

The Spread of Radical Understanding and Acts of Terrorism by the Al-Qaeda Network in Indonesia from a National Security Perspective

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Abstract

Terror acts carried out by the Al-Qaeda group and its network continue to occur in various countries, including Indonesia. The addition of group members to the network also shows existence over time. This condition is supported by the massive spread of radical ideology by the Al-Qaeda network, especially targeting educational environments and women. In this research, we want to outline the process of spreading radical ideology and the steps that need to be considered from a national security perspective. This research uses a qualitative descriptive method to explain the main discussion. The method used in data collection is secondary data obtained through literature study. The research results obtained are that emotional approaches, cultural factors, and the doctrine of wrong religious views, play an important role in the expansion of radical ideology, where groups of young people and women become victims as well as part of the perpetrators of the spread of radical ideology. Thus, the researcher provides suggestions and input for the Indonesian government in taking a gentle and persuasive approach as a step to minimize the spread of radical ideology in educational environments and among women. This step also aims to change the perspective of groups that have been exposed to radicalism.

Keywords: *Al-Qaeda Network, Radicals, Educational Environment, Women's Circles*

INTRODUCTION

The development of terrorist cases using religious pretexts using the name of Islam is experiencing rapid development in various parts of the world. One well-known case is the WTC (World Trade Center) bombing. The attack on the WTC (World Trade Center) on November 9 2001 in America, which was claimed to have been carried out by Al-Qaeda, was an event that American security forces could not predict. This attack has never occurred. The WTC is a symbol of America's economic superiority, as well as a symbol of the country's strength (Sukawarsini, 2010). The attack on this symbol broke the world view, that America is a superpower that is safe from various types of attacks. This incident also became the forerunner to a statement of world resistance to the terrorist problem.

Bombings by the Al-Qaeda group also occurred in Indonesian territory, using their network that had been formed in Indonesia. The Bali Bombing Cases 1 and 2 were carried out by Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), which is a group affiliated with Al-Qaeda. The first bombing occurred at Paddy's Club and Sari Club on Jalan Legian, Kuta. The incident killed 202 people including 2 perpetrators and 325 people suffered injuries. The explosion that occurred was very large due to the type of explosives used, namely TNT, RDX, and C4 (Sulityo, 2002). Meanwhile, the second bombing occurred at RAJA's Barand Restaurant in Kuta and Menega Cafe and Nyoman Cafe in Jimbaran. The number of victims was 22 people killed and 145 people injured. The bombing action was aimed at destroying Western symbols or interests in Indonesia (Djelantik, 2010).

The latest case that occurred and is related to the Al Qaeda network is the arrest by Densus 88, on August 21 2024, of a suspected terrorist with the initials YLK in Gorontalo Regency, Gorontalo Province. The results of the investigation carried out revealed that YLK was an Al Qaeda network which previously planned to carry out acts of terror against the Singapore Stock

Exchange in 2014. Apart from that, YLK also attended training at Camp Hudaibiyah, Philippines from 1998 to 2000. Furthermore, in 2001, YLK also participated in Muqoyama Badar phase 2 (military training) in East Java, which is a program of Jemaah Islamiyah and is an Al Qaeda network in Indonesia (detik.com, 2024).

This incident is in contrast to the declaration of the disbandment of 16 members of Jemaah Islamiyah on June 30 2024. According to the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), there were three factors behind the leader of Jemaah Islamiyah dissolving his organization. First, the influence of Jemaah Islamiyah intellectual figures who wanted to struggle to establish an Islamic state through da'wah. Second, the motive is to protect their large assets in the form of schools and Islamic boarding schools. Third, the success of the deradicalization program implemented by the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) (Koran Tempo, 2024).

