
Radicalism, Fundamentalism and Terrorism in Indonesia: A Political Reflection¹

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Abstract: *This paper tries to test the theoretical framework of terrorism which is a combination of fundamentalism and radicalism that are intertwined with psychological symptoms and historical disappointments. Based on some interview data and also initial sources, we then conceptualize terrorism as the final effect of the evolution of fundamentalism and radicalism. Some transnational thought movements that entered Indonesia in the 1990s confirmed this theoretical truth. The continued development of this theory and concept still persists in the level of a very dynamic debate. Many sources of events from Indonesia can become theoretical abstractions for radicalism, fundamentalism and terrorism. Some characteristics of fundamentalism and radicalism and terrorism will be developed later in the form of theories and concepts that can be useful to formulate new strategies for prevention or resistance against radicalism, fundamentalism and terrorism.*

Keywords: *fundamentalism, radicalism, terrorism.*

Background

After the fall of the Soeharto's New Order in 1998, Indonesia experienced democratization while entering a very sharp phase of ideological clash, especially between radical and moderate ideology based on religion. The ideology of religion is re-emerging, often accompanied by violence and other forms of emotional expression, becoming an opposition ideology that is quite strong, even with a relatively small number of

¹ This article is a revision of our paper presented in limited discussion with activists and academic circles in Kuala Lumpur (June 2017) and Den Haag (The Hague), Netherlands, February 2018

supporters. The ideology of Islam in Indonesia in this period emerged in its most crude form: terrorism.

From the confession of the suspects² of the October 12, 2002 Bali Bomb terrorism crime, it was clearly seen a religious emotional expression. Ali Ghufon, one of the Bali Bomb terrorism suspects, even stated his position firmly and simply: "... *avenging the tyranny and abuse of the US and its allies against Muslims in order for them to stop their tyranny.*"³

So far, the latest wave of terrorist bomb attacks is a familial suicide bomb in Surabaya May 2018 which is very dramatic and tragic, while in Central Sulawesi and Poso, terrorist group under Ali Kalora had attacked police in December 30/31, 2018 with their motto that "the show must go on".

There is a value that works and dictates the way of their thoughts. Ali Ghufon, for example, stated that the bombing was "an act of devotion to God." ⁴ So Ali Ghufon, Imam Samudra, Amrozi, and his group felt a delusion of grandeur, feeling of having or representing or getting a decree and becoming part of an element of greatness that believed he was carrying out special mission from God. ⁵

Terrorists always feel themselves as "warriors of God" who are called to act in the name of God and religion, to become "God's hands" on earth to "realize" His anger in a form of resistance: bombings and other acts of terror. ⁶ As a result of this delusive interpretation and expression of religious emotions, tragedy ensued and a large amount of speculation arose in the midst of the public.

The tragedy of a series of terrorist bomb attacks in Bali, Makassar, Jakarta and elsewhere in Indonesia has led to a series of speculations from the apologists to the a priori ones. ⁷ The first speculation is about who is a terrorist attack that is very well planned and carried out by people who have sophisticated technical knowledge. The perpetrators are arbitrarily

² For example, the recognition of Imam Samudra, "... Combating the US and its allies is the order of Allah and His Messenger both directly and indirectly." See, "Tabel Motif & Tujuan Peledakan Bom Bali 12 Oktober 2002", Dokumen Polri, 2003, pp. 1-3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴ *Loc.cit.*

⁵ Nova Riyanti Yusuf, "Delusion of grandeur", *Gatra*, 18 Oktober 2003, hlm. 37.

⁶ For Imam Samudra, bombing is carrying out God's commands in the Qur'anic verses of verses 74-76. See, "Tabel Motif & Tujuan Peledakan Bom Bali 12 Oktober 2002". Dokumen Polri, *op.cit.*, 2003, p. 3.

