

Interfaced Motive of the Terrorism Threat in the Case of Policing by Densus 88 Anti-Terror

Wachid Ridwan

Department of International Relations, Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta, Indonesia
wachid.ridwan@umj.ac.id

Ma'mun Murod

Department of Politics, Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta, Indonesia
info@umj.ac.id

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Abstrak

Sepanjang tahun 2021, Detasemen Khusus 88 Anti Teror Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia (Densus 88 AT Polri) telah melakukan penertiban yang tegas terkait ancaman kekerasan sebagaimana diamanatkan Undang-Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 2018 tentang Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Terorisme. Artikel ini bertujuan menganalisis irisan motif pelanggaran UU tersebut oleh para tersangka yang mempunyai kedekatan dengan keluarga Muhammadiyah di Yogyakarta, Makassar, dan Surabaya. Artikel ini juga akan menjawab pertanyaan penelitian tentang faktor-faktor irisan motif ancaman tindak kekerasan terorisme. Metode penelitian dilakukan dengan cara observasi dan wawancara mendalam terhadap tiga tersangka yang masih ditahan di Polda Metro Jaya. Motif ideologis, yakni percepatan praktik syariat Islam di Indonesia, menjadi temuan penting yang mungkin mempunyai kemiripan dengan dakwah memajukan kebaikan dan mencegah keburukan (amar makruf nahi munkar) di Muhammadiyah. Temuan lainnya adalah euforia kemunculan baru Negara Islam di Irak dan Suriah, dan variabel terakhir adalah sosok da'i di luar Muhammadiyah. Ketiga motif yang bersinggungan ini menjadi latar belakang etiket para tersangka dalam kurun waktu yang lama. Pengakuan para tersangka mengungkapkan bahwa mereka tidak berniat melakukan kejahatan, namun mereka berkelompok dan sangat rentan terhadap ekstremisme dan terorisme.

Kata kunci: irisan motif, terorisme, pemolisian, syariah, Muhammadiyah.

Abstract

Throughout 2021, the Special Detachment (Densus) 88 Anti-Terror of the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia carried out firm policing regarding the threat of violence as mandated by Law No. 5 of 2018 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism. This study aims to unveil the interfaced motive of violating the mentioned law by suspects having proximity to Muhammadiyah family members in Yogyakarta, Makassar, and Surabaya. This study also revealed factors of the interfaced motive of the terrorism threat by conducting both observation and in-depth interviews with three suspects held in the custody of the Regional Police Jakarta. The ideological motive, the desire to fasten the practice of Islamic Sharia in Indonesia, became a crucial finding holding similarities with da'wah promoting good and preventing vice (amar makruf nahi munkar) in Muhammadiyah. The euphoria of the new emergence of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria came as the subsequent finding, followed by the figure of preachers outside Muhammadiyah. These three interfaced motives emerged as the etiquette background of the suspects for a long period. The confessions of the suspects revealed that they had no intention of committing crimes. However, they were in a group and strongly prone to extremism and terrorism.

Keywords: interfaced motive, terrorism, policing, sharia, Muhammadiyah.

INTRODUCTION

This study analyzed the trend of violence, extremism, and terrorism, depicting a significant drop in 2021 compared to some years earlier (Rachman, 2022). However, the motive of the terrorism threat, in particular

through social media, remains permanently high. Indonesian Muslims' awareness of the terrorism threat, unfortunately, is still categorized as low (Ridwan, 2022). Consequently, security orders by the Special Detachment (Densus) 88 Anti-Terror of the National Police of the

Republic of Indonesia are continuously in operation to keep security in the community stable. This security approach to policing, carried out by Densus 88, remains on high alert due to the alarming level of threats of extremism and terrorism.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the soft approach of policing precisely redeemed its good momentum. The government's new outlook emerged to collaborate with the community in serious efforts to prevent acts of violence and terrorism. Indeed, emphasizing public participation will construct confidence and trust through local initiatives, enabling the detection as early as possible of the threat of extremism, embracing gender perspective, and working toward the prevention in a sustainable long-term period (UNODC, 28/3/2022). This soft approach becomes more effective when Islamic mass organizations, in particular Muhammadiyah, engage in several counter-narrative training and social media campaigns. Moreover, dialogue activities raise awareness of non-violence in many Muhammadiyah schools to prevent acts of extremism, violence, and terrorism. Muhammadiyah followers generally have highly rational thinking and stronger ideology, albeit such a situation sometimes creates an impression of an interfaced motive to the threat of extremism. A soft approach requires a high level of trust between the public and police personnel, including trust in operational police performance data. Meanwhile, operational data on violent acts of terrorism are mostly in the form of intelligence data not easily shared with the public.

