

# EXTREMISTS IN BANDUNG: DARUL ISLAM TO ISIS – AND BACK AGAIN?

12 February 2018 IPAC Report No. 42

# CONTENTS

I.	Introduction	1
II.	NII Zakaria's Initial Immunity to Extremist Influence	1
III.	The Impact of ISIS	2
IV.	Recruitment via Poaching	3
V.	The Birth of JAD Bandung	4
VI.	Kiki Muhammad Iqbal and Manhaj Daulah	5
VII.	JAD Bandung Follows the NII Zakaria Model	7
VIII.	Military Training, the "Death Fatwa" and Jihad Operations	8
IX.	Revenge and the Pressure Cooker Bomb	10
X.	The Formation of Small Cells	12
XI.	Conclusions and Challenges	13
Appe	endix I : Members of JAD Bandung Arrested or Killed	15

#### I. INTRODUCTION

Between 2014 and 2017, one faction of the old insurgency Darul Islam in Bandung, West Java became one of the most virulent branches of the pro-ISIS network in Indonesia known as Jamaah Anshorul Daulah (JAD). Violence took off in 2016 with the call to wage war at home after it became difficult to get to Syria. The desire for revenge against the police for arrests and killing of members kept attacks going even after ISIS defeats in the Middle East. By early 2018, most of the members of JAD Bandung were inactive, in prison or dead. Extremism in Bandung, however, has deep roots. It has not disappeared but rather has been temporarily pushed underground where it will stay dormant until the next leader or movement or big idea comes along to stir up sleeping cells.

The Indonesian government faces two major challenges with respect to this group. The first is how to work with the more than 30 JAD Bandung members now in detention, to get them to disengage from violence and then promote disengagement by others once they are released. The second is to target programs at communities that since the 1950s have been strongholds of Darul Islam, often referred to as the Islamic State of Indonesia (Negara Islam Indonesia, NII). Many of these communities are in West Java and Banten but there are others in parts of Sumatra and Sulawesi. It becomes a question of understanding local history, pride and aspirations and finding ways to turn that history toward more constructive ends. In the case of those who became ISIS supporters, it also means seeing if any of the processes that drew them into ISIS can work in reverse and pull them out again.

This report traces the evolution of one group of NII activists in Bandung from an old regional division of Darul Islam known as KW7 to would-be fighters for the caliphate proclaimed by ISIS leader Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi. It shows how important the control of territory was in the ISIS appeal and how it resonated in an area of Indonesia that had once claimed to be an Islamic state. It looks at the role of particular schools and mosques in cementing group ties and how religious discussions called *pengajian* became the means initially of finding recruits, then of organisational survival as police pressure increased. It concludes with policy recommendations for the government and others working to counter violent extremism.

The story of JAD Bandung is important because if the government can get its approach to this group right, it may find the key to dealing with many other areas of Indonesia where extremism seems entrenched.

#### II. NII ZAKARIA'S INITIAL IMMUNITY TO EXTREMIST INFLUENCE

The JAD Bandung cell emerged from a Darul Islam faction that was initially seen as being immune to extremist influence.

Under Tahmid Rahmat Basuki, son of Darul Islam founder Sekarmadji Kartosoewirjo, the NII organisation was divided into regional commands, known as *komando wilayah* (KW). KW7 covered the region known as South Priangan, including Garut, Bandung, Cianjur and Sukabumi. In the 1990s, its members established a school in South Bandung that became to KW7 what the far better known Az-Zaitun pesantren in Indramayu, West Java was to Region 9 or KW9. Just as KW9 was sometimes referred to as "NII Az-Zaitun", so KW7, and particularly the membership in Bandung, came to be known as "NII Zakaria".

The founder of the school was Eman Zakaria, but it was his son, Adang, who in the 1990s developed it into the Zakaria Islamic Educational Institute, covering kindergarten to high school. To run it, he drew on students from top universities in the Bandung area such as Padjajaran Univerity, the State Teacher Training Institute and Bandung Institute of Technology, and the school flourished. Building on its success, NII Zakaria turned to social and economic programs. It set up several orphanages, a health clinic and an institute for selling and distributing sacrificial animals for Muslim holy days. It also set up enterprises to promote the welfare of members as well as religious outreach centers to build support in the community and urged well-to-do business people in the Bandung area to help out with contributions.

All of these initiatives were linked to NII's ideological stress on its existence as a functioning Islamic state. Once a week, members of NII Zakaria would gather for meetings (*taklim*) where they discussed various aspects of NII doctrine including material written by Aceng Kurnia called "Tauhid Rububiyah, Mulkiyah dan Uluhiyah" or Tauhid RMU for short. RMU referred to three aspects of *tauhid*, recognition that absolute authority to make laws rests with Allah; recognition of Allah as the king (*malik*) who must be obeyed; and willingness to follow His laws.<sup>2</sup>

Members were taught that they were citizens of the Islamic State of Indonesia that Kartosoewirjo had founded and that was still in operation. It had a central structure led by an imam, Tahmid Rahmat Basuki, all the way down to neighbourhood units called "fronts" (*baris*). The schools and other institutions set up by KW7 proved that the state could provide benefits, particularly to poorer members. They could get subsidies for their children to attend NII schools and loans for businesses. The clinics could help them if they fell ill. This, they were told, was what distinguished NII from all other Islamist or jihadi movements. Other organisations might talk of their aspirations for an Islamic government, but NII already had one.

The combination of doctrine with social services made KW7 relatively immune from other radical movements like Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and others.<sup>3</sup> As one member said:

JI, HTI, MMI are still in the aspirational stage, but we're real. Why join a group that's still dreaming when you can join a group that's proven itself capable of establishing an Islamic state and giving benefits to its citizens?<sup>4</sup>

## III. THE IMPACT OF ISIS

The declaration of a new Islamic State and caliphate on 1 Ramadhan 1435H on 29 June 2014 shook KW7 to the core. The declaration and the various propaganda videos it disseminated showed that ISIS controlled large swathes of land in Iraq and Syria where Islamic law was applied in full. The videos also claimed that Al-Baghdadi's government supplied generous public

Adang Zakaria, was a senior figure in NII in Bandung and a student of the late Fahrur Rozi, KW7'sleader until his death around 2015. Fahrur Rozi, who had been recruited by DI leader Aceng Kurnia in the 1970s while still a student at the State Islamic Institute in Jakarta, was considered one of the NII intellectuals of the post-Kartosoewirjo generation. He learned from the failure of DI's efforts to revive itself as an armed movement how costly the arrests of the leadership could be, and believed that the only way to rebuild the movement under Soeharto's authoritarian rule was through focusing on education.

<sup>2</sup> Solahudin, NII sampai JI, Salafy Jihadisme di Indonesia, Depok, (Indonesia), 2011, pp.125-129.

Other NII factions in Bandung lacked this immunity. For example, many followers of Abdul Fatah Wirananggapati, one of Kartoesoewirjo's original associates, joined MMI in 2000 because that faction only focused on ideology and had no social or economic activities.

