Mapping of Islamic Firqa Terrorism Movement in Indonesia

Fatkhuri¹, Mansur Juned¹

¹Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, UPN Veteran Jakarta, Indonesia

Correspondence: Mansur Juned (mansurjuned@ymail.com)

Abstract

Indonesia is a country where terrorists operate particularly after the attacks on September 11, 2001. There are some terror actions in Indonesia: the bombing of Senen Atrium Plaza (1998), Istiqlal Mosque (1999), the Philippine Embassy (2000), Bali Bombs I and II, J.W. Marriott Hotel (2003), Australian Embassy (2004), Ritz Carlton and J.W. Marriott Hotels. Of these cases, most of the terrorists do them on behalf of religion. A series of the terror actions cannot be separated from the Islamic radical movement in Indonesia which they call as part of a network with religious motivation. The terror actions in Indonesia give lessons that such actions can not be abandoned again, so unilateral measures and inter-agency collaboration in the national level and international cooperation to tackle terrorism threat become important.

Keywords: terrorism, radicalis, Islamic firqa, bomb, Indonesia

Introduction

What terror means is very subjective, and it depends on value standards and experience in each culture. The exact definition of terrorism cannot be truly explained because terror action and terrorism themselves have devastated all kinds of rational analysis. However, despite the exact definition of terror action and terrorism is not explained explicitly, at least there are two basic concepts of terrorism. Firstly, terrorism has symbolic meaning. It does not mean that a group of radical people has bloodthirsty fantasy but it is the symbol of resistance to the world-system hegemony. As in Baudrillard's statement, there is no Islamic cause or ideology which work in terrorism action. Terrorism is symbol of the forced singularity resistance where the singularity itself has a variety of forms, and the hard and harsh form of the singularity definitely do terror action. The religion claim here is considered as the form of surface and it does not indicate motive and cause of the real terrorism.

Description on Islam and USA is only swallow effort to define terrorism. It describes avenging violence with violence and new terror forms. In fact hegemony is truly main causes of terrorism. Current hegemony mainly comes from global system and the critics should be directed to the system itself with the idea of "the glory of globalization which fights against itself." USA and the spread of global system which dominate world culture with its values jeopardize other culture values. However, both are only the symbol of hegemony. The hegemony itself can be replaced with each name or group or form of power.
Secondly, terrorism is a game of fear and game of death. Both are the basic principle of terrorism itself. It frequently relates to fear. It bears from a kind of fear as well as the birth of fear. It offers its own death and the dominant power cannot revenge the offering of terrorist death with its own death but the domination power will destroy the terrorist force with the death, terror against terror. In brief, terror cannot be separated from fear and the game of death.

From the aforesaid description, it shows that the main causes of the terrorism issue are hegemony issue. The concept of the hegemony is explained in two critics. Firstly, the critics are to USA as current dominant power in the world. It also criticizes to the WTC buildings that symbolize a form of hegemony to the world economy. In this matter, each form of hegemony is truly critics because it is considered as the causes for the emergence of terrorism.

Secondly, although in principle terrorism relates to each kind of hegemony, the main hegemony is definitely the hegemony of global system. It is market system, technology and global information.

The hegemony works in three ways. Firstly, it is the indirect cause of terrorism. Secondly, terrorism spread can be multiplied in the global system: for example, through the technology and flow of information (mass media). When fear appears in the limited region, it is multiplied for the effect of global information spread. Here the global system becomes the most effective vehicle of global terror spread. Thirdly, the global system can produce terrorism itself where technology and information themselves produce terror. Therefore, the global system itself is the direct cause of terrorism.

Terrorism and radicalism from 2001 to 2016 have attracted the attention of governments all over the world. A variety of terror occurs like the WTC Bomb in USA, Marathon Bombing in Boston, Bali Bomb in Indonesia as well as Paris attacks. These causes many people death and injured. Therefore, these become common enemy of the governments and civilians. They believe that terrorism is implication of radicalism spread particularly Islamic radicalism.

