

INDONESIA: JEMAAH ISLAMIYAH'S PUBLISHING INDUSTRY

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INDONESIA: JEMAAH ISLAMIYAH'S PUBLISHING INDUSTRY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A handful of members and persons close to Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), Indonesia's most prominent extremist organisation, have developed a profitable publishing consortium in and around the *pesantren* (religious school) founded by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and Abdullah Sungkar in Solo, Central Java. The consortium has become an important vehicle for the dissemination of jihadi thought, getting cheap and attractively printed books into mosques, bookstores and discussion groups. The publishing venture demonstrates JI's resilience and the extent to which radical ideology has developed roots in Indonesia. The Indonesian government should monitor these enterprises more closely, but they may be playing a useful role by channelling JI energies into waging jihad through the printed page rather than acts of violence.

Examining the titles printed permits tracking of a lively internal debate within JI over the desirability of al-Qaeda tactics. That debate seems to be taking place spontaneously, without any assistance from the government "deradicalisation" program, and it is important that it continue. Banning the publishers or their books would be counterproductive. But more scrutiny of the publishing activities would be desirable for several reasons:

- Publishing has increased as JI has weakened, likely reflecting a decision from the top to focus on religious outreach and recruitment as a way of

rebuilding the organisation. The books produced may be part of that effort.

- From translator to distributor, the publishing web is an example of the social network that holds JI together, particularly at a time of weakness. JI has proven itself extraordinarily able to rebound from setbacks, and the networks underpinning it may help explain why.
- Although the publishing houses are owned by individuals, not JI per se, some revenues are almost certainly being ploughed back into JI activities.
- Individual members close to Noordin Mohammed Top, perhaps the region's most dangerous at-large terrorist, may be working as translators for JI publishers, despite the ideological gulf between Noordin and the JI mainstream.

The best way to ensure adequate scrutiny would be for the Indonesian government to enforce its own laws with respect to publishing, labour, corporate registration and taxation. Such enforcement would not only offer a means of monitoring these enterprises, but it could also yield valuable information about the size and status of the JI organisation.

Jakarta/Brussels, 28 February 2008

INDONESIA: JEMAAH ISLAMIYAH'S PUBLISHING INDUSTRY

I. INTRODUCTION

Islamic publishing is a thriving industry in Indonesia, and publishers associated with Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) have established a small but growing niche in the market.¹ They have become a major channel for dissemination of jihadi thought, and it is possible to track trends in internal debates by examining new releases. Their importance, however, goes beyond the material they publish. The network of printers, translators, designers, marketers and distributing agents is one of many webs binding the organisation together. JI has proved to be extraordinarily resilient, and the publishing web helps explain why. Book production also crosses the ideological divide, bringing individuals close to Noordin Mohammed Top – the fugitive bomber committed to the al-Qaeda line of attacking the U.S. and its allies wherever possible – together with men from the JI mainstream, opposed to attacks on Indonesian soil and focused on rebuilding the organisation.

The primary objective of the publishers, who seem to operate as a loosely linked consortium, appears to be less personal enrichment than religious outreach (*dakwah* in Indonesian transliteration but more commonly transliterated from the Arabic as *da'wa*), although some of their enterprises have become very profitable. Book production has increased as JI's operational capacity has weakened, likely reflecting a decision of the leadership to devote more time to organisational rebuilding and recruitment. Many of the books are used in Islamic study groups and circulated as photocopied pamphlets or website postings long before they were printed. They include classic jihadi texts, such as those by the late Abdullah Azzam, the Palestinian scholar who acted as

mentor to foreign fighters in Afghanistan in the 1980s; Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Aziz, now serving a life sentence in Egypt for his role in the group Islamic Jihad; and Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, detained in Jordan.² The political texts are subsidised through the sale of vastly more popular books that focus on Islamic lifestyle, the role of women, worship and Islamic eschatology.

These publishing houses are run by individuals, not JI as an organisation, and they should not be closed down or their books banned. Some, in fact, may be playing a more positive than negative role, directing members into above-ground activities and enabling them to promote a jihadi message without engaging in violence;³ one of them may be deliberately choosing to publish writings by well-known Middle Eastern jihadis who have rejected al-Qaeda doctrine. All could use closer scrutiny, however. One question is whether any support is reaching JI fugitives, directly or indirectly, since there is a precedent for some members on the run to earn enough to live on through translations. Another is how much revenue is being ploughed back into JI through donations to the organisation's education and outreach activities.

¹ For more on Jemaah Islamiyah, see among other Crisis Group publications, Asia Report N°142, "*Deradicalisation and Indonesian Prisons*", 19 November 2007; Asia Briefing N°63, *Indonesia: Jemaah Islamiyah's Current Status*, 3 May 2007; Asia Report N°114, *Terrorism in Indonesia: Noordin's Networks*, 5 May 2006; Asia Report N°92, *Recycling Militants in Indonesia: Darul Islam and the Australian Embassy Bombing*, 22 February 2005; and Asia Report N°83, *Indonesia Backgrounder: Why Salafism and Terrorism Mostly Don't Mix*, 13 September 2004.

² Outside Indonesia, Abdul Qadir is better known as Dr Fadl or Sayid Imam abd al-Aziz al-Sharif.

³ The word "jihad" literally means "struggle". Most Muslims recognise four different kinds: the jihad against one's baser instincts; jihad using speech or writing to spread Islam; jihad of scholarly knowledge and reasoning; and actual armed combat. For salafi jihadis, waging war in defence of Muslims under attack is obligatory, but if Muslim forces are too weak or the costs to the Muslim community would outweigh the benefits, then other forms of jihad are acceptable.

II. ISLAMIC PUBLISHING

Islamic publishing is a booming industry across Indonesia, and the number of new publishers is steadily growing. The annual Islamic Book Fair in Jakarta had 73 exhibitors in 2004 and 167 in 2007; the 2008 fair, from 1-9 March 2008, is expected to be even bigger.⁴ Similar fairs take place in Padang, Palembang, Lampung, Banten, Jakarta, Bandung, Jogjakarta, Solo, Semarang, and Surabaya. A 2005 survey by the Association of Indonesian Publishers (Ikatan Penerbit Indonesia, IKAPI), found that close to one third of some 10,000 books produced each year by its members were on Islam.⁵ Islamic books are the likeliest best sellers. The average print run for a non-Islamic book is 2,000; a book is considered a best-seller at 5,000. Many Islamic books start with print runs of 3,000 to 5,000 and can top 10,000.⁶ Bali bomber Imam Samudra's *Aku Melawan Teroris (I Fight Terrorists)*, which sold some 12,000 copies, was a phenomenon, but some volumes, including those produced by JI publishers, have reached stratospheric heights of 100,000 or more.

The first big modern Islamic publishing houses appeared in the mid-1980s and were not particularly ideological. The name of the largest, Mizan ("balance") reflected its commitment to providing Muslim intellectuals with a broad spectrum of books, religious and otherwise.⁷ Gema Insani Press, founded in 1986, tapped into the thirst for books that fostered international Islamic solidarity. Its first publication, a translation of Abdullah Azzam's *War in Afghanistan*, surprised even the publishers by its success.⁸ Today Gema Insani claims to have published over 1,000 titles, with its current

catalogue reflecting an eclectic mix that spans the ideological spectrum.⁹

But dissemination of literature quickly came to be seen as an important form of *dakwah*, particularly for more conservative groups, and different streams of Islam began issuing their own paperbacks, magazines, cassettes and later video CDs (VCDs), often through their own bookstores, distributors and websites. Era Intermedia (www.eraintermedia.com) is closely associated with the Ikhwan ul-Muslimin and its Indonesian equivalent, the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS).¹⁰ One list of salafi publishers has more than 100 entries.¹¹ Hizb ut-Tahrir, the international movement which works for restoration of a caliphate, has several imprints as well as the tabloid *Suara Islam* and the monthly magazine, *al-Wa'ie*. Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia, the above-ground organisation led by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, which campaigns for the establishment of Islamic law, has its own magazine, *Risalah Mujahidin*, and a publishing house, Wihdah Press.

The relationship between JI publishing and *dakwah* is reinforced by the organisation's close ties with the Indonesian Islamic Propagation Council (Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia, DDII), a conservative organisation that is very much part of the Islamic establishment but reflects a largely salafi and often anti-Christian perspective. Abdullah Sungkar, JI's founder, was head of DDII for Central Java in the 1970s. In early 2008, a meeting of DDII's Central Java branch elected new leaders and put forward a program that shows strong JI influence; the program also cites the importance of publishing in the *dakwah* effort.¹²

⁴ "Ibu Wakil Presiden Buka Islamic Book Fair", *Republika*, 5 March 2007. The 2008 book fair in Solo is 5-11 March.

