TERRORISM ISSUES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSNATIONAL ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS IN THE REGION OF MALANG

Gonda Yumitro, Dyah Estu Kurniawati, and Saiman
Department of International Relations, University of Muhammadiyah Malang
yumitro@gmail.com; dyahestu@gmail.com; saimanmhdiris@gmail.com

Abstract (research-based paper):

The development of terrorism issue in Indonesia tremendously increases in post 9/11/2001 followed by the development of various Islamic movements. Such condition also happens in Malang by the emergence of some groups allied and supported the terrorist indicated supporters, such as ISIS, Jama’ah Ansor, and Al Qaeda. Therefore, this research would like to elaborate on the relations of terrorism issues and the development of such movements in the region of Malang. The research was conducted by interviewing some prominent scholars and the activists of the Islamic organisations. Moreover, after the classification of data, the literature reviews methods of research used to discuss the founding of this qualitative research deeply. It is found that there are relatively parallel relations of the terrorism issues and the development of transnational Islamic movements in the region of Malang. Therefore, the complete understanding of these various movements is needed to avoid any misconducted facing the issue of terrorism.

Keywords: Terrorism, Islamic movements, Transnational, Malang

Introduction

Terrorism emerges as a severe issue of post-Bali bomb Indonesia following the global war on terrorism announced by G.W. Bush causing 202 people died on this October 2002 bomb claimed done by Jama’ah Islamiyah as a transnational terrorism link\(^1\). Furthermore, the issue became bigger since they have used modern technology supported by militant cadres making the issue in the regions more complicated\(^2\).

This condition influenced the image of Indonesian Islam which for a long time has been recognised as moderate Islamic group colouring the politics within the country and against all the form of violence\(^3\). Shortly, Indonesia started to be called as the second front of terrorism movement after Afghanistan\(^4\). Automatically, such condition gave an

impact to the shifting image of Islam as the largest Muslim population country in the world which compromises nearly 87% of the 250 million Indonesian being negative.

To protect the national interest of the country, Indonesia became part of the global war against terrorism-supporting the statement of American President, George W. Bush said that every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make, either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. For that reason, all methods against various strategies used and illegal activities conducted by the terrorist groups link being more modernised such as by doing hacking, hijacking, people smuggling, drug trafficking for financial supports, have been conducted. One of the most prominent terrorist group in post-September 2001, Al Qaeda led by Osama bin Laden since 1988 to face the Soviet Union in cold war, has also influenced the issue of terrorism in Indonesia. Moreover, in term of geopolitics, Indonesia having a thousand islands and large border area are not safe facing the cyber terrorism issues at this current time.

It happens because the concept of border security facing such threat is not the physical border only unless becoming more imaginative as the agreed region. The terrorist groups work outside the country can emerge as the threat since at least ideologically they have transnational linkage, especially The Middle East and Afghanistan links. Because of such reality, efficiently the ideas transmission of terrorist groups from another country will come to Indonesia. On the other hand, the local terrorist groups are not purely locally since they have International connection supporting their movement. In Indonesia, some groups recognised as the terrorist groups are Jama’ah Islamiyah, ISIS, Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT), and Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia.

The evidence shows that Malang as a very strategic region in Indonesia become a sexy area for this terrorist movement to plan, connect and do their actions. Some researches indicated that the strategic position of Malang with education and tourism place identity has emerged as the exciting points for a terrorist link to develop their connection in this region. Somehow, the transnational Islamic movements become the vehicles to support their existence. By the claim of some Islamic values and concepts, such as Ummah,

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5 Bruce Vaughn, “Indonesia: Domestic Politics, Strategic Dynamics, and American Interests” (LIBRARY OF CONGRESS WASHINGTON DC CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE, 2006).
those terrorist groups manipulate the people\textsuperscript{12}. If the serious attention given to the reality in Malang, all forms of transnational Islamic movements can be found.

Therefore, based on the introduction explained, the research questions of this paper are 1). How is the picture of transnational terrorism movement linkage in the area of Malang?; 2). How do the terrorism groups link to the transnational Islamic movement in the area of Malang?. Before answering the question, the concept of transnational Islamic movement will be used.

