



Beyond the Extremism of Radical Muslim Groups: A Socio-Historical Study

Mokhamad Iqbal Khomaini

PTIQ, Jakarta

email: m.iqbal.khomaini@gmail.com

Abstract

Muslim terrorist group is a contrast issue, they are the one who openly opposes the U.S. Oppression, but on another side, they are blamed for being a terrorist. The story started with oppression on Muslim countries everywhere: Afghanistan was invaded by USSR army, then 1991, Iraq also was attacked as a response call from the US to Kuwaiti aid request, then in 2001, Afghanistan was invaded and occupied by the U.S., then the raid over Taliban and all its organization in Pakistan and Afghanistan, the military operation in Iraq, 2003, and daily killing upon Palestinian since 1967 with no ending etc. So, the counter upon oppression rises, but unfortunately those who struggled to defend Muslim territories against U.S. invasion are called as a "terrorist". Once upon a time in 2000, Bali was the most destined of tourism but unexpectedly, a big tragedy happened in Indonesia with the bomb explosion in Bali Island and killed 202 people, most of the victims were foreign tourists. The result of investigations pointed to "Jemaah Islamiyah" as an actor of that incident. The national and International news media posted that "Jemaah Islamiyah" did a terror on the basis of jihad against America and its allies who invaded a Muslim country, but unfortunately, the victims were civilians who have nonsense affiliated with politics.

Keywords:

Terrorist, Extremism, and Radical Muslim Group

Introduction

The story of Muslim massacres has a very long history. After World War II, Afghanistan was invaded by USSR army and almost the whole country had been occupied. Although the war did not destroy the buildings

and houses, many civilians were killed. After that, Iranian revolution took place and the country was attacked by the missiles of allied power.

In 1991, Iraq was also attacked as a response of call from America to Kuwaiti aid request. The U.S. forces made a blockade of Iraqi and Jordanian ports and air strikes operation. More than 200,000 civilians were killed during the invasion of Iraq and Kuwait; large-scale destruction of Iraqi military (Lowry 2003).

In 2001, Afghanistan was invaded and occupied since the U.S. accused the former Afghanistan government, known in the West as Taliban, of harboring al-Qaeda extremists although al-Qaeda never took any responsibility for the 9/11 attack on the U.S. The entire country was decimated and thousands of innocent Afghan civilians, mostly women and children had been killed since the invasion in 2001. Recently, the United Nations reveals that in 2007 there were over 1.500 civilian dead in Afghanistan. In 2008, the number had increased 40 percent. The majority of civilians were killed by U.S./NATO indiscriminate bombings. The motive is the geostrategic importance of Afghanistan relative to the energy producing region in Central Asia (Hassan 2009).

The raid over Taliban and all of its organizations were continuously pursued. The military operation was conducted in some places, including in Kandahar Afghanistan, Torabora, the border-area of Afghanistan-Pakistan (Bajaur), and all Taliban's domains. When Taliban's power had been vanished, the military raid continued to chase the Taliban's members in Pakistan. Almost all territories where Taliban's members situated were bombarded. The province of Waziristan, in the district of Swat, was being bombed and all the civilians had to be victimized and migrated to other areas.

In 2003, the U.S. then continued its military operation in Iraq. Saddam regime toppled in Baghdad. More than 250.000 U.S. personnel were participated in the invasion. The U.S. and U.K. forces occupied

the country and battled with Sunni and Shi'ite insurgencies. More than 160.000 troops and numerous private contractors carried the occupation out and built large permanent bases (Yusuf & Safari 2003).

At the same time, there was also a war in Chechnya, Bosnia –a fighting between Muslim army and Serbian forces – and many Muslims were being the victims of the operation. On the other hand, the continuous oppression on Palestinians was going on, the problem of Kashmir – a dispute between Muslim civilians and Indian army– was not solved, and the atrocities upon Muslim Gujarati took place.

Another accident was the killing upon Palestinians. The destructions of the civilians' houses happened almost everyday since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, succeeded the war in 1967 where it favored Israel and kicked all Arabs allied forces in 3 days. The war reached its peak in 2006 when Lebanon soldiers participated.

