INDONESIAN ISLAMIC NATION (NII) MOVEMENT IN URBAN AREA

The Dynamic and Its Strategies in Preventing and Dealing with the NII in three Biggest Higher Education Institutions in Banyumas Area

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Introduction

with the Indonesian Islamic State (known as NII) in various regions in Indonesia forces us to rethink what happened to higher education institutions and its environment. Indonesian media reports that many of NII's victims are university students include universities in Banyumas also not immune from the movement under the mask of NII. At least there are 43 students already recorded in Banyumas universities are involved or become victims of deception. These numbers may sound so few. However, we can assume that this victims' number is the number that revealed by the media and therefore it is very possible the real number of the victims are more than 43 students.

Serious attention on NII movement, recently, has become very important because the consequences are very hazardous. For examples, on religion aspect, the followers of NII movement is legalizing all forms of criminality on the basis of the Quran and they also feel that their group is the most truthful and considered infidels for people outside their group. On social aspect, the impact is no less dangerous. The followers of NII movement justifies that all infidels' belongings are justified to be taken by them. Another social impact is that by following NII movement worsen relationships with family, neighbors, student's interactions, and worsen the

academic performance drastically. Furthermore, the NII followers tended to resistant to Indonesian government because, as a state, Indonesia is considered as an infidely state-nation.

At least there are two important dimensions of this action NII movement, which are criminal and ideological dimensions. Criminal dimension are acts of deception that usually occurs after ideological intrusion being done. Instead of exploring the realm of law, this article analyses the ideological dimension. Ideological dimension is a process that is a cognitive and beliefs that allow the actions of deception or other crimes occurred. This is a process that became the foundation for attitudes and actions taken by those involved in deception action.

Therefore, this article will give more attention to the matter of the importance of ideology in the process of recruiting members of the NII and the responses of universities as educational institutions in responding to the NII intrusion into the campus environment. Colleges that will be the concern of this article are three colleges in Banyumas, which are Jenderal Soedirman University (UNSOED), Purwokerto Muhammadiah University (UMP) and the College of Islamic Studies (STAIN) Purwokerto.

Arguably, whether the group was behind the actions of deception truly NII movement, but there is no denying that we can trace it down to the NII group formed by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo on August 7, 1949. The NII group, which is often associated with acts of deception, is the NII Commandment Region-9 (well known as NII KW-9) led by A. S. Panji Gumilang. The goal of NII KW-9 was also similar to the NII that led by Kartosoewirjo that is to establish the Indonesian Islamic State. However, it should be noted that most of the NII KW-9 is not a successor of the NII led by Kartosoewiryo.

The recent NII KW-9 claimed the NII name simbolically, while their teachings have totally deviated from that taught by Kartosoewiryo in 1940s. Thus, the NII movement meant in this article is NII KW-9. In recruiting members, the NII lure potential members (which it also means potential victims) with promises of heaven or martyrdom. After potential victim is interested they will demand their victim to give some money as infaq (sacrificing money) and for sin abolishment.

Indonesian Islamic State (NII): One Action Two Faces

The political history of Indonesia noted that NII became one of the most important symbols for the struggle of Indonesian Muslims in the fight for their ideology. Indonesian history noted that NII played as an antagonist actor that acts against the legitimate authority of the Indonesian Republic at that time. Although the founders of this movement have been killed by the Indonesian military, but it seems that the name of NII remains as a "ghost" that always haunt the Indonesian Republic political journey. Politically, the name of NII blamed, as a scapegoat, by certain groups who use the nation's collective memory of NII as a paranoid of the right extremists. However, there is no doubt also that there are still people in the name of NII in fighting for the interests of their own group.

Historically, Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo, a Masjumi figure in West Java, founded the NII in August 7, 1949. This movement then spread out through Aceh, South Kalimantan and South Sulawesi. Indonesian government, through military operation known as Pagar Betis Operation, managed to conquer this movement in 1962. In the same year, precisely on September 5, Kartosoewirjo eventually executed. The death of Kartosoewirjo did not make his followers stop fighting for their NII movement idealism. After the death of Kartosoewirjo, NII leadership held alternately and recently led by Abu Toto or Abdus Salam alias Panji Gumilang. This organization led by Panji Gumilang also well known as NII KW-9.

