as *tamping mesjid* and reserved for trusted prisoners.

Ba'asyir attends the regular prison mosque and takes part in daily physical exercises. He receives visitors in a special room, not in the regular visitors' center like the other nine inmates. This was reportedly in part at the request of his son, Ust. Abdurrahim, who allegedly was concerned about the impact on his father's health of the steady stream of well-wishers.<sup>45</sup>

The other prisoners are mostly seen as cooperative, but two in particular take a different position on paper than they do in person. One is Qomarudin bin Zaimun alias Mustaqim, from Lampung, a Mindanao-trained ex-JI member who taught at the Lukman al-Hakim pesantren in Johore, Malaysia in the late 1990s and joined the Aceh camp as an instructor. Arrested in 2010 and serving a ten-year term, he could be released in 2016. The second is Zulkifli Lubis, arrested in May 2011 for selling guns to the men behind the Cirebon mosque bombing. These two are reportedly the authors of a serialized tract, *Letter from Nusakambangan (Risalah dari Nusakambangan)*, now in its seventeenth installment on a radical website, that exhorts readers to jihad.<sup>46</sup> The last installment is entitled "Being Nice to Enemy Weakens the Flame of Revolution" and rails against "compromising jihadis" (*jihadis kompromistis*).

The attitude and the integrity of the guards can be critical. In one case it became known in Pasir Putih that a guard turned down an envelope offered by visitors to Ba'asyir. They pressed him and he eventually took the money but donated it all to the prison mosque; the extremists were impressed.<sup>47</sup>

Pasir Putih is one of the few areas on Nusakambangan where possession of a mobile phone is punished by several days in the isolation cell.

## 3. Batu

As of July, Batu, with a capacity of 395, was housing 255 inmates, including 21 convicted terrorists. Traditionally the prison for high-risk detainees, it was here that the Bali bombing trio of Mukhlas, Amrozi and Imam Samudra held court before their execution in 2008. The 21 currently detained are held in a general block where they are free to interact with non-jihadi inmates, mostly narcotics offenders, but supervision is said to be reasonably tight.

Until February 2013, Ba'asyir was detained in Cell No.19 with two older non-jihadi prisoners. Kisman Marinda, a younger terrorist prisoner from Maluku, was assigned to help Ba'asyir,

45 IPAC information from confidential source in Nusakambangan, August 2013.

46 The series appears on the website al-mustaqbal.net

47 Information made available from confidential IPAC source, July 2013.

fetching food and doing other tasks.<sup>48</sup> He almost certainly did not share Ba'asyir's views, and in Nusakambangan, it is probably safe to assume that he was given the assignment because he was trusted. But in other prisons where the supervision is less strict, there is probably less attention to who takes these servant-like roles for more senior prisoners and how it affects them.

Authorities realized that Ba'asyir was not just getting visitors from outside on a regular basis, but that at any one time, from 7 am until 5 pm when the cells were unlocked, he had between five and seven inmates from other cells coming to see him. They decided to end these visits by moving him to Pasir Putih, effectively exchanging places with Abdullah Sunata, the KOMPAK leader, who was moved to Batu.

Batu outwardly maintains a relatively relaxed environment, where prisoners like Sunata and Pepi Fernando, leader of the book bombers, can move around freely within their block. But private religious study groups (*halaqah*) are banned, and prison authorities insist that the guards keep the prisoners under close observation. Still, between five and ten ordinary criminal inmates have changed their appearance since mixing with the extremists, growing beards and wearing above-the-ankle pants. One prison source said that inmates most likely change in this way are those who have problems and want protection, particularly those who are under pressure to pay off debts.<sup>49</sup>

Since Ba'asyir's departure, almost all of the extremist prisoners in Batu are considered cooperative, taking part in daily prayers at the prison mosque, participating in sports activities and attending supervised religious instruction run by the head of the Indonesian Ulama Council in Cilicap, the nearest town on the Java mainland. Their leader now is Edi Setiono alias Abas, an older JI member and Afghan veteran serving a life sentence for his involvement in the 2001 bombing in Jakarta that nearly killed the then Philippine ambassador. He is seen as less ideological than many others, in part because he smokes, but he also has been a constructive presence more generally. Inmates from central Java with ties to JI, like Mustaghfirin and Joko Wibowo alias Abu Sayaf, both due for release soon, are very close to Abas. Joko has a flourishing business inside the prison selling fresh vegetables.