⁷ *Kompas, Media Indonesia, Republika, Rakyat Merdeka, Pos Kota*, 28 Desember 2000.

identified as anti-US, anti-Israel, anti-democracy, anti-capitalist economic forces, and global military.

The second speculation is about the motives of terrorists in carrying out acts of excessive destruction of places where US economic, political and military forces are located. The third speculation is about what other goals will be aimed at the US and Israel. The culprit is allegedly identified as an Islamic fundamentalist who is currently the arch enemy of the United States (US), Osama bin Laden who used to hide in Afghanistan.⁸ Even if it is not Osama, the world community assumes that the perpetrators are other people from Islamic fundamentalists who have a doctrinal relationship with the Al Qaidah network.

As is known, Islamic fundamentalists are very anti-US, anti-Israel, anti-democratic, anti-capitalist and global military. The motive, as far as can be analyzed from the character of US foreign policy so far, is hatred of the attitude of the US which - according to their perception - is secular, anti-Islamic and too possessive and over-protective of Israel.⁹

While speculation about the next goal, is the usual response to the loss of security and the fear of the US people who need immediate answers to what might happen. This speculation is perfectly formed because this incident was so sudden, massive and simultaneous with tremendous destructive power. This speculation is also reasonable because it has caused enormous anger among the people and US leaders who are feeling comfortable living in the face of modernity, secularism and economic prosperity suddenly have to face this painful and embarrassing nightmare. The US people are not just facing terrorist attacks this time.

For fundamentalists and radicals of Islam - more commonly known by the term "terrorists" - against the US is carrying out personal obligations, a global jihad against Jews and Christians.¹⁰ Thus, the US has also placed Muslim terrorists as enemies since 1979 (which gave the name "Ayatollah Khomeini" as the name of the perceived enemy) at the time of the Iranian Islamic Revolution and culminated in the 1990 bay crisis (where "Saddam Hussein appeared" as an enemy).

⁸ Osama bin Laden in February 1998 issued a fatwa against Jews and Christians and became a role model for almost all suspected terrorists. See, *Osama Bin Laden: Teroris atau Mujahid*, Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2001, pp. 52-56.

⁹ See, "Tabel Motif & Tujuan Peledakan Bom Bali 12 Oktober 2002". Dokumen Polri, *op.cit.* 2003.

¹⁰ See, "Tabel Motif & Tujuan Peledakan Bom Bali 12 Oktober 2002", Dokumen Polri, 2003.

With the arrest of suspects in acts of terrorism in Indonesia and in several Southeast Asian countries and even in America and Europe, it increasingly shows us that the network of terrorist organizations is very broad.¹¹ Although morally and internationally diplomatic terrorists are attacked by "war of discourse" which corners them as "cowards", "inhuman people", "people who are happy over the suffering of others", and "people who have a tendency to mental illness", but the people terrorists continue to appear on the political map of Indonesia and the world up to now to convey messages that are very difficult to interpret.

Once the hidden enemy of this one, has created the impression of mystery and psychological fear of its own. For the American people, terrorists are another specter that the United States has faced after the ghost of communism, an enemy of ideology, as well as a new spiritual enemy as Huntington has warned in *The Clash of Civilization*. Douglas E. Streusand even dared to call "specter is Islam", which was later identified by the US public as a "green peril" (green danger).¹² And, with the attacks on the WTC and the Pentagon two years ago, the name Osama bin Laden emerged as an "enemy" to restore the trust of the US public to his government in dealing with terrorism from Muslims.¹³

For the context of Indonesia as the largest Muslim country in the world, this problem of terrorism raises many dilemmas: between safeguarding the feelings of the ummah of Islam and law enforcement that must be upheld. Moreover, there is a fact that a brutal attack has taken place and the enemy must be defined and then the next steps are taken before executing 'criminals' who even continue to hide behind religious symbols and reasons. To find out the theoretical context of the emergence of "terrorists", it is necessary to consider the development of fundamentalist thinking in Islam.¹⁴

Ideologically, among Indonesian Muslims, especially after the Reformation Period (1999 - present) the discourse on khilafah, the Islamic state, jihad, bai'at to the study of the Medina Charter and the State of Medina, is not a foreign matter. Since this period many radical and fundamentalist movements have turned into terrorist movements. They have monopolized the interpretation of the discourse about the Islamic state,

¹¹ Seth Mydans, 'Militant Islam Unsettles Indonesia And Its Region', *New York Times*, 21 September 2001.

