Radicalism and Terrorists:
Analyzing the Development of ISIS Thought

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the history of the development of ISIS thought as one of the most significant radical and terrorist groups in the 21st century. The study traces the ideological roots of ISIS, including the influence of Salaf-Jihadi ideology, as well as how the group selectively uses religious literature to legitimize its actions. With a historical and multidisciplinary approach, this study uncovers the political, social, and economic factors that supported the emergence and development of ISIS, especially after the United States invasion of Iraq in 2003. The results of the analysis show that ISIS's thinking is not only rooted in extreme religious interpretations, but also influenced by geopolitical chaos, political marginalization, and the failure of local governments in the Middle East region. This study emphasizes the importance of understanding the ISIS phenomenon holistically to design effective strategies in preventing radicalism and terrorism in the future.

Keywords: Radicalism; History; Thought; ISIS

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis sejarah perkembangan pemikiran ISIS sebagai salah satu kelompok radikal dan teroris paling signifikan di abad ke-21. Kajian ini menelusuri akar ideologis ISIS, termasuk pengaruh dari ideologi Salafi-Jihadi, serta bagaimana kelompok ini memanfaatkan literatur keagamaan secara selektif untuk melegitimasi tindakannya. Dengan pendekatan historis dan multidisipliner, penelitian ini mengungkap faktor-faktor politik, sosial, dan ekonomi yang mendukung kemunculan dan berkembangnya ISIS, terutama setelah invasi Amerika Serikat ke Irak pada tahun 2003. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa pemikiran ISIS tidak hanya berakar pada interpretasi agama yang ekstrem, tetapi juga dipengaruhi oleh kekacauan geopolitik, marginalisasi politik, dan kegagalan pemerintah lokal di wilayah Timur Tengah. Penelitian ini menekankan pentingnya memahami fenomena ISIS secara holistik untuk merancang strategi yang efektif dalam mencegah radikalisme dan terorisme di masa depan.

Kata Kunci: Radikalisme; Sejarah; Pemikiran; ISIS

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INTRODUCTION

The Islamic Caliphate (Islamic States in Iraq and Syria) was declared in 2015 by Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi.[1] The emergence of ISIS has become phenomenal, because in a short time it has gained its followers, supporters, and sympathizers who mushroomed in various regions of the world, crossing country, racial, ethnic, educational, social-class and sub-national borders. In addition, the presence of ISIS has an impact on the creation of security instability at the global, regional, and national levels.[2] As an implication, the presence of ISIS threatens the world order and the existence of the existing modern nation-state, which was formed after the Treaty of Westphalia 1648 and World War II.[3] In its development, there are many criticisms from within Islam or from outside Islam, many scholars of the world condemn this action, which in Islam's own view is far from the true teachings, where ISIS does not reflect a religion full of love but describes it with violence, and the understanding they adhere to is not in line with the Muslims in the world.

For their actions, Islam is no longer a religion of *Rahmatulilalamin* that always spreads love and affection to all Malaysians but becomes a monster that is ready to kill at any time, subsequently the view that Islam is a terrorist religion was created, and this gave rise to the western pradigma against Islam so dark, where there is a pobia term against Islam, especially after the explosion of the World Trade Center (WTC) building in New York on September 11, 2001.[4] The understanding of ISIS thought has also begun to develop in several countries such as Indonesia where in its development this understanding is spread on campuses or in several studies.[5] In its da'wah mission, it is to establish an Islamic state in which the laws of the Qur'an and hadith will be upheld.[6] So there are youth or a handful of groups who hate the Pancasila ideology and cannot accept the democratic system.

At the height of its power, ISIS is considered the greatest contemporary terrorist threat to world security.[7] In this paper, we analyze the phenomenon of ISIS and its unique history through the lens of general social psychological principles that may have contributed to its astonishing but

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[1] Michael Robillard, "The So-Called Islamic State," in *Global Jihadist Terrorism* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2021), 36–57, https://www.elgaronline.com/downloadpdf/edcoll/9781800371293/9781800371293.00010.pdf.

[2] A. Vincent Elemanya, "Terrorism and Global Security: A Study of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)," *Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences* 11, no. 6 (2023): 63–78.

[3] Anthony Inanemo and Thizwilondi Josephine, "Post Westphalia World Order, Global Politicking and the Rise of Insurgency: The African Experience," *African Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies* s1, no. 1 (October 1, 2023): 221–40, https://doi.org/10.31920/2634-3665/2023/Sin1a11.

