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Goverment Control of Islamic Ideology Movement: A Case of Indonesia

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Abstract

Differences in views in the first precepts of the Pancasila version of the Jakarta Charter of 22 June 1945 became a genealogical factor that caused some Islamic groups to struggle relentlessly in realizing Islam as the basis of the philosophy and ideology of the state. Part of these groups' movements is compromise and radicalism. Therefore, this research aims to examine non-mainstream Islamic movements in the Indonesian political system. The phenomenological constructivism approach is used in understanding the views of the New Order and the Reform regimes in dealing with non-mainstream Islamic movements, through interview techniques and document analysis. These results showed that radical issues far exceed the normal level of Islamic movements in Indonesia. Furthermore, there is concern that certain groups oriented towards Islamic movements in Indonesia are more co-opted in the anti-Islamic global network sponsored by the United States and the West. The status of the New Order and Reform Regimes did not differ significantly in addressing various state issues related to the Islamic movement. For both regimes, non-mainstream Islamic movements should be strictly controlled. The most effective political instruments to control Islamic nationalist groups whose views differ from secular nationalist in terms of Pancasila as the state ideology are radical issues and terrorism.

Keywords: Non-mainstream Islamic, Government's, new order regime, and the reform regime

Introduction

The Movement of *Indonesian Communist Party* (PKI), founded on September 30, 1965, was led by Lieutenant Colonel Untung, commander of the presidential guard battalion from the Cakrabirawa Regiment. Colonel Untung was responsible for kidnapping and killing six Generals of the *Indonesian National Armed Forces* (TNI)[1]. This controversial event became an important milestone in the history of the Soekarno and New Order Regimes under the leadership of General Suharto.[2] However, despite reviving the Soekarno regime, Suharto gradually and constitutionally managed to end it through the 1967 *Provisional People's Consultative Assembly* (MPRS) Special Session.[3]

The results of studies carried out by political experts and historians, such as Christopher Hulshof (2020),[4] stated that Soekarno was defeated when Suharto was assigned to restore security in Jakarta after the 30th September Movement by *Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret* 1966. Surprisingly, after receiving the controversial *Supersemar* 1966, the first step was to dissolve the Indonesian Communist Party.[5]

Suharto's attempt to dissolve the *Indonesian Communist Party* (PKI) was successful due to the help of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) and *Muhammadiyah.* According to Van Bruinessen (2002), in collaboration with the ABRI, Islamic groups from *NU* and *Muhammadiyah* played a significant role in accelerating the end of the PKI's existence in Indonesia. Furthermore, they ensured that no room was left for the NU in areas controlled by the PKI, resulting in an even retaliation.[6]

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[1] Michael R. J. Vatikiotis (1998), *Indonesian Politics under Suharto The Rise and Fall of the New Order*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 1-23.
[2] Harsa Permata (2015), "Gerakan 30 September 1965 Dalam Perspektif Filsafat Sejarah Marxisme," *Jurnal Filsafat*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 220-251.
[3] Nur A. Fadhil Lubis (1995), "Institutionalization and the Unification of Islamic Courts under the New Order," *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-51.
[4] Christopher Hulshof (2020), "The Convoluted Historiography of the September 30th Movement in Indonesia," *Journal of Liberal Arts and Humanities (JLAH)*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 37-44.
[5] Lena Tan (2012), "Indonesian National Security During The Suharto New Order (1965-1998): The Role Of Narratives Of Peoplehood And The Construction Of Danger," *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 49-70.
[6] Martin van Bruinessen (2002) "Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto," *South East Asia Research*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 117-154.

In subsequent developments, Suharto started strengthening the New Order's foundations by involving secular groups and sidelining the role of Islamic nationalist figures.[7] The events of the September 30, 1965 Movement were an important moment for ABRI and an opportunity for most anti-communist Muslims to adopt a strategic role in political ideology. This is no exaggeration compared to neighboring Malaysia, which comprises over 50% of Muslims, making Islam the official state religion. Meanwhile, Muslims in Indonesia constitute 86.39% of the total population, approximately 267 million in 2019. Although, they play a much lesser role in the country, both in the political and economic fields. The economy is mainly controlled by the ethnic Chinese minority group, mostly Christians and Catholics.[8] Historically, long before Indonesia gained independence, Muslims founded several social organizations that later developed into political parties.[9] These struggle movements are categorized into three forms, namely organizations with Islamic, national, and communist ideologies. Interestingly, these groups played an essential role in achieving the independence in 1945. Meanwhile, when the Pancasila was initially established as the state ideology, a group of Islamic nationalists insisted on defending the "Jakarta Charter" version with the first precepts of *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* and implementing Islamic law for its adherents." These individuals finally agreed to accept the revision of the Charter and the first precept of the Pancasila read "*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*."[10] Unfortunately, this was the beginning of their failure, particularly the majority of Muslims who wanted to integrate the sharia law into the state ideology as the main guideline in Indonesia. Based on the integralist pattern paradigm put forward by Al Maududi (1903 to 1979), Shari'a does not recognize the separation between religion and the state. On the contrary, it is a perfect scheme that regulates the order of people's lives concerning various aspects.

At a time when Indonesia adopted a parliamentary system of government and the 1950 Provisional Constitution, some group of Islamic parties in the Constituent Assembly recognized as the constitution-making body re-submitted the Jakarta Charter of June 22, 1945 to be agreed upon as the basis of the state to replace the 1950 Constitution. However, the debate, which commenced on November 10, 1956, in Bandung till the end of 1958, failed. This prompted President Soekarno to issue a Decree on July 5, 1959, which led to the dissolution of the constituent assembly and the reinstatement of the 1945 Constitution. The phase after the July 5, 1959 Decree to the September 30, 1965 Movement is generally called guided democracy. In addition, Soekarno and the PKI closed the space for anti-PKI Islamic parties, such as the dissolution of Masyumi in 1960.[11]

