THE CONFIGURATION OF RADICAL ISLAMISM IN INDONESIA:
Some Contemporary Assessments and Trajectories[1]

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Abstract*: This paper attempts at analyzing the configuration of radical Islamism in contemporary Indonesia. The basic argument developed throughout this paper is that the reality of radical Islamism will always exist as long as all necessary conditions are there. Adopting the opportunity structure theory, among the necessary conditions that lead to the birth and existence of radical Islamism are: 1) Islamist ideology derived from the sacred texts, the Qur'an and Sunnah; 2) socio-political setting and issues where Muslims live; 3) actors, the Islamists, who craft the logics of Islamist ideology based on the interplay between the issues prevalent in the Muslims' socio-political setting and the ideology constructed from the sacred texts. This article is divided into parts as follows: 1) the streams in Islamist thought and movement; 2) the anatomy of radical Islamism; 3) the membership of radical Islamism, and 4) the trajectories of radical Islamism, before it is ended with concluding remarks.*

الملخص: ستحلل هذه المقالة عن تكوين الإسلام المتطرف المعاصر في إندونيسيا، وأساس النظرية التي تستخدم في المقالة بأن الإسلام المتطرف سيكون باقيا حينما وجدت الحالة التي تقتضيها. ومن العوامل التي تؤدي إلى ظهور الإسلام المتطرف عند النظرية التركيبية الانتهازية هي: (١) تفهيم أصول الإسلام من النصوص المقدسة يعني القرآن والحديث؛ (٢) الخلفية السياسية والاجتماعية وقضيتها حول بيئة المسلمين؛ (٣) التكوين والتأثير بين الخلفية السياسية والاجتماعية وقضيتها وفهم أصول الإسلام من النصوص المقدسة. تنقسم المقالة إلى

أجزاء، وهي: (١) مذاهب الأفكار والحركة الإسلامية؛ (٢) تشريح الإسلام المتطرف؛ (٣) عضـو حركة الإسلام المتطرفة؛ (٤) أنواع حركة الإسلام المتطرفة ثم يليها الاختتام.

Abstrak*: Tulisan ini hendak menganalisis konfigurasi Islam radikal di Indonesia kontemporer. Argumen dasar yang dikembangkan dalam tulisan ini adalah bahwa realitas Islam radikal akan selalu ada sepanjang terdapat kondisi yang menuntutnya ada. Dengan mengadopsi the opportunity structure theory, di antara tuntutan kondisi yang mendorong kelahiran dan keberadaan Islam radikal adalah: 1) ideologi Islam dipahami dari teks yang disucikan, yaitu al-Qur'an dan Sunnah; 2) latar belakang dan isu-isu sosial-politik dimana kaum muslim tinggal; 3) para pelaku Islam radikal mendasarkan ideologi Islam pada saling keterpengaruhan antara isu-isu umum pada latar belakang sosial-politik seorang muslim dan ideologi yang dibangun dari teks-teks suci. Tulisan ini dibagi menjadi beberapa bagian: 1) aliran-aliran pemikiran dan gerakan Islam; 2) anatomi Islam radikal; 3) keanggotaan Islam radikal; dan 4) ragam jalan Islam radikal, dan diakhiri dengan penutup.*

Keywords: radical islamism, jihadist movement, salafism, shariáah.

INTRODUCTION

It is indeed not an easy job to describe and delineate the whole picture of radical Islamism in Indonesia, even though much has been written in this subject.[2] This is partly because the reality of radical Islamism does not comprise a discrete and fixed membership; rather, it constitutes a fluid, melting and fluctuating boundaries. The reality of radical Islamism in this country has been so dynamic that one can hardly catch one-for-all picture about what constitutes the so-called radical Islamism. The continuum of its membership stretches from one spectrum that is moderate and peaceful in nature, to another one that is highly violent and thuggery. All of these modes exist in Indonesia and it is certainly difficult to lump them all together within

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[2]See, among others, Martin van Bruinessen, "Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in post-Suharto Indonesia," *South East Asia Research*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (July 2002), 117-54. See, also, Greg Fealy, "Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia: The Faltering Revival?," *Southeast Asian Affairs* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2004).

one single bracket. To the question as to how big each cluster is needs further investigation.