In 1984, there was a massacre upon Muslim activists in Indonesia under the leadership of General L.B. Moerdani. This incident is known as Tanjung Priok massacre (Pusat Studi dan Pengembangan Informasi (Partai Bulan Bintang 1998). In 1999, a monstrous action upon Muslim societies done by Christian alliances happened in Ambon. Muslims were killed as a part of western infiltration on Indonesian internal affair (Jurnalis, Budiarti & Shinta 2011).

Consequently, a number of Muslim groups emerged and responded the call to fight against these genocides and atrocities. Unfortunately, some people consider these groups, groups which struggle against the US invansion, as terrorists.

Although some Muslim groups are called as terrorists, people consider that Muslim countries are in silent. The worst case is the support done by Pakistan. Pakistan government supported the U.S. for invasion; assisted the U.S. with military bases and transit airport for the attack of Taliban, and even worst, the northern alliance –the groups of

Persian Muslim forces headed by Abdurrasul Sayyaf, Shah Masoud, also Burhanuddin Rabbani, as well as communist groups and Shiite one— was collaborated with the U.S. for the diminishing the power of Taliban.

Iran was also silent and still they kept their hatred for Taliban brothers. They considered Taliban as their enemy and did killing upon Shiites brothers. Consequently, it is like a time bomb for Iran. The U.S. get stronger power and is ready to a turn to attack upon Iran.

The Rise of Radical Muslims

Based on the history above, there are two major issues: *terrorists* and *moderate Muslims*. *Terrorists* are people who struggle to defend Muslim territories against the oppression of the U.S.. Meanwhile, *moderate Muslims* are those who are in silent watching U.S. invansion to Muslim countries.

The Contrastive Phenomena

In 2001, there was a tragedy called as *9/11 tragedy* happened in the United States. One year later, a tragedy of bomb explosion occured in Bali island, Indonesia. The accident, which is also called as *Tragedi Bom Bali 1*, killed 202 people in which most of the victims are foreign tourists (88 Australians and 38 Indonesian citizens). The terror was extended into a series of attacks which targeted civilians, foreigners as well as governments. Some of them are bomb terrors in JW Marriott Hotel (2002), in Police Headquarter of Solo (2012), and in Depok (2012). The investigation suspected *Jamaah Islamiyah* (JI) as the actor behind the attack.

The U.S. and its allies invaded Muslim countries but, unfortunately, the victims were civilians who had no political interest (Fauzi 2008, 35). On the other hand, those who did terrorism, mostly had religious background adhered to high value of norms in society (Hassan 2017; Nebhan Aydin 2017; Mahoney 2017). However, these people easily attacked others especially those came from different groups. Islam is a religion of peace

that it promotes high tolerance towards other religions. During the period of Andalusia in Spain, the non-Muslims were treated with high respect and tolerance, even the Jews felt safer in Muslim countries other than in Christian-Roman empires. However, the acts of terrorism done by *al-Qaeda* and its terrorist network in South East Asia, *Jamaah Islamiyah*, portrayed another face of Islam.

The members of *Jamaah Islamiyah* fully believed that they had done acts representing the ultimate truth, the fighting for the oppressed people, and the responds to the call of *jihad* against the oppression of the U.S. upon Muslim countries. They considered local governments, western people as well as native people who believed in western religions and ideologies, such as Christianity, democracy, feminism, liberalism, capitalism, etc; as enemies that should be opposed and deposed from country (e.g: *www. arrahmah.com* or *www.voa-alislam.com*). Furthermore, they also opposed other Muslim groups, such as Conservative (Nahdlatul Ulama), Modernist (Muhammadiyah), Moderate-Modernist (Nur Kholis Madjid's trends of thought), Moderate fundamentalist group (Ikhwanul Muslimin-PKS). *Jamaah Islamiyah* considered these groups as betrayals. The questions asking about the reasons why *Jamaah Islamiyah* strongly opposed other Muslim groups and has no tolerance towards other Muslim brothers are then arouse.

In Indonesia, there are some other extremist groups, such as Indonesian Hizbut Tahrir, Lasykar Jihad of Ja'far Umar Thalib (the offspring of Taliban), Indonesian Islamic Force (*Tentara Islam Indonesia*), and the Salafist-Wahhabist which splits out into three categories: Indonesia Mujahidin Council (*Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia*), *Jamaah Ansbarut Taubid* of Abu Bakr Ba'asyir, and *Jamaah Islamiyah*. The only group which still has a connection with al-Qaeda International Terrorism of Usama bin Laden is *Jamaah Islamiyah*, a South East Asia terrorism network.