Methodology

To describe, explain and explore the terrorism issues and the development of transnational Islamic movement, the writers used the data collection through literature reviews, observations, and interview to various groups, such as government, Islamic scholars and leaders, and other prominent informants related to the research. To have detail information and to make the finding of the research more valuable, both primary and secondary methods of collecting the data were applied. Primary data was collected through face to face interaction and interview with some of the related informants, and the secondary data was collected from various articles, journals, documents, and books related to the study. The seminar and workshop report in English, Arabic, and the Indonesian language was also used to strengthen the data of this research.

The Concept of Transnational Islamic Movement

Transnationalism currently has emerged as global phenomena having no limitation only to Islam as a religion but also connected to other ideologies. Steven Vertovec mentioned that transnationalism related to linking of people or institution across the borders of the nation-states\textsuperscript{13}. Because of this, the transnationalism also supports the existence of new identity as a global influence or mix local and global cultures.

Because of the transnationalism, the interaction of various actor becomes beyond of the traditional and conventional model. Previously, the people communicate in direct communication through face to face style; meanwhile, in this era, they tend to use the internet as a communication tools indicating that the world is more globalised. The communication with the people from another country can be quickly done through video call or other facilities.

In its process, the transnationalism works speedily by the increasing of the globalisation. By the globalisation, easily the transfer of ideas through various tools such as pamphlets, books, internet media, and television is conducted. Because of this technological development, the new knowledge in one particular country easily also to be transfer to another part of the world\textsuperscript{14}.


\textsuperscript{13} Peter G. Mandaville, Transnational Muslim Politics: Reimagining the Umma (Routledge, 2003).

\textsuperscript{14} Vit Sisler, “The Internet and the Construction of Islamic Knowledge in Europe,” Masaryk UJL & Tech. 1 (2007): 205.
The reality shows that the impact of globalisation in term of the transnationalism also tremendously influence Islam. The Islamic movements with different colour started to give more impact towards another part of the Islamic world through the transfer of ideas and build new branch as a transnational form. Such reality, for instance, happened to Ikhwanul Muslimin which in their point of view, the existence of Islamic brotherhood as like one body. The Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan-ul Muslimin) often claimed as the organisation which support the concept of transnationalism to continue the spirit of Hasan Al Banna building the brotherhood among all the Muslim people.

For this movement, wherever the Muslim is, they are connected and bound by the feeling ummah. If one part of the Muslim world has problems, it also invites the Muslim from another country to take part in solving the problems. There is an indication that they do not support the concept of modern national state. By this kind of condition, as well as also in another movement or form of transnationalism, the transfer of ideology became something familiar among the transnational Islamic movements. For instance, transnational ulama is kind of action they did by inviting the Islamic scholars from another country to give preaching in their country. Meanwhile, some group against this by the claim that what happened is a kind of imported Islam which will cause conflict with the local wisdom. In some places, they establish a model of Islam which adopt locality to bring the spirit of Rahmat Lil Alamin, such as Islam Nusantara in Indonesia.

Tablighi movement is another kind of transnational Islamic movement, but this movement is a kind of apolitical one. The people coming from various countries came to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh to do *khutbah* which they believe as a kind of *dakwah* or missionary tours. For this groups, the most prominent issue to be solved is not about the political system rather than the individual morality. Furthermore, the material giving by the preacher of this movement rarely or even impossible talking about politics or criticise the government policy. Mostly they come from house to another house to invite the people going to the masjid for praying. Meanwhile, there is still possible that the transnational spirit will bring the consciousness feeling as a united Muslim over the world.

Such argument is relevant in term of politics, because of this connectivity, sometimes the issue emerges in one particular country easily also influence the Muslim coming from other parts of the world to take participation. The Arab spring issues in Syria and Palestine for instance, become the inspiration of a considerable number of people from Indonesia to build their sympathy and movements. Since the concept of ummah is available in the hadits and Islamic teaching, there are some of the Islamic movement used this concept to strengthen their position in front of the Muslim community. By the name of religion, the mobilisation of the people to do or not doing something can be quickly

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done\textsuperscript{17}. Even sometimes the spirit used by the political elites of particulars groups to mobilise the people doing their action by the name of religion.

