

INDONESIA'S MODERATE ISLAM COUNTERING RELIGIOUS RADICALISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE*

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Abstract

Indonesia is a good model of Muslim democracy. The Islamic resurgence and the growing of democracy in North Africa and the Middle East become increasingly important, when it give more choice to Muslim countries to be more Islamized or secularized. Some groups emerged with religious radicalism ideology. They actively commit a violence, terrorism, and military action on its behalf. One of the military interventions is ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). Since declaring its caliphate, ISIS has conducted or inspired more than 140 terrorist attacks in 29 countries other than Iraq and Syria, Such as Tunis, Turkey, France, Egypt, Lebanon, Indonesia, etc. ISIS phenomena, political violence and terrorism which cover by the name of Islam has been bothering and tarnished nature of Islam as a mercy to the world's (rahmatan lil'alam). Terrorist attacks are not new in Indonesia. Following the 9/11 attacks, terror threat alerts rose in many parts of the world. Recent attack occurred in January 2016, when multiple explosions near the Sarinah, Jakarta. The attack was the first to be claimed by ISIS. Currently there exists no formal ISIS presence in Southeast Asia and there is little to suggest a significant ISIS threat to the region. Hegemony political of Islam must be replaced by Islamic moderate values, tolerance and peace-building. In consideration of this topic, Islam in Indonesia exists with the moderate values with no violence or religious hatred. This paper tends to reaffirm Indonesia's Islam Moderate strategies and efforts to counter religious radicalism and political violence in Indonesia. The identity of being Muslim is the universal primordial —where the humanity concept will be incorporated subsequently— within the global political Islamic movements. Islam must be preserved to maintain the existence of democracy and country's integration. In addition, they have to promote to worldwide as one of the peaceful face in Islam.

Keywords: ISIS, radicalism, democracy, political violence, Moderate.

1. INTRODUCTION

The global war on terror not only shaped the new political balance in the international world, but also influenced the relationships between each country around the world. Recently, the biggest political crisis hit the Middle East, and the teror attack was spread in Europe until Asia. Islamic State become the common

enemy of all country around the world. Counter terrorism Strategy and preventive action such as deradicalization has been taken by all country to face terror threat. The terrorist group is not new in the world of radical and fundamentalist movements in Indonesia. The terrorist is the union of the core teachings of fundamentalist and radical that meet in one point planning a war against what they perceive as the 'tyranny'.¹ Radicalism is also like a corporation, many tricks to produce something apparently new. There are strategies to make its products sell well on the market.

The ideological understanding is split between Islamic fundamentalism and Islamic radicalism are not met in a container is intact. If the separation is successful, then terrorism will experience death slowly. Radicalism is the embryo of terrorism. There are several characteristic from radical understanding. Such as *Intolerant* (disrespect other believes), fanatics, (a person who has very extreme beliefs that may lead them to behave in unreasonable or violent ways), exclusive (distinguish themselves from other Moslem), and Revolutionary (tend to use violent means to achieve goals).² Scott M. Thomas (2005) in his book *The Global Resurgence of Religion and The Transformation of International Relation, The Struggle for the Soul of the Twenty-First Century* explain that radical thought and movement are usually associated with ideological and religious factor. The term radicalism is the result of labeling of religious and political movements that have distinguishing characteristics from mainstream religious and political movements. The radicalism movement associated with religion is actually more related to a community of believers than body of believe.