The Radical Ideology of Islamic Movement

Among the radical ideologies was the *Jamaah Islamiyah's* perception towards the government of Indonesia. They saw the government of Soekarno as secular power who struggled for the rejection of Islamic law and stood as a hindrance in implementing Sharia in Indonesia. Soekarno was credited as the enemy of Islam and Muslims as he struggled in the cancellation of the formation of Islamic State in Indonesia. He was also credited with the raid operation and prosecution of Muslim activists (Suara Hidayatullah 2008, 33).

Imam Samudra one of *Jamaah Islamiyah* activists, sees that the *jihad* should be launched as an offensive action rather than defensive one as Muslims become the target of military operation of the allied power (U.S., Britain, France etc.). Furthermore, he argues that Muslims were victimized by the enemy. Thus, still based on Imam Samudra's opinion, it is compulsory for a Muslim to do fight back as a retreat action, hence, it is permissible to kill any American or European found in Muslim countries. Imam Samudra uses the verse of Holy Quran: Kill the *Musyrikin* anywhere you found them! (Attaubah Verse, 5; Nasir Abas 2009, 195) as the basis of his opinion.

He said, "*Jihad* operation in Bali is regarded as an offensive action in our perspective. Our targets are individuals of Western people, not the place. The verses of Holy Quran described that there is no restriction to attack on *musyrikin* anywhere. In this period, it is permissible for Muslims to kill *musyrikin*. Unless, they submit themselves, convert to Islam, conduct prayer and do *taubah*" (Adisaputra, Muhammad & Sulistyono 2006). He reminded all Muslims, "Beware our Brother! The paradise is located under the *jihad*, no *jihad* without massacre and humiliation the *kuffar*" (Solahuddin 2011).

Background of the Contrastive Phenomena and Radical Ideology

Muslim activists had an unpleasant experience in the past. It started from the time of Kartosoewiryo and Kahar Muzakkar. Both of them have political contribution in throwing the Dutch colonization. Indeed, Kahar Muzakkar also attended the declaration of Indonesian Independence on August 17, 1945. He also contributed in rescuing Soekarno from the attack of the Dutch.

However, all of these hostilities and kindnesses were responded with an unpleasant treatment. The *Darul Islam* movement of Kartosoewiryo was raided and its members were prosecuted in 1962. Furthermore, the leader and the members of *Masyumi* political party was jailed by Soekarno. It suffered more severe trial when *Masyumi* activities were banned in the time of Soeharto (2010).

Through 1965, *Darul Islam* was effectively defeated with the capture of Kartosuwiryo in 1962 (Indonesia 1964, 71-73). When most of his high Commands were either killed or accepted a government amnesty in the following years, the movement, for all intents and purposes, appeared to be vanished (Conboy 2004, 139). As a result, the activities of *Masyumi* and *Darul Islam* were transformed into the forming of a small group community called *Usroh* in Indonesian college campuses.

On the other hand, in 1970 the successors of *Darul Islam* reconsolidated themselves to gather the power and, thus, they appointed the new *imam* Teungku Daud Beureuh. This decision was crushed by Soeharto. Many of the *Darul Islam* successors, such as Adah Djaelani and Aceng Kurnia, fled from the government occupation. In 1979, Adah Djaelani replaced the position of Teungku Daud Beureuh as the new *imam*. Although *Darul Islam* conducted their operation secretly but the government of Soeharto recognized and again crushed over them. *Darul Islam* survived and carried its spirit into the 1980s and 1990s. In 1981,

Soeharto succeeded in capturing the most important figures of DI “Aceng Kurnia and Adah Djaelani”(Conboy 2004, 55).

In 1976, Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba’asyir were recruited by *Darul Islam* leaders. They were appointed as the leaders in the position of Adah Djaelani. However, Soeharto cracked down over them. In 1985 Sungkar and Ba’asyir fled to Malaysia to escape from the persecution of the state authorities. In Malaysia, they reestablished themselves and began preaching among the exiled Indonesian community (Solahuddin 2012, 7). In 1992, a gap occurred between these two senior leaders that resulted in the forming of *Jamaah Islamiyah* as an independent organization, separated from *Darul Islam*. The pressures done by the government of Old and New Order led to the revenge personalities and shaped a type of radical psychology. The prosecution and massacre upon Muslim activists led by L.B. Moerdani happened in Tanjung Priok. About three hundreds civilians were shot dead with gunfire in one night.