In term of the teaching methods, their understanding of Islamic mostly coloured by the scripturalist understanding of the text of Al Qur’an and Sunnah. The Islamic scholars used to read a book for the follower, and they will understand the message sentence by sentences to return to the original understanding of Islam. Based on the western perspective, sometimes, their existence called the Islamic fundamentalism or conservatism because of their interest to find the unpolluted understanding of Islam\textsuperscript{18}. They have an ideological link to build consciousness among them to face the common problems in various places of the Muslim community.

Regarding the existence of transnational Islam, it can be related at least with three formulations, such as the existence of an international connection, the double citizenship, and the concept of the ummah\textsuperscript{19}. It means that the formulation of transnationalism Islam is not in the single form. In some cases, there was only the contact of the people from various countries by the name of brotherhood. On the other hand, there are also some people connected to transnationalism because of their double nationality. The most powerful one is the transnationalism of Islam supported by the concept of Ummah where all the Muslim over the world feel that they are connected to each other by the name of brotherhood\textsuperscript{20}.

If such united feeling by the name of religions has been steady, the joint action would be something easy to be done. In many cases, the external exploitation towards the Muslim community called them to legalise violence by the name of Jihad\textsuperscript{21}. This kind of issue which make the transnationalism of Islam at many times related to the issue of terrorism. However, there is some leading community of transnational Islamic movements, such as Ikhwanul Muslimeen, Salafism, Jama’ah Tabligh, and Shi’ism, and the minor one such as ISIS, Al Qaeda, Jama’ah Islamiah, and Anshorut Tauhid.

The transnational Islamic movement got their momentum to exist in post-reformation Indonesia. At least, there are two factors influenced significantly toward the development of this movement, domestically and externally. In term of the internal factor, the opportunity the express their existence in post-reformation Indonesia became the primary reason. With the freedom of speaking and joining the organisation, the transnational Islamic movement came to Indonesia and strengthened their former influences.

\textsuperscript{17} Saunders, “The Ummah as Nation.”

\textsuperscript{18} David B. Roberts, “Qatar, the Ikhwan, and Transnational Relations in the Gulf,” The Qatar Crisis, 2017, 54.


Moreover, the external factors have strategic roles supporting the existence of transnational Islamic movement named as Islamic revivalism. Some of those transnational Islamic movements connected to Indonesia are Wahabism, Ikhwanul Muslimin, Jamaát Movement, and the Iranian revolution. It means that the coming of those transnational movements has the form and link with various issues of Islamic world internationally. Naturally, some of the external factors which tremendously influence this issue are the globalisation and the external infiltration.

Regarding the globalisation, the connectivity of the states is powerful without any border issues supported by the development of transportation and communication technology. Because of such condition, the relations at this current time are not limited only in the level of the state but also supported by the groups or individual relations among the people doing various activities, such as trading, ideology transfer and other purposes.

In this era, while the liberalism ideology got many benefits through this relation exploiting the developing countries, Islamism came as the antithesis. For Islam, the problems of one country are also the issue of another country. Therefore, they started to connect with each other building the transnational relations facing a lot of problems especially the westernisation and secularism coming from outside.

As explained in the section above, it turns out that foreign infiltration into the middle of the Islamic community, both in the context of cultural values, as well as the interests of quite perceptible. Scientists like Rashid, Cohen and Chaudet argue that Islam is a revivalism response to Western values, where the group is getting closer to identify themselves with Islam will have greater hostility against the West. In this way, the revivalist groups trying to keep them could show its identity in the midst of the community.

Nevertheless, in such assessment, nonetheless, some actors make Islam a political commodity. Ultimately, it leads claim of political Islam which is not used for the sake of Islam, but instead as a means for achieving political purposes on behalf of narrow religious teachings. Even though in many places they talk about Islam, but the nature of what they convey no more than just a greeting in a purely oral far from implementation.

Even in the context of Indonesia, then any interpretation of Islam may sometimes be something unique, for example with the appearance of the term local and transnational Islamic Islam. The difference can be understood because in Islamic Indonesia has been through a long history together people's lives are multiethnic, multicultural, and the many other differences.

