

Potential islamic radicalism

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POTENTIAL ISLAMIC RADICALISM AND TERRORISM IN THE PROVINCE OF WEST NUSA TENGGARA

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Abstract: Abstract: Studies on the root and causes of radicalism and terrorism have revealed that economic drawback and injustice are the primary causes of the birth of such groups. However, it is likely that would be a distinct case within the Indonesian landscape, particularly West Nusa Tenggara Province (NTB), given the relative conduciveness and good democratic atmosphere of the country. For this reason, drawing on the available artefacts and several mass conflicts and terrors happening in the province, this study analyses whether there is any potential of radical and terrorist groups to grow; and, if any, what factors promoting such growth. The findings indicate that the province can be a potential area for radical and terrorist groups to thrive. Furthermore, the main factors promoting the growth of such radical groups and violence or mass incidents are misinterpretation of the Islamic teachings, the available network of terrorist groups such as East Indonesian Mujahidin in the province, the geographical location, and the reluctance of the mainstream moderate Muslims to promote religious modernism to such growing groups in both islands of Sumbawa and Lombok.

Keyword: *radicalism; terrorism; NTB, misinterpretation; moderate Muslims*

Abstrak: Penelitian ini menjelaskan akar dan penyebab radikalisme dan terorisme. Selama ini diungkapkan bahwa kekurangan ekonomi dan ketidakadilan adalah penyebab utama lahirnya kelompok radikal dan teroris tersebut. Namun, kemungkinan itu akan menjadi kasus yang berbeda dalam lanskap Indonesia, khususnya Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB), mengingat suasana kondusif dan demokrasi yang relatif baik di daerah ini. Untuk melihat fenomena tersebut dilihat artefak yang tersedia dan beberapa konflik massa dan teror yang terjadi di provinsi ini, penelitian ini menganalisis apakah ada potensi kelompok radikal dan teroris untuk tumbuh; dan, jika ada, faktor apa yang mendorong pertumbuhan tersebut. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa provinsi ini dapat menjadi daerah potensial bagi kelompok radikal dan teroris untuk berkembang. Faktor utama yang mendorong pertumbuhan kelompok radikal seperti itu adalah salah tafsir atas ajaran Islam oleh jaringan kelompok teroris yang seperti Mujahidin Indonesia Timur selain lokasi geografisnya. Alasan lainnya ialah keengganan kaum Muslim moderat untuk memberi kesadaran terhadap kelompok-kelompok teroris di provinsi tersebut.

Kata kunci: radikalisme; terorisme; NTB, salah tafsir; Muslim moderat

Introduction

Before further delving into the terms "radicalism-terrorism", the researcher wants to pinpoint a statement in the classical Tafsir (exegesis), *Hasyiyah al-Shawi 'ala Tafsir al-Jalalayn*, which was authored by Al-Syeikh Ahmad al-Shawi al-Maliki. Interpreting the verse "*innamâ yad'u hisbahu liyakunû min 'ashhâbi al-sa'ir* (Q.S. Al Fathir, 35: 6)." ("...only inviting their party in order that they will abide in the flammable hell"), he said that "this verse was revealed to the Kharijites (one of the Islamic groups embracing the concept of radical perspective), who usually misinterpret the Koran and al-Sunnah (ways of life of the prophet Muhammad SAW.) and legitimate the murder of other Muslims (al Maliki, tt: 307)". Since the logic of radicalism usually appears in a situation that is distinct from the mainstream perspective, and even the history has strongly indicated that the root of radicalism and terrorism has been the integral part of the history per se. With this in mind, it is worthy of consideration to look at what Ulil Abshar Abdalla once said:

"formerly, in the classical era, was a group of Kharijites who were so radical, and straightforwardly accusing their enemies of being heathens or infidels. The Islamic modern groups embracing such principle is often associated to the radical group, which is nowadays known as modern Kharijites. Terrors are initially sparked in mind, which goes to hand and ends on earth. There are some people who imagine that all people in the world threaten them; consequently, they shield themselves from the invasion. This circumstance is known as "siege mentality", because they feel surrounded by threats from all angles. Within this situation, the language of anger is more prevalent. Friendly behaviors towards others will be regarded as weaknesses, flabbiness, which should be avoided (Abdala, Islamlib.com)."

"Siege mentality" manifested in "violence" becomes "the symbol" of ideology of radical groups. As Sa'duddin Ibrahim said that there is a strongly worrying indication that some groups of Arabian Muslims commit violence and terrors in many places including in Czech, Kashmir, Indonesia, Thailand, Pakistan, and Afghanistan (Ibrahim, 2004)."

