Encouragement of *Jihad* Arguments for Radicalization and Extremism in Indonesia

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Abstract—**Considerable efforts have been devoted countering violent-extremism in Indonesia. Various empowerment programs and training carried out by the government and the community aims to prevent the spread of radical ideologies. However, extremist groups continue to develop, while traditional extremist groups still in motion, new forms of extremist movements have emerged. Moreover, the impact of violent extremism has increased with the advancement of modern weapons, globalization and information technology such as the Internet and social media. This article pursues to understand the phenomena of people engage in extremists groups and explore arguments to encourage people to commit acts of violence. This article employed literature studies based on ex-combatants experiences. The article concluded that radicalization and extremism are manifestations of radical systems of thought and belief that develop in people or groups that occurs in several phases of life, not suddenly happening. Several Islamic doctrines such as *tawhid*, *aqeedah*, *takfir*, *al wala wal-bara*, and *jihad*, the built an unsatisfactory argument with the existing social and political conditions such as application of *kafr* and secular system, the hope *jihad fi sabilillah*, bombing as a form of obligation of *jihad* as ordered by religion and retaliation for cruelty and oppression of unbelievers against Muslims.**

Keywords: radicalization, extremism, Jihad, Indonesia

I. INTRODUCTION

Considerable efforts have been devoted countering violent-extremism in Indonesia. Various empowerment programs and training carried out by the government and the community aims to prevent the spread of radical ideologies. However, extremist groups continue to develop, while traditional extremist groups still in motion, new forms of extremist movements have emerged. Since the emergence of Darul Islam (DI) in 1940, various extremist groups have emerged, among others Jema'ah Islamiyah (1995), Jema'ah AnshorutTauhid (2009), LintasTanzim (2009), TauhidWal Jihad (2009), Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (2010), Front Pembela Islam Lamongan (2010), Mujahidin Indonesia Barat (2012), Forum AktivisSyariat Islam (2013), Jema'ah AnsharuSyariah (2014), until the latest developments in the form of Jema'ah Anshorut Daulah in 2015. The extremist network and organization exacerbate social cohesion and increasing public unrest in Indonesia.

The global emergence of terrorists like al-Qaeda and the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), local extremist groups developed and turned into part of international terrorist organizations, terrorist attacks occur in several police stations and the Bali bombings ware a result of religious radicalism [1]. Islam by comparison to some other religious traditionshas been greater challenges in the propaganda and recruitment of terrorist groups. According to Appleby, there are three explanations. *First*, the mass media has raised public awareness about social, economic and political inequalities and injustices that are rampant in many Muslim societies and corruption and mismanagement that damage government and government-run institutions. *Second*, Islam rejects the process of differentiation and privatization that accompanies secularization. Islam does not recognize the separation between 'state and religion'. However, religion remains a priority and privilege in Islamic society distinctively and strongly.. Islam has internal resources to be one of the most effective advocates of peace and human rights without compromising the popular and popular response of Islam to social injustice and violent intolerance. *Third*, Islamic leaders have competed

effectively with mainstream Islamic leaders to gain resources and respect. They do it by showing integrity, efficiency in service to the oppressed and the needy, and military dedication to their goals. Recruitment, training, and retention of their core activists are exemplary [2].

The involvement in a radical association and participation in violence is largely an embodiment of a system of thoughts and beliefs that develop in an individual or group. This system of thought or ideology in addition to giving meaning to one's behavior is also a mechanism of selection of complex choices. Ideology defines which are good and which are bad, which are permissible and which are not allowed, which are morally right and which are wrong, who are friends and who are the opponents, and so on [3]. This article tries to portray the radicalism and extremism arguments of the jihadist groups in Indonesia.

II. THEORY

The terms radicalism and extremism are often used interchangeably, which have different meanings. The term radicalism, both representing the political wing 'left' or 'right' from a spectrum of political groups, often has the same connotation as struggling towards rapid change against opposing political groups. Silber and Bhatt define radicalism as "the process of finding, discovering, adapting, growing and developing an extreme belief system that is a vehicle for terror behavior" [4]. The radical political-religious views and attitudes mean an anti-dialogue and debate view and almost always oppose the norms. Ashour, Mc Cauley, and Moskalenko, Moghaddam views radicalism as a process to adhere to or promote an ideological system and extreme trust providing a justification for violence in pursuing social, political and religious changes [5]. Similar understanding of Lentini is a process by which individuals develop, adopt and believe in political attitudes and ways of behaving differently with legitimate political, social, economic, cultural and religious values in society and also wants to change or try to change the status quo and the form used are using violence [6].