On the other side, in 1980, Afghanistan was invaded by USSR army but no representative from Muslim organizations in Indonesia went there to show their emphatic expression except from the members of *ex-Darul Islam* and Abu Bakar Ba’asyir’s colleagues.

The Influence of Foreign Ideologies

The Influence of Wahhabi Movement

Jamaah Islamiyah claimed itself as an offshoot of Salafi-Wahhabi movement. Its history rooted back to Islamic movement in the past century. “Wahhabi movement has its various branches and offshoot. *Wahhabi-Salafis* come in various strains, some being more extreme than others. The variety in strains is due to differences in approach of bringing the Muslims back to a state of strengthened belief based on the example of the pious ancestors” (Qamar n.d., 3; Darwich 2017; Westphal 2017; Thobani 2017).

However, all Salafi Muslims, whether they are Wahhabi or Qutbi, admire their role models, Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab and Ahmad Ibn Taymiyah, whose hard-line interpretations have inspired revolutionaries today. Therefore, although all Salafis are not Wahhabis, they admire many of the same role models – role models who have been rejected and condemned by masses of orthodox Sunni scholars for their inauthentic representations of pristine Islam. It can also be said that all Wahhabis consider themselves to be Salafis and prefer to be called by this name (Salafis instead of Wahhabis).

Although there are different approaches among Salafis, they have allied themselves in an attempt to make their visions become real by both non-violent and violent means. The alliance between the Muslim Brotherhood (and its various factions and offshoots) and the Wahhabis in Saudi Arabia was strengthened during the 1950s and 1960s in the struggle of the Muslim Brotherhood against Egypt's Nasserist regime. Saudi Arabia had provided refuge for some leaders of the Brotherhood and also provided assistance to them in other Arab States. Finally, the alliance made itself manifest in the holy struggle (*jihad*) against the atheist/Communist Soviets in Afghanistan. Salafis of all strains worked together as the "righteous Sunnis" to counter the Shi'ah-Communist threat, from proselytizing to killing to make their Salafism prevailed. Indeed, Salafis have used both proselytizing and revolutionary means to send their messages using both political and apolitical approaches. It can be concluded that "Sunni terrorism" today is perpetrated by radical Salafis who desire to replace "infidel" governments with myopic "scholars" who adhere to their fanatical interpretations and ideologies. Their tentacles are spread to all corners of the globe, including Bosnia, Albania, Indonesia, Philippines, Uzbekistan, England, Malaysia, South Africa, Lebanon, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Salafis have demonstrated the havoc they are capable of wreaking in recent decades.

Wahhabi movement which is founded by Syeikh Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab creates impacts on many Islamic movements: Ikhwanul Muslimin in Egypt, Sanusiah Movement in Tunisia and Morocco, Ibnu Badis movement in Algeria, Utsman bin Fodio movement in West and Central Africa, Deobandi and Nadwi movement in India, Jamaat Islami of Maudoodi in Pakistan, Nursi movement in Turkey, Muhammadiyah, Persis (Persatuan Islam), PPI, DDII, MMI, PKS, DI/TII, Salafi of Ja'far Umar Talib, Salafi Sururi, Salafi syeikh Muqbil, NII, JAT (Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid) in Indonesia, al-Irsyad etc.

From this point, this paper describes to which branch Jamaah Islamiyah belongs to. It begins from Persis (*Persatuan Islam*) and continued to flourish into some other organizations, such as al-Irsyad, Salafi, Hidayatullah, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia (DDII), PII etc. One of Indonesian political parties which were much influenced by Persis was "Masyumi" which later on transformed into PBB (*Partai Bulan Bintang*), PUI (*Partai Umat Islam*), PKS (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera*), etc.

A new offshoot, which was rather a direct product from Saudi's Wahhabism than local Wahhabism (Persis), was Salafism. It emerged around 1998/1997, exactly when a riot in Ambon took place. Then it splited out into: Lasykar Jihad (an offshoot of Taliban), *Salafi Sururi*, *Salafi Syeikh Muqbil*, *Salafi of Amir Abdat*, etc. The other organizations which are neither had relation with Persis nor with Yemenian Salafi or Ja'far Umar Talib salafism, continued to emerge. These organizations were rooted from Darul Islam (III) of Abdullah Sungkar in Central Java, Ngruki-Solo. Among them are a moderate organization "Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI)", a fundamentalist group but non-extremist one "JAT (Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid)", and a fundamentalist as well as extremist group "Jamaah Islamiyah".

