

Islamic Radicalism: History and a Case Study in the Indonesia Context

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Abstract: In the history of Islam, in the classical era, radicalism has existed, so that it is not a new phenomenon in the modern age. Since the time of the Caliph Umar radicalism has emerged, but not yet organized, only in the time of the Caliph Ali bin Abu Talib this movement began to be systemized and organized through a Khawarij theological movement with its radical and uncompromising understanding of various acts of violence to oppose the takhim or arbitration between the caliphs. Ali ibn Abi Talib and Muawiyah. Arbitration takes place in the context of the Shiffin war in which the khawarij group considers those who agreed to deviate from Islamic teachings. Later in Cairo an organization that had the same characteristics as the khawarij emerged, who wanted the authenticity of the teachings of Islam in the form of literal interpretation, without compromise, softening or reduction or reinterpretation. In filling out theological studies related to radicalism, this research was made to analyze "The relationship between radical genealogists in the classical period and the contemporary era in interpreting the Qur'an literally" At the end of the analysis will discuss the deconstruction of jihad as an effort to explain the meaning of jihad from various paradigms.

Keywords: Islam Indonesia, deconstruction, jihad, radicalism.

A. Introduction

In the traditions and history of Muslims, symptoms of violent behaviour emerge through a *Khawarij* theological movement, that happened in the context of the Shiffin war, where these people opposed *tahkim* or arbitration conducted by the caliph Ali bin Abi Talib with Muawiyah bin Abi Sofyan. The Khawarij

movement emerged as a political reaction and disappointment with the arbitration or agreement made by both parties, so that the Khawarij movement argued that the settlement efforts had to return to the teachings in the Koran and the Sunnah of the Prophet and they made their government and appointed priests from their class.¹

In the next era in 1928 there was a movement in Cairo that had the same characteristics as the Khawarij, was Al-Ikhwan Al-Muslimin. These people, in terms of creed and *sharia*, invite people to return to the Qur'an and the sunnah of the prophet and try to eliminate the contradictions between various orders. In principle, these two groups have the same characteristic, is returning to Islamic authenticity.² Besides, other characteristics of the Qur'anic text must be understood literally, without compromise, softening or reduction or reinterpretation, the reason for literal understanding is that contextual or hermeneutic understanding will take humans further away from the purity of the doctrine of the holy book.³

What about the radical movements in the contemporary era? The rise of radical Islam is strongly influenced by the West or is a reaction to Western hegemony and domination, both culturally and politically. Culturally, Islamic radicalism reacts and rejects rationalism, secularism, liberalism, pluralism and also in the political system rejects democracy.⁴ In their perspective, the revival of Muslims occurs when pure Islamic teachings return to the texts of the Qur'an and hadiths and also classical works as a basis for a framework of thought with textual understanding and regardless of historical context, thus ignoring the fact that the times are always evolving and have change.⁵ In their view, the community must

¹Harun Nasution, *Teologi Islam, Aliran-Aliran Sejarah, Analisis Perbandingan*, (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1986), 4-5.

²Syaiful Arif, *Islam, Pancasila dan Deradikalisasi, Meneguhkan Nilai ke Indonesiaan*, (Jakarta: PT Elex Media Komputindo, 2018), 117.

³Asyumardi Azra, *Pergolakan Politik Islam dari Fundamentalisme, Modernism hingga Post Modernism*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996), 147-148.

⁴Stefan Malthaner, Radicalization: The Evolution of an Analytical Paradigm, *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol.58, Issue 3 (2017), 371, DOI: 10.1017/S0003975617000182. See also Asta Maskaliūnaitė, Exploring the Theories of Radicalization, *International Studies Interdisciplinary Political and Cultural Journal*, Volume 17, Number 1 (2015): 10. DOI: 10.1515/ipcj-2015-0002; Asta Maskaliūnaitė, Exploring the Theories of Radicalization, *International Studies Interdisciplinary Political and Cultural Journal*, Volume 17, Number 1 (2015): 14, 20. DOI: 10.1515/ipcj-2015-0002.

⁵Abas Mansur Tamn, *Islamic Worldview, Paradigma Intelektual Muslim*, (Jakarta: Spirit Media, 2017), xvi.

adjust its development and as a reference in the text of the scriptures, not the other way around, text or interpretation that follows the development of society. Authentic claims in Islam are efforts to purify Islam from non-Islamic culture that refers to western culture.

Rasionalism is rejected because it is considered to demolish the Islamic mindset that submit on the scriptures, not the reason as the main source of thought and truth. Secularism is considered to undermine the unity of religion and politics which are essential to Islam while the secular social system separates religion from the public sphere. Pluralism is rejected because it equates all religions as equal truths.