¹² Leon T. Hadar, "The Green Peril: Creating the Islamic Fundamentalist Threat", *Policy Analysis* No. 77 August 27, 1992.

¹³ "Fear of Fundies," *The Economist*, February 15, 1992, pp. 45-46.

¹⁴ Eric Pianin and Bob Woodward, "Terror Concerns of U.S. Extend to Asia: Arrests in Singapore and Malaysia Cited", *Washington Post*, January 18, 2002; p. A18.

the khilafah, jihad and other Islamic political terms. In the era of President Abdurrahman Wahid, discourses on the Islamic state spread on campuses, Islamic movements and mosque activists. Regarding khilafah, the Islamic state to the study of the State of Medina, perhaps, there is only one Islamic state that is the most ideal, namely the State of Medina with its Medina Charter at the time of the Prophet Muhammad (VII Century). However, for most people, the country of Medina is almost like a "fairy tale" even though it is in history.

To avoid "mythologization and glorification," we need to examine the Islamic state that once appeared in the heart of Europe: Spain, the Islamic era (Islamic Spain). Muslim countries and Muslims in Spain are one of the areas farthest from the heart of the Islamic world, but very tolerant. Bernard Lewis points out that earlier Islam turned out to be more tolerant than later Islam. During the early Islamic period, many social interactions took place smoothly between Muslims, Christians and Jews. Despite adhering to different religions, they form a single society, where interpersonal friendship, business partnerships, teacher-student relations in the life of science, and other forms of other joint activities are normal and even very common.

This cultural cooperation appears in many ways. Muslims, Christians and Jews live in an atmosphere of civilization, mutual respect, and mutual development of science and cultural arts. There is no slightest discrimination. Therefore, the problem of pluralism is the problem of how Muslims adapt themselves to the modern world. This will definitely involve problems of how they view and assess Islamic history, and how they see and assess change and necessity bring in normative and universal Islamic values into dialogue with the realities of space and time.

The history of Muslims, like the history of any human community, always has the potential to make mistakes or turn from the right path. Apart from the simple truism of what the English poet Alexander Pope says, namely that "doing wrong is humane," all history is self-evident is human history, and no ordinary human being is sacred and holy. The history of Islam in Indonesia is also a history of power struggles (khilafah) that have not been completed until now. Efforts to realize this power have implications for the emergence of rebellions (DI / TII in 1949) to terrorism (1999 to present).

This cultural cooperation, as noted by Anthony Reid, appears in many ways Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists live their lives and cultures. Even in the era of national movements to realize independence, these pluralists fought in the spirit of the 1928 Youth Oath. And until the era of Bung Karno's parliamentary democracy in the 1950s, Muslims and non-Muslims

lived in an atmosphere full of civilization, mutual respect and mutual development. science and cultural arts. There is no slightest discrimination, because the development of the nation and its character (nation and character building) runs naturally. Therefore, the problem of pluralism is the problem of how Muslims adapt themselves to the modern world, which until the 1950s was guaranteed by the constitution. At that time Islam respected plurality and respected the existing culture of society. The spirit of pluralism was developed and tolerance was upheld with enriched intellectual repertoire. However, under Soeharto's New Order, all of that experienced a rift: state building (state development) had exceeded and destroyed nation building (nation building). The state is increasingly repressive and hegemonic, bullying people in all ethnicities, classes and layers. The politics of bamboo division and the regimentation of Soeharto's New Order devastated the spirit of nationality and humanity.