The influence of Seyyed Qutb

I would discuss the origin of Seyyed Qutb which influenced the moderate Islamic revivalism movement including *Jamaah Islamiyah*, Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt, PKS in Indonesia, as well as Hizbollah in Lebanon.

In 1954, after it was discovered that the Muslim Brotherhood was responsible for an attack on him, President Gamal Nasser of Egypt ordered a crackdown (Qamar n.d., 4). The members fled to Saudi Arabia; among them was Mohammed Qutb, brother of the executed head of the Brotherhood, Sayed Qutb. Sayed Qutb was then befriended with Osama bin Laden and was recruited into Osama's organization.

The first important strategy which served in, at the height of the Cold War, was as pawns in *Muslim Ummah* struggle against the Soviet Union. The war took place in Afghanistan. The government of Saudi Arabia accomplished it by beginning to fund the members of the Muslim Brotherhood in the country, following which the Soviets had no choice but to intervene. What ensued was a twenty-year brutal struggle (see: Leo zagami's confession, a former illuminati member, "Wahhabism and occultisme" in www.illuminaticonfessions.webfriend.it).

Jamaah Islamiyah actually was an offshoot of *Jamaah Ablul Hijrah wa Takfir* which was directed by Osama bin Laden as an exile of the recognized existed *Jamaats* "Maktab Khidmatul Mujahedeen of Abdullah Azzam", Taliban and Northern alliance Mujahedeen. *Jamaah ablul hijrah wat Takfir* of Usama bin Laden opposed the existence of main Jihadi organization, such as Abdullah Azzam organization, Taliban and Abdur Rasul Sayyaf organization (Northern alliance group formation), al-Qaeda, or the *Jamaah* of Usama bin Laden in Afghanistan fought together with other Jihadi groups: Hizbul Mujahedeen, Harakatul Mujahedeen, etc to expel U.S. forces from Afghanistan.

The infiltration of bin Laden's family was not only in *Jamaah Islamiyah* and Muslim Brotherhood but also in the Iranian revolution.

Bin Laden's family did not only take part in the evolvement of al-Qaeda (*Jamaah Islamiyah*) but also in the raising of Iranian revolution, in the case of Iranian Contra. Thus, both radicalism and militancy of al-Qaeda and Iranian Shiite to some extents was due to the involvement of Bin Laden's family. It was Salem bin Laden who took part in the transfer of arm from Nicaragua to Iranian revolutionists. On the other hand, Khalel bin Laden played a big role in supplying arms to Lebanese fighters "Hizbollah". Furthermore, Khalel bin Laden was running the secret propaganda (Unger 2004:268).

On the other hand, *Jamaah Islamiyah* got a non-direct influence from the founding fathers of Muslim reformers, such as Jamaluddin Afghani, Muhammad Abduh and Syeikh Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab (Abdullah & Salleh 2015; Haron & Hussin 2013). The other organizations that got more influences of Jamaluddin Afghani's reformation project were Muhammadiyah, Deobandi Movement of India, and Imam Khumaini.

The Influence of Jamaluddin Afghani

Actually, the international worldwide radicalisms today, as well as the *Jamaah Islamiyah* phenomena in Indonesia, have already pre-planned since one century ago. It was engineered first time by the reformation agenda of Jamaluddin Afghani. All these world-wide radicalisms were engineered as a pretext to incite global war on terrorism by the U.S., a seed of revolt psyche, as well as a revenge action against the imperialism and local pro of U.S. government. These thoughts had already framed in Jamaluddin Afghani's religious and reformation thoughts. The interest of the U.S. is to harbor upon Muslim radicals and control the region around in the name of "war on terrorism".