In politics, the democratic system is rejected because it is not in accordance with the Islamic view. In the democratic system, sovereignty is in the hands of the people, while in their perspective the sovereignty is in the hands of God and makes Islamic *sharia* as the highest sovereignty.⁶ At the political level the authenticity of Islam is found in the *chaliphate* system where the leadership of the *Caliph* is not hereditary except through general election, but sovereignty remains in the hands of God represented through Islamic law and Shariah rules.⁷ The establishment of a *chaliphate* state is the ultimate enforcement of *sharia*, because without the *Chaliphate* the *sharia* cannot be applied. Therefore, the *chaliphate* is part of the mabda 'Islam and without the placement of Islam as the mabda', the *chaliphate* will not be able to be enforced.

B. Methods

At this writing, the author uses the method of literature study, in which this study takes discussion topics from various literatures that appropriate and relevant to the title of the writing. The use of literature studies was by collecting literature related to the title of writing then the writer analyzes and evaluates each study of theories and problems. Descriptive method is used to provide an overview of what is discussed, is radicalism and its history. That is why it is important to provide clarity in the concept of radicalism and its history in Indonesia particularly.

⁶Caroline Cox, John Markus, *The West Islam and Islamism* (London: Civitas, Institute for the Study of Civil Society, 2003), 50-55; Asta Maskaliūnaitė, *Exploring the Theories of Radicalization*: 12-15, 18.

⁷Syaiful Arif, *Islam, Pancasila dan Deradikalisasi, Meneguhkan Nilai ke Indonesiaan*, 120.

The terminology of religious radicalism if connected to terms in Arabic is not found in the Arabic dictionary. The word used for radicals is "*Al-Tatharruf*" which means edge, standing at the edge and far from the middle, and it has the meaning of excessive attitude in responding to something.⁸ Excessive attitudes raised a self-isolating from other views, regard different ones as heresies, even attitudes like these are very dangerous if it reaches the level of disbelieving others and justifying their blood.

Etymologically the term radicalism comes from the word *Radix* or root which describes a process leading to the root of a problem. The appendix of *-ism* made it a social political ideology, departing from certain roots of thinking and wants to make a fundamental and comprehensive change.⁹ In *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* the term radical means, as a whole, all-out, very hard and demanding change.¹⁰ The term radical is often associated with the Western view of Fundamentalism in Islam or Islamism which shows more symptoms of the rise of Islam through militancy and extreme fanaticism by interpreting religious texts in a narrow insight, usually ends in destructive and anarchic actions, to achieve goals by using violent means.¹¹

The term Islamic Fundamentalism refers to a movement that calls for a return process to the foundations of Islamic teachings, the Qur'an and Hadith by rejecting the rationalism, Sufism spirituality and non-Islamic traditions. Fundamentalists fight for things like fighting infidels who are trying to destroy Islam from the outside and fighting against Muslims themselves who are trying to destroy the teachings of Islam from within. Both are done to maintain the purity of Islamic teachings and to restore the form of spirituality.¹² Al-Asymawi's opinion states the use of the term fundamentalism, purposes to explain extreme actions in Islam, which cannot be equated with the teachings of Islam as a whole for Islamic teachings do not represent acts of violence, destructive, and anarchist.¹³

⁸Yusuf Qardhawi, terj. Hawin Murthado, *Islam Radikal, Analisis terhadap Radikalisme dalam Berislam*, (Solo: Era intermedia, 2004), 23.

⁹Syaiful Arif, *Islam, Pancasila dan Deradikalisasi, Meneguhkan Nilai ke Indonesiaan*, 165.

¹⁰Tim Penyusunan Dep. Pendidikan dan kebudayaan RI, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Balai pustaka, 1991), 281; Asta Maskaliūnaitė, *Exploring the Theories of Radicalization*: 12-13.

¹¹Zianuddin Alavi, *Islamic Educational Thought in Middle Ages*, (Hindia: Heiderabat, 1983), 12.

¹²Syaiful arif, *Deradikalisasi Islam, Paradigma dan Strategi Islam Kultural* (Depok: Koekoesan, 2010), 11-14.

¹³Muhamad Said Al-ashmawi, *Agains Said Al-Ashmawi*, (Florida: University of Florida, 1998), 21.

C. History of Radicalism in Islam

History of violent behavior and anarchist actions in Islam, actually related to politics and leadership in the time of Khulafaur Rasyidin, where at that time the leader was Ali ibn Abi Talib, from political and leadership issues affect to religion as a symbol and finally became their ideology. After the death of the Prophet Muhammad the world of leadership in government and society held by the caliph Abu Bakr as-Shidiq. At that time the process of appointing a caliph emerged through various arguments, debates, ethnicism, and racism.¹⁴ If we look far back the issue of violence had occurred in the early days of the appointment of the caliph, however had not yet systemized and well-organized. The politics of government in the days of Khulafaur Rasyidin experienced various dynamics. The power struggle was carried out in various ways and used many instruments.