<sup>4</sup> IPAC interview with member of KW7, Depok, January 2018.

services such as free housing, healthcare and education as well as food and fuel subsidies. They promoted ISIS as *khilafah ala minhajul nubuwah* or the caliphate of the Prophet that would come at the end of time.

Activists of NII Zakaria were riveted. A case in point was the group in West Bandung led by senior NII figure Ujang Suhaya. It usually held its weekly *taklim* for some 25 members in the Al Ikhlas Mosque in a housing complex in the Ngamprah neighbourhood. Soon after the declaration of the caliphate, one member named Fani Suherman asked Ujang and other members what their response should be. NII Zakaria leaders were unsure how to respond. On the one hand they were deeply impressed that ISIS was able to set up an Islamic state that controlled territory and applied Islamic law. On the other, they were not yet ready to leave the movement that they had grown up in and they were not quite sure that ISIS was in fact the promised caliphate that it claimed.

The lack of a clear response left the way open for members to find out for themselves what ISIS was all about. Fani Suherman, for example, read many postings about ISIS on supportive Indonesian websites such Shoutusalam, Al Mustaqbal and Facebook fan pages. Agus Sujatno alias Abu Muslim, a member from Cibangkong, went to study further at a known pro-ISIS school, Pesantren Ansharullah, run by Fauzan Al Anshori in Ciamis. He eventually decided to leave NII Zakaria and join ISIS.

#### IV. RECRUITMENT VIA POACHING

ISIS had also attracted an NII group from Cukang Gentang, Ciwidey led by Germanto alias Abu Rosyid, a man with links to many other networks including MMI, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), Jamaah Anshorul Tauhid (JAT) and other NII factions.<sup>5</sup> Germanto ran a religious discussion group (*pengajian*) that included several men later to emerge as JAD Bandung operatives: Rijal Dzurrohman, from a pesantren in Garut run by the Muslim modernist organisation Persatuan Islam (Persis) was one; Ridho Budi Santoso alias Abu Sofi, who married Germanto's older sister, was another.

The Ciwidey group studied the writings of Aman Abdurrahman. When Aman stated his clear support for ISIS in its disputes with other groups in Syria in November 2013, Germanto did the same. He and his friends also began to attend the meetings of Activists for Shari'ah Forum (Forum Aktivis Syariat Islam, FAKSI), one of the first groups in Indonesia to declare its support for ISIS. When British firebrand preacher Anjem Choudary came to preach in Bandung in 2013, Germanto and his friends attended. They also took part in the mass swearing of a loyalty oath to ISIS leader al-Baghdadi when FAKSI organised an event at the mosque on the campus of the State Islamic University in Jakarta in July 2014.

Germanto had been a member of an NII Karawang group that in 2005 had gone over to MMI. He had been drawn in by MMI member Warsito alias Tongji (imprisoned 2010-2014), who later recruited men for the 2010 Aceh training camp from the Karawang and Banten areas. Germanto helped out with preparations for the camp and became close to Sunakim alias Afif, a camp participant who was later involved in the January 2016 Jakarta attack. After police broke up the Aceh training camp, Germanto joined fugitive Imron Baihaqi alias Abu Tholut for several months in Depok. Abu Tholut was a senior Jemaah Islamiyah-turned JAT leader who had been involved in the camp's establishment. When Abu Tholut was finally arrested in December 2010, Germanto fled to Cukang Genteng, an old JI stronghold and hid there. Cukang Genteng was home to Pesantren Al Huda, a boarding school led Ustadz Yasin who himself was a graduate of the school established by JI's founders, al-Mukmin in Ngruki, Solo.

4

It was only after taking the oath that Germanto began to think about recruiting for ISIS in Bandung. He decided to use the FAKSI model, poaching members from other extremist organisations. This way, new members did not need long indoctrination; they already understood the basic tenets. FAKSI had successfully poached members of an NII faction from Pamulang, Bekasi known as MYT, after its founder, Muhammad Yusuf Thahiri. Germanto decided to do the same, targeting NII Zakaria.

Rijal Dzurrohman was assigned to penetrate the group, using tactics that extremists have often used in Indonesia: find an influential ustadz, convince him first, and then let him convince his followers. He focused on Soleh Abdurrahman alias Abu Fursan, an ustadz whose religious knowledge was widely respected. Soleh was a 1998 graduate of the Madrasah Aliyah Persis in Pajagalan. Rijal was his junior at the same school and one of his classmates there was now Soleh's wife. It was through the wife that Rijal met Soleh and convinced him over long discussions about the truth of ISIS's claims. In fact, Soleh had already begun to doubt the teachings of NII Zakaria and saw its Islamic state as largely imaginary. A real state had to have territory, citizens and a government. NII lacked the first, but ISIS had all three. He decided to join.

Soleh's departure had major repercussions. As many as 60 people followed him out, many of them friends and students but also including senior leaders of NII Zakaria. One was Ujang Suhaya from West Bandung, who brought many of his students with him. Jajang Iqin Sodiqin, an influential NII donor who ran a business producing Muslim clothes, also left to join ISIS.

#### V. THE BIRTH OF JAD BANDUNG

Through Rijal, the new ISIS members from NII Zakaria were introduced to the Jamaah Ansharul Daulah (JAD) network. JAD itself was the largest faction of ISIS supporters in Indonesia and consisted of the followers of Aman Abdurrahman and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir through Ba'asyir's organisation, JAT.8 In November 2015 JAD had adopted JAT's organisational structure which had a central management at the top, followed by managers at the provincial (*wilayah*), district/kabupaten (*mudiriyah*) and subdistrict (*qoriyah*) levels. The man chosen by Aman Abdurrahman as the first JAD amir was Hari Budiman alias Abu Musa, one of Aman's closest associates.9 For JAD West Java, Aman chose Khairul Anam, a former member of Ring Banten, the Darul Islam faction that had taken part in the 2002 Bali and 2004 Australian embassy bombings. Rijal met Khairul Aman through Germanto and subsequently introduced him to the NII Zakaria men.

In early February 2015 Khairul Anam invited the new ISIS recruits from NII Zakaria including Soleh Abdurrahman, Ujang Suhaya and Rijal Dzurrohman to attend a meeting at Miftahul Huda Pesantren in Subang to which ISIS supporters from Purwakarta, Karawang, Tasikmalaya and other areas were also invited. He informed them that JAD had been established as the umbrella organisation for ISIS supporters in Indonesia, with the goal of facilitating the migration (*hijrah*) of members to the new state (Daulah) as well as providing religious guidance so that supporters understood the Daulah's interpretation of Islam. The book used as a reference was *Muqorror Fit Tauhid* (Curriculum on the Oneness of God), translated by Aman Abdurrahman.

<sup>6</sup> MYT was a splinter of Abdul Fatah Wirananggapati's faction of Darul Islam.

<sup>7</sup> He had begun to change his views after meeting another NII member who had gone over to ISIS, Agus Sujatno.

