PROCEEDING

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
LAW AND
SOCIETY

9 786027 577961

UMY · FATIH SULTAN MEHMET · ISTANBUL MEDENIYET UNIVERSITY · FATONI UNIVERSITY · UNISZA

YOGYAKARTA, 04 – 07 APRIL 2017

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

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Yordan Gunawan

Chairman, International Conference on Law and Society 6,
Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Assalaamu'alaikumWarahmatullahiWabarakatuh,

In the Name of Allah, the most Gracious and the most Merciful. Peace and blessings be upon our Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W).

First and foremost, I felt honoured, on behalf of the university to be warmly welcomed and to be given the opportunity to work hand in hand, organizing a respectable conference. Indeed, this is a great achievement towards a warmers multilateral tie among UniversitasMuhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY), International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), UniversitiIslam Sultan Sharif Ali (UNISSA), Universiti Sultan ZainalAbidin Malaysia (UNiSZA), Fatoni University, Istanbul University, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakif University and Istanbul Medeniyet University.

I believe that this is a great step to give more contribution the knowledge development and sharing not only for eight universities but also to the Muslim world. Improving academic quality and strengthening our position as the procedures of knowledge and wisdom will offer a meaningful contribution to the development of Islamic Civilization. This responsibility is particularly significant especially with the emergence of the information and knowledge society where value adding is mainly generated by the production and the dissemination of knowledge.

Today's joint seminar signifies our attempts to shoulder this responsibility. I am confident to say that this program will be a giant leap for all of us to open other pathways of cooperation. I am also convinced that through strengthening our collaboration we can learn from each other and continue learning, as far as I am concerned, is a valuable ingredient to develop our universities. I sincerely wish you good luck and success in joining this program

I would also like to express my heartfeltthanks to the keynote speakers, committee, contributors, papers presenters and participants in this prestigious event.

This educational and cultural visit is not only and avenue to foster good relationship between organizations and individuals but also to learn as much from one another. The Islamic platform inculcated throughout the educational system namely the Islamization of knowledge, both theoretical and practical, will add value to us. Those comprehensive excellent we strived for must always be encouraged through conferences, seminars and intellectual-based activities in line with our lullaby: The journey of a thousand miles begin by a single step, the vision of centuries ahead must start from now.

Looking forward to a fruitful meeting.

Wassalamu'alaikumWarahmatullahiWabarakatuh

Foreword

Trisno Raharjo

Dean, Faculty of Law, Universitas Muhammadiiyah Yogyakarta

Alhamdulillah all praise be to Allah SWT for his mercy and blessings that has enabled the FakultasHukum, UniversitasMuhammadiyah Yogyakarta in organizing this Inaugral International Conference on Law and Society 6 (ICLAS 6).

This Conference will be providing us with the much needed academic platform to discuss the role of law in the society, and in the context of our two universities, the need to identify the role of law in furthering the progress and development of the Muslims. Muslim in Indonesia and all over the world have to deal with the ubiquity of internet in our daily lives life which bring with it the adventages of easy access of global communication that brings us closer. However, internet also brings with it the depraved and corrupted contents posing serious challenges to the moral fabric of our society. Nevertheless, we should be encouraged to exploit the technology for the benefit of the academics in the Asia region to crat a platform to collaborate for propelling the renaissance of scholarship amongst the Muslims.

This Conference marks the beginning of a strategically planned collaboration that must not be a one off event but the beginning of a series of events to provide the much needed platform for networking for the young Muslim scholars to nurture the development of the Muslim society.

UMY aims to be a World Class Islamic University and intend to assume an important role in reaching out to the Muslim ummah by organising conferences hosting prominent scholars to enrich the develompment of knowledge. This plan will only materialise with the continous support and active participation of all of us. I would like to express sincere appreciation to the committee in organising and hosting this Conference.