The high-risk prisoners in Batu include Sulton Qolbi alias Ust Arsyad from KOMPAK, serving a fifteen-year sentence for the attempted murder of a priest in Bandung and involvement in the 2005 attack in Loki, West Ceram. He was moved to Nusakambangan in May 2012 after a brief period at the prison in Ambon where he immediately started recruiting other inmates and in Porong, outside Surabaya, where he was also seen as a hardliner. He could be eligible for parole in 2015.

Two others whom prison authorities see as particularly militant are Mahfud Qomari alias Ayyas and Joko Suroso. Neither would have seemed particularly high risk from their backgrounds. Mahfud, who was part of JI leader Abu Dujana's military unit, was arrested in 2007; Joko, owner of a Padang restaurant, was arrested a year earlier for helping Noordin Top prior to the second Bali bombings. Both men received ten-year sentences. Since at least one other prisoner with a ten-year sentence arrested around the same time as Mahfud was released earlier this year, both could already be eligible for parole.<sup>50</sup>

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48 Kisman was an interesting choice for the role, because he was one of seven Moluccans sent in 2000 by Al-Qaeda operative Omar al-Faruq to train with Lashkar-e-Taiba in Pakistani Kashmir at the height of the communal conflict in Ambon. In 2005 he took part in a military training organized by KOMPAK and Darul Islam in West Ceram and was suspected of involvement in the attack that killed five Brimob officers in Loki, West Ceram, in May 2005. He was arrested in May 2009, a few months before the hotel bombings in Jakarta. It was in his possession that the police found posters of President Yudhoyono and Vice-President Yusuf Kalla that had been used for target practice in the 2004 training, when the pair were still running for office. On the day of the hotel bombings in September 2009, President Yudhoyono made an emotional speech about how he too was the target of the bombers, citing the photos.

49 Information from confidential IPAC source, Nusakambangan, August 2013.

50 The person in question is Yudit Parsan; see Table 3.

Sunata and Pepi reportedly keep to themselves and rarely take part in prison activities but they are considered less militant than the three men above.

### *B. Tangerang Prison*

Tangerang prison currently holds 1,455 prisoners, including 1,100 narcotics offenders and 29 convicted terrorists. Many are relatively recent arrivals, transferred from Jakarta police headquarters as part of the fallout from Roki Aprisdianto's escape in late 2012. They fall into seven small groups: the Bima prisoners, mostly associated with the Umar bin Khattab pesantren; the Ring Banten group involved in the Aceh training camp, who were transferred to Tangerang from the prison in Serang earlier this year; some of the book bombers; some men from Poso linked to Santoso; a few members of Abu Umar's group; a few men involved in the plot to poison police with ricin; and one man from the group that called itself Taliban Melayu that was tangentially linked to the Cirebon radicals.

All of the terrorist prisoners are held in Block E together with some 200 ordinary criminal offenders, and there is frequent interaction.

Ust Abrory of the Bima group has become the acknowledged leader of these men, in part because he is seen as having in-depth religious knowledge but also because of his seniority as one of the longest-serving inmates, even though he was only arrested in July 2011. It is an indication of how many other extremists have been arrested since. He is also very militant, reportedly in part out of bitterness about the unusual length of his sentence – seventeen years. In his view, he was not directly involved in violence and people who were received shorter sentences.<sup>51</sup> He also had turned himself in and reportedly had received assurances from police in Sumbawa that he would be treated leniently as a result.

He refuses to attend prayers in the prison mosque and instead leads prayers himself in Block E. He is said to be an admirer of Aman Abdurrahman and while he was affiliated briefly with JAT in Bima, he left after disputes with the JAT leadership, who considered him too hardline.