Another misunderstanding common to researchers is the fact that not all followers and members of the so-called moderate Muslim organizations such as Muhammadiyah and NU represent the characters of civil society. The attribution of such organizations to moderate and peaceful civil society is too simplistic because the reality is too complex than what appears. It is indeed a matter of fact that these two organizations are widely known as the representation of moderate civil society in Indonesia. The subscription to hard-liner ideology at the grass-roots level, however, will indicate that there is an obvious overlapping between the civil societies and the ideology of radical Islamism in the country. It is also a matter of fact that there is a continuous tension and contest in ideology among the internal groups of those civil societies. The discourse circulated within the circle of elites, therefore, can be different among the circle of grass-roots. This is so due to the fact that there is conflictual and sometimes harsh dynamics between the two streams within each; conservatism and progressivism.

This paper seeks to analyze the configuration of radical Islamism in Indonesia. It focuses on the fractures within the radical Islamists, the anatomy of radical Islamism, the membership of radical Islamism, and the future trajectories of radical Islamism in Indonesia. Borrowing from the theory of opportunity structure, this paper basically argues that the ideology of radical Islamism will never die as long as the prerequisite conditions are there. The ideology of radical Islamism is indeed never autonomous; it is supported and created by some other underpinning factors such as socio-political setting or issues, actors or agencies, and the means by which the making of radical Islamism is possible.

TWO MAINSTREAMS: THE JIHADISTS AND THE SALAFIS

In general, the ideology of radical Islamism can be divided into groups; the Jihadists and non-Jihadists or the Salafis. The first group consists of those who are involved in the clandestine movement to launch war against all God's enemies at home and abroad. The

God's enemies can be classified into two; near and far enemies.[3] Near enemies are those fellow Muslims whose thought and attitude are considered in conflict with the basic teaching of Islam. In their view, all Muslims that obstruct the full implementation of Islamic law (Shari'ah) in daily life can be regarded as the enemy of Allah, regardless of their professed faith as fellow Muslim. They argue that the full implementation of Islamic Shari'ah is obligatory upon each individual (*fardu 'ain*), and all attempts at making it possible throughout the life of Muslims is jihad. Whoever dies in the cause of Allah in upholding the Islamic Shari'ah can be regarded as martyr (*shahid*), and any attempt at making the implementation of Shari'ah impossible can be regarded as the enemy of Allah.

In Indonesia, the attribution of near enemies is stuck upon liberal Muslims who propagate ideas imported outside of Islam and, therefore, that are in conflict with Shari'ah such as democracy, gender, human rights and freedom of religion. The activists of Islam Liberal Network (Jaringan Islam Liberal/JIL) such as Ulil Abshar-Abdalla are among this category. Even though the Islamists do not launch execution to the liberal activists, they generally agree that the liberal Muslims are the near enemy within Islam. On the other side, far enemies are those non-Muslims that fight against Muslims at home and abroad. The US and its allies can be categorized as Muslims' far enemies.

The question is: who are the radical Islamists? The radical Islamists can be individuals and groups or organizations. As individuals, the Islamists can be found everywhere, particularly outside of the formal organizations registered by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Usually there is no organizational link that ties the radical Islamists individually. The same ideological subscription, however, can be the focal point where most of the Islamists are stuck together as a unity. As far as the research on radical Islamism is concerned, there is no clear figure as to how many individuals in the country subscribe the ideology of radical Islamism. This is so because the ideology of radical Islamism, borrowing Edward Said's theory, can

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[3]See, among others, Masdar Hilmy, "Manufacturing the 'Ontological Enemy': Socio-Political Construction of anti-Democracy Discourses among HTI Activists in Post-New Order Indonesia, *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Vol. 03, No. 02 (December 2009), 341-369.

travel from one mind to another, from person to person.[4] Despite such a subscription to the same ideology, it does not mean that they are linked in the same organizational chain. They are only on the same boat in terms of ideology.

The political activism of Islamists, however, can be identified as long as individuals are tied at organizational level. Despite long history of metamorphoses, the Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT) led by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir is one of the Islamist organizations that serve as the reservoir for radical ideology.[5] It makes youngsters as its main recruits. The university students, especially in secular campuses, are among the most volatile in terms of their receptivity and exposure to the radical ideology. JAT propagates its radical ideology from one religious congregation (*pengajian*) to another one. Ba'asyir's persistence in subscribing to the radical ideology makes this organization survives despite the State's oppression and the society's resistance to his activism. He keeps propagating what he believes as the purest version of Islam to his fellow Muslims both inside and outside of the jail. During his stay in the jail, both in Jakarta and Nusakambangan, he can even appeal to new recruits that later become his followers and pledge allegiance to him. It is informed that Ba'asyir knows some of the Jihadist operations in the country.