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The Causes of Terrorism in Malaysia

ZULKEPLI, MOHD YAZID BIN

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ABSTRACT

15 years after the declaration of 'War on Terror', terrorist groups have not been stopped and defeated. Instead, unprecedented increase of terrorist attacks occurred worldwide, greatly accelerated by wars and armed conflict in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Palestine, Chechnya, Lebanon, Libya and Syria. By the end of year 2016, almost 300 Malaysians and foreigners had been detained by Malaysian authorities due to links with terror groups like ISIS. Those arrested includes professionals, lecturers and even policemen. The efforts to combat terrorism is usually limited to building a coalition of military allies, to educate the public, to fortify public spaces with improved securities, to combat terrorism financing and to make better use of the expertise of technology giants especially those in the United States, Korea, France and Canada to help governments enhance security and prevent attacks and to increase monitoring and surveillance. The problem with this approach is that it is dealing with the symptoms rather than addressing the illness. To address the illness, the root causes must be identified. This article analyzes the causes of terrorism in Malaysia. The causes from micro, meso and macro level are scrutinized. Radicalization, political reasons, religion reasons, economic and social reasons and psychological reasons are analyzed further andreviewed.

Keywords: *Terrorism, Causes, Malaysia*

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I.   INTRODUCTION

Malaysia is no stranger to terrorism. The numerous threats face by Malaysia include the threats of attack from the Malayan Communist party during the early formation of Malaysia. State terrorism was obvious during the Japanese invasion.

This was followed by the emergence of local and foreign terrorist groups including Al-Ma'unah, DarulIslamiah Malaysia, Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia, Abu Sayyaf, Al-Qaeda, Darul Islam, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Japanese Red Army (dissolved), Jemaah Islamiyah, Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, Moro National Liberation Front (NurMisuari faction), Indonesian pirates, Moro pirates, Somali pirates, Sultanate of Sulu (JamalulKiram III faction) (defeated) and TanzimQaedat al-Jihad.

Nowadays, terrorism is on the rise in Malaysia, partly due to the emergence of Daesh. According to the U.S Country Report on Terrorism 2015, by the end of 2015, the Malaysian government has identified 72 Malaysians, including 14 women, who have joined ISIL, 51 of whom were armed fighters.1 The report highlighted that by the end of 2015, a total of 14 Malaysians was killed fighting with Daesh, and seven had returned to Malaysia. During that year, Malaysian authorities arrested approximately 90 suspected Daesh supporters and other terrorists in 2015 and convicted at least 13 in court, all of whom pled guilty in return for reduced sentence.

In June 2016, at about 2AM, two Daeshsympathisers on a motorcycle tossed a hand grenade into a nightspot (Movida) in Puchong town, Selangor, Malaysia injuring eight people. This marks the first successful attack by Daesh on Malaysia. The attackwas ordered by Muhammad Wanndy Mohamed Jedi, a Malaysian Islamic State fighter in Syria.2 Muhamad Wanndy, 26, was identified in 2015 as one of the two Malaysians in an ISIS beheadingvideo.3

In July 2016, it was reported that a total of 186 Malaysians and 27 foreigners had been detained to facilitate investigations into suspected links with terror groups.4 This includes 15 people who have been arrested in the wake of the Movida attack. Those arrested included two policemen; one for harboring ISIS elements, while the other was arrested for involvement in robberies to collect funds for ISIS.

Shortly after, Malaysia's top anti- terrorist cop, Counter-Terrorism Division head Ayob Khan has received a death threat from Muhamad Wanndy Mohamad Jedi himself. During the same month, the Deputy Prime Minister Ahmad ZahidHamidi announced that 63 Malaysians have travelled to Iraq and Syria, and 261 suspected militants are behind bars.5

By August 2016, it was announced that Malaysian police have arrested nine suspected members of the ISIS during a two-week sweep, as part of a crackdown on suspected extremists. Among those arrested were two suspects in the grenade attack on the nightspot.6

The Prime Minister of Malaysia, NajibRazak announced in October 2016 that '250 Malaysians involved with the group (Daesh) have been detained thus far, 32 have died in Iraq and Syria, and more than 60 people are still fighting for thegroup.'7

The rise of terrorism in Malaysia is so alarming, not just because the number itself, but also the types of individuals involved which include not just ordinary citizens but also professionals in the form of lecturers, civil servants and even security forces. This highlights the importance to identify the causes of terrorism.