The reign of the caliph Umar also ended with the killing of the caliph, then his successor Caliph Utsman bin Affan run the government for 12 years and finally killed by a group of Muslims. The group is indicated by Ali bin Abi Talib's.¹⁵ After that the government was replaced by the caliph Ali bin Abi Talib. In the government of caliph Ali emerged a theological movement calling themselves as *Khawarij*. The existence of this group as a reaction to the attitude of the Caliph Ali who arranged an agreement with his opposition group *Mu'awiyah* and this agreement or arbitration could not accepted by the *Khawarij* movement who had been part of the caliphate of Ali bin Abi Talib.¹⁶

Arbitration took place in the context of the Shiffin war, in which the caliphate people who prevailed was Ali ibn Abi Talib as a substitute for the Utsman caliph who held an arbitration with a group that did not approve if Ali replacing the Utsman caliph. They demanded that the caliph Ali punished the killer of the Caliph Uthman and suspected the involvement of the Caliph Ali in that assassination. In addition, they demanded the Caliph Ali to take legal action against the rebellion that resulted the murder of the Caliph Utsman bin Affan, but Caliph Ali did not take any action on the rebels instead raised one of the rebels to become governor in Egypt.¹⁷ Conflicts and power struggles reached a peak in the Shiffin

¹⁴Abdul Halim, *Pidato para Khalifah Persoalan Negara, Demokrasi dan Penegakan Hukum*, (Surabaya: INDES, 2015), 1-2.

¹⁵Philip K. Hitti, *A Short History of the ArabSsejarah Ringkas Peradaban Arab Islam*, (Jakarta: Qapam, 2018), 87.

¹⁶Harun Nasution, *Teologi Islam*, 11.

¹⁷Harun Nasution, *Teologi Islam*, 11.

War. The Mu'awiyah people asked for peace by raising the Holy Qur'an and proposing an agreement or *takhim* between the two parties. The arbitration actually is an effort of the Muawiyah people to overthrow the leadership of the Caliph Ali and claim power from him. From the front of Caliph's followers Ali ibn Abi Talib came a number of people who did not agree to the agreement, so they finally left the Caliph's line and set up their own group, Khawarij.

The Khawarij people argues that war cannot be resolved by human means such as arbitration but war can only be resolved through existing laws in the Koran and the Sunnah of the Prophet. They say that arbitration is out of Allah's law so that those who carry out arbitration are unbelievers (*kafir*). Khawarij movement has been recorded in history as radical groups not only in the context of understanding but also in the form of anarchist and destructive actions. This group understands the teachings of Islam literally, there should be no hermeneutics, also interpretations and reinterpretations so that those who disagree or have different views are considered deviated from Islamic teachings and are permitted to have their blood lawful (*halal*) to be killed.¹⁸

The Khawarij radicalism movement did not stop at the dispute of the Caliph Ali bin Abi Talib's conflict with Muawiyah, but this movement continued their struggle and opposition to official power both in the days of the Umayyads and the Abbasids. From the historical record of organized radicalism movement emerged through Khawarij movement where violence was carried out as a manifestation of their faith as a form of defending religion and restoring the authenticity of Islamic teachings using literal or textual interpretations of their holy book.

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The afterward era in 1928 in Cairo Hasan Al-Bana founded an organization called Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin. In their creed and *sharia* this group invites people back to the teachings of the Koran and the sunnah of the Prophet. According to

¹⁸Ahmad Gholib, *Teologi Dalam Perspektif Islam* (Jakarta: UIN, 2005), 47.

them there is no right law except the law of God in the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet, by using textual interpretation, so that we can see these both radical movements have the same characteristics which in essence are wants to restore the authenticity of the purity of Islamic teachings. And as a basis is Quran and hadith of the prophet which are interpreted literally and rejected hermeneutic or critical attitude towards the text of the Koran and its interpretation. They view that the text of the Qur'an does not require interpretation in historical, sociological or cultural contexts for the Qur'an and the hadith of the prophet only need to be interpreted literally.

D. Radicalism in the Contemporary Era

Radical movements in Islam in the contemporary era are more influenced by responses to the West. In the case of secularism which is considered dangerous because it will threaten the purity of Islam. The teachings of Islam in the public sphere requires that the community be governed by the holy book and Islamic law as a rule in the state.¹⁹ In the historical record, the Khawarij movement is the embryo of the emergence of the seeds of radicalism. Their rigid doctrine that those who do not obey God's law according to the texts in the scriptures and hadith, then they are considered as unbelievers (*kafir*) and must be opposed moreover their blood was permitted (*halal*). If we look at the historical track then radicalism arises because of disappointment in politics and leadership as well as literal interpretation of religious teachings, then in the contemporary era the issue of literal interpretation remains as a contributing factor to the rise of radicalism.

