BRIEF STUDY OF ANALYZING IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSION OF ISLAM RADICAL IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Terrorism is an ideology where the fulfillment of individual or group goals must be carried out even if it is carried out by acts of violence. One of fundamental aspect for human right clausal is the right of security. The act of terrorism, of course basically is violates basic human rights. As recently happened, a series of religious based of terrorism attacks has shaken Indonesia in May 13th–14th 2018. It was initially occurred in three churches in Surabaya. The bomb explodes took place at Immaculate Saint Marry Catholic Church, Indonesia Christian Church, and Surabaya Central Pentecost Church. To terrorist, as Abraham Lincoln said in term "indispensable necessity". It is to describe about requirement of faith that cannot be negotiated because it involves their understanding on the basis of essential salvation. Many researcher, journalist and politician refuse to believe that this violence is happen because of the trigger of politic or religious ideology and prefer to explain it as a result of high economic disparity and social situation discrimination. However, terrorist feel that what they are doing is a truth. Thus, it is important to go beyond the concept that Jihadist is just a phenomenon because of insecurity based on internal disparity and discrimination problem, but it is a derivative of blind attraction of individual or group by big labels such as Daesh, ISIS or Al-Qaeda. Accordingly, this paper is written for explaining about the factors of violent extremism based Islamic religion, that flourishing recently by using three combination of theories as Primordialism, Constructivism, and Instrumentalism.

1. Introduction

From history point a view, after Indonesia proclaims it independence at 1945, there are several raids in order to change nationalism ideology to religious Islamic based. The movement was unfolding at 1950s due to instability within central government. Islam Nusantara is an distinctive brand of Islam that developed by Nahdatul Ulama in 2015, which promoted and proposed for representation of global Islam that currently dominated by Arabic and Middle Eastern modern perspective (Fachrudin 2015). Jihadism operates religiosity wrapped by mythology that gives hope and faith those followers that they reach truth after enforce it (Boubekeur 2017). With the emerge of Jihadism, a same ideology religious group distinct themselves as exclusive which has high significance proud than another same group. Jihad can be viewed as "Holy Struggle" which aimed to establish the global Islamic country as they believe in Al-Quran. This ideology proved unified force, that enable to gather all various national backgrounds, that be amalgamated by same faith. Based on Kepel finding, the doctrine of using violence to unify the world as Islamic country emerged and spread throughout the world, started from the end of 1979 in the revolution of Iran movement and holy war Jihad against USSR in Afghanistan (Kepel 2002). By the end of 1990s, the movement of Muslim scholar created new concept "Muslim democracy" while extremist applied large-scale terrorist attack in some countries. This new ideology was trying to blend with major democratic ideology. Unfortunately, in the same year, terrorist has played strategic role in tactical and politic with using its power to press the domination of America in the Middle East Arab world.

It was beginning at 1979, after Islamic revolution in Iran, Tehran employ wide variety of terrorism to assassinate Iranian Khomeini's regime dissident. Iran created Hezbollah and conduct aggression to express its strength as a comparison in the midst of competition for oil fields in the Middle East peninsula. There is example of the conducts such as bomb at 1983 in U.S. Marine barracks and embassy, which it killed more than 300 lives. At 1996, Iranian bomber backup terrorists, assault outside Khobar Tower military housing project in Saudi Arabia, killing 19 Americans and one Saudi injure more than 400 people (Byman 2006). This conduct, was led by a series of events that caused Iran to lose its power in the struggle for oil land in the Middle East since the United States and its allies intervened in the business process from making world oil regulations to the production process.

Recently, focusing on Iran's escalating threat to U.S. allies Israel, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates which caused U.S. withdraw Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), will cause higher degree risk sky rocketing oil base price (Jaffe 2018). Iran has been reporting to export in the market roughly two billion barrel per day. Some European countries purchase more than quarter of it. Since U.S. policy tried to push the escalation of nuclear deal alive and address some concerns on Secretary Pompeo's list. South Korea is also decreasing the purchase from Iran from 360,000 b/d last year to around 300,000 b/d. Thus, Iran has able to display barters with Russia and Turkey, thus as in aggregate potentially loose one billion of sales or more.