<sup>8</sup> Jamaah Anshorul Tauhid (JAT) was set up by Ba'asyir in 2008 after he left MMI (he had long since left JI). When Ba'asyir decided to swear allegiance to al-Baghdadi, many JAT members left, forming a new group called Jamaah Anshorul Syari'ah (JAS).

<sup>9</sup> Hari Budiman had been first arrested together with Aman for their role in a 2004 explosion in Cimanggis, near Jakarta, during a bomb-making course. Both were arrested again for involvement in the Aceh training camp.

About two weeks after the Subang meeting, Ujang Suhaya and his friends invited all the ISIS supporters in the greater Bandung area to a meeting to form the leadership structure for JAD Bandung. It was held at the home of Jajang Iqin Sodiqin, the businessman, in Lembang, a hill town on the outskirts of the city. Most of those who attended were former members of NII Zakaria, but there were some others as well. One was Muslih Afifi, a student of Aman Abdurrahman's, who represented a group from the As-Sunnah mosque and school in Cileunyi, long a centre of radical activity. Also present was Yayat Cahdiyat, a former prisoner who had just been released from Tangerang Prison after serving almost three years for supplying ammunition to the Aceh camp. Once released, he moved to Ciwidey, Bandung near the house of his old friend, Germanto. Participants in the meeting agreed to a leadership structure for *mudiriyah* Bandung as follows:

• Amir: Ujang Suhaya

• Secretary: Ivan

• Treasurer: Teguh (later replaced by Jajang Iqin Shodiqin)

• Media: Rijal Dzurrohman

• Education: Soleh Abdurrahman

• Dakwah: Fani Suherman

• Amir qoriyah West Bandung: Fani Suherman

• Amir qoriyah Central Bandung: Soleh Abdurrahman

Amir qoriyah South Bandung: Yayat Cahdiyat

• Amir qoriyah East Bandung: Muslih Afifi

• Amir qoriyah North Bandung: Jajang Iqin Shodiqin

• Military affairs: Ichwan Nurul Salam

• Members of military team: Agus Sujatno, Deden alias Abu Faiz, Budi alias Abu Sofi.

Germanto did not take a position in the JAD structure because he was planning to leave for Poso to join Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT), the small pro-ISIS insurgency there. He left in June 2015 during Ramadhan and was killed there in January 2016.

## VI. KIKI MUHAMMAD IQBAL AND MANHAJ DAULAH

The immediate challenge after the formation of JAD Bandung was to indoctrinate members. There was no one who really understood the Islamic State's "method" (*manhaj*) or interpretation of the faith. The leadership decided to have regular monthly instructional sessions to which they would invite leading clerics of JAD's central committee including Khairul Anam, Syamsul Hadi, and Munawar Kholil alias Usdul Waqa (later to play a key role from Syria in financing the travel of Indonesians to Syria and the Philippines). JAD members also arranged trips to prisons to

<sup>10</sup> The as-Sunnah complex was founded by a retired military officer, Ajengan Lesmana Ibrahim, who died in 2013. As far back as 2001, it provided refuge to a young bomber involved in an attack on the Petra church in Jakarta. Between 2008 and 2010, it regularly hosted lectures by Aman Abdurrahman and JAT clerics, and it was at the as-Sunnah mosque that Aman in early 2010 turned over funds to Bali bomber Dulmatin to be used for the Aceh training camp. See International Crisis Group, "Indonesian Jihadism: Small Groups, Big Plans", Asia Report No.204, 19 April 201, p.8.

meet with pro-ISIS leaders such as Aman Abdurrahman, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, and a former JAT Bandung member, William Maksum and receive their advice (*tausiah*).<sup>11</sup>

The need for an ustadz who could teach the ISIS *manhaj* was finally met in August 2015 after Kiki Muhammad Iqbal was released from prison. The former activist of As-Sunnah, Cileunyi was also a former prisoner who had been sentenced for his involvement in bomb-making and attacks on police in the aftermath of the Aceh arrests. He was released on 15 August 2015 from the maximum security Kembang Kuning prison on Nusakambangan island, off Java's south coast, after serving five years of a six-year sentence. While in Kembang Kuning, he had shared a cell with Aman Abdurrahman and used the opportunity to study with him. A week before his release, Aman told him that he should actively disseminate the teachings of the Daulah.

Kiki's return to Bandung was welcomed by Muslih Afifi who had become the amir of JAD East Bandung. Muslih was a close friend of Kiki's when both were active in As-Sunnah but he had gone to work in Saudi Arabia and only returned in 2014. He asked Kiki to lead routine discussions at the As-Sunnah mosque for his members. Kiki, mindful of Aman's instructions, accepted and began teaching in September 2015. At first the participants were just from East Bandung, including Ahmad Sukri and Ikhwan Nurul Salam, who in 2017 would blow themselves up at a bus terminal in Kampung Melayu, Jakarta. Later, JAD members from other areas began to attend, eager to learn from a man who was so close to Aman.

Kiki, using *Muqorror Fit Tauhid* and another reference, *Series on Tauhid Material* (Seri Materi Tauhid), focused on when it was lawful to declare someone a non-believer (*kafir*) or idolatrous tyrant (*thaghut*). Takfir – the process of declaring someone a kafir – could be carried out against someone who had committed the most serious kind of idolatry (*syirik akbar*). These included supporting democracy, a system that put the sovereignty of the people above the sovereignty of Allah or substituting man-made for God-given law. Those responsible for such acts were *thaghut*, and examples included governments that did not apply Islamic law – such as the government of Indonesia. In his teaching, Kiki stressed that no one could be a real Muslim, even if he prayed, fasted and otherwise carried out religious obligations, unless he also was willing to reject false deities (*kufur bi thagut*) and wage war against them.

JAD members who had been active in NII were not newcomers to the *takfir* concept, since they had used it to declare anyone outside their group as apostate. What was new was the interpretation of *kufur bi thagut*. NII members had understood rejection of *thagut* as refusing to be part of a non-Islamic political system. But Kiki was teaching that Muslims had to do more than just reject – they had to demonstrate their hatred by waging war. This led directly to acts of terror toward police who were considered partisans of *thaghut* (*ansharul thagut*).

Kiki quickly became the most important teacher of the *manhaj daulah* for members of JAD Bandung. His students set up their own instructional sessions. Soleh Abdurrahman, for example, ran a weekly study group on Sundays at Al Hidayah Mosque on Jalan Mohammad Toha, Bandung.

<sup>11</sup> William Maksum, born 8 April 1983 in Cikoneng, studied at the well-known Gontor pesantren in East Java before continuing on to the State Islamic Institute in Bandung from which he graduated and did work toward a master's degree. He joined JAT Bandung, then became involved in a short-lived group called the Mujahidin of Western Indonesia (Mujahidin Indonesia Barat). He was arrested and sentenced to twelve years. As of 2018, he was in Madiun prison in East Java with seemingly unlimited access to a cell phone. See IPAC, "Weak, Therefore Violent: The Mujahidin of Western Indonesia," Report No.5, 2 December 2013. (Maksum's name is spelled Willem in that report; the correct spelling is William.)