This article analyzes the causes of terrorism, with special focus on Malaysia. It starts will analysis on terrorism in Malaysia. Radicalization, political reasons, religion reasons, economic and social reasons and psychological reasons are then analyzed and discussed.

II. CAUSES OF TERRORISM

There are many different causes of terrorism. Richardson (2006) rightly pointed out that "terrorists fight for very different reasons." The many causes of terrorism include political grievances, social and political injustice, unfair socio-economic status, discrimination, the belief that violence or its threat can be effective, religion.8

Generally, causality can be divided into three levels; macro-level, micro-level and meso-level. Macro-level analyses focus on the outcomes of interaction over a large population. For terrorism, this includes economic and social reasons, political reasons, environment in which terrorism occurs, general injustices and grievances, inequality etc. Micro-level analyses focus on the individual involved orsometimes, a small group of individuals in certain social context. This includes radicalization, demographic factor, psychological reasons and matters involving emotion and psyche.

A meso-level analysis indicates a population size that falls between the previous two; micro and macro, such as an organization or community.

This article analyzes *inter alia* the following major causes of terrorism:
1. Radicalization
2. Grievances and psychological reasons
3. Religion
4. Economic and social reasons
5. Political reasons
   The analysis suggests that root causes of terrorism are usually at meso-level.

2.1 Radicalisation

Radicalisation is a process by which an individual or group comes to adopt increasingly extreme religious, political or social ideals and aspirations that reject or undermine current ideas and expressions of freedom of choice. Radicalism and extremisim are the opposite of moderate or mainstream.

Radicalisation to extremism is one of the main problems in Malaysia. However, identifying the causes of radicalisation is problematic. According to Schimd (2013):

"The current propensity to focus in the search for causes of radicalisation on 'vulnerable' young people has produced inconclusive results. The number of push and pull factors that can lead to radicalisation on this micro- level is very large – the same is true for the factors which can impact on de-radicalisation and disengagement. However, in the literature most findings are derived from small samples and few case studies, making comparison and generalisations problematic, and findings provisional."

The Internet creates more opportunities to become radicalised, since it's a worldwide 24/7 medium that permits people to find and meet people who share and will reinforce their shared belief or ideology. Unfortunately, Malaysia seems to have underestimated the sophisticated use of the internet by terrorist groups like ISIS and the appeal of its call to establish a caliphate especially to alienated young Malays.

Experts warned that terrorist group like Daesh has at least 6,000 channels in the social media, including Twitter, Telegram, Whatsapp and YouTube and in various languages, to promote its propaganda and beliefs.9 In 2015, a Malaysian woman wasconvicted for trying to join ISIL in Syria. The woman planned to marry an ISIS fighter she had met online. In October 2016, the Royal Malaysian Police (PDRM) has announced that the militant group like Daesh is using the Telegram messaging app as the latest medium through which to disseminate its ideology and recruit Malaysians.10

Dr Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, an expert on political Islam warned the authorities that Muslims in Malaysia are "surely but slowly becoming radicalised". According to him, in the 1980s and 1990s, many Malaysians went to the Middle East and Saudi Arabia for their higher education but when they returned, some of them brought back intolerant and exclusivist way of thinking that makes it easier to become

radicalise.11

In other countries like India and Pakistan, it has been alleged that madrasah or religious school in certain areas is a breeding ground for terrorism in which radicalisation occurs. 12 The situation in Malaysia is different. In Malaysia, the management of madrasah and religious schools was supervised and coordinated by the Education Ministry and the national committee on Islamic education affairs. In July 2016, it was reported that the Indian Prime Minister NarendraModi has shown interest in Malaysia's moderation agenda and its many counter-terrorism effort.13 It is essential that monitoring and supervision of religious school in Malaysia continue to promote moderation and the rejection of extremism elements.

