

Anti-Terrorism Cooperation between the National Agency for Contra Terrorism and Civil Society: Study Case of Muhammadiyah Disengagement

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Abstract

This research is about anti-terrorism cooperation between the National Agency for Counter terrorism (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme*/BNPT) and civil society, study case Muhammadiyah disengagement in the signing of Memorandum Of Understanding between BNPT and Islamic organizations in 2011. The theory applies are Terrorism, Security sector reform and Cooperation. As civil society, Muhammadiyah has conducted anti-terrorism efforts through its structural and cultural roles in politic, socio-economic, diplomatic and education aspect. Unfortunately, there has not been any framework of cooperation established between Muhammadiyah and BNPT, due to several hindering factors. Firstly, Muhammadiyah and BNPT have different perspective in addressing issues on terrorism and anti terrorism methodology. Secondly, political conflict. Thirdly, BNPT's constraints in time, human resources and funding. Forthly, lack of BNPT's political will. Actually, Muhammadiyah possess ideological and organisational potential that may facilitate the dissemination of anti terrorism more effective and efficient. Therefore, this study recommends the need for BNPT and Muhammadiyah to strengthen organisational commitment and to start building communication. In addition, the concept of deradicalization applied by BNPT needs to be evaluated and developed. This study is a qualitative research and using descriptive analysis method.

Keywords: Anti terrorism; Cooperation; Civil society; BNPT; Muhammadiyah

Introduction

Anti-terrorism efforts should ideally become mutual responsibility for both government and society, but it seems that counter-terrorism policy in Indonesia has not been able to build synergy of cooperation between those two.

Many discourses suggest that the Government of Indonesia should involved Islamic organizations in the efforts to prevent terrorism [1]. In the early formation of the National Agency for Combating Terrorism (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme* or BNPT), The International Crisis Group recommends that BNPT should involved Muhammadiyah and Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) [2] by considering that 87% of Indonesia's population is Moslem; and Muhammadiyah-NU representing Indonesian's Moslem communality with approximately 90-100 million followers [3]. Moreover, Islamic character in Indonesia is defined as 'ummah' which is very faithful to the figure of *ulama* and mainstream ideology. Once, the Head of BNPT Ansyad Mbai also said that terrorism in Indonesia is mostly motivated by radicalist movement [4]. It was similar with the statement of the President of Republic Indonesia Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono that placed fundamentalism/radicalism/extreme response regarding religious interpretation as motive number one for terrorism in Indonesia. The consequence of population has then attached 'radicalism' into 'Islamic radicalism'.

Therefore the involvement of Muhammadiyah and NU, the two biggest Islamic organisations in Indonesia, should be comprehensive. However, there is an impression that the government tends to embrace NU more than Muhammadiyah. On August 2011, BNPT signed Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) of Anti Terrorism with several Islamic organizations [5]. Meanwhile, the Secretary of Central Board of Muhammadiyah Abdul Mu'ti was unaware about the signing [6]. The Secretary of Muhammadiyah Education Department Imran added that there was no cooperation ever been built between Religious or Education Ministry of Indonesia with Muhammadiyah

schools. Moreover the Head of Central Board of Muhammadiyah Din Syamsuddin also said that Muhammadiyah was never contacted, at all, to be involved in national counter-terrorism efforts. "We were never told where the spots and terrorist networks that have been monitored as reported in media"[7]. However, though Muhammadiyah declared that terrorism exist yet dangerous therefore it's important for the organization to take preventive actions, with or without government assistance [8].

The research questions are the following: Firstly, "How is the role of Muhammadiyah in anti terrorism?" and Secondly, "Why Muhammadiyah was not involved in the signing of MoU Anti Terrorism between BNPT and Islamic organizations in 2011?" The purpose of this research is to explain the role of Muhammadiyah as civil society in anti terrorism and to perform critical analysis and evaluation toward government (BNPT)'s disengagement with civil society (Muhammadiyah).

Theoretical framework

This research uses theories of non-traditional security, anti terrorism and cooperation. Paul Wilkinson defined Terrorism as coercive political intimidation by systematically killing, destroying and threatening individuals, community and government. David J Whittaker added that terrorism is led by organization with chain of command and conspirational cells structure. The aim, according to

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Thomas Koten, is to destroy and to destabilize power structure of state and nation (to replace it with new system). Ronald Crelinsten classified terrorism as grey areas of security threat by its complex and transnational nature. It's in between crime, war, state terror, insurgency, conflict and propaganda [9]. Therefore terrorism should be understood in wider security context and environment which cannot simply rely on the roles of government and security actors (top-down approach) to eradicate it, but requires active participation of society (bottom-up approach).

Crelinsten proposes the strategy of 'Comprehensive Counterterrorism' that combines hard and soft approach. Hard approach is coercive in nature by utilizing military and law enforcement.¹ If the government only focuses on hard approach it may result in vicious cycle of bunker mentality that will regenerate model of terrorism. While soft approach - to be entitled 'Anti-Terrorism' in this research-is preventive, proactive, and persuasive which has long term impact. Soft approach taking social, political, economical aspects into account; and these efforts absolutely require society's involvement. According to Crelinsten, there are several efforts to be counted as Anti Terrorism: development, human rights, law enforcement, accountable and transparent government cross cultural dialogue, and education [10]; Anak Agung Banyu Perwita added the importance of democracy [11]. The researcher summarizes several theories of anti terrorism into the 'Chart of Comprehensive Anti-Terrorism' (Figure 1).

Civil society is social representation of all individuals, organizations, institutions within family and country, where people voluntarily gather by common interest [12]. Security Sector Reform categorizes civil society as national security actors after police and military, management and oversight bodies, judicial institution, law enforcement and paramilitary [13]. To be categorized as civil society are intergovernmental organization, multinational companies/institutions, media, academia, non-governmental organizations,

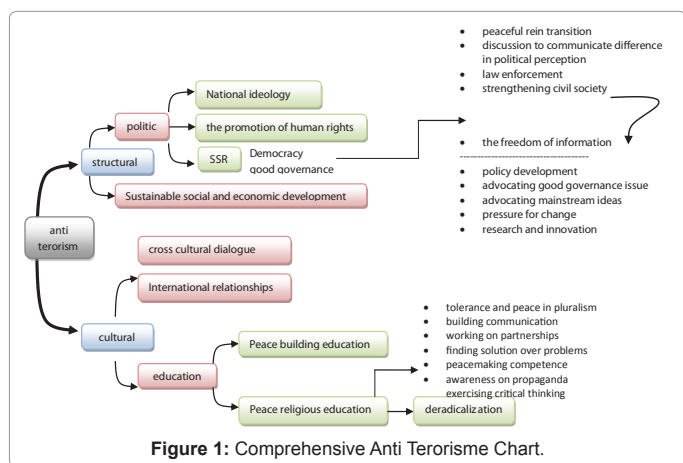


Figure 1: Comprehensive Anti Terrorisme Chart.

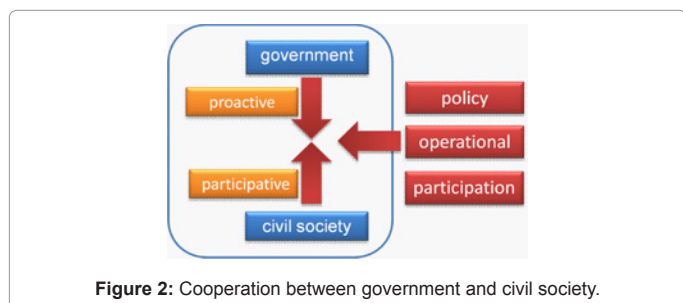


Figure 2: Cooperation between government and civil society.