Besides, social and politic factors trigger this religious movement, evokes the inability of some people to integrate the education system, family structure, economy and political aspirations of Islam in the life of the modern nation. This inability makes their position as marginalized and this is understood as the loss of the spiritual dimension in their lives.²⁰ The existence of such a thing caused them to reject the various arrangements of modernity and secularity. The socio-cultural and social systems that exist in secularity separate religion from public space and this contradicts with their views. This is because Islam is not only a spiritual

¹⁹Karen Armstrong, *Berperang demi Tuhan, Fundamentalisme dalam Islam, Kristen dan Yahudi* (Jakarta: Serambi, 2001), ix.

²⁰Abdurahman Wahid, *Islamic Fundamentalism a Southeast Asia Perspective*, (Jakarta, 1981), 4.

religion that regulates God's relationship with humans but also regulates human inter-relations, so absolute obedience and submission to the scriptures interpreted through Islamic law must be applied in social, cultural, political, economic, educational, and legal systems. and the entire arrangement of life.

By this way Islam as a teaching must encompass all arrangements of life such from social, cultural, political, educational, legal including the social system and religious system as modernization has covered all secular life arrangements.²¹ Radical groups argue that the whole system of modern life is atheist for it is formed from secularization, rationalization, and humanization. In rationalization it makes reason as the main source of thought and truth so that all sources of knowledge including religious knowledge are under reason. Whereas in humanization, man is the main source, this principle places man as a substitute for Allah and Allah only creates enough but the one who has the power to determine everything is human, such a principle is rejected by radical groups.

In its movement, radicalism wants to restore the authenticity of Islam that is not influenced by atheistic modern lifestyles so that the establishment of a caliphate state is the peak of the struggle for the re-Islamization of society. The three main pillars in their movement are monotheism (*tauhid*) which abolished the sovereignty of the people, the message of the Prophet is the Koran and the hadith which formed the Shari'a and caliphate. In the state system or government, every mankind must submit to sovereignty of God in Islamic law (*syariat*) and this is their goal.²²

In the context, in Indonesia, a systematic and well-organized radical group is HTI. This group starts their movement through *halaqah-halaqah* or recitals to explore their movement. Besides of open recitation, *tabligh akbar*, preaching in large mosques with the idea of the Caliphate continues to be echoed and fought. In the political arena open demonstration actions are an instrument in interacting with the public and show of force efforts.

This movement is also carried out through regeneration on campuses with strategy and organization in the form of closed small cells. It means that the student organization and movement as though the activities of usual spiritual religious formation and free from the label of radicalism. The movement in student

²¹Syaiful Arif, *Islam, Pancasila, dan Deradikalisasi*, 119.

²²Abud a'la Al-maududi, *Islamic Way of Life*, (Dacca: East Pakistan Islamic Publication, 1965), 63-75.

area is systematic and well organized, dominating the campus more than previous student movements like KAMMI. Their popularity is triggered by the Islamic revival factor and the struggle of Islam as a marginalized group and positioning them as a critical group.²³

In the struggle to achieve their objectives, HTI commit a strategy that is first, including the establishment of a caliphate state as a structural prerequisite in implementing Islamic law and secondly, a system of *sharia* legislation in all aspects of life.²⁴ In this case the management of all sectors of the state, natural resources, education, labor, economic and political development must all be regulated through Sharia legislation.

E. Character of Radicalism

Idealistic and Integralistic Approach

Radical groups want to apply Islamic values in an ideal way, an Islamic state or Islamic caliphate that refers to governance in the era of the Prophet Muhammad and the *Khulafaur Al-Rashidin* as their goals. This idealism was tried to be realized through an integral approach where the Islamic creed was happened not in the area of religion only, but the sharia is carried out and applied in all aspects of life including social and politics.²⁵

In their paradigm "with Islam for Islam," that means Islam is a solution for the Islam community (*ummah*) and to enforce of Islamic teachings by applying in all aspects of life including in religious life which arranged by Sharia legislation. This idea is not just a discourse in the form of a hypothesis but operative because it is operationally and conceptually already struggled through political movements and strategies with various instruments used.

Scripturalism

Textual interpretation of scriptures are God's words that cannot be wrong (*inerrancy*).²⁶ The Qur'an cannot be wrong because it is not a human product. It is

²³Kholid Novianto, *Gerakan Keagamaan Transnasional di Dunia Islam dan Pemetaan Jejaknya di Indonesia*, Jurnal Reform Review, Vol I April-Juni, 2007, 67-68.