2.2 Grievances and Psychological reasons

There is a tendency in the mass media to portray terrorist as rigid and irrational people with psychological problems. The tendency is also reflected in politics. For example, during the U.S Presidential election 2015, Donald J. Trump stated:

"Without looking at the various polling data, it is obvious to anybody the hatred is beyond comprehension. Where this hatred comes from and why wewill have to determine. Until we are able to determine and understand this problem and the dangerous threat it poses, our country cannot be the victims of horrendous attacks by people that believe only in Jihad, and have no sense of reason or respect for human life. If I win the election for President, we are going to Make America Great Again."14

In an OIC conference between Muslim countries on terrorism, the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Muhamad warned "we cannot just dismiss them as senseless perverts who enjoy terrorizing people."15 In many cases, there are legitimate concerns and grievances that if addressed properly, can mitigate the risk of terrorism.

Collective grievances have long been noted to be a factor for terrorism. According to Crenshaw, "the first condition that can be considered a direct cause of terrorism is the existence of concrete grievances among an identifiable subgroup of a larger population, such as an ethnic minority discriminated against by the majority."16

The mindset of the group also plays a very important factor in determining whether the group will resort to violence or passively accept the grievances. For example, throughout history, slaves rarely revolt or resort to violence despite their collective grievances.

The psychological relation between a terrorist and his group is a strong motivation for terrorism. Crenshaw further warned "the psychological relationships within the terrorist group-the interplay of commitment, risk, solidarity, loyalty, guilt, revenge, and isolation-discourage terrorists from changing the direction they have taken."17

Many terrorist groups hope that polarization will increase grievances of their target group and sympathizers so that some will eventually join them. For terrorists, publicity is one of the main targets. Many terrorists hope that the negative publicity given by media will increase polarization and discrimination against certain group, and these will eventually lead to more tension and dissatisfaction. Under such environment, it will be easier for the terrorist groups to radicalize and recruit more individuals.

The propaganda used by Daesh on injustice towards Muslims will definitely tempt Muslims to subscribe to their fight, "but what they fail to understand is that if they go deeper, what they are doing is causing more trouble to Muslims all over the world."18

Scheffler (2006) warned that 'terrorists may hope that their violent acts will attract publicity for their cause, or promote their personal ambitions, or provoke a response that will widen the conflict, or enhance their prestige among those they claim to represent, or undermine their political rivals, or help them to achieve a kind of psychological or metaphysicalliberation.'19

Dershowitz (2002) further cautioned that 'terrorists have consistently benefited from their terrorist acts' and 'terrorism will persist as long as theinternational community rewards it'.20

2.3 Religion

Malaysia has been facing threats from extremists for some time now. Salafists militancy took root in Malaysia since the 1980s. Jemaah Islamiah (JI), a militant extremist Islamist terror group with cells in Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines was founded in 1993 and has become a threat since. The emergence ofISIS in Iraq, 2014 gave a new injection to Salafist jihadism and the plan for a Southeast Asian caliphate based on strict Shariah law. Malaysian terrorists also formed a vital component of ISIS's Southeast Asian unit, Katibah Nusantara. The Katibah Nusantara

cell is the one responsible for the attack in Jakarta in January 2014.

Schimd (2013) warned that religion extremist is difficult:

'Extremists generally tend to have inflexible 'closed minds', adhering to a simplified mono-causal interpretation of the world where you are either with them or against them, part of the problem or part of the solution. Radicals, on the other hand, have historically tended to be more open to rationality and pragmatic compromise, without abandoning their search for getting to the root of a problem (the original meaning of 'radical' which stems from radix, Latin for root). Radicalism is redeemable – radical militants can be brought back into the mainstream, extremist militants, however, much less so.'21

Mainstream media often selectively generalize and associate Islam with terrorism. This association is unfair and discriminatory. According to the list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations issued by the U.S Department of State, there are 61 designated terrorist groups, and 47 out of these 61 groups belong to Muslim. White supremacist groups, anti-Semitic groups and anti-Muslims groups rarely made into the list.

Mass media often portrays religious fanaticism as the reason for the increase of terrorist attacks. However, 'religious fanaticism does not explain why the world leader in suicide terrorism is the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, a group that adheres to Marxist/Leninist ideology, while existing psychological explanations have been contradicted by the widening range of socio-economic backgrounds of suicide terrorists.'

