

Between the Motives of Carrying Out Religious Orders and Political Interests

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Abstract--*The motives for the occurrence of criminal acts of terrorism do not stand alone but are multi-motivated, such as injustice, poverty, ignorance and the ease of getting information from virtual media so that certain individuals or groups are affected by the ideas of radicalism and terrorism which are widely spread in various media. In addition, there are several terrorist groups that carry out their actions on the basis of carrying out certain religious orders. Terrorists generally refer to themselves as separatists, liberation fighters, crusaders, militants, mujahideen, and other terms in accordance with their religion. However, the cause of terrorism thrives in Indonesia is not only ignorance, poverty, perversion of religious understanding but the existence of political interests and different political views. In Article 1 paragraph 2 of Law No. 5 of 2018 concerning Eradication of Terrorism Criminal Acts is formulated that acts of terrorism are not only based on certain religious ideologies, disturbance to the stability of national security but acts of terrorism are based on political interests.*

Key words--*Motives, Religious Orders, Political Interest*

I. INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is not directed directly at the opponent, but acts of terror are carried out anywhere and against anyone who is contrary to the ideology and its purpose. All terrorist acts carried out by terrorist groups aim to receive special attention from the government of a country. Terrorism is not always synonymous with violence. Terrorism is the peak of violence, but violence can occur without terror, but there is no terror without violence. Terrorism is not the same as intimidation or sabotage. Targets of intimidation and sabotage are generally direct, whereas terrorists are not. Victims of terrorist acts are often innocent people or groups of people who are not related to foreign interests. However, the action was taken to create a sensation so that the public at large pay attention to what they stand for.

Terror is also different from the movements and activities of mafia groups. Mafia actions emphasize omerta actions that are confidential. Omerta is an extreme form of group loyalty and solidarity in dealing with other parties as its enemies. Modern terrorist groups often issue statements and demands openly through the mass media and electronic media to voice their struggle message. In fact, every time there is an act of terrorism such as kidnapping, murder and detonation, certain terrorist groups directly claim that the action or action was carried out by the group [1].

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The crime of terrorism has also occurred in Indonesia and many innocent victims both Indonesian citizens and foreign citizens alike. The suicide bombings in Legian, Kuta, Bali, or better known as the Bali Bombing 1 and the Bali Bombing 2, have killed many victims from various countries such as Australia, the United States, Germany, Britain and others. Other actions using bomb detonation facilities also took place at the Jakarta Atrium Shopping Mall, bombing at the Jakarta Stock Exchange Building, bombing of the Mc Donald fast food restaurant Makassar, bombing at the JW Mariot Hotel in Jakarta, bombing at the Philippine Embassy and Embassy Australia, the bomb blast event at Sarinah, JW Marriott Hotel, Ritz Carlton and many other events. As a result of the bombing, in addition to the damage and collapse of the building, it has also caused fear to the Indonesian people and foreign citizens residing in Indonesia with various interests. In the global aspect, theoretical action can reduce the confidence of the international community in security in Indonesia so that the sector most affected by terrorism is investment and the tourism industry in Indonesia.

The terrorist acts in Indonesia have aroused sympathy and pressure from the international community to take action against terrorist groups in Indonesia. Even the United Nations has issued two resolutions namely resolution No. 1438 of 2002 which strongly condemned the bombing in Bali and expressed its deep sorrow and sympathy to the government and the people of Indonesia, the victims and their families. Then Resolution Number 1373 of 2002 contains a call to cooperate, support and assist the Indonesian government to arrest and hold fair trials against terrorists in Indonesia. [2].