More importantly, the historical development of the modern Islamic trans-national movements has explored this fact within a single frame between Islam, ideology, violence, and terrorism. One of the most noticeably essential points in the history of the modern Islamic

movement was the appearance of its prominent figure, Sayyid Qutb, with his ideological movement known as Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun, in Egypt. The birth of this group results in the current interpretation (exegesis) about Jihad (holy war), which leads to the misleading perspective on Jihad as offensive rather than defensive (read *jihad difa'i*), embraced by a myriad of Islamic groups to back up their use of violence against the opponents of Islam.

This is actualized by some parties who suppose themselves as “Islamic warriors”, who embrace the religious ideology to commit violence against others who possess different perspectives from their own. Consequently, the current phenomena, such as bombing and violence, are the factual accounts of the misinterpretation of the Islamic teachings. In the province of West Nusa Tenggara (henceforth NTB), some violent cases like bombing at Umar bin Khatab Islamic boarding school in Bima and in other places is presumed to have strong connection with the ideology of the school (Mbai, 2014: 91-96).

The attacks show that there is a real growing potential of radical-terrorism ideology and movement. There are at least three salient facts that show the strong potential of radical group movement in the NTB province: first, a police was murdered by a student of the Islamic boarding school, Umar bin Khattab, in Bima in June 2011; second, a bomb blasted at Umar bin Khattab Islamic boarding school chaired by Abrori; and third, series of terror occur in Bima and other places (Mbai, 2014: 92-94). Another strong evidence is the detention of some people accused as terrorists.

The reality that needs to be paid attention is that NTB with Islam as the mainstream religion is geographically located between two provinces that embrace different ideologies, Bali with Hinduism in the western part and East Nusa Tenggara (henceforth NTT/Nusa Tenggara Timur) with Christian in the eastern part. Such a geographical position with distinct ideologies may potentially drive a conflict among the believers. Therefore, the respective stakeholders and policy makers should not pay some heeds on this issue in order to avoid the possible conflict or riot. Nonetheless, the three ideological blocks can otherwise have potential to be a potent unity to break off the spread of radicalism and terrorism as these three religions do not give any rooms for such radical terrorist ideology.

Given that fact, the questions are whether radicalism-terrorism in the province of NTB is based solely on an ideology? Or it is due to other factors? An elaboration of the second question may indicate that these other factors may serve as a “nutrition” of religious-based violence. And these facts also become the basis as to why this theme can be relevant to study.

Theoretical Framework

The discourse about the phenomenon of radicalism-terrorism seems to have become part of the dynamics of science, and has gained its prominent in its field. This fact, however, in addition to having been a scientific tradition, grasps much attention due to the unfriendly appearance and hostile behaviors demonstrated by the radical groups, and even tend to be destructive.

The term “radicalism” derives from the word “radix”, which means root, base and bottom, or it could be a thorough, all-out and very hard to demand change. Terminologically, it means the school of thoughts or the radical ideology toward the political order; understanding that strongly demands social and political changes in a country (Arfina, tt: 40).

Semantically, radicalism is an ideology that demands drastic social or political reforms by admitting violence. The Encyclopedia of Indonesia defines “radicalism” as ideology of all political parties, whose followers desire extreme consequences, at least the consequence that is distant from their ideological embodiment. Meanwhile, according to the results of a research by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM), the definition of radical group is a group that has a high ideological and fanatical belief that aims to replace the norms and the ongoing system (Jamhari dan Jahroni, 2004: 2-3).

Based on the above elaboration, it can be formulated that radicalism is an ideology (ism), the action attached to the person or group that desires both social and political change by means of violence, and extreme thought and act (Tim Penyusun KKBI, 1998:45). In addition, radicalism is based on the exclusive paradigm that denies others (men) based on rigid, closed, extreme, and materialistic ideology (Efendi and Prasetyo, 1998: xvi). Thus, radicalism can be understood as an attitude or position that desires reforms toward the *status quo* by uprooting it

totally and replaces it with something novel. Usually, they employ new and revolutionary strategies, which mean overturning the existing values drastically through violence and the extreme actions (Juergensmeyer, 2002: 5).

As a religious community, the collective thoughts of the people are often shaken by the issues or events underpinning racism, fundamentalism-radicalism, collective violence and terrorism, which are associated with certain religions. Therefore, religion has become a sort of threat which could suddenly come to muzzle life together on the Earth. It is commonly referred to as a paradoxically religious phenomenon of people both at the level of the political elite and the masses (grass root). This has become a prevalent case recently. Religions teach positive values or good morals for the believers so that they behave properly with others, but the followers of the religions are hostile. And this is often adhered to the religious groups usually labeled radical terrorism.

The emergence of fundamentalism, radicalism and terrorism is motivated by various multi-faceted factors. One of which is the misinterpretation of the essential teachings of Islam characterized by literal-scripture, rigid and truth claims. This is associated with the understanding and interpretation of the doctrine of jihad that tends to be rigid and literal. Such trends, according to them, are necessary in order to maintain the purity of Islamic doctrine as a whole (*kaffah*). According to the radical groups, Islamic doctrines described in the Qur'an and Sunnah are universal and have covered all aspects of human life and are applicable without being limited by space and time.

