

THE RELATION OF RADICAL ISLAMIC MOVEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND TERRORISM IN INDONESIA: THE STUDY OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION EFFORT

By Dr. Istadiyantha, M.S. and Dr. Eva Farhah, M.A., Ph.D.

istayn@gmail.com

Research on Radical Islamic Movement and Terrorism in Indonesia: Study of Integration Efforts against Nations will review the symptoms and done by a group of religious communities in prioritizing some of the principal teachings of his religion and studied violence and intimidation from the perspective of religious teachings. How is ideology behind the acts of violence and terrorism, and how the views of religious leaders against the ideology. On the other hand, it is also assessed the strengths and weaknesses of the government in overcoming the action. It will be found the rules that can be used as a guide for policy makers to undertake preventive measures.

This research is useful in politic, sociology and religious field. This research would be useful to inform the public about the ideology and worldview of radical Islamic movements and terrorism, and its relation to nation integration. Understanding of the nation's character is very important to help the realization of national security system. A country having a good separation innation's character will have positive steps to anticipate the problems of national security.

Key words: radical movement, radicalism, terrorism, nation integration

1. Introduction

The process formation of the unity of Indonesia according to its historical experience, not by any chances, the ideology of the people who aspired emblem emblazoned in the nation stated in the Republic of Indonesia *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*; '*Different but one still*'. This motto is rooted in the history of the kingdom of Majapahit, lifted from the work of *kakawin Sutasoma* created by Empu Tantular, describes the development of religions, religious sects, and different beliefs, but to live in peace, because essentially one: worship the Lord of Creator (Poerbatjaraka, 1957:40-45). Similarly, the Indonesian people who come from diversified ethnics and many varieties related.

Diversity, or more commonly known as the difference of this nation, includes the islands are spread among ocean regions in the archipelago, geography, ecology, livelihood systems, hundreds of local culture or ethnicity, religion, beliefs, and language (Wertheim, 1999:1-10; Koentjaraningrat, 1971). In addition to the diversity or differences, the various ethnic groups in Indonesia also have some similarities.

For Radical Islamic Movement, the similarities are not the only tools fastener unity, since according to their beliefs; the most powerful bond is based on belief and faith in common. Radical Islamic movements and terrorism have had a network and modern technology, so the conventional ways management is very concerned with how long 97

reliability, and therefore needs to be studied more in depth the integration of the Indonesian nation is more adequate.

2. The Radical Islamic Movement Roots

2.1 Definition of Radical Islam Movement

Sartono Kartodirdjo states that religious radicalism is a religious movement that seeks a total remodel of the political order or the existing social order by using force (Kartodirdjo, 1985:38). Radical is '*of or from the root or base*' (Hornby, 1987:691); *fundamental; (politics) favoring fundamental reforms; advanced in opinions and politics; (maths) relating to the root of a member or quantity*' (Hornby, 1987:350). While militant means '*ready for fighting; actively engaged in or supporting the use of force or strong pressure.*' (Hornby, 1987:536). Then in The American Heritage Dictionary of English Language compiled by William Morris that a religious movement characterized by militant or radical, the activity is always aggressive, ready to fight, to battle, to war, especially to show their total devotion to an ideal (Morris, 1973:832). As an example of one of the characteristics of the total struggle that it often appears as if the firm motto which cannot be negotiated, as the motto of the *Ikhwanul Muslimin* movement (formed in Egypt, 1928); '*Isy karīman au mut syahīdan*, means 'Long live glorious, or die a martyr!', and there is also the motto of the Iranian revolution (1979): '*Nab syarq, nab gharb, faqat jumhūri-I Islāmi*, which means 'Neither the East nor the West, only the Islamic Republic' (Rais, 1990:38). Except those, there are still some mention of the Islamic fundamentalists, sometimes called as the "restitutionist" and sometimes also "restorationist", suited to the following reasons: *Muslim fundamentalist have also been called "restitutionist" and "restorationist" because they constantly strive to recreate an Islamic state founded on the same fundamental principles as the first Islamic state which was established in 622 AD by Prophet Muhammad in Medina (and then continued by the Khulafah-i Rashidin* (Husain, 1997: 99).

There are two types of radical Islamic movements at the time; the first is critical radical Islamic movement, the second is radical Islamic fundamentalist movement (Ngatawi, 2002:54). (a) Critical Radical Islamic Movement: This movement occurs because of social pressure, arbitrariness and injustice by colonial/invader. This kind of radical movement occurs not because of the encouragement of Islamic ideology, this movement is also not driven an aspiration to uphold Islamic values, or not as a struggle to spread the teachings of Islam, but because of the opposition to an unjust order, this ruler of pressure directly contact with the public interest. (b) Radical Islamic Fundamentalist movement: the process is the 98

same movement as the first movement, whereas the orientation, mission, and approach are different to the critical radical Islamic movements. This movement is seen more as an ideological movement than a social movement, the movement is more concerned with Islamic ideology embedded in the social structure rather than realizing the social change. Due to the character of this movement in such a way, then this movement is not only to the groups outside Islam, but also to fellow Muslims with different understanding of Islam, so that the movement did not hesitate to fight Muslim fellows who are considered heretical and deviant (Ngatawi, 2002:60).