After Suharto succeeded in taking control, based on the *Supersemar* legitimacy, Suharto started to avoid important Islamic figures, especially those who adhered to an integralist pattern and a symbiotic relationship between the state and Islam. Soeharto's anti-Islamic attitude was not only influenced by external factors such as the success of America's role in making Sorharto a Trojan horse to get rid of Sukarno, who was a pro-Eastern Bloc (Soviet and Chinese). For America, it was important for Islamic forces to be involved in the crushing of the PKI.[12] However, on the other hand, they did not want them to play a huge role in Indonesia's political ideology. Some deliberately proposed assumptions stated that Soeharto did not care about sharia practices because it was a reflection of the Javanese syncretism espoused by Suharto and several other powerful elites. Some suspected that this view was deliberately developed to cover up Christians' efforts to overthrow Islam in Indonesia. Suharto was more assertive in expressing that the Pancasila philosophy is valid and equivalent to the five officially recognized religions and advocates.[13]

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[7] Darma Wijaya (2015), "Islam Dan Kekuasaan Orde Baru: Membaca Kembali Politik De-Islamisasi Soeharto," *Sosiologi Reflektif*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 63-84.
[8] Martin van Bruinessen (2002), "Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto," *South East Asia Research,* Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 117–154.
[9] Yusuf Budi Prasetya Santosa and Rina Kurnia (2021), "Kontribusi Ki Bagus Hadikusumo Dalam Sidang BPUPKI Mei-Juli 1945," *Chronologia*, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 109-125.
[10] Amos Sukamto (2013), "Ketegangan Antar Kelompok Agama Pada Masa Orde Lama Sampai Awal Orde Baru: Dari Konflik Perumusan Ideologi Negara Sampai Konflik Fisik," *Jurnal Teologi Indonesia*, Vol 1, No. 1, pp. 25-47.
[11] Irwan Iskandar (2015), "Pemikiran Politik Muhammad Natsir Tentang Hubungan Islam Dan Negara" *Jurnal Transnasional*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 1755-1770.
[12] Baskara T. Wardaya and Islah Gusmian (2007), *Membongkar Supersemar!: Dari CIA Hingga Kudeta Merangkak Melawan Bung Karno*, Yogyakarta: Galang Press, p. 16.
[13] Darma Wijaya (2015), "Islam Dan Kekuasaan Orde Baru: Membaca Kembali Politik De-Islamisasi Soeharto," *Sosiologi Reflektif*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 63-84.

The inability of Muslims to play a bigger role in the ideological and political aspects not only disappointed most of them but also affected the groups fighting for Indonesia's independence. Even though the state's pressure on this faction was extremely strong, thoughtful or ideological movements that perceive Islam as a religion and at the same time as the basis of the state still exist and have networks in the society. Fealy & McGregor (2010), and Hefner (2009), referred to it as a non-mainstream Islamic movement. Its adherents argued that Islam has a complete structure, therefore the democratic system introduced by the West *thoghut* needs to be rejected.[14]

Non-mainstream Islamic movements rooted for DII/TII for the New Order and reform regimes. Meanwhile, the transnational Islamic factions were perceived as a threat to the Pancasila, which is the foundation of the state. The Soeharto regime labeled these radical groups "commando jihad," while Joko Widodo used the term "radical Islam or terrorism" for groups of people who held different views from the government. The two rulers of the regime employed the same strategy and tactics in controlling various anti-government movements and those from various social groups that seek to become an alternative principle other than "Pancasila," regarded as a political struggle or ideology. This led to the emergence of various terms, namely "Commando, Islamic Jihad, Radical Islam, and Movements. The more tragic aspect is the accusations of "terrorism" labeled on Islamic groups whose views differ from that of the government.

The present research examines the struggles of supporters of non-mainstream Islamic movements in crossing the political storm between the new order and the reform era. It focuses on comparing the leaderships of Presidents Soeharto and Joko Widodo concerning the state's attitude toward eradicating non-mainstream Islamic movements. There was also a specific comparison between Suharto and Joko Widodo's attitudes towards the "*Komando Jihad*" and "terrorism," which is branded as a non-mainstream Islamic movement, respectively. Furthermore, the present research also analyzes the future trends of the Islamic movement.

Research Method

The research employed qualitative methods, specifically the phenomenological type with the constructivism paradigm. This approach was selected because it is in accordance with the research objectives to reveal the meaning of phenomena concerning the government's control of Islamic ideology. Furthermore, judging from its location, this is categorized as library research, which entails the collection of data from meaningful sources.

This research was sourced from books and journals published both nationally and internationally. First, related sources were collected with the help of publish or perish, which were then classified with the Vosviewer. The classification process then aided in the discovery of materials related to Islamism, Islamic formalism, activism, radical Islam, and terrorism themes, published in national and international journals.

Reading sources were treated objectively without separating the author's background, ideology, religion, ethnicity, and nationality, but only its contents were considered. The data related to these topics were then analyzed using comparative techniques. In this circumstance, the meaning contained in various sources is uncovered and compared. An absolute understanding led to its declaration as a phenomenon of Islamic phobia in Indonesia.

The accuracy of concluding relies on intellect, therefore, in reading each source, one need not stop at the author's statements and views but must connect the topics in the various sources. Critical analysis techniques are an integral part of discovering the novelty of this research.

Results and Discussion

Suharto's Practical Way to Stop the Enemy of the New Order

After General Suharto was appointed President through the General Session of the MPRS, established by Decree No. XLIV/MPRS/1968 dated March 27, 1968, the basis of Suharto's power, was

[14] Bilveer Singh and Zuly Qodir (2015), *Gerakan Islam Non Mainstream Dan Kebangkitan Islam Politik Di Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, p. 102.

strengthened by ensuring all forms of threats inherited from the past were rooted in Darul Islam or Indonesian Islamic Army, including the anticipated DI/TII Movement.[15] All forms of non-mainstream Islamic movements rooted in efforts to uphold Islamic laws and ideologies contrary to the Pancasila are regarded as enemies of the state and therefore need to be eliminated. Suharto did not openly label these factions as radical Islamic groups rather, they were referred to as "*Komando Jihad*".[16] Non-mainstream Islamic movements linked to political Islam need to be castrated, as the left-wing forces which were exterminated after the Suharto's 1965 incident with the controversial Supersemar.[17]