Niclas Spang said that the most prominent terrorist threat, one of which came from the Al-Qaeda group (Security Council, 2022). This statement was made at a meeting to discuss the work program for the seventy-seventh session as the Sixth Committee (Legal). The definition of threat according to Prunckun is a determination to harm another party carried out by a threat agent, which consists of individual entities, organizations and countries that have the will that arises from desires and hopes, as well as the ability that arises from knowledge and resources to harm and cause harm. both physically, mentally and emotionally to the target of threats, both individually, materially and national security (Prunckun, 2010). Terrorism is an extraordinary crime that also requires handling using extraordinary methods for various reasons (Muladi in Wahyuni, 2019). The definition of radicalism is a political or social view that is classified as extreme or of a religious nature that is contrary to the teachings recognized and adhered to in the Republic of Indonesia, which can give rise to political, social and inter-religious conflict, thereby giving rise to unrest, disrupting order and tranquility in public life (Wahyuni, 2019). The relationship between radicalism and terrorism is that radicalism is the origin of acts of terrorism (Kamalia, 2019).

The spread of radical ideas and ideologies is carried out by terrorist groups through Islamic boarding schools, mosques, educational institutions and publishing houses (Yumitro, 2020). The vulnerable young generation is an excellent target for the spread of radical ideas, using militarized ideas of masculinity and including religious ideas. Teaching related to radical ideology to young people is very effective because it is supported by the perspective of the younger generation who are still very unfamiliar with radical ideology and are still in the search for knowledge and identity. The radical ideology that is instilled in the younger generation in Indonesia is anti-state views, rejecting the ideology of Pancasila, pluralism and democracy which are considered incompatible with Islamic values and are the views of Western countries (Lindsey, 2023).

The results of research on 50 state high schools in 4 regions (Pandeglangan, Cianjur, Yogyakarta and Solo) conducted by the MAARIF Institute in 2011, confirmed that educational institutions are open spaces for the spread of ideas, including radical ideas (Fanani, 2013). This is also supported by the results of a survey conducted by the Institute for Islamic Peace Studies (LaKIP), in which 993 middle school students and high school students from state and private schools in the Jabodetabek area (Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi), as many as 50% agreed and justified acts of violence or other radical actions in the name of religion. Meanwhile, as many as 25.8% considered Pancasila to be unsuitable as the basis and ideology of the state. This condition is exacerbated by the views of 84.8% of students who agree with the enforcement of Islamic law in Indonesia.

Apart from educational institutions, extremist groups also spread radical ideas among women through social approaches. In this case, the approach referred to is embracing as "brothers" in a religious context. Basically, women who are embraced are in a psychological

condition that tends to be vulnerable (Bloom, 2011). This is exacerbated by the strong patriarchal cultural system in Indonesia, where women have the obligation to obey the words and directions of their husband or head of the family. The understanding that has been instilled in women also has the potential to be spread to their offspring. Lack of understanding regarding radicalism is one of the factors that makes them easy to influence. With the vulnerability to the spread of ideology through the younger generation and women, the potential for regeneration and additional members in radical and terrorist groups will increase.

This condition is supported by Mulia's observations of women as suicide bombers in 2018. There are three names of women who played the role of suicide bombers in Indonesia, namely Dian Yulia Novi (perpetrator of "pan bombs"), Ika Puspita Sari (bomb perpetrator outside Java), and Umi Delima (wife of terrorist Santoso in Poso). This research describes how women are both perpetrators and victims of radical approaches to terrorist acts, due to a lack of understanding regarding correct religious teachings and the influence of patriarchal views. The role of women in the circle of spreading radical ideas does not stop there. Based on research conducted by IPAC, the role of women in instilling radical ideology has a huge impact on their offspring. This can be seen in the bombing carried out by a family in Surabaya in May 2018, where the parties involved consisted of parents and two children aged 9 and 11 years. This incident shows the influence of the teachings and role of parents, especially women, in instilling radical ideas about acts of terrorism in the younger generation.

