
Terrorism, Wahhabism and Islam (East)-West Dialogues: A Reflection from Indonesia

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Abstract

This article explains that the religion ideology has potential power to ignite fanaticism and radicalization that unquestionably can erupt violence and destruction. The emergence of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), Jamaah Islamiyah, Majelis Mujahiddin Indonesia, for instance, is a reflection of the rise of religionized politics and radicalization of Islamists. And in this context, religion (Islam) in this position will have two functions; building better integrity among its followers while creating conflict and violation.

The tragedy of Bali bombs, Australian Embassy bomb in Jakarta, suicide bomb in Solo and other brutal acts done by anarchists like those from Jamaah Islamiyah, ISIS, and even Islamic Defender Front (FPI) – where they use violence and destructive acts to close down businesses that they think is not in accordance of sharia like bar and café since they sell alcoholic beverages – are examples where fundamentalists have shown intolerant exclusiveness and belligerent sense of supremacy in facing minority communities.

Keyword: Iraq, Syria, ISIS, Jemaah Islamiyah, religion, terrorism, radicalism

Introduction

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Bali Bombing 2002 and London 2005, Madrid bomb, and so on, has encouraged the need for the significance of cultural and civilizational dialogues between Islam and the West. The cultural-civilizational dialogues between the West and Islamic societies has gained growing importance after the tragedy of Black September 2001.

In this regard, development cooperation is imperative for the West and Islamic World, and it is largely equal to politics beyond cultural borders and depends upon building bridges between cultures-civilizations of the West and islamic world, and finding ways of cultural and civilizational understanding in order to enter into a dialogue about ethical, religious, and political differences and similarities with others cultures-civilizations. and in response to the criticism which since then has been expressed in Islamic societies about Western politics towards developing countries.

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the formation of the al-Qaeda affiliated Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) in 1993, a group responsible for the deadly 2002 Bali bombings.

In October 2002, the US has made JI as an organization of international terrorists. It happened after the UN Security Council added JI as a terrorist group, so that all countries that are members UN organizations are required to freeze the assets of, and deny access to funds of JI.

In UN Resolution 1390/2002 JI has been blamed as a terrorist organization international along with 25 other terrorist organizations. JI is considered as an arm of Al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia. JI is based in Indonesia is believed to have links with other terrorist organizations active in Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines.²

JI as a terrorist network is the largest in Southeast Asia. And it has a network of southern Thailand region to the Australian territory. The terrorist group is increasingly considered to be a serious threat to security regionally in the Southeast Asian region and even internationally, because the brain of perpetrators of acts of terrorism in Southeast Asia is a member of JI.

Indonesian Muslim and ISIS

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One of JI member, Mas Selamat who masterminded the plan to crash the plane into Changi Airport, could be handled. He was arrested in Malaysia and handed over to Singapore. This news is accessible via tail action that occurred in Indonesia culprit is the JI group. The various action has been carried out by JI members as the brains of various acts of terror in Indonesia between the years 2000-2005 such as the Christmas bombings in 2000, 81 bombs and 29 explosions in Jakarta in 2001, the first Bali bombing in 2002, Bom Marriot 2003, Australian Embassy bombing in 2004 and the Bali II 2005.⁴

In 2015, at least 518 Indonesian citizens suspected of joining with ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). According to Sidney Jones of the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), already more than 200 Indonesian citizens who had left and joined the movement of “terrorist” in Syria two years ago. While, according to *The Intercept* (July 8, 2015), two pilots Indonesia (Ridwan

² Bruce Vaughn, *et al.*, *Terrorism in South East Asia*, CRS Report for Congress, February 7, 2005.

³ Bruce Vaughn, *et al.*, *Terrorism in South East Asia*, CRS Report for Congress, February 7, 2005.

⁴ International Crisis Group Report, *Jemaah Islamiyah in South East Asia: Damaged but Still Dangerous*, 26 August 2003.

Agustin or Ridwan Ahmad al-Indunesiy and captain Tommy Hendratno or Tommy Abu Al Fatih Hendratno) that was once the state security apparatus and then to pilot an airline multinational, joined by ISIS last year.

This essay attempts to answer a puzzle that arose over what the underlying motives seediness affluent professionals, such as Ridwan Agustin and Tommy Gendratno, who are tempted to become soldiers of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria or better known as ISIS?

Many then worried about the choice of life two professionals who are still very productive. Not a few others who were questioned about the motives both joined the army ISIS, defending something that might be considered ideal, somewhere that is far away outside Indonesia. Even among politicians in the Western world concerned with the track record of those who previously joined the state security forces are highly respected in the region.

Earlier, a police officer active in Jambi, Syahputra (Abu Azzayn al Indunesiy) left his wife and children and depart via Medan to Syria for jihad against what they perceived as “anti-Islamic” (enemy), namely the regime of Bashir al-Asad. His status as a member of the state police’s paying-off would invite a big question mark: what’s behind all this? His actions leave his wife and kids for jihad there, throw themselves into the arena of war, certainly not an ordinary rational decision.

There is something unidentifiable from the social reality of this problematic action.

All the worries and anxieties of various circles in Indonesian society are very rational.

Remember that, the above professionals on the basis of socio-economic status of the middle class and they have the background of relatively moderate and pious Muslim family are certainly expecting a real answer to this puzzling question: what’s behind all this? Syahputra actions divorced his wife and went to a foreign land to fight certainly cannot be explained from the perspective of psycho-social generic. Surely, there are theological reasons or even eschatological of his unusual action to joined ISIS in Syria.