Religious radicalism is often referred to *al-tatharuf al-Diny*, which means "standing in the corner," or "far away from the middle", or it can also simply be "over in doing something". Initially, the word *al-tatharuf* meant for things that are concrete, and as the language evolves, it also means "the things that are abstract," like an exaggeration in thinking and religion. Thus *al-tatharuf al-Diny* is excessive deeds in religion.

The signs of radicalism in the Islamic world are not the phenomena that suddenly appear. Radicalism comes under the political, economic, social and cultural situation, which is considered, by the supporters of the radical Islamic movement, to discredit Muslims. Politically,

Muslims are not only disadvantaged by the system, but also are unfairly treated. They feel that their aspirations are not accommodated properly because the political system is a pagan system that, by itself, favors secular nationalists than the Muslims themselves.

According to Gus Dur as quoted by Anwar (2006), the birth of radical and militant groups in Islam is triggered by two factors. First, the adherents of militant Islam experienced some kind of disappointment and alienation because of the “backwardness” of Muslims from the progress of Western civilization and its cultural penetration with all its excesses. Because of their inability to offset the impact of the materialistic culture of the West, they use violence to block such influences.

Second, the emergence of such radical groups in Islam is caused by the silting of the Islamic knowledge of its believers, especially the younger generation given the fact that many of them, without adequate Islamic knowledge, undertaking generic subjects and economics, are often involved in the radical or militant movements. Persons with such educational background are full of mathematical calculations and economic rational, and there is no time to study Islam in depth. They are content with religious interpretations, which are based on the literal or textual understanding. Their ability to read and memorize the verses of the holy Qur'an and Hadith in large quantities is quite amazing, but their understanding of the fundamental teachings of Islam is weak due to the absent of knowledge such as studies of the existing exegeses, rules of *Usul Fiqh*, or variation of an understanding of the existing texts (Anwar 2006).

Philosophically, the phenomenon of radicalism and religious pluralism is an issue that relates to the core experience, the collective thoughts, and religious interpretation (Banawiratma, 1993: 17). In a religious context, the term “radicalism” used to refer to the radical movement remains debatable (Azzra, 1999:109). Oliver Roy in his book, *The Failure of Political Islam* (1994), regards the Islamic movement oriented towards Islamic law as Fundamentalist Islam, which is indicated by the movement of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hizb ut-Tahrir, Jami'ati Islami and the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) (Roy, 1994: 7-8). Esposito (1992: 7-8) prefers to use the term Islamic revivalism or Islamic activism, which has roots in Islamic tradition. Meanwhile, Muhammad Abid al-Jabri uses the term Islamic extremism. Extreme Islamic groups usually

shows hostility and opposition to Islamic movements “middle” or “moderate”. Therefore, Al-Jabri said that the real enemy of extreme Islam is moderate Islam. Al-Jabri shows the difference of the extreme Islamic movement in this modern time. The militant movements in the past practiced the extremism in terms of belief or creed, while extreme contemporary movements runs at the level of sharia by opposing schools of moderate Islam (Esposito, 1992: 7-8).

To further clarify the phenomenon of religious radicalism, the framework proposed by the sociologist of religion, Martin E. Marty, with some modifications, seems quite relevant applied to see the signs of “violence in the name of religion”. According to him, the main feature of religious radicalism is *oppositionalism* (opposition ideology), which is understood as the resistance against the perceived threats endangering the existence of religion, whether in the form of modernity or modernism, secularism and Western values in general (as quoted by Azzra, 1990: 109).

Radicalism and terrorism are two notions or ideologies that cannot be separated, because terrorism itself is another branch of radicalism. Radicalism in the history of religious ideology is often triggered by the understanding of fundamentalism in the religious life that causes exclusivity in social interaction (Garaudy, 1992: 13). If radicalism actualized in the form of social interaction in state politics, it will trigger a movement of extremism in the form of terrorism.

The root word of terrorism is terror. Terror in Arabic called الارهاب which means “scare”. Terrorism is a war in the sense of coordinated attacks, which were intended to reinforce the feeling of terror (fear), which does not follow the procedures of the war. Instead, terrorism is carried out by the abrupt manner with the target victims randomly. In global perspective, terrorism is an act of violence that inflicts massive death of civilians by bombing or a suicide bomb (Jejak Islam.com).

The sporadic emergence of radical movements and terrorism in various parts of the world did not come from a vacuum. To figure out the primary cause of the emergence of these movements, we must seek the main reasons carefully, cautiously and fairly. Being accurate in the sense that we do not get stuck in unravelling the origins of terrorism by blaming or accusing others blindly. A careful examination is needed because the issue of terrorism becomes a very sensitive issue, and fair in

the sense that we should be able to sit this terrorism issue proportionally, so it does not harm innocent people or groups.