From time to time terrorist activities which generate by cell-fueled from Iranian sponsor is active still. Iran manage terrorism in a way as bargaining chip for deter the political sovereignty in order give emphasis when diplomacy comes to in (EXTRIMISM 2017). There are several natures of terrorist that emerge from Iran's ideology based, such as Sunni and it has linked with Jihadist Mujahid-like that become the backbone of Islamic State in Irac and the Levant (ISIS). Based on analysis that brought by Central Studies for Strategic International Studies (CSIS) 32 million Iraqi people which now being occupied by fear on extremist (Cordesman 2015). Islam being turned as religion that based on historical point a view regarded as vulnerable ideology that can lead to violence. In part of the violence that emerge, in the society various evidence above stated that it may be resulted from political-economical pressure from secular nationalism and reactance to intervention by major power (Juergensmeyer 1996) (Gleditsch 2016). Asyumardi Azra said that ideology Wahabi that flourishing in the late 2000s in Indonesia become major trigger to radicalism based on Islam (Cochrane 2015).

2. Theoretical Background

Based on the theory of Constructivist the religion is used by political power to subdue the adversary in order to confirm their political authority. They can select religious discourse and doctrine to raise support their follower in order to press the other party. On the other hand, Instrumentalist views that conflict is rising because of other aspect which is related with basic necessity and create spurious correlation between religion and society (Hasenclever and Rittberger 2000).

2.1 Direct Blame from Primordialism Theory

This theory is creating direct blame on religion as the cause of violence. This view based on the relation between group and related social interaction which cause process of solidarity and

they view that other group's difference points a view is salient. Higher discrepancy of belief often related with threat. Religious should be placed with the emerge within this context of social psychological process of group behavior.

Based on writings by Peter Tarlow (Tarlow 2017) in The Interaction of religion and terrorism there are at least two basic questions that usually asked, there are is terrorism related to religious ideologies? What is religious factor that inspiring the act of terrorism? In this sub chapter we define fundamental scripture that inspire or legitimize terrorist in order to perform their act. In human history religion has positive and negative influence, in one of mid-18th century famous book, for example, where in that time capitalism being viewed as solely actor of colonialism, there is famous book created by Karl Marx called Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right (Karl 1844), which stated about Religion is the self-consciousness and self-esteem of man that realize which his/her feeling was not yet experiencing enlightenment to be free. Since the religion is the general theory of this world, as logic and popular form which is spiritual point d'honneur. A person in this world being viewed whenever he/she struggle against it, it is indirectly same with struggle against the conception of world. Again, since the world's order is transcended into the word of religion. In every aspect in this world, based on Marx wrote, expression of real suffering is actually same with religious suffering. When religion offer the liquor to revert the suffering, it is like the opium, which used as encouraging medicine, where every human being has the power to live his life. But the main problem is there is a changing behavior after drinking the liquor, which it prone to create devastating violence and it no different with the act of colonialism. So that we call this relation theory as clump primordialism theory.

2.1.1 There is Violent Verses in Christian and Islam

Anastapoulos in the article of Thou Shalt Kill? Measuring Political Violence in the Bible and the Quran stated that Bible majority contribute higher intra-personal violence verse than Quran and Quran contribute collective violence verse (Anastaspoulos, Masound and Zeckhauser 2016). In order to create balance view, they create it using computer aided software. Support Vector Machine is the name of its methodology. The verses are being calculate and gathered artificially and being trained independently therefore the result is free from human intervention and valid.

The famous 17th century writer Montesquieu has ever written that Islam is the threat of human being. Using the term Mohammedan princes in order to explain Moslem empire which try to spread the goal on behalf of fulfilling the doctrine (Montesquieu and Secondat 1748). In line with this concept, Samuel P. Huntington wrote in the book of The Class of Civilization and the

remaking of world order stated about Moslem unable to remain peace with their neighbor country, and there were always bloody clashes in its every border (Huntington 1997). There is evidence that stated that from September 11th 1989 to September 10th 2018, recorded 1,367 bombing cases with death casualty is 53,805 caused by Muslim militant terrorist (Systeminpeace.org 2018).