Pape reminded that it is essential to understand that suicide terrorism is mainly 'a response to foreign occupation rather than the product of Islamic fundamentalism has important implications for how the United States and its allies should conduct the war on terrorism'.22

Maszlee Malik explained that religious arguments were often used in justifying terrorism because religion 'gives hope'. He elaborated that the oppression of the Jews by the Europeans created Zionism while some Muslims nowadays become terrorists because they believe they are being oppressed (*FMT* 18 December 2016).

The Malaysian government and its Islamic agencies have been trying to prevent Malaysians from joining terrorist groups. In October 2015, the government's Department of Islamic Development, in charge of Malaysia's mosques and Islamic scholars, issued a fatwa against ISIS and sought to convince followers that terrorists who have died while fighting with the group were not martyrs.

2.4 Economic and social reasons

Cinar (2009) suggested that "terrorism is a political problem and it is not an economic problem" although admitted that "politics affects the economy through the design of economic policies".23 He clarified that although there is a link between economic conditions and terrorism, the link is not direct.

Briggs *et al* (2006) comment about the attraction of British Muslims to Al Qaeda that, 'while factors such as foreign policy and the Middle East are important, they will have no traction unless they can be linked to sources of grievance and anger closer to home, such as the poverty and discrimination suffered by the Muslim community in the UK'.24

The interaction between terrorism and economy can happen through many ways. Poverty, unemployment and perceived economic inequality can all motivates terrorism. In this situation, the victims often opted terrorism for two objectives; either to force changes or merely for revenge

and retaliation.

Beside this, people also resort to terrorism when it is profitable to them. Who benefits from terrorism and war? War is very profitable for various groups. The first one is the 'defense' industries. Without the threat of war and terrorism, the profit for the international arm dealers will drop substantially. Beside international arm dealers, war also provides huge demand for new and improved military technology. Shortage of supply of commodities during war will increase price and benefit certain traders. Politicians are also known to accept bribes from companies involved in war production.

At state level, states will sometimes benefit from war and state terrorism. In addition to territorial expansion, a state that has won a war in certain circumstances can also claim political benefit. War and terrorism can also be used to divert the attention of the public from economic turmoil to perceived external threat.

However, in general, terrorism is usually very bad for economy. Investors and traders will shy away from countries associated with terrorism or terrorist attacks. The tourism industry will also be badly hit.

In the context of Malaysia, the economy is moderate and developing. The rate of employment is also good. However, it has been suggested that even when the economy is good, there is still a risk that someone can be lured to terrorism as long as that someone can identify with the grievances of others. According to Homer-Dixon, "these people can still powerfully identify with communities elsewhere that they believe have been exploited, victimized, reduced to crushing poverty, or otherwise treated with disrespect. In fact, their relative wealth and education can reinforce a twisted sense of responsibility to do something for their suffering brothers andsisters."25

2.5 Political Reasons

Politics refers to the exercise of power of governance or organized control over a territory, particularly a state. Political reasons like patriotism and nationalism are some of the main causes for state terrorism. The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the genocide by Nazis against the Jewish population and the mass murder of Bosnian population are amongst many examples.

With the exception of state terrorism, terrorism is usually described as a strategy of the weak seeking to gain advantage against stronger political powers or armed forces.

Wilkinson (1974) highlighted that the most successful revolutionary wars of the last 25 years has been due to nationalism and patriotism.26 Political reasons and considerations are very strong driving factors of war, and war breed terrorism. Silke (1998) suggested that terrorism is actually a political strategy, chosen from among a range of options.27

Zionists who bombed British targets in 1930s at the British-mandate Palestine felt they must do so in order to create a Jewish state. According to Enders and Sandler (2012):

'Two terrorist groups – Irgun ZvaiLeumi and the Stern Gang – applied and refined the methods of Micheal Collins in order to make British rules in Palestine costly. These groups relied on bombings and assassinations directed at British targets to raise the cost of not conceding to Jewish demands for statehood.'28

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine concluded that armed attacks in Israel were an acceptable response to the usurpation of their land. Pape (2003:344) observes that 'viewed from the perspective of the terrorist organization, suicide attacks are designed to achieve specific political purpose: to coerce the government to change policy, to mobilize additional recruits and financial support, or both.'