On the other hand, *Al-Ushūliyyah* is also referred to the scripturalist, legalists, and literalists.

Muslim fundamentalists constitute the largest and most conspicuous category of Islamic revivalists or Islamists. They are referred to as "scripturalists", "legalists", and "literalists" because they advocate rigid adherence to the fundamentals of Islam, as literally interpreted from the Quran and the Sunna (Prophet Muhammad's sayings and deeds). They often strive to establish an Islamic state based on the rigorous implementation of the shariah and insist that the five faraidh (duties) be scrupulously adhered to by all their co-religionists.

(See: Husain, 1997: 97-127) and Liddle, 1998: 283).

The newer opinions are the terms offered by Oliver Roy. He distinguished between *fundamentalism* and *neofundamentalism*. During the 1980s, there was a shift of political Islamism to neo-fundamentalism. The militants who once fought for the Islamic revolution, are now involved in the process of re-Islamization from the bottom (Roy, 1996: 96-98). It was also said that they campaigned pro-syariat, did intellectual movement, political involvement, and their professional role in modern society. Those movements carried out by the organization as well as Hasan al-Banna. Their movements resembled the traditional *mullah* (syiah) that is gradually rediscover inspiration formalism that has always lived among the founders, which is a fragile mixing between Islam and political modernity, and in the end those are never rooted (Roy, 1996: 96).

The term *fundamentalism* as a concept is very loaded with Western stereotype and Christian construction thought, which implies a monolithic threat that was not there (Yunanto et. al., 2003:18). It was also mentioned by Yunanto that Esposito then proposed a more general using of the term, that is Political Islam, and Islamism are more commonly used. The terms were proposed by Esposito is more suitable in the context of Indonesia attached to the Islamic movements that carried Islamic values in order to change the norms which took place 99

in a society that is not oppositional to the power, but using the corridor of peace (Yunanto et. al., 2003:18). However, it has been agreed upon by the Indonesian political experts, that is meant by Yunanto earlier is the term "Islamic Political", while the term that is the equivalent of Islamic fundamentalism or militant Islam is "Political Islam" (cf. Roy: 1996). On the other hand, Youssef Choueir said in Hamzawi (2012: 10), the political Islam can be defined as a political theory in the view of Islam that is the symbols and texts of Islam revolves around the social order, power, and authority. In other words, the political Islam is a form of identity politics that sees Islam as *din* and *daulah* (religion and state).

The political Islam is a political institution whose orientation is brought Islam to guide society and the political system of the country and strive to implement Islamic law in Muslim-majority countries or implement an Islamic state legal-formal or substantially based on interpretations of the Qur'an, the Sunnah, and history of Islamic Caliphates after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Based on that, the label of Political Islam covers all the political forces that have orientation and effort that Islam is not separated from the political system of the country and the people's lives, not even separated from the political system in the entire world of Islam (Muslim-majority countries) (Hamzawi, 2012: 10).

2.2 Radical Islamic Movement in the Middle East

What was done by a group of Islamic fundamentalism is actually an effort to continue the ideals of the movement which was initiated by the previous figures (Abegebriel, 2004: 235-236). In the realm of history, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism is a continuation of *Khawarij* movement at the time of Caliph Ali Bin Talib. This movement is known as a movement that has the characteristics of a classic radical Islamic fundamentalism, which affects the movement in the history of fundamentalism (Syarkun and Ghorara, 2004: 451).

Indeed, the Khawarij was known as violent and rude, they are very firm and violent against Muslims. They are even the harshest to the degree reprehensible, which justifies the blood and treasure of the Muslims as well as honor. They also kill and spread fear among the Muslims. As for the enemies of Islam pure from among the heathen, and the like, they are left and neglected, and they never feel hurts (www.wahonotwordpress.com. 2008: 9-10). Then the Messenger of Allah had hinted in a Hadith that "They (the *Khawarij*) are like to kill the Muslims and let the pagans (Bukhari, VI: 376 no. 3644; Muslim, II: 42 no. 1064). 100

If radical action is identified with the fundamentalist movement, the Sheikh Zaid bin Muhammad said that terrorism (violence) in Islam has been going on for a long time, since the early days of Islam. Sheikh Zaid said the cases of murder of Caliph Umar, Uthman, Ali, and various thoughts Qadariyah and Mu'tazilah is an action that can be categorized as terrorists (Syarkun dan.Ghorara, 2004: 473).