Effective public participation in counterterrorism has not been stipulated within the existing anti-terrorism laws. However, it can be drawn from Article 43B point (4) in the prevention section focused on eradicating terrorism. These laws are actually a reactive act by the government in coping with various acts of criminal terrorism. The main role in counterterrorism is, of course, the government and its officials' security apparatus, Densus 88. Civil society and Islamic mass organizations should also be strengthened because they can tackle radical ideology, becoming a major reason behind the acts of terrorism.

Due to the nature of the laws highly reactive to terrorism, the whole prevention efforts in each article only mention the role of the National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT). This state institution was formed by a Desk Coordination Eradication Terrorism based in the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs. Although BNPT is equipped with some structures such as prevention, prosecution, and deradicalization, these elements also involve the active role of society. Terrorists do live in the community, but they are exceptionally exclusive. If the public is involved in the early detection, acts of terrorism can be prevented. However, the existing laws do not mention the direct role of society. The public has urged the government and the legislative members to revise the laws since 2009. Handling counterterrorism requires skills difficult for ordinary people to possess, such as intelligence analysis, case mitigation, and arrests. Nevertheless, the community can become police partners in preventing violent acts of terrorism.

In 2009, after the Jakarta Marriott Hotel bombing, a proposal to revise the laws attracted public attention because many issues closely related to the prevention of acts of terrorism were not stated in existing laws. Then, in 2016, after the shooting incident at Jalan M.H. Thamrin, Central Jakarta, the government proposed the revision. The proposed revision added the phenomenon of escalation of the war in Syria that ignited several radical group members in the country to migrate there for jihad.

The amendment of the Anti-Terrorism Law was finally approved at the plenary session of the legislature on May 25th, 2018, as Law No. 5, after President Joko Widodo's ultimatum to emit Government Regulation in Lieu of Law if the House of Representatives failed to agree to it (Waluyo, 2018). This law received stronger support by new Presidential Regulation No. 7 of 2021 on the National Action Plan for Prevention of the Acts of Terrorism. This plan has a clear arrangement of public participation in preventing any symptoms of speeches and activities by the community that lead to a threat of terrorism.

RESEARCH METHOD

This paper is presented through sensitive writing about the interfaced motive of policing by Densus 88 against terrorists in three major cities in Indonesia: Yogyakarta, Makassar, and Surabaya. This research performed observation and in-depth interviews with terrorists with the help of access to terrorist detention rooms with the supervision of personnel of the Directorate of Social Identification, Densus 88. This research focuses on how the interfaced motive and two other factors in the terrorism issues have implications for Muhammadiyah. This research fully refers to the analytical model of interviews and literature study that optimally utilizes all materials and contents related to the issue of terrorism in social science studies. Therefore, the writing was divided into three sub-themes referring to the problem formulation. Many relevant topics concerning terrorism exist, but this study only presents the background of the interviewed terrorists having affiliations with the families of Muhammadiyah members in the three cities. The presentation of this paper is inseparable from the authors' concern as members of Muhammadiyah and the discourse on the threats of violence and terrorism. This paper is not intended to explain the ideological relationship of Muhammadiyah's *da'wah* in the issue of terrorism because the main goal is to answer the interfaced motive of the three terrorist suspects.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The term motive has frequently been utilized in terrorism cases. A motive can be an individual or group network with various intents and purposes. Acts of terrorism can easily happen and are frequently difficult to detect, requiring compressive great efforts to deal with prevention. Related to a motive, a theoretical assumption on situational crime prevention (SCP) in rational choice theory states that the majority of criminal acts need a convergence of the perpetrators' motive of criminal and character opportunism, meaning perpetrators utilize certain opportunities that they consider can be exploited (Ridwan, 2019). This study employs the terminology of crime and criminology to refer to terrorist acts. Criminal