The problem now in Tangerang is that he has no real competition as a leader and his influence among the new arrivals is said to be high, particularly among those with little prior religious training, like some of the book bombers. Many now refuse to take part in prison programs, join prayers in the prison mosque or attend ceremonies on national holidays. He also has invited other inmates to attend his weekly religious study sessions, held on Wednesdays in Block E; according to one source, between 30 and 50 non-jihadi inmates attend, raising the potential for in-house recruitment.

One prison official said wearily, "If I had to choose, I'd rather take care of 1,400 regular prisoners than 29 terrorists."<sup>52</sup> But another source said the guards at Tangerang were part of the problem, seen by inmates as "arrogant". He said the terrorists were the one group willing to stand up to the guards, and some of the other inmates had joined them just for protection.<sup>53</sup>

One of the inmates suggests that it would be better if Abrory could be transferred somewhere else. IPAC understands authorities have come to the same conclusion and have requested that

51 Abrory was arrested in July 2011 after a sequence of events that started with the fatal stabbing of a policeman a month earlier by a student at the Umar bin Khattab pesantren, followed about two weeks later by an explosion at the school where a teacher killed himself making a bomb. A standoff between police and people at the school ensued, and when the police finally were able to enter, more bomb-making materials were found. Abrory, the school's director (mudir) was put on the police wanted list. At the urging of his parents, including his father who had served time in prison as a Darul Islam member in the late 1980s, Abrory turned himself in. In addition to the illegal activities at the school, Abrory had taken part in military training in Poso with Santoso in May 2011. See International Crisis Group, "How Indonesian Extremists Regroup", Asia Report No. 228, 16 July 2012, p.12-13.

52 Information from confidential IPAC source, August 2013.

53 Ibid.

he be moved to Nusakambangan.

### C. *Cipinang*

Cipinang Prison in Jakarta as of July 2013 housed 54 terrorist inmates of whom eleven are “rejectionists” who refuse to take part in various prison activities or pray in the prison mosque. All admirers of Aman Abdurrahman, they include several who could be due for conditional release this year or next, but only if the prison head is willing to testify to their good behaviour:<sup>54</sup>

- Ahmad Abdul Rabani, the so-called “bicycle bomber”, one of the very few “lone wolves” in Indonesia. He is an Acehnese who tried to throw a rudimentary bomb at a police traffic post in Jakarta. Arrested in 2010 and sentenced to five and a half years, he could be out later this year or early next.
- Erwin Suratman, a friend of Joko Purwanto alias Handzolah in Solo, and linked to the Aceh training camp. He is due out around the same time as Rabani, above.
- Helmy Priwardhani, an ordinary criminal offender convicted of assault who became a follower of Aman Abdurrahman in 2009 while both were serving time in Sukamiskin Prison. On his release, he joined a group in Bandung that killed three police in Central Java in March and April in revenge for deaths of Aceh camp participants. Now serving a six-year sentence, he could be eligible for parole next year.
- Heru Lianto, an ex-JI member from Lampung who took part in the Aceh camp. With a seven-year sentence going back to his arrest in February 2010, he could be out next year.
- Laode Afif, an Aman follower also involved in the Aceh camp. With an eight-year sentence dating from March 2010, he could be out in 2015.
- Suryadi Mas’ud, a member of a Darul Islam group in Makassar who was first arrested in November 2002 in connection with an armed robbery; he was released in 2009 and re-arrested for discussing with fugitives from the Aceh camp how to purchase arms from Mindanao.
- Pahrul Ruji Tanjung, a follower of Aman Abdurrahman and member of the same group as Helmy above. He could be eligible for parole next year.
- Rian Adi Wijaya alias Andre Anggara. A member of Abu Umar’s group, he was arrested in November 2011 and received a three-and-a-half-year sentence, meaning he could be eligible for parole in 2014.
- Muhammad Iqbal alias Kiki, a member of the same Bandung group as Pahrul and Helmy, above, could be out next year.
- Roki Aprisdianto, the escapee described above.
- Supono alias Kedu, one of Urwah’s friends who at the time of the 2009 hotel bombings drove the car that was to be used in an attack on the President to Jakarta.