[4] Tonny Ilham Prayogo, Alif Nur, and Arum Setyowati, "The Strategy of the Radicalism Movement in Building a Culture of Islamophobia in Indonesia," *Qolamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam* 8, no. 2 (2023): 108–22.

[5] MEILISA JIBRANI, "ISIS NETWORK AND WOMEN TERRORISM IN INDONESIA: AN ANALYSIS FROM ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY," *Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, no. jsp109 (2024): 1–24.

[6] Ali Abdurrahim, "The Contribution of Mohammad Natsir's Thoughts in The Formation of The Unitary State of The Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) Perspective of Religious Moderation Da'wah," *Jurnal Syntax Transformation* 4, no. 10 (2023): 10–27.

[7] Alex Schmid, "TERRORIST AND NON-TERRORIST THREATS TO EUROPEAN SECURITY," *Security Science Journal* 4, no. 1 (2023): 7–24.

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temporary success.[8] We argue that ISIS represents a special case of a radical group born out of a relationship between psychological needs, ideological narratives, and network processes. We explain the details of the evolution and operations of ISIS to explain this threatening movement.

> O lions of Tawheed on the other side of the land of Mesopotamia. I encourage you to drench your sword with the blood of your enemies before this day is over... There is no point in living when our honor is taken away and we are ruled by the worshippers of the cross.' I ask you, O Muslim warriors in the same way that the martyr commanded you before me, do not miss this opportunity to join the convoy of martyrs during these holy days.[9]

The Indonesian government together with community organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah continue to try to create a moderate Islam,[10] Islam that Islam *rahmatan lil-alamin* is Islam that spreads mercy to all nature without Islam as mercy for all nature, this is affirmed in Q.S. al-Anbiya' 21: 107: And We did not send you, but to (become) mercy for the universe. The meaning of the above verse is that you are not sent, O Muhammad, except as a mercy for all nature, humans and jinn, because the teachings that have been revealed to you are a factor of happiness and ensure goodness in this world and the hereafter. The one who receives mercy and is grateful for it, he is lucky in this world and the hereafter, and the one who rejects and violates it, the loss of this world and the hereafter befalls him. The Prophet said, "Indeed, I am not sent as a curser, but I am sent as a mercy" (H.R. Muslim).

Research on ISIS, radicalism, and terrorism has been carried out by many academics, especially in understanding the history of the development of this organization's thinking. One of the main focuses of these studies is how ISIS evolved from its ideological roots to an organization that uses religion to justify acts of violence. Research conducted by Kruglova, this research reveals ISIS's propaganda strategy that has succeeded in attracting thousands of followers from various countries through social media.[11] In addition, an in-depth study by Khalaf research highlights how the group systematically controls territory in Syria and Iraq, using guerrilla warfare and terror methods accompanied by administrative management of the territories it occupies.[12] On the other hand, Fathabadi,research emphasizes more on the relationship between ISIS ideology and individual radicalization patterns. Roy argued that ISIS often attracts individuals who previously

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[8] Iris Hautaniemi Forsberg, "Identity Construction and Ontological (in) Security in'Voice of Khurasan': A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Islamic State in the Khorasan Province," 2024, https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2:1880428.

[9] George Michael, "The Legend and Legacy of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi," *Defence Studies* 7, no. 3 (September 2007): 338–57, https://doi.org/10.1080/14702430701559248.

[10] Martin Van Bruinessen, *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the "Conservative Turn"* (ISEAS Publishing, 2013), https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814414579.

[11] Anna Kruglova, "Terrorist Recruitment, Propaganda and Branding," accessed November 26, 2024, https://www.academia.edu/download/106885655/Terrorist_Recruitment_Propaganda_and_Branding_Selling_Terror_Online_2022_.pdf.

[12] Rana Khalaf, "Local Governance at the Intersection of Peace and State Formation in Syria: The Case of Al-Raqqa's Revolution-Induced Areas of Limited Statehood (2011-2022)" (PhD Thesis, The University of Manchester (United Kingdom), 2024), https://search.proquest.com/openview/60598b97812854f6177be4f51c3c4fd4/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=2026366&diss=y.