The Influence of Syeikh Abdullah Azqam

One of the most influential people in the ideology of *Jamaah Islamiyah* was Mujahedeen's commander against the USSR army in 1980

in Afghanistan, Dr. Abdullah Azzam. Along with Mujahedeen's force of no less than 150,000 trained and well-equipped troops, he reached to the Afghan exile communities in Europe, North Africa, other parts of the Islamic world, and the United States. The recruitment driven to attract Muslims from all parts of the world was of course a pretext. The Mujahedeen were only able to attract a few thousand volunteers. In reality, the recruitment effort aimed to indoctrinate an international pool of terrorists to serve beyond the war in Afghanistan, to be later used to instigate the phony War on Terror. So the U.S. government would be benefited for this reason, as the Muslim terrorists groups were already available in Muslim countries, hence, the U.S. would launch a war against global terrorism.

In the meantime, these would be regarded as "Freedom Fighters" but the war in Afghanistan provided the opportunity to mobilize international terrorist recruitment whose purposes would later be changed to attack the U.S. The prime recruiting ground for these dupes, of course, Saudi Arabia, following the acts of the oil crisis, which was in a financial position to fund these covert operations. The crisis condition was used as a pretext to ignite a band of Islamic fundamentalism across central Asia that could first be used to bankrupt and destroy the Soviet Union and to recruit and engage a wave of Islamic fundamentalists to be later used as the specter of terrorism to frighten the Western world" (Livingstone n.d., 242).

The Influence of the Iranian Militancy

In 1979, Iranian revolution took place to overthrow the secular government. Some of the Indonesian Muslim groups which were inspired by this revolution were: ex-D.I. party and Masyumi participants, members of *Tarbiyah* movement (*Usroh*) which was centralized in Salman Mosque of Technical Engineering Department of Bandung University, one of *Ikhwanul Muslimin* activists Ust. Husain al-Habsyi. However, the government of Soeharto baffled their missions.

As discussed in the previous pages, *Jamaah Islamiyah* was an offshoot of *Darul Islam* movement. They were, in the beginning, united in Bandung putting Iranian revolution as their inspiration. However, to some extent, the type of Iranian militancy was not appropriate for Muslims as it was the agenda to destabilize USSR using anti-communist Islamic types (Livingstone n.d., 220; Ghaffari 2009; Snow *et al.*, 2007).

On the other hand, in order to ignite World War III, while all biggest powers of the world should involve in the war, it is necessary to use Iranian militancy as a stimulus for making a tension between Iran and Israel. Hence, Europe and the United States perpetually involved in the war. At the same time, China and Russia also hoped to be their enemy. Finally, the control over the Middle East would be the last goal in the hand of the global financial bankrupt (new world order).

Bin Laden and Saudi Prince Bandar who had financed al-Qaeda—the *Jamaah Islamiyah*'s international network—had an interest on Iranian militancy. It is planned to form the same militancy mainstream of “anti-west feeling”. It began when the Reagan administration used proceeds from arms sales to Iran to fund the right-wing contras, in an effort to overturn Nicaragua's left-wing, but democratically elected Sandanista government. Both actions were contrary acts towards the congress, which prohibited the funding of the Contras and the sale of weapons to Iran, which is regarded as a “terrorist state”. In addition, both activities also violated United Nations' sanctions (Livingstone & David Bleher 2010, 90). Reagan purpose was to agree upon Iranian revolution in diminishing the popularity of Carter, his political rival.

Arms were sold to Iran, traded with the right-wing Contras of Nicaragua, then brought to the Mena, Arkansas, before being distributed to LA street gangs, thus igniting the so-called Crack Epidemic of the eighties. Funds accumulated were then transmitted to Afghanistan, to fund the “Mujahideen” headed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.¹

1 Articles of Leo Zagami's confession

In selling arms to Iran, Salem bin Laden and Prince Bandar were involved in this case. Prince Bandar bin Sultan, who was the grandson of Ibn Saud, was appointed Saudi ambassador to the U.S. In 1983, at the age of 34, he served an appointment for twenty years (Livingstone, David and Bleher 2010).

“I was told that within twenty-four hours they were being offered weapons and money by people presenting themselves as representatives of the Lebanese government’s interests—presumably to take on Hezbollah,” Bandar said... Saudi money was involved in what became known as the Iran- Contra scandal, and a few of the players back then—notably Prince Bandar and Elliott Abrams—are involved in today’s dealings.”