There are some factors that motivated someone to join terroris network. First, domestic factors, the condition inside the country like poverty, injustice government, etc. Deviation of religious norms, especially with the inclusion of secular ideology in the life of Muslims, thus encouraging Muslims to re-move on the authenticity of Islam. Second, external factor; the influence of the foreign environment giving the impetus for the growth of religious sentiments such as injustice global and modern imperialism of the superpower. The repressive attitude of the rulers against Islamic groups, as did the New Order has awakened Islamic radicalism. Likewise, the leadership crisis that occurred after the New Order was demonstrated by the weakness of law enforcement, has encouraged the Islamic movement to implement Islamic law as a solution to the crisis. In turn Islamic radicalism was made the answer to the weakness of the legal apparatus in solving cases related to Muslims. Radicalism also occurs in the form of resistance against the West. Radicalism also occurs in the form of resistance against the West. The reactions are in the form of violent opposition to interests or Western multinational corporations. US embassies and US corporations are often subjected to violence inspired by radical understanding as a religious struggle. Jihad became a symbol of effective resistance to wage war against the West. This condition led to continued hostility between Islam and the West. In fact, radical Islamists see the West as in an eternal struggle against Islam. In addition to the above factors, radical Islam in Indonesia was born due to the change of power and uncertain situation. Third, cultural factors are strongly associated with religious understanding superficial and narrow and lexical scripture interpretation (harfiyah).

Talk about War and terrorists also discuss about term of Jihad. There are 2 majors' views of this issue. One view suggests that armed jihad is the only kind of relationship that can exist between Muslims and non-Muslims. The proponents of this view, armed jihad is a standing obligation until the end of the world and its aim is to fight infidels wherever they may found, in accordance with the Prophet's utterance to "fight the polytheists until they say, "There are no god but Allah". Armed jihad is to be carried to until all lands are liberated from unbelievers and when all unbelievers submit to the rule of Islam³ The view argues that verses on armed jihad in the Qur'an are revealed in stages and God revealed verses of Chapter 9 of the Quran to finalize the last stage. These last verses abrogate the earlier verses revealed on armed jihad, which state that it is only permissible when Muslim are attacked.

فَاتْلُوا الَّذِينَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَلَا بِالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَلَا يُحَرِّمُونَ مَا حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَلَا يَدِينُونَ دِينَ الْحَقِّ مِنَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ حَتَّى يُعْطُوا الْجِزْيَةَ عَنْ يَدٍ وَهُمْ صَاغِرُونَ

"Fight those who do not believe in Allah or in the Last Day and who do not consider unlawful what Allah and His Messenger have made unlawful and who do not adopt the religion of truth from those who were given the Scripture - [fight] until they give the jizyah willingly while they are humbled." (Attaubah 29)

¹ Alchaidar, 2014, **Millenarianism and the Clash of Civilizations: A Preliminary Anthropological Approach towards the Study of Terrorism, Paper Conference**

² BNPT, 2015 Strategi Menghadapi Paham Radikalisme Terorisme ISIS accessed from

<http://belmawa.ristekdikti.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Strategi-Menghadapi-Paham-Radikalisme-Terorisme.pdf> on 2 Juni 2017

³ Majid Khadduri, *The Islamic Law of Nations: Syaybani's* (pp. 16-7)

Another view argues that the claim of the final stages of armed jihad abrogating all the previous stages is unfounded and not supported by preminent classical Muslim scholars. The prevalent opinion is that all verses on jihad cannot be interpreted independently of each other. Supporter of the second view argued that the objective of armed jihad is not to fight non-Muslims because of difference in faith but establish justice and eradicate oppression. And armed jihad in Islam can only be waged against those who wage war. Many of the conflict that involved Muslim countries are motivated by real politics or local grievance rather than ideology in nature. The scale and regularity of the armed conflict lack the kind that is motivated by an "imperial ambition", as exemplified by Saddam Hussein's war against Iran and his occupation of Kuwait. The number of conflict between Muslim countries and the nature of alliance also do not point to the idea of perpetual armed jihad. Muslim countries are in constant alliance with non-Muslim superpowers to ensure their security, rather than allying among themselves.