The Jihadists in the country can hardly be disassociated from Ba'asyir.[6] Among the Jihadists, Ba'asyir has been venerated as a grand-sheikh who gives *fatwas* and suggestions to fellow Jihadists before operation. Even though in some occasions Ba'asyir denied the relationship with actors of the Jihadist operation, his involvement as the central figure among the Jihadist groups cannot be undermined. JAT itself consists of members who believe in the Jihadist ideology, even though they do not necessarily put their ideology into practice. Basically the jihad ideology that they believed is of offensive jihad (*jihad irhabi*), that is, physical war on physical enemies. In their opinion, there is no other alternative

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[4]Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text and the Critic* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1983), 226.

[5]JAT is the metamorphose of MMI, and MMI is the metamorphose of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) founded by Abdullah Sungkar and Ba'asyir.

[6]Fajar Purwawidada, *Jaringan Baru Teroris Solo* (Jakarta: KPG [Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia], 2014), 158.

meaning of jihad other than offensive jihad. To them, the verses of peaceful jihad in the Qur'an had long been abrogated by the verses of offensive jihad. Jihad in its generic sense has only been upheld by the mainstream clerics who are affiliated to the mainstream organizations such as the Muhammadiyah and NU. In this context, some of the Jihadists reportedly pledged their allegiance (*bay'at*) to Ba'asyir in the jail before operating the violent attacks on their perceived enemies.

The existing terrorist network that operates in Indonesia employs the ideology of jihad *irhabi* as its main agenda. There are some underground terrorist activities, some of them have direct links to such an ideology and some do not. Santoso network has so far the strongest endurance in facing the security measures taken by the State. Santoso has replaced the role of JI network which has been formerly destroyed by the State. The question here refers to what role the Cirebon network has played in the structure and anatomy of Jihadist movement in Indonesia. It has been reported that the Cirebon network operated outside of the Santoso network. Each has its own operation network.

While Santoso is the Chief Commander of Mujahid Indonesia Timur (MIT, the Warrior of Eastern Indonesia), Abu Roban was the Chief Commander of Mujahid Indonesia Barat (MIB, the Warrior of Western Indonesia). The declaration of MIB was designed to assist their fellow fighters of Santoso-led MIT at Poso Southeast Sulawesi. The Santoso network still operates actively and spreads terror to its perceived enemies, especially the security officers. They sent a bomb package from Surabaya to Makassar. This bomb was initially designed to be exploded in Surabaya and its surrounding areas. But due to the unlikelihood of situation, they moved it to Makassar. On the other side, the network of Abu Roban reportedly had 60 followers, some of whom were arrested in Cilacap, Karawang and were shot dead in Ciputat, Southern Tangerang. Both networks targeted the 2014 General election as the target of their operation because it represents the symbols of secular Western democracy.

Peaceful radical Islamists, on the other side, wish to transform the Islamic values as they believe at the state and society level without the use of violent method. They generally argue that Islam does not encourage the use of violence as a means of solving prob-

lems. Any social and political transformation must be undertaken peacefully, without bringing about unnecessary damages and casualties. This belief is shared by some peaceful Islamist groups such as HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia). This organization aspires for the upholding of *khilafah* (Islamic Caliphate) as its main agenda, believing that the Islamic Caliphate is the only solution to all problems inflicting the Muslims.

Talking about the reality of radical Islamism in Indonesia, one cannot undermine the importance of Solo as the home-base for some vigilante groups and institutions such as pesantren Ngruki, JAT, Majlis Tafsir Al-Qur'an (MTA), Front Pembela Islam Surakarta (FPIS), Laskar Hizbullah and Laskar Jundulloh.[7] This assumption has been supported by the research finding undertaken by Fajar Purwawidada, arguing that Solo is the central hub for all Islamist ideology, especially the clandestine group such as Darul Islam (DI), Jema'ah Islamiyah (JI) and the clandestine Jihadist network.[8] The dominance of *abangan* (nominal Muslim) has been the main reason why Solo has been the main target of the re-Islamization process undertaken by the Islamists. It must be admitted that Solo is one of the cities in Java that had been left "untouched" by the nine saints (Walisongo) during the Islamization press. This city has even been known as the center of Javanese mysticism (*aliran kebatinan*), the less-devout version of Islam in the vocabulary of Javanese Islam that appeal to the Islamists to "re-Islamize" it. It is within this perspective that the later generations of devout Muslims try to re-conquer this city in terms of religious ideology and religiosity.