The above opinion is corroborated by Azyumardi Azra that the *Khawarij* movement is a movement that classical Islamic fundamentalism, which in turn, it affects many Islamic fundamentalist movements throughout history. The *Khawarij* movement emerged from the conflict of Caliph Ali ibn Abi Talib with Mu'awiya bin Abi Sufyan, the famous with the principles of radical and extreme, for them there is the principle that no law except the law of God (Azra, 1996: 111).

The root of the next fundamentalist movement is *Salafi* movement. The word *salaf* means 'people who had been earlier, in science, faith, virtue, and goodness' (Ramly, 2006: 286). Ibn Mandzur said that the "salaf" are those who passed away from the main behavior ancestors, who have family ties with the first generation of the Successors, which is made up of followers of the companions of the Prophet who called *Salafush-Salih* (Ibn Mandzur, tt: 159). The term *salafush-shalih* refers to the Prophet's words to his daughter Fatima that "the best of the predecessor or the *Salaf* was me (Rasulullah)". Then on another occasion the Prophet said to Zainab that: "Go follow *salafush-shalih*—our predecessors of righteous people, namely Uthman Bin Masdz'un (Muslim 2450). The class called *salafush-shalih* generation that is considered as the first generation, which was pure imitated the Prophet, the Successors, and the successors' successors (Ramly, 2006: 290). This refers to the Hadith of the Prophet, "The best of people is my generation, then the generation after that, then generation after another, and then came the people who has wrong *syahadah*, one of them precedes the oath, and the oath precedes his *syahadah*" (Bukhari and Muslim). The *Salafiya* term relationship regarding the historical context that is associated with Islam in the life time of the Prophet, the successors, and the successors' successors. Ibn Taymiyyah said (1263-1328) that: "There is reprehensible attitude that manifested itself, attributing themselves and proud of that title, even that statement must be accepted by consensus of the scholars, because *Salafmahzab* is nothing but the truth (Taymiyah, tt: 149).

In the next period, the movement of the first pre-modern Islamic fundamentalists, which then became the prototype of many Islamic fundamentalist movement emerged in the Arabian Peninsula, under the leadership of Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab (1793-1792). This movement influenced many reform ideas of Ibn Taymiyyah and acquire the education among 101

reformist cleric in Haramayn, and with the appearance of the figure of Ibn Abdul Wahhab, this Wahhabi movement succeeded arouse the theme to purify Islam of superstition, heresy, and superstition and encourage this movement to be radical. For his movement, Ibn Abdul Wahhab launched corporationwith Ibn Sa'ud. Both echoed the call for jihad to the Muslims and destroy all forms of religious practices deemed deviant from pure Islam. This movement is not just purified monotheism, but also do the bloodshed in Mecca and Medina which was followed by the destruction of historical monuments are seen as a symbol of religious deviation. Roughly, the same movement also occurred in northern Nigeria, Minangkabau (West Sumatra), the Indian subcontinent, Sudan, and Somalia (Azra, 1996: 112).

After the death of Prophet Muhammad, the leadership passed to "*Khulafa'ur Raasyidin*", the four friends chosen. In the life of the state of the past four companions, there is only one head of state is Abubakar Ash-Shiddiq (632-634 AD) who died with a reasonable, without conflict or caused by bloodshed. In addition, Umar Ibnul-Khattab (reigned 634-644 AD) was murdered by Christian slaves owned by the governor of Basrah. Third, Uthman Ibn 'Affan (644-656 AD) was killed and his house looted by people who think his government was tyranny. The last caliph, Ali Ibn Abi Talib (656-661 AD) was in-law of the Prophet, was killed on his way to the mosque during the Islamic societies fragmented by strife (Eickelman and Piscatori, 1998: 46).

The causes of the growth of militant Islam or Islamic Political Movement the first are a reflection of the relationship between Islam and the West. Throughout history, these relationships often have ups and downs. The good relationship between the two civilizations thatwere contrast, was pioneered by some scholars that seeks to integrate Western philosophy (more specifically European philosophy) and the philosophy of Islam. This effort later emerged the modern science (Yunanto et al, 2003: 25). Further it is said that the climax of the split of Islam with the West caused by European nations to colonize the countries in Asia and Africa, most of them were Muslim. Second, the relationship between Islam and Christian had always been strained in the past, because Christian was embraced by most Europeans, and Islamic conflict with Christian occurred during the expulsion of Muslims from Spain and the tragedy of the Crusades. The third cause is: ideological religion will bear the thought of the need to establish an Islamic state, with political beliefs that ends with the conclusion that the Prophet Muhammad did not only served as the messenger of God, but also served as head of state and political leaders today. If exploring more in depth view of political Islam that the Prophet Muhammad also serves as head of state who establish Daulah Islamiyah, that viewcame from the western orientalist, as revealed by W. Montgomery Watt of the Islamic 102

State ever established by the Prophet Muhammad is a state of the population consists of mixing various Arab tribes (Ramly , 2006.268-269; Wat , 1969: 53).