While supporting the Contras in Nicaragua, Salem bin Laden (Osama’s eldest brother) aided in this cause.” (PBS Frontline 2001; New Yorker 11/5/2001).²

Finally, the most influential element in the *Jamaah Islamiyah*’s ideology was Prince Bandar and the family of the King of Saudi Arabia. It was not fully Islamic basis at all but it used terror in the name of religion. The Muslim Brotherhood, although it differs from *Jamaah Islamiyah*, has the same history. It has acted as a clever technique to recruit agent provocateurs. The lowest ranks may sincerely believe they defend Islam and confront “Western imperialism”. However, these various terrorist groups, though representing different factions, are part of a single network serving their cause. When we explore the political and financial connections of the terrorists, we find that these are not merely wayward fanatics, operated in isolation, but their channels penetrate to the upper reaches of power of the Saudi and Bin Laden’s family.

The involvement of the U.S. also occurred in the reformation agenda of Amin Rais, a leader of Muhammadiyah in toppling Soeharto regime, which then replaced (continued) by Prof Syafi’i Ma’arif. He run an institution which is supported by Ford foundation.

2 PBS Frontline, 2001; New Yorker, 11/5/2001

On the other hand, if we look at the biggest Islamic organization, Nahdlatul Ulama, it made an astonishing agenda, starting a cooperation ties with the state of Israel by establishing Simon Peres Foundation. Non-Muslim groups were keen to this organization. Based on their perspective, forming a relationship with it is very necessary.

Case study on terrorism: Who is the actor?

This paper questions the actor behind some acts of terrorism. The actor is attributed to a Muslim extremist group, *Jamaah Islamiyah* of Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Osama bin Laden, one of the Mujahidin fighters who fought in Afghanistan in 1980 against Soviet Union, was not the leader of the extremist group. He was under the instruction of Syeikh Abdullah Azzam. However, those who fought against Soviet Union had no idea about *Jamaah Islamiyah*.

It is said that Imam Samudra had spent time in Afghanistan. Imam Samudra went to Afghanistan in 1990 and departed in 1993. However, the war had ended at the time he went there. The tribal war began at that time and the formation of Taliban power took place. The training camp that runs post-Soviet-war was suspiciously prepared for another purpose. It might be prepared for international terrorism linkage in the search of the U.S. war on terror.

There was a maneuver to diminish the power of Muslim militants such as the Indonesian Council of Mujahidin (MMI), *Jamaah Ansbarut Tauhid* (JAT), and the Salafis-Wahhabis groups. Perhaps, the Shiite brothers have different perceptions regarding the Salafi groups considering that the Wahhabi was an alliance of the United States. However, the case was just like the case of Taliban who were the target of military attack of the United States.

The famous Indonesian extremist, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, declared that he disagreed with bomb terrors although he could tolerate the misguided

extremist Muslims who were the actors of the bomb terrors. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir was accused of being the actor of the terrors.

When Abu Bakar Ba'asyir was appointed as the *Amir* of *Jamaah Islamiyah*, many of his members disregarded and disobeyed him (Nasir Abas 2009, 254). Thus, there were a number of them who were secretly recruited by State Intelligence Agency (BIN) of Indonesia. On the other hand, the CIA also infiltrated; pretended to be a sincere Mujahedeen and offered a financial aid for terror actions.

When the bomb terror took place, the mujahedeen who were CIA members disappeared, like Omar al-Farouq, and the brainwashed Muslim activists were captured and caught. At the same time, BIN along with the Police department ordered for the arrestment. Then, the BIN pursued those innocent accused member to the house of Bush Administration.

A very dramatically funny phenomenon, the one who launched a war against terrorism was the one who financed terrorism activity. The poor innocent brain-washed Muslim activists were accused and jailed. Among those who infiltrated was Suhaimi Manaf, an ex-communist political party activist.

Conclusions

Finally, it is undeniable that Moslem reformers played a strategic role on Islamic movements, such as Muhammadiyah, NU, PKS, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, etc. It shows that we, as a nation, need a collaboration for mutual understanding: Muhammadiyah, NU, PKS, MMI, the government, etc. We should strengthen our relationship and brotherhood each other. Nowadays, it is a time to unite and work together. All Muslim countries today are being targeted for Anglo- American invasion. With unity and good organized movement, we may survive from the attack of other foreign countries.

The strategy of the U.S. is “divide and conquer” by engaging any member of a party or group to fight against the others. The strategy to avoid the infiltration of the U.S. is by using dramatic strategy between the Muslim countries to manipulate the game of CIA.