As to how significant Solo plays as a focal point in breeding, growing and disseminating the Islamist ideology can be referred to the fact that the surrounding areas such as Sukoharjo, Ngawi, Boyolali and others are now becoming more "Islamist" then before. In those areas one can easily identify Muslims with particular styles and fashions such as long hijab for female Muslims and beard as well as short skirts for fellow Muslims. Those areas seem to become the target operation by the police to keep on eye in terms of radical

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[7]Muhammad Wildan, "The Nature of Radical Islamic Groups in Solo," *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Vol. 07, No. 01 (June 2013), 49-70.

[8]Purwawidada, *Jaringan Baru Teroris Solo*, 70.

ideology and terrorist activisms. It is a matter of fact that those areas become the buffer zone that gives support to the breeding and disseminating of radical ideology in Indonesia. Solo has been one of the cities that is used by the Jihadits as the home-base for the retaliation to the police. One police has been shot dead in the city.[9] Another proof is that some of the Jihadists have been arrested in those regions, such as Sukoharjo and Ngawi.[10]

FLESH AND BLOOD: THE ANATOMY OF RADICAL ISLAMISM

The reality of radical Islamism will always exist so long as all necessary conditions exist. Analogous to the existence of living organism, the existence of radical Islamism needs flesh and blood. The anatomy of radical Islamism is formed of the combination of the sacred-texts derived ideology, actors that construe and build the ideology of radical Islamism, as well as socio-political contexts surrounding the Muslim's life. Each component strengthens and fosters to one another as a unity, without which the existence of radical Islamism is impossible. I assume that the radical Islamists will never die so long as all necessary prerequisites are there. This holds true if one looks at the reality of how radical Islamism in Indonesia does not run out of the Jihadists who fill in the chain of violence in the country. The executed Jihadists such as Amrozi and Imam Samudra will be replaced the younger generation that are not necessarily part of the previous members of Jihadists. This is because the execution of Jihadists can emulate the spirit of martyrdom among younger Jihadists who are trapped within, and impressed by, the grand-narratives of martyrdom delivered by their elder Jihadists. The Jihadists, in other words, will never run out of new recruits as long as the necessary conditions are there.

The first condition is text as the source of inspiration for manufacturing the ideology. What I mean by text is of course the Qur'an and Hadith (Prophetic Tradition). The Qur'an can be considered as an open text that provides multivocality of understanding, contingent upon the intellectual framework and subjective

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[9]*Ibid.*, 202.
[10]"Dua Terduga Teroris Ngawi Anggota Jaringan Santosa," *Republika*, 08 August 2014.

inclination. Intellectual framework is a cognitive modality that is formed of subjective qualities and characters of individuals. In the perspective of sociology of knowledge, religious understanding is never a matter of psychological business per se. As a result, ideology cannot be treated as something autonomous, apart from socio-political setting. It also involves how an individual is sociologically forged in an empirical sense throughout his/her own life. The background of education, the environment where individual lives, the persons whom individual interacts with, and the like, do contribute to the making of inner characters of individuals in a complete sense.

The Qur'an itself contains myriads of verses that can be read in particular ways and tones. It depends very much on the internal modalities available in one's mind which is a result of long intellectual and psychological formation. This is so because any background can make one's tendency in reading and comprehending any particular issues, on the basis of the interaction between internal and external conditions. The composition of factors contributing to the making of one's characters can be half and half; half internal and half external factors. Or, it can be variation of the two; sometimes the internal factors are more dominant than the external ones or vise-versa. The ways of reading and understanding creates worldviews that underpin the thinking and behavior of Muslims. The tendency of radical or liberal, textual or contextual, understanding stems from this kind of reading.

The verses on jihad and commanding right and forbidding wrong are, among others, the most controversial verses on which the Islamists build their own understanding commonly different from the mainstream's understanding on the same verses. In this context, the Islamists as well as the majority of Jihadists argue that jihad means war (*qital*). There is no other alternative meaning other than *qital*.[11] To them, peaceful jihad is non-sense. They believe that the verses on peaceful manners in dealing with non-Muslims have been abrogated during the Madinah period. This belief is commonly shared by the Islamists of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), JAT, and other clandestine Islamist groups. As explained above, the doctrine of jihad is that of offensive jihad: waging war on both near enemies and

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[11]Imam Samudra, *Aku Melawan Teroris!* (Solo: Jazera, 2004), 108.

far enemies. This kind of understanding is to ensure that Islam is the only religion that is embraced by all human being and there is no *fitnah* on earth that tries to undermine the strength and power of this religion.[12]

In addition to ideology, actors become the second condition in the making of radical Islamism. What I mean by actors are those ideologues whose characters are strong and influential in their surrounding environment. If we look at several violent incidents, there are actors with strong characters in leadership and the like. Imam Samudra and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, for instance, are actors with strong leadership qualities that can influence the rest of the community. The second layers in the circle of radical Islamists are followers whose thoughts are influenced by their leaders. In the case of Bali Bombers, for instance, Amrozi can be categorized as the follower of his leaders such as Ba'asyir and Samudra. The third and the next layers will be filled with individuals whose quality characters are dependent upon their fellow Islamists whose quality characters are more superior than theirs.