acts are also purposive in the sense that crime is aimed at fulfilling either a short or long period of need. It may also be characterized as the process of making a rational decision where perpetrators count the advantages and disadvantages of certain criminal acts even though SCP admits that not all perpetrators of criminal acts are rational (Gilling, 1997). However, SCP is implicitly based on the assumption that many perpetrators work on various forms of rational thinking, such as considering being caught or potential profit (a reward from doing a criminal act). This assumption is crucial because the approach to prevent such crime affects the retrieval decision process by the perpetrators. In other words, the assumption of the decision-making of the perpetrators can be intervened by prevention.

A person's affiliation with an organization often colors his character; however, organizational influence is not always the main factor forming character traits. A person's existence is not always in one environment but is active in various groups and communities. In the context of this paper, Muhammadiyah, as a religious organization's affiliation with the accused terrorist detainees, cannot be assumed to trigger acts of terrorist violence. It is also crucial to note that the person-situation debate is coming to an end because both sides of the debate have turned out to be right. Why? When discussing momentary behavior, the situation reasoning is right: Traits do not predict, describe, or influence behavior very strongly; the typical individual's behavior is highly variable, and a process approach is required to explain that variability. However, the personal reasoning of the debate is right: Traits predict and describe behavior very well over long periods, behavior is highly stable, and a trait approach is necessary to explain differences between people (Fleeson, 2004).

A person's behavior is also greatly influenced by the level of his religious faith and knowledge. Social and religious organizations, such as Muhammadiyah, also possess an essential role in influencing a person's behavior, especially through character education models embedded in educational institutions from elementary to tertiary levels. Religion is a set of values influencing religious individuals to behave following religious rules.

When the functions of religion are considered, it can be easily seen that religious values can prevent some individuals from some criminal behavior, as well as from some kinds of deviant behavior, as a result of the social control functions of religion with various dimensions. Crime rates and social deviations are vital social problems that negatively affect individuals' lives. This phenomenon can be clearly seen in religious and socio-politically motivated criminal cases in Indonesia, especially since the advent of the Reformation in 1998. Law enforcement in cases with religious and political motives often reaches a dead end and tends not to reach the court process. Meanwhile, academically, it can be understood that critical correspondences exist among these religious, social, and legal rules. Religion is an essential factor affecting the behavior of individuals according to the level of their religiosity. These two concepts have been considered by social scientists with their dimensions within different disciplines (Gunes, 2003).

On the other hand, crime is a kind of social deviance or a variation from a social norm proscribed by criminal law. As it is known, various factors and motives can cause crime. Criminal or legal behavior is a matter of choice. Hence, it should deal with people's ideas and motives coinciding with legal or criminal behavior. In the rational choice theory, the intention is often assumed to be something that can build a bridge between situations and disposition (criminality). Another perspective also asserts that opportunity can take a central role in explaining certain crimes (Coleman and Fararo, 1992). Situation and disposition are intertwined very closely as something that explains an incident to happen. Perpetrators do lots of criminal acts by considering the decision-making; hence, rational choice theory is capable of answering many questions outside the scope of criminologies, such as crime patterns and geography (Cornish & Clarke, 1986). According to the assumption of this study, there is a negative relationship between religiosity and crime. In other words, more religious people commit fewer crimes than those less religious. Everybody tends to commit crimes. However, as a result of socialization, people develop a bond with society, making criminal behavior

less likely. People attached to conventional society will enjoy many rewards for conventional behavior and will not run the risk of losing these ties and rewards by committing crimes. Religions usually share many values with society as a whole. Therefore, religious people may have a relatively strong bond with values condemning criminal behavior (Junger & Polder, 1993).