Indonesian terrorist attacker in May 13rd-14th 2018 becoming worldwide focus recently, because it was done by a family member, one family of six which responsible for the attacks on three churches in Surabaya (Jones 2018). Based on the confession perpetrators who survived, they did it because they fulfilled religious orders. At least nineteen doctrines of Islamic State (IS) that institute ideology as follows (Bunzel 2015).

- First, Necessity to destroy manifestation of idolatry, based on Sahih from *Ali ibn Ali Thalib*.
- Second, Rejection of Islam ambiguous rite
- Third, Necessity of killing apostasy of sorcerer, based on Sahih Umar ibn al-Khatab.
- Fourth, praying in direction to Mecca is not heretic.
- Fifth, Sharia courts is mandatory to bring the cases.
- Sixth, all Muslims are obliged to uphold the name of the prophet Muhammad. Whoever intentionally or not insults him deserves to die (Q. 48:9-10, Q. 49:29).
- Seventh, Belief that all Secularism, Nationalism, Patriotism, Communism, and Ba'thism is the flagrant of unbelief, and it also inspired by Satan (Q. 6:121).
- Eighth, License to kill to whomever fellowship in form hostility non-Islam Ideology which caused apostate and everything related into it.
- Ninth, Belief that Jihad in God's path is an individual obligation.
- Tenth, Belief that embattle the *thaghut*[1] is necessity, without any exception can occupy his land.
- Eleventh, Belief of embattle police, army, and other related party (or facility that given by *thaghut* is allowed) in order to seize the opponent.
- Twelfth, Belief that the faction of people (i.e. Jews and Christians) is necessary.
- Thirteenth, Jihadist group is brother in religion.

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[1] Thagh3ut is Islam terminology for explaining other worship beside Allah (Muslim God).

- Fourteen, Agreement with warring occupier is no consequences to us.

- Fifteenth, necessity of respective an ulama/Muslim scholar.

- Sixteenth, Security for respecting the family of the Jihadist brotherhood.

- Seventeenth, Seting freeing of Muslim prisoner of unbelieving.

- Eighteenth, Necessity of educating muslim

- Nineteenth, prohibiting inappropriate calls such as satellite tv and woman should cover her face and body and to refrain from going mixing (with men) (Q. 24:19).

These nineteen doctrines were being sanctified by all Jihadist in order to embattle those who are oppose Islam.

2.2 Secular Factor Motive of Religious Institution from Constructivism

Religious complain because of dogmatic disputes, sometimes does not appear as solely motive for rebellious mobilization activities. Based on Fox, it should have positive correlation in political discrimination between institutions with the act of protest (Fox 1999). Since every scholar (Menchik 2017) such as Weber (Weber 1918), Peter Berger (Berger 1967), Harvey Cox (Cox 1965) and others (De Soysa and Nordas 2007), (Gill 2001), and (Wald and Wilcox 2006) stated about how secularism gives pressure to traditional view[2]. It be more prone that the impact of modernization have more secularizing effects which turn person and organization or institutions. In the nowadays, we can see religious institution be more open to others and this awareness has fused into pluralism. A view that all individual regardless traits, religion, belief and nation in this world have same rights and obligation. Therefore, coercion of a particular ideology is categorized as colonialism (Stoddart 2007).

The argument of fundamental religious belief goes to religion is the mater of faith, and it doesn't need rationalization, whether secularism gives all aspect has its causal relation. Since the world has change its shape, and allow this culture establish its aggregate civilization, fundamental religious feels in psychological aspects are colonized by this view. This will bring anti-secularism as impact of auto-defense mechanism. The orientalist study for relationship between fundamentalist Islam as religion which being impacted by secularism wave and creates protest

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[2] I choose terminology traditional view as result of impact of modern view (which was introduced by modernism thingker, a phenomenon that emerged at the end of the second world war). This was used by articles above.

against this phenomenon. Empirical study stated about Islam militant is not necessarily being labeled as alien or marginalized by the country, but it seems like common organization which has views different with major Islam view, which consciously reject secularism as ideology because contrary Quran (them believe) (Bruinessen 1995). Secularism also made everything as a tool for achieve the power and political bargaining position. The Islam movement, for an example, which deeply rooted in Indonesia, is used as political tools for political candidates whom fighting against their competitor in order escalated the voters (Wagle 2017) (Liddle and Mujani 2007) (Aspinall, Dettman and Warburton 2011).