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did not have a strong religious background, but are drawn to the revolutionary narrative and identity provided by the group.[13]

Other relevant research includes an analysis Abdullah that explores the influence of Salafi-Jihadi ideology on ISIS thought. Abdullah highlights that the extreme interpretation of religious texts underpins their ideology, but this understanding is often detached from the traditional context of Islam.[14] Thus, many studies agree that the phenomenon of ISIS can not only be explained from a religious perspective, but must also be understood through social, political, and economic lenses, including geopolitical instability in the Middle East. On the other hand, research by Sabah Harahsheh reviews the roots of ISIS's extreme thinking, which was developed from Salafist-Jihadi ideology. Stern highlighted how ISIS has managed to selectively use religious literature to legitimize its brutal acts, including through the publication of documents such as Dabiq, their propaganda magazine.[15] The study also highlights ISIS's use of modern media tactics to attract global sympathy, making them one of the terror groups with the most effective propaganda capabilities of the 21st century.

The historical study of the development of ISIS was also carried out by Fawaz Gerges, this study delves into how this group has evolved from a small, marginalized group to a dominant actor in the Syrian and Iraqi conflicts. Gerges explained that the government's failure in the region, coupled with the Western invasion policy, created an ideal environment for the growth of ISIS. He also pointed out that ISIS is not only a religious phenomenon, but also the result of geopolitical turmoil and political marginalization.[16] Other research by Graeme Wood focuses more on ISIS's ideology and long-term goals. Wood explains how their interpretation of Islamic doctrine of the caliphate is at the heart of their political project.[17] However, he also criticized that many of their interpretations are deviations from traditional Islamic teachings. Studies like these underscore the importance of in-depth analysis of the history, ideology, and socio-political context behind the emergence of ISIS.

RESEARCH METHOD

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[13] Mehdi Abbaszadeh Fathabadi, "Globalization, Identity and ISIS," accessed November 26, 2024, https://www.academia.edu/download/102546268/Globalization_Identity_and_ISIS.pdf.

[14] Hafiz Muhammad Farooq Abdullah and Hafiz Atif Iqbal, "Exploring the Concept of Enlightenment and Moderation: A Comparative Discourse Analysis of Islam and the West to Foster Interfaith Dialogue," *Nuqtah Journal of Theological Studies* 3, no. 1 (2023): 64–83.

[15] Sabah Harahsheh, *ISIS's Ideological Project (Examining ISIS's Perception of Religious Texts through Rhetorical Discourse Analysis)* (دار الخليج للنشر والتوزيع/daralkhalij for Publishing and Distribution, 2023), https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=S2_nEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA9&dq=2023+highlighted+how+ISIS+has+managed+to+selectively+use+religious+literature+to+legitimize+its+brutal+acts,+including+through+the+publication+of+documents+such+as+Dabiq,+their+propaganda+magazine&ots=lnxFeKUmyl&sig=XaYj0nDQf01grOgSYLQcW7UFmYw.

[16] Mariam Georgis, "The Rise of ISIS in Postinvasion Iraq," *The Myth of Middle East Exceptionalism: Unfinished Social Movements*, 2023, 111.

[17] Graeme Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," *The Atlantic* 315, no. 2 (2015): 78–94.

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The research methodology for this study uses a qualitative approach with a text analysis method.[18] This research began with a literature study to collect data related to the Book of Al-Bidayah wa An-Nihayah by Imam Ibn Katsir, both from the original manuscript and translation. Primary data in the form of the content of the book will be analyzed in depth to identify the structure, theme, and approach used by Ibn Katsir in compiling historical narratives.[19] Secondary data, such as scholarly commentaries and previous scholarly works that discuss the book, will be used to provide context and compare related views. The content analysis approach is used to explore narrative patterns, source selection, and the presentation of historical facts in this book. In this case, the focus of the analysis is directed to the use of the Qur'an, hadith, the narration of the Companions, and Israiliyyat, to understand how Ibn Kathir filtered and compiled information.