Therefore, the author will discuss the phenomena that occur to provide a brief academic description and overview, which can then be used as material for consideration by policy makers and academic references on other related issues. In this research, the author will discuss accompanied by opinions regarding the spread of radicalism and acts of terrorism by the Al-Qaeda Network in Indonesia. The basis for discussion includes Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2018 concerning Terrorism. Based on the background that has been discussed, the question that will be discussed is what is the national security perspective in dealing with and minimizing the spread of radical ideology by the Al-Qaeda network in Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses qualitative methods, where the definition of qualitative methods according to Moleong and Lincoln is research with a scientific background, which aims to interpret phenomena that occur by involving other methods. Research using this description method will describe, provide understanding or explain a phenomenon. In this case, explaining the conditions that occur, views that grow, by using scientific procedures to answer existing problems based on data represented using words, images and not numbers (Moleong, 2005). The data sources used come from various literature and previous research. By using qualitative research methods, the national security perspective will be explained in responding to the phenomenon of the spread of radical ideology which has an impact on terrorist activities by the Al-Qaeda network in Indonesia. The steps in searching for data and information use literature and bibliography reviews.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Terror acts carried out by the Al-Qaeda network in various parts of the world have become part of the dark history of the world security system. The crimes committed have a negative impact on humanity, up to the destruction of a nation. This cannot be separated from the spread of the understanding or ideology adopted to its followers and sympathizers. The

movements carried out by the Al-Qaeda network are also related to the main aim of the founding of this group, namely rejecting all types of culture and understanding held by Western countries which are considered incompatible with Islamic values. Apart from that, the true understanding of Islam that this group means is understanding the Sunni sect.

Al-Qaeda is an organization founded by Osama Bin Laden in 1988. The movement began with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. In that year, there was open recruitment for Muslims who voluntarily joined to help Afghanistan. Recruitment was initiated by Abdul Azzam who is a member of the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood. Recruitment was carried out in an office called Maktab Al-Khidmat which means "service office". After the Soviets withdrew troops from Afghanistan in 1988, Osama bin Laden and Abdul Azzam agreed that the volunteer Islamic defenders (known as "mujahideen") who had been formed should not be disbanded. This was the basis for the formation of Al-Qaeda, which aims to carry out jihad outside Afghanistan. The main goal of the group is implied subtly by raising the meaning of "to lift the word of God, to make His religion victorious" (Rice, 2019). The spread of understanding and group development occurs subtly, but with clear details.

The Southeast Asia region was included as a part that attracted Osama Bin Laden's attention. This is reinforced by the demographic conditions of most of Southeast Asia, where the majority are followers of Islam. The initial step taken by Al-Qaeda in the Southeast Asia region was through a social and cultural approach in the Philippines. In 1998, Muhammad Jamal Khalifa, who was Osama bin Laden's brother-in-law, expanded his export company with rattan raw materials in Manila. Activities were also accompanied by the establishment of a charity for social and educational activities, where the main donor of this body was Osama Bin Laden. This activity also received attention and support from various groups, including armed groups in the Southeast Asia region such as Abu Sayyaf and Abdullah Sungkar. Abdullah Sungkar is a Hambali figure, Chairman of Mantiqi I Islam, who has close relations with Khalid Shaikh Muhammad, where this relationship connects Abdullah Sungkar with inner circle figures from Al-Qaeda (Ali, 2020). Apart from that, Abdullah Sungkar together with Abu Bakar Ba'asyir were the founders of the Jemaah Islamiyah group, which is a radical Islamic movement in Indonesia. The Jemaah Islamiyah group is a regional group that plays a role as part of planning and implementing actions in attacks on western countries and their alliances, including those in Islamic countries (Gunaratna, 2002).