2.3 Religion as Moderating Role by Instrumentalism

It was beginning from the discourse of anti-materialism. Samir Okasha (Okasha 2002) said that unobservable entities are something that we honestly do not understand its existence, but we can interpret it as a metaphor of that entity. The idea of instrumentalism as role given by Ajnan Chakravartty (Chakravartty 1998) which give an argument that there is a rationalization of referring the unobservable scientific discourse by adopting semantic non-literal flow of thinking under paradigm to whom the term has a meaning that can be associated with the object of research.

The evidence that brought by research explain about mediated factor of psychological and economic loss such as education, income, area of residence, and perceived discrimination play important role to religious people background who support the violence, as an act defense mechanism to the environment. J. P. Larson in the book of *Understanding Religious Violence: Thinking Outside the Box on Terrorism* stated about the suggestion using force to achieve peace and overcome other religious violence (Larson 2004). There is a relationship between economic decay, social disintegration, and socioeconomic divergences which caused inequality self-acceptance (Mantilla 2010).

Table 1: *Major Radical Islamic Organizations in Indonesia in post-Suharto's Era (Lim 2011)*

Organization	The Movement's Issues	Type of Action
Front Pembela Islam (Islamic Defender Front)	Sharia implementation in Indonesia	Violent actions raid; Attacking club, anti-apostasy movement.
Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia	Islamic State and Global Caliphate	Seminar, Demonstration, Socialization.
Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Warrior Council)	Complete implementation sharia's law and implementation Islamic state for global Caliphate	Violent action

Organization	The Movement's Issues	Type of Action
Laskar Jihad (Warior of Jihad)	Christianization, west-Jewis conspiracy in Indonesia	Violent action; Military attack in several places in Indonesia (Maluku, Poso, Solo etc)
Jamaah Islamiyah (Muslim Community)	Islamic State and global Caliphate	Violent action; suicide bombing in several places in Indonesia
Hamas Indonesia	Defender of Palestinian as a result of Israel-Palestinian conflict.	Seminar, Demonstration

Dynamic power of populism inside the Islam radical which giving birth the notion of jihadism, according to Raharjo Jati (Jati R 2013) was resulted from economic equality and political marginalization which generate spirit of liberalism. He argues that the spirit of radicalism which have been accused by other scholar as the absent of Muslim in political representation or aggressive action against authoritarian regime, were only small point from big picture. The complete picture is triggered by the desired to establish caliphate and or the implementation of sharia law. The deeply rooted Islam movement in Indonesia should be addressed as point of reasoning because as what Raharjo's finding stated about analysis complexity of radicalism which resulted in violent via security analysis although it comply with middle-eastern linkage and revivalism was not enough to explain the heredity aspect of contracting radicalism.

History recorded that, after the fall of authoritarianism of new era in May 21st 1998, restrained political parties becoming free and open the door for other Islamic-based party to re-enter in Indonesia other than Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity and Development Party). The new parties that emerge was called "reorganizing power", because authoritarian regime in power Indonesia for 32 years and it successfully silenced opposed parties. The emerge of these Islamic based ideologies of party then carry on their forgotten-work-like duty for implement Jakarta Charter which it tried to integrate sharia's law into Indonesian democratic nationalism ideology Pancasila. We conclude that there was restriction during 32 years of authoritarian regime in Indonesia and it successfully withstand the spread of radical Islamic ideology. Before Suharto authoritarian regime ruled in Indonesia there were several Islamic ideologies which was born from

the world class caliphate inspiration[3]. Therefore, post-Suharto's authoritarian era Indonesia has six major radical organizations as shown at Table 1.