Terrorism also In Qital Jihad (fighting) system adopted there, jihad is defensive and offensive jihad. Defensive jihad conducted when the Muslims or the country they attacked the people or heathen country. An example is the state of Afghanistan and U.S. occupied Iraq until now, and the case Israel occupied Palestine. Namely offensive Jihad through war. Jihad is carried out when the message of Islam which is done by Islamic State intercepted by pagan rulers with power their physical, da'wa is non - physical appeal if intercepted with physical strength, and then the Muslims shall strive to protect propaganda and eliminate physical barriers.⁴

1.1. Jihadits Groups

After al-Qaeda, ISIS is one of the terrorist groups that have shocked the world with brutal acts and able to capture major influences from several countries. ISIS was originally a national militant force disgruntled by Saddam Hussien's Shia-dominated government. Zarqawi was the early founder of this movement who had previously pledged allegiance to Osama and declared himself affiliated with al-Qaeda or AQI (Al-Qaeda of Iraq) before eventually turning into the Islamic State of Iraq when headed by Abu Bakr al-Baghdady. This movement only operates in Iraq, but when an opposition conflict arises in Syria, this movement exploits chaos by widening the area to ISIS / ISIL. In October 2014 since 2011 it is estimated that 15,000 people from around the world have joined ISIS. Ideologically the ISIS has a common belief with al-Qaeda who embraces takfiry and struggles to uphold Islamic caliphs with violence.

Since declaring its caliphate, ISIS has conducted or inspired more than 140 terrorist attacks in 29 countries other than Iraq and Syria, Such as Tunis, Turkey, France, Egypt, Lebanon, Indonesia, etc. ISIS phenomena, political violence and terrorism which cover by the name of Islam has been bothering and tarnished nature of Islam as a mercy to the world's (rahmatan lil'alam). Terrorist attacks are not new in Indonesia. Following the 9/11 attacks, terror threat alerts rose in many parts of the world. Recent attack occurred in January 2016, when multiple explosions near the Sarinah, Jakarta. The attack was the first to be claimed by ISIS. Currently there exists no formal ISIS presence in Southeast Asia and there is little to suggest a significant ISIS threat to the region. Some old radical groups have also declared themselves supportive of the ISIS movement such as the Mujahidin of East Indonesia, Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid, Jama'ah Islamiyah, Islamic Sharia Activist Forum, Awhid wal Jihad, Forum Daulah Supporters, Asybal Tauhid Indonesia, Tauhid wal Jihad, KUIB (Bekasi) and many others in the form of a changing name. From this movement found many foreign fighters who have joined ISIS.

In addition to using direct deployment, ISIS is a very clever movement utilizing Internet media as a propaganda medium. ISIS is one of the terrorist movements capable of utilizing social media as a propaganda media as well as membership recurrence. For the context in Indonesia until March 2015 the chirp of ISIS from Indonesia contributed 20% of the total world tweet (112.075 / world 21.722 / Indonesia). The first video appeared on July 31 on Youtube inviting Indonesians to join ISIS. The propaganda continued with other videos containing ISIS threats against TNI Jend Muldoko, Kapolri, Baser and the whole Indonesian nation, will slaughter the 5 people who disagree with them and there are other examples of ISIS propaganda patterns in Indonesia.⁵

The radical ideology that has spread to a group of citizens of the nation needs to be straightened out especially about the ideals of Islamic caliphate, jihad, and non-Muslim. First, the Khilafah Islamiyah: Both Al Qaeda and the ISIS consider the Islamic caliphate as the only Islamic political system, while the other system is considered to be kafir. The difference, Al Qaeda is still in the form of discourse, while ISIS has

⁴ Arief B. Iskandar, "Mendefinisikan Kembali Makna Jihad", *al-Wa'ie* no. 65 VI, edition 1-31 Januari 2006, pg. 32.

⁵ BNPT (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Teror), 2016 Strategi Menghadapi Paham Radikalisme-ISIS

proclaimed the khilafah. Nahdlatul Ulama as the moderate organization in Indonesia interpret the Islamic caliphate is not a political system or state model, but as a concept of leadership (Qur'an Surah Al Baqarah Verse 30). Nahdlatul Ulama and clerics from other founding mass organizations such as Muhammadiyah, Sarikat Islam, and other nationalists have agreed on a political system based on Pancasila as collective ijihad, thus requiring no other political system.

Other consideration is about Jihad. Al Qaeda and ISIS interpret jihad in the narrow sense that is only war or violence. Medium jihad in the sense of persuasive, education, da'wah and other social activities is considered not part of jihad. This view differs diametrically from the view of the majority of scholars who think that the greatest jihad is against lust. The jihad in war is only a kind of jihad. For the NU, jihad certainly does not mean narrow (qital), but means broadly including building peace and order as the foundation of world civilization.