The fact that appears among the international community today is the reckless attitude of most people who accuse Islam as the culprit of the rise of terrorism. Just because there is a small group of people who claim themselves to be Muslims and commit acts of terrorism, Islam was then regarded as a threat to the tranquility and peace of mankind throughout the world. Those who do not have a correct understanding of Islam would be very easy to accept the views or the negative stigma that is spread by those who do not like Islam. Therefore, it is necessary to disseminate the message of true Islam to the entire international community.

Claiming the current chaos that hits the world nowadays as an attempt of "Islamic fundamentalism" for constructing a new system to replace Western system is indeed very unfair. It is definitely prejudicial to claim Islam as "the accused" and the culprit of the chaos and extremism or terrorism that exists today. Anyone who wants to identify and analyze the signs of terrorism or extremism must be able to distinguish between Islam as a religion and civilization, with Islam as a political ideology. Islam as a religion and civilization is one thing, whereas Islam as a political ideology is another thing. Equating the two is not only absurd but also signifying ignorance of a person against Islam.

Ideology, whatever its forms, is the driving force that deconstructs every order of static life and a tool to free human life from any forms of oppression that afflicts humans. Ali Shari'ati nicely illustrates the relationship between religion and ideology and the difference between the two. According to him, religion is essentially composed of two kinds. The first type is the religion as an ideology, whereas the second type is a collection of religious traditions, social conventions, or as a collective spirit of a group (.Syari'ati, 1993: 50).

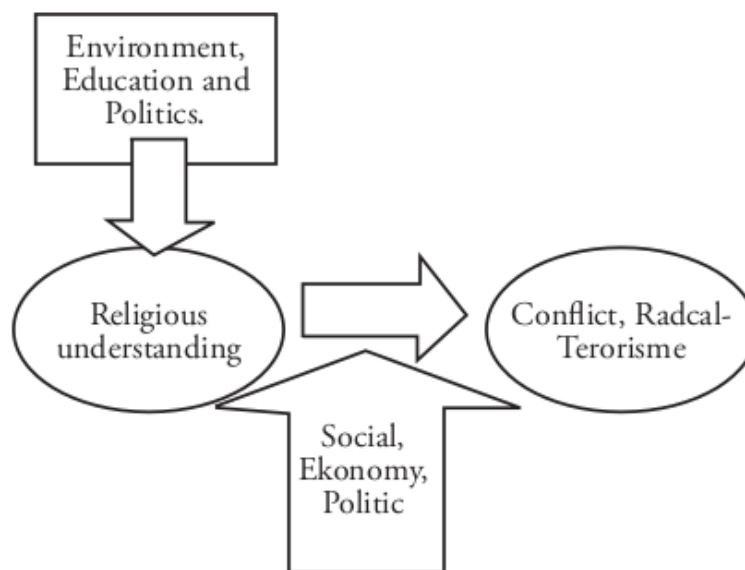
Although it may be true that some acts of terrorism carried out by the fundamentalists who justify jihad movement as "Sabilillah", the concept of jihad itself must be understood comprehensively. The important question that can be proposed to the preachers of radicalism or terrorism who are mainly Muslims is whether their actions were

Jihad as advocated by Islam? Or whether the terrorists who claim Jihad did not understand the actual meaning of Jihad. They know the cover only, without knowing its contents. More dangerously if it is what they call Jihad, it is in fact an attempt to reduce the meaning of Quran and Hadith.

In the Quran and Hadith indeed there are some verses and traditions of honor that commands Muslims to jihad. However, verse and honor traditions associated with the concept of jihad or war is often interpreted recklessly. This subjective and unscientific interpretation subsequently becomes the justification that encourages a lot of movement (*harakah*) of Islamic politics, which in turn actually tarnishes the face of Muslims as a whole. For this reason, a myriad of movements appear to politicize religion which is essentially contrary to the substance of religion itself and pursue some vested political interests.

Furthermore, religion, according to the results of several studies, is considered to be the triggering factor of conflict in society. However, this unfair judgments are wrong, In fact, the cause of the current conflict is the misinterpretation of the religious teachings and other factors such as social, economic and politic. It is not that religious misinterpretation alone, but also social, environmental, educational and political factors that take part in influencing a person's religious understanding.

The following table illustrates the relationship between religion, conflict, socio-culture and politics.



Religious understandings are closely related to other factors. Environment will affect a person's religious understanding. Similarly, highly educated and low educated people interpret religious teachings differently. And political conditions can also affect the understanding of religion, because religion is an effective tool in mobilizing political interests in order to achieve certain goals.

In praxis, religion has two opposing sides at once. On the one hand, religion has extraordinary strength in bringing together people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds; on the other side, it can also be an effective potential cause of conflict. Here is seen how religious understanding could encourage conflicts, acts of radicalism and terrorism, which in turn can undermine social harmony.