Komando Jihad emerged from the court and prosecutor's desk by the New Order authorities. It refers to a group of people who were considered to interfere with Suharto's efforts to maintain power. Prakash, Menon, and Laffan (2018) stated that the term *Komando Jihad* refers to remnants of the Darul Islamic group led by Sekarmaji Marijan Kartosuwirjo who aspire to establish the *Islamic State of Indonesia* (NII). The Darul Islam and NII movements became extinct after Kartosoewirjo was arrested in 1962.[18] Suharto, who opposed the Old Order's political format with a parliamentary system and many parties, tried to build a new one. The only strategy to balance political Islam's supremacy after the PKI's dissolution in 1965 was to join forces with ABRI, which led to the emergence of Golkar, a work-oriented and non-partisan group. With respect to its managerial structure, Soeharto was appointed Chairman of the Golkar Advisory Council. This position enabled Suharto to control the presidential candidates elected by the Development Work Fraction in the *People's Consultative Assembly* (MPR) by first consulting with the Chair of the Golkar Advisory Council. Not only that, even the Regional Representatives Fraction of the MPR, led by the Minister of Home Affairs, a presidential aide also consulted with the Chairman of the Golkar Advisory Council, namely President Soeharto. Meanwhile, the ABRI faction under the Armed Forces Commander was also directly controlled by Suharto as the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces based on article 10 of the 1945 Constitution. The *Indonesian Democratic Party* (PDI), and the *United Development Party* (PPP), rooted in Soekarnoism and Islam, respectively, tend to exist despite being under political pressure full of intrigue and subversive accusations. This political format allowed Suharto to rule intermittently based on a single interpretation of the 1945 Constitution which was not formulated perfectly by the *Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence* (BPUPKI) at the beginning of independence.[19]

For Golkar, which ABRI supported, to win the 1971 elections, Suharto sent military units from battalions and regiments to areas that were the bases of Islamic parties to intimidate political figures and clerics.[20] Acehnese charismatic cleric Daud Beureueh was first arrested by Lieutenant Sjafrie Sjamsoeddin, who was instructed by Ali Moertopo at dawn on May 1, 1978 and, after being injected with anesthetic, was flown to Jakarta. Unfortunately, this practice continued till the 1982 and 1987 elections. A year before the elections were held, thousands of Islamic activists were arbitrarily arrested, tortured, imprisoned, and sentenced without a clear legal basis and were released after the general elections. During the 1992 elections, President Soeharto started to reduce the political tension and to embrace and appoint moderate Islamic figures to sit in the parliament and government. [21] In 1993, President Soeharto appointed a general from an Islamic group, Feisal Tanjung, as the Armed Forces Commander. The final election for Suharto to be willingly re-nominated as President at the suggestion of a Golkar figure, Harmoko, was held in 1997. Harmoko did not come from the bureaucrats and the military but from journalists who were members of a group of gentlemen convinced that the people still wanted Suharto as their President, although, in reality, the reverse was the case.[22]

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[15] Katharine E. McGregor (2009), "Confronting the Past in Contemporary Indonesia The Anticommunist Killings of 1965-66 and the Role of the Nahdlatul Ulama," *Critical Asian Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 2, pp. 195-224.
[16] Moh. Sholehuddin (2013), "Ideologi Religio-Politik Gerakan Salafi Laskar Jihad Indonesia," *Jurnal Review Politik*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 47-68.
[17] Darma Wijaya (2015), "Islam Dan Kekuasaan Orde Baru: Membaca Kembali Politik De-Islamisasi Soeharto," *Sosiologi Reflektif*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 63-84.
[18] Zachary Abuza (2007), "Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post–New Order Indonesia (Review)," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 196-200.
[19] Yusuf Budi Prasetya Santosa and Rina Kurnia (2021), "Kontribusi Ki Bagus Hadikusumo Dalam Sidang BPUPKI Mei-Juli 1945," *Chronologia*, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 109-125.
[20] Noviah Iffatun Nisa, Mohammad Na'im, and Nurul Umamah (2017), "Strategy of Golongan Karya to Be Winner in Election Year 1971-1997," *Jurnal Historica*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 141-151.
[21] R. William Liddle (1996), "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 55, No. 3, pp. 613-634.
[22] Robert W. Hefner (1997), "Islamization and Democratization in Indonesia," in Robert W. Hefner and Patricia Horvatich (eds.), *Islam in an Era of Nation-States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 75-128.

However, under the Soeharto regime, the *Command for the Restoration of Security and Order* (Kopkamtib), which the Armed Forces Commander concurrently discharged through Special Operations and Regional Special Implementers (Laksusda) at the central and regional levels were the institutions responsible for emasculating the enemies of the New Order regime. As stated by Busyro Muqoddas in the promotional exam to obtain a doctorate in law from the Islamic University of Indonesia (UII) Yogyakarta in August 2010, there was an element of political engineering in the *Komando Jihad* case during the New Order era. This was aimed at destroying the Muslim political institutions rooted in Sukarnoism. Busyro Muqoddas further stated that the struggle of Soekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo, who aspired to study Islamic law in Indonesia, ended in 1962.

The Suharto regime adopted the theory of "dalang" to quell Islam and Marhenism. Intelligence operations under Ali Moertopo tasked *Special Forces Command* (Kopassus). Meanwhile, Sugiyanto operatives were recruited to establish cordial relations with Danu Mohammad Hasan. One of the amnesties of Darul Islam commanders in West Java was to infiltrate the remnants of Darul Islam to form "*Komando Jihad*." This relationship bore fruit because those remnants of Darul Islam under the leadership of Dodo Mohammad Darda bin Kartosuwiryo, son of Kartosuwirjo, started to revive Darul Islam under the name *Komando Jihad*. The group was crushed again, leading to Golkar's emergence during the 1971 elections.[23]