The last things is concept of Takfiri / Unbelief: some radical groups such as ISIS believe that the group outside them is kafir. This means that the majority of other Muslims are kafirs. According to Al ISIS, the infidels must be fought (killed), unless willing to pay tribute (jizya). The majority of scholars consider the rejection of fellow Muslims simply because rejecting Al Qaeda and ISIS is the same as eliminating the plurality / diversity that has become the human nature.

2. THE STRATEGIES AND EFFORTS OF THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT

The governance emphasizes more on soft approach than hard-approach, but still considers repression measures. From legal approach, they try to strengthening legal framework which will criminalize those propagate hatred and enmity, involve in military training home and abroad, freezing asset belongs to individual who finance terrorism, try to strengthening immigration procedures such tightening the issuance of passport, monitoring the migration of people to and from Indonesia, low enforcing article no 139 of Criminal Law (KUHP), article 23(f) Law No 12/ 2006 on Citizenship, improving the management of terrorist prisoners, closing down websites whose contents diffuse IS radical propogandas. In the previous time, BNPT has requested Ministry Of Communication (KEMENKOMINFO) and Information to block sites which contain radical propoganda. Based on the request KEMENKOMINFO closed down 22 sites, but was the reopened some of them.

From ideology approach, they try to strengthen the implementation of Pancasila as the state ideology and Empower moderate Muslims such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah such as deradicalization action, social action and economic empowerment. From political security, they try to strengthen intelligence measures such finding, mapping and monitoring the Indonesian citizens who become IS supporters and sympathizers. They also strictly monitoring Indonesian citizens who have joined IS, ANF, preventing the Indonesian citizens who will go to Iraq and Syria and suspected foreigners in Indonesia, and increasing awareness and supervision areas where radical groups reside such as Poso and Ambon. Improving monitoring the sea and land border especially the so called "rate road". Number of Indonesian youths who study in the Middle East countries have joined IS and other rebellion groups in Iraq and Syria. One of them has been found to conduct suicide bombing.

Besides that, low enforcement is also the important things to consider as strategy of counterterrorism. They have arrested Indonesians linked to Issuch as Afief Abdul Madjied, Abu Fida. Densus 88 aarrested couple of GN (31) and CL and JW and SH in Bima, West Nusa Tenggara, and Agus Rianto and his wife (BIN) in Jakarta Airport depoter by Turkey government.⁶

3. ISLAM NUSANTARA AS ISLAMIC MODERATE MOVEMENT

In the last five years, Nahdlatul Ulama has made concrete steps radical ideology, radical religion and ultra-liberal, so it is feared to dim the moderate attitude that characterizes Indonesian society. The action program includes 3 things, namely da'wah, social activities, and economic empowerment. Implicit in it is the will to build the independence of the ummah, reducing the socio-economic disparities strengthening the tolerant and tolerant teachings of ahlussunah wal jamaah (Islam Nusantara) and away from violence, justice and civility.

The field of da'wah in the form of affirmation measures ahlussunah wal jamaah an-nahdliyah values as well as to negate the radical ideology in the community especially through intensive regeneration program. The core of the da'wah affirms the importance of Islam Nusantara developed by the spreaders of Islam since the

⁶ Yunanto Sri, PHd, **The Influence of IS To Radical Groups in Indonesia and The Strategies and Efforts of the Indonesian Government to deal With it. Paper Conference 2015**

beginning of Islamic da'wah in the archipelago that is able to realize civilized culture and civilization, tolerance, harmony and peace love. Included in this activity is participating in realizing the harmonization of religious life in the global level. For example, NU organized an international dialogue through the delegation to Afghanistan and also invited Afghan clerics to visit Indonesia. The main purpose is to introduce the values of Tasamuh (tolerance), Tawasuth (moderate), Tawazun (balanced), 'Is (justice), and Ukhuwah (brotherhood) which includes ukhuwah Islamiyah (fellow Muslims), ukhuwah wathoniyah (fellow citizens) Ukhuwah basyariah (fellow human beings). The dialogue and mutual exchange resulted in the formation of the Afghan Nahdlatul Ulama in August 2014 in Kabul.