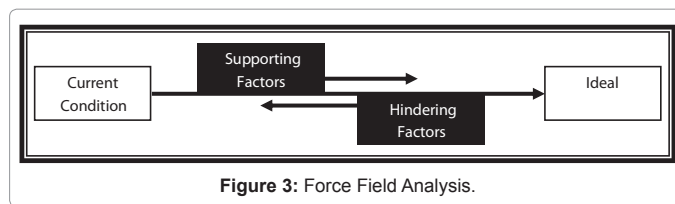


Figure 3: Force Field Analysis.

and mass organizations.² Functions of civil society are participatory policy maker and development, dissemination and control-only if the bureaucracy is inclusive, advocacy on government transparency and accountability, advocacy on mainstream ideas, pressure for change, research and innovation [14].

Cooperation between government and civil society can be seen at policy, operational and participation level. Cooperation is conducted by two or more parties which dynamically interact to achieve common goals [15]. General Principals of cooperation are consensus, regulating norms, mutual trust and benefit, prioritization, communication, reciprocity [16]. The Professor of Sociology at Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Bambang Pranowo said that ideally government should be proactive toward their people and the people should be participative on governments programs [17] (Figure 2).

About the role of civil society in anti terrorism; in 2006, the United Nation released resolution on the importance of civil society to eradicate terrorism. Azyumardi added that conflicts often put religion as an object of abuse; therefore the assistance of mainstream religious organization is regarded highly important to unite all elements in grassroots level (Figure 3).

As Tool of Analysis, the researcher utilizes a management tool entitled *Force Field Analysis* (FFA) to identify supporting and hindering factors of change.

The radical Islam movement in Indonesia

There are many views said that ideological based terrorism occurred in Indonesia was supported by Islamic radicalization, salafism or wahabism.

Radicalism in general is defined as ideas, spirit and actions with an aim to weaken and to change an established political system with the new one-through systematic violence [18]. Radicalism has two sides of coin. The positive side is that it aims to correct *status quo*, while the negative side is that it destabilizes political security and socio-economic infrastructure resulted from chaotic revolution [19].

Islamic radicalism also has dualism in definition. First, it is defined as purification of Islam based on *Al Qur'an* and *As Sunnah*. Second, it signifies political militancy that emphasize on the spirit of *jihad*-the obligatory for Moslem to defend Islam from its enemy [20]. Radical Islam entitled *Salafi* which means 'the previous/the old time' or the Islamic period of Muhammad and friends, the best and the most authentic reference for Moslem through literal, scriptural and non-contextual interpretation by excluding *mahzab* as methodology to understand issues and problems in society-contextual with place and time [21]. The method unfortunately ignores the diversity of religious interpretation and practices, as well as excluding local culture assimilation. The method also refuses modern values, such as: democracy, gender equity, human rights, etc.³ Critics say that *salafi* has made Islam sounds orthodox, unpopular and anti-intellectualism.

Islamic radicalism in positive meaning is *islah* means to recover or *tajdid* means modernization, while in negative meaning is *ghuluw*

or crossing boundary and *irfah* means extreme. Ideologically, salafism developed into two patterns of political movement-with and without aim to build *khilafah* or Islamic state. Methodologically, salafi is differed into two patterns, which are those who choose peaceful ways and those who choose radical or violence ways, which they claim to be *jihad*, to achieve political goals. *Jihad* means struggling with all efforts for just, peace and truth. However there are several articles of *Al Qur'an* which put *jihad* synonymous with war (against *kafir* or enemy of Islam) [22]. This interpretation is often misled by radical salafis who choose violence by stating, "When *jihad* with meaning doesn't resolve problems, *jihad* with guns may does".^{iv} Those lead to impression that *jihad* is identical with violence.

Wahabism is the prototype of salafism and becomes the *mahzab* of Uni Emirats Arabs. Wahabi is often to be called as fanatic Islamic orthodox. Their exclusivity makes them intolerance by differentiating human being as 'brother' and 'enemy'. At their struggle period, they were known brutal. Since then Islam radicalism is then related with violence.^v

In Indonesia, the root of salafism can be found in *Paderi's* movement occurred in West Sumatera in 18th-19th Century. However, at colonial's period, radical Islamic movement appeared significantly as the national's power to struggle against Dutch and Japan's occupation bringing up spirit of *jihad fi sabilillah*. Along with that, moderate-Islam and nationalist organization were also established [23]. At the early period of national independence, there were dispute between religious vs nationalist parties in perceiving Islam and State. The religious parties wanted *Syariah* Islam to be implemented as whole (*kaffah*) in the formalization of State. The idea was against by the nationalist by considering it will betray or exclude the existence of Eastern Indonesian who majority is non-Moslem. However, the debate was able to be compromised. The stand point of Muhammadiyah and NU at that moment was not to support the establishment of Islamic Indonesia. After reformation, the idea of *Syariah* Islam as State was re-emerged by several radical organizations such as Islamic Defender Front (*Front Pembela Islam/FPI*), *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI)*, *Laskar Jihad*, *Hizbuttahrir*, *Ikhwanul Muslimin*, etc - by proposing recommendation to amend the State Act 1945.^{vi} That political will was then failed for the fact that the idea was not popular for Indonesian. However, the stand point of Muhammadiyah and NU remains the same by kept holding on the basic state principal of Pancasila and UUD 1945.

Radicalist movement and organization in Indonesia after reformation is differentiated into two. Those who want the *kaffah* implementation of Islamic values in form of state and those wants the *kaffah* implementation of Islamic values without necessarily establishing state. Most importantly, not all radicals organization and movements in Indonesia are committed violence to achieve their political goals.

Islam radical vs Islam moderate

The phenomenon of moderate Islam arises after the emergence of radical Islamic movement in 2000. Moderate Islam is Moslem who seeks dialogue and compromise with groups who have different understanding toward *Al Qur'an* and *As Sunnah*-to also include non-Moslem. They respect individual rights, condemn terrorism, and denounce clerics who support violence in the name of God. Their visions and actions are against the hardliners. In ideology or actions they emphasize the importance of being moderate yet reasonable-not being extreme to right or left. They try to balance the orthodox Islam and the secular concept which marginalized religion's roles in public

and state's life. They also prefer *ijtihad* rather than *jihad*. They open for modern values such as pluralism, inclusivity, rationality, democracy and human rights. Moderate Islam is usually the mainstream who works, lives and makes changes within society.^{vii} Moderate Islam in Indonesia is represented by Muhammadiyah and NU.^{viii}

Theologically, Muhammadiyah is following the method of *Salafi Ibnu Taimiyyah* with doctrine "back to *Al-Qur'an* dan *Sunnah*". Therefore, by the influence of *Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal* and *Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab*, Muhammadiyah is against the assimilation of local cultures into religious matters. However, by the influence of *Hammad Abduh* and *Muhammad Rasyid Ridha*, Muhammadiyah also implement *ijtihad*-the utilizing of ratio and technology to balance the purist movement to create dynamics and contextual understanding through time and place.^{ix} Theologically, Muhammadiyah stance is literalistic; but socially they are inclusive and rational [24]. NU also claims theirselves as *Salaf*. But *salafism* is not the central of religious structure for both organizations.^x According to Muhammadiyah and NU, Islam and politics are strongly interrelated but it doesn't have to be formalized into state system.^{xi} NU clearly stated that *Pancasila* is the final choice for the organization.^{xii} Muhammadiyah prefers to develop Indonesia through empowering Islamic human resource rather than trapped in the utopia of establishing Islamic *Chaliphate*.^{xiii}

Terrorism in Indonesia

In radicalist movement, ideological and political reasoning are running in line. The first noted radicalist based terrorism in Indonesia was the insurgency created by *DI/TII (Daulah Islamiyah/Tentara Islam Indonesia)* in 1949-1962 which was established by *SM. Kartosuwiryo*, ex military who aimed to establish Islamic state because of his disappointment on government.^{xiv} During the *New Order Era*, the Islamic State movement was not appeared because of the strong pressure of Soeharto's regime and the implementation of *Subvertion Act UU No.11/PNPS/1963*. After Reformation, the Subvertion Act was removed which brought the extremist back to Indonesia, worsened by the freedom of democracy which was not followed by law enforcement [25].