Al-Qaeda Terrorism Actions in Indonesia

Acts of terrorism are one of the problems that still occur in Indonesia. Based on data obtained from Katadata (2023), in the period 2021 to 2023 there were 7 acts of terror with 764 law enforcement actions. In 2023, there will be arrests of 51 members of Jemaah Islamiyah which is also a network of Al-Qaeda in Indonesia. This shows that the existence of the Al-Qaeda network is still relatively high in Indonesia. It needs to be understood that the impact of radical ideology has a major influence on acts of terrorism. The understanding that has been deeply formed by members and sympathizers of radical groups, forms high loyalty to views and action plans that are in accordance with the direction of the group leader. This can be seen from the role of the Jemaah Islamiyah Indonesia group as a network of the Al Qaeda organization. There are two elements in the crime of terrorism, namely the targeting of civilians and the existence of an ideological or political purpose (Proulx, 2003). The Rome Statute which established the ICC (International Criminal Court) does not provide jurisdiction to take firm action against terrorism crimes. However, terrorist acts can be prosecuted if they constitute war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide, according to the definition made in the statute (UNODC, 2009). In the case carried out by the Al-Qaeda group, there were actions that were in conflict with the provisions contained in the Rome Statute. The following is an explanation regarding the intended action.

War Crimes

The Rome Statute describes war crimes as serious violations of the Geneva Conventions, as well as other serious violations of the laws and customs applicable in armed conflict (Talbert & Jessica, 2019). The arrest order for Iyad Ag Ghaly alias Abou Fadl, who is the leader of the Islam and Muslim support group or Jama'ah Nusrat ul-Islam wa al-Muslimin (JNIM), was issued by the ICC. The JNIM group is an extremist group affiliated with Al-Qaeda. The crimes committed were attacks on religious monuments in Timbuktu, which caused regional instability and was exacerbated by armed rebellions and military coups (VOA, 2024). This condition strengthens the situation that Al-Qaeda has violated regulations, which makes their actions an international crime.

Crimes Against Humanity

Crimes against humanity can be defined as acts such as murder, torture or inhumane acts, which are directed against civilians on a widespread and systematic basis, both in times of war and peace (UNODC, 2009). An arrest matter was also issued by the ICC on June 26 2024, against Al Hassan Ag Abdoul Aziz Ag Mohamed Ag Mahmoud who was the leader of an extremist group affiliated with Al-Qaeda. Crimes against humanity have been committed since 2012-2013 in Mali. Al Hassan is the leader of the Ansar Dine group. The charges given include torture of prisoners in the form of amputations and brutal floggings for almost a year during his reign in Timbuktu since early 2012. The brutal floggings were carried out in Timbuktu's central square and were open to the public, and witnessed by children. Apart from that, amputations were also carried out in public using machetes. Other crimes against humanity include abuse and placing prisoners in cramped and unsanitary cells, accompanied by repeated flogging. Al Hassan is also responsible for crimes committed by members of his jihadist group in the form of abuse, mutilation, rape, sexual slavery, forced marriage, and attacks on protected objects (VOA, 2024).

Spread of Radical Understanding by Al Qaeda and its Network

The spread of radical ideas can be carried out by extremist groups using various methods. The conventional dissemination of understanding is still carried out by Al-Qaeda and its network, such as through formal and non-formal educational institutions, direct emotional approaches, and through other social activities. It is noted that the perpetrators of terror are dominated by young people with a high educational background. Based on data from the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), the largest number of terrorist perpetrators had a high school education, namely 63.3%, 16.4% from college, 10.9% from junior high school, 5.5% did not graduate from college, and 5.5% did not graduate from college. basis of 3.6% (BNPT, 2019). At the same time, al-Qaeda increasingly utilized the Internet as an expansive venue for communication and recruitment and as a mouthpiece for video messages, broadcasts, and propaganda (Zeidan, 2024). This view is supported by data on the age percentage of terrorist perpetrators, namely 21-30 years old at 47.3%, then 31-40 years old at 29.1%, followed by those aged over 40 years with a percentage of 11.8% and under 21 years old at 11. 8%. The following is a further explanation regarding how radical ideology is spread by extremist groups.