Therefore, intellectuals and Islamic elites must find a way out of today's social, economic, political and ideological crises, so that reform does not stagnate, so that this nation does not experience disintegration. Giddens calls politics "the third way" by emphasizing "no rights without responsibility". In the era of Rasulullah Islam, "no rights without responsibility" was accentuated in the Medina Charter, which guarantees freedom, equality and justice. In the era of Cordova Islam, Spain, the spirit and conception of the "Medina Charter" then made them a pluralistic, cosmopolitan, multicultural and universal community, so that they were willing to learn and receive everything of value from the experiences of other communities.

No.	Profile of Islamist Groups/Organizations
1	Al Qaeda
2	Jamaah Islamiyyah (JI)
3	Tandhim Qaidatul Jihad Indonesia
4	Tanzim Al Qaidah Aceh
5	KOMPAK (Komite Penanggulangan Krisis)
6	AMDI (Angkatan Mujahidin Daulah Islamiyah)
7	FPI (Front Pembela Islam)
8	FPI-S (Front Pembela Islam- Solo)
9	FPI Aceh (Front Pembela Islam-Aceh)
10	AMIN (Angkatan Mujahidin Islam Nusantara)
11	Laskar Jihad Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah (FKAWJ)
12	Darul Islam Faksi Tahmid
13	Darul Islam Faksi Gaos Taufik
14	Darul Islam Faksi Kamil Al Nafi
15	Darul Islam Faksi Hispran
16	Darul Islam Faksi Ali AT

17	Darul Islam Faksi KW-9
18	Darul Islam Faksi MMI
19	Darul Islam Faksi LMI
20	Darul Islam Faksi Aceng Kurnia
21	Persis (Persatuan Islam-Islamic Unity)
22	Masyumi (Madjelis Sjura Muslimin Indonesia)
23	DDII (Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia)
24	MMI (Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia)
25	LMI (Liga Muslimin Indonesia)
26	Salafi Sururi
	Etc

Islamic Fundamentalism & Radicalism

Islamic fundamentalists, as enemies of secular countries, are "an aggressive revolutionary movement as militant and violent as the Bolsheviks, Fascists, and Nazi movements of the past", said Amos Perlmutter, a political scientist. Furthermore, Perlmutter mentions that these fundamentalists are very "authoritarian, anti-democratic, anti-secular,"¹⁵ and cannot be friends with the "Christian secular universe" and the aim is to establish an "transnational Islamic state that is authoritarian".¹⁶

No.	Cases and Events of Terrorism, Radicalism and Fundamentalism
1	Bom Cikini
2	Bom Borobudur
3	BCA Robbery
4	Bom Gereja Tujuh belas kota (Bom of Christmas Eve)
5	Bom Bali I
6	Bom Bali II
7	Bom Philippines embassy, Jakarta
8	Bom Australian Embassy Jakarta/Bom Kuningan
9	Bom Hotel JW Marriot I
10	Bom Hotel Marriott II
11	Bom Atrium Senen
12	Bom Ontel di Bekasi
13	Bom Mosque Mapolresta Cirebon
14	Bom Mosque Istiqlal

¹⁵ Lindsay Murdoch, 'Bin Laden 'Funded Christian-haters', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 September 2001.

¹⁶ Paolo Pasicolan is a policy analyst at the Asian Studies Center of the Heritage Foundation. See, *Washington Post*, *Ibid*.

15	Bom Mosque Nurul Hidayah
16	Terror of Commando of Jihad (Komji) Jawa Timur
17	Terror of Commando of Jihad (Komji) Sumatera
18	Terror Warman
19	Usroh Events in Java
20	Tragedy of Talangsari, Lampung
21	Bom Depok, Tambora.
22	Dll

Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby who were very serious in the 'Fundamentalism Project', mentioned that fundamentalism always follows a pattern. They are the "embattled forms of spirituality," which emerged as a response to a crisis of perceived (perceived crisis).¹⁷

Fundamentalists are involved in conflicts with secular enemies who are suspected of making policies that are frontally opposed to religion. Fundamentalists do not regard this frontal conflict as a "play ground", but a serious "battle field", which is not just a conventional political resistance, but regards it as a "cosmic war") between great powers and spiritual strength.