The debate about whether religion causes acts of terrorism or not has been presented very scientifically by Mark Juergensmeyer (2017) in an article entitled 'Does Religion Cause Terrorism?' The important debate presented in the article states that there are two strong arguments about whether religion is the cause of terrorism or not. The first opinion is heavily influenced by the facts explained in Hector Avalos' book entitled 'Fighting Words: The Origins of Religious Violence' (2005) that religious terrorism is indeed caused by religion. Or, more precisely, religion creates an imaginary supply of sacred resources that humans compete for. Avalos considers all forms of social and political conflict to be contested because resources are scarce. In the case of religious conflict, the scarce resources are those things that religion specifically provides: God's mercy, blessings, and salvation. Meanwhile, the opposing argument is that religion is not the cause of terrorism. Of course, this is very contrary to public discourse, especially after the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center Building in the United States. The argument that religion is not the cause of terrorism is based largely on a book written by Robert Pape entitled 'Dying to Win The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism' (2005). Religion in many cases of terrorism that occurs is only used as a mask for real issues such as protecting culture and the homeland.

RESULT AND ANALYSIS

Since the enactment of the new Anti-Terrorism Law in June 2018, individuals and society need to be aware that expressing sympathy for the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and preaching to the public to change the foundation of the state and nation with Islamic Sharia can be charged as an offense. The interview results with prisoners of terrorism cases revealed that Muslims must be taught about Sharia implementation because they

were still blind to it. These prisoners read a book written by Abdul Qadir Audah, a scholar from Egypt, stating that the weakness of Muslim scholars and ignorant followers has caused the decline of Islam. Subsequently, they read a map of Indonesia reflecting the reality that the majority of Muslims have ignored Sharia, making them plunge da'wah for the sake of Sharia fulfillment and enforcement in the country. These prisoners were mostly affiliated with Jamaat Ansharut Daulah (JAD) with sympathy for the Islamic caliphate.

THE MENTALITY OF INTERFACED DA'WAH

In opening articles of its constitution, Muhammadiyah cites that reaching a prosperous, safe, peaceful, and happy society can only be realized through justice, honesty, brotherhood, and mutual assistance through genuine God's law but free from devil influence and carnality (Muhammadiyah Central Executive Act, 2019). As such, God's blessings and grace are driven by His word in the Holy Qur'an

"Let there be among you a community calling to virtue, advocating righteousness, and deterring from evil. These are the successful" (Ali-Imran: 104).

This verse provides the spirit of da'wah to members (*jamaah*) of Muhammadiyah. It causes a close-cut motive among da'wah messages and responds to the growth of national politics in Indonesia. One of the resource persons charged with terrorism cases, who had family affiliation from Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, believed that Indonesia's national politics had not done enough to implement Sharia truly. Thus, he seriously preached an acceleration of the application of Islamic Sharia in Indonesia. The concept of holistic Islam (*kaffah*) was indeed idealism in Islamic teaching, he stated. However, it is necessary to return to the rule that things that can still be done can be done and do not eliminate the aspiration of the whole according to Muslim's abilities (Mahasin, personal communication, 26 March 2022). Hence, it requires a methodology (*marhalah*) to enforce Sharia. It is the way da'wah is running. However, radicalism has frequently emerged since the Sharia struggle has been carried out through a false understanding of the methodology.

Furthermore, young people's hastyness toward Sharia is driven by their high idealism. They do not want to see Sharia as solely a matter of worship but as an application to state affairs, such as the limitation penalty (*hudud*) or retaliation punishment (*qishas*). Hence, they aspire to return to engage in a debate on the Jakarta Charter. They believe that no Sharia is without the existence of a sovereign Islamic state. They possess idealism with such a high enthusiasm and dogmatic ideology, as conveyed by Islamic scholar Al-Maududi. On the contrary, they are stuck on praxis discourse about its implementation in Indonesia because of who will become the supreme leader, for example. Another issue is *qishas*, compared to a leprosy-like illness. Leprosy is a disease affecting everyone, and to eradicate it for the benefit of the entire body, the diseased limb must be amputated. The illness of *qishas* is comparable to leprosy. It will completely dismantle society's fabric if left uncontrolled. This study's resource person claimed that Islam has embraced a variety of approaches, including the previously indicated logic: eradicating the seeds of disobedience that germinate in society. Anyone who kills another person has the risk of likewise being killed if *qishas* is implemented.

In contrast to the followers of traditional Islamic organizations (Nahdliyin), relatively confined by their attachment (*taklid*) to their leaders, Muhammadiyah followers are extremely open, and their rationality is exceptionally high. The relationship between Islamic idealism and national politics is highly open. In the opinion of the resource person, Muhammadiyah's da'wah was still considered at the level of global ideals, but the phenomenon currently emerging was da'wah pragmatism—how to realize Islamic idealism. The manifestation of this belief led their understanding and movement to deviate from Muhammadiyah.