Money and Sexual Motives?

From a modern and academic perspective, a lot of analysis explained about the financial attractiveness of ISIS offered to anyone who is pleased to join a multi-national army there. This opportunity was welcomed by many people who, according to the calculations of various experts, coming from the marginalized who seek a more viable economic livelihood. In fact, there is also observers who mention of sexual motives underlying the desire of a small part of Indonesian citizens to participate in a war or conflict in Syria and Iraq.

When there is widespread ban against people who allegedly want to depart for Syria in various airports in Indonesia and Malaysia since 2013 and 2014, the analysis of economic interest as a motive is dominating explanation of the background of these marginal groups. Almost no one else analysis linking him to the ideological consciousness of the ISIS supporting actor.

Even, to borrow Daniel Bell’s thesis (1960) and Francis Fukuyama’s perspective (1996) that the ideology is dead and cannot affect the rise of the East World. However, analysis of economic interests, or any material motive, be able to explain why the professionals involved in a conflict that was terrible for many people.⁵

It takes one other explanation academically accountable to provide answers to the phenomenon that is shocking the world. Anthropologically, D’Andrade and Strauss (1992) has filed a cultural

⁵ Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties*, (The Free Press, 1960. Lihat, Francis Fukuyama’s *The End of History and the Last Man*, Free Press. 1992

motif ideological nature of the phenomenon of the rise of armed resistance and communal conflicts in various parts of the world.⁶

Gupta and Ferguson (1992) tried to explain the motives of cultural models such as “a sense of loss of territorial root” in which the values of nationalism and patriotism has begun to fade or is the occurrence of “an erosion of the cultural distinctiveness of place” which then produces a byproduct of globalization which is referred to as “deterritorialization of identity” where identity is no longer attached to the place where one was born or brought up in a period crucial formative age.⁷

Identity-based locality replaced by what has since long been known as an ideology. The Islamic ideology has become an option for two pilots and one policeman from Indonesia which must have the state doctrine under the ideology of Pancasila and the results of the tax paid by the citizens who live in a democracy.

Ridwan Agustin and Tommy Hendratno and Syahputra who have experienced this secular ideological indoctrination and then replace it with a new ideology embraced. Where nationalism and patriotism that was taught by the country?

Nationalism and patriotism are ideology-based place and will be easily lost when memories of the place were fading amid cosmopolitanism of secular and materialistic world.

Edward Said (1979) describes the situation of the ideology that permeates the boundaries of nationality and other localities as “a generalized condition of Homelessness”.⁸ This is what we may call a transnational religious ideology that has been spreading since the end of cold war between the Capitalist Bloc and the Bloc Communist/Socialist. Both of these ideological blocs, by the transnational Islamic movement, including ISIS, is considered to have spread mental pollution and threatens the sanctity of religion. The concept of “pollution and purity” (Louis Dumont, 1970) is then developed academically to explain why ideological choice be rational in the choices of materials and more economical.

Ideological analysis becomes important when the explanations of economic motives, socio-psychological and politics became paralyzed in the face of this problematic social reality (Talal Asad, 1979; Louis Althusser, 1977; George Marcus, 1986; Maurice Bloch, 1983 and 1986). Renato Rosaldo (1988) shows how ideology no longer know where the boundaries and permeates into various groups he describes as “people without culture” is.

The ideology of jihadism that is considered responsible, or at least are behind all bloody insurgency with all its messiness sociological, could at least provide an explanation of the phenomenon of the return of ideology in the analysis of the social sciences and humanities.

Social Awareness of Radicalisms and The New Revival of Radical Ideology

The tendency of the more material and social analysis on the various symptoms of the emergence of resistance movements and religious conflicts must be balanced with adequate cultural analysis. The return of radical Islam ideology (radical Islamism) for many people from different socioeconomic backgrounds showed that the non-material factors far more powerful in influencing motives of a person or group of people to commit acts of resistance.

⁶ Roy G. D’Andrade, Claudia Strauss, *Human Motives and Cultural Models*, Cambridge University Press, 21 Mei 1992

⁷ Gupta, Akhil, *Ferguson and James Beyond “Culture”: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference*, *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 7, No. 1.1992.

⁸ See, Edward Said *Orientalism*, Vintage Books, 1979.

Geertz (1973) states that ideology is part of a cultural system that maps the social realities problematic and becomes a matrix for the creation of social awareness.⁹

Ideology is the underlying Ridwan Agustin, Tommy Hendratno, Syahputra and also Heri Kustiyanto renounced all worldly adequacy and dispose of all spirits in the material world they profess ever before. They head to a new hope which still unclear materially, yet very clear ideological: the promise of heaven for the martyrs and intercession for the nuclear family and relatives.