#### VII. JAD BANDUNG FOLLOWS THE NII ZAKARIA MODEL

JAD Bandung members did not just focus on religion. They decided to duplicate the NII Zakaria model of social and economic activities that had made it immune to outside recruitment. They wanted to turn JAD into an exclusive organisation that could serve the needs of its members while as far as possible avoiding contact with other Muslims whom they condemned as kafir.

The key person for this task was the businessman Jajang Iqin Shodiqin who was also the brother-in-law of Soleh Abdurrahman. He had started out as a security guard for a store that sold Muslim garments in Jakarta and Bandung. For six years he had studied all aspects of the business from production to distribution. Then in 2008 he decided to quit his security job and go into business for himself. With his knowledge and a booming market for the product, he did well, and his position in NII Zakaria grew stronger. Not only did he help NII members in need, but he also employed those who sought work. He had joined NII because of the influence of Soleh, and he followed Soleh into ISIS in 2014. He became the treasurer of JAD Bandung and the head of the North Bandung branch.

Jajang did for JAD Bandung exactly what he had done for NII Zakaria. He gave regular contributions to JAD and offered work to JAD recruits who needed employment. Ahmad Sukri, the JAD activist from East Bandung, was one. He had sewing skills and was taken on to work for Jajang producing embroidered sheets and decorations. Jajang took on JAD members who could not sew as milkshake sellers for a new company he was developing called My Milk (Susuku).

Jajang and the JAD Bandung leaders also tried to replicate the success of the Zakaria school. In 2015 they set up a Qur'an memorisation school for children of JAD members, believing that other Islamic schools were kafir because they required students to take part in flag-raising ceremonies and promoted nationalism. The school, with only about a dozen students, was set up as part of an orphanage called Dapur Yatim in Bojong Malaka, Baleendah, South Bandung that had originally been part of a charitable complex run by NII. Its founder and director had also gone over to JAD. Kiki Muhammad Iqbal became the director of the school in October 2015 but after three months, he stepped down, because he wanted to spend more time preaching. Soleh Abdurrahman took his place. The teachers were selected from among activists of JAD Bandung and included Yayat Cahdiyat and Fachri Rafsanjani, who had studied at Al Imarat Bandung, an institute for the study of Islam and Arabic.<sup>12</sup>

The project ended abruptly in January 2016 when Fachri was arrested in connection with a Molotov bomb filled with nails that was placed under a car in front of the the official residence of Bandung Mayor Ridwan Kamil on New Year's Eve 2015. JAD targeted the mayor because he was accused of being a Shi'a. Abdullah Azzam, a member of JAD South Bandung, had planned the attack, reportedly to prove to his friends that he was a good Sunni, since a convicted terrorist had spread rumours that he himself was a Shi'a infiltrator.<sup>13</sup> He convinced others from JAD South Bandung, including Ahmad Syarif, Ade Ahmad and Fachri Rafsanjani, to undertake the attack on the grounds that Shi'a were planning to foment a revolution in Indonesia in 2018.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Al-Imarat is one of 20 schools in Indonesia run by the Asia Muslim Charity Foundation, a conservative but respectable charity headquarted in the United Arab Emirates. It used to be known as the Dar Al Bir Society. It works with Muhammadiyah, al-Irsyad and Persis in Indonesia.

<sup>13</sup> See trial dossier of Ahmad Syarif, East Jakarta District Court, 22 June 2016. A former member of a Jakarta-based Darul Islam group led by Abu Umar, Abdullah Azzam had moved to Bandung after his marriage. He had joined ISIS before JAD Bandung was formed and was an active member of the National Anti-Shi'a Alliance (Aliansi Nasional Anti Syiah, ANAS) in Bandung. For more on ANNAS IPAC, "The Anti-Shi'a Movement in Indonesia," Report No. 27, 27 April 2016.

<sup>14</sup> Trial dossier of Ahmad Syarif, East Jakarta District Court, 22 June 2016.

The team had originally wanted to target the prominent Shi'a leader Jalaluddin Rachmat who comes from Bandungand had also discussed targeting Habib Rizieq Syihab, head of the Islamic Defenders Front (Front Pembela Islam, FPI) whom they regarded as a Shi'a supporter because he refused to condemn Shi'ism as deviant. In the end they chose the mayor's residence, perhaps simply because it was easier. No one was injured and all of the would-be bombers were arrested by police.

Abdullah Azzam had not consulted with his JAD superiors, who were taken by surprise by the bombing attempt. The upshot was that the project to build a school was abandoned, especially as the owner of Dapur Yatim was angered at being linked to terrorism. All of the students were moved to two other pro-ISIS schools, Pesantren Ibnu Masoed in Bogor and Pesantren Miftahul Huda in Subang.

Despite this setback, Jajang Iqin Shodiqin continued to try and set up mechanisms to help JAD members. In 2016, JAD Bandung established a Baitul Mal Al-Ishlah under Jajang's direction to provide material assistance to JAD families whose relative had been arrested. For example, every month the institution provided aid to the families of Ade Ahmad and Ahmad Syarif as well as to the families of Aman Abdurrahman, William Maksum and other prisoners from the Bandung area. The Baitul Mal also developed a program for orphans and for children of JAD members who could not afford school fees, as well as for members who needed medical treatment or whose wives were about to give birth.

Later in 2016, Baitul Mal Al Ikhlas developed into an enterprise whose profits were plowed back into JAD. Among other things, it sold packets of basic goods (*sembako*) to JAD members on a monthly basis. In 2017 Baitul Mal also set up a kind of transit hotel called *rumah singgah* for families whose relatives had been detained in prisons around Bandung, reflecting the increasing number of arrests carried out in West Java. The house was also used by JAD members who had business in Bandung.

## VIII. MILITARY TRAINING, THE "DEATH FATWA" AND JIHAD OPERATIONS

One goal of JAD at the end of 2014 had been to send members to Syria. In Aman Abdurrahman's view, *hijrah* to Syria was an obligation for all ISIS supporters. The caliphate had been established and Islamic law was being applied in full – it was therefore violating Islamic law to stay in Indonesia. JAD encouraged members to set up physical training programs for members planning to emigrate, and JAD Bandung wanted to follow suit. But this was something new for the former activists of NII Zakaria because up till now they had not focused on military training and they had no obvious cadres to serve as trainers. In the end they chose Ikhwan Nurul Salam, a former member of NII Zakaria from Cibuntu, Bandung because he looked the part, with an impressive physique, and had martial arts skills. He led physical fitness training and taught sports such as archery, swimming and hiking, but he had no competence in any of the usual elements of military preparation: field engineering, map reading or weaponry.

In 2016, however, the training for Syria changed to training for war in Indonesia. This was the result of the instruction in May 2016 from the late Abu Muhammad Al Adnani, the ISIS spokesman, to ISIS supporters to undertake acts of war in their own countries because it was increasingly difficult to get into Syria. "If tyrants have shut the door to hijrah in your faces," said Adnani, "then open the door of jihad in theirs." <sup>15</sup>

Paul Kamolnick, "Abu Muhammad al-Adnani's May 21, 2016 Speech", *Small Wars Journal*, 2 July 2016, available at <a href="https://dc.etsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1649&context=etsu-works">https://dc.etsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1649&context=etsu-works</a>.