The combination the three layers of the Islamists forms what Sivan calls as "enclave" community.[13] The "enclave" has its own code of conduct and culture. Its members build a separate wall that divides them from the rest of the community. They identify themselves as the pure and authentic community, while the rest of the community is identified as the corrupted. The Islamists tend to consider themselves as the chosen community that must memperingatkan the rest of the community to follow the belief as they have. In this context, the Islamists have their own code of conduct which applies to all members. This conduct regulates their daily life, the way they think and behave, from A to Z.

The next element is socio-political setting where the Islamists live. The Islamists live in modern era that tends to marginalize them. The history of radical Islamism is full with the imagination of

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[12]*Ibid*., 118.

[13]Emmanuel Sivan, "Enclave Culture", dalam Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (eds.), *Fundamentalisms Comprehended* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

torture, agony and grievances.[14] In this situation, they look at the outsider as the scape-goat, i.e. the West, blaming it as the root-cause for all miseries and crises inflicting Muslims. The Islamists generally believe that there is a purposeful design of the West to undermine Islam, making it weaken in order to colonize Muslims. They also live in a setting where they face the issues of conflicts, such as the issue of Palestine-Israeli conflict and the invasion of the US with its allies to the Muslim lands. They imagine that their world is in conflict with their enemies. Globalization is perceived by the Islamists as the economic and politic and political order that only benefits their enemies.

The situation inflicting the Muslims seems to confirm what Dekmejian refers to as "crises theory".[15] According to this theory, the rise and making of radical Islamism cannot be disassociated from all crises happen in the Muslim community. This is so because they cannot find an appropriate solution to those problems. In the context of Indonesian Islamism, the Islamists tend to make the 1998 crisis as the departing point to launch their activisms by inciting the crises situation as factors contributing to the agony and plight of Muslims. They argue that the crises results from the ignorance and abandonment of God's laws and the implementation of Pancasila, a man-made ideology. As long as Indonesia does not adopt God's law, there will be never-ending crises. The only solution is to return to the Qur'an and Hadith, the most pristine sources of Islam. The golden age of Islam during the Abbasid caliphate has been reiterated as the major reference in giving the solution to the current crises.

Another situation that can trigger the rise and tide of radical Islamist ideology is the invasion of the West, i.e. the US and its allies, in fighting against the Islamic teachings on behalf of human rights, democracy, and gender issues. The Islamists will argue that all of these ideas are designed to destroy Muslims and Islam. There is no way to solve this problem except by fighting back the source of the malady, namely the West. As mentioned above, the West is categorized as "far enemy". If it is impossible for an Islamist to fight

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[14]Scott Appleby, "History in the Fundamentalist Imagination," *The Journal of American History* 89, 2 (September 2002), 498-511.

[15]Hrair Dekmejian, *Islam in Revolution: Fundamentalism in the Arab World* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1985).

back the West, the possibility is to fight against the "near enemies", that is, all persons and institutions that encourage and support the ideas produced by the West, or is perceived to protect the interests of the West in Indonesia. Due to this reason, police department, that is, Densus 88, as the supporter of the war against terrorism launched by the West, is also considered by the Islamists as a part of "near enemy".[16]

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict also contributes to the rise of radical Islamism all over the world, including in Indonesia. Not only the Islamists, most of moderate Muslims would also be touched and empathetic to the suffering of their fellow Muslims in Palestine. The Isreali-Palestinian conflict can be described as a long-lasting source of inspiration that is evoked the spirit of jihad among all Muslims, not only the Islamists. The empathy of Muslims to the suffering of Palestinian Muslims is not only derived from the radical Islamists, but also from moderate Muslims alike. This is so because Muslims have the doctrine of mechanic solidarity (*al-ukhuwwah al-Islamiyah*) that can unite the sympathy of all Muslims all over the world, particularly when one group of Muslims is treated unjustly by non-believers. This holds true for the case of Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq, and other Muslim countries.