Meanwhile, within international constellation-salafi motives evolved from purification movement into destroying *kafirun* or Islamic enemy, the non-Moslem, the capitalist, and the United States. During Cold War, when the intervention of Soviet Union occurred in Afghanistan, international *jihad* spirit was emerged, remained and did not stop even after the end of Cold War. In the name of brotherhood, Moslems from all over the world were in spirit to defend Islam. It spread after Afghanistan to Bosnia, Chenchnya, Kosovo, Kashmir, Mindanau, Pattani, and then Indonesia. *Jihad* was mobilized in Ambon and Poso conflicts. In 1998, Al Qaeda gave *fatwa* that killing Americans and its allies are obligatory for Moslems, which was then believed by Imam Samudra who committed *Bali Bombing* in 2002.^{xv} However, there are evolutions regarding terrorism target and motives occurred in Indonesia. If in 2000, terrorist tend to attack foreign symbols and interest (the US in particular), it then changed to targeting the state and security symbols.

The policy of anti terrorism by the National Agency for combating terrorism (BNPT)

The Presidential Regulation of Republic Indonesia Number 46 Year 2010 About BNPT defines terrorism as crime against humanity that is transnational, organized, has a wide network; thereby threatens the peace of national and international security; therefore requires

centralized, integrated and coordinated management of counter-terrorism efforts. On July 16, 2011, the Government of Indonesia established an agency with authority to control, to integrate, and to coordinate anti terrorism efforts entitled the National Agency for Combating Terrorism or *Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme* (BNPT).^{xvi} The Vision of BNPT is to perform anti terrorism and anti radicalism efforts through building synergy between government and society by preventing, protecting, prosecuting, deradicalization and increasing national awareness and international cooperation to ensure national security.^{xvii}

The involvement of civil society by BNPT is through the Task Force, Coordinating Forum and Cooperation.^{xviii} To establish cooperation with civil society BNPT will review the Vision, Mission and Programs of several potential mass organizations/institutions. BNPT stated that the agency has widely opened for society's participation in anti terrorism efforts (Figure 4).

The role of muhammadiyah in anti terrorism efforts.^{xix}

Muhammadiyah has conducted several anti terrorism efforts through its structural and cultural roles, including politic, socio-economic, diplomacy, cultural and education approach; without label or heading 'anti terrorism'; which they claim to be independent without or with minimum support from the government (Figure 5).

Political Role Muhammadiyah rejects the formalization of Indonesia as Islamic State, develops civic education through its schools and universities, strengthens democratic and human right, supports law enforcement and good governance through its infrastructures.

Socio-economic Role Muhammadiyah committed to conduct socio-economic empowerment and interfaith based humanitarian program which focuses on grassroot level.

Diplomatic Role Muhammadiyah aims to bridge conflicts between

civilizations, to eliminate Islamophobia by showing that Islam is an inclusive and modern religion, the *rahmatan lil alamin*, through its third track diplomacy by its intellectual (Syafi'I Ma'arif, Amien Rais, Din Syamsuddin, etc) and initiated World Peace Forum. Muhammadiyah also signed MoU with the Government of Australia in education cooperation, cultural exchanges, strengthening democracy, good governance, developing tolerant community, and improving people's welfare.

Cultural Role is carried out by Muhammadiyah schools curriculum consist of their following values: *moderate Islam, rationality and modern values*, such as democracy, human rights, and inclusivity.

Muhammadiyah stated not to adopt global framework of anti terrorism by which the organization claims to be more substantial than normative and resulting a long-term impact., as actually has already recognized by BNPT and society.

Force Field Analysis: The Anti-Terrorism Cooperation between BNPT and Civil Society. Study Case of Muhammadiyah Disengagement in the Signing of MOU between BNPT and Islamic Organizations in 2011

The ideal condition of BNPT cooperation with *civil society*

The ideal condition is referring to several policies of government about terrorism and counterterrorism efforts. First is the Explanation of Government Regulation in Lieu of the Act of Republic Indonesia No. 1 Year 2002 About Combating Terrorism, which stated:

"The people of Indonesia are multi-ethnic society, diverse and inhabit hundreds of thousands islands scattered across the archipelago and located adjacent with another countries. By the characters, the people of Indonesia are obliged to maintain and to enhance the awareness on terrorism threat" [26].

Another statement is that "Effort to combat terrorism in Indonesia should be proactive which based on prudence and long term objectives".^{xx} Then, as stated in the Vision of BNPT:

"to perform anti terrorism and anti radicalism efforts is through building synergy between government and society in the acts of prevention, protection, prosecution, deradicalization and increasing national awareness and international cooperation to ensure the preservation of national security".^{xxi}

Moreover, as stated in the Mandate of Terrorism:

"Terrorism begins from series of daily activities carried out within community, so that the early symptoms of terrorism should be detected and eliminated by involving the society. Therefore, it is necessary to build national spirit and commitment to fight against terrorism "[27] (Figure 6).

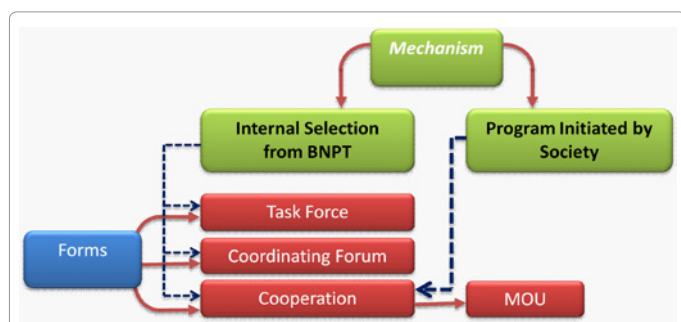


Figure 4: Forms and Mechanism of Civil Society's Involvement by BNPT in Anti Terrorism Efforts.

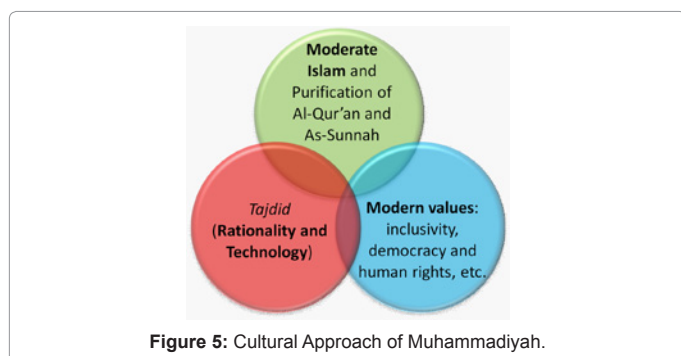


Figure 5: Cultural Approach of Muhammadiyah.

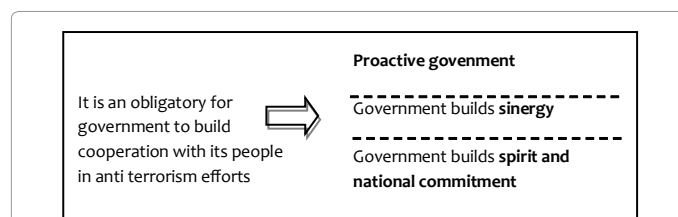


Figure 6: The Summary of Policies Regarding Cooperation between BNPT and Civil Society in Anti Terrorism.

At operational level, the policy should be interpreted as proactive government to build synergy of all components within nations and participative society to support governments programs. Most importantly, the effort to build national synergy, spirit and commitment should be main responsibility of government.^{xxii} More specifically, Azyumardi Azra said that BNPT should be able to embrace both Muhammadiyah and NU in order to conduct comprehensive national anti-terrorism efforts [28].