The matrix of social awareness is built by people who feel the moral injury (moral torment) caused by the attack of other ideologies (Joel Robbins, 2004). Social awareness of the feeling of oppression is then moved them to avenge the wounds are still gaping moral them. Social awareness is not built on the basis of nationalism or ethnicity, but stood as transnational as a new consciousness called by Michael Francis Laffan (2003) as the Islamic nationhood. This is where the concept of ummah built as a social consciousness that affects a wide range of people to participate in the establishment of an Islamic state in Syria and Iraq.¹⁰

The Laffan's concept (2003) on the spirit of defending the country in the Islamic community is so booming and at least be a political interest for other movements. Islamic ideology of nationhood is affecting many radical movements and terrorism in various parts of the world. The radical Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (East Indonesia Mujahideen-MIT) led Santoso in Poso immediately declared the oath of allegiance (allegiance) to the caliph Al Baghdadi, who led ISIS (2013), as well as Boko Haram in Negeria drained with a demonstration of force shown ISIS (2014). Some of the Mujahideen factions in Syria, Afghanistan, Palestine, Lebanon, and other regions expressed solidarity to support and join the movement which is considered as a representation of their subconscious to deter the enemies of religion that have carved moral torment against Muslims during centuries.

Even recently Fakhruddin bin Kasem Din alias Robot, former commander of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in Julok, East Aceh (09.07.2015) expressed his desire to join ISIS. Despite the stalled political passion is regarded by many as a step sensational, at least problematic social reality is influenced by widespread nationalistic ideology of Islam that is exhaled by ISIS. The image of an Islamic state de facto became the main attraction for many of the resistance movement. Al Qaeda was overwhelmed by the attacks ISIS in the bases they had seized earlier in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan.

Al Qaeda lost quickly in realizing the ideals of the archaic highly desirable among many radical and fundamentalist Islam, namely the desire to have a tamkin (state) is definitive. Tanzhim position (movement) Al Qaeda is slowly began shifting by ISIS diligent exposing the savagery and violence as glad tidings and warnings to satisfy the old grudges over oppression and colonialism under the system of capitalism and neo-liberalism of the West.

Cultural or ideological motive is what might be being sown by the professionals who have been feeling the affluent life still is not enough theological and eschatological. There is a spiritual drought acute there. There hereafter objectives underlying their actions in joining ISIS far in Syria there. The Syria, far country for Indonesian Muslims, is not considered much and is not seen as providing material wealth for the satisfaction of carnal lust, but the war was a chance for them to reach their theological and eschatological desire to go to heaven and mingle with the angels – that according to their own view – are always virgin.

⁹ Clifford Geertz, *The interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, Basic Books, Inc, 1973.

¹⁰ Michael Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial. Indonesia, the Umma below the Wind*, London: Routledge, 2003.

Among the terrorists and radical Islamists, there is a belief of Islamic State, an ideology that cannot be exchanged for any material reward, and this kind of millenarian ideology that had been sought by the radical Muslims, including the ISIS followers and sympathizers in Indonesia, and when they found it, then any earthly delights will be left with immediately.

Attacks of Terror and Speculation

The attacks of Santoso Group and tragedy of terrorist bomb attacks in Bali, Makassar, Jakarta, Ambon, Poso and other places in Indonesia, have led to a series of speculations of the apologists to the *a priori*.

The first speculation is about who the perpetrators of terror attacks were very well planned and carried out by people who have advanced the technical knowledge. The culprit is arbitrarily identified as anti-US/Western, anti-Israel, anti-democratic, anti-capitalist economic strength, and global anti-military.

The second is speculation about the motives of the terrorists in carrying out acts of excessive destruction of places where the strength of the economic, political, and military of the West is located.

The third speculation is about what the goals that will be aimed towards the US /West and Israel.

The culprit is allegedly identified as Islamic fundamentalists who today became the mortal enemy of the United States (US)/West, group of Osama bin Laden who used to hide in Afghanistan.

Osama bin Laden in February 1998 had issued a fatwa against the Jews and the Christians and became a role model for almost all suspected terrorists.

In addition to bin Laden, the world community assumes that the culprit is a radical Salafi or the scripturalists/Islamic fundamentalists who have doctrinal relationship with ISIS or Al Qaeda network or its ramifications/fractions thereof.

Because the United States is present everywhere, anywhere in the world, including in Indonesia, as it is known, the terrorists and the Islam scripturalists/fundamentalist in Indonesia was very characteristic anti-US, anti-Israel, anti-democratic, anti-capitalist, and anti-global military.

Their motive, as far as can be analyzed from the character of US foreign policy over the years, is the attitude of hatred toward the US/West – according to them – perception secular, anti-Islamic and too possessive and over-protective of Israel. While speculation about his next target, is the usual response of the loss of a sense of security and fear of the US/Western people requiring an immediate answer to what might happen.

This speculation is reasonable once formed because of this incident was so sudden, massive enough and synchronously with tremendous power destroyed. Speculation is also reasonable because it has caused enormous anger of the people and leaders of the US/West who are comfortable living in modernity, secularism and economic prosperity suddenly have to face an embarrassing nightmare. The US/West People are not the first time the face of the terrorist attacks.

For the Islam fundamentalists and radicalist – which lay better known by the term ‘the terrorist’ – against the US/West is to carrying out personal liability, a global jihad against the Jews and the Christians.

Thus, the US/West also has put Muslim terrorists as enemies since 1979 (which led to the name “Ayatollah Khomeini” as the name for the enemy perceived it) at the time of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and culminated in the events of the gulf crisis of the 1990s (which appears the name “Saddam Hussein” as an enemy).

With the killing or the arrest of the suspects of terrorism in Indonesia and in some Southeast Asian countries and even in America and Europe, increasingly shows us that the terrorist organization's network is very extensive, aligning globally and mundially. (Seth Mydans, 2001).