While radicalism is used for violent behavior in the name of Islam. The term extremism contains more neutral meanings. The Macquarie Dictionary defines the word 'extreme' to mean "going to the utmost lengths, or exceeding the bounds of moderation" [7]. Desmond Tutu defines extremism as "when you don't allow different points of view; when you hold your view as something very exclusive; when you don't allow for possible differences" [8].

Extremism than is a rejection of another perspective. When extreme positions are justified on moral grounds, the stage of radicalism begins. Both radicalism and extremism is a mental and emotional process that can prepare and motivate individuals to pursue violence and terror behavior. This is a mental and emotional process that can prepare and motivate individuals to pursue violence and terror behavior. Radicalization is triggered by a process of change in the psycho-cognitive construction of individuals in new identities that are part of behavior change. The process usually occurs due to the involvement of individuals in groups.

Because radicalism is understood as a process, a person's radical views and attitudes can almost be said to always appear in the form of ideology and values of the belief system obtained by the individual through groups, movements or social organizations that introduce it. Lipset and Raab's study of the history of extreme movements in America and Western Europe in the early 20th century showed that radical religious ideas or behaviors in history were often consolidated through social and religious activism in organized movements [9]. Religious-political radicalism is defined by Lipset as "an attitude of trust and propagation of an extreme system of ideology that provides a justification for acts of violence in taking rapid social, religious and political change" [10].

While all terrorists are extremists and radicals, all extremists and radicals do not become terrorists. Rarely extremism and radicalism cause terrorism and violence. Terrorism can be defined as actions carried out for political, religious or ideological purposes to intimidate the public and threaten its security. Elworthy and Rifkind refer to terrorism as a tactic: "a level of anger and hatred that encourages people to join their ranks. Anger and hatred are what must be overcome" [11].

However, motivation may not be limited to anger and hatred, and terrorists can also work for what they imagine as a common good, moral reasoning, belief in moral superiority that distinguishes them from other types of violence. According to Schmid "terrorism is usually an instrument for the attempted realization of a political or religious project that perpetrators lacking mass support are seeking, that it generally involves a series of punctuated acts of demonstrative public violence, followed by threats of more to impress, intimidate and or coerce target audiences" [12].

Indonesian Law Number 5/2018 concerning the Eradication of Terrorism Crime, defines terrorism as; an act that uses violence or the threat of violence that creates an atmosphere of terror or widespread fear, which can cause mass casualties, and/or cause damage or destruction to strategic vital objects, living environments, public facilities, or international facilities with ideological, political or security disturbances."

Terror, in the beginning is a state of mind for extreme fear of danger that is very frightening at the individual level and over the fear that surrounds the

collective level. On the other hand, terrorism is an activity, method, or tactic that is the result of psychological feelings aimed at producing terror, at least there is a common thread agreed upon by many experts regarding the main characteristics in the terrorism movement namely; (1) that certain actions or movements that use violence and threats to create public fear; (2) this movement is aimed at one or several countries, or communities, or certain community groups or individuals; (3) this movement regulates its members by means of terror too; and (4) that this individual or movement commits violence with the intention of gaining support in a systematic and organized manner.

III. EXPLAINING THE STAGE OF TERRORIST TRANSFORMATION

The act of terrorism is not an action that is carried out suddenly but through a phase of change. According to Tambiyah being radical is not a matter of psychological changes that occur in a short span of time, there are four critical phases in which transformation becomes radicalized in the process of members and activists of radical organizations: (1) Pre-Radicalization, understood as a phase where individuals have relatively moderate political views in relation to the struggle to become an independent state; (2) Self-identification, that is, individuals begin to analyze actively to engage in the struggle for independence through "cognitive self-disclosure" that arises due to several factors such as personal, socio-economic or political crises; (3) Indoctrination, namely the intensification phase where the person begins to get acquainted with ideas about independence and how to fight for it. Intensively and gradually he became part of the ideals of pro-independence organizations. Contact and socialization occur with charismatic "spiritual leaders" and small groups of like-minded individuals; (4) Martyr, where the individual defines himself as a martyr, or in the end, feels chosen as a martyr who is ready to kill himself for the sake of ideology he believes. Based on the radical political logic above, it can be said that violence or terrorism is the final consequence of the radicalization process.