The State of Indonesia is now not only a "stopover" or place to "print" the perpetrators of terrorist crimes, but has become the goal to carry out acts of terrorism. The Indonesian government must make efforts to prevent and eradicate terrorist acts in a massive, systematic, integrated and continuous manner. The Indonesian government must be able to break the chain of terrorism networks and insulate all media used by terrorist groups to spread the doctrine and ideology of terrorism to the public. Generally, terrorism groups spread their ideology based on their religion. In the aspect of Islam, the concept of jihad is freely interpreted and distorted and spread to the public through various media. Based on the ideology and understanding of deviant religion, terrorism groups carry out various actions such as killing, destroying, kidnapping, robbing and various other types of crime. However, not all acts of terrorism are motivated by deviant ideology or orders for the implementation of certain religious teachings. In fact, many acts of terrorism in various countries are motivated by the motives of pragmatic political interests. Therefore, this research will analyze the various motives of terrorist groups in committing various acts of crime.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The term terror and terrorism has become a social science idiom that was very popular in the 1990s and early 2000s as a form of religious violence. Despite terrorism, it really isn't a new term. Acts of terror have emerged throughout human history. How did Adam's son, Qabil terrorize Habil, because he was considered to be an obstacle to Qabil's wishes [3]. Some forms of terror have become a common way to intimidate opponents. People who believe that with violence can intimidate enemies or opponents into fear As a label for acts of violence, this term reflects the negative meaning for those dubbed terrorists. In this sense terrorists are equated with other painful terms in the treasures of political language, such as racist, fascist or imperialist.

Terrorism is one of the many terms and concepts in social science that are full of controversy and debate. This cannot be separated from the fact that efforts to define terrorism cannot be separated from various interests, including ideological and political interests. Once controversial, Laqueur came to the opinion that a comprehensive definition of terrorism does not exist or will not be found in the future [3]. In fact, the definition of terrorism is quite important, not only for academic purposes, but also for practical purposes, namely how to overcome it. Combating organized terrorism, for example, must have clarity as to whether or not organizations being fought against are terrorists. Such clarity of course must come from a clear definition as well. Without clarity, efforts to combat this can be counter-productive. As a language term, terrorism should be understood very carefully, not as an instrument of propaganda. Therefore, it is important to provide a clear definition of terrorism. With the clarity of this definition, people will understand the true meaning of the term terrorism, and then design an appropriate punishment for the perpetrators of terror.

Juergensmeyer said that "the term" terrorism "comes from Latin, which is called by the term *terrere*" to cause to tremble "[4]. In English, terrorists are called "terror", which means fear, horror, or trembling [5]. In *Dictionnaire de la langue Francaise*, interpreting terrorism with an attitude of intimidation is an attitude and an act that scares [6]. In the *Black's Law Dictionary* it is stated that terrorists are activities that involve elements of violence or which cause harmful effects on human life, these actions aim to intimidate civilians, influence government policy and influence the administration of the country by kidnapping or killing. The same thing is also mentioned in *Webster's New World College Dictionary* (1996) which formulates terrorist terminology as the use of force or threats to demoralize, intimidate, and subjugate [7].

The standard and definitive understanding of the term terrorist does not yet have uniformity. Even the United States of America, which has had terrorist laws for a long time, has not been able to systematically define terrorist terminology both academically and juridically. [8]. In Gibbs's view quoted by Asfar, the emergence of the controversy regarding the definition of terrorism is inseparable from the fact that labeling acts of terrorism will stimulate strong criticisms against the perpetrators, therefore efforts to define it will not be separated from political or ideological [9]. Meanwhile, in Wardlaw's view, efforts to define terrorism cannot be separated from moral problems [9]. This moral problem is related to the reality that in defining terrorism it cannot be separated from an assessment that there are violent events which are justified on one side, and there are violent events that are not justified on the other side. Therefore, efforts to define terrorism are not free from controversy.

Although there are various controversies in formulating the notion of terrorism, some experts try to interpret terrorism from various views. According to Siti Mumun Muniroh & Maghfur Ahmad mentioned that in terms of terminology, the meaning and meaning of terrorism actually up to now there is no mutual agreement [10]. Bassiouni argues that it is not easy to make a terrorist understanding that is identical and universally acceptable [11], [12]. Brian Jenkins said that terrorists are subjective views and each country has a different perspective in defining it [13].

Muladi defines terrorism as a terrorist act that contains violence or threats of violence that have political character. Acts can take the form of piracy, piracy or hostage taking. Actors can be individuals, groups or countries. While the expected outcome is the emergence of fear, extortion, radical political change, human rights demands, and

basic freedoms for innocent parties and the satisfaction of other political demands [14]. According to A.C Manullang, terrorists are a way to usurp power from other groups, triggered, among others, by religious, ideological and ethnic conflicts and economic inequality, as well as blocked communication between the people and the government or because of the understanding of separatism and ideology of fanaticism [15].