Egypt became a British colony countries since the collapse of the Arab Revolution on 14 September 1882, when it was the first day of the fall of the city of Cairo to the British (Aziz, 2005: 31). Zakariya Sulaiman Bayumi was in his dissertation at the Faculty of Ain Syams, Egypt on *Al-Ikhwan Al-Muslim wa Al-Jama'ah Al-Islamiyyah fi 'l-hayah Al-As-siyasiyyah Mishriyyah* said that British colonialism with all its consequences be one of triggered for the birth of the *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (hereinafter the author called of *Al-Ikhwan*), because the existence of a plant invaders of religious sentiment for the Egyptian people and encouraged them to fight against all sourced from invaders (Aziz, 2005: 45). Except that, the birth of Al-Ikhwan also because most of the political parties in Egypt does not accommodate the ideas and the ideas of the Egyptian people, but bringing Western liberal thought (id. 63) and out of the Islamic Shari'a.

At its inception, the movement is centered in the city of Ismailiyah, but in 1932 moved to Cairo, this time is also the residence of Imam Hasan Al-Banna moved to Cairo from Ismailiyah. At the time of its inception, the members of Al-Ikhwan only numbered about 100 people, but in the late 1940s members of Al - Ikhwan has reached 3000 people. Early in its development, the members of this movement spread into many Arab countries such as Syria, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Yemen, and so on. Even in the year 1948 Al-Ikhwan movement had had 2000 branches with approximately 500,000 members and supporters who included almost all social strata in Egypt, including from the armed forces. Then today's members and sympathizers of Al - Ikhwan has spread to many regions in Asia such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Japan, and even become more widely across the world. Al-Ikhwan spreads to all corners of the world is done with a very neat system of organization, even this movement is sometimes spread to other names, but the same principle is to invite people to the Islamic system *kaffah* (complete) and try to beat back the movement secularism.

At first, this movement emphasized the importance of social development, education, and morals of the Muslims, so it is an effort of reform that has long pioneered figures like Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Rida. However, the system of organizations that implemented by Al-Banna quite practical and modern so that Al-Ikhwan is an organization that tries to realize for renewalingthoughts Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Rida concretely. The subsequent growth of Al-Ikhwan not only became as a social movement and education, but also the socio-political forces that are always calculated both before and after the 1952 Egyptian revolution (Rais, 1990: 75). 103

Before the organization of Al-Ikhwan, there have been a lot of movements/missionary organization established, and give many colors to the pattern of propagation of Al-Ikhwan. So the Al-Ikhwan could take a valuable lesson from the organisations that preceded it. Among the various Islamic organizations, especially organizations that greatly influenced the Al-Ikhwan are: 1) Al-Wahabiyah Movement; 2) Al-Mahdiyah Movement; 3) As-Sanusiyah Movement (Dekmejian, 1995: 16;. Aziz, 2005: 13).

2.3 Radical Islamic Movement in Indonesia

The spread of Wahabi flow to parts of the archipelago was taken by the pilgrims who had come home to fulfill the fifth pillar of Islam in the Holy Land (Mecca). One was through the Padri in Minangkabau that was developed by three leaders. The Professor of Science History of Islamic Political Thought at Faculty of Adab IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Abd A'la, in his scientific speech revealed, the three leaders who are interested in the Wahabi doctrine was Haji Miskin from Luhak Agam, Haji Abdur Rahman from Piobang, a part of Luhak Lima Puluh Kota, and Haji Muhammad Arief from Sumanik, Batusangkar. "On his return from the Holy Land between 1803 and 1804, Haji Miskin brought the idea that the total change in Minangkabau society that (in his opinion) is not in accordance with the teachings of the Qur'an must be done through the power of the Wahhabis as done in Arab," said Prof A'la. In principle, said Prof A'la, the idea was also shared by two other Hajjs. Since then, the Padri movement began work on gaining influence in various regions in Minangkabau. He stated that in an effort to make radical changes, the ideas of the three Hajjs get tough challenge from the teachers of *Tarekat Syattariyah*.