This study also uses historical methods to place this book in the context of the development of Islamic historiography in the 8th century Hijri, including the influence of the times and socio-political conditions on the writing of this book. In addition, this study applies the method of text criticism to evaluate the validity and authenticity of the sources used by Ibn Katsir. This approach helps to assess the contribution of Al-Bidayah wa An-Nihayah as one of the works that combines historiography with interpretation. In order to appreciate, interpretive methods are used to understand the moral, theological, and spiritual values conveyed through the historical narrative in this book. Thus, this study not only assesses the book from a historical point of view, but also in terms of its relevance to Islamic values.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Theology and History of ISIS

At first glance, the ideology of Salafi jihadism may seem indistinguishable from that of Al-Qaeda. Both view the state and religion as an inevitable unity, so all government and political decisions must be based on a strict interpretation of religion.[20] But in reality, these two groups differ significantly in several ways related to beliefs and *manhaj* (methodology). According to Azeem Ibrahim, their understanding of religion is like Khwariz who likes to disbelieve those who disagree with him. ISIS or Al-Qaeda are both New Khwariz who have divided the ummah.[21] In their faith, they have a very harsh view compared to Al-Qaeda, where their ideology is as stated by Zarqawi that "Muslims who do not strictly follow the legitimate interpretation of Islam by ISIS

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[18] Matthew B. Miles dan A. Michael Huberman, *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (sage, 1994).

[19] John Gerring, "Qualitative Methods," *Annual Review of Political Science* 20, no. 1 (May 11, 2017): 15–36, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-092415-024158.

[20] John Olusegun Adenitire, "Religion as Liberal Politics," *Journal of Law and Religion*, 2023, 1–22.

[21] Azeem Ibrahim, *Radical Origins* (Simon and Schuster, 2017), https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=fwMtDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT7&dq=their+understanding+of+religion+is+like+Khwariz+who+likes+to+disbelieve+those+who+disagree+with+him.+ISIS+or+Al-Qaeda+are+both+New+Khwariz+who+have+divided+the+ummah&ots=UPtS6zlpjs&sig=mlt1EqXkGFLVyHfEe9b3NfYelvM.

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must be declared apostates and sentenced to death.[22] In fact, in its view, ISIS considers that a Muslim who has left his religion (apostasy) can be categorized as hypocrites, so that they must also be applied laws that are appropriate for hypocrites. ISIS states that hypocrites are not worthy of being trusted, respected, followed, and even no one should appoint hypocrites as leaders. To strengthen this doctrine, ISIS uses the Quran and Al Hadith.

ISIS is very aggressive in quoting hadith and the Quran to justify its actions and a hadith as a manhaj in the state and state. As the hadith is used as a postulate to recruit people from outside ISIS such as the Hijarah hadith, where Hijrah is the most important doctrine in the spread of ISIS's radical ideology.[23] Through this doctrine, they managed to attract the attention of many people to get involved in their agenda. This doctrine is spread through social media, such as Facebook, Instagram, You Tube, Twitter, and others. They use online media as a forum for recruiting new mujahid.[24] According to Wasserstein research, several people were declared missing and joined IS after hearing IS sermons and lectures on social media. ISIS uses the prophet's predictive hadith about migrating to Syria as a theological basis to invite Muslims in all corners of the world to move their domicile to their territory.[25]

Although the term is not found in Islam, the symptoms and behaviors of violence can be found in the traditions and history of Muslims. The phenomenon of radicalism in Islam is actually believed to be a product or creation of the 20th century in the Islamic world,[26] especially in the Middle East, as a result of an identity crisis that led to reactions and resistance to the West that spread colonialism and imperialism to the Islamic world. The division of the Islamic world into various nation-states. But it must be realized that violent behavior in the Islamic world has existed since after the death of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, where the history of violent behavior in Islam, generally occurs in relation to political issues, which then has an impact on religion as a symbol. This is an undeniable historical fact. Although the murder of the caliph had occurred when Caliph Umar was in power. However, a systematic and organized radicalism

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[22] Christina Hellmich, "Al-Qaeda—Terrorists, Hypocrites, Fundamentalists? The View from Within," in *Terrorism and the Politics of Naming* (Routledge, 2013), 35–50, https://api.taylorfrancis.com/content/chapters/edit/download?identifierName=doi&identifierValue=10.4324/9781315869490-3&type=chapterpdf.

[23] Brian L. Steed, *ISIS: An Introduction and Guide to the Islamic State* (Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2016), https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=PhnHEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=As+the+hadith+is+used+as+a+postulate+to+recruit+people+from+outside+ISIS+such+as+the+Hijrah+hadith,+where+Hijrah+is+the+most+important+doctrine+in+the+spread+of+ISIS%27s+radical+ideology&ots=tPJzif0dde&sig=_uXHXAfRHCpwMdxql0yn05vbyi0.