The New Order regime, which depicts America's interest in stemming the influence of communism in Southeast Asia, started to restrain Islamic parties fused into the PPP in 1973 and had to accept Pancasila as the only party ideology.[24] Since then, the struggle of Islamic parties to gain more significant support from the people remained stagnated.[25] Due to its cultural perspective, several Masjumi exponents who harbored the utopia of an Islamic state succeeded in establishing the *Indonesian Islamic Propagation Council* (DDII).[26] This organization has strong contacts with the Middle East. The main character, Mhd. Natsir has held leadership positions in *Rabithah Alam Islami*, an international Muslim organization in Mecca. However, through DDII, non-mainstream Islamic influences from the Middle East spread across Indonesia. The books written by Ikhwanul Muslimin, Hasan al-Bana, and Pakistani Islamic figures, including Abu A'la al-Maudhudi, were translated into Indonesian and were held in high esteem by the non-mainstream Islamic discourse. Wahhabism, a non-mainstream version of Islam rooted in the ideas of Muhammad ibn Al-Wahhab was later adopted as the official ideology of the Saudi Arabia Kingdom. It was influenced by the establishment of the *Islamic and Arabic Education Institute* (LIPIA) located in Pejaten, South Jakarta, and is still in existence to date.[27]

After the 1977 elections, Suharto's circle was extremely uncomfortable with the results because the PPP won 29.3 percent of the votes. This was its highest achievement in all elections held during the New Order era. After the election, the ulema was "castrated" socially and politically. Several well-known clerics who have experienced repressive measures were Kiai Sarmin from Banten, Safriansyah alias Kai Amang and Jamhari Arsyad in South Kalimantan. Abdullah Sungkar, Abu Bakar Baasyir, and several other figures founded a radio station promoting Islamic renewal in Solo. However, because it was considered critical for Suharto, the military arbitrarily closed this station in 1975. This led to the arrest and imprisonment of Sunkar and Ba'asyir during the New Order, although they traveled to Malaysia after their release.

Unfortunately, of all the repressive actions of the New Order regime, the one that claimed the most victims was the Tanjung Priok Incident. According to the Kontras report, this issue was caused by Sergeant Hermanu, a member of the Koja Village Supervisory Agency (Babinsa), responsible for cleaning up posters criticizing the government at the Assa'adah Mosque on September 7, 1984. Speculations were sparked when Hermanu distributed pamphlets and posters pasted in the gutter and entered the Assa'adah prayer room without taking off their shoes. After being restrained, Hermanu even

[23] Amin Mudzakkir (2016), "Islam Dan Politik Di Era Kontemporer," *Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 31-48.
[24] Hamid Fahmi Zarkasyi (2008), " The Rise of Islamic Religious-Political Movements in Indonesia The Background, Present Situation and Future, *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 336-378.
[25] R. William Liddle (1996), "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 55, No. 3, pp. 613-634.
[26] Siti Mahmudah (2018), "Islamisme: Kemunculan Dan Perkembangannya Di Indonesia," *Aqlam: Journal of Islam and Plurality*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 1-16
[27] Imron Rosidi (2022), "From Political Parties to Cultural Organizations: Indonesian Islamic Movements during the New Order," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 43-53.

took out a gun, leading to a commotion. Syarifudin Rambe and Sofwan Sulaeman, intermediaries, in this case, were instead arrested by the military and detained at Mako Kodim 050231. The residents also tried to demand their release through Amir Biki, which led to clashes with armed forces and the varying death toll. According to the government, the minutes presented by Commander General L.B. Moerdani stated that only 18 people were killed and 53 injured. However, the results of the investigation carried out by the National Solidarity for the Tanjung Priuk Incident (SONTIDAK) fact-finding team stated that an estimated 400 people died, not to mention the injured and disabled. The National Human Rights Commission reported 24 deaths, including Amir Biki and 55 injured persons. Then the following individuals, AM Fatwa, Tony Ardi, Mawardi Noor, Oesmany Al Hamidy, and Abdul Qodir Jaelani were also arrested because they were accused of being activists in the Tanjung Priok incident. Abdul Qodir Jaelani is a respected Islamic figure in the Betawi community and a lecturer by profession at the Islamic Da'wah College. Abdul Qodir then founded the Crescent Star Party in 1998.

The Muslim movement used limited space during the New Order regime. The PKI stamp and jihad orders for leftist and right groups were expressions of hatred exhibited by ABRI and village officials towards individuals or factions considered anti-New Order regimes. Someone who is not liked or opposed is also branded as a PKI or Islamic Command. Psychologically this action is a practical way to kill certain characters and silence Muslims. As a prominent observer of the nation once put it, Indonesian Muslims are "majority with a minority mentality".[28] However, there are other views, but secular nationalists and *abangan* believe that the Pancasila protects them from the santri in terms of adhering to formal Islam. In accordance with American sociological studies offered in the 50s and 60s, the terms East Java, *abangan*, and *santri* were popularized. Religion is a personal matter for the abangan group, while the Pancasila guarantees pluralism and freedom of worship.

The *Komando Jihad* action is a movement designed by the intelligence agency to discredit Muslims. This faction often executes its activities at the right political moment. For example, during the 1977 elections, the general assembly of the People's Consultative Assembly, and when the Pancasila indoctrination program was about to be proclaimed as the sole principle of a political party, the *Komando* jihad started to carry out acts of terror. Many believed that its members were deliberately sent to several prominent Islamic politicians in order to be accused of being involved in terrorism to influence the course of the general election.[29]

In 1981, before the 1982 general election, the intelligence services started aggravating that the *Komado Jihad* network had been detected in various parts of the archipelago and was even accused of violently forming an Islamic state. However, in 1980, several highly respected Islamic figures formerly affiliated with Masyumi and representatives of other political sects, including former ministers and retired ABRI, protested Suharto's controversial speech in Pekanbaru. This group became known as the "Petition 50 – Petition 50" because fifty people signed a letter of "concern" to the House of Representatives. In that statement, they criticized President Suharto for using Pancasila to attack political enemies. Several figures of international repute, such as Mohamad Natsir, A.H. Nasution, and Ali Sadikin, protected this faction, thereby making it different from the group of preachers who voiced sharp criticism and were immediately arrested, unlike this movement.

The unfair treatment meted out to the Tanjung Periuk mosque preachers caused them to openly criticize the government as long as they were not arrested. The sermon that created this climate of defiance ended with the outbreak of a major riot known as the Tanjung Periuk incident led by Amir Biki.