The efforts of the three leaders could not figure and run as smoothly as expected. According to Prof. Abd A'la, Haji Miskin for example, which came from the Empat Angkat, Agam, was not able to convince Tuanku Nan Tuo, a religious leader who used to be friend in trading before leaving for the Holy Land, on religious patterns that he would develop. "So he went to Enam Kota, and stay in the Pandai Sikek. Here he was not so successful reforming, and was forced to flee to the Lawas Kota. After experiencing some difficulties, finally, Haji Miskin with The Padri successfully introduce their reformations," said A'la. Then, they got the entire Enam Kota including Lawas Kota and a stronghold of the Padri of Pandai Sikek, after setting a fire to the city hall in Lawas. According to Prof. Abd A'la, the Padri movement was initially sporadic movements that exist at various places in Minangkabau. 104

As the time passed, the leaders were interconnected to one another so that the Padri movement became into a relatively well-organized community. The Padri's strength began to find a solid stand in 1811. At that time, Haji Miskin arrived at Bukit Kamang and met with Tuanku Nan Renceh, a religious leader who also has the same vision. There they agreed to plan the renewal totally. They were supported by six other leaders who then called as Tiger Nan Salapan (because the number was eight). They were Tuanku in Kubu Sanang, Tuanku in Ladang Lawas, Tuanku in Padang Luar, Tuanku in Galung, Tuanku in Koto Ambalan, and Tuanku in Lubuk Aur. Subsequently, in 1813 Tuanku di Lintau joined and became a fanatical follower of the teachings of the Padri. In fact, long before at around 1807, Tuanku Muda from Alahan Panjang and later called as Tuanku Imam Bonjol helped to strengthen the position of the Padri. Through the cold hands of the leaders, the Padri, as will be explained later, evolved into a movement that spread in Minangkabau nature with all its characteristics and eventually controlled all villages there. "Historically, the Padri did not only reform Islam in Minangkabau area alone. The group also did Islamisation to South Tapanuli located in the northern nature Minangkabau and the surrounding areas," said Prof. Abd A'la. After that, Wahhabism is still growing rapidly in Indonesia. The Manhaj followers of Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab developed very rapidly.

In the pre-independence and post-independence era, Wahabi thoughts had influenced many Muhammadiyah thoughts, Persis, and Al-Ershad. Nevertheless, the presence of Wahabi after 90s, it was rapidly evolving and the latest Wahabi phenomenal stream was calling themselves as *salafiyah* pilgrims. In Indonesia, the Salafi movement split into several groups. Indeed Salafi groups, the followers of Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab called themselves the Salafiyun. However, the opponents of this movement call it as a Wahabi. According to the followers of Abdul Wahab, the name Wahabiyun was given by the Orientalists to keep people away from the movement.

(http://www.fiqhislam.com/index.php?option=com_content&id=56195&Itemid=36620613).

After the Padri movement, there was a revolutionary Islamic movement in Indonesia, that was the movement of political Islam in Indonesia which set up an Islamic state ideology. This movement emerged since the proclamation of NII (Negara Islam Indonesia) by DI/TII. In the trajectory of Indonesia, NII designations could not be removed from its root, the Darul Islam, and was also the main character namely Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwirjo. Darul Islam in the Indonesian political realm was used to refer to a movement that occurs after the 105

proclamation of independence of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. This movement was intended to realize the ideals of the Islamic State of Indonesia, said Van Dijk (1987:1).

In 1980, the remains of the struggle of DI/TII Kartosuwiryo were divided into 7 factions areas: 1) The area of Bogor, Serang, Purwakarta and Subang; 2) Cianjur, Purwokerto, Subang, Jakarta, Lampung; 3) Garut, Bandung, Surabaya, and Jakarta; 4) Sumatra; 5) Central Java and Yogyakarta; 6) South Sulawesi, and 7) commandment IX region (in addition to those mentioned above) (Yunanto et al., 2003: 35).

Before joining the military, Ali Murtopo had joined Hezbollah troop, one of the elements of the military forerunner. Danu M. Hasan was one of Ali's men in Hezbollah, when Ali entered the military Danu joined the DI/TII and became the Imam NII Kartosuwirjo's confidence. Danu M. Hasan had served commandment DI/TII from Java. Later, Danu forces successfully conquered by Banteng Raiders were led by Ali Murtopo.

The next trip, post the conquest, it was build more intensive relationship between Ali with Danu in the framework of fostering a former DI/TII. In the case of court cases DI/TII (1980) noted that Murtopo specifically commissioned Colonel Pitut Suharto to infiltrate Muslim groups, to outwit Haji Ismail Pranoto (Hispran) in East Java. In West Java, Pitut approached Kartosuwirjo Dodo and failed, but succeeded in fostering Ateng Djaelani, which then among officials DI/TII, he was considered as a traitor. Jihad case appeared that was a ruse of Ali Murtopo, which uses the term Islam instead to trap Muslims (Awwas, 2008: 68).

Another source mentions an earliest time of the Darul Islam movement stated that Kartosuwirjo proclaimed the Islamic State of Indonesia in the days of the surrender of Japan. According to Alers, B.C., Kartosuwirjo proclaimed Darul Islam since August 14, 1945, but he pulled back his proclamation after hearing the statement of independence by Sukarno and Hatta on August 17, 1945. Regarding this incident, there were those who doubted due to various reasons. Among the reasons they are: highly unlikely Kartosuwirjo would proclaim it in Jakarta; Japan would not allow it, there was no widespread reports about the incident (Dijk, 1987: 5).