According to the resource person, young people wanted to realize the belief taught in Abdul Wahab's Sharia—the belief in monotheism that is free from associating partners with Allah (*shirk*). The application is a da'wah movement toward jihad. Changing in society is necessary, beginning with each Muslim as stipulated in the Qur'an, mentioning that surely Allah does not

change the condition of people until they change their condition. Personal change is not because of economic stability but because of the heart. If the heart is good, the person becomes good. It explains why faith is taught. Even among the Nahdliyin, for example, when faith is fixed, the spirit is the same, even though the people are from different groups. From a good person who believes in it, a good society grows.

The interfaced motive with Muhammadiyah occurs because Sharia is still at the level of ideals while practice is still weak. The practice of monotheism is a system that firmly states that Allah is the only one who governs this life. Only Sharia must be realized, even at the level that there are *dzimmy* infidels, *mu'ahad* infidels, *harbi* infidels, and hypocrites. Just like in Medina, where all the people agreed to live together, Islam had superiority in the hands of the Prophet. The practice of religion in realizing monotheism is in the implementation of Sharia by submission. At this time, the implementation of Sharia is still impossible due to the ignorant Ummah and the widespread forces that disagree with it.

EUPHORIA OF ISIS

The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) in Makassar was involved in recruiting 19 terrorists apprehended there. They were extremely involved in FPI activities in Makassar, according to the Indonesian National Police spokesperson (Dewi, 2021). They actively engaged in *da'wah* in response to the actions of their leader, Habib Rizieq Shihab, who depicted sympathy for ISIS (Detik.com, 2020).

In 2015, FPI Makassar held an oath of allegiance to a leader (*Baiat*) loyal to ISIS leader Abu Bakr Albaghdadi, attended by one of the resource persons in this research. Initially, he actively participated in the FPI organization due to his obedience to a charismatic leader. Nevertheless, over time, the euphoria factor of support for an Islamic state campaigned by the FPI became an essential variable besides the charisma of its leader. FPI was clever in utilizing the psychological euphoria when the organization's prestige began to fade, but it manipulated the popularity of ISIS.

The number of FPI paramilitary units in Makassar was more than 1,200, and the majority of them were affiliated with Muhammadiyah. The members once asked the leader of South Sulawesi Muhammadiyah to provide enlightenment to make them return to their activities in Muhammadiyah, but this request received little attention. They actually had no intention of committing violence and extremism, even though most of them followed allegiance. The main goal of the members compatible with Muhammadiyah was none other than educational *da'wah* (*tarbiyah*). They did not like the West and the United States because they were considered a group of infidels who always fought and opposed Islam (Damhuri, 2021).

According to the resource person, Indonesia was not a conflict country like Afghanistan. Hence, there was no reason to attack the government. The FPI members, including the resource person, actually wanted to go to Syria, following several other FPI members who had gone there first. The goal of Syria, apart from being fascinated by the euphoria of life in an Islamic country, also aimed to fight against the Shiites. Meanwhile, domestically, the Indonesian police confirmed that Shias have always been a possible target for attacks by sympathizers or members of a network of militant groups arrested by the police (Artharini, 2015).

The majority of Makassar FPI members still had loyalty to Muhammadiyah and wanted to return to preach *amar makruf nahi munkar* (promoting good and preventing vice) under the characteristics of Muhammadiyah. However, the FPI leader's constant appeal to members with Muhammadiyah affiliations made them unable to refuse. The factor of the weakening of harmonious communication with Muhammadiyah leaders was also a trigger for why they were more interested in being active in the FPI organization than being solemn in Muhammadiyah. The interviewees' confession revealed that they could never accept preachers other than Muhammadiyah. They often stated that they were the biological children of Muhammadiyah. The personal factors of each member also influenced the activity in FPI. Most of them looked for a new atmosphere in religion to satisfy the psychological

atmosphere of transcendence to God. Behind the complicated work of the FPI members, they felt that they had discovered an identity for the preacher, Ustadz Basri, who fit their search for transcendence. Densus 88 arrested Basri in 2015, a few months after the allegiance ceremony was held at the Makassar FPI office. Ustadz Basri died in the Nusakambangan prison while serving a court sentence for the crime of terrorism (Arnaz 2021).