The involvement of 56 Indonesian Muslim fighters in ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syiria) movement can be explained from this perspective. They regard their fellow Muslims in Syria or wherever they are as brothers and sisters that are united in a brotherhood system. As a result, they need to be assisted whenever they have problems. The involvement of international Muslims in Syria and other places proves that the Jihadist movement is now becoming a trans-national movement that across national boundaries and borders. The ambush of seven accused terrorists belonging to Santoso network in Poso, four of whom are from Turkistan, has proved the international link of terrorist movement.[17] They are

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[16]See, Masdar Hilmy, "The Politics of Retaliation: The Backlash of Radical Islamists to Deradicalization Project in Indonesia, *Al-Jami'ah*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (2013CE/1434H): 129-158.

[17]"Polisi Buru Pengundang 4 Teroris Turkistan," *Jawa Pos*, 23 September 2014, 16.

reportedly invited by Mochtar, a terrorist of Santoso network, to assist their fellow Jihadists in Indonesia.

THE MEMBERSHIP OF RADICAL ISLAMISTS

It is not easy to figure out the membership of radical Islamism in Indonesia. This is so because Islamism does not consist of discrete category; it is fluid, melting and at times discontinuous. The membership of radical Islamism can fluctuate according to the socio-political setting prevalent at particular times and places. In other words, the membership can swell and shrink contingent upon the pulling and pushing factors surrounding the Muslim community.[18] The fluctuation of radical Islamism in membership cannot be dissociated from the religious identity of being a Muslim. In this context, being a Muslim does not necessarily mean that he/she must be bounded within particular organizational ties. Rather, he/she can also be tied by ideas that appeal his/her interests. Such political issues as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the invasion of Muslim lands by Western military powers, the execution of Muslims by non-Muslim militias, are among the pushing factors that make Muslim identity stronger. This, in turn, can appeal the in-group empathy among the Muslim activists to give support to the Muslims.

The source of membership can be derived from the so-called moderate Muslim organization such as NU and Muhammadiyah. The members of these organizations who have been appealed by the radical ideology usually drop their membership from their former organizations in order to start their loyalty to the new ones that promise more certainty in theological matters. This is so because both organizations are considered incapable of dealing with the crises inflicting the Muslim community in Indonesia. Both organizations are considered to have been obsessed by the political motifs so that they do not have any sensitivity and awareness in carrying out the project of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*. In addition, both organizations basically consist of vast array of diverse members among the Muslim community, ranging from the most liberal

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[18]Masdar Hilmy, *Islamism and Democracy in Indonesia: Piety and Pragmatism* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2010), 100.

individuals to the most stringent and violent ones.[19] Being affiliated to a particular moderate organization, therefore, does not guarantee that one is free from the influence and association with any radical ideology.

The emergence and rise of radical Islamism can also be triggered by pulling factors such as the charming of Islamist ideology as constructed in a solid local sense by the Islamists. The ideology of jihad, for instance, can be a pulling factor that attracts the minds of the Islamists. The majority of new recruits adopt the Islamist ideology in an intentional manner, and not by force. The Islamists' subscription to radical ideology is not carried out by force; rather the new recruits choose to adopt it by their choice. When reading the book written by Imam Samudra, for instance, one can fall in love with the jihadist ideology due to the fact that the book can appeal the readers' choice to subscribe the ideology of radical Islamism.

In his book, Samudra can provide the narratives of radical Islamism attractively so that a new recruit can be trapped easily in the logics of that ideology. In the book, he can support his viewpoints with both normative and empirical arguments. In answering whether or not the Bali bombing in 2002 can be classified as defensive or offensive, he smartly argues that the bombing is neither defensive nor offensive, but "defoffense jihad," a combination of both.[20] In defending whether he has waged a wrong jihad against civilians, likewise, he maintains that in today's condition it is quite difficult to differentiate between military agencies and civilians, due to the fact that all civilians of the West is not different in ideological vision from its military agencies. As a result, fighting against civilians of the West is a reasonable act justified by the normative argument as well as socio-political perspective.[21]

The membership of radical Islamism can cover Muslim community at all ages, both the old generation and the younger one. The old generation of the Islamists, in most cases, serves as the

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[19]See, for instance, Andrée Feillard & Rémy Madinier, *The End of Innocence? Indonesian Islam and the Temptations of Radicalism* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011), 245-6.

[20]Samudra, *Aku Melawan Teroris!*, 170.