Moghaddam describes the transformation of psychological constructions such as "Staircase to Terrorism" as a metaphor for the process of violent radicalization. A "staricase" narrow when rising from the ground floor and through five consecutive levels. As in most popular models, Moghaddam argues that feelings of dissatisfaction and difficulties that are felt (framed as perceived weaknesses) form the foundation and fuel to move first on the road to terrorism. Fewer and fewer people rose to each successive level, leaving a small number of people truly advancing to the point where they were involved in terrorism. According to the Moghaddam model, people start with the desire to reduce difficulties and improve their situation. However,

failed attempts result in frustration, resulting in feelings of aggression, which are transferred to some perceived causal agents (who are then considered enemies). As their anger against the enemy increases, some become increasingly sympathetic to cruel extremist ideologies and to terrorist groups acting against them. Some sympathizers eventually joined extremist groups, organizations, or movements that advocated for, and might be involved in, terrorist violence. At the "top" or final level among those who have joined are those who overcome obstacles to act and actually commit terrorist acts.

IV. ARGUMENTS FOR RADICALISM AND EXTREMISM IN INDONESIA

The arguments conveyed by the jihadist group, for the most part, did not say everything, and emerged in the form of religious framing. According to Brachman, there are five main doctrinal concepts adopted by these salafi-jihadist Islamists; *tawhid, aqeedah, takfir, al wala'wa al bara'*, and *jihad*.For the global jihadist group, the concept of *tauhid*refers to unity and totality to God. The perfection of monotheism must include at the same time three dimensions; *rububiiyah, asma'walsifah*and *uluhiyah* which means obedient to Islamic shari'a and avoid all prohibitions. For them, monotheism is not enough just to form a statement or acknowledgment that God is the creator of the universe and the most powerful, but also absolute obedience to the totality of life in line with the rules of God. *tawhid* which is only understood and implemented partially and imperfectly will bring people down to *syirik*. The essence of *syirik* is also about people who believe in authority other than Allah in terms of laws and other rules of life.

The concept of *aqeedah* is a very important element in knowing and identifying the difference between not right and wrong actions by Allah. They always emphasize the necessity to uphold the principles of pure aqeedah, not mixed with bid'ah and polytheism. Only a small group of humans, according to their beliefs, who truly practice pure Islamic aqeedah while most have deviated, mingling with bid'ah polytheism, hypocrisy and damage.The concept of *takfir*, among followers of the salafy this concept becomes crucial and often triggers disputes between them. Most of the adherents of the Salafyschool stopped or did not want to declare among fellow Muslims, insofar as they had declared a pledge to acknowledge the oneness of Allah and Muhammad as an apostle, as infidels for a number of violations. As for the jihadist group, the definition of kafir is stated explicitly for those who claim to be Muslims but do not fully want to obey the Shari'a or reject the Shari'a. Between the majority of salafy, kesyirikan and disbelief are more regarded as individual sins concerning their relationship with God, for jihadis the infidel punishment must be expressly and openly. As a result, this group was

labeled as *takfiri* because of various kafir allegations to Muslims whom he considered deviating from aqeedah.

The concept of *al-walawa al-bara*, is widely regarded as the most important doctrine among jihadists. Through the framework of this portal they define who must be obeyed and who must be opposed or shunned, who is categorized as Muslim and who is an infidel, who is a faith and who is not, who is a friend of jihad and who is the target of jihad *.al-wala* refers to not only those who profess Islam and recite the creed, but also adhere to that principle in their aqeedah and behavior. On the contrary, al-Bara points to anyone who deviates from Islamic aqeedah, both those who are clearly infidels and those who claim to be Muslims.

The concept of jihad, despite having different interpretations and practices in jihadist groups, also always undergoes evolution and development from time to time. Understanding Qutb, al-Faraj, Azzam, and al-Zawahiry had a very strong influence on the interpretation and practice of the jihad of the Salafists of modern jihadists. Qutb and Faraj radicalized the concept of jihad not only related to the question of offensive and defensive roles but more broadly as restoring the sovereignty of God that had been seized. The operationalization of jihad also means fighting and getting rid of the system and the rulers that hinder the enactment of all the laws and rules of God in all aspects of life. Replacing the ignorant community became a fully Islamic society. In the hands of al Faraj, extreme jihad was manifested in violent acts bleeding to fight the secular "fir'aunis" rulers in Egypt. Abdullah Azzam based his involvement in jihad in Afghanistan "modifying" the understanding of jihad to be broader, no longer only targeting near-enemy anti-Islamic power, but also applies to all enemies who occupy Muslim countries (far enemies) . The law of jihad to fight against the enemies of Islam in Muslim countries is another matter for every Muslim to fulfill it.