<sup>54</sup> Even before Regulation 99, the prison head under Justice Ministry Regulation M.01.PK.04-10/1999 had the authority to deny conditional release unless the prisoner showed remorse, took part in prison programs and had no recent disciplinary infractions.

The rejectionist group has very little influence in the prison, where the leaders of the terrorist block are JI's Zuhroni alias Mbah and Abu Dujana. Both were moved to Cipinang from Jakarta police headquarters in the aftermath of Roki Aprisdianto's November 2012 escape but quickly established their authority and have apparently managed to bring some of the more militant prisoners under their influence, including Joko Purwanto alias Handzolah from Solo; Jaja alias Akdam from Ring Banten; and Kurnia Widodo, from the Bandung group. Joko and Kurnia should be eligible for parole next year.

#### *D. Porong*

Porong prison, outside Surabaya, has fifteen convicted terrorists, with only one rejectionist in the group: the former policeman from Ambon, Syarif Tarabuban, serving a fifteen-year sentence (two other inmates from Ambon with the same sentence but arrested two months earlier in 2005 were released in July 2013).

The others are all seen as cooperative, even Mohamad Sibghatollah, whom many would have placed in the high-risk category. The prison has a business empowerment program in which many of the convicted terrorists are enthusiastically involved. Under Asep Jaja, one of the senior prisoners there, the inmates get small amounts of capital to start businesses on the premises.<sup>55</sup> They meet once a month to report on their activities and have to give 10 per cent of the profits back to the prison to help fund other activities. The businesses include everything from growing vegetables and selling them to the prison canteen to renting play-stations and televisions.

There are subgroups of prisoners based on place of origin. Fathur, for example, serving a life sentence for the 2005 Villa Karaoke bombing in Ambon, is originally from Central Sulawesi and has become the leader of the Sulawesi inmates. He has proved to be a skilled businessman who employs two other inmates.

#### *E. Cirebon*

Cirebon Prison is one of the few Indonesian prisons that is not over capacity. It can hold 555 prisoners and as of July 2013 had 553, including fifteen convicted terrorists, none particularly senior or well-known. As in other prisons, they fall into two groups, the pragmatists, and the rejectionist followers of Aman Abdurrahman. The former are reportedly led by Wartoyo, part of the very amateurish group that attempted to use poison against the police. Wartoyo smokes, which annoys the hardliners, and participates in prison programs. The pragmatists are very much the dominant faction.

The rejectionists are led by Heru Komarudin, arrested in connection with the 2011 Cirebon mosque bombing and include four other members of that group; a few book bombers and a few members of Abu Umar's group.<sup>56</sup> The way the divisions fall out in Cirebon prison underscores how past organizational affiliation is not a reliable guide to militancy in prison or the potential for recidivism. Pepi Fernando's book bombers have produced one rejectionist and two pragmatists; the Abu Umar group is also divided.

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55 Asep Jaja was a KOMPAK member and field coordinator for the 2005 Loki attack. He is serving a life sentence and has become an avid reader and writer, completing his first novel earlier this year.

56 The other rejectionists were reportedly Suhanto alias Borju, Sudano alias Danu of the Cirebon extremists, both eligible for parole late this year or early 2014; Andri Siswanto, due out in late 2014 or early 2015 and Mardiyansyah due out in 2016, also of Cirebon; Wari Suwandi of the book bombers and Jumarto, one of the poison plotters, both due for parole in 2014; and two members of the Abu Umar group, Satimin due out late 2014 or early 2015, and Taufik Hidayat alias Abu Wildan, due out in 2014.

### F. A Concluding Note on Prison Dynamics

Experience in prison is only one of many factors affecting the propensity of a prisoner to rejoin violent groups after his release, but it is probably the most controllable. The Corrections Directorate, working with the police, can decide where to place prisoners and to move them if they are seen to be exerting an undesirable influence. The problem is training staff to obtain accurate information and then ensure that it is properly stored, easily retrievable and made available as needed for assessments.