In the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, the notion of terrorism experiences a shift and expansion of the paradigm, namely as an act that was originally categorized as crimes against state (including murder and attempted assassination of the Head of State or his family members), becomes crimes against humanity, which becomes victims are civil society [16]. crimes against humanity is categorized as gross violation of human rights which is carried out as a widespread or systematic part which is known that the attack is directed directly against civilians, more directed at the souls of innocent people (public by innocent).

According to Muhammad Mustofa that Terrorists are acts of violence or threats of violence aimed at random targets (there is no direct relationship with the perpetrators) which results in damage, death, fear, uncertainty and mass decisions. According to the 1937 UN Convention, Terrorists are all forms of crime aimed at the State with the intention of creating a form of terror against certain people or groups of people or the wider community. According to the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI-AD), based on the 2000 Anti Terror Technique, terrorists are a way of thinking and acting that uses terror as a technique to achieve goals [17].

According to the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) act, 1984, Article 14 paragraph 1 as follows terrorism means the use of violence for political ends and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public I fear. Terrorists are used as Psychological weapons to create an uncertain atmosphere and create public distrust of the ability of the government and force the community against the ability of the government and force the community or certain groups to obey the will of the perpetrators of terror. Terrorist activities are carried out generally with random targets, not directly to the opponent, so that by carrying out the terrorism, it is expected to get attention from the intended party [18].

The concept of terrorism in Law No. 15 of 2003 concerning the Eradication of the Criminal Acts of Terrorism it is determined that what is meant by criminal acts of terrorism are any actions of someone who unintentionally uses violence or threat of violence that creates an atmosphere of terror or fear of the public at large. Actions by depriving people of their liberty or eliminating the lives and property of others or destroying strategic vital objects or public / international facilities can even cause mass casualties.

If seen from the substance of article 6 of Law No. 5 of 2018 concerning Eradication of Terrorist Crimes, then there are several formulations which classify a person can be convicted in a terrorist offense, if any person who intentionally uses Violence or Threats of Violence which creates an atmosphere of terror or widespread fear of people, causing mass victims by seizing independence or loss of life and property of others, or resulting in damage or destruction to Strategic Vital Objects, the environment or Public Facilities or international facilities shall be punished with imprisonment for a minimum of 5 (five) years and a maximum of 20 (twenty)) years, life imprisonment, or capital punishment. " (Article 6);

The formulation of a terrorist crime can also be seen in Article 8-12 of Law No. 15 of 2003 concerning the Eradication of Terrorist Crimes which will be described in the following discussion. However, from the many definitions that have been put forward, there are at least a few characteristics rather than acts of terrorism, such as:

1. There is a plan to carry out these actions;
2. Performed by a certain group;
3. Using violence;
4. Massaging victims of civil society with the intention of intimidating the government;
5. Done to achieve murder for a particular purpose of the offender, which can be in the form of social, political or religious motives.

However, there is a slight difference with the definition formulated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2018 concerning Amendment to Law Number 15 of 2003 concerning the Establishment of Government Regulations in lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002 concerning Eradication of Terrorism Criminal Acts. Article 1 states that terrorism is defined as an act that uses violence or threat of violence that creates an atmosphere of terror or widespread fear, causes mass casualties, and / or causes damage or destruction to vital strategic objects, the environment, public facilities, or international facilities with ideological, political or security interference.

The formulation of the definition mentioned in Article 1 of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2018 concerning Amendment to Law Number 15 of 2003 concerning the Establishment of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002 concerning Eradication of the Criminal Acts of Terrorism places terrorism as a pure crime not as religious and political orientation. Although in eradicating criminal acts of terrorism in Indonesia, the government still uses a religious and political approach.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The study of the causes of terrorism crimes is always interesting to observe. This is caused by the many views of various experts from various different disciplines. Some say terrorism is caused by poverty and ignorance. But there are also those who say that terrorism arises from groups that aim to liberate themselves from the colonial countries. There is also a link that acts or acts of terrorism are motivated by a promordial attitude towards a particular religion that orders to carry out acts of terror against groups that are different from the religion they believe. Some even believe that terrorism exists because of the political interests of certain groups to defeat other groups.