3. Modeling and Analysis

In this chapter we define all three theories, which are primordialism, constructivism, and instrumentalism. Based on those *criteria* we can know about factors behind it. The paper than combine several theories above in order to get general map about what is relation between theories as Figure 1 stated about.
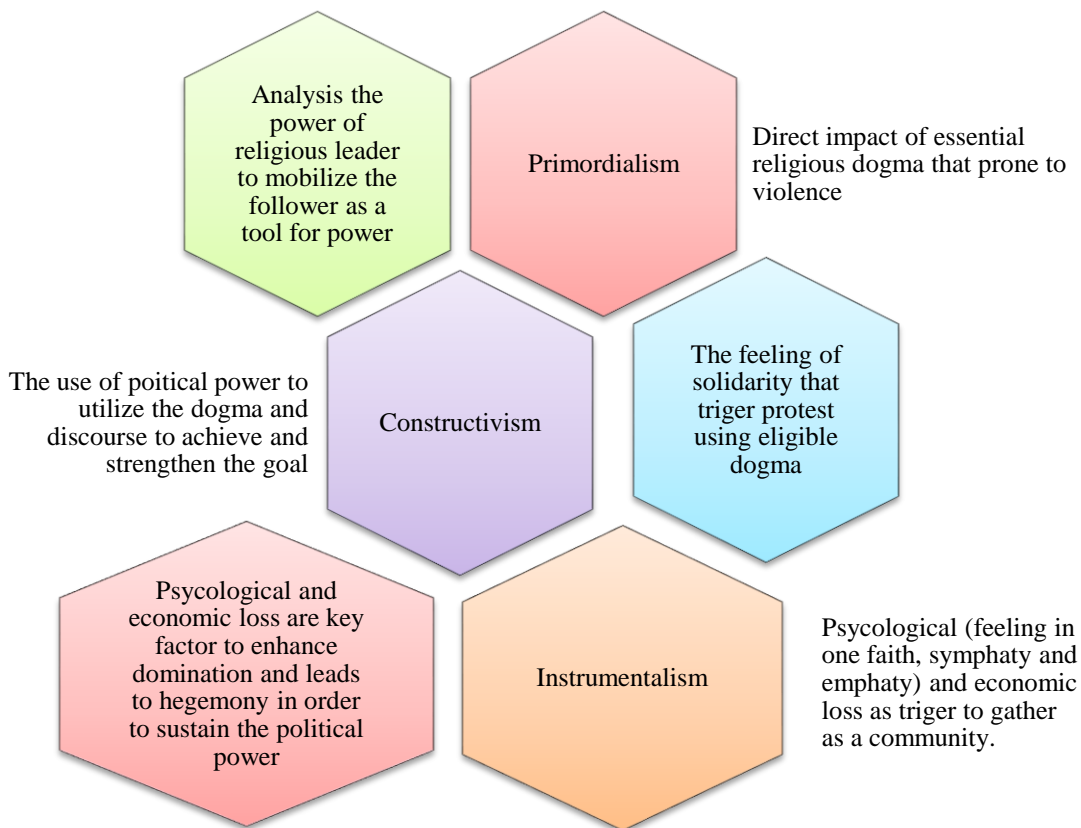
Analysis the power of religious leader to mobilize the follower as a tool for power

Primordialism

Direct impact of essential religious dogma that prone to violence

The use of poitical power to utilize the dogma and discourse to achieve and strengthen the goal

Constructivism

The feeling of solidarity that triger protest using eligible dogma

Psycological and economic loss are key factor to enhance domination and leads to hegemony in order to sustain the political power

Instrumentalism

Psycological (feeling in one faith, symphaty and emphaty) and economic loss as triger to gather as a community.

Figure 1: *A Framework of integrated analysis by superimposing theories in order to extract: nature, motive, and political dimension:*

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[3] The concept of worldwide caliphate renowned todays from the infamous Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, a leader of Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant from 2006. However, caliphate movement as impact of Ottoman caliphate ideology (1924 -1925) already spread in the world to carry out the concept of caliphate of their faith in the world. For example, India (1919-1924) has Mouhammad Ali Jouhar, Shawkat Ali, and Maulana Abdul Kalam, Dr. Muktar Ahmed Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Barrister Muhammad Jan Abbasi create anti British Indian movement.

There are three main points in doing the interfacing.

- *Primordialism vs Constructivism*

  Based on Table 1, the movement of radical group is strongly motivated by their belief. Unfortunately, their violent actions were being achieved in order to fulfill their goals. From the table 1 above shows that regardless exclusiveness of *sword verse* is exist in Islam ideology, political interest evidently exists underlining their actions. Front Pembela Islam, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia, Jamaah Islamiyah, and Hammas Indonesia were existing to change Indonesian's democratic Ideology to Islamic State. They view that current Indonesian's ideology is fault and full of sins, only Saria's law is the truth.