Indonesia itself has become a target country from some terror attacks. It is not new for Indonesia society when they encounter the cases. The first attack occurred in 2002 when the Bali bomb attack killed 202 people. These included 88 Australian citizens and 28 British citizens. It is the greatest bomb attack with the biggest victim number in the terrorism history in Indonesia (Australia, 2012). Bomb attacks occur almost every year in the following years. These kill tens of people died and hundreds wounded. The latest bomb terror case occurred in January 2016. It blasted in Starbucks Coffee Sarinah Thamrin. The shooting between the terrorists and polices occurred. In the attack it is reported two civilians died and five attackers killed on the spot.

As a form of terror from some groups the bomb blast should be prevented if state apparatuses perform well and work in synergy. The state apparatuses include the government, military and state intelligence agency. The three stakeholders are the most important figures in state defense and security. If the terrorism cases frequently occur, one or two or all stakeholders do not function well.

Departing from the problem, the writing tries to map at first what it is meant for Islamic terrorism and radicalism and what terror organizations mostly influence in Indonesia. After the explanation, the writers will try to review the existing policies concerning terrorism and antiterorism in Indonesia as well as the function of state apparatuses which works in the religious ideology-based conflict resolution. Data used in the writing come from the previous academic writings and articles from electronic media as well as printed media concerning Islamic terrorism and radicalism issues in Indonesia.
Literature Review

Social conflict occurs when two individuals or groups or more manifest their trust that they have contradictory objectives to one another (Kriesberg & Dayton, 2016). Social conflict develops from time to time. The more modern society is, the more complex social conflicts will occur. Current conflicts are more ideological, extreme and polarized like religious, ethnic and communal conflicts.

The conflict resolution consists of four phases, i.e. (1) The first phase is under the domination of military force with coercive measures, it aims to control armed violence; (2) The second phase is through political channel with the purpose of reuniting political elites from the conflicting groups; (3) The third phase has social form where the stakeholders apply the problem solving approach; and (4) The fourth phase has cultural form because in this phase the conflicting parties will change their socio-cultural structure to peaceful culture.

In the development, terrorism and radicalism get attention from academicians in the last years. It appears from perception that the discussion on terrorism and radicalism is too deterministic to terrorism and radicalism in the Islamic sects. It influences a world viewpoint to Indonesia as a country with the most Muslim population in the world. In this matter, the writers will describe some definitions on terrorism and radicalism. Moreover, we will focus on Islamic terrorism and radicalism, then we will explain the development of the two schools. Finally, we will do mapping of some terror organizations in Indonesia.

Alamsyah in his reporting on Kompas Newspaper in the printed edition of September 4, 2015 explains that radicalism is a school that teaches to return to religion teaching as the only guidance for all aspects of life. Moreover, Islamic radicalism is meant a school that teaches to return to original Islamic religion as written in the Quran and Hadith as the only one reference in all aspects of life. The school becomes the biggest factor to stimulate the birth of terrorism school particularly the Islamic terrorism.

Law Number 15 Year 2003 describes that an activity is called Terrorism Crimes if (1) there is any plan to carry out terror action; (2) the terror has to be carried out by certain group; (3) there are any elements of violence; (4) it takes casualties from civilians with the intent of intimidating the government; and (5) it is conducted to satisfy any interests of the perpetrators which can be social, political or religious.

The definition is not far different from the issuance of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) concerning terrorism as explained on its official website that terrorism involves violence action or action which jeopardizes the human life and violates the existing laws and regulations. Terror tends to be carried out intently to (1) intimidate civilians, (2) influence the government's policies and (3) influence the governance through massal destruction, killing or kidnapping (FBI).

So this article focuses on the definition of terror with the causes of some groups. In the context, when a sectarian comprehends the revelation in the Islamic perspective, it triggers terror action. It is considered an effort to reach the purpose with threatening method. Terror has political purpose to grasp power. Therefore, it is part of eradicating human activities which deviates from the divine teachings. In this context, it comes from the terminology of the sacred verse interpretation from some groups considered legitimacy and the ontology of handling human behavior which has been far from the teaching of Islam.