²⁴Tim Penulis HTI, *Syariah Islam Dalam Kebijakan Publik, Politik, Pendidikan, Sosial dan Hukum*, (Jakarta: HTI Press, 2006), 313.

²⁵Syaiful Arif, *Islam, Pancasila, dan Deradikalisasi*, 175.

²⁶Marthin E. Marty, *What is Fundamentalism?* Theological perspective, dalam Hans Kung dan Jurgen Moltmann, (London: Mac Millan, 1992), 3-13.

revealed through revelation to the Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, the Qur'an cannot be wrong in its teachings, intentions and sentences or passages. The texts in the Koran must be understood literally, as are the sounds and editors so it caused hermeneutics are not in line with their character in the interpretation of the text of the Koran. Human thought cannot provide a proper interpretation of the text, because of human limitations in their ability to understand the text and to interpret it.

In this case the radical group rejects the historical and socio-cultural context when the Qur'anic text was made, because it is not the text that must follow the development of society but rather the development of society which must follow the text and the text becomes the basis of the development of society.²⁷ In the development of history, sociology, and culture, it is considered to bring people further away from the literal doctrine of the holy book and the authenticity of pure Islamic teachings. The truth of religious interpretations is monopolized by this group which considers themselves to be the most legitimate and valid interpreters so consider other groups who disagree as a misled and unbeliever (*kafir*) group. Examples of this case is HTI. Radicalism movements in this era are radical in their political views, even though they use non-anarchic methods such terrorists but they are committed to fundamentally political change and replace them with an Islamic state under the leadership of the caliphate through their strategies and various instruments used such as through campuses.²⁸

Rejection of Pluralism

Pluralism in the view of radicalism is to equate all religions as equal truth and that is not in accordance with Islamic teachings. The character of Islam as a religion which its truth is universal and absolute opposites with pluralism. *Jamaludin Al-Afgani*, an Islamic thinker in his view, criticizes liberal Islam and says that people who are *taklid* (unquestioning acceptance of traditional religious interpretations) in subjection to the civilizations of other nations, actually they are not really the owners of the sciences they adopt. Every people who follow in the footsteps of other nations and adopt or be influenced by other cultures and teachings will be used by the enemies of the people to intervene, to open

²⁷Stefan Malthaner, *Radicalization: The Evolution of an Analytical Paradigm*: 376.

²⁸Karagiannis dan Clark Mc Cauley, *Hizbut tahir Al-Islami; Evelating the Threat posed by a Radical Islamic Group that Remannis Non Violence, dalam Terrorism and Political Violence*, No.58 (2006), 318; Asta Maskaliūnaitė, *Exploring the Theories of Radicalization*: 13.

opportunities or the door for the enemy to solidify his grip.²⁹ The liberal movement in the body of the Muslims which prioritizes tolerance and pluralism is a destroyer of the creed, the virtues of *Ahlak (moral)* and all the values of the strengths of the Ummah and its identity.

They are seen as people who damage their religion, are permissive and prepare the way for the enslavement of foreign nations and are a threat to the purity of Islam.³⁰ The suspicion of radical groups towards other peoples' civilizations will destroy the Islamic creed and *sharia* from its purity that makes them reject pluralism.³¹

F. Types of Radicalism

In Indonesia radicalism is more grow, the character movement in general is a textual of the Qur'an and Hadith, purification of religion from foreign cultures such as modernization, secularization and want to change the existing political system with their ideal politics in the era of the Prophet Muhammad's reign as an ideal model Islamic government. If examined, there are several radical movements in Indonesia such as:

Puritan movement, this movement emerged from a sect in Saudi Arabia followers of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab and in Indonesia known as the *Wahabi* movement. This movement is more on the purification of religion from local culture (cultural) with a *da'wah* strategy without political goals even less terrorism.³²

²⁹Muhamad Emara, *Al-amal, al-kamilah li Jamaluddin Al-afgani* (Cairo, Ed: University Press, 1968), 195-197.

³⁰Ridho Muhamad Rasyid, *Tafsir Al-Manar*, (Cairo: Dar Al-Manar, 1947), 663-664.

³¹Other statement, Malthener explain "Radicalization" has become an analytical paradigm that crucially shapes the way about and seek to explain certain forms of political violence. And further said that the idea of cognitive radicalization as the adoption of abstract "teachings", and focusing on the way in which violence relies upon and activates basic notions of identity as well as perceptions of opponents and audiences, and the transformation of subjectivities and "embodied capacities". See Stefan Malthaner, *Radicalization: The Evolution of an Analytical Paradigm*: 392.