⁵ "Jusuf Kalla: Seharusnya Ada Waralaba Toko", *Republika*, 5 March 2006. That figure does not include the books produced by many presses not linked to IKAPI. According to IKAPI, less than 50 per cent of Islamic publishers in Indonesia are members. Crisis Group interview, Jakarta, 21 February 2008.

⁶ Crisis Group interview, Aristides Katoppo, Jakarta publisher, 20 February 2008; and "Lezatnya Bisnis Buku Islam", *Republika*, 28 March 2004.

⁷ C.W. Watson, "Islamic Books and Their Publishers: Notes on the Contemporary Indonesian Scene", *Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol.16, no.2 (March 2005), p. 184.

⁸ The late Abdullah Azzam, a Palestinian who established the service bureau in Peshawar to assist foreign fighters, is one of the seminal salafi jihadi authors. Often regarded as a mentor to Osama bin Laden, he was murdered in a car bomb explosion in Peshawar in 1989; the perpetrators were never identified.

⁹ See the company website, www.gemainsani.co.id.

¹⁰ Among Era Intermedia imprints are Ikkhwatuna, Cakrawala, Oase, Zamrud and Eranovis for Kids.

¹¹ See "Daftar Penerbit Islam Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah di Indonesia", at <http://publisher.pustaka-islam.net/>. Several JI publishers appear on this list, including Aqwam, al-Qowam, CV Arafah Group, Wacana Ilmiah Press and Wafa Press.

¹² Panitia Workshop: Optimalisasi dan Akselerasi Kinerja Dakwah, "Bahan Workshop Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia Propinsi Jawa Tengah", 3 February 2008.

III. THE JI-LINKED COMPANIES

Most of the JI-linked companies are in Solo, run by alumni of Pondok Pesantren al-Mukmin in Ngruki, Solo, the school established by Ba'asyir and Sungkar.¹³ While very few seem to have joined IKAPI, almost all are members of what appears to be a Ngruki-dominated association, the Islamic Publishers Union – Solo (Serikat Penerbit Islam, SPI) and appear on the website <http://solobook.wordpress.com/>.¹⁴

A. AL-ALAQ

One of the first was al-Alaq, run by Ikhsan Miarso, who at the time of the 2002 Bali bombing was head of JI's territorial subdivision (*wakalah*) in Solo. Ikhsan was a member of one of the largest and most prominent classes in the military academy set up for Indonesian recruits on the Afghanistan border, which included Bali bomber Mukhlas. He helped send a group of JI men to Mindanao for training in 2000 and that June became one of the first JI members sent to Poso to train local recruits. After being arrested briefly in 2003, he relinquished his *wakalah* position and has hosted religious education sessions for other ex-detainees and former prisoners.

Ikhsan was in Afghanistan from 1987 to 1990, and the company was set up on his return. Among the first books he published was a set of the writings and lectures of "the martyr", Abdullah Azzam, collectively entitled *Tarbiyah Jihadiyah (Jihad Education)*. They were all translated by Abdurrahman, possibly another name for Ikhsan himself. The first several volumes, published in 1994, a year after JI was founded officially, notes that the original publisher in 1990 was Maktab al-Khidmat al-Mujahidin in Peshawar, the services bureau through which most foreign fighters passed on their way to Afghanistan. By 1996, al-Alaq was up to volume seven of what eventually would be a twelve-volume set; by 2000, several of the volumes were already in their third printing. These books remain the staple of al-Alaq. They are used as teaching materials in JI schools, discussion groups and training programs and are sold around the

country in bookstores and through JI distributors. A full set in 2007 went for Rp.254,000 (about \$25). They were reprinted most recently in 2006.

It is unclear whether al-Alaq makes a profit. It does not have the extensive catalogue of other JI publishers, and its advertisements appear less frequently in radical magazines.¹⁵ For years it seemed to avoid the tactic favoured by other publishers of appealing to the mass market with texts on how to be a good Muslim, although a new imprint, *Wa Islama*, appeared in 2006 with the same address as al-Alaq and focusing on books on the afterlife, which seem to be appearing with increasing frequency.

The company is known primarily for the seminal books on doctrine that would constitute the reading list of any self-respecting jihadi syllabus. But because it prints and reprints classic jihadi texts, it seems to retain enough of its share in the market, not only in Indonesia but in Malaysia, to stay alive.¹⁶ In addition to the Abdullah Azzam texts, it also publishes *Al-Jihad Sabiluna (Jihad is Our Path)* by an Arab writer, Abdul Baqi Ramdhun, now in its sixth printing. Interestingly, the PKS publisher, Era Intermedia, puts out the same book with a different translator under the title *Jihad Jalan Kami (Jihad is Our Way)*. Apparently the readerships are distinct enough that there is no danger of overlap.

Al-Alaq's recent publications include several by noted Middle Eastern jihadi writers. A 2005 title, *Kapan Manusia Menjadi Kafir? (When Do People Become Infidels?)* explores the concept of *takfir*: when and for what reasons a Muslim can be declared to have left Islam. It is a translation of a tract by popular Saudi scholar Sa'id bin Ali bin Wahf al-Qahthani, best known in Indonesia for his treatise on loyalty and disloyalty (*al-wala' wal-bara'*) in Islam.¹⁷

¹⁵ It occasionally advertises on the inside front cover of *an-Najah*, one of the JI magazines. The October 2007 edition claimed al-Alaq had "the best collection of Dr Abdullah Azzam".

¹⁶ Al-Alaq titles appear on a number of websites of Malaysian bookstores, such as Fajar Ilmu Baru in Kuala Lumpur.

¹⁷ *Al-wala' wal-bara'* is a key concept for jihadis because it defines relations with non-Muslims and determines who one should treat as friends and foes. It thus lays the groundwork for determining the legitimacy of jihad. Detained JI and KOMPAK members in Indonesia have often had copies or extracts of the Qahthani book among their belongings. A handsome edition was published in 2000 by Era Intermedia, the PKS publisher, and was reprinted in 2005, with copyright. It is a standard topic in JI religious study groups – to the point that the government-linked Religious Rehabilitation Group specifically analysed the text for its counselling sessions

¹³ See Crisis Group Asia Briefing N°20, *Al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia: The Case of the Ngruki Network in Indonesia*, 10 January 2003.

¹⁴ The "partners" listed on the website are Wafa Press, Kafayah Cipta Media, Inasmedia, Aqwan, Jazera, Waislama, Afkarmedia, Muqowama, Abyan, Al Alaq and Ziyad Visi Media. SPI appears to be an association of publishers connected with JI, the alumni association of al-Mukmin known as IKAPIN, or both.

Another al-Alaq author is the London-based Syrian national, Abu Bashir al-Tartousi (Abdul Munim Mustafa Abu Halimah), known for his fiery pro al-Qaeda rhetoric but who also came out against suicide bombing in Iraq. In 2006, al-Alaq published *Menuju Tegaknya Khilafah (Toward the Establishment of a Caliphate)*, a 200-page polemic against Hizb ut-Tahrir and its position that a jihad against Islam's enemies is only possible under an Islamic government. Abu Bashir ridiculed the notion that Muslims should stand by in the face of persecution and attacks, simply because the caliphate has not been restored.¹⁸

B. THE ARAFAH GROUP

The Arafah Group (www.arafahgroup.com) is one of the three large publishing conglomerates linked to JI. It started as a perfume and book distribution centre in Solo and moved in August 2000 to an office near Pesantren al-Mukmin in Ngruki. Headed by Ustadz Tri Asmoro Kurniawan, a former member of JI's West Java *wakalah* and currently a teacher in Darusyahada, it now has five imprints. Pustaka Arafah and Media Islamika feature jihadi texts. Granada Mediatama focuses on the end of the world and what will happen after judgment day. A 2007 title, however, *Musa vs Fir'aun (Moses vs Pharaoh)*, compares that struggle to Osama bin Laden's against the U.S., with a foreword by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Another, *Menanti Kehancuran Amerika dan Eropa (Waiting for the Destruction of America and Europe)*, published in late September 2007, sold out its first 5,000 print run within weeks and went into a second as orders piled up, according to the publisher.¹⁹

Samudra, another imprint, features books on family values with titles such as *Engkau Lebih Cantik Dengan*

with JI detainees. See "Understanding Al-Wala' And Wal-Bara' - By Ustaz Hj Ali Hj Mohamed", at www.rrg.sg.