West Nusa Tenggara at Glance and Radical Movement Phenomena

NTB province has two main Islands, Lombok dan Sumbawa. Lombok is the home to the indigenous people, Sasak, while Sumbawa is resided by Samawa (Sumbawa) dan Mbojo (Bima dan Dompu) ethnics (Depdikbud, 1997: 11). The number of people on the island of Lombok is greater than the number of inhabitants of Sumbawa Island with a ratio of 3: 1. Geographically, NTB is in the middle of two provinces: Bali in the West and NTT in the East with Hindu and Christian as the mainstream religions respectively. Although flanked by two different religious ideologies, the building of socio-religious relations can be said to have a good level of harmony. That is to say, the interfaith relations are good. This is evident from the dynamics of life of the citizens in NTB as being friendly and open, and is able to coexist harmoniously even with the Hindu community descended from Bali and with the Christian community that comes from NTT.

However, lately, there have been a number of riots and violence involving mass movements in the NTB. From January to December in 2011 (Admiral, 2012), there were as many as 780 cases in the form of rallies and mass mobilization of the various elements of society, NGOs, and groups of student movements. There were in 212 cases in capital city of Mataram; 64 cases in West Lombok regency; 83 cases in Central Lombok; 29 cases in North Lombok; 101 cases in East Lombok; 52 cases in West Sumbawa Regency; 55 cases in Sumbawa; 70 cases in Dompu, and 114 in Bima

In addition, the mass movements ending in anarchy, violence, vandalism, and clashes with police in 2011 were identified to be a total of 44 cases, and another case of burning of Government Office in Bima on the 10th of January 2012. The highest rate of regional mass anarchism in 2011 were occurred in East Lombok with 10 cases, Bima with 9 cases, West Sumbawa regency with 8 cases, West Lombok district with 6 cases, Central Lombok District with 5 cases, Sumbawa and Bima City each with 2 cases, as well as North Lombok and Dompu with 1 case respectively.

The growing cases of mass anarchism in NTB is more dominated by the problems in mining conflicts, as happened in East Lombok (denial of iron sand mining in the district Pringgabaya), West Lombok regency (Rejection Mine PT. ILBB in District Sekotong), West Sumbawa Regency (mining issues and labor recruitment of PT. NNT) and Bima (Bima Regent Rejection Decree No. 188.45 / 357/004/2010 on mining exploration permits of PT. Sumber Mineral Nusantara in District Lambu, District and Sub-district Sape Langgudu). Some of the acts of violence and mass anarchism were also triggered by differences in religious beliefs considered heretical.

In addition, the above phenomena are also due to the problems of social and political conflicts, such as dissatisfaction with the supporters of the village head candidate during village election. Such anarchism or violence, of course, cannot be regarded a portrait of a radical fundamentalist ideology. However, and at least, that the violence inflicted on the behavior itself, can be seen as a reflection of primordial attitude that tends to change and bring it to “violence.”

There are at least four cases entailing “religion”: First, the case for the establishment of places of worship involving Hindu community of Kampung Tohpati and Sindu, with Muslims from Karang Taliwang, due to the issue of the establishment of places of worship adjacent to each other, namely the construction of a mosque next to temple.

Second, the conflict in 2000 was triggered by the residents of Bali (Hindu) in Tohpati celebrating Nyepi being disturbed by praying sounds of “selakaran”, which was usually accompanied by reading “al-Barzanji.” Although it was reaching a tense moment, the conflict soon could be controlled so it did not escalate to be a public riot.

Third, the case of Ahmadiyah against the community which was caused by its followers who come from East, Central and West Lombok and accommodated in Mataram Majeluk Transito Dormitory, who then experienced violence. The same thing happened between the followers of the group and communities in Sumbawa on 11-12 June 2011.

Fourth, the case of Salafi-Wahabi was against the surrounding community (May 2013) triggered by the activity of the Islamic group followers. The chronological events were disputes between the citizens of Pejarakan Karya (village), Ampenan District and a group of adherents of Salafi-Wahabi, where the residents refused any activities associated to this group. In any case, these four cases could be considered as a part of the violent incidents that entails “fundamentalism-radicalism. (Ruhana, 2011” 93).”

In addition to the aforementioned cases, the most phenomenal anarchic and radical incident was the violence involving a religious dimension, which is called “Case 17”. This case is the most shocking event on the island of Lombok, which took much attention nationwide at that time. The event centered on the city of Mataram, when holding “Tabligh Akbar” (Muslim mass gathering usually related to a big religious event) in the public square of the city on the 17th of January 2001. The event has spawned an adverse impact on the socio-economic dynamics of the society, and even eroded the values of solidarity among religions. Materially, the violence brought about more damages such as the destruction of ten churches, thirty houses and their furniture, twenty-six shops, ten cars, seven motorcycles, not to mention injuring thirteen people, including members of the police.