Second step, the social field: includes social services through the utilization of zakat, Infaq, and Shodaqoh. Special educational services directed to improve the quality of the people through the renewal of a balanced curriculum between the religious substance and worldliness in order to form a generation that is broad-minded, firm and independent. Studies on Islamic archipelago began to be developed in order to become an alternative model of the Islamic world to overcome the decline of Muslims. This social activity is important to bring empathy to those who are socially marginalized.

Third step, the field of economic empowerment of the people. This activity is directed to create an entrepreneurial spirit among nahdliyin and the development of syariah economy with medium and long term goals to fortify the ummah from the dominance of global capitalism. This activity is simultaneously to practice the spirit of pluralism in the economic field between the rich and the poor, a synergy between those who are economically strong and the weak for the sake of mutual benefit.⁷

4. YOUTH AND TERRORISM

The transition period of identity crisis among youths is likely to experience what Quintan Wiktorowicz (2005) calls cognitive opening, a micro-sociological process that draws them closer to acceptance of a more radical new idea. It is these reasons that make them particularly vulnerable to the influence and call for violence and terrorism. Meanwhile, terrorist groups are aware of the psychological problems of the young generation. Terrorist groups are mostly those who always feel dissatisfied, irritable and frustrated both against social conditions and government. They have also provided what they need regarding the doctrine of justification, solutions and strategies for change, and a sense of ownership. Terrorist groups also provide environments, facilities and equipment for youth who want their valor and launch their violent agendas.

It is very alarming to see facts that show youth closeness to the culture of violence. The presence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is a frightening new specter for the young generation with various provocations, propaganda and lucrative violence. Since its emergence stamped the nation's security situation, ISIS has at least been able to thrill the passion of young people to get involved in the violent political movement in Syria. Some examples that can be mentioned is Wildan who dying in Iraq when joining ISIS. Wildan is a student at Pondok Al Islam in Tenggulun, Lamongan, which is managed by the Amrozi family convicted in the 2002 Bali bombing. In his young age, this Lamongan origin chose to end his life in a land full of conflict.

Not only among the men, Asyahnaz Yasmin (25 years), including one of 16 Indonesian citizens who were arrested by the Turkish government. This Bandung girl after being returned to Indonesia, she was rejected by her family and local regent. Ministry of Social RI also accommodated back in the home protection and trauma center. And of course there are many other stories. These facts show how the vulnerability among the younger generation of the influence of teaching as well as the invitations propagated by radical groups both directly and through online media that became very popular lately. For this reason, efforts to fortify the younger generation from the influence of teaching and the attraction to violence are a common task.

There are three very important social institutions to play in protecting the younger generation. First Education, through the role of educational institutions, teachers and curriculum in strengthening national insight, moderation and tolerance to the younger generation. Secondly, the Family, through the role of parents in instilling love and affection to the younger generation and making the family as a unit of consultation and discussion. Third, the community: through the role of community leaders in the community environment in creating a conducive space for the creation of a culture of peace among the younger generation.

In addition to institutionalized roles through institutional education, family and community environment, the young generation is also required to have strong imuntas and deterrent power in the face of the influence

⁷ NU Online 2016, Peran NU dalam menangkal radikalisme accessed from <http://www.nu.or.id/post/read/58396/peran-nu-dalam-menangkal-radikalisme> on June 2 2017

and call for radical terrorism. There are several things that can be done by the younger generation, in order to counteract the influence of radical teachings and teachings that 1) cultivate the soul of nationalism and love of NKRI, 2) enrich moderate religious insight, open and tolerant, 3) confidence with always vigilant Against the provocation, incitement and pattern of recruitment of terrorists both in the community and cyberspace, 4) networking with the peace community both offline and online to add insight and knowledge and 5) join in peace.id as a community media in order to flood the virtual world with a message -the message of peace and love of NKRI.

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