- *Primordial vs Instrumentalism*

  Since the radical groups share same vision to create Islamic state in Indonesia, they have shared same feeling as sympathy and empathy each other. Moreover, the majority group is from week economy grassroot. Therefore, strong attachment will create bound between them in order to struggle achieving their common goals.

- *Instrumentalism vs Constructivism*

  As known above, politics has their power to undermine reasoning, therefore validating violent action as a truth is inevitable. Feeling the same fate can be viewed as fundamental belief even though it was irrational can be used as correctness in doing radical action.

  Table 2 will explain the finding which create based on framework from Figure 1. There is evidence in cross theory that complete each other as causal relationship. Based on Table 2 we find that, feeling one psychologically and supported and united by dogma as a framework can make a community into one entity. Feelings of anger and not accepting a particular community or organization can be used as the basic material for the formation of radicalism, this can be seen from the emergence of 6 mass organizations which automatically emerged because of opportunities by political conditions in Indonesia. In the case of Ahok, for example in Table 2, based on Zuidweg thesis, it has evidence of relationship between political condition and Islamic mass mobilization in order to imprison Ahok. Even though six mass organizations were not creating anarchism or high degree of violent, but they already acknowledge other terrorist group's actions are valid can be justified by their belief. Secondly, most of the people who join the radical group are people who are poor in nature, therefore actor or political party behind ther action can easily control them using the lure of prosperity or fortune beside the belief.

Table 2: *Analyzing of Superimposed Theories by Linking on the Current Cases*

Primordialism & Instrumentalism	Primordialism & Constructivism:	Constructivism& Instrumentalism:
The finding stated about there are some verses supported violence. Historical evidence describes that the succession of Muhammad the prophet in the form of Caliphate (Salih 2015).	There are evidence the use of Islam as rotor in order to move the community in order to gain political influence. The most visible happened when the phenomenon of the election of government candidates. (Wagle 2017) (Liddle and Mujani 2007) (Aspinall, Dettman and Warburton 2011).	The emerge of six community organizations (described in Table 1) is the proof of the unity of psychological feeling of one fate and grace by each Muslim that began with the feeling of being colonialized during 32-year of new order Suharto's regime.
Larson's study give evidence about the unity of psychological feeling as the form of being colonialize by current government (Larson 2004).	As what explained in previous paper, Islam ideology contra with secularism therefore, Islam being treated as a tool for achieving authority.	In the case of Ahok's blasphemy[4] as what being recorded in the research of Zuidweg (Zuidweg 2018) stated about there is evidence of relationship between emerging of Ahok's case with political condition at that time and the case. It has been recorded that Ahok try to nominate himself to become governor of Jakarta against his political rival Annies Baswedan and Agus H. Yudhoyono. In short story Ahok lost in the political scene and he was jailed for being accused of blasphemy.

4. Conclusion

There are three theories that being used for analysis, primordialism, constructivism, and instrumentalism. Primordialism theory is used for analyze the relationship between dogma or verse that used for legalize the action based on religion, constructivism is the theory in which political tendency make have a role to direct the aim of the mass/communities. Instrumentalism is the theory

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[4] Ahok (Basuki Tjahaya Purnama) is former Jakarta's governor which being sentence because of his blasphemy conduct case of Koran by opposing political party. It was belief that the condition was altered as the result of political conspiration.

for analyze unobservable discourse of materialism which has relation about how the community is willing to serve the radical ideology.

The finding of our research, is stated that evidently, all three theories doesn't have capability to stand alone but its interrelation as dimension of the case. It proves that the feeling one psychologically and supported and united by dogma as a framework can make a community into one entity and it can turn into radicalism. There is evidence that people of the group has been tricked by the political figures as a tool for them in order to accomplish their goals. At the time when they can fulfill their goal, discrepancy of power inevitably is happening, thus implementation of their power will be erupt and it leads to misery of the nations. Our future works will be linked on this research with the peacebuilding strategies. There are two fundamental new research questions first is, how to create peacebuilding strategy using this research finding based upon this superimposing theory and second is, how implement the first concept in real issues.

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