Some, including the central and local government together with religious leaders of Islam, Christian, and Hindu were taking part to mediate and overcome the case. The resolution to the conflict was led by the local government to proceed the case against the 264 suspected perpetrators who were detained and 18 of whom were convicted. The recovery from the conflict was initiated by the major city involving the local religious leaders, national army branch, and police. The local government and religious leaders quickly responded to the case so that it could be immediately resolved in a relatively short time. The conflict came to an end by the time of the Magrib summon prayer (sun-set time prayer).

To avoid the recurrence of the conflict in the future, there has been an effort to promote the importance of maintaining the unity of tolerant community with different religions and ethnics by government agencies, involving elements of society. To this end, the warring factions will not take any revenge; settlement is done through legal channels, and the willingness of local government to renovate the buildings damaged. Given the Muslim observance in Mataram and NTB in general toward Islamic clergy is very high, government should further involve Muslim scholars in the future in handling the local problems (Wawancara Muchit A. Karim).

However, the critical question is why the incident occurred given the fact that the people are religious, and the island is known as “a thousand mosques.” Various theories mentioned that, the riots in Mataram, was originally influenced by the unresolved case of Ambon, especially the lack of attention of the government to make efforts for resolving the conflict. It is at least foster a sense of deep concern, because compassion is overwhelming that drives emotional attitude or anger of Muslims. This slow action in resolving the case of Ambon, Maluku, triggered the number of mass after gathering in Mataram city square to voice their solidarity.

The most critical question regarding the current mass riots is who the “intellectual actor” is? Given the patterns and magnitude of the events, it was difficult to accept the assertion that the incident was a spontaneous and unplanned. In fact, before the riot happened, Christian leaders had received “terrors” via telephone, which threatened them to leave Mataram within 2 x 24 hours. This terror was actually what saved their lives of the Christians, forced them to leave the island and fled from the city to military barracks. It may be that the mass participation was spontaneous, but it was difficult to accept that such participation just showed up without a ground provocateur.

There were a myriad of rumours spreading in the society regarding the motives of the conflict, including the issue of toppling the governance of Gus Dur as the president at the time, and local scenarios triggered by political elite competitiveness due to being unsatisfied with the governor’ policies. However, legal probe unveiled that the riot was ignited by seven provocateurs, three of whom were identified from Jakarta, and the rests were local and had been arrested to be further

investigated. The three Jakartan provocateurs were known to be the members of a mass organisation usually being active in demonstration, and whose chief used to be blamed as the controlling power behind social restlessness. They indeed were in the city of Mataram during the riot for certain interests pertaining to the Islamic mass gathering known as “*Tabligh Akbar*.”

On the other hand, a member of local council accused that the leader of the mass gathering as the one who was responsible for the public riot to occur. Another house representative who was chairing an NGO distinctly blamed that the conflict was triggered by an ex-governmental officer opposing the governor. Of course, the claims were rejected by the accused. Making an assumption or scenario is straightforward, but it would be better if based upon empirical evidence on the field.

Whatever the theories developed and whoever the responsible men are, the most important thing to be analysed and understood is that anything or anyone that promotes violence (fundamentalism and radicalism) is the most responsible. Any radicalism with its management system generating destructive dimension within community is the real manifestation of radical-terrorism acts and movement.

The solidarity among the Muslims is of paramount importance and essential part of good deeds, and solidarity between the followers of different religions or beliefs is also essential and laudable deed. This is the right principle in which the solidarity building is based, and it ought to be characterized universally given the national situation like Indonesian Unity that entails different ethnics, religions, languages and an enormous number of islands separated by sea.

If it is true that the mass riot in Mataram was triggered by the conflict in Ambon, it can be assumed that the incident was a part of “religious solidarity” in the sense that that was as an implementation of “Jihad” often adhered to as the doctrine of Islamic radical fundamentalists. With reference to the theory of Islamic radicalism and fundamentalism, it is stated that “Jihad” is aimed to reach “*istisyhâd*.” According to the Indonesian Muslim council, the spirit of Jihad among the Muslims has disappeared within the Islamic thoughts and treasure. In addition to that, the opponents of Islam directly or indirectly have taken that concept away, so that they straightforwardly control the Islamic world. Therefore, the duty of Indonesian Mujahidin council and related mass

organizations is to bring back the principle, to reconstruct the meaning and spirit of Jihad, so that Muslims can feel and love the magnificence of their “syahid” (dead for Islamic principle). The spirits such as Jihad and *syahid* are needed by Mujahidin to continue fighting for the sake of Islamic glory (Jamhari and Jahroni, 2004: 74-75). When the conflict involving Islam and Christian communities occurred in Ambon, Indonesian Mujahidin council opined that Ambon was an ideal battle area for Muslims. As a result, the council sent its troops because, as they opined, Muslims in the city were attacked by Christians (Jamhari and Jahroni, 2004: 93).