In March 2013, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights issued Regulation 12/2013 on risk and needs assessments of general criminal offenders and those on parole. It requires assessments to be conducted when prisoners begin their sentences and when they are about to be released as well as annual assessments to be conducted on all prisoners with more than one year remaining of their sentences. Assessments can also be conducted on the receipt of new information received suggesting that an individual is at risk of committing another crime. It notes that the Director of Corrections is responsible for drafting the risk assessment instrument and providing training to the assessors.<sup>57</sup>

In addition to the assessments of ordinary offenders, procedures are being slowly put in place with assistance from international donors to evaluate and manage high-risk detainees, and thinking about how to improve post-release monitoring is just beginning.

## VII. NEED FOR IMPROVED POST-RELEASE MONITORING

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Good post-release monitoring could help prevent violence. If Heri Sigu Samboja, arrested for helping assemble the bomb used in the 2004 Australian embassy attack, had been closely monitored after his release in 2008, he might not have been able to provide bomb-making instruction to the new generation of jihadis in Klaten in late 2010. Good monitoring might also have picked up the activities of Santoso's followers in Poso before they started killing police in May 2011, since so many ex-prisoners were involved either in his group or the Central Sulawesi branch of JAT, to which he belonged. It is no guarantee, of course: Urwah was one of the released jihadis whom the police *were* following closely but even then, the surveillance could not uncover the plot for the 2009 Jakarta hotel bombings.

As it stands now, the Balai Pemasyarakatan (BAPAS) in the provincial office of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights is responsible for doing background research -- before parole is approved -- on the inmate, his family and the community to which he will return. It also requires the newly released individual to report once a month for the remainder of his or her actual sentence. But the reporting requirement is enforced only fitfully, and its value in any case depends on BAPAS having well-trained staff who are provided with full information and know what to look for. If released prisoners have limited interaction with BAPAS staff, they have even less with the Social Rehabilitation Directorate of the Social Affairs Ministry, which takes over responsibility for released offenders when the parole period is up.

One problem in Indonesia is that the temptation to rejoin violent networks can come long after release. Hilman, the drug dealer turned would-be Bali III bomber, was out of prison for more than five years before he was ready to take part in a jihadi operation. In another case, Iqbal Huseini, a weapons supplier for KOMPAK, was first arrested on terrorism charges in 2005, sentenced to four years and released in April 2009. He was rearrested August 2013 for supplying weapons to a group that wanted to attack the Myanmar embassy. In fact, he had never really

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57 Peraturan Menteri Hukum dan HAM 12/2013 Tentang Asessment Risiko dan Assessment Kebutuhan Bagi Narapidana dan Klien Pemasyarakatan (Risk and Needs Assessment for Criminal Offenders and Corrections Clients). <http://ditjenpas.go.id/article/article.php?id=325>

ceased his arms business. There are many other parts of the system besides Corrections that should have picked up his activities, and by the time he was re-arrested, no government agency had responsibility any longer for checking on him.

## VIII. CONCLUSION

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The issue of extremist prisoners returning to society is not just about numbers. Simply because many are due for release does not mean that the security threat to Indonesia is heightened. Most convicted terrorists do not go back to crime, and even among the more militant rejectionists – a clear minority in the prisons – there are very few whose capacity for violence matches the strength of their rhetoric.

That said, the rhetoric itself is a problem that Indonesia needs to take more seriously. One only has to look at the impact on young Indonesians of the radical preaching of Aman Abdu-rrahman and other preachers to understand how quickly young men with no previous organizational affiliation can be radicalized and recruited. The danger of some of the released militants may be more in terms of the religious study groups they set up or in some cases return to – which are not in violation of any law.

Another lesson from this report is that so many of the recidivists are former criminal offenders whose first crime had nothing to do with terrorism or religiously-inspired violence. The Corrections Directorate needs to have a system both for identifying inmates from non-jihadi backgrounds who take part in study groups in prison or suddenly begin dressing and acting differently, but they also need to find a way for targeting these men for close post-release supervision that is more than just a weak reporting requirement.

The question that the Indonesian government and donors need to ask is not how much of a threat the released terrorists going to be. It is what interventions need to be put in place to ensure that credible risk assessments can be made and appropriate programs put in place not only in prisons but in the communities to which parolees are returning.