¹⁸ The relationship between Indonesian jihadis and Hizb ut-Tahrir is complex. Ideologically they are poles apart, particularly with respect to jihad and the conditions under which it is legitimate; jihadis scorn Hizb ut-Tahrir for doing nothing while jihadis take action to defend the oppressed. Doctrinal disputes are often carried out in the pages of jihadi magazines. See, for example, the cover story of the September 2007 issue of *Risalah Mujahidin*, the magazine published by the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia, MMI). The headline is "Benarkah HT Sesat?" ["Is it True that Hizb ut-Tahrir is Deviant?"] But Hizb ut-Tahrir members were strong supporters of Abu Bakar Ba'asyir during his two trials and work together with MMI and JI members in efforts to promote Islamic law.

¹⁹ "Menanti Kehancuran Amerika dan Eropa Terjual Habis", 9 November 2007, at <http://granadamediatama.wordpress.com/category/press-release/>.

Jilbab (You Are Lovelier in a Headscarf). Media Zikir is devoted to volumes on prayer and worship. Toko Buku Arafah, the company's outlet and display centre, claims to be the largest Islamic bookstore in Solo. The Arafah Group also publishes the monthly magazine, *ar-Risalah* (not to be confused with the MMI magazine, *Risalah al-Mujahidin*), for which Tri Asmoro serves as general manager.

The Media Islamika imprint first appeared in mid-2006 and is devoted exclusively to jihadi texts, many of which first appeared as postings between 2004 and 2006 on JI's now-closed website, www.alqoidun.net. The title of its first book, *Bergabung Dengan Kafilah Syuhada' (Join the Caravan of Martyrs)*, by Abdullah Azzam and published in July 2006, was adopted as the Islamika motto. It went into a second printing in September 2006.

The second book was a translation of a tract by the Saudi dissident cleric, Salman al-Audah, but seems to have disappeared without a trace. The third became a best-seller: *Kafir Tanpa Sadar (Becoming an Infidel Without Knowing It)*, by Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Aziz, the imprisoned Egyptian whose manual of military preparation and jihad has become a core text for jihadis worldwide and who was a classmate and long-time associate of al-Qaeda number two Aiman al-Zawahiri. The book was translated from the Arabic by Lutfi Hudaeroh alias Ubaid using the nom de plume Abu Musa ath-Thayyar, almost certainly while he was serving a term in Jakarta's Cipinang Prison for failing to report his contacts with the region's most-wanted terrorist, Noordin Mohammed Top.²⁰

Kafir Tanpa Sadar was published in September 2006, again with an introduction by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, and quickly became the topic of public discussions and internet chats. It was reviewed, mostly favourably, by publications and groups across the Islamic spectrum and appears in a list of holdings of the library in the Indonesian embassy in Bangkok.

Media Islamika's most recent titles continue in the same vein. They include:

- March 2007: *Tathbiq Syari'ah: Memimbang Status Penguasa Yang Menolak Syari'at (Considering the Status of Rulers who Reject*

²⁰ Ubaid was one of Noordin's top lieutenants. Born 12 December 1979 in Ngawi, East Java, he attended al-Mukmin (Pondok Ngruki) from 1992 to 1995, moved to another JI school, Darusy-Syahada from 1995 to 1998, graduated from Mahad Aly, also known as Universitas an-Nur, in Solo in 2003. He joined with Noordin after the Marriott bombing and was arrested in July 2004. He was sentenced to three and a half years and was released in mid-2007.

Islamic Law), by Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Aziz, translated by Ubeid.

- May 2007: *Harakah Jihad Ibnu Taimiyah (The Jihad Movement of Ibn Taimiyah)*, by Abdurrahman bin Abdul Khaliq. Originally published in Kuwait in 1989, it is a refutation of the salafi injunction against forming political organisations, especially those dedicated to jihad.
- June 2007: *Deklarasi Daulah Islam Irak (The Declaration of the Islamic State of Iraq)*. The document was translated by Ubeid, together with his brother, Umar Burhanuddin, using the nom de plume Abu Hafsh as-Sayyar.
- September 2007: *39 Cara Membantu Mujahidin (39 Ways to Help Mujahidin)*, by Muhammad bin Ahmad as-Salim, a Riyadh-based jihadi. It first appeared in 2003 on an al-Qaeda website as "The 39 Principles of Jihad". The translator is listed as Abu Ja'far al-Indunisy (the Indonesian); his real identity is not known.
- November 2007: *Muslimah Berjihad! (Muslim Women Wage War!)*, by Yusuf al-Uyairi, former bodyguard of Osama bin Laden and a frequent contributor to the on-line al-Qaeda magazine *Sawt al-Jihad*, who was "martyred" by the Saudi government in 2003.²¹ The translator is Fajrun Mustaqim.²²
- Late 2007: *al-Wala' wal-Bara' (Loyalty and Disloyalty)* by al-Qaeda's Aiman al-Zawahiry.

Like all the books produced by the JI group, these are attractively printed on good paper with sophisticated graphics and sell for around \$2 each, putting them well within the reach of most students. A mainstream Indonesian publisher said after examining the books that the price cannot possibly cover the production costs, so they must be subsidised, probably by sales of other books.²³ The homage to al-Qaeda is clear, but the Arafah Group is very much within the JI mainstream, its leading figures loyal more to Abu Bakar Ba'asyir than anyone else. It clearly reaches out to the Noordin

network, however. The Arafah website, which offers a discount card to members, and the frequency of its publications suggest a booming business.

C. THE AL-QOWAM GROUP

Al-Qowam (www.alqowamgroup.com), founded in 1999, has several imprints including Al-Qowam, Wacana Ilmiah Press and Mumtaza, all of which share the same address.²⁴ The focus of both the imprints and its magazine is on family values, the role of women, morality, prayer and worship; it publishes very little of a political nature and is the only one of the JI group to regularly advertise in purely salafi (as opposed to salafi jihadi) magazines.²⁵ The main distribution outlet, Bursa al-Qowam, is advertised regularly in *ar-Risalah*, with an address that reads "in front of the girls' dormitory at Pesantren al-Mukmin, Ngruki, Solo". The store also carries herbal medicines, including a health drink, Qowi (literally, strength) made by the same company.

A key figure in the al-Qowam group is Hawin Murtadlo, a man with impeccable JI credentials. He comes from a JI family (see below), and the translator Ubeid is his younger brother. He graduated from Ngruki in 1991, a member of the same class that produced the heads of three JI schools, and stayed on to teach, after marrying a classmate from Tasikmalaya.²⁶ He started al-Wustha, a small press still in operation, with fellow alumni from the *pesantren* and occasionally translates some of al-Qowam's books, as well as books on Islamic medicine and lifestyle published by a Solo-based publisher, at-Tibyan, that may be salafi rather than JI-owned. From 2000 to 2002 he was one of the editors of a magazine called *Al Bunyan*, no longer in print, which JI took over from KOMPAK at the height of the conflict in Ambon and Poso.²⁷

²¹ Uyairi's biography appears on the Indonesian website www.infojihad.wordpress.com, which appears to be a successor to www.alqoidun.net.

²² This appears to be the same Fajrun who took part in a meeting of Noordin's inner circle in May 2004 at Mahad Aly in Solo. Ubeid, his brother Umar Burhanuddin and several others were present. According to the testimony of Umar Burhanuddin, the meeting was also a study session on jihad, which concluded that killing was legitimate, and terrorising enemies (*irhab*) was obligatory.

²³ Crisis Group interview, Jakarta, 18 December 2007.

²⁴ Jalan Pakis 38, Cemani Baru, Solo.

²⁵ Al-Qowam's ads appear regularly in *ElFata*, part of a salafi media group also based in Solo but with a national circulation.

²⁶ The three are M. Zakaria, the head of Pesantren al-Islam in Lamongan, the school associated with the Bali bombers Amrozi, Mukhlas and Ali Imron; Azhari Dipo Kusumo, director of al-Ikhlash, also in Lamongan; and Agus Supriyadi, who runs Pesantren Ulul Albab in Bandar Lampung, Lampung. Others in the same class include Son Hadi, a former head of the East Java *wakalah*; and Tafa'ul Amri, brother of MMI activists Irfan Awwas and Abu Jibril.

²⁷ It began as a publication of KOMPAK, the Islamic charity established by the Indonesian Council for Islamic Propagation (Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia). One of the other editors was Bambang Sukirno of the Aqwam group (see Section D below).

Al-Qowam's catalogue comprises close to 100 titles, several of which are in their sixth printing or more and most of which have a vaguely salafi orientation. Mumtaza (in Arabic, the feminine adjective for "excellent") is a relatively new imprint, and many of the earlier titles for and about women may have been transferred to it. One title, *Makin Cantik dengan Jilbab (Prettier in a Headscarf)*, is close to the Arafah title mentioned above, but by a different author; the similarity reflects the strength of the market for that kind of book, as well as a copycat phenomenon among publishers to cash in on popular topics.