The meaning of Jihad as elaborated by the Indonesian Mujahidin body was somehow difficult to be interpreted to be other than war against non-Muslims. If this concept is associated to the conflict of 171 in Mataram, as mentioned earlier, it means that the violence against the Christians resulting in the churches burnt will be regarded as Jihad, and Jihad according to radical groups is a symbol of fighting for the sake of the religious values within the religion, with which the Indonesian Mujahidin body advocates that Muslims as the ones attacked.

Aside from the aforementioned incident, there was a violence committed by terrorists in the province of NTB, especially in the district of Bima with reference to the case of Ibnu al-Khathtbab Islamic school, which is believed to link up with other groups from other regions because they are found to be associated with the school (Mbai, 2014: 91-96).

This indicates that the actual phenomenon of radical terrorist violence would be seen as a reality that can not necessarily be considered as the absence of its potential to take place. In the context of NTB, there are at least three facts which show strong potential for radical movements-terrorism, namely; first, a police murdered in Bolo, Bima, which was done by a boarding school student of Umar bin Khattab, in June 2011; Second, a bomb blasted at ‘Umar bin Khattab led Abrori; and the terrors spread in Bima, and other places (Mbai, 2014: 92-94). In addition to that, the undeniable evidence was the arrest of two suspected terrorists.

It was perhaps beyond the perspective of the people in NTB that such events were not initiated or planned by radical fundamentalist

movements. However, an in-depth probe unveiled that the events seemed to be far planned because respective documents revealed that NTB was claimed to be the central part of Jama'ah Islamiyah, which belonged *Mantiqis Tsani*. In their map, it is stated that NTB was categorized into the land of *Mantiqis tsâni*. This can be strong evidence that NTB would be central target to the spread of fundamentalist Islamic radical doctrines, which could end it the establishment of an Indonesian Islamic State.

In the document, it is mentioned that Tsani Mantiqis region (II) consists of the island of Sumatra, Java, Bali and Nusa Tenggara. Mantiqis Tsani is said to be the their base camp due to its potential as Daulah Islamiyah with reference to the past history of Indonesia that the regions were once proclaimed Islamic states, because; (1) Most members of the radical group dwell in the regions; (2) the possibility to recruit Muslims to be their members could be immediate; (3) they could rapidly gained the sympathy of the Muslim community; and (4) they could easily get the support of the Muslims in the regions (Abas, 2006: 126).

It was also further mentioned that Mantiqis Tsani to be led by Abu Fateh, which include the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali, NTB and East Nusa Tenggara (Abas, 2006: 120). Furthermore, it is mentioned that it would be very conducive to achieve the desired goal of establishing Daulah Islamiyah as it could be assisted or supported by the function of the three other Mantiqis, such as Mantigqis Tsani as a source of funding that gained assistance from Mantiqis ula and Mantiqis ukhro. On the other hand, Mantiqis tsâlis (Regional Support Askari) helps develop the recruitment and partnership development (Abas, 2006: 127), and NTB has been planned to be a center of *wakalah* (representative region) for preaching their doctrines (Abas, 2004: 121-127).

With this regard, the researchers argue that NTB is a potential area for the generation of ideas that led to radical acts of violence (terrorism), and Bali bombing can be a vital portrait of the actual plan designed by Jama'ah Islamiyah. Making Nusa Tenggara, which includes Bali, NTB and NTT, has already been designed to be networking program by Al-Qaeda. In other words, the mapping of certain regions by the Jama'ah Islamiyah cannot be independent

from the established network with al-Qaeda, and this is what makes them (Jama'ah Islamiyah) unique, as Bilveer Singh described as the followings:

“What is unique about the regionalization of the JI threat in Southeast Asia has been its ability to link up with various radical groups, many of them well-established and in a position to threaten the security of various states. In this connection, the JI has played a catalytic role in synergizing regional terrorism, especially in close collaboration with the Al-Qaeda. Indonesian intelligence officials have described the JI regional network as follows: *Mantiqi Ula* (or one) covering Sumatra, Singapore, Malaysia and southern Thailand; *Mantiqi Tsani*(or two) covering Java, Bali and eastern Indonesia; *Mantiqi Tsalis* (or three) covering the Philippines, Kalimantan and Sulawesi; and *Mantiqi Robi*(or four) covering Australia and Papua. (Singh, 2004:47-68).”

Whatever the factors behind the various events of terrorist violence, as has happened in several regions in Indonesia, they can be the realization of fundamental and radical perspectives. Perhaps, no one knew, but that the potential for radical terrorists may be in the form of thoughts which can lead to the attitudes and behaviors characterized terrorism. Therefore, the existence of al-Qaeda and Jama'ah Islamiyah with their existing support and power, especially ideological capital to establish Daulah Islamiyah, cannot be denied. In this context, the 171 cases portray that the radical ideology either consciously or not has obviously penetrated into the mind of some Muslims.