When viewed from a series of historical sequences, the initial emergence of acts that resembled acts of terrorism were not motivated in relation to certain ideologies or religions. In the aftermath of World War II, terrorism was used to refer to violent revolution by anti-colonial nationalist groups such as in Asia, Africa and the Middle East during the 1940s and 1950s. At that time, the Third World countries held that every struggle against colonialism was not an act of terrorism but was a countermeasure against the violence committed by the colonial countries themselves. During the late 1960s and 1970s, terrorism continued to be viewed in a revolutionary context. But its scope was extended to include ethnic separatist groups and radical ideological organizations. Groups such as the PLO, Quebec FLQ (Front de liberation du Quebec), Basque ETA (Euskadi ta Askatasuna) adopted terrorism as a way to attract

world attention, sympathy and international support. But lately terrorism has been used to refer to broader phenomena. In the 1980s for example, terrorism was considered a calculated means to destabilize the West who was accused of taking part in a global conspiracy to dominate developing countries [3].

At that point, terrorism was still used as a "model" in the political struggle to free a group from colonialism. Grant Wardlaw said that during the French revolution, terrorism was used by the authorities to scare their people, but in subsequent developments, terrorism was actually used as a tool against a government that was considered authoritarian [19]. In *The Prevention of Terrorism* of 1984 it is more clearly stated that terrorism is the use of violence for political purposes, including the use of violence that aims to put the public or public groups in fear. According to Jainuri, terrorism is used as a person or group to attack his political visit. In addition, terrorism is a form of resistance to the unjust and repressive political, social and economic treatment that befell a certain person or group [20].

One that agrees with the causes of terrorism is political interests is Thornton who mentions that terrorism is designed to influence political policy and behavior in extra-strict ways, especially with the use of violence and the threat of violence. James Adams explained that Terrorism is the use or threat of physical violence by individuals or groups for political purposes, both for the sake of or against the existing power, if acts of terrorism are intended to shock, paralyze or intimidate a target group that greater than its immediate victims. Terrorism involves groups that try to subvert certain regimes to correct national grievances, or to undermine the existing international political order. Philips Jusario Vermonte argues that, in subsequent developments, terrorism then expanded and also involved subnational groups and primordial groups by bringing elements of radicalism (such as religion or other political agendas), which created insecurity not only in the domestic sphere, but also in the domestic sphere, but also beyond the boundaries of sovereign territory [21].

Acts of terrorism connoted by understanding the ideology of a religion after the explosion of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in New York, United States on September 11, 2001 which claimed the lives of 5,000 people died [22]. After that incident, there was a lot of speculation regarding the motive or purpose of the terrorist attack. The United States government accuses the line Islamic organizations of being the main perpetrators of the terrorist act. In addition, the Amarika Serika government accused several Islamic countries that protect, facilitate and fund these terrorist organizations to carry out their actions. [23]. Since then, "Islam" has always been identified with terrorists, "Islam" is synonymous with "violence" and Muslims are equated with fanaticism [24].

A vicious accusation stating that Islam is a religion that teaches violence is instinctively publicized in various western media both print and electronic media. Even the western media formed an opinion that the noble Prophet Muhammad SAW was a terrorist. The accusation is very tendentious and brutal. One group that carried out the violence was considered representative of Muslims around the world. This accusation is unfair and is not supported by strong evidence. If you want to judge fairly, similar actions have also been carried out by a person or group of Jews in Palestine but no one has said that Jews are a hard-line religion that justifies the killing of innocent civilians. In the historical aspect, terrorist movements do not only occur in Islamic countries and are carried out by adherents of Islam, but terrorist phenomena have occurred in the United States, South America, East Asia and the European Continent [25].

In historical studies, terrorism arises not because of a particular ideology or has nothing to do with a particular religion. All religions teach goodness, guide life and give punishment to people who violate religious teachings. Religious teachings are not only limited to the interests after life but religion regulates before life, the continuation of life and after the end of life. Ball and Dagger said that when viewed from an ideological perspective, terrorist movements can be understood from religious interpretations of values and teachings that reflect moral, social and political interests and commitments. [3]. However, this understanding is misunderstood by his followers so that gave birth to actions that are not justified by the teachings of religion itself.