Current condition of BNPT cooperation with civil society.

Since its first establishment in 2010, BNPT has conducted several forms of cooperation with government and non-governmental institutions [29]. As has been stated, in August 2011, BNPT signed the MoU on Anti Terrorism with several Islamic organizations [30]. NU was the party who firstly initiate the cooperation [31]. Meanwhile, the relationship between Muhammadiyah and BNPT has not yet started, as admitted by the Director of Deradicalisation of BNPT Irfan Muslich. Responding the fact, a researcher of LIPI Riefqi Muna said that “government might talk overseas to get Muhammadiyah involved in national efforts of anti terrorism, but as far as I know, BNPT never officially talk to Muhammadiyah”.^{xxiii} To respond the critic, the expert of BNPT Heri said that to involved Muhammadiyah is dilematics. BNPT has no doubt that Muhammadiyah has great attention and commitment to eradicate terrorism. But the fact that Muhammadiyah has no specific program of anti terrorism makes it difficult for BNPT to make an approach [32].

Supporting Factors to Develop Cooperation between Muhammadiyah and BNPT

The researcher summarizes several policies of BNPT which stated to conduct anti terrorism efforts by involving all civil society without preference. First is BNPT’s statement for No Preference Policy, as stated in the mandate of BNPT. Second is that political aspect/conflict wont influence the relationship between BNPT (as government agency) with civil society.^{xxiv} Third and as stated in the National Direction and Strategic Policy of BNPT that indeed it is a challenge (for BNPT) to convince and to maximize the role of all national components because terrorism is common enemy needs to be faced together in synergy [33].

The researcher also summarizes Muhammadiyah concern on terrorism threat and that the organization has strong will to collaborate with government to eradicate terrorism. Firstly, Muhammadiyah declared that “terrorism, commodification of religion and the emergence of radical movement in socio-politic and religious aspect are serious matters that should be the concern of organization”.^{xxv} Secondly, Muhammadiyah express Islamic view which promote anti-violence, anti-war, and anti-terrorism values.^{xxvi} Thirdly, Muhammadiyah suggests that government should lead the community efforts^{xxvii} which imply that Muhammadiyah has an open attitude toward government and regard the importance of government to lead, to direct, to coordinate community potentials.

Hindering Factors to Develop Cooperation between Muhammadiyah and BNPT

Different perspectives between Muhammadiyah and BNPT

First is that Muhammadiyah regrets the generalization of Islamic terminology and values as reference for terrorism. Terminology is strongly related with how do people think of such a thing. And according to Muhammadiyah, terminologies as reference for terrorism

nowadays is jumbled thus need to be critically questioned.^{xxviii} As has been international paradigm, terrorism always related to Islam (though its lax-specialist is radical Islam). However, the paradigm seems to be the perception of government as well, derives from the consequence of population that majority is Moslem.

By more specific, many programs of BNPT, such as seminars of deradicalisation, always put the ‘radical Islam’ as target. This fact has two implications: First is that the attachment of ‘Islam’ is sensitive matter to Islamic organization, which can lead to the disagreement between government and Muhammadiyah; second is that there is a different perception between Muhammadiyah and government in understanding the term of ‘radical and deradicalisation’. According to Riefqi Muna and Abdul Mu’ti, radical has positive connotation; but because it has been misinterpreted like *jihad*, the meaning of radical has been changed into negative. Radical derives from the word radics that should be interpreted as rooted understanding. “What is wrong by having deep-rooted faith or understanding? Amien Rais ever said that, within context of religion, if somebody’s faith is deeply rooted, it won’t be easily shaken or distracted by bad influence”.^{xxix} Abdul Mu’ti agreed with Muna’s statement by saying that a good Moslem should be radical in his faith. The problem is because western framework of thinking has put ‘radical’ identical with ‘exclusivity’ which to extreme level often lead into ‘violence extremism’. In fact, not all radicals are exclusive and committed for violence.

“ I am radical, I am puritan, but I am inclusive. If they say that becoming puritant makes somebody exclusive in social relations, it is not true. But, theology should be exclusive. Muslims should only glorify Allah instead of ‘Allah and others’. Muslims should pray in proper guidance instead of general guidance. I am able to interact and to work well with NU or non-Moslems community within context of social relations. But if it is related to belief, I cannot”.^{xxx}

When terrorist claims that he and his group is radical; then the concept of radical in his mind is finite, determined and shaped by somebody which he has not got opportunity to use his own logic and reasoning to see reality. Because it is how the doctrine limit his space of thinking. Riefqi Muna reiterated that: “Generalization that terrorism is always motivated by Islamic Radicalism is dangerous presumption - an accusation against Islam and can be misled if it does not put into complete picture”.^{xxxi}

The Presidential Decree No. 46 Year 2010 About BNPT mentions that radicalism is government reference for motives of terrorism in Indonesia. The decree also mention about deradicalisation as methodology to eradicate terrorism; as stated in the Objective of BNPT : “the declining propaganda of radical ideology and violence”; the Vision of BNPT, “to perform anti terrorism and radicalism”; and the Mission of BNPT, “to conduct deradicalisation and to fight against propaganda of radical ideology”

The researcher tried to find out the perspective of NU toward ‘Islamic radicalism’. Unlike Muhammadiyah, NU considers that radical Islam is a narrow understanding of Islam which led into hard stance of intolerant and violent Moslem, who fails to picture beautiful Islam.^{xxxii} There is a basic difference in perception between Muhammadiyah and NU in addressing the issue of terrorism. NU stated that the organization has an open interpretation upon certain terminology based on context. While Muhammadiyah tends to see terminology more substantive-this reflects its ‘more puritant’ ideology.

Terrorism is a sensitive issue for Islamic organization like Muhammadiyah. Firstly, though it cannot be linked, between one into

another, common people tend to give stigma that Islamic radical based terrorism is more attached to Muhammadiyah that has more puritan ideology to compare with NU. Secondly, radicalism and deradicalisation are both contested concept. It is difficult or there is no indicator to measure whether a person's level of religiosity is classified as very radical, radical, or less radical—to be labeled excessive and dangerous. To Muhammadiyah, the interpretation of faith is diverse ranging from being moderate, extreme left or right. We cannot judge somebody's thought. We cannot blame person with radical thinking but violate no law.

Second is about Ideology and International Paradox. Ideologically, Islamic radicalism is strongly related with purification movement. This movement was promoted by *Salafism* and *Wahabism*. However, due to very extreme political choices made by extreme salafist; western paradigm made generalisation by saying that *salafi* and *wahabi* are parties who should be responsible for international terrorism.

“In fact, Muhammadiyah is *salafi*. Azyumardi Azra stated that Muhammadiyah is moderate *salafi*. But Muhammadiyah understand *Al Qur'an* and *As Sunnah* and implement the creed's purification in opposition with the hardliners. Muhammadiyah has never agreed to the use of violent”.^{xxxiii}

Salafism has so many variants thus we cannot make generalization upon it. Not all *salafi* and *wahabi* are terrorist and committed for violence to achieve its political goals.