³²Malthaner said that the notion of "radicalization" provided a welcome opportunity to address the "roots of terrorism. While semantically the term can also refer to situations, in research on political violence it is mainly used with reference to actors and/or forms of action (movements or groups "become radicalized," or we observe a "radicalization of forms of protest"), whereas the term "escalation" is used to refer to situations and patterns of interactions (i.e. confrontations "escalate"). See Stefan Malthaner, *Radicalization: The Evolution of an Analytical Paradigm*: 370-371. About radicalism engineers research in the world can read Diego Gambetta and Steffen Hertog, Why are there so many

Next is the political *Salafi*; this movement wanted to establish an Islamic state, to change the order of society as a whole and replace the political system. There are several models of government such as the *Daulah Islamiyah* which are a realistic softening and adopting a *nation state* system, is *trias politica*, but this adoption is implied in the Islamic political tradition. In the legislative body, they are likened to the *syuro* assembly which contains *ahlul halli wal'aqdi*, are analysis experts who are influential in the community in the field of Islamic religion. In the field of executive institutions, it was held by a Caliph who was elected democratically by the *Shuro* Council, while the judiciary is led by a *Qadli* or Islamic jurist whose constitutional basis is Islamic Sharia.³³ In Indonesia national Islamic state movements such as the *Ikhwanul Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood)* represented through the *Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)*, a political party softened the ideology of carrying out the *Jakarta Charter* for the application of the *Shari'a*, to the *Medina Charter* which was equalized through *Pancasila*.³⁴

Other international scale movements such as *Hizb ut-Tahir* fought for the Islamic Caliphate state in Indonesia and made various strategies by socialization to the people in various places such as on campuses, in recitations, in big mosques, and the chosen path of struggle is the extra parliamentary path through anti-nationalism and anti-democratic propaganda. In recent demonstrations there were mixed and impure movements from the *Hizb-Tahir Indonesia* movement, and also other parties who chose the parliamentary path such as the *Ikhwanul Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood)*.³⁵

Salafi Jihadi, this movement's strategy is through terrorism. This movement carries out *jihad* based on literal texts such as in *al-Maidah* letter (*Surat al-Maidah*) v.44: "Whoever does not decide according to what Allah SWT revealed, then they are unbelievers (*kafir*)" then in *al-Taubah* v.36 which reads: "and fight all the polytheists (*musyirikin*) as they fight you all". In addition to the two verses above, the basis for *jihad* against people who are considered to threaten the teachings of Islam and categorized as unbelievers (*kafir*) is referring to *Al-Anfal* v.39 which

Engineers among Islamic Radical?, *European Journal of Sociology*, Volume 50, Issue 2 (2009). DOI: 201-230—0003-9756/09/0000-900.

³³Anthony Black, *The History of Islamic Politik Thought: From the Prophet to the Present*, (Cairo, ED: University Press, 2011), 14.

³⁴Syaiful Arif, *Islam, Pancasila, dan Deradikalisasi*, 181; Jamhari, Mapping Radical Islam in Indonesia, *STUDIA ISLAMIKA: Indonesia Journal for Islamic Studies*, Volume 10, Number 3 (2003): 11, 16.

³⁵For Jamhari writes some profiles of Indonesia Contemporary Islamic Militant Movement in Jamhari, Mapping Radical Islam in Indonesia: 10-15.

reads: "Fight them unbelievers (*kafir*) so that there is no more slander, the religion belongs entirely to Allah". This kind of understanding bear to *takfiri* views or consider as infidels to other groups who disagree with even fellow Muslims and this is the main doctrine of terrorist movement. In recent years even the context of unbeliever (*kafir*) has been expanded such as: Governments who do not make the Qur'an and the Hadith as constitutions and *sharia* as laws; those who elect leaders or members of parliament are not from Islamic parties; those who obey the government who is not based on Islamic law; also to those who respect the flag, national anthem and adhere to the instruments of the state. This expanded view of the meaning of unbelievers (*kafir*) was later refined through *jihād* wars or in the form of terrorism such as bombs carried out in various places both abroad and in Indonesia.

G. Radicalism in Indonesia (Case Study of HTI)

Thinking Base

HTI is one of the well-organized radical movements in Indonesia, so it is better for us to be familiar with HTI's thinking based of their politics and order of life in society. In understanding Islam as a religion, HTI interprets Islam as an ideology (*mabda'*) so that it has a political movement. The *aqeedah* is understood not only as a spiritual dimension but as a rule for all worldly problems, a comprehensive set of rules regarding the order of life. Islam as an ideology is: Islam as *fikrah* (thought); Islam as *Tariqah* (method).³⁶ Islamic *fikrah* has the formulation of *aqidah* and *sharia* which provides the formulation of the order of life which is fully adopted from the Qur'an as a book that is believed complete, God's revelation directly to humans, innerancy, whereas in *thariqah* which is an embodiment of the rules in implementing the *Aqidah and Sharia*. For the achievement of *sharia* enforcement, their form can be applied only to the Caliphate state, so that the political movement becomes an instrument and becomes part of the words (*mabda'*) of Islam. Without the placement of Islam as *mabda'*, then the Caliphate cannot be upheld.³⁷ *Mabda'* is upheld as the order of life Which regulate the society in a country or even all of mankind.