D. THE AQWAM GROUP

The most commercially successful of the publishers, by all accounts, is Bambang Sukirno, a writer/publisher who had the foresight to bring out Imam Samudra's best-selling justification of his role in the 2002 Bali bombings. He is also associated with publication of the highly political *JI* monthly magazine, *an-Najah*, which began in 2005 as a cheaply produced bulletin in Solo and is now a glossy production with an apparently widening circulation. By late 2007 it was being sold for the first time in mainstream Jakarta bookstores.

Sukirno's two enterprises are Aqwam and Jazera (www.aqwam.com and www.jazera.or.id). Aqwam began in mid-2003 as a *dakwah* effort to disseminate religious principles widely and affordably; it urges its writers and translators not to be "icons of capitalism".²⁸ It is now formally incorporated as PT Aqwam Media Profetika and is one of the few *JI* publishing houses to have joined IKAPI. Jazera appears to have been founded in late 2004 solely to print Imam Samudra's book, but whether through the popularity of the titles or Sukirno's skill as a marketer, both imprints have taken off in the last three years – that is, after widespread arrests began to hurt the *JI* organisation.²⁹

One of Aqwam's first best-sellers was *Huru-Hara Akhir Zaman (Upheaval at the End of Time)*, published in 2003 and now in its fifteenth printing. It took the rise of the Taliban and the invasion of Iraq as signs that the end of the world was near, finding references in the Koran and *hadith* (prophetic traditions) that seemed to describe the present age. The book's success spawned a whole industry of publishing on the apocalypse.

In early 2007, Aqwam boasted that one of its books, *Seni Salat Khusyuk* (roughly, *The Art of Total Concentration on Prayer*), sold out its first 4,000 print run in a week. A 2005 title, *Misteri Shalat Subuh (The Mystery of Morning Prayer)* was in its thirtieth printing in November 2007 and had sold 260,000 copies, according to the cover.³⁰

Imam Samudra's book, published in September 2004, was a runaway best-seller, with two print runs of 4,000 each quickly exhausted. A third, in November 2004, also sold out, but there was no fourth printing, and in late 2005, Sukirno announced there would be none. Government pressure may have been a factor, although the book was never formally banned.³¹ It is almost impossible to find in bookstores now, but is still advertised by Aqwam's online store (www.toko.aqwam.com).

Samudra's book turned Jazera into a publishing phenomenon and added to Sukirno's growing wealth. Unlike the Aqwam imprint, Jazera books have been almost exclusively political, reproducing, like Media Islamika, translated versions of popular jihadi tracts from the Arabic-speaking world, sometimes with additional commentary. But Sukirno is known to be opposed to the indiscriminate tactics of Noordin Mohammed Top, and an interesting aspect of the Jazera titles is that they include translations of many jihadi ideologues who have distanced themselves from al-Qaeda, even if at the same time they have focused on the "near enemy", apostate Muslim governments allied with the U.S. Titles include:

- September 2005: *Saudi di Mata Seorang Al-Qa'idah (Saudi in the Eyes of an al-Qaeda member)*, by Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, a diatribe against the Saudi government.³² Maqdisi's original tract was serialised in *Sawt al-*

³⁰ An almost identical title, but a wholly different book, was published by al-Qowam's Wacana Ilmiah Press. Called *Keajaiban Sholat Subuh [The Miracle of Morning Prayer]*, it was published in February 2006 and seven months later was in its ninth printing.

³¹ "Tak Ada Cetakan IV, Buku Imam Samudra di Solo Habis", detik.com, 23 November 2005.

³² Al-Maqdisi is a Jordanian who became the mentor of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the man who led al-Qaeda in Iraq until his death at the hands of U.S. forces. Al-Maqdisi eventually broke with Zarqawi over his brutal tactics. In this early book, he criticised Saudi Arabia for its use of certain non-Islamic laws; its foreign policy, particularly with respect to the U.S. and UN; its friendship with various Arab *thaghut* (anti-Islamic) governments; and its use of interest (*riba*) in its economic dealings. The only way to confront such evidence of apostasy, he said, is through jihad but he critiqued the approach of Juhaiman, the man who occupied the great mosque in Mecca in 1979 – although he was once a follower.

²⁸ "Mau Jadi Ikon Kapitalisme?", at <http://aqwam.com/mau-jadi-ikon-kapitalisme-2.html>.

²⁹ One Indonesian online Islamic bookstore lists publishers in descending order of hits from customers. Aqwam comes in second. See <http://rumahbukuislam.com>.

Jihad. An unsigned introductory note from the publisher (presumably Sukirno) explains more or less accurately what al-Qaeda is. The translator is Aman (Oman) Abdurrahman alias Abu Sulaiman, a member not of JI but of a much smaller group, Jama'ah Tauhid wal Jihad.

- September 2005: *Menanti Ajal Israel (Awaiting the Death of Israel)*, by Dr Safar al-Hawali, written after the outbreak of the second Palestinian intifada in 2000. Hawali is a Saudi scholar who was imprisoned by his government, together with a colleague, Salman al-Audah, for criticising the decision to allow U.S. troops on the Arabian peninsula in the first Gulf War. Both were released and rehabilitated in late 1999. Jazera also published *Wa'du Kissinger (Kissinger's Promise)*, Hawali's argument against the presence of U.S. troops in the Gulf. Read around the Muslim world, the book helped make him famous. It was published in Indonesia under the title *Belitan Amerika di Tanah Suci (The Convolutions of America in the Holy Land)*.
- November 2005: *Balada Jamaah Jihad (Story of the Jihad Group)*, an attack on Aiman al-Zawahiri by a former colleague, Dr Hani as-Siba'i.
- March 2006: *Fatwa Mati buat Penghujat, (Death for Slanderers)*, by Abdul Mun'im Halimah alias Abu Bashir, published in the wake of the Danish cartoon controversy. The translator is listed as Abdurrahman al-Qudsi, probably a JI member named Margono, from Kudus, whose nom de guerre was Abdurrahman.
- August 2007: *Melawan Penguasa (Resisting Rulers)*, by Abu Bashir and Abdul Aziz al-Maliki, explaining when *takfir* is permissible. The translator is Syarif Baraja, nephew of Abu Bakar Ba'asyir's wife and son of the man who donated land for a major JI school in Solo, Mahad Aly, also known as Universitas an-Nur.
- March, July and August 2007: three books by Salman al-Audah. The first, written in 1988 when he was still in favour with the Saudi government, focuses on how Muslims have strayed from the true religion and what they need to do to return. The second, dated 1991 after the first Gulf War had begun, is a treatise on jihad. The third is on the concept of *thaifah manshurah*, the group within the *umma* (Islamic community) that because of its purity will survive after judgment day when the rest of the community has fractured. After his release from prison, Audah returned to the establishment and denounced Osama bin Laden and terrorism in September 2007. Sukirno

almost certainly would have known about Audah's change of heart when he published the translations, but his readership would not have; it would not be wholly surprising if the denunciation were eventually to be reprinted by Jazera.

- December 2007: *Mereka Mujahid tapi Salah Langkah (They're Warriors but They're Making Mistakes)*, by Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, translated by Aman "Oman" Abdurrahman, consisting of reflections from prison about why the tactics used by his former protégé, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi in Iraq are wrong. It criticises indiscriminate bombing, mutilation of corpses and a range of other practices as demeaning the concept of jihad. A JI distributor in Jakarta said the book was flying off the shelves in early 2008.

From the authors Jazera publishes, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Sukirno has chosen deliberately to feature Middle Eastern authors with legitimacy in the salafi jihadi community who have distanced themselves from al-Qaeda. Some in JI insist his interests are more commercial: that he chooses authors whose names are well-known because there is a better chance they would sell. But in fact there appears to be growing ideological tension between Sukirno and a more militant wing as a reaction to the al-Maqdisi book demonstrated.

In early 2008, a response appeared in the form of a newly translated tract by al-Zarqawi on <http://altawbah.net/vb/>, a new website for a group calling itself Forum Islam al-Tawbah. It included an introduction from the "publisher" saying that the stirring words of this courageous fighter and martyr "should inspire the faithful to wage war and sacrifice their property, blood and lives", especially at a time when doubts about jihad have appeared "in our midst" from none other than Sheikh Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi. This was bad enough, the introduction continued, but those who distributed the book then gave it the objectionable title of *They're Warriors but They're Making Mistakes*. All those involved with the book should ask for mercy and guidance from Allah.³³

The translator of the al-Zarqawi tract was Umar Burhanuddin, writing (probably from prison) as Abu Hafsh as-Sayyar. At least one of his translations of al-Zarqawi had appeared earlier on the old alqoidun.net website, and the new site uses the exact same design and layout. The old site had published Imam Samudra's response to a salafi critic; the new one offers registered

³³ "Kata Pengantar Publisher", Amirul Istisyhadiyin Syaikh Mujahid Abu Mush'ab al-Zarqawi, *Tak Akan Kubiarkan Islam di Gerogoti, Selagi Aku Masih Hidup [I Won't Allow Islam to be Destroyed As Long As I Live!]*, Forum Islam al-Tawbah, 2007.

members the chance to read Imam Samudra's exhortation to the "lions of jihad media". It seemed that those involved in both sites were the same people, and they had decided to take on Sukirno. But who were they? The most likely candidates are the men behind the newest member of the JI publishing group, Kafayah Cipta Media.