But it cannot be denied also that there are some groups of people who misunderstand the teachings of their religion so that the misguided and misleading understanding is justifying to kill, detonate, kidnap, torture, abduct others who are judged different from their beliefs. Terrorists generally refer to themselves as separatists, liberation fighters, crusaders, militants, mujahideen, and other terms in accordance with their religion. In the context of Islam, the term most often used is "jihad" or "mujahidin. Both concepts of Islamic teachings are used as motivation or cause someone to carry out acts of terrorism in the name of a command of the teachings of Islam. Such justification is then used as an opportunity for a person or group of people to seek unilateral fortune by justifying terrorism [26].

In the Islamic discourse, many people associate the ideology of terrorism with the doctrine of jihad [21], which in Christianity is equated with a crusade. The interpretation of jihad as practiced by some hardliners in the Muslim community is also a common tendency among Western Orientalists to link terrorism to the concept of jihad. The latter are trapping themselves in understanding the concept of jihad, which only bases on the limitations of subjective abilities and interests. So actually, between Muslim hardliners and Western Orientalists have the same understanding of jihad. They understood it literally and only took one meaning from the many interpretations of jihad. Such understanding is very contrary to their own scientific traditions, which uphold the breadth of views and the spirit of plurality in understanding something [21].

Jihad is always negative connotation as resistance to non-Muslim groups with different beliefs and interests. This understanding is shared by western orientalist such as Pipe and Mac Arthur who hold that jihad is the same as fighting non-Muslims [27]. The tendency of understanding like this used to be one of the prominent characteristics of the Orientalists in understanding Islam. This inaccurate understanding of Islam and Muslim societies has been used as a foothold by the ruling regimes of Western countries in establishing relations with the Muslim world. As a result, the East-West relations in a very long period are more prominent marked by conflict and mutual suspicion. This fact makes several Western academic groups criticize this imbalance of relations and try to align the Western understanding of Islam and Muslim communities proportionally and objectively. Even though they are a small group, their influence continues to grow and develop, especially in the university environment.

In the course of time, many people from both world organizations, western Orientalists themselves reject acts of terrorism caused by certain religious teachings. However, they generally agree in one picture that a person or group of terrorists who are motivated to carry out such inhumane actions is caused by a false and misleading understanding of religion. UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres said terrorism should not be linked to any religion, ethnicity or

race. Whatever forms of terrorism cannot be justified because of consideration of the political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious, or the like [28].

Slightly different from the previous view, according to Farouk Muhammad, there are two causes of acts of committing terrorism crimes, namely, first, terror is an evil reaction to actions deemed "more evil" by the perpetrators, so it is not an independent crime (interactionism) and can be grouped into hate crimes [29]. The "more evil" view itself is more a perception than a fact, because the main prerequisites for the occurrence of terror are the attitudes or actions of a person and group of people and even the policies of the authorities that are viewed subjectively by the perpetrators or groups of perpetrators as arbitrary, discriminatory and / or non-acts. fair to other parties. Second, the actors do not have the ability to react directly and openly while on the other hand there are no legitimate means or means available to correct the attitudes, actions and policies of the intended government. These two conditions are the root of the problems that foster attitudes and acts of terror to reflect the attitudes and goals of the terrorism group.

It is worth considering the view that states that the causes of terrorism crimes do not stand alone but are multi-motivated, such as injustice, poverty, ignorance and the ease of getting information from various media in the virtual world so that a certain person or group is influenced by radicalism and terrorism. McAlister said that the cause of terrorism flourished in Indonesia because of ignorance, poverty, the existence of political interests and understanding of deviant religion [19]. Al Chaidar said that terrorism crimes are heroic crimes committed by intellectual orders of violence that sprinkle religious aromas in vicious acts of killing humans because of differing ideologies and political views [30].