The purpose of establishing Islamic state from the NII movement is based on a belief in Islam that sovereignty belongs only to God, thereby recognizing and obeying government not based on God's sovereignty is categorized as infidel. In realizing the Islamic countries, there are some principles that are held by NII, one of them is the principle of al-bathil - al haq, a strict separation between right and wrong. With this principle, NII believes that the state of Medina (prototype version of an Islamic state NII) as the only true power that this country should stands on the belief of God's sovereignty. The implication, because truth cannot be mixed up with mistake, then the worship performed in the Kufr states, such as the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (known as NKRI), is a big mistakes. This principle

also creates the attitude of exclusive Muslim people among general Muslim followers who are not members of the NII. The NII followers considered whatever they say have been influenced by sleaze. (Ausop, 2009a; Nuskhi, no year; Triana, 2011).

NII strategies to achieve its goals refer to a concept called the al-Kahf (al-Kahfi). This concept is the doctrine of confidentiality in practicing the NII's activities. The purpose is to cover up the activities of NII and thus, the out groups would not that easy in recognizing NII's activities. Furthermore, confidentiality doctrine is a strategy for the NII's members in hindering oppression possibility from infidels Indonesian Government. For example, any member of NII does not have to know who their leader is, but at the same time, these followers are obligated to obey and abide NII's leaders.

In fact, this strategy also requires different membership levels should not know each other. It implies that the confidentiality strategy for the NII's followers with different levels would apply even more strictly confidential for any out groups. Each member of NII forbidden to tell any information that related to NII to any out-groups. Therefore, if any NII members give any information about NII's activities to out groups, they will be considered as dangerous for the NII's organization and furthermore these kinds of people are allows to be killed. (Ausop, 2009a; Nuskhi, no year; Triana, 2011).

To have better understanding about NII, we need to sort out the NII movement into two faces. First, it should be noted that NII ideology includes to religious fundamentalist movement. In general, religious fundamentalism is a form of reaction against secular modernity. The followers of religious fundamentalists want to bring religion, based on their virtue of religion, as public interest and revived religious communities (Zeidan, 2003; Haynes, 2009). As a politico-religious movement, NII launched the establishment of the Indonesia Islamic State as their goals. At this point, we can classify NII as a religious nationalist movement because NII unite between state and religion for Indonesian society.

At the same time, NII also considered all Muslim people, their worship and its clerics under the banner of NKRI is an infidel's state because they are not inside the Indonesian Islamic State that is under the God's law and thus NII also as a religious fundamentalist movement. In this perspective, NII religio-

political movement is a real threat to Indonesian nationalism because NII's ideology excludes all Muslims people who are not inline with them.

The first face of NII shows on their ideological doctrine. Their doctrine is an important factor in attracting prospective members. Prospective members will be assured of a doctrine that is based on Islamic lesson that refered to the verses of al-Qur'an. Through narrative and persuasive manner, NII's doctrines are able to destabilize the previously belief of the prospective member or at least be able to stimulate curiosity. Prospective members, who mostly lack the knowledge of religion, would not be difficult to be convinced by such doctrines, especially during the process of indoctrination from the NII recruiters that always refered their argument to the Scriptures of al-Qur'an.

The second face of NII is as a movement that collects funds from its members, especially new members for generating their organization. There are several types of fund raising through their new and fragile NII members, which are the moved out alms from the infidel's NKRI to NII, known as Sedekah Hijrah, and sin erasing alms, known as Sedekah Pembersihan Dosa. Hijrah is obligatory alms for prospective members who will move into NII. The second alms is a charity for the newly inducted members to clean their sins. It is a moment for new followers for cleaning up their sins before these new followers entering and moving into Indonesian Islamic State.