Although morally and international diplomacy terrorists attacked the "war discourse" are pushing them as "the coward", "extremists, the savages", "the inhuman", "people are happy at the expense of others", and "the mental illness", but the terrorists are constantly emerging in the political map of Indonesia and the world until now to deliver messages that are very difficult to interpret.

Because the so hidden enemy of this one, it has given to the rising impression of mystery and the psychological fear itself. For the people of the US/West, terrorism is a ghost (Specter) others who have faced the US/West after phantom of communism gone, a form of ideological enemy, as well as the new spiritual enemy ever remind magnified by Samuel Huntington in *the Clash of Civilization*. Douglas E. Streusand even dared to mention "that Specter is Islam", which was later identified by the public in layman AS/West as "green peril", the dangerous Green (Leon T. Hadar, 1992).¹¹

And, with the events of the attack on the WTC and Pentagon 11.09.2001, the name of Osama bin Laden emerged as an "enemy" to restore the trust of the public AS/West against his government in dealing with terrorism from Muslims. (Eric Pianin and Bob Woodward, 2002).¹²

For us, in the context of Indonesia as the largest Muslim country in the world, the problem of terrorism raises many dilemmas: between keeping the feelings of Muslims and law enforcement, the rule of law, which must be enforced.

Moreover, there is a fact that the attack of Santoso group and other brutal terrorist attacks has taken place, so the state enemy must be defined to then take the next steps before executing the terrorists as "criminals", although they continue to hide behind the religious symbols and reasons.

Terrorism is a crime against humanity, that is an extraordinary crime.

Again, back to Santoso as the subject matter, in which he has been terminated with all of his radical adventures, then the society and state must remain vigilant and anticipatory. Santoso is one of the terrorists' kingpin that had been targeted in the de-radicalization program, but it is proved that he is even more rampant and with a global network of owned, it appears that he was increasingly confident until his death.

Santoso group along with his tissues and cells are already affiliated with ISIS, and that means terrorism in Indonesia has integrated itself with the world-class, global terrorism. Therefore, surveillance in the area where there is a terrorist, should be tightened to restrict their movements.

The image of Santoso as *ex* the government guided de-radicalization which proved even became an important figure in the national and global terror networks, should be an important lesson for the country.

Deradicalization should not just be a "project", because the impact can be fatal and become a boomerang for the government and society.

Vigilance, introspective and alertness of the state (and society) will be needed to scrape and tackle terrorism after the killing of Santoso. Counterattack from the Group of Santoso should be anticipated, and very likely "the new Santoso, the other Santoso" would be popping back here and there. That is the challenge for our society and state in the road ahead, related to trans

¹¹ Leon T. Hadar, "The Green Peril: Creating the Islamic Fundamentalist Threat", *Policy Analysis No. 77 August 27, 1992*.

¹² Eric Pianin and Bob Woodward, "Terror Concerns of U.S. Extend to Asia: Arrests in Singapore and Malaysia Cited", *Washington Post*, January 18, 2002; hal. A18.

nationalization of terrorism and globalization of terror complicating the matters in the political-economic sector, security and law under reform era.

Wahhabism, Radicalism and Jihadism

Recently, in Madura there is a song called “Wahhabi” that very straight forward describe what the flow is considered as the Islam scripturalist/radicalist/fundamentalist by many. The song describes the Wahhabi does not like birthday of the prophet, does not want *tahlilan*, disagree grave pilgrimage, does not recognize prayer *qunut*, and assume all Muslims outside the group as heretical, heretic and infidel. Stigma often attributed to the extreme Wahhabi and labels are often directed to this group. In many ways this song is true, but not all Wahhabi behave that way.

In the midst of accusations against the Wahhabi thought has humiliated Islam, it must be recognized that there are many services of Wahhabi groups in defense of the oppressed, especially the followers of Islam. Almost certainly mostly defended by Wahhabi are Muslims regardless of their sects and schools of thought. The humanitarian aid was given the Wahhabis spread throughout the world in the form of philanthropy charity, alms, sacrifices and the construction of mosques and educational institutions.

Admittedly, a lot of Wahhabi services in defense of the oppressed of the earth. Aid to Rohingya refugees came from Saudi Arabia, which is considered as a Wahhabi state. We must assess these Wahhabi more fairly before dropping stigma or label radicals, extremists and terrorists to everything that comes out of mainstream Wahhabism. Though there are Wahhabis anti-jihad, anti-uprising, and also can accept the Wahhabi grave pilgrimage, *tahlil*, *maulidan* and are still willing to come to the feast-feast to eat the meal.

Today, the phenomenon of widespread clash between the Wahhabi sect and the traditional Islam has made many people wonder about what the Wahhabis, how its history and the danger of the outbreak of flow or sect considered this radicalism?

In the view of Anthropology, religion is a cultural element hardest to change and the influence of the most difficult to control. Clash of civilizations, said Samuel Huntington, occur because of the religious factor. Clash within civilizations or clash within civilization also occur because of the religious factor (Hans Dieter Senghaas, 2002).¹³

One of the most religious understanding accused contributed much conflict, war, terrorism and communal violence is, understand Wahhabism. So, we need to understand in brief the Wahhabism sociologically, theologically, historically, politically and anthropologically.¹⁴

About the Wahhabism Movement

The Movement of Wahhabi initiated by Sheikh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab (1703-1792), a reformer (mujaddid) of Islam of Najd, Saudi Arabia, which comes amid a long-upset Muslims under static four schools (Shafi'i, Maliki, Hanbali and Hanafi).