“*Jamaat tabligh is salafi* but they do not agree with terrorism. Even Ba'asyir, I read his statement on media; If he is honest, it's true that he want to build *Sharia* based nation (in Indonesia), but he doesn't approve the use of violence, such as suicide bombing”.^{xxxiv}

Azyumardi Azra said that the ideological source of terorisme is *neo-Khawarij*, which is totally different with *wahabism* and it's the hardest spectrum of *salafism*.^{xxxv}

In *the Commodification of Terrorism (Komodifikasi Terorisme)*, Abdul Mu'ti said that the backgrounds of terrorists are nowadays very diverse. The old theory that linked terrorism with *salafism*, *wahabism* and other puritan Islamic ideology is outdated. Many actors have background as *Ahlussunnah (NU)*.^{xxxvi} By adding that the background of Cirebon terrorist is also NU.^{xxxvii}

Third is about the concept of pluralism. Muhammadiyah encourages pluralism and perceives it as *sunatullah*. As mentioned before, mind cannot be judged and we cannot impose our religious understanding to others. Thus, Muhammadiyah has no problem with radical thinking as long it is not translated as violence. Therefore, Muhammadiyah is skeptical with the concept of deradicalization.^{xxxviii}

Fourth is deradicalisation.^{xxxix} Anti terorism has effort to reduce, to eliminate and to prevent terrorism potential through soft approach. Then, how is the concept of 'anti terrorism' should be implemented as methodology? Should it be conducted in accordance with the global framework 'war on teror'? Should it always be translated into deradicalisation program? Muhammadiyah doesn't seem to think that way. “If referring to 'systematic targeted current program on anti terrorism', as understood by global mainstream discourse in which strategy and programs are seemingly has to be based on Pentagon and CIA, it is not visible on Muhammadiyah, or even NU”.^{xl} The methodology of anti terorism according to Muhammadiyah can be done in three ways. First is Pre-efforts,

“Substantial anti terrorism is confronting the mind that violence

is the only mean. Pre-efforts is done through teaching and preaching. Education reduces the possibility of misunderstanding, which influence the way of people's thinking. If someone is educated, they become more enlighten, free thinking, do better. They won't use shallow ways of violence to express their demands”.^{xli}

Second is Post-efforts or deradicalisation as echoed by many parties but in fact it is not popular for Muhammadiyah; Third and the most effective is structural approach through socio-politic and economic empowerment. The concept of Islam is *rahmatan lil alamin* therefore it is an obligation for Muhammadiyah to enforce 'peace and sustainable development' through various charitable efforts in education, social, political and economic-targeting grassroots level (Figure 7).

Muhammadiyah criticizes the 'national deradicalisation program' by stating arguments as following. First, according to Muhammadiyah the purpose of deradicalisation doesn't synchronize with the purpose of anti terrorism. If there is radical who doesn't have willingness to commit terror, what is the function of deradicalisation? Vice versa, shallow religious minded person might conduct terrorism, thus deradicalisation has no means either.

“there is a reduction of meaning in anti terrorism concept created by western analytical thinking - as it is only refer to deradicalisation program. But do you belief that somebody who commits violence is able to have discussion and deradicalised? Deradicalisation doesn't mean anti terrorism. People who commit violence cannot be deradicalized. (Therefore) How to educate, how to channel ideas becomes important”.^{xlii}

Second is regarding Seminar vs Man to Man Approach. Muhammadiyah criticizes BNPT for only working behind the desk by conducting one or two days seminars on deradicalisation. In fact terrorism recruitment is not through seminars, instead man to man approach. Therefore, it requires mentoring and coaching, which seems has not been done by BNPT. There is an impression that those seminars are only part of international project operated by government through BNPT.^{xliii} When anti terrorism efforts become commodity of funded project, it won't affect the substance or the root of problems. Third is the stigma attached to the term deradicalisation itself which creates an impression that the participants has been or have potential to become radicals. Muhammadiyah used to have self funded deradicalisation seminars but quite often many Muhammadiyah members alleged that seminars are the extension of foreign interest.^{xliiv} Responding to that, Bambang Pranowo suggested that BNPT's programmes should not put stressing on terminology of 'anti terrorism', 'contra terrorism', and 'deradicalisation'; because it creates stigma; and to gather stigmatized mass won't be effective.^{xli v} Deradicalisation also implies exclusivity; so that the program will be less popular thus fail to attract people as many as possible.

Fifth is the politization of terrorism. The secretary of Central Board of Muhammadiyah, Abdul Mu'ti stated that there are many

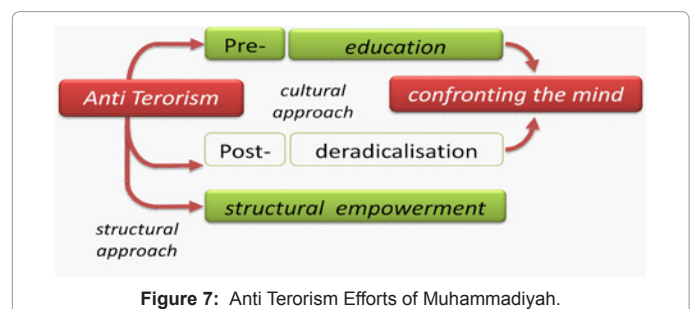


Figure 7: Anti Terrorism Efforts of Muhammadiyah.

factors and agenda lies behind terrorism. There is possibility that the framework agreed by BNPT and police is the 'conspiracy' model. About the arrest of Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and put *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* and *Ansyarud Tauhid* as police operation target implies the confusion whether the government targets were actually the radicals, the ideology, the organization or Baasyir?^{xvii} Abdul Mu'ti said that Ba'asyir has limited network and his ideas are not strongly grounded yet unpopular therefore he won't be a threat for society [34]. The editor of *Republika* Rahmad Budi Raharjo assumed that Indonesia needs to answer international pressure regarding who is the intellectual actor responsible to link terrorism in Indonesia with international terrorism network. Probably Indonesia has failed to provide the answer for the fact that security threats in Indonesia is very complex. Probably Ba'asyir is only the scapegoat of government failures in knowing the root causes of terrorism in Indonesia [35].

Abdul Mu'ti also stated that it has been a common perception that 'terrorism eradication efforts have become international project'.^{xviii} After 9/11, USA released campaign entitled 'global war on terror' including international Security Sector Reform. USA and its allies allocated massive fund and conducted various forms of security cooperation around the world, especially countries vulnerable from terrorism threat, such as Africa, Middle East, South Asia, Filipina, including Indonesia. The objective was to increase the capacity and capability of security sectors in vulnerable countries. In Indonesia, the campaign was transformed in the forming and training of Densus 88. However, international aid usually takes consequences of intervention, which implicate to people's awareness toward government's accountability and sovereignty in taking control upon national security sector management. Abdul Mu'ti doubt that Densus 88 is genuine national project because the funding doesn't come from APBN as there is no sign of audit for granted or loan funding which must be clearly stated. If government fails to anticipate the accusation, by building trust and communication with society, it will implicate on the growing cynicism of people toward government and security actors accountability. The failure will contribute to develop motives of terrorism in Indonesia.

Sixth is Muhammadiyah tends to agree on theory that lack of structural support is the main cause of terrorism-such as in equal social welfare, weak law enforcement, bad governance, etc.^{xlix} Religious issues are only catalyst.¹

The disagreement between Muhammadiyah and government results on the organization's statement of action: to be careful and not to over-reactive. Muhammadiyah seemed lacking of interest to get involved in deradicalisation project for didn't want to get involved in commodification of terrorism. Muhammadiyah doesn't put terrorism as strategic issues priority. "To reduce all problems within corridor of anti terrorism will be naive". Rifqi Muna criticized that global security discourse has created 'securonoid' global circumstance. Securonoid stands for security dan paranoid, in which all issues are then to be linked with counter terrorism effort. To compare with millions victims of accident on road - hundreds victims of terrorism will be insignificant which makes excessive government response toward this issue sounds irrelevant.^{li} Muhammadiyah keep doing civic education, socio-economic empowerment, supporting democracy, good governance and law enforcement which have long term multiplier effect to eradicate terrorism potential.

"Muhammadiyah focuses on cultural approach, building 'system of belief', to create religious but tolerant, non-violent and just society.

Muhammadiyah tries to change the order of the state by changing people's behavior through its individual mindset. All those efforts are done without anti terrorism labialization".^{lii}

Political conflict

Stated by Abdul Mu'ti, Muhammadiyah is an organization of *par-excellence*, civil society which serves as critical control toward government's performance; and Muhammadiyah seemed to be vigorously criticizing the administration of Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono. These political frictions are believed to weaken relationship between the government and Muhammadiyah.