[21]*Ibid*., 143.

spiritual mentor for the younger generation. This is the case when one looks at how some clandestine jihadist movements work in hunting new recruits. A particular jihadist movement, such as Negara Islam Indonesia (NII), Jema'ah Islamiyah (JI), and the sympathizers of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), usually cannot be separated from the role of seniors in the pattern of leadership. Especially during the process of pledging allegiance (*bay'at*), the seniors serve as the spiritual mentors that receive the statement of loyalty uttered by the younger Islamists. This is exactly the case when Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, the spiritual leader of the Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT), gave an oath of loyalty to 23 terrorist prisoners in Nusakambangan jail in order to follow and support the ISIS movement.[22] In that event, those terrorist prisoners, mostly are of the younger generation, gave an oath of loyalty to support Abu Bakar Al-Baghdadi, the leader of ISIS, upon their release from the jail.

Despite the fact that the target of recruits is not limited, the younger generation is among the most possible target of new recruits. This is understandable because the younger Muslims are still in transition, characterized mainly by an unstable psychological condition. The discontent with the status quo and is usually utilized by the seniors to convince and conquer the cognitive awareness of the youth, by evoking their militancy in defending the majesty of Islam. This is proven by the fact that of the 14 suicide bombing cases in Indonesia throughout 2002-2011, the perpetrators are the younger generation aged between 20-30 years old; 6 perpetrators aged 20-24 years old, 4 perpetrators aged 25-30 years old, 1 is at age below 20 years old, and another 1 is at age above 30 years old.[23] This indicates that the younger generation is among the potential recruits of the radical Islamism in Indonesia.

TRAJECTORIES OF RADICAL ISLAMISM
Now the government has adopted a security approach to deal with Jihadist movement in Indonesia through police department by founding the Densus 88 Antiteror. In addition, the government has

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[22]Purwawidada, *Jaringan Baru Teroris Solo*, 109.
[23]*Ibid*., 146.

also established the deradicalization body called Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT, National Board of Terrorism Countermeasure) to counter-attack the ideology of radical Islamism in the country. Hundreds Jihadists have been arrested by the police since the establishment of Densus 88. Some of them have been shot dead. The measures taken by the government have been resisted by the radical Islamists as curtailing the human rights of Muslims to exercise freedom of religion.

The question would be, whether or not all countermeasures of terrorism through security approach and deradicalization project can stop the development of the Indonesia's radical ideology of Islamism? The answer to this question is: No! The security approach can only deal with the radical ideology in its concrete manifestation such as terrorist activities. In addition to this, such as the spread of radical ideology, is beyond the domain of Densus 88. On the other side, BNPT cannot work alone in eradicating the ideology of terrorism and radical Islamism unless it invites all elements of the society such as Muslim clerics and scholars through all layers of public life. BNT needs to incorporate its programs into a wider audience among NGOs and society at large. It should also use all institutions, especially education, to disseminate the moderate ideology of Islam.

The security approach by Densus 88, therefore, will not stop the spread of radical ideology of Islamism unless it is accompanied by involving all authoritative bodies and institutions to construct and disseminate the moderate Islam. The ambush and shhoting dead some of the terrorists can bring about further multiplier effects, namely the accumulation of sympathy and empathy among the Islamists as well as moderate Muslims who operate through peaceful means. This is so because the disparity between radical Islamists who operate through peaceful means and those who operate through violent and clandestine means is very thin. The peaceful Islamists need only one more "click" to join with their fellow Islamists in the violet and clandestine line. Both of them have even shared the same concerns, sympathy, and interests in responding to particular issues pertaining to Muslims and Islam. Both have equally rejected democracy as a political system considered to contradict with Islam.

It does not take long time for the radical Islamists to shift their activism from peaceful to violent means.

As explained above, the radical Islamists target Muslim youngsters as potential recruits. They are psychologically in transition, characterized mainly by the dissatisfaction to, and revolt against, the existing status-quo. They are easily influenced by the radical ideology that promises certainty to their psychological crises. The majority of Muslim Islamists who took jihad operations consists of young Muslims aged 19-31 years. The students of non-Islamic universities are usually more volatile to the exposure of radical ideology than their counterparts in the Islamic universities. They are easily tempted by the narratives of radical Islamist ideology due to the lack of intellectual exercises in Islamic thought compared to the students of Islamic universities. The subjects of Islamic studies, especially in comparative perspective, can help students understand more comprehensively some disputes over theology and jurisprudence (*fiqh*). By doing so, the students are accustomed to different opinions and thoughts in Islamic discourse. This is the intellectual privilege the students of non-Islamic university do not have. This will create an internal refraining mechanism within the students from the temptation of radical Islamist ideology.