Results

Tilly (2014) states that terrorists are a group of people who have specialized themselves in form of unitary political action (terror), then they have to decide variation separated from politics (terrorism). Terror is violence actions with the motivation of political interests and from clandestine agents with the deliberate action to influence audience. In his writing, terror means a violence action with the motivation of political interest from some religious groups (Islam) to influence the government in its decision making.
Islamic terrorism and radicalism in the world, moreover, have become an issue particularly after the bomb blast in Paris and Thamrin in Indonesia in the period of 2015-2016. (Gamalas, 2015) in his writing about terrorism in Indonesia has mapped that in the development there are five terror organizations which truly influence terrorism action in the world. These are among others Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT), Laskar Jihad (LJ), Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT), dan Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). The mapping of terror organizations in Indonesia can be described in the following matrix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Establishment</th>
<th>Jemaah Islamiyah (JI)</th>
<th>Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT)</th>
<th>Laskar Jihad (LJ)</th>
<th>Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT)</th>
<th>Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the matrix at above, it can be concluded that the trend from the five terror organizations almost entirely have ideological similarity, i.e. Salafist Jihadism ideology which teaches that each Muslim individual has to obey Islam Sharia laws and anyone who violate the laws has to be eliminated. The difference in the aforesaid terror organizations is only in the gradation of extreme level from terror they do. In the lowest terror level they only do bomb attacks without any casualties just to send warning.

The second terror level is bomb action, kidnaping and killing. The target is non-Muslim individual to be eliminated. The highest terror level like ISIS, Islam Sharia laws is the only law which has to be implemented and they believe that religion is the same as state, so each decision, activity and policy the government does has to be based on Sharia laws and anyone who violates the laws should be eradicated. The matrix also explains that political nuance is truly full of the terror organizations’ purposes in Indonesia. The membership of the terror organizations does not only join in the group due to the ideological similarity but also rational choice that approves that they join in the organization is more beneficial than dying as a victim.
Discussion

Policies in Indonesia on Terrorism and Radicalism

On the basis of explanation on terrorism and radicalism described at above, in this section the writers will explain terrorism cases in 2016 for Islamic radicalism in Indonesia, then they will analyze them from the conflict resolution theory and four approaches of intelligence strategy. The following is the chronology of issuing policies for combating terrorism in Indonesia:

i. Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 Year 2002, then it is replaced to Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 2 Year 2002 considers that terrorism has caused death and without considering the victim's background and therefore it has to be eradicated and it also considers that terrorism has wide network, so it threatens national and international peace and security. Article 26, paragraph 1 gives clear explanation and it states that to get early evidence, the interrogators can use each intelligence report. The interrogation conducted pursuant to Article 26, paragraph 3 has to be carried out closely for the longest period of 3 days. Article 43 also explains that for prevention and eradication of terrorism crimes the Government of Republic of Indonesia carries out international cooperation with other countries in the sector of intelligence, policing activities and technical cooperation.

ii. Law Number 15 Year 2003 and Law Number 16 Year 2003 replacing Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 2 Year 2002 consider that a series of bombing cases occurred in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia have harmed the state in various aspects, so it is necessary to establish Law on the Eradication of Terrorism Crimes which refers to the international conventions.

iii. Law Number 6 Year 2006 about the ratification of International Convention for The Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, 1999 considers that the development of terrorism crimes get influence from terrorist funding is very disappointing, so it is necessary to eradicate the funding.

iv. Law Number 9 Year 2013 about the eradication of financing terrorism crimes considers that the funding is the main supporting factor of terrorism action, so it has to be regulated in Laws. The terrorist financing supervision to be regulated includes the transfer fund and cash regulated in Article 21 and it is under the supervision of Directorate General of Customs and Excise.

The laws and regulations at above are policy the government has issued in the framework of implementing the purpose of Universal Declaration of Human Rights written in the preamble of the Constitution of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in the fourth paragraph that the State of Indonesia as the joint association has aims to protect its citizens in relation to human right protection.