The confession of one of the Bali Bombing trio who was sentenced to death, Imam Samudra, has the same pattern. Feelings of dissatisfaction and anger are perceived in a frame in religious logic which then gives birth to a call for violence. A number of these factors were also captured by Zachary Abuza who examined the motives of Islamist groups taking the path of violence in Indonesia. He said there were four main factors, namely; (1) among JI, motivation is based on applying Islamic Shari'a holistically by breaking down the secular power and replacing it with the Southeast Asian Caliphate, (2) purification or purification of Islamic teachings, including cleansing from Western values and secular being the foundation that facilitates the formation of Islam country; (3) the perception that Islam is currently being attacked by anti-Islamic forces, especially America and its allies and Christians; (4) the reason

is the existence of a global conspiracy to weaken the power of Islam, which is proven by the support of anti-global Islamic forces to the Moluccan separatists and East Timor.

Ali Imran's acknowledgment, a perpetrator of the bombing at Legian Bali 2002, clearly shows how a number of these mixed issues, ranging from disappointment to the government, calls for jihad, anger, and revenge became a series of motives with a religious dimension that drove brutal violence . For all of them, wherever their territory including Bali is also a field of jihad, all non-Muslims and Westerners are legitimate enemies to be victims. Ideology clearly plays an important role in constructing such a way of thinking of jihad. The following are some reasons stated:

First argument is not satisfied with the existing government. This is due to the absence of Imamate (leaders who are appointed and appointed by Islamic standards or methods, such as the Caliph) have caused rampant immorality and are subject to non-Islamic leadership; Secondly, Islamic law is not applied thoroughly; Third, the hope of opening jihad fi *sabilillah*, where a bigger war will occur between Muslims against infidels after the Bali bombing; Fourth, the bombing was a form of jihad obligation as ordered by religion; Fifth, repay the atrocities and oppression of the infidels against Muslims as happened in Palestine, Afghanistan, Chechnya, Somalia, and a number of other countries. The bombing was also a form of retaliation for Christians who fought with Muslims in Poso and Ambon.

The strict jihadi doctrine can be read also in the writings of cleric Aman Abdurrahman, a radical figure who has a strong influence in the jihad movement in Indonesia today. Aman called on his followers to support ISIS and together with Ba'ashir declared bai'at against the Caliphate of Abu Bakr al Bahgdadi. The foundation of jihad carried out by Aman Abdurrahman stems from the belief that the Indonesian state is against Islam. In fact, he did not hesitate to call it that the state and the Indonesian government at this time were the status of an infidel state and a taghut government, so that it absolutely must be resisted. Infidel accusations also apply to Muslims in this country who consciously believe and follow the democratic system, participate in general elections (elections), are willing to sing the national anthem, and recognize the basic state of Pancasila.

The reason for this jihadist figure is that NKRI is in an infidel status, among others because: (1) The law carried out is not God's law; (2) Reporting cases and dispute cases to taghout. Thaghut referred to is international institutions whose legal sources do not refer to Islam. (3) he state and government (Indonesia) are loyal to infidels, such as America and European countries, and help them to support the Mujahideenmuwahhidin; (4) Giving or turning away

rights and authority to make laws and laws to other than Allah; (5) Granting the right to do shirk, disbelief and apostasy under the pretext of religious freedom and human rights; (6) Equating between infidels and Muslims (7) The system that runs is a democratic system; (8) NKRI based on Pancasila.

V. CONCLUSION

Action of radicalism and violence is a complex phenomenon, most of which is the embodiment of a system of thoughts and beliefs that develop in an individual or group. The development of a system of radical thinking is formed usually due to the involvement of individuals in groups. Because radicalism is understood as a process, a person's radical views and attitudes can almost be said to always appear in the form of ideology and values of the belief system obtained by the individual through groups, movements or social organizations that introduce it. The extreme forms of radicalism are extremism and terrorism that are closely related to terrorist activities namely target, goal, motivation, and legitimacy. In other words, terrorism activities certainly have certain background motives such as religion, economic motives, revenge, and social disparities or other motives.

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