The "death fatwa" changed the focus of JAD's training program from preparing for jihad in Syria to preparing for jihad in Indonesia. It also gave a new sense of purpose to both those who could not raise the funds to go to Syria and the deportees who had tried but failed to get there. The fatwa was clear:

If one of you is unable, then do not make light of throwing a stone at a crusader in his land, and do not underestimate any deed, as its consequences are great for the mujahidin and its effect is noxious to the disbelievers.<sup>16</sup>

The end result was that members of JAD Bandung began to make bombs for jihad in Indonesia. Four young men -- Deden alias Abu Faiz, Rijal Dzurrohman, Ridho Budi Santoso alias Abu Sofi dan Ivan Rahmat Syarif – were among the first to do so. Deden alias Abu Faiz was a JAD Bandung member who had tried to join ISIS in 2016 but was caught by Turkish authorities and sent back to Indonesia. It was a major blow, but the new fatwa assuaged his disappointment. The other three had wanted to go to Syria but did not have the money. Deden invited them to study how to make bombs from material available online. <sup>17</sup> Every time they tried to build one, however, something went wrong, and they were so discouraged that they decided to abandon the effort.

Their determination to wage jihad at home returned, however, after an incident on 20 October 2016 when an ISIS supporter named Sultan Azianzah attacked police at the Tangerang police station. Armed only with a machete, he managed to wound three officers, including the station commander, before one of them shot and killed him. Sultan's action was an inspiration to the four friends who saw that a jihad operation did not need a bomb – a sharp weapon was sufficient.

They then agreed to copy what Sultan had done and planned an attack on police for December 2016. They decided it should take place in Jakarta, because any attack in the capital was guaranteed to get widespread media coverage. They wanted to do something spectacular that would involve attacking police, seizing their guns and then using the guns to fend off the police who would inevitably surround them. They hoped to die as martyrs as reports of their heroic deed went viral.<sup>20</sup>

The four agreed that Deden should lead the operation. In mid-December 2016 they purchased machetes. On 18 December, they prepared their last testaments (*wasiat*) for their parents, wives and children, and left them with Rijal's wife, with instructions that the letters could only be opened after their deaths. Then they phoned William Maksum, the convicted terrorist from Bandung serving his sentence in a prison in Madiun, East Java to ask his advice. They told him how frightened they were. Rijal told William in Sundanese, "As the time gets closer, Ustadz, my knees are shaking with fear." William tried to encourage them, saying Allah was all they needed to fear. He recounted his own experience when he was going to be arrested and how frightened

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> The sources were Bahrun Naim's website as well as Telegram postings on field engineering.

<sup>18</sup> The three wounded officers were Kompol Effendi, the station chief; Iptu Bambang Haryadi and Bripka Sukardi.

<sup>19</sup> Sultan Azianzah, born in Jakarta on 16 November 1994, lived at the police barracks where his older brothers were officers. Before he died, he told police interrogators that he had stolen bullets from them. He said he had been radicalized at the al-Hikmah Mosque in Bentang Betawi, Tangerang, then went to study at Pesantren Anshorullah in Ciamis, a pro-ISIS school. Before he began slashing out with the machete, he had pasted ISIS stickers on police traffic control post on Jl. Perintis Kemerdekaan, Tangerang. He was buried in an unmarked grave with many people from outside the area coming to pay their respects, according to a neighbour. "Makam Penyerang Polisi di Tangerang Tanpa Nisan dan Nama," Liputan6.com, 21 October 2016.

<sup>20</sup> Trial dossier of Ivan Rahmat Syarif, 29 December 2016.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

he felt, but when the time actually came, the fear disappeared. He talked with the four for some 30 minutes, advising them in closing to plan carefully and make sure that the operation was fully ready to go.

The next day, 19 December 2016, the four left for Jatiluhur, Purwakarta where they finalized plans and prepared themselves mentally for action. On 23 December, they left for Jakarta. They had decided to target police in the Senen area, because it was a place Deden and Budi knew well. They went to a police post near the Plaza Atrium shopping mall, but it turned out the two policemen there were not armed. They decided to wait for the new shift and went to a bookstore where they bought a book appropriately titled *The Journey of the Soul after Death*. Then after noon prayers, they went to check whether the police on the new shift were carrying guns. This time, there were no police at all, so the operation was cancelled.

The four decided to return to Jatiluhur to rest and fish in the reservoir there. But Detachment 88 had picked up on their movements and on 25 December, Rijal and Ivan were arrested. Police learned from them where Budi and Deden were staying and went to arrest them. Apparently fearing that the two would attack, police shot and killed them both. (There was never any evidence that they planned to bomb the Jatiluhur dam as the then West Java police chief suggested at the time.)<sup>22</sup>

Police found the last testaments, one of which was a letter to them. It read:

Take notice, you defenders of *thaghut*, today and every day hereafter will be full of fear for you. We will come for you wherever you are, we will enter your posts, your homes, whether crowded or empty, day or night. You will end your days at the end of our knives unless you repent for your idolatry and repression of Muslims. You have sent our friends far away, tortured and killed those who were trying to uphold the law of Allah. In fact this earth is Allah's alone and it is not right for you to obey any law but His. You are the enforcers of Satan's laws. We are coming to you to ensure that Allah alone is worshiped. So just wait. We can wait too. Await the judgment of Allah on you from the hands of the mujahid. [Signed], Army of the Islamic Caliphate, Nusantara.<sup>23</sup>

#### IX. REVENGE AND THE PRESSURE COOKER BOMB

The arrest and killing of JAD Bandung members rattled the group's leaders. One of the Jatiluhur group's last testaments was circulated on a Telegram group they used, and several feared they would be exposed. Some decided to become inactive for the time being. One of these was Teguh, the group's treasurer. But others were angry over the deaths of Deden and Budi and wanted to avenge them. Yayat Cahdiyat, the amir of JAD South Bandung, was one; Budi had been his close friend.

"Our brother has died, we have to respond," he told Agus Sujatno, a member of JAD Bandung military team, when he got the news.<sup>24</sup> He asked Agus to join him in taking revenge and asked him to study bomb-making from Bahrun Naim's Telegram channel. Agus agreed. To finance the bomb construction, Yayat sought and received a donation from Soleh Abdurrahman, head of JAD Central Bandung, then used the money to buy the necessary equipment.

<sup>22</sup> See "Ini Tanda 'Pengantin' Teroris akan Membom Waduk Jatiluhur?" Tempo.co, 26 December 2016.

<sup>23</sup> IPAC translation for a photograph in "Ini isi pesan surat wasiat yg ditemukan di markas teroris di Jatiluhur", www.beritaumat.com, 25 December 2016.

<sup>24</sup> Trial dossier of Agus Sujatno, testimony of 9 March 2017.