Not long after that incident, Jakarta was again rocked by several bombs, which many people believed was retaliation for the Tanjung Priok incident. The government suspected and associated these radical preachers, riots, and bombings with members of the "Petition 50" group. In addition, three of Suharto's leading critics, who signed the White Paper, A.M. Fatwa (one of the founders of the Petisi 50 group), H.M. Sanusi (former minister, affiliated with Muhammadiyah and member of Petition 50), and H.R. Dharsono (former commander of the Siliwangi Division, former Secretary General of ASEAN, who was not a signatory to Petition 50 but was close to them) was accused of subversion. The last two were

[28] Muhammad Zuhdi (2018), "Challenging Moderate Muslims: Indonesia's Muslim Schools in the Midst of Religious Conservatism," *Religions*, Vol. 9, No.10, 310 (pp. 1-15).
[29] Kazeem Oluwaseun Dauda (2020), "Islamophobia and Religious Intolerance: Threats to Global Peace and Harmonious Co-Existence," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 257-292.

also accused of being involved in planning the bombing. Although the evidence presented based on the testimonies of the witnesses who claimed to have been tortured failed to convince the observers, they were sentenced to lengthy prison terms.

After the Tanjung Priok disaster, radical sermons were no longer heard in mosques. The Petite 50 group also remained silent, while *NU* and *Muhammadiyah* later mobilized themselves for non-political activities. Meanwhile, student discussion groups emphasized morality and personal piety rather than political involvement. Nevertheless, these political dissidents have not completely disappeared, although their numbers have declined sharply.

Unlike the situation in Java, the Tanjung Periuk incident was not a frightening specter for the Warsidi's group in the villages of Talangsari, Lampuang, and the Bima faction (East Sumbawa). The villages were crushed by force, which resulted in bloodshed, thereby leading to the death of many of Warsidi's followers. Official reports stated that there were 27 victims, while local sources reported two to 300 people lost their lives. Warsidi's movement is more like the recurring messianic peasant uprisings in Java during the 19th century than a modern political protest movement affiliated with Islam.

Suharto, famously known as The Smiling General, strengthened 32 years of power in the New Order political stage, from being appointed President in 1967 to partake in the fifth election in 1992. None of the political figures, academics, or DPR leadership dared to talk about the succession of the New Order leadership except for Amien Rais. In the 90s, Amien Rais, a doctor of politics and lecturer at the Gajah Mada University, first aired their views in print in 1991 about the succession of the New Order leadership, hoping for an alternative candidate during the 1992 presidential election held by the MPR. After being elected in 1995 as the Chairman of the Central Executive of Muhammadiyah through the 43rd Mukatamar in Banda Aceh, attended by President Soeharto, Rais's criticism of the New Order rulers became increasingly intense and fierce. Amien Rais loudly stated that the MPR, as a result of the 1997 elections, would no longer elect Suharto as President. However, the MPR led by Harmoko, a Suharto loyalist, also convinced its members to vote for Suharto, who was reappointed as President on March 11, 1998, for the seventh time. Suharto's cabinet was immediately faced with the problem of a monetary crisis due to the drastic weakening of the rupiah exchange rate against the dollar, uncontrollable market prices, and people losing confidence in banks. This led to a lack of confidence in President Soeharto, and the student movement took to the streets to protest against occupying the DPR/MPR building. Finally, Suharto legally handed over government power to Vice President B.J Habibie to be appointed President.

Radicalism in the Swirl of Political Reform

After the fall of the Soeharto government, several variants of Islamic movements developed outside the mainstream of the Indonesian Islamic movements, such as *Muhammadiyah* and *NU*. Its presence was quite astonishing because the group's model is relatively capable of attracting the interest of some Islamic circles in Indonesia.[30] In general, this non-mainstream Islamic movement is in two forms. First, the non-Salafi movements who are committed to the realization of the *kaffah* doctrine in the literal sense. Second, the *Salafi* faction seeks to realize Islamic socio-political ideals different from those formulated by the mainstream Islamic movements.[31] These two factions grew simultaneously and intersected with each other alongside other non-mainstream and mainstream movements. The forms of non-mainstream Islamic political movements are divided into three categories, namely jihadist, reformist, and rejectionist. Jihadist are a form of politicall action that engages in acts of violence in the name of jihad.[32] Reformism is a form of political action that puts pressure on the government without using violence which is bound to disrupt national stability and demand sectarian rights. Rejectionism is also a form of political action that rejects the democratic system and suppresses various government policies.[33] According to Munabari, there are types of non-mainstream Islamic movements, namely the radical formalist-ideological types, national and national sharia-based groups aimed to establish an Islamic state. These group have links with fundamentalism in the Middle East. Its transnational nature

[30] Peter G. Riddell (2002), "The Diverse Voices of Political Islam in Post-Suharto Indonesia," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 65-84.
[31] Ibnu Hasan (2017), "Salafi Movement Orientation in Indonesia," 4th International Conference the Community Development in ASEAN, pp. 343-352.
[32] Martin van Bruinessen (2002), "Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto," *South East Asia Research*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 117-154.
[33] Rubaidi (2011), "Variasi Gerakan Radikal Islam Di Indonesia," *Analisis Jurna Studi Keislaman*, Vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 33-52.

is reflected in the common goal to be achieved, namely establishing a join Islamic government (*khilafah*).[34]

Hefner further stated that in the country's early phase of the reform era, there were two different forms of radical Islamic movements[35]. First, these groups exist in their habitats, such as *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* (HTI), *Tarbiyah-Ikhwanul Muslimin*, and the *Salafi-Wahabi* Movement. Second, the radical Islamic movement has metamorphosed, although ideologically, it is in line with the transnational groups in the Middle East.[36] These include the *Islamic Defenders Front* (FPI), *Laskar Jihad* (LJ), and the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia - MMI). Its transnational nature is reflected in the common goal to be achieved, such as establishing a joint Islamic government (*khilafah*). The vision and mission of this movement are to make Islam an ideology that should be upheld in Indonesia.[37]