References

- Abas, Nasir. 2009. *Membongkar jamaah Islamiyah : pengakuan mantan ketua JI*. Jakarta: Abdika Press.
- Abdullah, K., Salleh, M.A. 2015. Conceptualizing Jihad Among Southeast Asia's Radical Salafi Movements. *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 14 (42).
- Adisaputra, A., Muhammad, F., & Sulistyono, H. 2006. *Imam Samudra berjihad*. Jakarta: PTTIK. Retrieved from http://books.google.com/books?id=D3_aAAAAMAAJ
- Ayudin, Y Nebhan. 2017. Muslim as Victims of Security Dilemma in the West. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 37 (3), pp. 245-266.
- Conboy, K. 2004. *Intel : inside Indonesia's intelligence service*. Jakarta [u.a.]: Equinox Publ.
- Darwich, M. 2017. Creating the Enemy, Constructing the Threat: the Diffusion of Repression Against the Muslim Brotherhood in the Middle East. *Democratization* 24 (7), pp. 1289-1306.
- Fauzi, I. A. 2008. "Agama dan terorisme Bunuh diri: Agar bertemu bidadari di Surga?" *Madina Magazine*.
- Ghaffari, S. 2009. Baluchistan's Rising Militancy. *Middle East Report* 39 (250), pp. 40-43.
- Haron, Z., Hussin, N. 2013. A Study of the Salafi Jihadist Doctrine and the Interpretation of Jihad by Al Jama'ah Al Islamiyah. *Kemanusiaan* 20 (2), pp. 15-37.
- Hassan, G. 2009. America's War with Muslim Nations. *Countercurrents Journal*.
- Hassan, M. 2017. South-South Migration and Security Risks: Political Islam and Violent Extremism in the Shadow of Globalisation in Bangladesh. *India Quarterly* 73 (3), pp. 312-326.
- Indonesia. 1964. *Why Indonesia opposes British-made "Malaysia."*. Indonesia: [Govt. Print. Off.].
- Jurnalis, J., Budiarti, R. T., & Shinta, S. A. 2011. *Jalan jihad sang dokter*. Jakarta: Qanita.
- Livingstone, David and Bleher, S. M. 2010. *Surrendering Islam The subversion of Muslim politics throughout history until the present day*.

- Livingstone, D. n.d.. *A terrorism and illuminati a three thousand year century*. Booksurge LLC.
- Lowry, R. S. 2008. *The Gulf War chronicles : a military history of the first war with Iraq*. New York: iUniverse Star.
- Mahoney, J. 2017. The Politics of Religious Freedom: Liberalism and Toleration in Muslim-Majority States. *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 43 (6), pp. 551-570.
- Pusat Studi dan Pengembangan Informasi (Partai Bulan Bintang), P. 1998. *Tanjung Priok berdarah : tanggung jawab siapa? ; kumpulan fakta dan data*. Jakarta: Gema Insani.
- Qamar, Z. n.d.. Understanding the roots and role models of Islamic extremism. Retrieved from <http://www.sunnah.org/articles/Wahhabiarticleedit.htm>
- Snow, D.A., Byrd, S.C. 2007. Ideology, Framing Processes, and Islamic Terrorist Movements. *Mobilization* 12 (2), pp. 119-136.
- Solahuddin. 2011. NII Sampai Ji: Salafy Jihadisme di Indonesia. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu.
- Suara Hidayatullah. 2008. Magazine, Suara Hidayatullah. *Suara Hidayatullah Magazine*, 33.
- Tempo. 2010. Tempo Magazine. *Volume 16*, 26.
- Thobani, S. 2017. The Religious-Secular Interface and Representations of Islam in Phenomenological Religious Education. *Oxford Review of Education* 43 (5), pp. 612-625.
- Unger, C. 2004. *House of bush, house of saud: the secret relationship between the world's two most powerful dynasties*. Scribner Press.
- Westphal, J. 2017. Violence in the Name of God? A Framing Processes Approach to the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. *Social Movement Studies*, pp.1-16.
- Yusuf, A., & Safari, M. 2003. *Perang Iraq-AS : hegemoni baru AS di Timur Tengah dan dampak globalnya*. Jakarta: Kerjasama antara COMES [dengan] Jim Malaysia.