E. KAFAYEH CIPTA MEDIA (KCM)

This publishing house in Klaten, halfway between the Central Javanese cities of Yogyakarta and Solo, first appeared in early 2007. By mid-year it had added an imprint, Inas Media, devoted to basic morality and lifestyle issues, almost certainly to help subsidise its jihadi texts. The books use the same designer, Gobaqsodor, as Jazera, Granada Mediatama (of the Arafah group) and Wacana Ilmiah Press (of the al-Qowam group), and the editors include men from some of the other houses, including Tri Asmoro from the Arafah group; Hanif Hardoyo, formerly managing editor of *ar-Risalah* magazine, who also edited one of the Media Islamika books; and Fauzan, formerly editor-in-chief of *an-Najah* magazine.³⁴

The ties to JI are clear, but the latter two and a third man also are said to have close links to the Jakarta-based Institute for the Study of Arabic and Islam (LIPIA), one of the most important salafi institutions in Indonesia. Hanif, originally from Kudus, where he became friends with JI leader Thoriquudin alias Abu Rusydan, is reportedly a LIPIA alumnus. He was also a student and follower of Aman "Oman" Abdurrahman, the al-Maqdisi translator.³⁵

Initially, the new press seemed to be a vehicle for translations of downloads from Arabic language al-Qaeda websites, some of which the KCM founders would bring to Oman in prison to work on. Many of the translations, like those used by Media Islamika, first appeared on www.sabiluna.net, www.alqoidun.net (both now closed) and later on abahzacky.wordpress.com, where readers are still urged to "Download Books for Free!"³⁶

By the end of 2007, KCM had a catalogue of seventeen books, including:

- *Melacak Jejak Thaghut (Investigating the Thaghut Trail)*, by Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Aziz. Vilifying anti-Islamic Muslim officials and exploring the perils of working with them, it was translated by Oman Abdurrahman and Ubeid. Because both men were in prison at the time, it suggests they were each given parts of the text to work on, which were then merged into a unified text by Hanif, the editor.
- *Kisah-Kisah Menjemput Syahid (Stories of Meeting Martyrs)*, by Hammad al-Qathari. This originally appeared on www.qoidun.net as *Kumpulan Kisah Syuhada (Anthology of Martyr Stories)*, which the translator, who used the pen name Abdullah Amani Syahid, said he had downloaded from the Arabic language website www.saaaid.net.³⁷
- *Cinta Syahadah (Loving the Declaration of Faith)*, by Jabir bin Abdul Qayyum. This originally appeared on the www.alqoidun.net as *Cara Tepat untuk Mati Syahid (The Appropriate Way to Martyrdom)*, with the translator listed only as "Mujahidin Cell" and the publisher as Maktab Nidaa-ul Jihad. When essentially the same text was published in April 2007 by KCM, the translators were listed as Abu Sulaiman (Oman Abdurrahman) and Abu Abdullah.
- *Book of Mujahidin* (title in English) by Syamil Basayev, the Chechen leader involved in the Beslan massacre, translated by Fakhrurozi, another man with strong JI credentials.³⁸ It proved to be a best-seller, an indication of the extent to which the Chechen conflict has been romanticised in Indonesia as the quintessential jihad of oppressed Muslims against a *kafir* (infidel) occupier.³⁹

³⁷ The Arabic title, in Indonesian transliteration, was *Min Qoshoshi As Syuhadai Al 'Arobi*.

³⁸ Fakhrurozi was a graduate of the Ngruki class of 1995, which included Asmar Latin Sani, the suicide bomber in the 2003 Marriott bombing; Salahuddin al-Ayubi, arrested in April 2006 for involvement with Noordin; and Mohammed Rais, former head of JI's office in Kandahar, Afghanistan. Fakhrurozi's sister is married to Umar Burhanuddin, younger brother of Lutfi Hudaeroh alias Ubeid. Umar is detained in Jakarta for having taken part in training the men who bombed the Australian embassy in 2004.

³⁹ The JI magazine *al-Bunyan* in 2000-2001 regularly published downloads from the Chechen website, www.qawqaz.net. Four volumes of the VCD "Russia's Hell" about the Chechen conflict are widely available. Subur Sugiarto, one of the operatives in the 2005 Bali bombings, has a son named Basayev.

³⁴ Another name that appears frequently on the KCM masthead is Muhammad Zaky Abdary, a bookseller who lived for many years in the compound in Malaysia with Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and Abdullah Sungkar.

³⁵ For more on Aman Abdurrahman, see Crisis Group Report, "*Deradicalisation*" and *Indonesian Prisons*, op. cit.

³⁶ Links to these sites and some translations also appeared on <http://gurobabersatu.blogspot.com/>.

- *Agama/Demokrasi (Religion/Democracy)*, by al-Maqdisi, published in late 2007, was another sign of cooperation between Ubeid, who did the translation, with Oman Abdurrahman, who provided additional footnotes and commentary. By the time it was published, Ubeid was released, but the translation was almost certainly completed while he was still behind bars. The book is a critique of democracy as based on man-made rather than God-given laws.⁴⁰
- *Ke Baghdad Aku Meminang Bidadari (To Baghdad, To Wed the Houris)*, by Abu Mus'ab az-Zarqawi. The book came out in December 2007, just as Jazera was publishing al-Maqdisi's critique of Zarqawi. An introductory note from the publishers said they gave it a romantic title to make what is essentially an exhortation to jihad more appealing.

KCM reportedly had as many as two dozen other titles ready to go, but senior JI members were said to be preventing or cautioning against publication, most likely because they were not in line with JI's current teachings, or possibly because they might put the rest of the publishers in political jeopardy. These reportedly included books by Imam Samudra and Mukhlas, some other writings of Aman Abdurrahman – and the al-Zarqawi work posted on the altawbah website. Despite the occasional appearance of “establishment” JI members like Ust. Tri Asmoro as editors, the KCM circle seems increasingly to consist of militant prisoners and former prisoners, like Ubeid and his brother, who had grown closer to Oman Abdurrahman than to the JI mainstream.

An immediate question is why Oman translated the al-Maqdisi critique of al-Zarqawi for Jazera. A possible answer is that he seems to have embarked on translating the entire corpus of al-Maqdisi's work, and that Sukirno chose to publish only those works that conformed to his own thinking. Oman almost certainly had no hand in the “objectionable” title.

Another question is if Sukirno or others were trying to influence the books published by KCM, why would KCM go along? One explanation offered is that Sukirno

was simply more senior than the KCM publishers, and they obeyed. But there is clearly tension at present, and it remains to be seen how long or whether KCM will stay within the JI circle.

F. OTHER SOLO AREA PUBLISHERS

The success of the Solo group over the last five years has spawned a number of new publishers and imprints, most with ties to existing ones. The 2007 additions included Pustaka Al-Amin, with one imprint, Az-Zahra, that appears to be run by Ahmad Fakhrurozi,⁴¹ who doubles as a translator for KCM. It advertises in *ar-Risalah* and uses the same designer, Gobaqsodor, as some of the other publishers. The layout editor, Paman Lee alias Bayan, is one of JI's Afghan alumni. The company is based in Boyolali, west of Solo.

Others include Abyan, Pustaka Iltizam, Ziyad Visi Media and ad-Dakwah, all in Surakarta, Solo, but with different addresses, and Wafa press in Klaten. At least two of the newcomers appear to be imprints of the big presses: Insan Kamil is apparently a new imprint of the Aqwam Group for lifestyle books, and Roemah Buku uses the same authors, designers and topics as Granada Mediatama of the Arafah Group but boasts a link to a big Jakarta-based distributor.⁴²

The astonishing proliferation can be charted through the advertisements and book reviews in *ar-Risalah* and *an-Najah*. Sales are fuelled by the Indonesian public's thirst for books on Islamic lifestyle, but this in turn opens the door to dissemination of the political material.