In February 2017 Agus reported that he had figured out how to make a pressure-cooker bomb and had three ready to go. He and Yayat then discussed possible targets, including the police command in Cianjur district and Jakarta police headquarters. They surveyed both locations. Then Yayat took one bomb for the operation and Agus held on to the others.

The revenge attack never happened. On 27 February 2017, the bomb that Yayat was carrying exploded prematurely in Cicendo, not far from his in-laws' home. Yayat was chased by angry residents and managed to hide in the neighborhood administrative office (*kantor kelurahan*) with only a knife to defend himself. It was no match for police bullets, and he was killed in a hail of gunfire.

Police then arrested Agus Sujatno and Soleh Abdurrahman. Yayat's death and the two arrests seriously weakened JAD Bandung. The loss of Soleh also disrupted JAD's indoctrination program since he, together with Ustadz Kiki, had been one of the discussion leaders at the regular *pengajian* held at the Al Hidayah Mosque. But Yayat's death also served to convince other JAD members that the police were indeed the oppressors and therefore legitimate targets of attack. For Kiki, who had closely followed Aman Abdurrahman's teachings about how waging war on the police was a key element of the faith, Yayat's killing proved the correctness of the doctrine, and his hatred of the police, which had begun when he was tortured after his arrest in 2010, intensified.<sup>25</sup>

That hatred led to a conflict between Kiki and Muslih, the amir of East Bandung. It began when police in April 2017 went to the As-Sunnah Mosque to ask about the mosque's activities. Muslih as head of the Mosque Prosperity Council (Dewan Kemakmuran Mesjid, DKM) that oversaw fund-raising and development, received the visitors politely and explained about the mosque's programs, including its kindergarten. He did not reveal that the mosque hosted a JAD *pengajian*. But Kiki was angry when he saw Muslih conversing with the police in a friendly manner and believed his behavior of colluding with the enemy was enough to warrant his expulsion from the faith. Kiki, as adviser to JAD Bandung, convened a "trial" at which Muslih was removed as amir and suspended as a discussion leader for the *pengajian*. Kiki also ordered Muslih to undertake *istitabah*, a form of penance for the rehabilitation of apostates.<sup>26</sup>

The content of Kiki's lectures also changed. If before Yayat's death, the focus was mostly on *tauhid*, afterwards he put more emphasis on the value of suicide bombings (*istisyahadiyah*) At lectures at As-Sunnah in May 2017, for example, he spoke at length about the paramountcy of such actions and said that the bombers would be rewarded in the afterworld: forgiven for all their sins, given access to heaven for 70 of their relatives and receive 72 virgins. Their bodies would exude a perfume and they would be immune from the slander of the Dajjal and the agonies of the grave on Judgment Day. Among the JAD members listening avidly were Ahmad Sukri, 32, a tailor, and Ikhwan Nurul Salam, also 32, a seller of Islamic herbal remedies.

Ahmad's and Ikhwan's enthusiasm to become martyrs was well instilled by the end of May 2017. One day before the beginning of Ramadhan, on the evening of 25 May, the two blew themselves up in a crowd of police who were guarding a parade at the bus terminal in Kampung Melayu to welcome the onset of the fasting month. Their bombs killed themselves and three policemen. They each left behind a wife and two young children.

<sup>25</sup> IPAC interview with former member of the As-Sunnah group, Bandung. October 2017.

<sup>26</sup> IPAC interview with former member of the As-Sunnah group, Bandung, October 2017.

#### X. THE FORMATION OF SMALL CELLS

The Kampung Melayu bombing resulted in a wave of arrests, including four senior JAD Bandung leaders: Muslih Afifi, Jajang Iqin Shodiqin, Fani Suherman and Kiki Muhammad Iqbal.<sup>27</sup> JAD Bandung was close to extinction. But crushing the organisation did not mean the end of the threat from individual pro-ISIS members because several went underground and created their own cells. This is a model that has regularly appeared in Indonesia – an extremist organisation is temporarily crippled when it loses its leaders; members then decide to wage "individual jihad" (*jihad fardiyah*) through small cells, until the organisation regroups. This happened with some of the JI affiliates in Poso who later re-emerged as Mujahidin Indonesia Timur. It happened with some JAT branches after the Aceh training camp was broken up, and it happened in Bandung.

The three-man cell that emerged in South Bandung was formed from friends who had taken part together in the *pengajian* in Mesjid Al Hidayah. They were Hanif Fadillah, Agus Wiguna and Ramlan Suryadi. Agus Wiguna was the leader, a juvenile delinquent who had joined ISIS who now worked as a meatball (*bakso*) seller. After Soleh Abdurrahman was arrested, no one was left to lead the discussions. The three friends decided to move to Garut to take part in the *pengajian* there of Budi Setiawan alias Abu Ghozi at Mesjid Al Furqon. Budi Setiawan was a member of JAD Garut who also was former member of NII there. They knew Abu Ghozi because he frequently had taken part in their old *pengajian* at Al Hidayah.

Agus Wiguna and his friends confided in Abu Ghozi about their desire to conduct an operation and Agus told him of his own desire to be a suicide bomber. Abu Ghozi responded that if he was serious, he needed to be careful about security and guard the secrecy of the operation, but he also needed to aim for a Bali bombing-like spectacular rather than a pressure-cooker bombing where only the bomber got killed.<sup>28</sup> Agus became very serious about studying bomb-making and from March 2017, had gathered materials on social media. In April, he believed he had mastered the craft and invited Hanif to take part in a bombing. Hanif refused, although he took part in discussions about targeting. Agus wanted to go after the police who gathered at the football stadium in Bandung during matches, but Hanif forbade it because there were too many civilians around. He suggested instead a café in the Braga area that was frequented by foreigners.

In June 2017, Agus managed to make a five-kg pressure-cooker bomb that he planned to set off at a café as per Hanif's recommendation. On 7 July he went to the Beer Café and tried unsuccessfully to detonate the bomb. He tried to fix it and that evening, left again to become a martyr, this time choosing the Celengan Restaurant, a place that served pork in the Astanaanyar area. He entered the restaurant and again tried to detonate the bomb, but once again, it failed to explode. He decided to return to his rented room in the Buah Batu neighbourhood. The next day, on 8 July 2018 he returned to selling meatballs but kept the malfunctioning bomb in his room. He was arrested by police together with friends whom, against all advice from Abu Ghozi, he had told about his plans.

Agus Wiguna's was not the only such cell in Bandung. In August 2017, another cell was formed by two men from the East Bandung branch, Sulton and Ridwan Iskandar alias Idan together with three friends from outside Bandung. They came together almost by accident. Sulton had invited Young Farmer, a friend and fellow ISIS supporter recently deported from

<sup>27</sup> Fani Suherman was quickly released because he had tuberculosis and no one wanted to get infected.

<sup>28</sup> IPAC interview with friend of Agus Wiguna, Depok, January 2018.