The Spread of Radical Understanding in the Educational Environment

According to El-Muhammady, there are three elements that are necessary and influence the level of success in recruiting terrorists. The elements in question are effective recruiter, impactful message, and vulnerable individuals. The level of success in implementing these elements will influence whether someone will become an active loyalist or just a supporter of the group. In the effective recruiter element, the role of the party in charge of disseminating understanding to the educational environment is very influential on the level of success. The figure in charge of carrying out this step must have charisma and more knowledge, to convince students regarding the truth of what is being conveyed. In this way, the level of trust of students

in the disseminator of understanding will increase and they will tend to follow the directions and advice given. Furthermore, the impactful message element means that there is a tendency for the spreader or recruiter to convey the message implicitly or through a special message. In this case, the special message is accompanied by a story related to a major incident, which is related to raising the fighting spirit of the prospective recruit, in accordance with the recruiter's expectations. Next are vulnerable individuals who discuss the goals or targets of the activities. In general, the individuals targeted are vulnerable groups. In this case, vulnerability discusses the emotional, economic and social characteristics of the target. By implementing a conventional approach by applying these three elements, the potential for success in recruitment steps will increase. Based on a study conducted by The United State Institute of Peace in 2010, there were around 2,032 foreign militants from the Al-Qaeda network who were students and university students. The approach taken by the terrorist group will affect the level of regeneration of group members. This also increases the potential for wider dissemination of understanding, especially involving educated individuals.

The Spread of Radical Understanding Among Women

Apart from the educational environment, women are also the main targets and targets for the spread of radical ideas by extremist groups. This condition cannot be separated from the culture that has developed in Indonesia, where patriarchal culture is very strong in society, which certainly has an influence on social life. The tendency of patriarchal culture, which makes men have complete control over women, makes women vulnerable. This also has an impact on the social and emotional conditions of women themselves. There are five factors that can encourage women to become perpetrators or members of extremist groups. These factors are revenge, redemption, relationship, respect, and rape (Bloom, 2011).

The revenge factor explains the possibility of a sense of loss experienced by women due to the loss of family members and the impact on the woman's psychological condition. Next is the redemption factor, where women have the idea of making amends for the mistakes and sins they have committed in the past. Then there is the relationship factor, namely the existence of familial relationships between women and terrorist members. Followed by the respect factor, where during the recruitment step, women's minds will be manipulated regarding gender equality and the same opportunities to carry out jihad as men do. The final factor is rape, which means harassment of women who force them to join terrorist organizations. In this case, women tend to be traumatized and do not dare to return to their families or origins due to social factors, which influence their level of frustration.

The National Commission on Violence Against Women stated that the role of women is very strategic in spreading and continuing radical ideology and preparing their offspring to become jihadists (Rachman, 2018). The radical understanding that is formed among women will contribute greatly to increasing the number of potential members of extremist groups, with a higher level of loyalty. The sooner this understanding is instilled in children, the more this perspective will stick. This is reinforced by the mother's role as the first and main educator for her children.

Steps to Counter the Spread of Ideology from a National Security Perspective

In the preamble to the Indonesian Constitution of 1945, the fourth paragraph, the function of the state is explained, namely "... to protect the entire Indonesian nation and all of Indonesia's blood and to advance general welfare, educate the life of the nation, and participate in implementing world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice...", which is very contrary to radicalism. The protection in question includes mindsets, perspectives, and matters relating to society, which will affect Indonesia's defense and security. Meanwhile, the understanding developed in radical terrorist ideology is to influence and change the perspective of its followers or supporters, who focus on the goals of a group without paying attention to the

negative impacts it causes. Apart from that, the introduction of radical ideology into the educational environment is very different from the function of the state as part of the intellectual life of the nation, which is related to the perspective of educators and the students within them. This condition is also related to women, the state plays an important role in making it easier for women from various backgrounds to obtain information, including things that are not in accordance with the Pancasila ideology.

Basically, Indonesia has made efforts to overcome the development of acts of terrorism by certain individuals and groups. Regulations in Indonesia have stipulated that terrorism is part of a criminal act, which is recorded in Law 5 of 2018. This law explains that the acts of terrorism referred to in these regulations are all acts that use violence and threats of violence, which cause harm, whether physically, mentally or materially, with purposes related to ideology, politics or security disturbances. In article 12B paragraph 2 it is explained that, acts of recruitment carried out by terrorist groups as well as hosting or providing training that leads to terrorist acts, will result in imprisonment for a minimum of 4 years to 15 years. Additional sanctions are also given for terrorist acts involving children in the form of an additional sentence of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total sentence received. This is regulated in article 16A.