³⁶Syaiful Arif, *Islam, Pancasila, dan Deradikalisasi*, 136.

³⁷Ainur Rofiq Al-amin, *Membongkar Proyek Khilafah ala Hizbut Tahir Indonesia*. (Yogyakarta: KIS, 2012), 109-117.

HTI provides their thinking base for upholding Islamic law as follows: Philosophical foundation, where the basis was the teachings of Islam that have to be applied in social order, economic, cultural, political, legal and overall arrangements so that as a structural platform for the implementation of Islamic teachings in all aspects of life is the Islamic state of the Caliphate. The perfection of Islam as a religion is stated in the verses of the Qur'an QS. (5):3; "*Al-yauma akmaitu lakum di inakum waat mamtu alaikum ni'matii lakum al-Islama diinaa.*" Meaning: On this day I have perfected for you your religion, and I have sufficiently to you my comfort, and I have been pleased (*ridhoi*) that Islam has become a religion for you.

Normative foundation: a basis of the caliphate command found in the source of Islamic law, was the Qur'an as the revelation of God and the highest source of law, then the hadith of the prophet, *ijma* and the fourth *qiyas* as the source of Islamic law which is the basis in the implementation of Islamic law to regulate the life order of the humankind. One of the basics is QS. (5);48 which means as follows: "Then decide on their case according to what Allah sent down and do not follow their passions by leaving the truth that has come to you". Through this verse, they commanded and *mandatory* to appoint a leader who regulates the problems of the mankind according to the law of God, so that a caliph have to do based on Islamic law.

Historical Basis: the historical argument refers to the era of the Caliphate in the *Khulafaur al-Rashidin* period to the *Abbsiyyah* dynasty for a period of 125 years where found a single political unity in the Islamic world.³⁸

Political Conception

The Caliphate system is the concept of HTI through the election of the people, but sovereignty is not in the hands of the people except in the hands of God represented *through the leader or caliph*. The Caliphate Islamiyah is a state whose sovereignty lies within the Islamic Sharia, so that both the parliament and state leaders are submit to Shariah rules. Although HTI's political thought and agenda are revolutionary that changes the entire political order, but the strategies that are carried out evolutionarily through education, execute to doctrine people of the truth of Islamic teachings that must be realized in the form of the Caliphate Islamiyyah state. Democracy is against the teachings of Islam because the

³⁸Ainur Rafiq, *Membongkar Proyek Khilafah*, op.cit, 109-139.

determination of the law is based on people's representatives and this was a western style democracy. In this system the people or their representatives in parliament become a source of law and have the right to determine the law. Democratic system in a country where Muslim is a majority such Indonesia, Islamic law is still only a viable option applied or not, depends on the agreement of the most votes in parliament, while Islamic law is not an option but the only choice in establishing the law.³⁹

H. Deconstruction of Jihad

Jihad has various interpretations, often misused by groups who interpret jihad as war. Indeed jihad is an important part of Islamic teachings, there are even people who interpret jihad as a universal religious obligation for Muslims to wage jihad in the context of establishing an Islamic revolution on a global scale.⁴⁰ Jihad in the view of an Islamic scholar *Usamah Sayyid al-Ashary* is: "A good work which means broad and glorious, where war is one of its forms which is very related to *maqashid sharia*, which meaning is *da'wah* giving guidance (*hidayah*) and reviving the human souls, not for killed."⁴¹ In this context *jihad* must be accompanied by glorious values and policies that encourage Muslims to preserve the earth well as the caliph that Allah placed on earth and other good actions such as raising animals, bringing people to obtain *guidance (hidayah)*.

When viewed from the word *jihad* itself, it comes from the words *jahada*, *jahdun*, *juhdun*, in which the three words have the meaning of effort, strength so that the meaning is more on issuing all strength, sincerity on the path that is believed to be true. In other words, earnest to make someone who can fully appreciate the words of *La Ilaha Illallah*, that is *jihad*.⁴² The term for war is *qital*, *qatala*, and is only the smallest part that is worthy of *jihad*. In the global sense of *jihad* is to control the passions, say the right thing to the ruler of wrongdoing (*dzalim*) without taking up arms. From this understanding we can draw a conclusion that *jihad* is not always related to war except to defend oneself. But *jihad* will be more like the struggle for power in carrying out the teachings of Islam

³⁹Tim penulis HTI, *Syariah islam dalam kebijakan publik*, v.