At this point, NII act as a movement committed deception utilizing religious legitimacy. Former member of NII felt that these two alms as a form of deception. Therefore, in this respect, we can say that NII members are the victims of NII recruiters' agents. However, it is difficult to identify in which levels of NII recruiters' agents taking benefits from the new members' alms.

NII Victims' Hunting Modes

It is difficult in assuring when exactly NII movement began to get into college campuses in Banyumas area. The difficulty mainly because NII is basically underground movements that deliberately maintain the confidentiality of all things related to their activities. In addition, only a few former victims of NII are willing to reveals and share their experiences to public. They typically traumatized by what they experienced during their moment as member of NII

before and furthermore, death threats from NII agents towards those who come out from NII. However, the researchers never found any fact that shows NII former members being killed because of they went out as NII members.

Such threats allegedly are nothing more than psychological terror so that the NII former members traumatize and did not come out from their closet. Nevertheless, at least in the years of 2003-2004, data revealed that NII recruiters' agent have been recruiting universities students in Banyumas. One of informan is Yoko (not his real name).

Yoko, who is in the year of 2004, has just accepted in a faculty of Jenderal Soedirman University met one of his old friend in high school. Through this high school old friend, Yoko introduced to someone who then tried to influence him with certain religious doctrines, which were later known as the doctrine of NII. It was the level of the two (2) days initial indoctrination in his boarding house.

At that time, Yoko did not had many questions about the doctrine he receiped, and then he was taken by a car to an unknown place in Purwokerto with closed eyes. In that place, he was receiped an advance doctrine that one of them was arguing about Pancasila as the basis for Indonesia as a state. Yoko, at that point, did not agree and argued with a person who tried to indoctrinize him. Because of he was argued too much to the recruiters, and then instantly he was send home by his old friend. Eventually, Yoko never met his high school old friend again.

A slightly different way we found the victim who was recruited in the year of 2009. Initially similar way is through the path of a friend or old friend. Marwah (not her real name), potential victims, was also introduced to someone who would then indoctrinate her. The initial process of indoctrination occurs at a friend's house victims. The process is also carried out an intensive indoctrination, which is also takes two days. At this stage, the initial indoctrination is very similar to what happen to Yoko in 2004. Differences occur after a process of indoctrination at the victim boarding house.

For example, Yoko invited to continue indoctrination process into the next level in a secret place in Purwokerto with his closed eyes, while Marwah, in 2009, after agreeing to move on to the next level of indoctrination process, she required to went to Jakarta utilizing public transportations like buses or oftenly used trains

accompanied by the NII recruiter's agent. In Jakarta, Marwah began an initiation process as a prospective member and later inducted into the NII. Another different experiences between Yoko and Marwah are that Yoko was failled to be recruited in initial stage of indoctrination in a transition place in purwoker to before Yoko brought to Jakarta. This failure happen because Yoko argued too much on the values and virtues of secular and infidel Pancasila versus religious NII and thus Yoko was considered not worthy being a member of NII.

On the other side, Marwah was considered as success recruitment because she obeyed all the instructions from the recruiters' agent. Siminar story with Marwah expereince also revealed in research process with the informan Dhuha (not his real name) in 2010. Dhuha succeed being recruited as the NII followers with different variation of recruitment method. The method being used in recruiting Dhuha utilised the Emotional & Spiritual Quotient, well known as ESQ, anual event in campuses in 2010. He was recruited by his new fellow friend in ESQ event, which was actually the recruiter agent of NII, and the next process, is similar to what happen to Marwah.

In early NII indoctrination process or what they called as "casting" process. At this level they discuss about state and Hijrah based on al-Qur'an verses. There is indication that victim succeed being recruited because they can be convinced to accept ideas that are based on religious arguments. In other words, ideological factors played an important role in attracting prospective victims. It is shown from the statement from Marwah when she commenting on the doctrined communicated to her, which said, "Because I believe the contents of the al-Qur'an, so I simply trust and believe it,"

Similar expereince with Marwah, Yoko also was interested to know more about the teachings of an unfamiliar Islamic group that always offering new lessons based on al-Qur'an. A research from Dewi Triana on NII in Jakarta also justified and confirmed this research that the doctrine derived from the al-Qur'an and stimulate the prospective victims' desire in deepening Islam.