Abdul Wahab was a *mufti* from Suudiyah Daulah, the forerunner to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia that we know today. Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab called on his people to monotheism, just pray to God without intermediaries, not glorify the saints and learned men or scholars or people who are more pious as special and refusing to worship graves.

¹³ Dieter Senghaas, *The Clash Within Civilizations: Coming to Terms with Cultural Conflicts*, Routledge, 8 Jul 2005.

¹⁴ This article is an executive summary for the layman or some sort of policy briefs for the super busy, the ingredients are collected from the “Wahhabi” itself became the subject of research by the writers over the years.

Wahhabi embrace egalitarian principles in worship. Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab sect is regarded as the fifth after Shafi, Hanbali, Hanafi and Maliki. Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab, many wrote that it is in line with the ideas of Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn al-Qayyim, and Ahmad ibn Hanbal.

Because influenced by the ideas of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Wahhabi-ism is somewhat similar to the Hanbali sect. Wahhabi thoughts are then developed by Bin Baz, Utsaymin, Syek Ahmad Khan, Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, Rashid Rida, Muhammad Abduh, HOS Tjokroaminoto, SM Kartosoewirjo.

Later in the period of post-colonialism, Wahhabi ideology developed more systematically again by Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb, Hassan al-Banna, Abul A'la Al-Mawdudi, Yusuf Qardawi, and Nasir Al Albani. Then during the revolution in Afghanistan this ideology is neatly packaged in books by Abdullah Azzam, Osama Bin Laden, Ayman Al Zawahiry, up to the period of the conflict Iraq and Syria by Abu Mushab As Shuri.

Wahhabism and Takfirism

Wahhabism are not monolithic, meaning that this group is also split into several variants of each other unfriendly or even hostile sometimes can also lead to bloody conflicts. Wahhabism is actually a generic term to describe or refer to the Salafi groups. However, due to the traditional Islam also claims itself as Salafis (who carry out the tradition *Salafussholeh*), then the label Wahhabi been so easily distinguish theologically with groups that are not Wahhabi. The Wahhabi terminology was used as a euphemism because there are certain groups who are very sensitive to the Salafi name.

Anthropologically, there are at least three types of Wahhabism in Indonesia that the writers can observe.

First, The *Wahhabi Shururi* considered anti birthday, anti adzan twice, anti tahlil, anti-pilgrimage grave and anti-jihad and often assume the public against the government as *bughot* (rebels).

Second, The *Jihadi Wahhabi*, namely Wahhabis groups that focus on jihad and tried to resist any government policy, also has a similar rejection in the first group. Wahhabi Jihadists in Indonesia has appeared with the name of Darul Islam (DI) in West Java in 1949 [with the character Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo], Central Java in 1950 [Amir Fatah Widjaja Kusuma], South Sulawesi in 1951 [Kahar Muzakkar], South Kalimantan 1952 [Ibn Hajar] and Aceh in 1953 [Daud Beureu'eh], then *Jemaah Islamiyah* (JI) 1992 through 2010, which accused Ustadz Abdullah Sungkar and Abubakar Ba'asyir, Dr Azahari, Noordin Mat Top, Amrozi, Imam Samudra, Ali Ghufron and Ali Imron.

Lastly, the groups that appears in the Jihadi Wahhabi 'Al Qaeda' that formed Tanzhim Veranda of Mecca (TQSM) and many of its activists were arrested after the discovery of *I'dad* activities (war preparation/war games) in Bukit Jalin, Aceh Besar in 2010. The *Jihadi Wahhabi* group is now calmer and choose the path of missionary endeavor with wisdom, peace and sage (*dakwah bil hikmah*) in their daily activities.

Third, the *Takfiri Wahhabi* that so often accusing others outside the group as heretics or even pagan. This group is in Aceh, Java, Sulawesi, and other region today, and still faithful to his pledge of allegiance to support the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant/Syria (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) or better known as ISIS. This group is radical in word and deed, This *Takfiri Wahhabi* group appear more frightening, could be more desperate and awful, will not easily be killed, let alone embryos of ISIS (Islamic State of Syria and Iraq) in Indonesia has been growing with its global network, where the Takfirism Paradigm of ISIS is that the Muslims who disagree with them as the

unbelievers, deserve to be killed, while they are ready to attack the government of a state at any time.

Because of the conflict of interest, in their own internal Wahhabi circles also occurs mutual accusations and recriminations, in which many groups of Wahhabis involved in action such as blasphemous and heretical among themselves.

Shururi Wahhabi circles have often accused the Wahhabi Jihadists as the rebels, betrayers (*bughot*). *Jihadi Wahhabi* more passive and did not react socially and politically. The *Jihadi Wahhabi* prefer the worship madhhab (ritual) and avoid friction with any party, is active in various community events monotheism awareness.

While the *Takfiri Wahhabi* very hyperactive in his message and accused many Jihadi Wahhabi circles as heretical, heretic or infidel to many groups because they do not want to accept the caliphate of Al-Baghdadi in Syria and Iraq. Through social media *Takfiri Wahhabi* groups is indulgence call-call noisy and full of threats and accusations while showing attitude intolerant assertively.

In the middle of Wahhabi gait in communal conflict in events Cumbok in Aceh (1946), Ambon (1999) Poso (2001) and other places, there is also a gait and movement of Wahhabi groups in political violence in South Sulawesi and gait of Wahhabi terrorism, played by Jemaah Islamiyah, Darul Islam, and so forth from 2000 to 2014.