In general, the aforesaid policy also explains that there are some main parties the government has appointed to carry out the function of citizen protection from terror attacks. These parties include Indonesia's National Intelligence Agency (BIN) and Indonesian National Police, and the supporting institution is Directorate General of Customs and Excise. In the following paragraphs we will describe the function of each institution concerning terrorism cases in Indonesia.

Indonesia's National Intelligence Agency in some points in Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 2 Year 2002 is explained to have intelligence function in kind of information collection about the movement of terrorist groups. Despite the agency is not the only institution which has responsibility in the supply of intelligence report but it has greater portion than other state institutions or organizations. In the strategic intelligence concept, the intelligence report consist of early detection (ED), early warning (EW), forecasting and estimation after it analyzes the existing trend, and the final one is problem solving.

Firstly, ED uses technical and human intelligence in analyzing and reading the existing phenomenon in society concerning the movement of terror organizations. Similar to an intelligence agent, terror
organization members move in clandestine operation. Therefore, it requires the expertise of BIN as the clandestine agency to do early detection consisting of data collection and identification. The collected and identified data can come from a variety of sources and cooperation with other instances such as Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Defense Ministry, Justice and Human Rights Ministry, Finance Ministry, National Agency of Terrorism Eradication (BNPT) as well as other related instances.

Secondly, it is early warning (EW). EW is the follow up action in kind of processing data having been collected and identified in the ED phase. In the performance evaluation report of the terrorism prevention and development in the period of 2007-2008 BAPPENAS explains that the government has to continue efforts of gradual development of the centre for communication signal analysis as the requirement of communication intelligence which has the function to support early warning efforts of network development and action plan of terrorism network. With the government support, Indonesia is truly serious in the antiterrorism policy since the Bali Bomb on October 12, 2002. After the ED and EW phase have been carried out, the following phase is forecasting. It will see the existing pattern of the data analysis results. As in the suicide bombing case in Thamrin in January 2016, Indonesia's National Intelligence Agency (BIN) is considered to have failed to detect the existing terrorist movement in the Capital City of Greater Jakarta and to have caused many disappointment in society. As a clandestine organization, the agency cannot spread information to anyone or even other instances of the state.

President becomes the only party who gets intelligence information concerning the latest state security condition from National Intelligence Agency (BIN). President as the state apparatus also has function in the final phase, i.e. the problem solving phase. In this phase, president, as the Number One Person in Indonesia has to make decision concerning what will be conducted to the state in order to maintain security and defense in a kind of policy making such as direct appointment to Indonesian National Police to carry out tasks. Indonesian National Police in this matter becomes the only party who has obligation and authority to carry out investigation and arrest to the terrorism crimes.

**Opportunities and Obstacles in Conflict Resolution of Religious Ideology in Indonesia**

Islamic terrorism and radicalism in Indonesia have occurred since pre Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. Padri in West Sumatra was the first Islamic movement which had the upmost purpose of suppressing Dutch from Indonesia. It indirectly becomes the pioneer for the emergence of Islamic radical groups in Indonesia. In this case, the writers will explain a variety of opportunities and obstacles in prevention and eradication of Islamic terrorism and radicalism in Indonesia with the reference of conflict resolution viewpoint.

Terror is an activity which terror organizations do for political purposes and objectives. The purpose is to topple the existing government, to uphold new government system and others. The existing terror organizations in Indonesia are totally related to Islamic radical nuances. It is definitely obvious in view of Indonesia as the country the largest Muslim population in the world. Moreover, Indonesia becomes source of terror organizations to grow and become the target of terror itself. As the country with the largest Muslim population in the world but no existence and application of Islam Sharia Laws as state laws and regulations, Indonesia becomes the target of terrorism actions. Finally, it is considered a conflict of religious ideology which has to be solved definitely.