Following the policing of the Makassar FPI leader by Densus 88, several members taking part in allegiance were also arrested on suspicion of the threat of violent acts of terrorism. The euphoria of ISIS deeply influenced an ideology that has the potential to be contrary to the ideology of the legitimate state. Along with the weakening of ISIS's strength due to war defeats in Iraq and Syria, even though Iraq announced it had destroyed ISIS, the world's euphoria for this terrorist organization faded. Likewise, the fame of ISIS in Indonesia was increasingly getting no sympathy from radical groups. FPI, which had provided support to the ISIS organization and struggled in 2014 through its edicts, began to break away. Nevertheless, all law enforcement agents and the general members of the public must remain vigilant against the FPI residue.

MODEL OF PREACHER

The question of selecting the model of a preacher sometimes creates problems. In Muhammadiyah, two crucial factors, such as da'wah strategy and preaching figures, must be seriously considered by the organization. Similar issues may also occur in other organizations, especially Islamic mass organizations. All elements of the nation must continuously support da'wah activities that promote the values of tolerance and peace. This da'wah unites all potential differences and upholds the dynamics of the nation's realignment in the one and only God (Ridwan, 2019). Meanwhile, a strict selection of preachers from outside the organizational structure can be carried out to maintain the dignity, vision, and mission of the organization. Muhammadiyah's openness to da'wah has sometimes become a gap for very hard-lined preachers in understanding religious values.

Interviews with a resource person convicted of terrorism cases from Sidoarjo unveiled that his level of religious knowledge was extremely low, and even his worship was not obedient until 2003, when he emigrated to study and practice religion truly. This resource person had a traditional religious background and became part of the Muhammadiyah extended family and was active in the activities of this organization. In a recitation event at the Muhammadiyah mosque with a preacher from outside the organization, the resource person was highly interested in the contents of the recitation and felt it was compatible with the religious spirit. The person finally followed the preacher wherever da'wah activities took place. This preacher apparently had another group outside Muhammadiyah and tended to be supremely exclusive. The group's members had not openly invited the public to their religious activities despite some social and educational activities provided to the surrounding community. Shared fate and shared life became the main pillars for all members of the group, constituted of only dozens of people. If there is a sick member, other members will help him, and if the sick person needs to be hospitalized, the costs are jointly borne. Likewise, when a member lacked sustenance, other members jointly supported the amount of the aid fund.

The figure of the preacher emerged as a crucial factor in attracting the sympathy of the Muhammadiyah congregation in actualizing the religious spirit and da'wah. In the Sidoarjo case, the Regional Muhammadiyah Leader was less receptive to the needs of preacher figures who could answer the congregation's thirst, not just ordinary preacher figures. The arising consequence was that the congregation was looking for other figures with a religious ideology, but the organization's affiliation remained with Muhammadiyah. The preacher became a central figure in the movement of this group, especially in the delivery of religious doctrines, both those containing Sharia and human relations (*muammalah*). The impression of courtesy and modesty appeared in the character of the preacher, who later became a magnet for the public.

Other resource persons also strengthened the assumption that the factor of the preacher figure was very much needed to embrace a generation with the idealism

of accelerating Sharia. However, the danger that should be watched out for in the case of policing in Sidoarjo was that the preacher figure was affiliated with the Jamaah Islamiyah network, ultimately dragging the informant into criminal entanglement with threats of violence and extremism.

LEGAL PROCESS TRANSPARENCY

Referring to the policing by Densus 88, which occurred in Yogyakarta, Makassar, and Sidoarjo, to the terrorist prisoners whose families were affiliated with Muhammadiyah, the issue of legal proceedings in terrorism cases often created a commotion in society. It happened because the expectations and legal logic of the community were not directly proportional to the logic of law enforcement by state officials or vice versa. For example, in the case of the bombing of the Great Mosque Yogyakarta in 2005, the perpetrator could not show a detailed map of the Great Mosque from the entrance and exit access. When it was asked for access to enter from one of the doors, the answer turned out that the door had been closed ten years ago. This case received plea assistance from Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta and Universitas Islam Indonesia. The case ended after another suspect appeared, which continued at trial, and the verdict had permanent legal force (*inkracht van gewijsde*) from the court.