The Islam movement for the defense and the purification of Islam itself was done by FPI, Jihad Brigade, FPIS, and so. As to the first group was the Revolutionary Islamic Movement, the group conducted by MMI and JAT. MMI and JAT ideology had not many difference. The main difference lies on the technical leadership, the leader selected periodically at MMI while 106

JAT did not recognize the elected leadership system periodically, so the leaders were chosen for life. MMI said that the leadership of the party was meant here was not the head of state or caliphate, which is disputed by Abubakar Ba'asyir, was about organizational leadership, whereas according to Irfan, the organization did not have jurisdiction, then it should be done periodically or regularly selected by consensus (Interview with Irfan, figures MMI Yogyakarta, August 6, 2008).

Another Islamic struggle movement that equivalent to MMI and JAT was a group of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), which was never exist in Indonesia as *de jure*, but *as de facto* it might be mentioned that there was a movement in Indonesia. As cited by the study Yunanto et al., the *Islamic Militants Movement: In Indonesia and in Southeast Asia*, that Abdullah Sungkar, who led (DI/TII, pen.) at Central Java, before he joined the NII, he had set up a group called "Jemaah Islamiyah", which then moved to one of the leaders of the NII, H. Ismail Pranoto were later known in Solo (See Karen Armstrong and Abdul Hamid Al - Ghazali in Yunanto, et al., 2003: 37-41). His struggle at Jemaah Islamiyah, after Abdullah Sungkar (Surakarta, pen.) died and the followed by Abubakar Ba'asyir (Surakarta, pen.) on his return from his flight to Malaysia. Abubakar Ba'asyir biggest agenda at the time was holding the first Congress of MMI. The aim of the congress was to bring together the various elements of Islam Indonesia, including Fraction NII Non-Abdullah Sungkar.

Other Islamic movements that can be added here is the movement that characterizes the social life of religious communities in Ambon, where the inter-religious harmony that had been organized under the harmonious cultural ties with *pela gandong* be destroyed by riots on January 19th, 1999, and resulted in the outbreak of brotherly relationship of people, as the claims of religious wars or wars covered by religious matters. *Pela Gandong* is the kinship between village without seeing regardless of race, class and religion inhabitants. (Yunanto, 2003: 98-99). They combined people together like a brotherhood within a family. It was like when the Prophet performed *hijrah* together with his best friend (the immigrants) from Makkah to Madinah, then lived together to form a unity among religions and clans in under the auspices of the Medina Charter bond.

The fragmented culture of *pela gandong* outbreak brotherly relations between religious communities, in this case Islam and Christian that ended in mutual accusations, blaming, and made the attacking and killing appeared. The situation was possible to take action on behalf of radical religion that had become a necessity that could not be avoided due 107

to the strong and powerful provocation plays the mastermind behind the riots, it was presumably because of the army forces that triggered the event.

Kelompok-kelompok militan Islam mendasarkan perjuangan mereka atas argumentasi keagamaan dan kebangsaan. Argumentasi keagamaan dimaksud adalah bahwa perlawanan terhadap umat Kristen, termasuk peperangan yang dilakukan, memiliki dukungan tekstual keagamaan yang jelas, yaitu memerangi orang kafir yang memusuhi dan mengancam keberadaan umat Islam sebagai perang agama yang diperintahkan dalam Al Quran. (Yunanta, 2003: 101)

This kind of radicalism seems to be put into the category of the critical movements of Islamic radical which are responsiveness to the social circumstances that lead to religious tensions, riots, and hostility. It is not solely driven an aspiration to uphold Islamic values, or not as a struggle to spread the teachings of Islam, but because of the resistance to the unjust order, or because of the pressure the authorities which directly intersect with the interests of society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abegebriel, A. Maftuh, dkk. 2004. dalam *Negara Tuhan: The Thematic Encyclopaedia*. Yogyakarta: SR-Ins Publishing.

-----, 2004. "Ada apa dengan dokumen JI". Dalam *Negara Tuhan: The Thematic Encyclopaedia*. Yogyakarta: SR-Ins Publishing.

Abdul Aziz, Jum'ah Amin. 2005. *Auraaq min Taariikh Al-Ikhwaan Al-Muslimuun: Dhuruuf An-Nasy'ah wa Syakhshiyah Al-Imaam Al-Mu'assis*. (diterjemahkan oleh Bobby Herwibowo dengan judul: *Masa Pertumbuhan dan Profil Sang Pendiri: Imam Syahid Hasan Al-Banna*, Solo: Intermedia.