Hunting the Loneliness and Weak!

Small number of NII victims in Purwokerto Collage of Islamic Studies, well known as STAIN Purwokerto, indicating that religion knowledge factor

becomes important in NII prospective victims' recruitment processes. According to Muhamad Nuskhi, which he hendled by him self, the ex-victims of NII are those who have less knowledge of Islam. Furthermore, Nuskhi argues that Muslim students who have no or less knowledge of Islam will be more easily recruited compared with students who have more or advance knowledge of Islam. He explain that Muslim student who lack of religion knowledge would be more easily brainwashed by NII recruiter agent because these student, he explain, do not know which information and lessons of Islam are true based on al-Qur'an and which information are distorted by certain interest like NII.

In addition, it would be so confusing for those student whoi have less knowledge of Islma because NII agent in charge of recruiting new vistims are always based their argument on verses of al-Qur'an. Therefore, the student, who lack of Islam knowledge and religion basics would be confused on wheater or not the interpretation of scripture of al-Qur'an that mentiened by NII recruiters' agent are the true, acceptable and common for Muslim scholars in general.

However, it also does not mean that the chances of students who come from Islamic Collage, like STAIN Purwokerto, being victims of NII less than non Islamic University, such as Jenderal Soedirman University. Great possibility arise because there always open opportunities if the student have no critical point of view and argument in challenging the arguments against NII recruiters' agent.

Muhamad Nuskhi and Abdul Rahman argued that if these less Islamic knowledgeable students worsen with less logic and weak psychologically, then NII agent would be able to suppress them. Arguing critically is important because there are indications that NII recruiters's agents utilised persuasive indoctrination. If the students have no ability in arguing critically, then NII agents have great chances in taking the student as their followers and obey the recruiters.

In addition, students ability in arguing critically is even more important because NII agents will not continue the recruitment process if the prospective victim dared to argue or disagree with them instantly. As soon as potential victims continued arguing, the NII agents will soon leave the prospective victims.

Fact shows that Yoko, a prospective student victims of UNSOED, initially did not ask many questions and follows on what is conveyed by the agent NII. However, when Yoko starts to argue with what is conveyed by NII agent, the agent did not continue the process of indoctrination to Yoko.

After the failure of the recruitment process, Yoko is no longer even contacted by his old friend, a recruiter of the NII. It implies that it is not too difficult to avoid the trap of NII recruitment. As long as the student hard to be convinced and ability in arguing critically about any statement of NII doctrines and eventually NII recruiters' agent would leave us instantly.

Inability of arguing others oppinion and general character of victim or other potential victims of NII, Abdul Rahman M Nuskhi explain that NII agents hunt and mostly hunt college students who are often lonely, introvert and less friends. They, who are generally lonely, would be so easily become victims because they usually have no courage in arguing the doctrine delivered by the NII agent. In addition, this condition would be worsening if they have less religion knowledge.

For instance, NII agent approached Yoko because he was new collage student, so quiet and less interactions with his fellow students. Although in the early stages of recruitment, he almost just follows the opinion of NII agent, in the end he dared to argue with the doctrines of Islamic State that forced upon him.

In addition, uncritial, lonely, quiet, and weak student considered being better to be recruited because the kind of students would be able to maintain the confidentiality of recruitment process or the NII movement in general. As an underground movement, it was very clear confidentiality factor becomes very important for NII. Thus, in choosing any potential victims, these factors are the main consideration for the NII agent in recruiting victims. Even if this student is no longer the follower of NII, they would tend to silence and even it would be trumatic events that disrupt their lives. Therefore, this internal factor is a prerequisite in recruiting students as victims of NII.