Hence, a resource person who was a criminal law expert from Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta asserted that reflection on the problem of terrorism in the case of the Great Mosque of Yogyakarta became a typical solution. What should be highlighted is that some suspects can then be proven to have committed the act. Furthermore, regarding the latest terror cases, especially those related to FPI and Muhammadiyah youth, there was a commonality of religious spirit (*Ghirah Islamiyah*). Muhammadiyah youth who did not join FPI established an organization called the Islamic Community Forum (FUI). This organizational movement was similar to the model of the FPI movement, and sometimes, its members had links with other paramilitaries who also propagated the spirit of building Islamic values. In addition, the majority of members believed that concrete steps were required to implement Islamic Sharia in Indonesia.

The resource person stated that he had provided legal assistance to several suspects in terrorism cases. It was discovered that suspects constantly refused to admit that they were active in a terrorist organization. The reason was that there had not been a decision from the court regarding the affiliation of the accused's organization as a terrorist organization. However, Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) and several other extremist organizations, such as Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD), Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT), East Indonesian Mujahidin (MIT) and Hilal Ahmar Society Indonesia (HASI), have been officially declared as terrorist organizations by the government (2008).

Another resource person's opinion uncovered that many experts previously delegated files from the prosecutor to the court. However, the files provided an overview of the information, which, according to the resource person, was not by positive law. Although the link between ISIS and Syria could be demonstrated, the way it was depicted was too academic. For example, if someone has discussed the Islamic State, the Syrian war, and issues of violence in Middle Eastern countries, that person is considered to have been indoctrinated and has a terrorist mindset. If this method is employed, it will return to the past, the New Order era. In those days, the doorway really could not be a place to protect people.

Muslim lawyers appointed by state law enforcement agencies always found it difficult to provide a defense. The lawyer should be given free space; if the defendants do not want to be defended by a Muslim lawyer, they should be given to a professional lawyer. Hence, if there is a defense, it means defending the interests of one's legal rights. Thus, constructing the eradication of criminal acts of terrorism will be easier. Nevertheless, terrorism cases are indeed a complicated issue. First, the issue of terrorism is inseparable from political disputes and involves many actors. In short, there are problems in the aspect of law enforcement for criminal acts of terrorism, causing terrorism never to be resolved. However, it was hard to solve. The act of terrorism could be linked to Al-Qaeda, ISIS, and other extreme Islamic movements in the country. Second, the level of state welfare was relatively low, and the domestic political base was quite unstable. The issue of an Islamic State that

emerged in the nation's history remained a problem for the ideological solidity of all citizens.

CONCLUSION

The interfaced motive of the threat of terrorism of several Muhammadiyah members who were ensnared by law enforcement was caused by the interpretation of the meaning of da'wah promoting good and preventing vice (*amar makruf nahi munkar*). This jargon was misunderstood as a political ideology, like the understanding of members of other mass Islamic organizations, such as FPI, that the government had dissolved. The collision with the political ideologies of these extreme groups caused the views and debates of Muhammadiyah members to coincide with those of radical groups. Coupled with the euphoria of the Islamic State in the global world, it finally dimmed with a void of goals that never materialized. Muhammadiyah must be discreet to maintain the dignity of the organization and enlighten its congregation members with an understanding of the da'wah ideology on the path of Muhammadiyah. Furthermore, the capitalization of preachers should be able to answer the challenges of the current generation and the thirst for their religious values.

Justice in policing, free of intervention, and institutional cooperation, such as a memorandum of understanding between Densus 88 and Muhammadiyah as a form of community participation in preventing terrorism, have become the main pillars of countering terrorism. Advocacy could be performed especially for Muhammadiyah members entangled in criminal cases of terrorist violence. Cases with the nuances of extremism and terrorism would never be resolved at any time because they fall within a criminal offense. These cases would only be dimmed and small; if the values of justice and welfare can be realized, the people having the aspiration to establish an Islamic caliphate in Indonesia will slowly disappear and can encourage them to recognize the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

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