Crenshaw (1981: 385) argued that 'significant campaigns of terrorism depend on rational political choice. As purposeful activity, terrorism is the result of an organization's decision that it is a politically useful means to oppose a government.' This line of argument is based on the view that terrorism is often a rational choice, calculated to achieve short-term or long-term political goal.

Leeman (1987: 45-53) proposed that ideologies associatedwithreligion, nationalism, revolution and the defense of the status quo have allinspired terrorism. 29 If the terroris macts originated from the minority, rebels or insurgents,such actions will be justified by the doer as necessary and unavoidable step to achievetheirobjective; freedom and independence. If the terrorism acts come from the government side, then national security and public interest will be cited as the justification. The steps taken by the government will be justified by the perpetrators, in this case the government, as a necessary mean to preserve freedom. Sharansky claims that 'the lack of freedom in many parts of the world that was the greatest threat to peace and stability.30

Nesser (2004) concludes that many analysts perceived the Islamist terrorism in Europe in the 1980s and 1990s as being motivated by political developments in the MENA region in which the Islamist movements declare a 'local jihad' against authorities perceived as corrupt, incompetent and hypocritical. The example given includes the GIA's terrorist campaign in France and Belgium (1994-1996) to punish France for interfering with the 1992 elections in Algeria in which the Islamist party was posed to winan overwhelming majority of votes.

In a way, terrorism seems to be an unfair solution to an unfair situation. For example, there are many injustices in the MENA region reflected in the imbalance of power. Mollov (2005) suggested that suicide bombs is related to the imbalance ofpower and this can be seen in the occupation of Palestine, the invasions of Iraq, Afghanistan, of Chechnya and Kashmir.31

Terrorism rarely occurs in a society with fair and acceptable political system. Terrorism is like a cancer cell of the political system and this cancer be visible, grow and spread to the whole system once the system fail to work perfectly (Çýnar, 1997: 247). Current global political system is seen by many to be unfair and unjust bymanywhom 'see themselves as defending the weak against strong and punishing the strong for their violation of all moral codes'.32

In the context of Malaysia, politics have motivated terrorism during certain period. Examples include the communist attacks, the Sulu incursion and sporadic attacks by terrorist groups including ISIS and al-Maunah.

Most Malaysian adopted peaceful and democratic means when it comes to politic. Since its early formation, none of the political parties in Malaysia had resorted to military means or violence to achieve their political target. However, there is a legitimate concern that some politician might indirectly promote terrorism by breeding extreme hatred and attitude of intolerance, especially towards the minority non-Muslim in Malaysia. In addition, there is also real concern that terrorist group might infiltrate political parties.

III.   CONCLUSION

The many causes of terrorism include poverty, disease, illiteracy, bitter hopelessness, social inequality, marginalization and exclusion, political oppression, extreme poverty and the violation of basic rights, injustices, misery, starvation, drugs, exclusion, prejudices, despair for lack of perspectives, oppression of peoples in several parts of the world, alienation, economic deprivation and political tension and uncertainty, sense of injustice and lack of hope, desperation and frustration.

Despite the many causes, radicalization has been identified as one of the strongest reasons. The situation has changed drastically from the past, in which students from Middle East or other conflict zones were the primary suspects for terrorism activities in Malaysia. Since the radicalization process can happen online, anyone with Internet access can be a possible target for radicalisation. Radicalisation can happens through interaction with extremists, either online or through the fiery speeches of radical preachers.

Anyone from any background can be a potential threat if the person has been radicalised. More collective efforts are needed to combat radicalisation including reaching out to identified targets, a more inclusive educational system, preventive measures etc. For example, to combat radicalisation of youth in Malaysia, the Youth and Sports Minister is roping in youth associations to reach out to young Malaysians in a bid to curb the Daesh menace targeting the demographic group.33

As radicalisation has been identified as strong motivation factor for terrorism, more efforts are needed to combat it; identification of methods of radicalisation, clear policy to combat radicalisation, better legal and regulatory framework to prevent online-radicalisation etc.

Although radicalisation has been identified as one of the primary causes, this study also share the same conclusion with Haider*et al* that 'no cause has a unilateral connection with terrorism, and focusing on a single factor may not suggest effective policy measures.'34

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