According to Sholehuddin (2013) and Van Bruinessen (2002), there are three variants of radical Islamic movements. First, a group that is more oriented towards improving sharia through the da'wah movement. Second, Islamic activism movements struggle constitutionally through political channels, such as the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS).[38] Although these parties are not directly connected with formalist ideological groups, they tend to adopt similar methods.[39] Third, fighting radically, its supporters believe Islam should be implemented textually as ordered by the Quran and Hadith, without compromise. They also believe it is the only solution to the crisis that befell Muslims. This is because Islam is perceived as a religion everyone can practice anywhere.[40]

The third variant of this new Islamic movement is of a view that was inspired by the ideology and doctrine of the *Salafi* faction.[41] This group adheres to the view of *Hakimiyah* (God's Sovereignty) and believes that in the Islamic concept, government belongs to God as stated in Q.S. 5:47, they are anti-democratic. Ja'far Umar Thalib is a veteran of the war on the battlefields of Afghanistan against the Soviet Union. The founder of *Laskar Jihad* stated that all authority belongs to Allah and the law should be the basis for all Islamic governance. God is the absolute ruler that all creatures should obey. However, Talib believes that Muslims are not allowed to obeying the will of other believers because the majority are heretical. Ja'ar Umar Talib stated that democracy is a way of governance whose principle is contrary to Islam. Then their views on jihad, are divided into four categories, namely j*ihad al-nafs, jihad al-shahithan, jihad al-kuffar wa al-munafiqin,* and *arbab al-dzul wa al-bid'ah jihad. Jihad al-kuffar wa al-munafiqin* means jihad against unbelievers and hypocrites, executed with speech, physical strength, and wealth. *Jihad arbab al-dzulm wa al-bid'ah* simply means jihad against tyranny and *bid'ah*.[42]

Aligning with the issue of terrorism on a global scale makes Al-Qaeda a frightening specter. Roy (2017) stated that the radical Salafi movement or Islamic neo-fundamentalism has led to the emergence of bomb terror used to attack foreign facilities belonging to America and Europe.

Likewise, in Indonesia, the emergence of terror movements in collaboration with hardline Islamic groups in the early days of the reform regime was ideologically caused by their narrow-minded understanding of the relationship between Islam and the state. Bar stated that in the struggle against terrorism, supporters of the terror movement believe this religion should be carried out textually without

[34] Fahlesa Munabari (2016), "Islamic Activism: The Socio-Political Dynamics of the Indonesian Forum of Islamic Society (FUI)," Thesis, UNSW Australia, p. 174.
[35] Robert W. Hefner (1997), "Islamization and Democratization in Indonesia," in Robert W. Hefner and Patricia Horvatich (eds.), *Islam in an Era of Nation-States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 75-128.
[36] Masdar Hilmy (2014), "Akar-Akar Transnasionalisme Islam Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)," *ISLAMICA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 1-13.
[37] Lufaefi (2019), "Celebrating Sharia Indonesia: Islamic Harmony and Pancasila in the Vision of Indonesian Nationality," *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 106-120.
[38] Moh. Sholehuddin (2013), "Ideologi Religio-Politik Gerakan Salafi Laskar Jihad Indonesia," *Jurnal Review Politik*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 47-68.
[39] Martin van Bruinessen (2002) "Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto," *South East Asia Research*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 117-154.
[40] Anzar Abdullah (2016), "Gerakan Radikalisme Dalam Islam : Perspektif Historis," *ADDIN Media Dialektika Ilmu Islam*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 1-28.
[41] Michael Davis (2002) "Laskar Jihad and the Political Position of Conservative Islam in Indonesia," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 12-32.
[42] Ali Sodiqin (2015), "Genealogi Gerakan Penegakan Syari'at Islam di Indonesia," *Al-Mazaahib Jurnal Perbandingan Hukum*, Vo. 3, No. 1, pp. 21-41.

compromise.[43] As emphasized by Ja'far Umar Talib, the founder of *Laskar Jihad*, all power belongs to God, and God's law should be the foundation of all Islamic governments. God is the absolute ruler that all creatures should obey. However, this radical group has a fanatical understanding and opinion, prone to prejudice, and considers other people as normative factors.

On the other hand, in terms of defense and security, the rise of terrorist movements by radical groups is due to improperly controlling their activities, especially during the New Order era. This condition only illustrates that the leadership of the central government and the law enforcement processes are weak. These are the driving factors for the emergence of radical groups that violently replace the existing system and fail to provide solutions to crises in society. Hoggett stated that leadership crisis, weak law enforcement processes[44], and social inequality are the driving factors that lead to the establishment of radical groups. The historical movement theory also illustrates that the people's resistance to the central government is directly proportional to the leadership crisis in the kingdom. For example, if the central government is strong, all the small kingdoms and colonies will be obedient and submissive, assuming it is weak. As a result, these regions tend to break away and even take their position. According to Zed[45], this is typical of people in the former archipelago kingdoms.

The frequent arrests of terrorists in the first period of Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla's government from October 20, 2014, to October 2019 was greater than the 10-year era of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration when the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) was formed. Statistics have proven that at least 700 suspected terrorists were arrested and tried during the four years of the Jokowi-Kalla administration (October 20, 2014 to October 22, 2018). The terrorism observer from the University of Indonesia Ridwan Habib, told Medcom.id, on Monday, October 22, 2018, that since the suicide bombing that occurred in Surabaya in May 2018, the Special Detachment 88 of the National Police for Combating terrorism has arrested approximately 242 suspected terrorists. It is important to note the following, first, the handling of terrorists during the Jokowi-Kalla administration was better than the previous administration. Second on the other hand, the Jokowi-Kalla government's powerful elite was concerned about the threat of Islamic radicalism outside the existing conditions in society. LIPI research by Nostalgiawan Wahyudi stated that the handling of terrorism in the Jokowi-Kalla administration was better than the previous government. This is evident in the number of terrorists arrested. Meanwhile, from the public's point of view, the issue of terrorism is caused by the Islamophobic attitude of the powerful elites and the government's political character because Indonesia is a link in the global strategy chain with respect to counter-terrorism. Dosch (2006) stated that no nation or country in Southeast Asia has recently been infected with terrorism as badly as Indonesia, and the government has reacted strongly by fighting this heinous crime.[46]

Phobic Radicalism: Fear of Power-Oriented Elite Groups

The issue of radicalism, which was blowing hard and rife at the end of the Jokowi-Kalla government, created unrest among most Muslims. According to Azyumardi Azra, the issue of radical Islam exhaled by the government was exaggerated. Its existence is one of the characteristics of Indonesian Islam which distinguishes it from Middle Eastern and European Islam.[47] Even a day after Jokowi was sworn in as President for the second term, the most interesting aspect was the appointment of former Army Chief of Staff, General (Purn) Fachrul Razi, as Minister of Religion. The graduate of the military academy in 1970 was assigned to prevent the development of radical views. This shows that radicalism is indeed a scourge for Jokowi's government and is supported by the PDIP Party, which is oriented towards secularism.[48]

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[43] Shmuel Bar (2008), "The Religious Sources Of Islamic Terrorism," in Marvin Perry and Howard E. Negrin (eds.), *The Theory and Practitce of Islamic Terrorism*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 11-20.