## APPENDIX A: REPEAT OFFENDERS

Code (some belong to more than one group):

**bold** = involved in the Aceh training camp, 2010

*italics* = ordinary criminal offenders who then were arrested for terrorism

underline = linked to Poso

SMALL CAPS = linked to a radical discussion group in Solo

1. **Abdullah Sunata**
2. **Agus Kusdianto**
3. *Ahmad Busaeri bin Saiful Ali (escaped 8/06, killed Bali 3/2012)*
4. **Ahmad Sayid Maulana (ISA detainee in Malaysia, not previously detained in Indonesia, killed 2010)**
5. AIR SETIAWAN (KILLED)
6. Anang Mufaidin alias Papa Enal
7. Andi Ipong (Poso detainee)
8. *Ari Budi Santoso (Tim Hisbah, assault)*
9. BAGUS BUDI PRANOTO ALIAS URWAH (KILLED 2009)
10. *Bebas Iriana (Cikampek group)*
11. **Deny Suramto**
12. **Enceng Kurnia (killed in Aceh 2010)**
13. *Nang Rudianto (killed in Bali 2012)*
14. Erwin Mardani (on police wanted list)
15. Fadli Sadama
16. Fadlun (motorcycle thief recruited in Palu prison)
17. Fauzan alias Charles (killed, motorcycle thief recruited in Palu Prison)
18. **Gema Awal Ramadhan**
19. *Helmi alias Hamzah*
20. HERI SIGU SAMBOJA
21. *Hilman Jaja Kusumah (killed Bali 2012)*
22. Iqbal Huseini (selling guns)
23. Imran alias Papa Saiful
24. **Imron Baehaqi alias Mustofa alias Abu Tholut**
25. Irwanto alias Irwan
26. **Joko Sulistyono alias Mahmud alias Zainuddin (ISA detainee in Malaysia, not previously detained in Indonesia, killed 2010)**
27. JOKO TRIPRIYANTO (JOKO GONDRONG, JOKO JIHAD)
28. **Kamaludin**
29. **Lutfi Haedarah alias Ubeid**
30. Muhammad Akbar (motorcycle thief recruited in Palu Prison)
31. *Muhammad Yusuf (Beji, Depok group)*
32. **Tgk. Mukhtar Ibrahim**

33. *Nang Rudianto (killed in Bali 2012)*
34. **Oman Rochman alias Aman Abdurrahman**
35. **Pandu Wicaksono**
36. *Safrizal*
37. **Saptono (killed in Aceh 2010)**
38. Sugiyanto Latif (Papa Latif, Ust Latif)
39. Santoso (head of Mujahidin Indonesia Timur, wanted for Poso actions)
40. *Sigit Qordhowi (killed in Solo)*
41. Sri Pujimulyono (for hiding Abu Tholut after Aceh)
42. Sugiyanto Latif alias Papa Latif, Ust Latif)
43. Suryadi Mas'ood
44. Sutomo bin Sudartono alias Ust. Yasin
45. *Taufik Hidayat, (CIMB-Niaga)*
46. *M. Thamrin (Abu Autat group, Makassar)*
47. *Yuli Harsono (killed)*
48. *Yusuf Rizaldi (bom Beji, Depok)*