The Identification of Radicalism and Terrorism in NTB

This section presents findings related to radical Islamic groups in NTB. Drawing on the data from Cabinda NTB and several facts on the ground, it is uncovered that there are several radical groups in the province, which include, first, the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI) in the village of Tirpas, Korleko Labuhan Haji East Lombok; second, Khilafatul Muslimin (KM) in West Sumbawa regency. So far, most of its cadres have been spread throughout Dompu and Bima; third, Tawhid Wal Jihad (TWJ) in the Village of Penatoi, Bima city; Fourth, Anharut Jama'ah Tauhid (JAT), which centered in Bima, and it has a close bond with the group of TWJ in Bima and JAS in Bima; fifth, Jama'ah Ansharu of Sharia (JAS). It is located in Bima and in Dompu. Together with the group of JAT and TWJ, this group

has a link or network with Poso, Santoso's group of East Indonesian Mujahidin.

What is more, the wanted terrorists in Poso, who are from Bima, are linked to have a network with East Indonesian Mujahidin led by Santoso. They are members of JAT and TWJ groups based in the subdistrict of Penatoi, Mpuda district, Bima city. This is proven by the fact that some of their cadres are arrested and some of whom become wanted in POSO.

In addition, some of the wanted Bimanese terrorists in Poso are assumed to hide and exercise in the coastal areas of Foothills Sangeang and Mount Tambora Bima, and to own weapons and the ability to assemble weapons and pipe bombs. It is in line with the finding of some evidence pertaining to the arrested terrorists in Bima and Dompu during the years 2011-2015 (Kabinda NTB, 2015). Recently, it has been recorded that approximately 7 wanted terrorists of Poso are originally from Bima and Dompu, who are associated to East Indonesian Mujahidi group led by Santoso. Their presence spreads across a number of regions such as Poso, Makassar and Bima and Dompu, and not yet caught.

Furthermore, to complement the findings of this study, the following are the shooting cases against members of the police in the district of Bima. During a period of 5 months in 2014, there were three cases found. First, on the March 28, 2014, at around 11:12 pm, in the mountains of Belo (Doro Belo) Village Belo, District Palibelo, Bima, the shooting against a Police member Bima, who was identified as Ipda Hanafi (specialized in drug crime). Second, on the June 2, 2014 at 21:45 pm, on main road connecting Bima and Sumbawa, Rasabou Village, District Bolo, Bima, was the shooting of the Bripka M. Yamin (an intelligence agent of Police unit Bima). Third, a shooting that killed Ambalawi police chief, Inspector Abdul Salam on August 16, 2014, around 07.00 pm, at Ramp Sori Limbi Ambalawi subdistrict, Bima (Kabinda NTB, 2015).

With regard to the investigation of the five arrested terrorists on the 20 Sept 2014, Dedi Irawan was strongly found to be involved in a series of shootings against police in Bima, along with Nurdin and Adnan Jovin who were shot to death, and Fajar who escaped during the arrest of the two terrorists on the January 8 2015. From 2013

to October 2015, during the arrests and raids in Bima, Dompu and Sumbawa, there were 18 terrorists caught and 6 died. There were 13 of the wanted Bimanese terrorists involved in Poso, who were captured alive and dead.

Conclusion

The emergence of the ideology of radicalism-terrorism was motivated by complex multifaceted factors, some of which include misinterpretation of the teaching principles of Islam characterized by literal-scripture, rigid and truth claims. The main characteristic is related to the understanding and interpretation of the doctrine of jihad, which tends to be rigid and textual, for example. The phenomenon of violence and radical acts that happened lately has generated restlessness among the community, which is not in line with the Islamic teachings, and has harmed the values of humanity. The tendency to commit such violence is claimed to be the manifestation of radical ideology as demonstrated by some radical Islamic group in NTB.

The development of the so-called radical ideology is increasingly worrying in Indonesia because of the birth of the current terrorist group known as ISIS during which the country is still striving to uproot the Al-Qaeda terrorist embryos. In carrying out its mission, ISIS employs more radical and violent approaches, such as killing and slaughtering, which are against the value of humanity.

One of the areas being susceptible to the spread of radicalism and terrorism is NTB, particularly Bima, Dompu and Sumbawa, in the light of the geographical position of the regions which is far from the central government. For this reason, the respective radical groups make use such given situation. In addition, the majority of moderate Muslims on the island of Lombok and other areas in NTB tend to remain silent or reluctant to fighting against the evil ideology.

The reluctance of the majority group in addressing the crucial issue also needs to be questioned. Why are they likely afraid to speak out? Why do they let these tiny radical-terrorist groups hold Islam as a hostage by claiming themselves as the most religious, and allow them on behalf of Islam to do something that is not in line with the Islamic teachings, say, they acts in a way that is radical and violent

(radicalism and terrorism). This question urgently needs a further investigation.

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