These internal factors of students become the prerequisite for the process of recruiting members of NII and it would be more "efficient" if these internal factors meet the external factors. For example, students who tend to be targeted to be victims of NII are those with the status of immigrants or

those who do not live with their parents and stay in boarding house in other region or city. Relevance status as immigrants is, at least, in the context of communication with their parents or relatives of potential victims. The smaller communications space between students with their family will more likely be targeted as potential victims. NII agents will be freer to approach potential victims who do not live with their family. NII agent will not hesitate to ask to stay at the boarding house in order to recruit their victims. At the prospective victim's boarding house, initial indoctrination process takes place.

Limited communication room between prospective victim with their family, especially parents, are closely realated to the mode of taking funds from victims by NII. The mode is usually practices after the victim indoctrinated and willing to migrate from the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) to NII. Victim must give some money for cost of Hijrah from NKRI to NII. Since most students have no money as requested, then victim were instructed by the recruiter to take it from their parents even by lying in getting the requested money. Geographical constraint and limited or less communications space between students and their parents would moother the process of victimization. Student victim will tell their parents that they needs some amount of money to buy again a laptop because their friend lost it and at the same time, this friend have no money to repay it because this friend have to help the hospital costs of the parents. The victim's parents would not be able to check the truth of the news and finally parent, in a short period, often directly send the money to their son/daughter.

Other external factors that contribute to the process of intrusion of NII in campuses is the lack of attention from stakeholders, especially the rector and its vice rector of student's affairs, as the leader, on NII issues in their campuses. The Universities' leaders concern is utmost important because of a hazardous impact toward the collage students. For example, the student rarely follows classes and its assignments and even worse the student, which influenced by NII, they likely to drop out. The universities' leaders can not let this problem only to the police because it is very difficult to impose criminal offense to NII recruiters' agents. The most likely carried out by the universities' leaders is act by creating and implemented tactical and measurable policies for preventing and dealing with the intrusiton of NII in campuses.

Responses from Higher education Institutions in Banyumas

In a statement to media, Rector of the Jenderal Soedirman University (UNSOED) Purwokerto, Edy Yuwono, said that UNSOED would establish a special team in dealing with the intrusion of NII into campus. The team would consist of expert from lecturer or faculty members in advising students in dealing with the intrusion of NII network in campus. The team also will become a sort of NII crisis centers in UNSOED. In addition, Rector of UNSOED also issued a policy for students victims of NII would not be expeled from the university. However, if a student is convicted of a crime, certainly the students will have to deal with the police. UNSOED will only impose sanctions if a violation occurs is a form of academic violations.

Unfortunately, the plan is only a lips service because it never been implemented in UNSOED. Some lecturers, such as Muhamad Nuskhi and Abdul Rokhman, who have been dealing with the victims of NII in UNSOED, stated that UNSOED even have no system or specific policies in dealing with and furthermore preventing the intrusion of NII in campus. Their statement is indirectly confirmed and justified by the Vice Rector III for Student Affirs in UNSOED. In our interview with him, Prof. Imam Santoso, there are certainly no policies in forming a special team in dealing with NII in UNSOED. He stated that basically UNSOED only follows the National Ministry of Educations' policy for higher education student based on four (4) pillars of nationhood, which are the Pancasila, Unity in Diversity, the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), and antiseparatisme. The four pillars are as a foundation for UNSOED in shaping nationalist character and personality of students.

For UNSOED, the four pillars deliberated into obligatory course and training for all students, which are Identity of Jenderal Soedirman University course, well known as Jati Diri UNSOED course that only exist in UNSOED, and PKKM training. The main goal of these two activities is builds a nationalist characters, like the Indonesian national hero from Purwokerto Banyumas General Soedirman, in struggle for NKRI in achieving the Indonesian Independence. In addition, UNSOED also issued a policy in strengthening the student campus life discipline. One of the programs is to regulate hours for student in practicing their activities at night and they should asked permision in

doing their activities at night in campus. Such policy, according Imam Santoso, would hamper NII's activities and its intrusion to campus.