In public perception, this then makes Wahhabi became the paragon of ugly irrefutable. Here, Wahhabi supposed to be performed as a paragon of beauty and scent of Islam in the eyes of the world. Incidents of violence in Iraq and Syria where ISIS shows the terrible cruelty has made Wahhabism as the party deemed theologically responsible for violence and barbarity.

Message of Bombing and Khalifa

Action of suicide bombing by terrorists in Surabaya familial suicide bombing in May 2018, Solo, Central Java in July 2016 and terrorist attack in Thamrin, Jakarta in January 2016, were successful in media publicity. In the case of Solo suicide boom, Presiden Joko Widodo has encouraged to launch deradicalization program in Solo with the fund US\$ 12 million to eliminate terrorism and seeds of terrorist in Solo (Surakarta) as soon as possible.

David L and C Paletz Danielle Vinson (1992) revealed that to achieve the objectives, terrorists' action always must have published their action. Publications can be done in various ways.

Terrorists can increase the value of news on their operations, timing and the targets that should be attention-grabbing, issued a statement, giving interviews to the press, and claimed responsibility.¹⁵

Publications have been done in such way that is a typical terrorist.

However, Al Qaeda, Jamaah Islamiyah, ISIS and their network that successfully increase the value of the activities, owing to election time and place to attract the target, although they do not always issue a statement. They also do not always claim to be responsible.

In the last ten years, based on experience in Indonesia, nearly no terrorist group that was responsible. So practical, suicide bombing in Solo July 2016, Bali bombing 2002, and in Jakarta July 17, 2009 that shocked the JW Marriot Hotel and the Ritz Carlton Hotel, in the heart of the security of Mega Kuningan, Jakarta, there is no surety answered. It is rather clear to us that the bombing brings this dangerous message that seems to be related to the victory Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Boediono presidential election in the new few days just passed. These

¹⁵ David L and C Paletz Daniell, *Terrorism and the Media*, Newbury Park, Calif. Sage, 1992.

bombs have strong relationship with the reaction among the radicals and fundamentalists against the Western liberal democracy.

In connection with terrorism, in the year 2007, in Islamabad, Pakistan bomb exploded in a presidential election campaign in that country on July 17. Target JW Marriot is a very soft target, the hotel is attacked twice before, but the explosion on Saturday night is the most formidable in the capital of Pakistan since the country joined the war against terror with the leaders of the United States at the end of 2001.

Terrorism in Indonesia is very strong relationship with resistance of anti-the West/United States and anti-Secular Democracy, and even anything that related to the West/capitalist countries will be targeted. The Ideology of democracy, for example, is a program the United States and allies anywhere, including in Indonesia. In relation to Presiden Susilo Bambang Yuhdoyono (SBY), the terrorists actually have a high resistance, not only because the issue of neo-liberalism, but this victory is seen as SBY victory of the United States in Indonesia where the institutions of democracy from the U.S. participated an intervened to the presidential election in Indonesia, such as IFES (International Foundation for Electoral System) and others.

Bomb explosion at hotel JW Marriot and Ritz Carlton as well as political explosion because the issue of security and peace not finished in this republic. The terrorists take advantage of easily from the elite political conflicts in presidential elections, movement between the two versus one lap, between the strength of nationalist versus IFES (United States) intervene the presidential election.

Many people ask whether you want a message delivered with the Bali Bomb 2002, Jakarta bomb 2009, Solo 2016 suicide bomb July 17 bombing and so forth? This bomb is a clear reaction to the victory of SBY pro-US/West as President of Indonesia and he will rule this country until 2014.

But, however, the terrorists do not desire to disrupt the vote counting results of presidential elections by KPU (General Elections Commission). Evidence, no one poll is bombed by terrorists.

For them, timing is important, but it is just simply because of the ease of access to reach the target.

This bomb is also a reaction to the plan of the coming football team Manchester United to Indonesia, not because of their choice to dislike a particular sport, but because the target is used as a foreigner (England), which is considered U.S. ally. This will also make a terrorist attack is not interested in the building if the Jakarta-Senayan sports rivalry football progress. Even the terrorist leader Osama bin Laden is like the Arsenal football club from the UK.

Implications of the Marriot bomb is a terrorist nation that makes this hotel as a permanent target.

JW Marriot Islamabad has also twice bombed, so also in Jakarta. This means, the hotel will continue to be the terrorist attacks remain. This hotel may need to change the name to the names of other, more local or names of the other level of small resistance. If it does not change the name, the hotel will continue to be a terror bomb target. This hotel is the symbol of the presence of capitalism and liberalism in the United States anywhere in Pakistan and in Indonesia. Want to terrorist attacked the symbols is capitalism, democracy, neo-liberalism and the United States wherever it is located.¹⁶

Indonesia is a soft target for the terrorists and their presence in Indonesia to be very comfortable because this country is a fertile ground for radical movements and fundamentalists. Recognition of the crime of terrorism suspects Bom Bali 12 October 2002, a clearly visible expression of religious emotions.

¹⁶ Herdi Sahrasad and Al Chaidar, *Fundamentalisme, Terorisme dan Radikalisme: Perspektif atas Agama, Masyarakat dan Negara*, Jakarta: LSAF, CSS –UI and Media Institute, December 31, 2016.