"in the last two years, government seemed having a 'handicap' to build communication with Muhammadiyah, including BNPT which also has not built enough communication with Muhammadiyah. It is perhaps the misled bureaucratic behavior in interpreting Muhammadiyah critics".^{liii}

Bambang Pranowo admitted that sometimes political closeness affecting the relationship between government and civil society. Bambang called Ali Anwar, the vice head of NU who was also the vice head of National Intelligence Agency. Jusuf Warsim stated that Muhammadiyah was closer to government when the Vice President was Jusuf Kalla.^{liv} To be noticed, Muhammadiyah signed MoU with the Ministry of Politics, Law and Security when it was under Minister Patrialis Akbar. MoU was also built between Muhammadiyah and KPK (Corruption Eradication Agency) when the head of the agency was Busyro Muqodas. Jusuf Kalla, Patrialis Akbar and Busyro Muqodas are Muhammadiyah cadres. However though, Bambang Pranowo conveyed his disagreement regarding any political conflict occurs between Muhammadiyah and government. According to him, cooperation has not been built because of misleading approach.^{lv} Generally, Azyumardi Azra sees that the relationship between Muhammadiyah and government is going pretty well. The conflict is viewed as a personal conflict between Muhammadiyah Chairman Din Syamsuddin with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.^{lvi} The conflict does not represent Muhammadiyah statement of action as whole.^{lvii}

However, the 'political conflict' implies an impression that Muhammadiyah becomes less appreciative to see government/BNPT's program, as reflected in the following statement: "the cooperation is only rethorical. They did nothing. How if it was not a call? Instead formality to fulfill legal requirements".^{lviii}

BNPT constraints: limitations in time, human resources and budget

BNPT was established on July 16, 2010. Therefore, there are still many people who have not yet familiar with BNPT, regarding its authority, task, function and programs. Limited human resources and budget makes BNPT unable to accommodate all requests and to embrace all elements of society.^{lix}

Political will of BNPT

Political will is related on how BNPT interpret the Mandate of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 Year 2002 on Contra terrorism; which stated that government should be proactive to build synergy, spirit and commitment of all national components. However, if the response of BNPT as the following, it is difficult to build cooperation between BNPT and Muhammadiyah.

"We cannot spend time and energy to argue who's doing what ...We've been proactive, but we cannot knock on everybody's door.

BNPT talks, those who respond may come...why does anti terorisme has to be dependent on government ? If they come, we help since it is their call/urge, they need us" [36].

The researcher disagrees with the statement for several reasons. First is because BNPT has mandate and authority to conduct centralized, integrated and coordinated counterterrorism efforts which represent the function of BNPT to lead, to direct, to coordinate all society potentials. Second is because government is the side who supposed to need people's support instead vice versa. It is an absolute for a state, a government to demand support from its people.

Evaluation

The cooperation between BNPT and Muhammadiyah has two potentials: ideology and organization. Ideology relates to the fact that Muhammadiyah and NU are Indonesian Islamic mainstream. *Ulama* of NU Zakky Mubarak said that Islam in Indonesia is *Islam NU if not Islam Muhammadiyah*, which the remaining adopt the ideological model of Islam from those two organizations.^{lx} As mainstream, they have ability to influence people's opinion. A discourse entitled Indonesian's Moslem as *ummah* who is very obedient to mainstream ideology and *Ulama's fatwa*. In context of Organisation, Muhammadiyah has established programs, infrastructures and system. The programs are in form of education, politic and socio-economic empowerment through Muhammadiyah schools, hospitals and other public facilities. Organizational infrastructures are linked by systems established from grassroot level up to national and international level. Those potentials can be used for information dissemination and to increase public understanding. In the context of human resources, Muhammadiyah has millions followers spreading throughout Indonesia and abroad. As civil society, Muhammadiyah is a place for *Ulama* and Moslem intellectual to gather for discussion on national strategic issues and to formulate national problem solving. As religious elites, ulama and Moslem intellectuals are strongly affecting Indonesian people's live and mindset; not only in religious aspect, but also socio-political aspect.^{lxi} At last, as a big organization, Muhammadiyah will always be attractive enough for media coverage [37].

Those potentials are advantages for BNPT. Firstly because it will help the command line for information dissemination, as has been admitted, "BNPT programs aim to directly touch the grass root society. Through Muhammadiyah and NU, BNPT reach family till larger institution".^{lxii} Secondly, the affectivity and efficiency use of time and resource for BNPT to achieve its goals.

"What is the impact if relationship between BNPT and Muhammadiyah remains the same and is not built?" Actually, there will be 'no problem'. According to Irfan Muslich, though Muhammadiyah and BNPT choose different process and methodology, actually both organizations are heading toward the same goals, to reduce terrorism threat. And according to Participation theory, Muhammadiyah has indirectly participated on BNPT's programs, through its cultural and structural roles, by contributing ideas, funds, efforts and infrastructures. These roles have been recognized by BNPT and they give positive appreciation on it.^{lxiii}

"Physically, Muhammadiyah may not be involved, but in substance they have. Deradicalisation is about how to make radical's violence not happen and how to avoid people having shallow thinking. There are many ways. BNPT and Muhammadiyah might take different path. However eventually it will lead to the same point. If we take a look carefully, Muhammadiyah plays smarter, by implicitly saying, with or

without BNPT, Muhammadiyah will still run in its way".^{lxiv}

Therefore, Irfan Muslich argued that Muhammadiyah cannot be forced to join the government if they don't will to do it. Muhammadiyah may have specific strategy and program priority. In the other side, BNPT also has its priority. "Those who have not responded, perhaps it's not his time yet. Maybe later".^{lxv}

The researcher can accept BNPT's argument. "But, the question is whether BNPT has ever tried to build communication with Muhammadiyah?" If the answer is NO, it implies several things. Firstly, BNPT cannot be said successful in running the Mandate of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 1 Year 2002 on Combating Terrorism as well as the Vision of BNPT which state that government should be proactive to build synergy with its people. Secondly, BNPT has not yet performed to lead, to plan, to direct and to coordinate all society's potentials; while based on the Mandate of Presidential Regulation Number 46 Year 2010 About BNPT, BNPT is the agency who holds the authority to conduct centralized, integrated and coordinated counterterrorism efforts. Thirdly and substantively, BNPT has not yet performed itself as national organization that should be able to unified society's perceptions on terrorism issues. There is an impression that BNPT tends to embrace civil society with the same vision and to exclude those who don't. Fourthly, the disengagement of Muhammadiyah will make the effort of BNPT becomes less effective and efficient.

Recommendation

Based on the above evaluation, the researcher proposing several suggestions as below:

To strengthen commitment

BNPT should strengthen its commitment that there will be no preference and no political issues involved in building cooperation with civil society; and this commitment should be translated into real.^{lxvi} Once in a media, Muhammadiyah conducted seminars on terrorism and invited Ansyad Mbaal, but with no specific reason, neither Ansyad Mbaal or BNPT's representative showed up which regretted by Din Syamsuddin and Busyro Muqoddas [38]. Secondly, it is irrelevant for BNPT to interpret its commitment to be proactive by only talking through media and then wait for civil society's to respond. Third, as the agency who holds authority to conduct centered, integrated and coordinated contra terrorism efforts, BNPT should performs leading, directing, and coordinating all society's potentials in counterterrorism efforts.