Identifying the trajectory of radical Islamism is not an easy job, due to the fact that the reality of Islamism in Indonesia is not monolithic. It comprises of a vast variety of ideology from the most peaceful to the most violent one. The peaceful one consists of Islamist organizations that aspire the application of Shari'ah at all levels, either the State structure or society one, but is carried out in a peaceful way. In this case, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) can be classified as the peaceful radical Islamist. The members or followers of HTI aspire the application of Shar'ah under the structure of Khilafah system. For them, it is almost impossible to apply the Shari'ah without building the necessary condition as the under-pinning pillar, that is, Khilafah system. For them, as soon as the Khilafah system is erected, all Islamic values can be implemented comprehensively (*kaffah*).

On the other hand, the violent Islamism consists of those organizations that believe in the doctrine of jihad in its offensive sense. Most of the members and followers of these organizations are

clandestine, disseminating the ideology of offensive jihad and recruiting new members in a secret way. This is so because they are aware that their existence is under continuous surveillance of the State's security authority, Densus 88. Now their existence is under the siege of Densus 88 and all members of the network are chased by the police. As a result, it is not easy for them to get the new recruits. Their existence is now cut off from the involvement of the society. In Indonesia, the existence of Jihadist movement is hardly disassociated from the pesantren Ngruki network which serves as the breeding ground and hotbed of the ideology of radical Islamism.

Despite the fact that all groups above adopt the same ideology, the ways and methods to put the ideology in practice can be different to one another. At times they are united; but at other times they are disunited. They are unified the same ideology; to hold and implement Shari'ah in all aspects of life. But the method of implementation at the praxis level varies, depending on the prerequisite conditions available. The state structure also determines how the Islamists can exercise their ideology freely at the society level. At times when the state condition is weak, the radical Islamists will utilize the situation to launch and articulate their ideology more openly. At other times when the state condition is strong, they do not dare to express their ideas publicly; rather, they will disseminate the ideas secretly from person to person.

By all count, the ideology of radical Islamism will not succumb to die only because the state apparatus take forceful measures under security approach to dismantle the ideology. Those measures will only create the movement of pendulum into another side; the Islamist movement will be carried out in a secret way. The ambush and shooting the terrorists dead by the police will only result in the vengeance done by the Islamists to wage war against the police, whom they identify as the near enemy. Among the peaceful Islamists, however, the crises inflicting the Muslim communities all over the world, the domestic condition of the country and the global politics in general will only pave the way for them to be more articulate in public spheres. Due to this reason, the security approach in fighting against the ideology of radical Islamism must be accompanied by cultural, sociological and political approach. The ideology comprises only one aspect of the reality of radical Islamism

which will be supported by some other aspects such as social, political as well as economic factors.

Borrowing the theory of opportunity structure as developed by Jillian Schwedler, the reality of radical Islamism is formed out of the interplay between actors or agencies, socio-political setting or issues, and the means that makes it possible.[24] The interplay among those aspects will create an opportunity that will be utilized by any segment of society, especially the radical Islamists, to propose an alternative ideology to solve the existing problems faced by the Muslim community. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that any social and political crises will be responded by the Islamists to offer their ideology to the public. The 1998 economic crises that wiped out the economic condition in the country have provided the condition for the Islamists to exist and develop in accordance with the public discourse developed either at the state level or at the society one. As long as the state has not found any firmed basis for the creation of economic and political stability, the Islamists will come to the fore and utilize what is necessary to support their existence in the society.

CLOSING

Based on the explanation above, the ideology of radical Islamism will never die as long as the prerequisite conditions are there. The ideology of radical Islamism is indeed never autonomous; it is supported and created by some other underpinning factors such as socio-political setting or issues, actors or agencies, and the means by which the making of radical Islamism is possible. The interplay among those factors will in the end create an opportunity that will be employed by the radical Islamists to propose an alternative ideology to solve the existing problems faced by the Muslim community. Therefore, while it is worth noting that the counter-measures by the security approach are necessary to fight against the spread of radical Islamism, the State must not abandon the betterment of the society in all aspects of life such as economy, social and politics. This is understandable because any crisis situation will only result in disillusion-

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[24]Jillian Schwedler, "Political Opportunities and Coalition Building in a Transitional Polity," in Quintan Wiktorowics, *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004), 205-30.

ment among the society that will be utilized by the Islamists to offer their ideology as the solution to the existing problems.

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