Azra, Azyumardi, 1996. *Pergolakan Politik Islam: dari Fundamentalisme, Modernisme, hingga Post-Modernisme*, Jakarta: Penerbit Paramadina.

Choueiri, Youssef M.1990. *Islam Garis Keras: Melacak Gerakan Fundamentalisme*. Yogyakarta: Qonun.

-----, 2003. "Islam and Fundamentalism" dalam Roger Eatwell dan Anthony Wright (eds.) "*Ideologi-Ideologi Politik Kontemporer*", versi Indonesia (Jakarta: MediaTOR.

Dekmejian, R. Hrair, 1997. "Multiple Faces of Islam" dalam Anders Jerichow dan Jørgen Bæk Simonsen (ed.), *Islam in a Changing World: Europe and The Middle East*, Great Britain: Curzon Press.

Dijk, Cornelis van, 1983. *Darul Islam: Sebuah Pemberontakan*. (Terj. Grafiti Pers). Judul asli: *The Rebellion Under the Banner of Islam*, diterbitkan oleh KITLV. Jakarta: Grafiti Pers. 108

- Eickelman, Dale F. dan Piscatori, James. 1998. *Ekspresi Politik Muslim*. Jakarta: Mizan.
- Hornby, AS et.al. 1987. *Oxford Advance Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (revised and updated), New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Husain, Mir Zohair, 1997. "The Ideologization of Islam: meaning, manifestations and causes" dalam Anders Jerichow dan Jørgen Bæk Simonsen (ed.), *Islam in Changing World: Europe and Middle East*, Great Britain: Curzon Press.
- Kartodirdjo, Sartono, 1984. "Pemberontakan Petani Banten 1988". *Pustaka Jaya*. Jakarta -----, 1985, *Ratu Adil*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan.
- , Sartono 1997. "Metode Penggunaan Bahan Dokumen" dalam Koentjaraningrat, 1997. *Metode-metode Penelitian Masyarakat*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Koentjaraningrat, 1997. *Metode-metode Penelitian Masyarakat*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Loqman, Loebby. 1990. *Analisis Hukum dan Perundang-Undangan Kejahatan terhadap Keamanan Negara di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia)
- Mandzur, Ibnu Abul-Fadhl Muhammad. 1990. *Lisaanul 'Arab*. Beirut: Dar Shadir.
- Mulyana W. Kusumah, 2002. *Terorisme dalam Perspektif Politik dan Hukum*, Jurnal Kriminologi Indonesia FISIP UI, vol 2 no III
- Morris, William, 1973. *The American Heritage Dictionary of English Language*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.
- Ngatawi, 2002. *Radikalisasi Gerakan Islam Simbolik FPI* (Tesis Ilmu Sosial dan Politik). Jakarta: Program Pasca Sarjana Universitas Indonesia.
- Poerbatjaraka, R.M.Ng, 1957. *Kapustakan Djawi*. Djakarta: Djambatan.
- Rais, M. Amin, 1990. "Gerakan-gerakan Islam Internasional dan Pengaruhnya bagi Gerakan Islam Indonesia" dalam *Percikan Pemikiran Fisipol UGM tentang Pembangunan*, Yogyakarta: Fisipol UGM.
- , 1990. *Timur Tengah dan Krisis Teluk: Sebuah Analisa Kritis*. Surabaya: Amarpress.
- Ramly, Andi Muawiyah, dkk. 2006. *Demi Ayat Tuhan: Upaya KPPSI Menegakkan Syariat Islam*. Jakarta: Opsi (Open Society Institute).
- Roy, Oliver . 1996. *Gagalnya Politik Islam*. (edisi dalam bahasa Prancis berjudul: *L'échec de l'islam politique*, Edition du Seuil, 1992; dan edisi berbahasa Inggris berjudul *The Failure of the Political Islam*, Harvard University Press, cet. 1. Jakarta: Serambi.
- Suwarno, Peter. 2005. *Resolving Religious Conflicts Through Expanding Inter-Religious Communication: Issues and Challenges*, Jurnal Al Jami'ah, Vol 43, No 2, 2005/1426 H

Syarkun, Mukhlas dan Ghorara, W. 2004. “Dunia Islam dalam Benturan Kepentingan dan Peradaban”, dalam *Negara Tuhan: The Thematic Encyclopaedia*, Yogyakarta: SR-Ins Publishing.

Watt, William Montgomery, 1969. *Muhammad, Prophet and Statesman*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wijaya, M.Yusuf, 2001. “Visi-visi Pemikiran Keislaman: Upaya Klasifikasi Pemikiran Keislaman Timur Tengah” dalam *Islam Garda Depan: Mosaik Pemikiran Islam Timur Tengah*. Editor M. Aunul Abied Shah et.al. Bandung: Mizan.

Yunanto S. dkk. 2003. *Gerakan Militan Islam: di Indonesia dan di Asia Tenggara*. Jakarta: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) dan The Ridep Institute.