Muhammadiyah also needs to reaffirm organizational commitment and consistent in its implementation. First is Muhammadiyah statement to fix and to build harmonious relations with government, to be wiser and politically neutral.^{lxvii}

Second statement is that Muhammadiyah will strengthen communication and build strategic cooperation with several government institutions.^{lxviii} At operational level, the statements should be translated into Muhammadiyah Statement of Action that reflects more appreciative and participative attitude toward BNPT's programs. Based on the researcher's observation-on media's coverage after any terrorist attacks occur in Indonesia-Muhammadiyah always performs its Control Function much more dominant rather than to give proportionate appreciation or support toward BNPT's achievement (i.e the successful of Densus 88 in detecting terrorists before any attacks

occur). It seems that Muhammadiyah and BNPT more often stand in opposition in media's coverage.

Third is that Muhammadiyah will develop strategic role to be involved in national policy making process.^{lxix} Externally, Muhammadiyah is *par-excellence* organisation who has control upon government performance at loyal level but remain critical.^{lxx} Internally, Muhammadiyah can put its cadres in a position to influence and to determine policy making process. Muhammadiyah should be involved and engaged with BNPT strategy, to communicate the urgency of changes, if necessary and if the policy, strategy and programmes of BNPT are not appropriately targeted.

The idealism of Muhammadiyah in addressing issues pertaining ideological or theological debate, which however not substantial; should not hamper the organizational actions, making it seems too rigid and less dynamic in addressing contextual issues that may threaten society; thus kept Muhammadiyah from its strategic role of to bring bigger benefit for community and nation. It should be considered that cooperation with government may lead into the extensification, greater frequency and magnitude of programs of Muhammadiyah.

To develop communication

Communication is important to bridge differences. Muhammadiyah argues that BNPT did nothing and created no impact by only conducting seminars. However, Muhammadiyah is unaware that the main purpose of BNPT to conduct seminars is for socialization purpose. Individual's approach has actually been done through the Task force and Cooperation made between BNPT and mass organizations. "Seminars of deradicalisation aims to introduce and to build public understanding. Everything runs simultaneously. Those who highlight that deradicalisation don't properly run do not know BNPT's program as whole".^{lxxi} Related on debates over terminologies and generalization of Islamic values (as referent for terrorism), BNPT advised Muhammadiyah to be actively involved, to neutralize instead remaining silent, to avoid society keeps understanding the image on that way.^{lxxii}

Azyumardi Azra sees positive possibility for BNPT and Muhammadiyah to build communication and cooperation. "BNPT and Muhammadiyah should be able to cooperate, but it requires efforts and personal approach (from government) toward Muhammadiyah

Policy	Program	Metric/ Indicators of Measurement	Concrete Recommendation <i>What to do to improve metric status?</i>
To develop communication	A matter of strategic leadership	1. Has there been any personal approach made between BNPT's leaders toward Muhammadiyah ? 2. How many communication (formal/informal) conducted by BNPT and Muhammadiyah? 3. Is there any evidence of miscommunication reduction?	BNPT's leaders proactively embrace Muhammadiyah leaders , in local and national level, despising political constellation. → Increased trust → Regular communication forum/dialogue between BNPT and Muhammadiyah
1. To strengthen the commitment of BNPT to build cooperation with civil society 2. To strengthen the commitment of Muhammadiyah to support BNPTs programs	Proactive approach from BNPT to design specific cooperation program with Muhammadiyah.	1. How many approaches BNPT has performed to Muhammadiyah for this matter? 2. How many approaches Muhammadiyah has performed to BNPT for this matter?	To Build MOU BNPT creates MOU/Pact to be built with targeted civil society. ▪ By this pact, Muhammadiyah through its universities, schools, hospitals and others charity units is asked for its commitment to develop anti-terrorism programs, i.e. education. ▪ BNPT regularly conducts training for Muhammadiyah cadres to disseminate anti-terrorism spirits. It is very hard to measure commitment as Muhammadiyah possess thousands charity units in form of universities, schools, hospitals, etc. Thus, as starter point, the MOU can be built in national level first, to be further develop by BNPT in regional and local level to build cooperation with certain Muhammadiyah universities, schools and hospitals in a region/city
To revisit Deradicalisation Concept	A systematic framework to integrate Muhammadiyah social programs as part of deradicalisation BNPT's concept.	1. Is there any evidence to prove that Muhammadiyah's framework of development is effective to be integrated in BNPT's deradicalisation program?	▪ BNPT removes deradicalisation or anti terrorism as program label ▪ The strategy formulation, where BNPT and Muhammadiyah's think tank sit together to do the mapping of program in targeted area and potential charity units and form specific programs of deradicalisation that integrate/incorporate cultural and structural efforts
Socialisation	To increase campaign programs for civil society and potential terrorist group	1. how many times in a year BNPT performed their campaign program? 2. what method do they use? 3. how many civil society has involved in BNPT's annual campaign programs? 4. has BNPT formulated framework to evaluate civil society's performance? 5. does BNPT has road map of deradicalisation programs, targeted areas and civil societies involved ? 6. Is there any reduction on terroris activities?	The forming of specific division/department within BNPT agency focusing to map strategic and potential civil society and to maximally approach them to build cooperation. Further, the division is also responsible to evaluate the civil society performance and its programs' effectiveness Based on the researchers observation, Deradicalisation of BNPT is currently only stated as the function of agency with no division-equipped with managerial, personels and administrative -support

Table 1: Resume of Recommendation.

leaders, in local and national level”^{lxiii} The Mandate has put BNPT, as government representative, with bigger urgency to build cooperation with civil society; therefore it will be wiser if BNPT proactively embrace Muhammadiyah, instead vice versa. After the communication built, trust needs to be strengthened in order to open possibility for cooperation, as reflected on Irfan Muslich hopes: “Let’s sit together, don’t feel that his side is right then to blame others. Do not make sounding, sharing to media. BNPT is open to involve all elements of society, invite for discussion by sharing what can be done and contribute by certain mass organization”^{lxiv} Lastly is to strengthen the Coordination Forum of BNPT where Muhammadiyah can perform its aspiration function and BNPT is able to correct its policy, strategy and programs if Muhammadiyah recommendations are appropriate with the Vision and Mission of BNPT. Muhammadiyah can also perform control function toward the government on the issues of politicization and commodification of terrorism.

Innovation on deradicalisation concept of BNPT

Muhammadiyah has different perspectives from global framework of counterterrorism. This make Muhammadiyah does not put terrorism as issues of priority, does not make anti terrorism program, doesn’t approach BNPT, and keeps going on its previous structural and cultural roles within society. Those statements of actions indirectly inhibit the development of cooperation between BNPT and Muhammadiyah. Interestingly, Muhammadiyah signed MoU with Australian Government to hold education, democratic, tolerance, and human rights programs. Muhammadiyah also establish cooperation with the U.S. Peace Corps to conduct English language teacher education at *Madrasah*. If it is traced back, those two programs are in line with the Global War on Terror campaign initiated by Australian Government responding Bali Bombing or US Government responding 9/11; which apparently well responded by Muhammadiyah.

In critical thinking, “*Why does Muhammadiyah who stands in opposition with global framework of counterterrorism agreed to cooperate with foreign agency instead of national agency (BNPT)?*” First is because programs offered by foreign agency are comprehensive by involving both structural and cultural efforts. As admitted by Irfan Muslich, BNPT’s structural approach is still fragile. Second is that the programs do not use deradicalisation or anti terrorism as label so it runs more popular. There is an impression that BNPT has not had clear concept of anti terrorism. While in fact, by involving civil society in comprehensive manner, BNPT could mapping society’s potentials, to direct them on roles based on their capacity, capability and organizational priority. Therefore, it is important for BNPT to develop and to innovate their concept of deradicalisation– which appropriately applied in Indonesia, by combining both structural and cultural approach, in order to reduce terrorism potentials, with effective and efficient resources/time utilization, to create longer impact and to reach wider society.

Socialization

There should be an evaluation on socialization target, to be more structurized and balance in approaching all elements of society. It is also important for BNPT to consider removing label of deradicalisation or anti terrorism on BNPT’s programs.