Turkey, to stay with him in Bandung, and there introduced him to Idan.<sup>29</sup> The three got along very well together. Young Farmer was very enthusiastic about undertaking an operation and told the others that he had studied bomb-making on social media. A few weeks later, he invited Anggi Indah Kusumah and her husband Rahman to join them in Bandung. Anggi, another deportee, was a former migrant worker in Hong Kong and strongly supported the idea of an operation, indeed declared herself ready to become a suicide bomber.<sup>30</sup>

The five discussed whether to undertake an operation or join the newest jihad in Marawi which was then still under occupation by a pro-ISIS coalition. Sulton and Idan wanted to leave for the Philippines, but Young Farmer, Anggi and her husband did not – their passports were still impounded by the government and they preferred to undertake action at home. Sulton and Idan eventually abandoned plans to get to the Philippines when they could not find a way to get there. Young Farmer was prepared to make bomb but he wanted to go for broke and make a micronuclear bomb that would leave a radioactive impact. He tried to mix hydrogen peroxide and thorium with black power and "flash powder" in a recipe that he had studied from Bahrun Naim's website. Anggi had agreed to be the bomber.

In terms of targets, Young Farmer wanted to attack the government munitions plant, PT Pindad. He had been obsessed since 2015 with the idea of bombing Pindad and emptying its weapons depot.<sup>31</sup> Sulton preferred the idea of bombing Brimob headquarters in Kelapa Dua and releasing all the ISIS supporters detained there. Someone also suggested hitting the presidential palace. Before anything had been decided, however, Detachment 88 got wind of their plans, and in mid-August 2017, all five were arrested.

#### XI. CONCLUSIONS AND CHALLENGES

There are four striking lessons from the NII Zakaria story.

- Providing social services can be a way of protecting the group against outside influences. Groups like HAMAS and Hizbollah in the Middle East recognised this years ago, but it is striking how rarely extremist groups in Indonesia have tried to do the same. It worked for NII Zakaria until ISIS came along, and then JAD Bandung tried use the same approach, but not as successfully. Still, it suggests that one model to explore for communities with histories of extremism might be to focus on social service delivery through leaders who themselves have disengaged from violence.
- Influential teachers can bring large numbers followers in to extremist groups and maybe out again. The report shows how a committed ISIS supporter successfully recruited the Soleh Abdurrahman, knowing that if he could persuade this respected teacher to join, many others would follow. And indeed, some 60 friends, family and students followed Soleh into JAD Bandung. That experience suggests the process could work in reverse, if the right leader could be found. For NII communities, it would probably *not* be someone who had joined ISIS and been arrested, because he might be suspected of being a tool of the government, but perhaps someone who had never taken sides but was nevertheless highly respected within the target community. The religious

<sup>29</sup> Sulton had met Young Farmer, a native of West Sumatra, via social media in 2015 and the two had had long discussions about ISIS. After he was deported in March 2017, Young Farmer stayed in a Ministry of Social Affairs shelter for a few weeks before being allowed to leave. He decided to return Batam and resumed his old job of selling chickens. The business was not very strong, however, so he took up Sulton's invitation and accordingly moved to Bandung in July 2017.

<sup>30</sup> IPAC interview with law enforcement official, Jakarta, January 2018.

<sup>31</sup> IPAC interview with law enforcement official, Jakarta, January 2018.

discussions (*pengajian*) that were the means of indoctrination into the group could also be the way out.

- The formation of individual cells after the larger group is decimated will always be a problem. These small cells of two or three people can be the key to a group's survival and re-emergence after a wave of arrests, as happened after Bali in 2002, Poso in 2007 and Bandung in 2017. The government needs to anticipate that some members of the group still at large will regroup, a problem compounded in the ISIS era by the chance that deportees and returnees from the Middle East will increase their ranks.
- Revenge against the police for deaths in operations is a very powerful motivator. Revenge can help keep the group motivated when other factors might otherwise sap its will to continue. It means the police need to be extra-careful to avoid such deaths but they also need to pay particular attention to those captured alive in the same operations. Individual attention to prisoners and families from police in the past has been a factor in successful disengagement; it is particularly important to work with these survivors.

The government has another major challenge on its hands: how to manage the JAD Bandung suspects in prison. Over 30 JAD Bandung members are in detention awaiting trial or in prison. The concentration of more than 20 of them in the headquarters of the paramilitary police, Brimob, in Kelapa Dua is a disaster waiting to happen. The history of NII Zakaria and KW7 suggests that the affiliation of these men to a violent extremist movement – JAD – was based solely on ISIS's control of territory; that was what convinced them that it was worth leaving NII for. With the loss of almost all ISIS-controlled land in the Middle East, many are likely to question the basis on which they joined JAD. The chances of their disengaging from further violence are high, as long as they are not detained with other ISIS militants and further radicalised. Indonesian counter-terrorism authorities, whether the National Anti-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) or police, should be separating these men and detaining them in Metropolitan Jakarta police headquarters where they can interact with rehabilitated extremists with strong religious credentials, such as Ali Imron, the "remorseful" Bali bomber who has helped many terrorist offenders disengage.

It is also striking that many of the detained JAD Bandung leaders are over 40 – they include respected scholars who would have influence with the rank and file of KW7 if they were persuaded that ISIS doctrine was wrong -- and Ali Imron has a reasonably good chance of making that happen. If they are left in Brimob headquarters, however, the chance that their intial commitment to ISIS will be reinforced by other extremists is high.

# APPENDIX I: MEMBERS OF JAD BANDUNG ARRESTED OR KILLED

	Name	DOB, POB	Circumstances of Arrest	Prison/Detention Centre
1.	M. Abdullah Syafei alias Abdullah Azzam		Arrested 8/1/2016 in Rawa Badak Selatan, Kec. Koja, Jakarta Utara	Indramayu
2.	Ade Ahmad	Bandung, 17/1/67	Arrested 9/1/2016 in Ciwidey for Molotov bomb placed in front of Bandung mayor Ridwan Kamil's house 1/1/2016, same case as Fachri Rafsanjani.	4 yrs, Banyuwangi
3.	Ade Arif Suryana	Cianjur 19/12/92	Arrested 11/7/2017 in connection with pressure cooker bomb in Bandung	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
4.	Adilatur Rahman	Kangiang, 20/4/1998	Arrested 14/8/2017 Bandung for plot to use chemical bomb on pres palace and Brimob hq, late August 2017	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
5.	Agus Sujatno	24/8/1988	Arrested 7/3/2017 in Bandung in connection with failed bomb plot in Cicendo, Bandung	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
6.	Agus Wiguna	Garut, 30/8/95	Arrested 8/7/2017 for role in pressure cooker bomb that exploded as his home in Buahbatu, Bandung. Planned to use at Cafe Bali, Rumah Makan Celengan and a church.	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
7.	Ahmad Sukri		Killed in Kampung Melayu bomb, 24 May 2017 Jakarta	SUICIDE BOMBER
8.	Ahmad Syarif	Bandung, 9/9/1980	Arrested 9/1/2016 in Cimaung, Bandung	Kuningan
9.	Andri Rosadi@ Abu Arsyad	Bandung, 6/11/1992	Arrested 13/7/2017 in connection with pressure cooker bomb in Buahbatu, Bandung, same case as <b>Agus Wiguna</b>	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
10.	Anggi Indah Kusumah@Kanza	Klaten, 11/6/1993	Arrested 14/8/2017 Bandung for plot to use chemical bomb on pres palace and Brimob hq, late August 2017	
11.	Asep Ahmad Bentara bin Miftahudin		Arrested Sukabumi 11/7/2017 suspected of planning bomb attack on polsek Cisaat and Cianjur Kota	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
12.	Asep Sofyan	Bandung, 3/10/80	Arrested May 2017 in Bandung in connection with Kampung Melayu bombing Jkt (24.5.17)	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
13.	Budi Setiawan Ismail Rusik	Garut, 5/5/1069	Arrested 19/12/2017 in connection with a Bandung bomb plot	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
14.	Dadang Gunawan		Arrested 8/2017 for role in pressure cooker bomb (same cas as <b>Agus Wiguna</b> ).	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua

15.	Deden alias Abu Faiz	Padalarang, Bandung Barat	Killed 25/12/16 in Jatiluhur, Purwakarta.	KILLED IN POLICE OPS
16.	Fachri Rafsanjani	8	Arrested January 2016	Majalengka
17.	Fani Suherman	Bandung, 26/1/87	Arrested 5/6/2017 in Bandung Barat in connection with Kampung Melayu bomb.	RELEASED because of illness
18.	Germanto		Joined MIT Poso in Ramadhan 2015, killed Jan 2016.	KILLED IN POLICE OPS
19.	Hanif Fadillah	Bandung, 9/5/1993	Arrested in Malaysia 9/12/2017, deported to Indonesia 12/12/2017 and arrested at airport.	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
20.	Ichwan Nurul Salam	Bandung, 28/12/1985	Kampung Melayu bomb, 24 May 2017 Jakarta (see <b>Ahmad Sukri</b> )	SUICIDE BOMBER
21.	Ivan Rahmat Syarif	Bandung 10/7/1988	Arrested 25/12/16 near waduk Jatiluhur in connection with plot to attack police in Jakarta with knives and machetes.	
22.	Jajan Iqin Sodiqin	Cisarua, Bandung, 24/7/1970	Arrested 25/5/2017 in connection with Kampung Melayu bomb (24.5.17), JAD Bandung donor/businessman, sold Muslim garments	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
23.	Khairul Anam		Amir of JAD West Java, deported from ISIS Syria, February 2017	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
24.	Kodar bin Rodi@Abu Dhodar al Anshory	Tasikmalaya 18/7/1991	Arrested 11/7/2017 in connection with pressure cooker bomb (bom panji) same case as <b>Agus Wiguna</b>	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
25.	Muhammad Iqbal@Kiki	Bandung, 4 June 1979	Arrested 5/6/2017 in connection with Kampung Melayu bomb (24/5/17) and in a planning meeting at Yayasan as-Sunnah, Cileunyi on 19/5/17.  First arrested 7/8/2010 in Cileunyi, West Java. Helped prepare bombs with Fahrul Rozi Tanjung and Yuli Harsono. pro-ISIS. Sentenced to 6 yrs as of 21 June 2011, released late 2015. Joined JAT 2009.	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
26.	Muslih Afifi Affandi	Bandung, 2/8/1973	Arrested 7/6/2017 in connection with Kampung Melayu bombing Jkt (24.5.17) 1 man arrested at same time released (Fani Suherman)	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
27.	Ramlan Suryadi	Bandung, 1/8/93	Arrested 11/7/2017 in case of pressure cooker bomb, Buahbatu ( <b>Agus Wiguna</b> )	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
28.	Ridho Budi Santoso alias Abu Sofi		Killed 25/12/16 in Jatiluhur, Purwakarta.	KILLED IN POLICE OPS
29.	Ridwan Iskandar@ Idan	Bandung, 10/11/1985	Arrested 15/8/2017 Bandung for plot to use chemical bomb on pres palace and Brimob hq , late August 2017	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua

30.	Rijal Dzurrohman	Bandung, 18/7/1987	Arrested 25/12/2016 Ngamprah, Bandung Barat for allegedly planning attacks on New Year's. Linked to <b>William Maksum</b>	
31.	Soleh/Sholeh Abdurrahman	Bandung, 3/2/79	Arrested 7/3/2017 in Bandung. Provided Rp2 million for bomb of recidivist Yayat Cahdiyat killed by police on 27/2/2017, agreed to take care of his family. TATP bombs planned to hit Polda Jawa Barat, Polres Cianjur and traffic post at Buahbatu.	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
32.	[Muhammad] Sulton Hakim Amrolloh, S.E. bin Abdul Kholiq alias Sulton	Kediri, 7/8/1988	Arrested 15/8/2017 Bandung for plot to use chemical bomb on pres palace and Brimob hq , late August 2017	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
33.	Wachidun Triyono@Wahid		Arrested 7 June 2017 in Bandung in connection with Kampung Melayu bombing Jkt (24.5.17)	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
34.	Waris Suyitno	Kebumen, 13/4/1980	Arrested May 2017 in connection with Kampung Melayu bombing Jkt (24.5.17)	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
35.	Yayat Cahdiyat	Purwakarta, 24/6/75	Killed by police 27/2/2017 in Cicendo, Bandung, about to detonate "pan bomb".	KILLED IN POLICE OPS
36.	Yoki Candra	8/8/ 1995	Arrested 11/7/2017 in connection with pressure cooker bomb, Buahbatu, Bandung ( <b>Agus Wiguna</b> )	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua
37.	Young Farmer bin Nasrul	Solok, 1/7/1988	Arrested 14/8/2017 in Bandung, planning to join pro-ISIS grp in Marawi, Philippines. Also involved in plan to bomb pres palace, Brimob hq, in late Aug 2017	Brimob HQ, Kelapa Dua

#### INSTITUTE FOR POLICY ANALYSIS OF CONFLICT (IPAC)

The Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) was founded in 2013 on the principle that accurate analysis is a critical first step toward preventing violent conflict. Our mission is to explain the dynamics of conflict—why it started, how it changed, what drives it, who benefits—and get that information quickly to people who can use it to bring about positive change.

In areas wracked by violence, accurate analysis of conflict is essential not only to peaceful settlement but also to formulating effective policies on everything from good governance to poverty alleviation. We look at six kinds of conflict: communal, land and resource, electoral, vigilante, extremist and insurgent, understanding that one dispute can take several forms or progress from one form to another. We send experienced analysts with long-established contacts in the area to the site to meet with all parties, review primary written documentation where available, check secondary sources and produce in-depth reports, with policy recommendations or examples of best practices where appropriate.

We are registered with the Ministry of Social Affairs in Jakarta as the Foundation for Preventing International Crises (Yayasan Penanggulangan Krisis Internasional); our website is www.understandingconflict.org.