Clifford Geertz describes this split with Indonesia Islamic groups divide into abangan groups and priyayi santri. Even in a political sense, Zachary Abusa classifies the Islamic movement in Indonesia into several types, such as movement of the Caliphate, Islamic countries, the establishment of the movement and the Group of pluralistic democracy. Alternatively, just put the split into two groups, namely the groups of supporters and opponents of democracy.
The Terrorism Issues in the Region Of Malang

The region of Malang has close relations with the issue of terrorism since some of the attacks were planned in this place such as the attack of Thamrin street 2016. Moreover, some of the suspected terrorists linked were caught in this region since some years ago. Historically since 2005, the police have killed Dr Azhari as the primary intellectual person inspiring the attack of Bali bomb. Furthermore, in 2009, the police also caught Hendrawan the follower of Nurdin M Top in Batu. Such condition also followed by various kinds of terrorism issues connected to this region.

Regarding the ISIS, Salim Mubarak Attamimi or famously called Abu Jandal came from Malang. For some years before died, he became one of the prominent leaders of ISIS in Iraq. Furthermore, his families are still staying in the area of Malang. Because of that, he recruited some of Indonesian especially coming from Malang to join ISIS and built his link by publishing Al Mustabal magazines. One of his cadres was Kiki Rizky who was caught by the police on December 9, 2017, in the street of Yulius Ustman, Kasin RT 6 RW 4, Klojen, Malang. The indication showed that he had close relations with Abu Jandal and had experiences going to Syria together with Abdul Hakim in 2013. Not only that, but there was also Munif who succeeded Abu Jandal after his death. He also became the right hand of Aman Abdurrahman, a leader of ISIS in Indonesia.

The issue related to the terrorism continuously happened in Malang almost in every year. This condition supported by the strategic position of Malang having status as an education and tourism place. As the education city, Malang becomes very prospective for the terrorist to recruit their cadres because the students in various universities of Malang coming from different places in Indonesia. Therefore, if they got many cadres from Malang, the terrorist will quickly show off their power obtaining their interests to spread the feeling of terror among the people. On the other hand, as the tourism city, the controlling system of the people coming off going to and from Malang is not so secure. Using such reality, a lot of terrorist link plan and have their connection in Malang.

This research found that there are some spots needed to be concerned related to the issue of terrorism such as Merjosari, Karangploso, Lawang, Dau, and Batu because of some historical background having by those places connected to the issue of terrorism. For instance, in the area of Merjosari, there is one Islamic boarding house indicated by the police supports the radical ideology. In Karangploso, the terrorist acted the action by bombing the ATM in 2014. Moreover, Lawang was the place of Abu Jandal staying while he was still in Indonesia. Furthermore, Dau became the place M. Romly who was noticed by the police as the supporter of Ansharul Khilafah group. Moreover, even though he rejected the opinion spread among the people, some said that he was the group coordinator of people who want to connect to ISIS in this region. Meanwhile, it is hard to

be confirmed since he was not so close to his neighborhood\textsuperscript{23}. Moreover, Batu as the tourism place, the considerable intention of the people coming used by the terrorist to hide inside planning their movement and actions.

The seriousness of terrorism issue in the area of Malang continued until this current time. On May 14\textsuperscript{th}, 2018, the police came to the street of Kapi Sraba 11 Blok 10 H Perum Sawojajar 2, since they indicated that the person staying there have a connection with the terrorist groups\textsuperscript{24}. Moreover, on May 17, 2018, there were two young brothers name ARH, and INM caught because of their connection to the terrorist link did their action in Surabaya. Moreover, one day before one Malang man from Singosari was shot because of his essential roles in providing the chemical material for the bombing of Surabaya\textsuperscript{25}. For the strategic geopolitical position, the potency of another terrorism issues in Malang is still high.

The Development of Transnational Islamic Movement in Malang

The research on the terrorism and transnational Islamic movement were not conducted only in Malang, but have also been done in some other cities facing the severe issue on terrorism such as such as Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Solo, and Manado\textsuperscript{26}. Some of the transnational Islamic movements exist in Malang are Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Laskar Jihad, Ikwanul Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood), dan Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI). Moreover, the groups which became the threat supporting the terrorism are JI, ISIS, and Al Qaeda.