Viotti and Kauppi argued that terrorism is an act of violence that is politically motivated with the aim of providing a chaotic effect on society and the Government [31]. Bruce Hoffman suggested that terrorist acts are usually designed to communicate a message. Usually, this is understood and done in a way that simultaneously reflects the specific goals and motivations of the group, which are adapted to resources and capabilities, and takes a number of targets where the action is aimed [32]. Terrorism is a rational actor who seeks to gain political power through threats or using violence [33]. Then this is often done by groups who feel disadvantaged politically. Basically, terrorism was created deliberately to spread fear through violence or the threat of violence in order to pursue a political change.

According to Zulfi Mubarak, political terrorism is the use of, or characterized by the use of, violence by individuals or groups, whether acting on behalf of the government or against the government, when those actions are designed to create extreme fears and / or fears of more targets greater than the victims who were directly targeted with the aim of pressuring the target groups to meet the political demands of the perpetrators [3].

Young Marshal TNI (Ret.) Prayitno Ramelan said various bomb terror acts carried out by terrorists in Indonesia had political motives. [34]. According to him, these terrorists have the desire to suppress and attack the United States and make Indonesia their target of action, which is considered as having a relationship with the United States of America. In addition, movements and acts of terrorism are caused by political interests dominated by prolonged Israeli-Arab conflict and US political and military interference in Muslim countries. [3].

In the legal aspect, it is mentioned explicitly in Article 1 paragraph 2 of Law No. 5 of 2018 concerning Eradication of Terrorism Acts determines that Terrorism is an act that uses violence or threat of violence that causes an atmosphere of terror or widespread fear, which can cause mass victims, and / or cause damage or destruction to strategic vital objects, The environment, public facilities, or international facilities with ideological, political or security interference. In this provision it is formulated that acts of terrorism are not only based on certain religious ideologies, but acts of terrorism are based on political interests.

However, in Article 5 of Law No. 5 of 2018 concerning Eradication of Terrorism Crimes made clear boundaries that the Terrorism crime regulated in this Law must be considered not a political crime, and can be extradited or requested mutual assistance as stipulated in the provisions of the legislation. This formula was deliberately made so that the ruling government does not abuse its power to classify political activities as terrorism crimes. If this is done, it will destroy the atmosphere of democracy which upholds the values of freedom to think, think, express, criticize the government and others as such.

At present, many terrorist groups have sprung up in various parts of the world by using terrorist acts to achieve their political goals. Acts of terror are based on identity politics that manipulate a person or a certain group based on a particular religion, thereby embracing the attitude of fundamentalism, primordialism and ethnocentrism, which considers that the group itself is the best, superior, sacred, and right by blaming other groups and even certain countries. However, why does terrorism become a choice to achieve political interests. According to SB Agus, acts of terrorism have become the choice because the methods are not complicated, the costs are cheap, the organization is simple, but it is effectively used to balance the power in the field. [35].

IV. CONCLUSION

The crime of terrorism is a common enemy in the world that can damage the social, economic, cultural, political and legal order. The crime of terrorism is an organized crime, has a national and international network that is very troubling and a concern of the world. Acts of terrorism will occur at any time with unpredictable targets, their actions will frighten the public at large, cause loss of life and property losses that are not small, also has a very broad impact on the life of the nation and state. The crime has specific characteristics that are not possessed by conventional crimes that is carried out systematically and is widespread and organized so that it is a very serious threat to society, nation and state. In Islamic discourse, many people associate the ideology of terrorism with the doctrine of jihad, which in Christianity is equated with the crusade. The interpretation of jihad as practiced by some hardliners in the Muslim community is also a common tendency among Western Orientalists to link terrorism to the concept of jihad. The latter are trapping themselves in understanding the concept of jihad, which only bases on the limitations of subjective abilities and interests. So actually, between Muslim hardliners and Western Orientalists have the same understanding of jihad. They understood it literally and only took one meaning from the many interpretations of jihad. Such understanding is very contrary to their own scientific traditions, which uphold the breadth of views and the spirit of plurality in understanding something. In addition, terrorism is an act of violence that is politically motivated with the aim of giving chaos to the public and the Government. Terrorism is a rational actor who seeks to gain political power through threats or uses violence with argumentative religion. Then, acts of terrorism are often carried out by

groups who feel disadvantaged politically. Basically, terrorism was created deliberately to spread fear through violence or the threat of violence in order to pursue a political change.

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