G. AR-RAHMAH MEDIA

As a Jakarta rather than a Solo-based company, ar-Rahmah Media (www.arahmah.com) is an anomaly, but it is now linked to the others tangentially through shared translators and distributing agents. It pioneered the commercial sale and marketing in Indonesia of VCDs from al-Qaeda and other jihadist websites. Jihadi groups had long realised the value of VCDs for *dakwah*, recruiting and fundraising; during the Ambon and Poso conflicts, the Solo-based office of KOMPAK was

⁴⁰ A book launch for *Agama/Demokrasi* in early December 2007 at a Hizb ut-Tahrir-controlled mosque in Yogyakarta featured Abu Rusydan and a Hizb ut-Tahrir scholar as the main speakers. It was arranged by a group called Mafaza, a self-styled “events organiser”, whose advertisements appear as inserts in KCM's own ads. Often taking up the back or inside covers of the JI magazines *an-Najah* and *ar-Risalah*, KCM advertisements began to appear in late 2007 in *al-Muhajirin*, the magazine of a militant Hizb ut-Tahrir splinter.

⁴¹ See fn. 38 above.

⁴² In October 2007, Roemah Buku published *Huru-Hara Kiamat [Upheaval on Judgment Day]* by Ngruki-based author Abu Fatiah al-Adnani, not to be confused with Aqwam's best-selling 2003 title *Huru-Hara Akhir Zaman [Upheaval at the End of Time]*, now in its fifteenth printing. The ad-Adnani book is distributed by Setia Kawan, at www.setiakawanbook.com.

particularly diligent in producing videos of massacres of Muslims in excruciating detail, often with gore from other conflicts spliced in for effect. But these were mostly sold in stands outside mosques during Friday prayer or in kiosks by sidewalk vendors. Ar-Rahmah spruced up the packaging, advertised widely and succeeded in getting its product into mainstream bookstores.

The company is owned by Muhammed Jibril, a former member of JI's al-Ghuraba cell in Karachi, Pakistan. He is the son of Fihiruddin alias Abu Jibril, who lived for many years in Malaysia in the community around JI's founder, Abdullah Sungkar, and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir.

Ar-Rahmah's VCDs began appearing in 2005 with titles such as *Iraq Strikes Back* and *Escape from Baghram*. Unlike JI books, which seem to sell for less than production costs, the VCDs sold for far more, with ar-Rahmah asking Rp.30,000 or Rp.40,000 (\$3 or \$4) for what were just downloads.

In 2007 ar-Rahmah branched into books, and perhaps not surprisingly, the first published, *Tiada Khilafah Tanpa Tauhid wal Jihad (There Can Be No Caliphate without Tauhid and Jihad)* by Abu Bashir, was one that had originally appeared on the alqoidun website, with Aman Abdurrahman alias Abu Sulaiman. By the end of the year, ar-Rahmah had a catalogue of seven books, the latest a biography of Mullah Omar, the Taliban leader in Afghanistan. In February 2008, it announced that it would launch "the world's first jihad magazine", *Jihad Magz*, on 1 March at the Jakarta Islamic Book Fair, with Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and Abu Jibril in attendance. The pre-launch hype ignored the facts that there have been jihad magazines in Indonesia since the early 1980s, and at least three monthlies or bimonthlies are available already. It will be interesting to see if the advertisers are the same as in *an-Najah*.

The success of ar-Rahmah led some of the Solo-based JI groups to follow suit. In 2007, a new media company Muqowama appeared, starting out with cassettes of the Arabic music that served as the background for the earlier KOMPAK videos, then branching out to VCDs with packaging by the same designer, Gobaqsodor, that does the covers for Jazera and Kafayeh Cipta Media. One, *United States of Losers* (title in English), about the U.S. role in Iraq, has Ath-Thayyar, perhaps another reference to Ubeid, as the language editor. The December 2007 edition of *an-Najah* carried a full-page ad from Muqowama on the back cover.

Bumi Karya Media, which issued some of the poorly reproduced Chechnya series in 2003-2004, has also followed ar-Rahmah's lead, hiring Gobaqsodor to produce more attractive packaging and selling its VCDs for higher prices. Two recent re-issues are *Khattab: Sang*

Pedang Islam (Khattab: Sword of Islam), about the Palestinian who became a commander in Chechnya, and *Perjuangan Membelia Tanah Suci (Struggle to Defend the Holy Land)*, about the Palestinian intifada. The enterprise is linked to Ngruki, but it is not clear who runs it.

IV. THE PUBLISHING PROCESS

The JI publishers are generally cooperative, not competitive; the friction between Kafayeh Cipta Media and the Aqwam group is unusual. Many of the main figures – Bambang Sukirno, Tri Asmoro and Hawin Murtdalo among them – are members of the Ngruki alumni association, IKAPIN. They reportedly have shares in each other's retail outlets, most of which stock titles from other JI presses. A Jakarta outlet for the Arafah Group, Armedia, for example, stocks titles from all JI presses and acts as a distributor to retail outlets in Jakarta more generally.⁴³ This suggests there may be some resource sharing (such as use of the same printing presses) and profit pooling, but more research is needed.

A. TRANSLATORS

While it is not clear how the authors and titles of the lifestyle books are chosen, the jihadi titles in many cases seem to start as the initiative of the translators, who seek out publishers when they have completed their work. Oman Abdurrahman's translations of al-Maqdisi and Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Aziz have appeared under Jazera, KCM and ar-Rahmah Media imprints. He has been so prolific from his prison cell that the presses cannot keep up with him. His translations seem to have appeared first as postings on the alqoidun website, which several publishers then brought out as books, but in late 2007 he was said to have 150 manuscripts in the publication pipeline.⁴⁴ It is not known how much he is paid, probably not very much, but prison wardens said he had enough income to make other prisoners want to join his group.⁴⁵

Oman has friends and followers, including those from KCM, to bring him material, but the publishing industry has benefited more generally from the number of prisoners with time on their hands. The books available online at alqoidun.net in 2006 included several with the translator's name followed by the word *al-sijn*

(imprisoned), or *al-buron* (the fugitive).⁴⁶ In addition to Oman, prisoners who have translated from their cells include Mukhlas, the late Herniyanto (who died of natural causes while in detention in Bali), Abdullah Sunata, Ubeid and his brother Umar.⁴⁷

Umar, in fact, made a living out of translating while he was on the run, sought for involvement in training the 2004 Australian embassy bombers. He speaks of translating a tract by Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Aziz, having it edited by Jabir, a fugitive killed by the Indonesian police in April 2006, and making enough to finance not only basic living expenses but also the cost of constructing a new jihadist website.⁴⁸ He was arrested while posting a translation. Describing the circumstances he said:

I was at the Roda internet cafe to type up an article titled "Bagi Yang Ingin Berjihad Tapi tidak Tahu Harus Berbuat Apa" ["For Those Who Want To Wage Jihad But Don't Know How"]. I wanted to distribute it to members of the *ummah* (Islamic community who had some understanding of jihad; my aim was to give them encouragement to wage war. I had previously written a sixteen- or twenty-page article, the work of Abu Musab az-Zarqawi

⁴⁶ In fact, *al-sijn* in Arabic means prison, and the accurate term for "the imprisoned one" would be *al-sijniy*, but the intended meaning is clear.

⁴⁷ All in this group but Sunata are JI; Sunata is KOMPAK. Umar Burhanuddin translated a piece of Yusuf al-'Uyairi under the nom de plume Ibnu Mortar al-Jatimi (from East Java), together with someone who was still at large, listed as "Abu Bazooka al-Buron" ("the Fugitive"). Herniyanto, brother of the now released Herlambang, translated several parts of the Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Aziz opus. A short piece posted on alqoidun was titled "Islam Teaches Terrorism", but when it came out in a wallet-sized publication after Heriyanto's death, the title had changed to "Making the Enemies of Islam Tremble". Both the posting and the printed version had a picture of the crumbling World Trade Center on the cover. The latter, published in 2007 by a hitherto unknown Jakarta press, Senyum (Smile) Media, apparently was designed to be given out as a favour. On the cover is stamped "A sign of affection for friends in the struggle". Herniyanto was treated as a martyr (*shahid*) when he died, and somehow VCDs of his burial in 2006 were mistakenly inserted into the packaging for ar-Rahmah's video, *Escape from Baghram*, a two-VCD set of interviews with Omar al-Faruq, first detained in Indonesia and then transported to Afghanistan, after his escape from prison there. In September 2007, Crisis Group purchased one of the faulty sets, with one VCD of al-Faruq and one of Herniyanto. It is not clear how many of the wrong VCDs were sold, but a few weeks after that purchase, the mistake had been corrected.

⁴⁸ Interrogation deposition of Umar Burhanuddin alias Daud Iskandar als Heri als Zaid bin Bukhori, 2 February 2006.