Although we respect the policy of campus life setting by UNSOED Vice Rector, which one of the pusposes is to prevent intrusion of NII to campus, this policy is missleading in prefenting the intrusion of NII to campus. It merely shows that policy makers and its stakeholders do not aware and understand on how the NII intrude the students in campus. Seeing the facts, the process of recruiting NII victims occurred outside the campus, which is in student boarding house. Even if the recruitment process on-campus, it happened in a place like the central university library instead of on-site student activities. In addition, it should be noted that NII is an underground movement who are maintaining confidentiality of their organizations so that they are unlikely enggage with any formal student organizations on campus. In fact, the record of lecturers who had treated victims of NII, like Nuskhi, students, who become the victims of NII, are not active in any student activities.

In broader security context, UNSOED have been corporates with various stakeholders to work together to maintain campus life and surroundings. Their activities involves the police and community leaders surround UNSOED campus, this program called community police (polisi masyarakat, POLMAS). Utilizing POLMAS program, UNSOED through Vice Rector III receive informations and complaints from community about UNSOED students' behaviours off campus. However, the effectiveness of POLMAS program remains untested in preventing the intrusion of NII because no information reported that related with the cases of students victims of NII. The Vice Rector received information more issue of students' sexual immorality or violence between students.

In addition, NII victims who handled by some lecturers, they never get any information from POLMAS network about NII victims, instead they received the information of the victims through others lecturers in other faculties in UNSOED. Furthermore, in dealing with the students of ex-NII victims, POLMAS networks, at this moment, obviously not visible become the media in solving the problem of NII on campus because victims because their communication networks are more concern to society surrounding the University.

Purwokerto Muhammadiyah University (UMP) and Purwokerto Collage Islamic Studies (STAIN Purwokerto) gives similar responses. Nuskhi had been informed to UMP and some lecturers about the possibility of UMP students who are victims of NII. However, the policy makers in UMP give no responses. As what happen in UNSOED, UMP also does not consider and difine NII intrusion to UMP as a strategic problem that must be addressed specifically and systematically from the institution. UMP assume that religion education course in their corricula is considered enough in preventing NII intrusion to their students. Therefore, trivialities of NII intrusion to campus by UMP as education institution have risking themselves on hazardous situations.

Conclusions

NII movement in Banyumas is targeting college students as their members. The students join NII generally because of ideological religious doctrine utilizing their own version of interpretation of the verses of al-Qur'an. Prospective vistims have no ergument in deniying NII doctrine because, it appear that they rely on the al Qur'an that they believed to be the word of God and rejecting the words of God would be considered as an infidel. It shows that ideological factors played an important role in migrating from NKRI to NII, called Hijrah.

There are prerequisite elements from the prospective victims in order to attach ideological factors, which are the prospective students are have less knowledge of religion, less critical thinking toward NII doctrine, weak in logic, limited communications time and spaces with parents or family and introvert personal character. More importantly, limited concern to the issue of NII intrusion from higher education institutions also contributing to the intrusion of NII to campus easily. Three higher education institutions in Banyumas have no concern toward this situations, while at the same time, they claimed that they are very nationalist but they do not practices their commitment in preventing and dealing with the Indonesian Islamic State, NII.

The low concern of three higher education institutions in Banyumas on issue of NII intrusion indicated by the absence of specific policies related to it. Existing policy is still too general, which is to prevent social problems and terrorism. In fact, the NII movement cannot simply equated with terrorism

based on religious teachings. There is a trend in NII utilization of religion for the sake of the material benefits. In addition, existing policies also shows that the leaders of higher education institutions in Banyumas were misunderstand and misinformation about NII movement.

This research suggest that strategies in dealing with NII, one could have done individually, however, the individual actions would not be efficient and effective because it consume lots of time and therefore it requires more systematic strategy by institutional structural supports. For example, the leaders of higher education institutions in Banyumas manage new students with practical knowledge in hindering the NII doctrines.

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