[24] Gabriel Weimann, "The Emerging Role of Social Media in the Recruitment of Foreign Fighters," in *Foreign Fighters under International Law and Beyond*, ed. Andrea De Guttry, Francesca Capone, and Christophe Paulussen (The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press, 2016), 77–95, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6265-099-2_6.

[25] David J. Wasserstein, *Black Banners of ISIS: The Roots of the New Caliphate* (Yale University Press, 2017), https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=TDYuDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=ISIS+uses+the+prophet%27s+predictive+hadith+about+migrating+to+Syria+as+a+theological+basis+to+invite+Muslims+in+all+corners+of+the+world+to+move+their+domicile+to+their+territory&ots=jBvwrHX7Fo&sig=WS0RDk1_OoEguaVGzu4mJ26ddIw.

[26] Amra Sabic-El-Rayess, "Epistemological Shifts in Knowledge and Education in Islam: A New Perspective on the Emergence of Radicalization amongst Muslims," *International Journal of Educational Development* 73 (2020): 102148.

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movement only began after the Siffin War during the reign of Ali bin Abi Talib, This was marked by the emergence of a radical theological movement called "*Khawarij*".[27] Etymologically, the word khawarij comes from the Arabic language, namely "*kharaja*" which means to come out, appear, arise, or rebel. From this understanding, the word can also be interpreted as a group of Muslims or Muslims who are part of the unity of Muslims.

Theological understanding arose among the Khawariz, starting from their understanding of political and state-run issues.[28] In the field of constitutionalism, they did have an understanding that was contrary to the understanding that existed at that time. They are more democratic, because according to them, the Caliph or Imam must be freely chosen by all Muslims. Those who have the right to become caliph are not only Arabs, but any Muslim who is able and capable, even though he is a slave from Africa.[29] The elected caliph will continue to hold his position as long as he is still fair and practicing Islamic law.[30] But if he has deviated from the teachings of Islam, then he must be dropped or killed. In the book of Maqalat, it is stated that in relation to the four caliphs, the caliph or government of Abu Bakr and Umar ibn al-Khattab can be accepted by them in their entirety, because the two caliphs were appointed and did not deviate from the teachings of Islam. However, during the reign of Uthman ibn Affan, they could not accept it, because Uthman ibn Affan in their view had deviated from the teachings of Islam since the seventh year of his caliphate. Likewise, the government of Ali ibn Abi Talib, in their view, Ali has deviated from the teachings of Islam since the occurrence of arbitration (tahkim) as a way to settle the dispute over the caliphate between Ali ibn Abi Talib and Mu'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan.[31] Therefore Uthman and Ali according to their view have become infidels.

Likewise Mu'awiyah, Amru ibn al-Ash, Abu Musa al-Ash'ari, and all those whom they consider to have deviated or deviated from the true teachings of Islam. Thus among the Khawarij began to enter the issue of kufr. who is called kafir who they consider to have left Islam, and who is called believers who they consider not to have left Islam. These similar questions are no longer political problems, but have turned into theological problems. The opinion of who is still considered a Muslim, and who has left Islam and is considered an infidel, as well as the questions related to this, among the Khawarij are not all the same, so that some small groups or sub-sects

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[27] Omar Mekky, *Islamic Jihadism and the Laws of War: A Conversation in International and Islamic Law Languages* (Oxford University Press, 2023), https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ihnMEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=2023+a+systematic+and+organized+radicalism+movement+only+began+after+the+Siffin+War+during+the+reign+of+Ali+bin+Abi+Talib,+This+was+marked+by+the+emergence+of+a+radical+theological+movement+called+%22Khawarij&ots=iZphCRxM2t&sig=6A_dMgpny6J3K1yxGBOaJUh52cU.

[28] Masooda Bano and Hanane Benadi, "Regulating Religious Authority for Political Gains: Al-Sisi's Manipulation of al-Azhar in Egypt," *Third World Quarterly* 39, no. 8 (August 3, 2018): 1604–21, https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2017.1369031.

[29] Sultana Afroz, "Islam and Slavery through the Ages: Slave Sultans and Slave Mujahids," *J. Islamic L. & Culture* 5 (2000): 97.

[30] M. Abdul Aziz, "The Principles of Islamic Polity in the Qur'an and Sunnah: Revisiting Modern Political Discourse," *AL-BURHĀN: JOURNAL OF QURʾĀN AND SUNNAH STUDIES* 7, no. 1 (2023): 5–28.