⁴⁰Esposito, *Unholy war, teror atas nama islam*, 30-31.

⁴¹Usamah Sayyid al-ashary, *Islam Radikal Telaah Kritis Radikalisme dari Ikhwanul Muslimin hingga ISIS*, (Arab: Dar Al-fiqih, 2015), 102.

⁴²Zainnudin S. Nainggolan, *Inilah Islam, Falsafah dan Hikmah keEsaan Allah*, (Jakarta: Kalam Mulia, jilid I, 2012), 104.

including in controlling lust. There are some movements that interpret literally so that the religion itself is interpreted superficially and partially.

Al-Qur'an allows war related to self-defense as explained in the QS. Al-Hajj (22): 39-40 which means: "Has been allowed to fight against those who are fought, because they are actually persecuted, and indeed Allah Almighty help them, namely those who were driven out of their villages with there is no one reason that is worth it, unless they say our Lord is *Allah SWT*." This verse is the first verse revealed in connection with war, and in the context of this verse God permits war to defend oneself for those who are cruel economy, and from that meaning does not refer fighting but rather defending themselves.⁴³ Another verse in the Qur'an which discusses *jihad* is the QS. *Al-Ankabut* (29), 69 which means: "and those who fight in our path, and indeed God is with those who do good". Then another letter in QS. *Al-hajj* (22), 78 which means: "And fight for *Allah* seriously."

Those verses do not indicate *jihad* as war but more in the struggle against lust, do good deeds, good deeds to achieve a better and glorious life. In QS. *Al-Anfal* (8), 39: Fight them so that there is no slander and that religion or *din* is solely for Allah." The word *din* here has a meaning of submission, obedience and worship so that the word "fight" cannot be interpreted as violence, murder but more in obedience and submission also worship are all purely for God so that they cannot be interfered with for other purposes or for another God.⁴⁴ From various references to the verses of the scriptures that were the basis of *jihad* in the form of violence but we can see that the meaning of *jihad* does not always relate to war and violence except to defend oneself. The more glorious meaning is the struggle to understand the passions, preaching to bring humans to get the right way (*hidayah*).

I. Conclusion

In this century radicalism in Islam is not a new movement but has emerged in history through the theological movement of the Khawarij which was born from political disappointment and leadership in the period of *caliph Ali bin Abi Talib*. In the contemporary era radicalism has a relationship with the classical era which is the embryo of the emergence of the seeds of radicalism in Islam, literal

⁴³A. Syalabi, *Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam*. Jilid I. (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-husna, 1994), 154.

⁴⁴Al-Thabari Ibn Jarir. *Tafsir Al-Thabani*. Vol.9, 248.

interpretation is indeed still an issue causing violent actions. Another factor is the response to the west in secularization and modernization which includes all living arrangements including the political system, law, culture, education. All of these threaten Islam as a religion that must maintain the authenticity of its purity. So, in order to keep its purity, *jihad* is one way for radical movement.

In the study of radicalism, the writer sees that this movement has spread strongly at the grassroots level, specifically the students since around 1983 and above since HT Abdurachman Al-Baqhdadi, the activist, settled in Bogor and began his interaction with mosque activists on the IPB campus. The results of the SMRC survey in 2017 showed that 9% of Indonesians want *Islamic sharia* to be enforced in Indonesia.⁴⁵ An action needs to be taken to minimize the radicalism movement that began with the reconstruction of religious understanding including *jihad*, it requires maximum handling of scholars, religious experts in Indonesia to change the mindset and attitude of diversity and how to integrate the creed and *sharia* in all living arrangements in context in a plural country. It has to go through strategies from the mosques, Islamic schools and Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) by providing a foundation for the community (*ummah*) so that they interpret the religious tolerance comprehensively is not superficial and partial.

Besides, Pancasila must be taught comprehensively for young generation through schools since an early age. Pancasila is the view of life of the Indonesian people, the basis of the state and national ideology that represents the substantial values of religion. Pancasila can be regarded as a public religion because it represents the good values and religion of the public, Religion not only includes existential values such as theology, scriptures, worship and others, but also functional values that affect both the person and the community who can feel the benefits. Each religion in general has values on a good life for the community, so that the actualization of Pancasila as a "*public religion*" in which there is pluralism and represents the values of religions in Indonesia. Defining Pancasila as a whole has an impact on plurality and congregation of unity in Indonesia in the context of society in Indonesia as the largest Muslim majority country.

⁴⁵See Abdallah, Exclusionism and Radicalism in Schools: State Policy and Educational Politics Revisited (Document), *STUDIA ISLAMIKA: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, Volume 23, Number 3 (2016): 625-632. DOI: 10.15408/sdi.v23i3.442.

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