⁴³ An advertisement for Armedia in a late 2007 issue of the sporadically published magazine *al-Muhajirun* said it stocks books from the following presses: Granada Mediatama; Samudra; Media Islamika, Media Zikir, WIP, al-Amin, KCM, Wafa', ad-Dakwah, Inas Media, Iltizam, Isykarima, Jazera, Aqwam, al-Qowam, al-Alaq, Darul Haq, Darul Falah, Azzam, At-Tibyan, Ibnu Katsir, Imam Syafi'i, wa Isalma, al Kautsar and ar-Rahmah Media. The store opened in mid-2007 on Jl. Serdang Baru I, No. 27, Kemayoran, Jakarta.

⁴⁴ Crisis Group interview, Jakarta retailer, November 2007.

⁴⁵ Crisis Group Report, "Deradicalisation" and Indonesian Prisons, op. cit.

that I downloaded from www.hanein.net in Arabic. I translated it into Indonesian, then put it on the www.bawasel.asy-syahadah.com. I printed and copied it, then gave it to a person who lives on Jalan Serdang, Kemayoran, where my in-laws live.⁴⁹

Several of the big publishers, like Bambang Sukirno, seem to have a group of in-house Arabic translators, especially for the basic lifestyle texts. The relatively limited supply, however, may be pushing the JI publishers toward more reliance on salafi partners, particularly graduates of the main salafi institution in Indonesia, LIPIA.

B. DISTRIBUTION

The JI companies have a national distribution network. They make use of online sales, advertisements and reviews in Islamic publications, phone-in orders from bookstores, and a network of agents who are often but not always JI members. In Palu, Central Sulawesi, the distributor is the son-in-law of the former *wakalah* head, Firmansyah. He receives books on consignment from Solo, then sells them to larger bookstores in Palu, including a store run by the local branch of Muhammadiyah, one of the largest Islamic organisations in Indonesia.

The books do not sell for much to begin with, and the distributors get a markdown of 40 per cent or more. In Jakarta, the price of a book is lower at the Armedia outlet than at the main retailer of JI books, a bookseller who runs a cloth-covered stall in the central part of the city, whose prices in turn are half those of the biggest Islamic bookstore in Jakarta, Toko Buku Walisongo.

There seems to be a big secondary trade as well. A bookstore in Banda Aceh that seemed to specialise in Aqam titles had no direct contact with the publishers but was supplied by an Islamic bookstore in Medan, North Sumatra. An agent from the Medan store would come with a list of titles, and the Aceh store would pay cash for those selected: no consignment arrangement was offered.

Sales take place as well through online Islamic bookstores, including some, such as gudangmuslim.com, that appear to be directly linked to the JI publishers, and others, such as buku-islam.com, www.pernikmuslim.com; and laroci.com, that are more general.

But the most successful distribution may be by word of mouth. As soon as a book is published, the JI network

arranges for several launches, usually at mosques, where JI *ustadz* (teachers) will lead a discussion on the contents. It will be the subject of Friday sermons, religious discussion groups variously called *pengajian* or *taklim*, and may get photocopied and distributed in whole or in part. The publishers are not particularly concerned about intellectual property rights; the important thing is for the message to be disseminated.

C. INDONESIAN JIHADI AUTHORS

One interesting omission in the titles published by JI authors is the set of tracts written by Indonesians who subscribe to the al-Qaeda line justifying the Bali bombs and acts that followed. Many of these materials exist in the form of CDs or photocopied pamphlets, but only Imam Samudra's writing has emerged as a book. There are many more: Mukhlas has written more than a dozen works in prison, some quite lengthy, including "Jihad Bom Bali" ("The Bali Bombings Jihad"), which was originally to be his defence plea but in the end was not used in court. A tract called "Kafir: Kawan atau Lawan" ("Kafir: Friend or Foe") was another popular piece in jihadi circles that did not make it into book form. Written by the same man who translated *Anthology of Martyr Stories* for alqoidun.net and KCM, it was another justification of the Bali bombing, concluding:

So how about states whose citizens became victims of the Bali bombings, weren't some of them involved directly in attacking the Taliban and hunting bin Laden? Aren't they members of the United Nations that officially made a resolution authorising attacks on the Taliban and welcoming the collaboration of the U.S. and UN in combating terrorists, in this case, mujahidin? And haven't they killed children, Muslims, women, the elderly and other civilians? If the answer is YES, what further reasons can be put forward to say that the bombing operations of 12 October 2002 were unlawful?⁵⁰

Another text was "Menabur Jihad, Menuai Teror" ("Sowing Jihad, Reaping Terror"), allegedly by Sulaiman Ibnu Walid Damanhur, but in fact written primarily by Ubeid, with sections added after he was detained in mid-2004. It is probably the longest extant Indonesian jihadi text, likely commissioned by Noordin, but has never appeared in print. It may be one of the texts in the KCM pipeline that others around JI are trying to suppress.

⁴⁹ Ibid. The article referred to may be the same one that appeared on the altawbah website.

⁵⁰ Abdullah Amani Syahid, "Kafir: Kawan atau Lawan", undated electronic tract.

There are several reasons why these indigenous tracts may not be available for general commercial distribution. One is that Bambang Sukirno's experience with political pressure after the publication of Imam Samudra's book may have discouraged him and the others from further such initiatives. Another is that local authors generally get far less respect in Indonesian jihadi circles than Arab writers. In 2005, when the www.anshar.net website appeared, it included an entry listing the *ulama* (scholars and religious authorities) around the world who should be exemplars for jihadis. It included men from Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Palestine, Syria, Jordan and Egypt but concluded plaintively: "Why has Southeast Asia not produced *ulama* of this caliber?"⁵¹ Even for Indonesian jihadis, Indonesian authors carry no weight, with the possible exception of Mukhlis.

A third reason is that there is such little support in Indonesia for justifications of bombing civilians that they are not likely to earn money. Imam Samudra's did because of his notoriety and public interest in a man about to be executed. (Kafayah Cipta Media and Jazera are said to be vying for the publication of final statements by Mukhlis and Samudra.)

But written by anyone else, the ideas are not likely to find a commercial market. Finally, while there remains a strong identification with mujahidin pursuing the al-Qaeda line elsewhere, there appears to be a collective recognition at the top of JI's leadership that those tactics are counterproductive in Indonesia, and publication of books arguing otherwise is not desirable.

V. THE SOCIAL NETWORKS

The JI publishing industry would be worth studying if only as an example of salafi jihadi outreach. But it is also a fascinating example of social networks, because of the way that the school and family ties of the leading publishers bridge factional and organisational divisions.

A. ONE FAMILY'S LINKS

Consider the extraordinary influence of the family of Hawin Murtadlo, leader of the al-Qowam Group. He and his in-laws constitute a network that extends across Java. They have alumni ties to at least five of the most important JI schools and their graduates. They cross factional lines: one brother is a senior figure in the JI mainstream, one is a follower of Noordin Mohammed Top, and one is close to the Darul Islam group known as Ring Banten. They are all skilled Arabic linguists, and through Internet downloads, translations, analyses and publications are playing significant roles in the dissemination of radical Islamic thought in Indonesia. Two of the brothers have been convicted of terrorism for helping lay the groundwork for the Australian embassy bombing and withholding information about Top. Only one has international experience – a brief stint in Mindanao. If all JI's first- and second-tier leaders were arrested tomorrow, the reach of this family is such that its members alone could constitute the nucleus of the organisation's rebirth.

The three brothers - Hawin Murtadlo, Lufi Hudaeroh alias Ubaid and Umar Burhanuddin alias Heri - were born into a pious family in Plaosan, Magetan, East Java, not far from the border with Central Java. Their parents, Bukhori and Fauzia, were the founders of Pesantren al-Muslimun, a religious boarding school. Bukhori, now 66, was a friend of Abdullah Sungkar and was imprisoned in the early 1980s for his involvement in Darul Islam.

The first and fourth of the couple's twelve children died. The others, from oldest to youngest are:

- ❑ Alfa Yusriah, 38, wife of the director of Darusyahada, one of JI's premier schools;
- ❑ Hawin Murtadlo, 33, of the Arafah Group;
- ❑ Miftahul Fauzi, 30, teacher at the JI-affiliated Pesantren Ulul Albab in Bekonang, Solo;
- ❑ Lutfi Hudaeroh alias Ubeid, 28, Arabic teacher, translator, author, former courier for Noordin Mohammed Top;

⁵¹ "Mencari Sosok Ulama Panutan" ["Looking for Exemplary Ulama"], www.anshar.net (2005). The website was constructed by Noordin Mohammed Top's followers prior to the October 2005 Bali bombings.

- Adib, 27, student at Universitas Muhammadiyah, Ponorogo, East Java (not linked to JI);
- Umar Burhanuddin, 26, religious teacher, translator, currently in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta for withholding information about Noordin. He is married to Syarifah, whose Ngruki-educated brother, Fakhrurozi, is also a leading figure in JI publishing circles (see fn. 38 above);
- Nida, 23, a student at Pesantren al-Irsyad, Pekalongan in 2005;
- Ratna, 20, student at al-Mukmin pesantren, Ngruki in 2005; and
- two younger children, Rohmah and Inti, who in 2005 were still at the family *pesantren* in Magetan.