[31] Muhsin Hariyanto and Mahfud Khoirul Amin, "Muslim Political Dynamics Post-Tahkim: A Case Study of the Shiffin War," *Jurnal Indonesia Sosial Teknologi* 5, no. 9 (2024): 3782–92.

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have arisen among the Khawarij. In the book Al-Milal wa al-Nihal it is stated that according to Al-Syahrastani they were divided into 8 (eight) sub-sects, and according to Al-Baghdadi, they were divided into 20 (twenty) sub-sects, even according to Al-Ash'ari, they were divided into even larger sub-sects. This seems to be the reason why the Khawarij were divided into small groups, and why they continued to resist the Islamic rulers and Muslims of their time.

Development and Crossing

It must be understood that the termeneology of radicalism is not found in the Arabic dictionary, this implies that this term is purely made in the west, In the Western tradition the term fundamentalism in Islam is often exchanged for other terms, such as: "Islamic extremism" as practiced by Gilles Kepel or "Radical Islam" according to Emmanuel Sivan, and there are also terms "integrity", "revivalism", or "Islamism". The terms are used to indicate symptoms of the "rise of Islam" followed by militancy and fanaticism that are sometimes very extreme.[32] Compared to other terms, "radical Islam", which is most often equated with "fundamentalist Islam". Because the term fundamentalism exposes liberalism more in interpreting religious texts, and ends up in actions with a narrow insight, which often gives birth to destructive, and anarchist actions.

In the development of the understanding of khowarij is found at this time, which is often called "New khawarij", where this understanding can be found from a group of Muslims in the Middle East or Indonesia, the movement of radicalism or fundamentalism in Islam today, is influenced by Islam's response to the west Although themes related to inward orientation are their concerns and ideological choices. There are at least two major problems that concern this group. First, they reject the secularism of Western society that separates religion and politics, churches, and mosques from the State. The success of the West in secularizing is considered something dangerous, because it can threaten Islam as a religion that not only deals with the hereafter, but also the worldly.[33] Second, many Muslims want their society to be governed in accordance with the Qur'an and Islamic shari'a as the rule of the state.

The understanding began to spread to various countries massively, they entered by riding the vehicles of community organizations such as the famous in Indonesia, namely Hizb ut-Tahrir and Salafi, in the development of the two organizations were very massive and especially to young people. For example, the spread of HTI ideas where this idea entered Indonesia in 1982-1983 which was brought through M. Mustofa and Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi who were members of HT

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[32] Saher Selod, Inaash Islam, and Steve Garner, *A Global Racial Enemy: Muslims and 21st-Century Racism* (John Wiley & Sons, 2023), https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=V3XmEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP5&dq=2023+The+terms+are+used+to+indicate+symptoms+of+the+%22rise+of+Islam%22+followed+by+militancy+and+fanaticism+that+are+sometimes+very+extreme&ots=E0d3K_ZhIM&sig=IsW2E9GqPp95as2sJE_P93UaudQ.

[33] Atalia Omer and Joshua Lupo, *Religion, Modernity, and the Global Afterlives of Colonialism* (University of Notre Dame Pess, 2024), https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=bFz5EAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA14&dq=2023+The+success+of+the+West+in+secularizing+is+considered+something+dangerous,+because+it+can+threaten+Islam+as+a+religion+that+not+only+deals+with+the+hereafter,+but+also+the+worldly&ots=6HlPP7YB1-&sig=miCp7K_JRWbvMrzdlXJ8GgGwwHg.

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from Jordan so that it was known as Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) which was an expansion of the territory by HT based in Jordan. M. Mustofa is the son of the caretaker of the Al-Ghazali Islamic boarding school in Bogor, a scholar with a modernist view and close to DDII (Indonesian Da'wah Islamiyah Council) and the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia.[34] During his studies in Jordan, Mustofa was active in the underground da'wah movement of Hizb ut-Tahrir there. Initially, his involvement in this party began with his interest in the books of Sheikh Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani, the founder of Hizb ut-Tahrir. He was introduced to one of the Taqiyuddin Haarah Al-Islamiyah books by his own father before he left for Jordan in 1979.[35] When he arrived in Jordan by chance, he met with Hizb ut-Tahrir activists and obtained more complete Taqiyuddin books. After reading these books, Mustofa concluded that Taqiyuddin was a great mujtahid (Muslim warrior) in this century.