[44] James Hoggett, Paul Redford, Deirdre Toher and Paul White (2019), "Challenges for Police Leadership: Identity, Experience, Legitimacy and Direct Entry," *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, Vol. 34, pp. 145-155.

[45] Mestika Zed (2018), "Tentang Konsep Berfikir Sejarah," *Lensa Budaya: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Budaya*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 54-60.

[46] Jorn Dosch (2006), "The Impact of Democratization on the Making of Foreign Policiy in Indoneia, Thailand and the Philippines," *Südostasien Aktuell: Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 5, pp. 42-70.

[47] Ahmad Syafi'i Mufid (2013), "Radikalisme Dan Terorisme Agama , Sebab Dan Upaya Pencegahan," *HARMONI: Jurnal Multikultural dan Multireligious*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 7-17.

[48] Kazeem Oluwaseun Dauda (2020), "Islamophobia and Religious Intolerance: Threats to Global Peace and Harmonious Co-Existence," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 257-292.

In the second tenure of Jokowi's government, Ma'ruf Amin was hit by radicalism in October 20, 2019, with the belief that there is a community movement that engages in destructive actions. This led to the implemetation of socio-political changes according to Islamic law. Fachrul Razi justified this after the inauguration of the *Indonesia Maju* cabinet. Heiduk further stated that their party was trying to tackle radicalism in the country, especially at the formal education level within the Ministry of Religion, and overseeing that mosques abstain from using radical propaganda materials.[49]

Muslim leaders who are anti-secularist actually argued that this issue is deliberately exhaled by certain parties to be interpreted narrowly. The labels that emerge, such as radical Islam, mass organizations, and *Salafi*, or more precisely, religious radicalism in general, virtually all of them connote that the Muslim community is inseparable from the global strategy of anti-Western Islam. Meanwhile, a group of interested parties ignored the threat of a separatist movement to separate from the *Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia* (NKRI).

When Governor Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, commonly known as Ahok, carried out a peaceful demonstration in the case of religious blasphemy, which ended in an orderly manner, some people, even Western media officials, considered it a movement driven by radical Islamic groups. In a review of the article entitled "Hardline Flow of Islamic Acquired Land in Indonesia, the Largest Muslim Country in the World," the Wall Street Journal Media" revealed the negative connotations. This entails mentioning the rise of hardline and radical Islam during the *Regional Head Election* (Pilkada) for the Special Governor of the Capital Region DKI Jakarta to overthrow the Christian governor. Likewise, SBS Australia published a book entitled "The Jakarta Pilkada: Radical Islam Is Tested 'If Ahok Wins'" and labeled Radical Islam in the Jakarta Pilkada. The Reuters news agency intensively reported the rise of Islamic extremism and radicalism during the DKI Jakarta Pilkada political event. The same news was conveyed by the United States media, USA Today, CNN, and the New York Times that Anis – Sandi's victory in the DKI Jakarta Pilkada, held on February 15, 2017, and April 19, 2017, was for a radical Islam. However, the actual problem was influenced by a highly emotional and psychological status. For instance, when Ahok committed blasphemy against the holy book of the majority religion in Indonesia.[50]

As a result of the foreign media's excessive assumptions and suspicions that portrayed Muslims as the majority religion, several important Islamic figures denied this, even Vice President Jusuf Kalla and Zulkifli Hasan as General Chair of the National Mandate Party also clarified Anies-Sandi's statement. The victory of the Governor of Jakarta was a democratic win. In addition, the governor does not agree that victory is identified with radical Islam. According to Jusuf Kalla, coverage of the democratic process in the country, especially the Jakarta governorship election, was not evenly distributed. TNI Commander General Gatot Nurmantyo also has the same view and rejects the relevance of Muslim actions and the issue of radicalism in the Jakarta Governor's election.

The fear of anti-Islamic groups is due to reformation, which has provided opportunities for the growth of national and transnational Islamic-based social organizations with Jakarta as the foundation. Community groups at the pole of Islamic political struggle to defend the Jakarta Charter, although not without reason, implied that most Indonesians are adherents of Islam who contributed immensely to the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. It is, therefore, natural for them to make Islamic law a guideline that the nation and state should obey.

From the perspective of the state and democracy, a reform regime characterized by a directly elected President and freedom of expression for all societal elements need not be sensitive to diverse opinions as long as it does not touch on crucial matters. This includes issues concerning the philosophy of the Unitary State of Indonesia. However, in reality, the standards of the New Order and reform regimes do not differ significantly in terms of addressing various state problems related to the issue of Islamic movements. For both regimes, non-mainstream Islamic movements are still perceived as groups that should be strictly controlled. Radical issues and terrorism are the most effective political instruments to control Islamic nationalist groups whose views differ from that of the secular faction in terms of philosophy and the country's form.

[49] Felix Heiduk (2012), "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Radical Islam in Post-Suharto Indonesia," *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, Vol. *6*, No. 1, pp. 26-40.
[50] Dina Lestari (2019), "Pilkada DKI Jakarta 2017: Dinamika Politik Identitas di Indonesia," *SIMULACRA*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 31-37.