Ali Ghufon, one of the Bom Bali terror suspects, even states with sikapnya simple and emphatic: “... reply to tyranny and arbitrary rule of the US and allies against the Muslims with the intention that they will stop the oppression”.¹⁷

There is a value that work and dictate the way they thought. Ali Ghufon, for example, states that the bombardment was the “action devoted to God”. Then Ali Ghufon, Imam Samudra, Amrozi, and the group felt a *delusion of grandeur*, represent or have any feelings or decree and be part of the elements of greatness that assure themselves have special mission from God. The terrorists always feel themselves as a “warrior of God” is one with a call to act in the name of God and religion, to “hand of God” on earth to realize “his wrath” of the same shape in the resistance on, bombardment.

In fact, the terrorist group is not new in the world of movement and the radical fundamentalists of Indonesia. The terrorist is the combination of the core teachings of radical fundamentalists and that meet in one point of planning the war against tyranny. In Indonesia, this terrorist group was small: (1) Jamaah Islamiyyah, (2) Mujahidin Indonesia Timur led Santoso (East Indonesia Mujahidden) and (3) Darul Islam (limited to follow a course faction a hard line). However, as some found enclave terrorists in cities such as Palembang, and Cilacap, Semarang Central Java, shows that the proliferation of this group with a wide and fast. With anxious hope, we feel that under SBY and even Jokowi presidency, it is very probably the state and society would continue to face this terror situation in Indonesia led to the terrorist front. For civil society, the business community and the state, the shadow of terrorism will still be a source of fear in the middle of vigilance.

In search of a solution to many complex problems in the archipelago, many Indonesians are in the peak of getting tired with the government’s less effort towards combating poverty. Not to mention other issues like injustice, tyranny, corruption, lack of education and significant number of human rights violations. It is quite understood that the prolonged transition in Indonesia has not only given birth but also led to more loud voices of Islamic parties, calling for establishing *Khilafah* (Islamic state) as a way of building a better moral and prosperous nation. But the ideas to bring back khilafah as an alternative for democracy considered anachronistic.

Sounds like a promise, but for the pluralistic country like Indonesia this is not at all a good idea.

Khilafah means combining Islam and politics in governance, and applying it in the archipelago having high diversities in religions, ethnics, cultures and economic disparity; *Khilafah* can be very dangerous.

Nonetheless, some Islamic parties and organizations have been inspired by transnational Middle East version of Islam. Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). This party is a real example of an Islamic political party that follows, to some extent, the teaching of *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (Muslim brotherhood) of Egypt.

Having motivated by the al-Qaeda, a notorious terrorist organization led by Osama bin Laden, Jemaah Islamiyah has been modeled by the style of al-Qaeda’s Islamic Arabism. In addition, both Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI) and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia also take that Islamic Arabism as their teaching direction. The Islamic Arabism also seems to have been the cloak of Islamic teaching in many *pesantren* (Islamic boarding), though not all, students at the *pesantren* are potential to breeding radicals.

And with Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia’s having International *Khilafah* Conference in Jakarta this month, it is no more than an evidence that the teaching of religions in developing countries like Indonesia can be potential tool to reach a political gain by building practical relationship between

¹⁷ “Tabel Motif & Tujuan Peledakan Bom Bali 12 Oktober 2002”, *Dokumen Polri*, 2003, h.1-3.

individuals and groups. It is a transformation of religious political system, also known as *religio-political system*.

This is also what Clifford Geertz claimed to be “religions mindedness,” a process of how the religion ideology comes into existence.¹⁸

In this context, the religion ideology has potential power to ignite fanaticism and radicalization that unquestionably can erupt violence and destruction. Any religion in this position will have two functions; building better integrity among its followers while creating conflict and violation.

The tragedy of Bali bombs, Australian Embassy bomb in Jakarta, suicide bom in Solo and other brutal acts done by anarchists like those from Islamic Defender Front (FPI) – where they use violence and destructive acts to close down businesses that they think is not in accordance of *sharia* like bar and café since they sell alcoholic beverages – are examples where fundamentalists have shown intolerant exclusiveness and belligerent sense of supremacy in facing minority communities.

While such brutality to some people is no less than a destruction by anarchists, many perceives that the stark terror attitude is a pure motivation by a number of Islamic extremist groups having their hidden agenda.

Facing this worrisome development in a pluralistic country, which the country itself indeed still struggle with many internal affairs, we really think that all Islamic groups should stop using violence in dealing with any contention or disagreement. They should not monopolize the truth of what they believe to indoctrinate others.

The debate *khilafah* is of a great relevance today, particularly with Hizbut Tahir is preparing an international conference to be held on August 12. The conference will definitely focus on building an Islamic state. However, whether an Islamic state is relevant to the Indonesia’s pluralistic communities should be taken in wise consensus.

Therefore, an open dialog or interfaith discussion between Islam and other religions, whether they are from upper class or middle class of society, or even among grass roots should be what Indonesian government look for and we believe that promoting pluralism will guarantee better harmonious living, togetherness in addition to maintaining the nation sovereignty in the country where pluralistic melting pot has prevailed.

Islam, The West and Challenges

Indonesia, as a muslim country, following the fall of President Soeharto, can be regarged as a champion of democracy or at least democratic transition for Muslim nation, although this must still be tested by the passage of time. It is natural that the West has viewed Indonesian Islam, at least before the Bali bombing, as being Islam with a new face. In 1996, international media called Islam in Indonesia modernist, progressive, and other cultures-civilizations. And as a friend of the West, Indonesia is perceived by the West as an example of succesful harmony between muslim and modernity.