In their dissemination, they began to interact with IPB students through the al-Gozali Islamic boarding school which was nurtured by Abdullah bin Nuh in the Bogor area, since the arrival of HTI to Indonesia their movement was carried out secretly for 10 years because at that time the government was still under the new order which required everyone to accept a single hope, namely the five precepts, after the repormation period they began to show their da'wah movement by eliminating open discussions about sharia to various regions such as to Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi. They are also active in spreading the idea of the caliphate to various universities through the network of Campus Da'wah Institutions (LDK).[36] However, the development of HTI is still in the process of cadre development (tasqif) and community development in order to strengthen the party.

Their movement is trying to launch HTI in launching its movement, not frontally like other radical Islamic organizations, such as the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI) or Anshorud Tauhid led by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir.[37] But HTI launched its movement gradually. For this Indonesian case, there is no strong evidence showing HTI's involvement in acts of violence and terrorism. Therefore, it is important to understand its activities and their connection to jihad. There are three stages or three steps of HTI in an effort to achieve its political goals, namely: a) Tatsqif Stage (coaching and cadre). This stage is to give birth to people who believe in the fiqrah of Hizbu Tahrir and to form the framework of a party. (b) Tafa'ul (interaction) stage, which is interacting with the ummah in order to be able to carry out Islamic da'wah, so that the ummah will make it the main problem in their lives, and try to apply it in the reality of life. (c) Istilamul Hukmi Stage (power

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[34] Omer and Lupo.

[35] "2023 Taqiyuddin Haarah Al-Islamiyah Books by His Own Father before He Left for Jordan in 1979 - Google Search," accessed November 26, 2024, https://www.google.com/search?hl=en&q=2023+Taqiyuddin+Haarah+Al-Islamiyah+books+by+his+own+father+before+he+left+for+Jordan+in+1979.

[36] Andi Aderus et al., "How Salafism Forms Millennials' Religious Understanding: A Case Study from an Indonesian University," *Ulumuna* 27, no. 1 (2023): 291–314.

[37] Sumanto Al Qurtuby, "Terrorism in Indonesia," in *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Saudi Arabia and Indonesia*, by Sumanto Al Qurtuby (Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2022), 189–243, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-1337-2_5.

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takeover). This stage serves to apply Islamic law practically and totally, as well as to spread it throughout the world.

However, according to hmad Syafii'i, eight indicators of the level of radicalism in Indonesia were recorded. (1) Hatred of the Indonesian government for not implementing Islamic Sharia; (2) Rejecting the national anthem of Indonesia Raya and Hormat Bendera; (3) Their group's emotional bond is stronger than their emotional bond with family/campus/work; (4) closed recitation and regeneration in alleys/corners (self-isolation); (5) having to pay to atone for sins; (6) wearing distinctive clothing (he said it was in accordance with Islamic teachings); (7) Muslims outside the group are wicked and disbelievers before they emigrate (join this group); (8) Reluctant to listen to lectures outside his group even though his knowledge of Islam is still very limited.

CONCLUSION

From the research on "ISIS, Radicalism, and Terrorists: Analyzing the History of the Development of ISIS Thought," it can be concluded that ISIS is the product of various historical, ideological, and geopolitical factors that interact with each other. Historically, ISIS emerged from the splinter of Al-Qaeda in Iraq after the U.S. invasion in 2003, which created a power vacuum and political instability in the region. In this context, ISIS is taking advantage of the chaotic situation to build its military power and create an ideological narrative that attracts followers from all over the world. In terms of ideology, ISIS bases its thinking on extreme interpretations of Islamic teachings, especially Salafist-Jihadi ideology, with an emphasis on the doctrine of the caliphate. However, this interpretation is selective and often disconnected from the broader Islamic tradition. ISIS's strategy to legitimize their brutal actions using religious texts is also one of the main ways to build an ideological base and attract sympathy from radicalized individuals. This is reinforced by propaganda through digital media, which allows them to spread their message effectively and reach a global audience. Geopolitics also plays a big role in the development of ISIS. The conflict in Syria, state failure in Iraq, and foreign military intervention create an environment conducive to the growth of organizations like ISIS. Economic injustice, political marginalization, and sectarian tensions in the region are also supporting factors that facilitate the narrative of radical groups. Thus, ISIS has become not only a religious phenomenon but also a reflection of the complex socio-political dynamics in the Middle East. This study makes an important contribution to understanding the ISIS phenomenon and becomes a foothold for more effective policies in countering global extremism.

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