Those above are policies recommendation. Below are tables of programs and metrics to translate the policies into more concrete recommendation (Table 1).

Conclusion

This study concludes: Firstly, Muhammadiyah, as civil society, has contributed efforts on anti terrorism through its structural and cultural roles. Secondly, government has not comprehensively involved civil society in national anti terrorism efforts because BNPT failed to build cooperation with Muhammadiyah. The failure is due to several reasons, which are: different perspectives of BNPT and Muhammadiyah in perceiving issues on terrorism and the efforts to eradicating it; political conflict as implication of constructive criticism of Muhammadiyah toward the government; limited time and resources of BNPT; and BNPT’s lack of political will. In fact, Muhammadiyah has ideological and organizational potential which can support BNPT’s function to achieve its goals in effective and efficient time and resources. Therefore, this research proposes four recommendations: to strengthen commitment of BNPT and Muhammadiyah, to develop communication between Muhammadiyah and BNPT, to evaluate and to innovate deradicalisation concept, and to strengthen socialization.

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Foot Notes

ⁱWill not be discussed further in this research

ⁱⁱR. Crelinsten, Op. Cit. p. 21-22.

ⁱⁱⁱ Another example is the rejection on Megawati's regime by stating on articles in Al-Qur'an stated that men are women's leader.

^{iv}Jahroni, J. Op. Cit. p. 121, 122, 132

^vPutri. Op. Cit. p. 46

^{vi}Jahroni, J. Op. Cit. p. 127

^{vii}Putri. Op. Cit. p. 50-51

^{viii}NU was established in 1926 within pesantren community. NU representing moderate but conservative and traditional Moslem society which assimilate local cultures with religious values – to compare Muhammadiyah which is more puritant. NU was born as response to wahabism.

^{ix}Jahroni, J. Op. Cit. Hal. 125-126

^xJahroni, J. Op. Cit. p. 126

^{xi}Wahid, D. Op. Cit p. 102, 103

^{xii}Ali, M. Op. Cit. p. 215-217

^{xiii}Tasman, Op. Cit. p. 163

^{xiv}Wahid, D. Op. Cit. p. 74

^{xv}Jahroni, J. Op. Cit. p. 122-124, 133

^{xvi}Startegic Plan of BNPT Year 2010-2014, (Jakarta: BNPT, 2011), hlm. 4

^{xvii}Ibid, p.28

^{xviii}Presidential Regulation of Republic Indonesia Number 46 Year 2010 About BNPT Article 23 About Task Force: (2.1) Task Force involving elements of society which may come from military, police, Majelis Ulama Indonesia, Religious Ministry, mass organization and public figures. Furthermore Article (36.1) stated that BNPT has coordinating function with local and national government, international agency and elements of society.

^{xix}In details please see Putri. (2012).

^{xx}Ibid.

^{xxi}Ibid. p.28

^{xxii}Interview with Bambang Pranowo, 12 Januari 2012.

^{xxiii}Interview with Riefqi Muna, 14 Oktober 2011.

^{xxiv}Interview with A. Sanusi, 16 November 2011.

^{xxv}Muhammadiyah Program 2010-2015

^{xxvi}Muhammadiyah Agenda on the Second Century

^{xxvii}Interview with Y. Warsim, 24 Oktober 2011.

^{xxviii}Interview with Riefqi Muna, 14 Oktober 2011.

^{xxix}Ibid.

^{xxx}Interview with A. Mu'ti, 7 Oktober 2011.

^{xxxi}Interview with Riefqi Muna, 14 Oktober 2011.

^{xxxii}Interview with Zakky Mubarak, 14 Desember 2011.

^{xxxiii}Interview with A. Mu'ti, 7 Oktober 2011.

^{xxxiv}Ibid.

^{xxxv}Azyumardi Azra, 10 Januari 2011, correspondence by Email.

^{xxxvi}A. Mu'ti, 23 Juni 2011, "Komodifikasi Terorisme?" (Commodification of Terrorism?)

<http://gagasanhukum.wordpress.com/2011/06/23/komodifikasi-terorisme/>, downloaded on 19 Desember 2011.

^{xxxvii}Interview with A. Mu'ti, 7 Oktober 2011.

^{xxxviii}Interview with Riefqi Muna, 14 Oktober 2011. There is no indicator to measure whether radical thinking to be classified as dangerous or not. Five radical mass organization, on 18 Desember 2011: Islamic Reform Movement/Gerakan Reformasi Islam, Islamic Defender Front/Front Pembela Islam, Islamic Forum/ Forum Umat Islam, Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid, and Majelis Mujahiddin Indonesia stated their rejection on deradicalisation 'project' of BNPT by argument that it's the new form of colonialisatation which systematically will put Moslem in dispute, against aqidah as well to cut the dynamics of Islamic movement. See M. Budi, 19 Desember 2011, "5 Ormas Islam Tolak Proyek Deradikalisasi Eks-Terroris (5 Islamic Mass Organisation Rejects Deradicalisation Project on Ex-Terrorist)", <http://www.>

detiknews.com/read/2011/12/19/100222/1794200/10/5-ormas-islam-tolak-proyek-deradikalisasi-eks-teroris, downloaded on 19 Desember 2011.

^{xxxix}Azyumardi Azra defined deradicalisation as efforts to prevent and to cure the radicals. Azyumardi Azra, correspondence by Email, 10 Januari 2011.

^{xli}Interview with Riefqi Muna, 14 Oktober 2011.

^{xlii}Ibid.

^{xliii}Ibid.

^{xliiii}M. Budi, Op.Cit.

^{xlv}Interview with A. Mu'ti, 7 Oktober 2011.

^{xlvi}Interview with Bambang Pranowo, 12 Januari 2012.

^{xlvii}Interview with A. Mu'ti, 7 Oktober 2011.

^{xlviii}A. Mu'ti, "Komodifikasi Terorisme?", Op. Cit.

^{xlviii}Interview with A. Mu'ti, 7 Oktober 2011.

^{xlix}Ibid.

^lInterview with Riefqi Muna, 14 Oktober 2011.

^{li}Interview with Riefqi Muna, 14 Oktober 2011.

^{lii}Interview with A. Mu'ti, 7 Oktober 2011.

^{liii}Interview with A. Mu'ti, 7 Oktober 2011.

^{liiii}Interview with Y. Warsim, 24 Oktober 2011.

^{liv}Interview with Bambang Pranowo, 12 Januari 2012.

^{lv}Azyumardi.Azra, Correspondence via Email, 10 Januari 2011.

^{lvii}Interview with Bambang Pranowo, 12 Januari 2012s.

^{lviii}Interview with A. Mu'ti, 7 Oktober 2011.

^{lix}Interview with A. Sanusi, 16 November 2011.

^{lx}Interview with Zakky Mubarak, 14 Desember 2011.

^{lxi}Rizal Sukma, & C. Joewono, Op. Cit.

^{lxii}Interview with Heri, 16 November 2011. Heri an Expert Staff of BNPT

^{lxiii}Interview with Irfan Muslich, 12 Januari 2012.

^{lxiv}Ibid.

^{lxv}Ibid.

^{lxvi}Azyumardi Azra, correspondence by Email, 10 Januari 2011.

^{lxvii}The Report of Central Board of Muhammadiyah 2005-2010.

^{lxviii}The Vision of National Participation Muhammadiyah 2015.

^{lxix}The Vision of Muhammadiyah 2015 and the Statement of Cadres Revitalisation

^{lxx}As stated by Din Syamsuddin in the Opening Ceremonial of A century Muktamar of Muhammadiyah.

^{lxxi}Interview with Irfan Muslich, 12 Januari 2012.

^{lxxii}Ibid.

^{lxxiii}Azyumardi Azra, correspondence by Email, 10 Januari 2011.

^{lxxiv}Interview with Irfan Muslich, 12 Januari 2012.