Meanwhile, Abd Moqsith suggested that the government have to concern on all the transnational movement since all the organisations have fundamental aspect supporting the implementation of Islamic Syariah within the society. He argued that the ideas of fundamentalism and conservatism mostly come from the alumni of the Middle East which he supposed to be different with the understanding of majority Indonesian people\textsuperscript{27}. Therefore, since a massive number of Middle East countries is staying in Malang and the background of Islamism is very strong in Malang, this becomes as one of the red areas. Even, Brawijaya University in Malang is under the surveillance of the intelligence


\textsuperscript{24} https://tirto.id/rumah-terduga-teroris-di-malang-digerebek-tim-densus-88-cKqE

\textsuperscript{25} https://news.okezone.com/read/2018/05/18/519/1899670/densus-88-tangkap-2-terduga-teroris-di-malang


based on the list published by Indonesian Ministry of Higher Education, because of the existence of the radical movement it²⁸.

Furthermore, the relations of Malang with the radical Islamic movement have been started a long time ago at least since 1993, when Syaroni firstly introduced Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia in Brawijaya University and IKIP Malang. With his hardworking building the link, the HTI spread to some other universities in Malang, such as the Islamic University of Malang, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Kanjuruhan University, and Politeknik Negeri Malang.²⁹

Ikhwānul Muslimin also had a unique history with the city of Malang since the establishment of KAMMI (Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI/Indonesian Muslim Students United Action) as the young branch of this movement was held the University of Muhammadiyah Malang. This movement also put Islam as the primary ideology or principle of its movement. Therefore, the development of transnational Islamic movement in the area of Malang used the student organisation media as one of the tools. Despite the source of caders, the involved students toward this movement usually will hardly leave their groups³⁰. The relations of those young people even remain after their graduation from the campus. Unfortunately, in some cases, such model also used by the radical movements to infiltrate the strategic potency of those young students.

There are some indications that the existence of Jama’ah Islamiya and ISIS has interested the students in expressing their idealism. Maghfur & Siti Mumun Muniroh in their research found that there was a suspected terrorist among the students in Malang and got influences while he was studying in this city. The family previously have noticed the changing behaviour of AA after a while studying in Malang. After realising that their son had a connection with the terrorist group, they moved AA to Pekalongan to break his relations with the transnational Islamic movement link in Malang³¹. Because there are some other similar cases, the police and campus also have already conducted some programs to deradicalise the campus from the terrorism potency.

In its development, the participation of people joining the radical movement did not only coming from the students. The ordinary people even the richer person still can join the transnational movement which supports the terrorist groups. In some case, the mentors of those terrorists did the brainwashing in the form of small group preaching. Unfortunately, this meeting used to be entirely exclusive making hard for the ordinary

³⁰ Saifuddin Saifuddin, ―Radikalisme Islam Di Kalangan Mahasiswa (Sebuah Metamorfoса Baru),‖ Analisis Jurnal Studi Keislaman 11, no. 1 (2017): 17–32.
people to join. If the participants do not have a comprehensive understanding of Islam, there is a possibility that they will misunderstand about Islam and support the radical actions and movements.

Those two ways become so complicated if they have a connection with the people coming back from Syria in the era of Arab Spring. Based on the information from one of the Islamic activists, there is an area in Malang where most of the men living in that small area had experiences coming to Syria. He said that there are two groups of people coming to Syria, one is linked to ISIS which makes them connected to the terrorist group, and the second is the purely humanitarian teams helping the victims of the conflict. Because of their connection with the terrorist groups, some people coming to Syria supposed to be dangerous, and the rest is fine and communicate well with the government.

Despite recruiting the cadres, Malang area also used as the place to plan and do their terrorist actions. After feeling quite sturdy and safe to do their actions, those terrorist groups do their action to spread the terror among the people, and it has been started since the case of Dr Azhari link in Batu32, before he was killed in November 200533. Meanwhile, most of the attacks or indication to the terrorism built by the transnational movement beyond the Islamic organisations, such as ISIS, Al Qaeda, and Jama’ah Ansorut Tauhid.