Widjajanto (2014) explains four phases of conflict resolution. The first phase is the domination of military power with coercive and repressive characteristics. It aims to control armed violence. In the case of terrorism cases, the obstacles are that not all terror actions can be controlled with coercive and repressive action. The government's coercive and repressive action will only bear new extremism. Therefore, we can take lesson from the dictatorship of Soeharto regime. In this matter it becomes dilemma for the government itself and it should be considered carefully when each way to be taken to overcome the conflict issues of religious ideology particularly terrorism and radicalism.
The second phase is through political channel with the purpose of reuniting political elites from the conflicting groups. The obstacles in the second phase is that terror organizations are clandestine organizations with unknown movement and activities. The problem is that sometimes there is no clarity of limits among the conflicting parties. Moreover, terrorism is not related to radicalism and conflict of religious ideology.

However, there are other influencing factors, such as the violation of human rights, religious discrimination, injustice, welfare and rational choice of the terror organization's followers that they join with the organizations more beneficial than they are died in the hand of the them. Moreover, the terror organizations are the independent organization which can get money for their terror action or the welfare of their members like ISIS when the terror organization hires their members on the basis of their position in the organization.

Moreover, the third phase is also important and it relates to social aspect where the stakeholders apply the problem solving approach. In relation to the second phase if the factors of terrorism and radicalism causes are described again, there are many tasks the government should do to prevent the terrorism action. Therefore, the prevention of terror action cannot be carried out in the short term but it needs preparation and strategic planning in the long term so as to be the truly success.

The fourth phase has relations to culture where the conflicting parties will start changing their socio-cultural structure into peaceful and loving culture. However, it is the most difficult one to realize. There are inequality and social injustice. It will become trigger of friction and conflict and it is greater than the previous one. Therefore, it maintains peaceful condition, and it should be carried out together with the support of all parties.

Instead of various obstacles in conflict resolution, there are some opportunities that can support the success. The first opportunity is that Indonesia is basically a country with plural society consisting of various cultures, social ethnic groups and religions. Therefore, it is not difficult to overcome the Islamic radicalism. The deradicalization can be carried out in a kind of growing nationalism spirit through basic education with the focus of planting nationalist morality as the one unity of the State of Republic of Indonesia.

Conclusion

Terrorism in Indonesia is frequently identic to Islamic radicalism for more than two decades. When analyzing a social phenomenon, it should minimalize any reduction so as to avoid any cognitive distortion. In fact Islamic radicalism is only one of many factors that trigger the emergence of terrorism in Indonesia. Social, political and economic condition is proved to be more influential than radicalization itself. Indonesia remains weak in defense and security; according to the writers, it relates to some causes, such as efforts of state defense and security institutionalized only in the state apparatuses, such as Indonesian National Police, Indonesia's National Inteligence Agency (BIN), Indonesian National Armed Forces and other related institutions.

As the implication, society considers the government does not need their participation in this matter because there have been the authority parties which have the functions of guarding state security. However, a country with democracy government, society's active participation is definitely required. If we see from macro viewpoint, terrorism is a form of public active participation as a form of upholding democracy government with negative and destructive tendencies. Injustice and discrimination they suffer becomes terror as a way to indicate their existence in the aspects of politics and decision making process.

Moreover, laws and regulations of the State of Republic of Indonesia related to legal action against terrorism remain reactive. It means that law enforcement can be carried out after the attacks occur. There is no laws and regulations which regulate terror prevention strategies. The point becomes critics to the Law No. 15 Year 2003 and Indonesian National Police and Indonesia's National Intelligence
Agency have considered it as well. Some suggestions the writers will provide among others are the implementation of laws and regulation that regulate justice, welfare and prosperity for citizens of the State of Republic of Indonesia should be considered in its implementation whether it is appropriate to their demand or only on the basis of state demand.

Secondly, it is necessary to invite citizens of State of Republic of Indonesia to actively guard state security and defense in a kind of growing nationalism and patriotism in real action from the earlier ages. Finally, it should do review to the function of each state apparatus and investigate its appropriateness to the actions of the instancies. Therefore, the activities should not only expend state budget.

References