## **APPENDIX B: RECENT ESCAPES FROM INDONESIAN PRISONS OR DETENTION CELLS (Not Terrorist-Related)**

- **20/8/2013** Nine prisoners escaped from Meulaboh Prison, West Aceh; six were recaptured within a few hours, one other was caught the next day. They had used a saw to cut through the bars of their cell, then used sarongs tied together to get over a six-foot wall. Several of the escapees had been involved in a protest about their failure to get remissions on 17 August. In May 2012, 42 people had escaped from the same prison but most were recaptured.
- **19/8/2013** 84 prisoners escaped from Labuhan Ruku prison, Batubara, North Sumatra and burned down most of the prison in protest over the new remissions policy. More than half of the escapees were either quickly recaptured or turned themselves in; 45 remained at large several days later.
- **6/8/2013** Riza Noviandi, a narcotics prisoner serving a five-and-a-half-year sentence, escaped from LP Karangintan, Central Kalimantan.
- **3/8/2013** four narcotics prisoners escaped from Doyo prison, Jayapura after threatening unarmed guards with knives. The men left by the front door. Two of them were *tamping*, coveted jobs for trusted prisoners that give them more access and benefits. One was employed in the kitchen, where he presumably had access to a knife; the other was employed cleaning the prison's front yard.
- **25/7/2013** two narcotics detainees escaped from Rutan Sakti, Pidie, Aceh. They walked out the front door and got on a waiting motorcycle when the guard conveniently left his post.
- **23/7/2013** Burhanuddin, detained for theft in LP Sengkang, Kab Wajo, Sulawesi Selatan, escaped after tarawih prayers. He was also a cook at the prison.
- **22/7/2013** Four detainees held at Polsek Percut Seituan, Medan escaped by using a duplicate key for the padlock on cell door. A visitor had brought the key a week earlier. Two of the four were recaptured the next day.
- **22/7/2013** Kusman, recidivist thief, escapes from Polsek Bugul Kidul, Pasuruan, East Java after Ramadan prayers (*sholat tarawih*) by climbing over wall.

- **17/7/2013** 12 narcotics prisoners escaped from Baloi prison, Batam in Riau by overpowering a guard around 7:25 am, then breaking the window and running out through the director's office. Four were quickly recaptured. This escape was captured on cctv cameras and posted on YouTube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x8G486Fyb4Y>. As of 26/7, five recaptured.
- **17/7/2013** Alfiansi bin Taslian, 19, escaped from Rutan Kelas IIB Manna, Bengkulu, even though he only had 19 days of his sentence left to serve of a seven-month sentence. Afiansi was entrusted to take the trash outside the prison and drive it to a dump. He apparently left the truck at the dump and never came back.
- **16/7/2013** Three detainees escaped after sawing through the bars on the window of the toilet for prisoners in Kebumen District Court. They were all caught two hours later in a ricefield.
- **11/7/2013 Tanjung Gusta riot, Medan**
- **2/7/2013** BF, 17, escaped from Hasan Sadikin hospital, Bandung, where he had been admitted the night before, without handcuffs and accompanied by three family members and a guard. The guard went off duty at some time during the night and BF escaped. The hospital staff had not been told that BF was a convict.
- **24/6/2013** Ika, a woman detained on fraud charges escaped from Salatiga Detention Center after she and a friend complained of food poisoning and asked to be taken to Salatiga Hospital. A guard took the two women, without handcuffs or other restraints, on his motorbike. Coming back from hospital another motorbike driven by a former detainee came up alongside, one of the women threw water in face of guard and escaped on the motorcycle. Her friend was held by the guard.
- **23/6/2013** Sodri alias Encus, convicted of theft, walked out the back door of Class IIA prison in Koabumi, North Lampung; only three guards were at their post at the time and the access road to the prison was under construction.
- **22/5/2013** Saiful Bahri bin Musa, arrested for sexual harassment of a child, escaped over the wall of Rutan Lhoksukon Aceh, caught hours later.
- **13/4/2013** Fauzan Ali of Kota Langsa, Aceh, convicted of narcotics dealing and serving a 9 year sentence, escaped through the roof of the prison library just before dawn.
- **19/1/2013** 62 prisoners from Class II A prison Kualatungkal, Tanjung Jabung Barat, Jambi, walked out the front door after stealing the key from a sleeping guard. No one at the prison was quite sure what time they had left. As of mid-July 2013, 20 were still missing.
- **15/1/2013** two narcotics prisoners escape from LP Kelas IIA Banda Aceh, by sawing the iron bars on their cell door and cutting the barbed wire around the wall near their block.
- **10/1/2013** Henry Danile Setia, fraud case, fled trial in PN Jakarta Selatan on 10 January 2013, recaptured March 2013.
- **2/12/2012** 8 escaped from Rutan Lhoksukon, North Aceh, after suddenly seeing opportunity and running. Three recaptured immediately, five others still loose several days later.
- **31/7/2012** Three prisoners escaped as they are being taken to trail at PN Lubukpakam, Deliserdang, Sumut. Two ganja dealers had planned the escape, another joined in when he saw it happening.