DAFTAR RIWAYAT HIDUP

H. Istadiyantha Lulus Sarjana Sastra Arab 1980, Fakultas Sastra dan Kebudayaan UGM; lulus S2 Filologi UGM 1989; Lulus doktor 2014 bid. Kajian Timur Tengah UGM; Jabatan yang pernah dilaksanakan: 1) Sekretaris Jurusan Sastra Indonesia, Fak. Sastra UNS (1990 – 1996); 2) Ketua Jurusan Sastra Indonesia 1997 – 99; 3) Pembantu Dekan III Fakultas Sastra dan Seni Rupa UNS 1999 – 2003; 4) Pembantu Dekan II FSSR UNS 2003 – 07; 5) Anggota Senat Universitas Sebelas Maret 2007-2008; 6) Anggota Tim Binap Universitas Sebelas Maret 2009-11; *Penghargaan*: 1) 1991: Dosen Teladan I Fakultas Sastra dan Seni Rupa UNS; 2) 1991: Dosen Teladan I Fakultas Sastra dan Seni Rupa UNS; 3).1992 sebagai Dosen Teladan II di tingkat UNS, SK Rektor nomor 5249/PT.40.KI/92; Selanjutnya ybs. aktif sebagai Ketua Pusat Studi Timur Tengah FSSR UNS 2009-15; Pemimpin Redaksi Jurnal *Cmes (Center of Middle Eastern Studies)* FSSR UNS 2009-2014; 26 April 2006 Pemakalah di Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (Sastra Sufi); 14-17 Sept. 2009 Penatar di Puskin KBRI Kairo, 22-9-2009 Ceramah (Islam Fundamental) di *Home Staff* KBRI Kairo. Penulis buku berjudul: *Hikmah Busana Muslimat dalam Pembinaan Akhlak*, (7 edisi) Solo: Ramadhani; Buku berjudul: *Suntingan Teks dan Analisis Fungsi Tarekat Syattariyah*, 2007. Solo: Bina Insani Press. Dosen S2: *Fikih Muammalah* pada MM UNS (2011) dan *Kajian Sastra* pada S2 *Kajian Budaya* UNS (sejak 2015). Pembicara Seminar Internasional: “Sastra Indonesia dan Jawa Islam: Pencerahan dan Penyesatan”, di FIB Gadjah Mada University (Kerjasama Tiga Serangkai UGM Yogyakarta, UKM Malaysia, dan UNS, 2009. Penelitian Hibah Disertasi Doktor dengan judul: *Pengaruh Pemikiran Ulama Timur Tengah terhadap Gerakan Islam Fundamentalisme di Yogyakarta dan Surakarta*, tahun anggaran 2010, Dana DP3M Dikti Jakarta. Penelitian *Pelayanan Haji Ditinjau dari Perspektif Manajemen Pemasaran Syariah* sebagai Anggota (Dipa LPPM UNS,2011); Penelitian Hibah Fundamental: *Perilaku Keagamaan dan Integrasi Bangsa: Kajian terhadap Gerakan Islam Fundamental di Surakarta* (Ketua Peneliti, Dana BLU UNS 2012). Peneliti Hibah Unggulan Madya *Gerakan Islam Radikal dan Terorisme di Indonesia: Kajian terhadap Upaya Integrasi Bangsa* (Kertua Peneliti, dana LPPM UNS, 2013). Seminar Internasional, *Indonesian and Javanese Islam Literatures: Enlightenment and Misleading*, PIBSI XXXV, 28-29 September 2013, Hotel Orange Surakarta; *Kebijakan Pemerintah Daerah dalam Menghadapi Perubahan Iklim: Studi Kasus : Adaptasi Perubahan Iklim di Kabupaten Boyolali, Jawa Tengah* (Hibah Sekolah Pascasarjana, sebagai anggota peneliti, 2014; Artikel: “Pengantar Politik Islam dan Islam Politik”, *Cmes*, Jurnal Pusat Studi Timur Tengah, volume VII nomor 2 Juli-Desember 2014. Surakarta: Fakultas Sastra dan Seni Rupa UNS; Penelitian *Maintenance Research Group UNS Representasi Identitas Gender dalam Bahasa (Kajian Kesantunan Bahasa Arab)*, Ketua Peneliti, 2015; PUPT (Penelitian Unggulan Perguruan Tinggi): *Model Penyelesaian Konflik Raja Paku Buwana XIII Dengan Dewan Adat Keraton Surakarta Melalui Mediasi Melibatkan Otoritas Negara (Otoritative Mediation berbasis Local Wisdom*; Penelitian Hibah Kompetensi *Aktualisasi Nilai-nilai Tionghoa dalam Motif Batik Lasem* (anggota peneliti, 2015/16)