But, after Bali bombing I and the long campaign of Islamic caliphate by radical Islamists, borrowing Anthony Reid’s perspective,¹⁹ Indonesian Islam still remains a *grossly understudied world* appears to be true today ever more than before. So, it is very timely to the West state and

¹⁸ Geertz, Clifford, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*. London: The University of Chicago Press, 1968.

¹⁹ Anthony Reid, *Dari Ekspansi Hingga Krisis: Jaringan Perdagangan Global Asia Tenggara 1450-1680 (Jilid II)* Penerbit: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1999.

societies to strengthen economic and cultural relations, included to research and study on Indonesian Islam that actually is very pluralistic and complicated, so often misunderstood by the Westerners. Of course, issue of terrorism is a real matter, especially after Bali bombing that has shocked Indonesian state and society.

Facing terrorism and Islam fundamentalism, no way out to solve the issues, except with cultural and civilizational dialogues and economic development cooperation between the West and Indonesia. These dialogues and cooperation are very contextual and pivotal to eradicate poverty, social unjust, backwardness, and multidimensional crises in Indonesian society, beside to improve mutual understanding.

So far, Indonesian society has fallen into *debt trap* amounted to about US\$310 billions (state and private loans, according to Bank Indonesia data). That foreign debt, mostly the *odious debt*, has depleted economic resources of the people. Meanwhile imposition of *Washington Consensus* to Indonesia in conformity with IMF, World bank and WTO guidelines, has burdened the people economy in which most of them are the poor muslim. From this sensitive point, Islam has been *rallying point* to youth, students, ulamas and scholars as a basic ideology *vis-a-vis* the West hegemony that they blame as the new imperialists in Indonesia under global capitalism.

But, is it Islam the only solution for everything, included as problem solver for poverty, social unjust and multidimensional crisis? Is it Islam the solution to everything?

The answer has not clear, even in fact it can be confusing. In reality, Islam has only provided values, ethics, norms and religious guides, not an instant panacea to the real problems that grasped the Indonesian Muslims. So it is imperative for ulamas (Islamic scholars), leaders and muslim inteligensia to make their *ummah* be aware and conscious that radicalism and violence is wrong answer in the wrong time to crackdown poverty, social unjust and multidimensional crises in Indonesia recent years.

Islam would be useful, beneficial and meaningful if it can provide real contribution such as ideas, thinking, solution and practical means in dealing with the real issues to eliminate poverty and social unjust, realizing the human rights, human security and social welfare. So that the Indonesian Islam is more realistic and pragmatic than radicalistic and fundamentalistic in responding the nowadays and future challenges. Whether or not Indonesian Islam capable and credible in dealing with these worldly challenges, all of that depend upon their leaders, inteligensia and ulamas in response directly, quickly and effectively. But certainly, the Islamic caliphate is not the answer and radical Islamism will only provide further situation that plunged the ummah (Muslims) into disappointment, frustration and violence.

Toward Cultural and Civilizational Dialogues?

The terrorist attacks of Surabaya in May 2018, Solo in July 2016, in WTC, New York September 11, 2001, Bali Bombing 2002, JW Marriot bombing 2004 and so on, has encouraged the need for the significance of cultural and civilizational dialogues between Islam and the West.

The cultural-civilizational dialogues between the West and Islamic societies has gained growing importance after the tragedy of Black September 2001.

In this regard, development cooperation is imperative for the West and Islamic World. It is largely equal to politics beyond cultural borders and depends upon building bridges between cultures-civilizations of the West and Islamic world, and finding ways of cultural and civilizational understanding in order to enter into a dialogue about ethical, religious, and political differences and

similarities with others cultures-civilizations and in response to the criticism which since then has been expressed in Islamic societies about Western politics towards developing countries.

The relationship between the West and Islam has been suffering from mutual wrong perception of each other which support anti western and anti Islamic feelings and attitudes. Each others cultures are predominantly interpreted as a monolithic enemy and not, as it should be, an area of cultural diversity. For a long time, said Norbert Eschborn, the neighbor like relationship between Western and Islamic countries has not been maintained resulting in increasing tension on religious and cultural issues, such as the discussion about the ability of Islam to adjust its value system to the modern world. On the other hand, Islamic extremist could be observed for more than a decade doing everything to pursue a course of action of politicizing culture and religion in accordance with their belief that *Islam is the solution to everything*, therefore, this long running process support the creation of an un-reflected paradigm Islam versus the West.

Given this background the approach of cultural difference must be supplemented with the perspective of cooperative coexistence. Mutual interest in and understanding of each other culture, history, and social relations are a necessary condition for the dialogue of the West with Islamic states and societies. Such a dialogue should not only underline similarities between both cultures but also identify possible areas of conflict in order to mark the positive potential of religious, cultural and political exchange between both regions which are very heterogeneous within them and, at the same time, share a common history.

As tension in the relationship between Western and Islamic civilizations have been growing, any kind of dialogue and cooperation, therefore, has not only to should be intensified and expanded but must take into consideration the changing situation of world politics. This East-West civilizational dialogues would open possibilities to overcome international issues such as terrorism, climate change, crisis of migrant, human trafficking, drugs, corruption, the North-South widening gulf and global conflicts that become concern of the world community.

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