Even though the regulations regarding the definition, actions, dissemination steps, and sanctions given have been written clearly, there is still a need for a soft and persuasive approach to the community. This step aims to anticipate the widespread spread of ideas that have developed in society that have been exposed to members or sympathizers of radical groups, due to rejection. Understanding or ideology can be simulated as a "virus" related to the perspective and understanding of its adherents, which allows it to spread massively to the general public. The role of related agencies, such as BNPT, Republic of Indonesia State Police (Polri), BIN, Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Religion, and Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, is very much needed in carrying out early detection and early prevention of the spread of radical ideology in Indonesia. One step that can be implemented is the implementation of fundraising. Mobilization is a planned, directed and integrated activity between investigation, security and fundraising using patterns, techniques, tactics and available media. The aim of fundraising is to create and change the conditions of the target (individual or group) within a certain time, in a planned, directed and measurable manner so that the target consciously/unconsciously wants to do what the fundraiser wants (Saronto, 2022).

There are several fundraising techniques that can be applied to minimize the spread of radical ideas in educational environments and among women. Some of these techniques are as follows.

Psywar

Psychological warfare can be defined as systematic and planned activities aimed at changing emotions, attitudes, behavior, opinions and motivation (ESTOM). Psychological warfare always pays attention to the strengths, weaknesses and vulnerabilities of the fundraising target. A soft approach to society, both in educational circles and among women, will minimize the spread of wrong ideas or images related to ideologies spread by terrorist groups. With the change in ESTOM in society, the correct views and importance of Pancasila as an Indonesian ideology will spread.

Propaganda

Propaganda is a planned activity structured in the form of words and actions and combined with the aim of changing attitudes and behavior consciously. In this case, communication is carried out by exploiting the weaknesses of the target, which in this case is the general public. The use of target psychology plays an important role in the level of success of propaganda. Steps that can be taken include distorting the facts, the general picture of the cause and effect of the action and the tendency for losses to be incurred. This approach can be used to

influence women and the educational environment, where propaganda has a big influence on the perspective of those who are quite critical or more or less have a general view of radicalism.

Subversion

Subversion is a covert effort to influence the thoughts, views and spirit of counter parties so that they want to oppose, resist and overthrow the government or its leaders. In this case, an approach using subversion can be carried out among groups who are indicated to have been exposed to radical views. This step can involve intelligence circles in its implementation. By using this technique, it is possible to change the mindset of those who are indicated to have been exposed to radical ideology to return to the Pancasila view. This also helps disseminate the implementation of counter-radicalism. This is inseparable from the trust they have gained from the general public who have joined terror groups.

CONCLUSION

The spread of radical ideology carried out by the Al Qaeda network continues to occur in Indonesia and is a problem that requires more attention from the government and the general public. The target of this group's fairly massive approach and dissemination of understanding is aimed at education and among women. Distribution targeting these two groups is considered effective in expanding understanding to the point of increasing the number of members or sympathizers of terror groups, as well as carrying out terror activities in Indonesian territory. The understanding that is spread is a view of the importance of making sacrifices in defending religion above all worldly interests. This also applies to the humanitarian side, where the defense of religion is absolute when compared to humanity. The application of Islamic law as one and foremost is also the responsibility of adherents of the Islamic religion and does not support the application of doctrines or ideologies other than the law which has been determined by the religion.

Even though regulations related to criminal acts of terror already exist and are implemented in Indonesia, in reality their level of effectiveness has not been implemented optimally. The Indonesian government, in collaboration with other related agencies, needs to carry out socialization to provide a soft and persuasive approach to radical groups and the general public, especially in the educational environment and women as a group that is the main target for spreading understanding. The involvement of every line of government and society will have an impact on maintaining Indonesia's defense and security which is based on Pancasila.

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