Hawin, as noted, is mainstream JI, Ubeid and Umar were part of Noordin's network. But Hawin's business partner, Tri Asmoro, is publishing Ubeid's translations as part of his Media Islamika imprint, and the message is decidedly not mainstream.

There is another family connection worth noting. One of Umar's younger sisters is married to Abdul Kholiq Ibnu Sholeh al Adnani. He was a member of Ngruki's key class of 1995.⁵² In the Ngruki class yearbook, the address given for his parents is the same as the bookstore Armedia, the retail outlet in Jakarta of the Arafah Group.

B. THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS

It is difficult to know how much revenue these publishers generate, how many employees they have and to what extent their assets are ploughed back into JI activities. Only two of the houses seem to be legally registered companies, PT Aqwam Media Profetika and the CV Arafah Group. The latter is rumoured to have assets of some Rp.2 billion (roughly \$20,000). The profits go back to the owners as individuals, not to JI as an organisation, but JI depends on its wealthier members to make regular contributions. Sources within the network told Crisis Group that money from the publishers goes to support families of detainees (particularly those that reject aid from government sources) and *dakwah* activities, including sending

preachers to give the Friday sermons and hold religious rallies and study sessions outside the Solo area.

There is nothing clandestine about these publishers except for their linkage to JI. The larger ones take part in the annual Islamic Book Fair in Jakarta and Solo, and several of the Aqwam employees are on Friendster and other social networking sites. Not all employees would be JI members, but at the same time, JI recruitment has often taken place in the workplace, or friends from the same religious study group end up finding work in the same place. Better off members are expected to provide for less fortunate ones, including by taking them on as employees, a phenomenon that was particularly striking in the Central Java *wakalah*, based in Semarang.⁵³

The economic network extends beyond the publishing industry, because that industry has tie-ins to at least two other fields where JI members are active: Muslim garment production and Islamic medicine. Many Islamic bookstores in Indonesia, whatever their ideological affiliation, also sell garments (headscarfs, collarless long-sleeve men's shirts) and herbal remedies made from ingredients mentioned in the Koran or *hadith*. The retail outlets for JI publishers are no exception. They tend to stock several brands of herbal products produced and marketed by JI or Darul Islam members.⁵⁴ The Arafah group has developed its own line of T-shirts, Rafa, inspired by book titles. The women's shirts have long sleeves and titles borrowed from its book catalogue, such as "Prettier in a Jilbab", while the men's have "Islamic Army of Iraq" and other slogans.

⁵² Other notable members of the class included Asmar Latin Sani, the suicide bomber in the Marriott Hotel attack; Mohammed Rais, once head of JI's Kandahar office in Afghanistan; Sholahuddin al-Ayyubi, arrested in connection with Noordin's activities in April 2006; and Ahmad Fakhurrozi, Ubeid's other brother-in-law.

⁵³ See deposition of Sri Pujimulyo Siswanto, 18 February 2006 in case dossier.

⁵⁴ The JI-linked herbal companies include Al-Biruni and Basmallah Foods. Many JI members are involved in the marketing of NaturAid products, owned by an Afghan veteran who reportedly retained Darul Islam rather than JI membership.

VI. MONITORING

The Indonesian government could exert far more oversight than it does over the JI publishers simply by enforcing the law. According to a 1990 law on printed and recorded materials, for example, every publisher, defined as any individual, association or legal body that publishes printed works, must turn over two copies of every title to the National Library and one to the government library in the provincial capital within three months of publication. Every six months, a publisher must also submit lists of books and recordings produced. Violators are liable to six months in prison or a fine.⁵⁵ Under the 2003 labour law, employers with over ten employees are supposed to register with the manpower ministry. Companies like PT Aqwam Media Profetika are supposed to register with the trade ministry. Big income earners, whether publishing houses, retail outlets or individuals, should be paying taxes.

In theory, Indonesia could also decide to prosecute JI-linked businesses on the basis of its anti-terror law, consistent with UN Security Council Resolution 1373, prohibiting:

nationals [of member state]s or any persons and entities within their territories from making any funds, financial assets or economic resources or financial or other related services available, directly or indirectly, for the benefit of persons who commit or attempt to commit or facilitate or participate in the commission of terrorist acts, of entities owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by such persons and of persons and entities acting on behalf of or at the direction of such persons.⁵⁶

But it would be a tortuous and politically counterproductive process. JI is on the UN's list of terrorist organisations, but it is not a recognised body, let alone a banned one, under Indonesian law, and Indonesian courts would make short shrift of any case. Any effort to go after men like Hawin Muradlo and Bambang Sukirno, upstanding members of the community who have never been involved in violence, would generate a huge political backlash. And, as noted at the outset, they may be playing a useful role by channelling jihadi energies into publications.

It would be far more productive to enforce laws that both provide a rationale for monitoring and have the potential to yield a wealth of information. Like the growth or decline of JI schools, the success or failure of the JI publishing consortium or its component parts could be a useful indicator of the health of the organisation and the strength of its recruitment process.

⁵⁵ Undang-Undang 4/1990 tentang Serah-Simpan Karya Cetak dan Karya Rekam [on Submission of Printed and Recorded Materials].

⁵⁶ Resolution 1373, UNSC S/RES/1373, 28 September 2001, article 1(d).

VII. CONCLUSION

There are three main lessons to be learned from the JI publishing industry with respect to ideology, organisational consolidation and networking.

Radical ideology is alive and well in Indonesia, and JI publishers are helping disseminate it. But there is also a lively debate taking place within extremist circles on the desirability of indiscriminate bombing, the conditions under which suicide bombing can be considered acceptable and the need to weigh costs and benefits before charging in to attack Islam's enemies. For the most part, this debate seems to occur spontaneously, without assistance from government "deradicalisation" efforts, and it is desirable that it continue. There would be nothing to be gained from trying to shut down publishers or ban books; the more open the debate, the more likely the admirers of men like Abu Musab al-Zarqawi will be marginalised. But no one should conclude that because there have been no major bombings in Indonesia in two years, the salafi jihadi message has lost its appeal. The continued translation, publication and dissemination of tracts from al-Qaeda websites means new groups can be inspired in study groups that use these materials for discussion.

The commercial success of the publishers and the personal networks that bind them are yet another indication of JI's resilience. As top leaders argue for consolidation and rebuilding, it is clear that recruitment

of new members is critical – and publishing, dissemination and discussion of texts on jihad can play an important part in that effort. The reach of the publishing industry, from translator to sales agent, and its further extension into garment production and herbal medicine sales, is such that it can be an important glue binding members of the organisation together, especially if the companies continue to earn reasonable revenue.

The publishing industry also shows how ideological factions can come together in the interests of getting a product out. If CV Arafah from the JI mainstream, whose top figures seem to reject tactics pursued by Noordin Mohammed Top, can have an entire imprint devoted to jihadi tracts, using one of Top's inner circle as a translator, it suggests at the very least that the line between factions is blurred.

But the publication of al-Maqdisi's reflections from prison suggests that a shift of views in Jordan can have a major impact in Indonesia. Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Aziz, is another icon of the jihadi movement worldwide, whose manual on military preparation was used in virtually every JI training session. In November 2007 he issued a ten-part tract, criticising the way his work has been misused and misinterpreted.⁵⁷ Anyone interested in sparking more debate in radical circles in Indonesia should get that text into the hands of JI publishers as quickly as possible.

Jakarta/Brussels, 28 February 2008

⁵⁷ "Tarshid al-amal al-jihadi fi misr wa al-alam" ["Rationalising the jihadi action in Egypt and the world"], <http://www.islamtoday.net>, November 2007. See Abdul Hameed Bakier, "Imprisoned Leader of Egypt's Islamic Jihad Challenges al-Qaeda", 10 December 2007, at www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2373842.

APPENDIX A

MAP OF INDONESIA



This map has been adapted by the International Crisis Group from Map No. 4110 Rev. 4 (January 2004) by the Cartographic Section of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. The provinces Riau Islands, West Sulawesi and West Papua have been added. The location of all additional features is approximate.

APPENDIX B

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Crisis Group's approach is grounded in field research. Teams of political analysts are located within or close by countries at risk of outbreak, escalation or recurrence of violent conflict. Based on information and assessments from the field, it produces analytical reports containing practical recommendations targeted at key international decision-takers. Crisis Group also publishes *CrisisWatch*, a twelve-page monthly bulletin, providing a succinct regular update on the state of play in all the most significant situations of conflict or potential conflict around the world.

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