The reform regime places the power factor as the core of the problem, therefore radical behavior is often interpreted as a form and mode of power struggle. The theory of power states that whether a person is religious or secular, when appointed or elected into power, the individual is of a belief, similar to Machiavelli's view, that one of the key aspects of power is radical behavior. Political rulers who are reluctant to use the word "radical" will never gain or lose the power they once gained. The excessive use of this word causes people to hate those in power and can even overthrow them. This caused Machiavelli to prefer the republican government as a non-monarchical regime because a republic is a system of government based on an agreement between the people and the authorities. It tends to strengthen the authorities' position, thereby limiting the implementation of radicalism.[51]

Machiavelli view of a government elected through a democratic process is unrealizable in Indonesia because it prioritizes power. Under the current condition, the government still associates Islam with radical issues and terrorism. However, the radical group was completely eradicated, and this became the routine work of the Special Detachment 88 of the National Police, a unit assigned to eradicating terror groups. Islamic movements that struggle through mass organizations are strictly controlled by the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights. When their views differ from the government's, they tend to be paralyzed by revoking the license rights of these social organizations.[52]

On July 19, 2017, the Indonesian government officially revoked the status of the legal organization *Hizbut Tahrir* (HTI) based on the Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights Number AHU-30.AH.01.08 of 2017 concerning Revocation of the Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights Number AHU-0028.60.10.2014 concerning Approval for the Establishment of HTI Association Legal Entities. The revocation process was carried out as a follow-up to *Government Regulation in Lieu of Law* (PERPPU) Number 2 of 2017, which led to the amendment of Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Community Organizations.

The main reason for the dissolution of HTI put forward by the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs Wiranto was that their activities were strongly proven to be contrary to the objectives, principles, and characteristics of the Pancasila and 1945 Constitution. Meanwhile, the Indonesian Constitution is regulated in Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Community Organizations. The powerful elite viewed HTI as an Islamic mass organization that sponsored the establishment of a caliphate. The statements circulated by these activists stated that the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution were a *thaghut* system, and needed to be abandoned, thereby causing unrest in the society. The public unrest eventually led the government to issue a PERPPU on mass organizations which led to the dissolution of the *Hizbut Tahrir*.[53]

Then the government took firm action against FPI as a mass organization by officially dissolving it on June 21, 2019.[54] However, it continues to carry out activities that violate order and security and are against the law. After Joko Widodo was reinstated as President for a second term on October 20, 2019, the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) officially banned mass through a Joint Decree (SKB) signed a year later by three ministers and heads of state institutions on December 30, 2020.[55] Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), a mass organization with the vision of building a caliphate in the country, was also disbanded. The Indonesian government banned and dissolved this organization in 2007, during the reign of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, through a decision by the South Jakarta District Court. Irrespective of the fact that it is a banned organization, Jemaah Islamiyah continues to recruit new members to strengthen its organization.

[51] Irwan Iskandar (2015), "Pemikiran Politik Muhammad Natsir Tentang Hubungan Islam Dan Negara," *Jurnal Transnasional*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 1755-1770.
[52] Sholahuddin Al-fatih and Zaka Firma Aditya (2019), "The Legal Protection Against Terrorism Suspects in Indonesia (Case Study of the Arrest Process of Terrorism Suspects by Densus 88)," *LEGALITY: Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum*, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 14-26.
[53] Masdar Hilmy (2014), "Akar-Akar Transnasionalisme Islam Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)," *ISLAMICA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 1-13.
[54] Marcus Mietzner (2018), "Fighting Illiberalism with Illiberalism: Islamist Populism and Democratic Deconsolidation in Indonesia," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 2, pp. 261-282.
[55] Fernando Afsaloon and Rasji (2022), "An Analysis of the Determination of Illicit Status in the Organization of Society Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) in Accordance with the Assurance Independence Partners in Indonesia," Proceedings of the 3rd Tarumanagara International Conference on the Applications of Social Sciences and Humanities (TICASH 2021), pp. 1091-1097.

The fundamental issue is the non-mainstream Islam, which acts as a threat to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and extremely tendentious to certain groups and elites of the anti-Islam group seeking relevance or clashing with the state. Islam has nationalism and communism values, which adds relevance to the Indonesian nation's struggle for independence.

Is it possible for non-mainstream Islamic groups to succeed in becoming a political force that plays a role in government? Historical facts have proven that, from several elections held in the old and new-order regimes, including the reform era, the vote acquisition of Islamic parties has never exceeded the total number of votes acquired by the national parties. During the reformation era, it turned out that the party's 19-year journey since its establishment in 1999 has never reached 10% nationally because the identical PKS represents the non-mainstream Islamic movement of the reformist variant. This varies from the Justice and Development Party led by Erdogen, called Adalet ve Kalkınma Partition (AKP) in Turkish. In the past 14 years the AKP has managed to control more than 50% of parliament using the PKS ideology, which includes the government in Turti. Erdoğan's leadership[56], unshaken by a military group-ridden coup in 2016, broke the myth that "Turkey's past bears witness to history that no civil or Islamic regime has survived its military coup."

Conclusion

The issue of Command of Islam and terrorism in the New Order and reform regimes, respectively, are two terms the state gives to address supporters of non-mainstream Islam that go beyond the normal level of the Indonesian Muslim movement. Certain groups' concern for Islam is more co-opted in the global anti-Islamic network sponsored by America and the West. In fact, radicalism is one of the characteristics of Indonesian Islam, which differs from its practice in the Middle East and Europe. Islam in Indonesia does not recognize the experience of a religious state in the sense that it is controlled by religious doctrines. Despite making it the state religion, the attitude exhibited resembles a secular state system, where religion is not significant enough to determine the course of the government system and the legal order relating to socio-cultural and intellectual behavior. Both the New Order regime with the *Operational Command to Restore Security and Order* (Kopkamtib) and the reform with Detachment 88 addressed various state issues related to the Islamic movement. For both regimes, non-mainstream Islam is still seen as a movement that needs to be strictly controlled. Radical issues and terrorism are the most effective political instruments to control Islamic nationalist groups whose views differ from secular organizations in philosophy and state form. However, efforts by Islamic groups to ensure their teachings are perceived as a guideline in society, nation, and state life will become a non-stop movement.

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[56] Mhd Alfahjri Sukri (2021), "Causes of the Failed of the Military Coup in Turkey in 2016," *Politicon: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 239-262.

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