The Parallel Relations of Terrorism Issue To The Transnational Movement

Z Zakiyah in her paper argues that there is a positive and robust correlation between terrorism and the Islamic militancy for the revivalism. She argues that the narrow understanding of Islam can invite the persons to become radical and cannot connect well with the people having a different kind of the point of views34.

Meanwhile, something which needs to be understood is that the perception intimately connecting Islam and terrorism is not purely right since Biyanto argues that all religions tend to support their follower to live in the radical mind. In his opinion, radicalism even the terrorism happened because the followers of those religions have not been able to adapt their life in a multicultural condition making them wrongly understanding the diversity35.

Moreover, Ridho believes that the terrorism should not come from Islam in the understanding is genuinely comprehensive. In his opinion, the jihad understanding by the terrorist groups is contradicted with the purpose of Islam as a peaceful religion and against

all forms of violence. That is why all the terrorist acts by the name of Islam should be rejected\textsuperscript{36}. 

The images that terrorism intimately connected to Islam since the picture of Islam in the media are entirely a lousy image. Moreover, there are some Muslim connected to ISIS, Al Qaeda or other terrorist groups invite the sympathy and support of the public by bringing the Middle East issues. The Islamic image became worse because some of the suspected of terrorists were the alumni of Islamic boarding school.

Some people, including in Malang have announced their support towards the movement links to terrorist following various issues in the Middle East. Such phenomenon invites the followers of transnational Islamic movements in Malang to have such ideological connection, for example by adopting the fiqih waqi’ on the political issues of the ulama from the Middle East whose giving the fatwa based on the reality in their places. For the Indonesian transnational followers, the conflictual cases causing the Muslim in the Middle East to become the victims make their emotional by the name of religious feeling is called.

In the era of this globalisation, the notions and spirit can easily share out to influences more people to feel the same. Then, the spirit can emerge as a kind of modality to meet together and plan any actions. That is why this reality can be managed to be the colour of those transnational Islamic movements. By using the spirit of mass, they will be able to strengthen their existence supporting the former organisational power. It is essential to be understood that the terrorist link as well as also the transnational Islamic movements have some variables in doing their actions, such as organisations, operations, training, finance, logistics, meetings, and the scales\textsuperscript{37}. By that power, the terrorist movements consist of ISIS, Jama’ah Anshor, and Al Qaeda can manipulate the people and make them confusing to distinguish between the real and fake transnational Islamic Movements which connected to terrorism. If the people and government misunderstand about the reality, it also will cause unstable even chaos within the society.

Currently, the government have already mapped the picture of terrorism to do any deradicalisation policy. The options of solution were taken based on the complex understanding on the category of the radical terrorism as the following picture

Radical Terrorism Categories (Source: NCTA 2014)

Especially in the region of East Java, since those terrorist groups connected each other not only in the region of Malang, the Gouverneur of East Java has published the rule No. 51 in 2014 on the prohibition of ISIS in this province. The provincial government expects that it would support the policies published by the central government for the deradicalization programs. As a result of the hardworking of the government, currently, there are at least 20 terrorist prisoners in Malang. Moreover, the government also have concerned about the urgency of the terrorist wives in various kind of attacks. Therefore, they have been taken into consideration.

Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, it is clear that the terrorism issue in the region of Malang has a close connection with the development of transnational Islamic movement. Meanwhile, it cannot be only connected to the transnational Islamic movements as an organisation, such as Ikhwani Muslimin, Jama’ah Tabligh, Salafism, and HTI since the evidence indicate that those terrorist groups legalise their actions beyond the vital understanding of those transnational movements. Mostly the terrorist groups have a connection with the natural relations with ISIS, Jama’ah Anshorut Tauhid, and Alqaedah.

Meanwhile, the cadres of those organisations can be part of the radical movements because of various factors, such as the understanding of fiqh waqi’, especially on the issue of politics. Misunderstanding of such reality can cause severe impact, even make insecure relations among the Muslim people in Malang. The reality also shows that those people connected to the transnational Islamic movements have quite good education and economic status since the ways of their spreading are coming through the educational institution, small groups preaching and the alumni of Middle East. The most reliable indication is that those people related to the semi-transnational movements related to particular events such as the Afghanistan, Iraq and Syrian war have more tendency to join the terrorist groups. Therefore, the government have to be careful in solving this problem.

References