They are afraid of - and always feel a threat - infidels to eradicate those who come from secular Western powers; then they try to fortify themselves with doctrines and practices that have lived in the past (the doctrine and practice of jihad). To avoid themselves from the "bad world" and cover themselves up from the contamination of the "cosmic war", fundamentalists often retreat and narrow from the mainstream society to create counterculture; and fundamentalists are not people who dream in broad daylight. They absorb pragmatic rationalism from modernity, and, under the guidance of their charismatic leaders, filter out what is needed from the technical world to make action plans that are often destructive.¹⁸

From what we witnessed during the simultaneous attack on the WTC (World Trade Center) and Pentagon, Bali Bombings, Christmas Eve Bombs, Marriot Bombs and others are a collection of experts who have the same technical ability as pilots and technicians who understand the functions transponder, black box, radar, chemical elements, advanced electronic components and global positioning tool-boxes and other managerial capabilities.

¹⁷ See, Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (eds), *Fundamentalisms Observed*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

¹⁸ See, Jonathan Randall White. *Terrorism: an introduction*. Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1991.

Fundamentalists feel that they are fighting against forces that threaten the very sacred values of their community and their reaction will be political terror. The US, which emerged as the sole actor who won the "cold war" since the collapse of Communist forces in the Soviet bloc was considered by many fundamentalists to have ambushed the consciousness of Muslims as a superpower that could not be defeated and was ready to make Muslim society the next enemy. The terrorist attack in New York and Washington was actually a response containing a message that wanted to prove that the US turned out to be based on a "spider web" that was so weak.¹⁹

During the "cold war" between the formal state and terrorist groups that have no national borders, war actors are often emotional, panic and lack respect for their respective positions. From some of the study findings of Karen Armstrong²⁰, modernization has brought the polarization of society to extreme positions that are opposite each other, and to avoid escalating conflict, there is only one way: we must try to understand the pain and perceptions of the other side.²¹ Because so far they have often stated: "nobody knows our trouble we see, nobody knows our problem", it would be very surprising if later as a consequence, "nobody knows of what our plan of action is."

For all of us who have tasted the freedom and achievement of modernity, Karen Armstrong recommends, "we must not stop to empathize and sympathize with the hardships and suffering experienced by some Islamic fundamentalist communities."²² Like drug addicts, they should not be considered unlawful which must be pursued, but must be seen as people who need care to treat their dependency and irrational fears.²³ "Modernization", according to Karen Armstrong, "*is often felt not as a liberation but an aggressive attack*".²⁴

Unlike fundamentalists, Islamic radicals actually look that understanding religion deeply is far more important before making an action plan that tends to be violent. The uniformity of view towards the community

¹⁹ see, Noam Chomsky, "On the US attacks", di website www.zmag.org.

²⁰ Karen Armstrong, *The Battle for God*, New York: Ballantine Books, 2001, p. 6.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

²² Karen Armstrong, *Islam: A Short History*, New York: Modern library, 2000, p. 56.

²³ A clear example of this irrational fear, for example, is: '... I am very afraid of the threat of Allah if I do not carry out jihad against the infidels and their allies according to Surah At-taubah verse 39 which reads' if you do not fight in the way of Allah , then Allah will surely punish (torture) you with very terrible torture ... 'See the confession of Imam Samudra in "Motif Tables & Objectives of Blasting the Bali Bombing on October 12, 2002", National Police Documents, 2003, p. 2.

²⁴ Karen Armstrong, *Op.cit., The Battle...*, p. 90.

that responds to modernization, secular government and Western culture into the term "fundamentalist" is actually an oversimplification. The spectrum of the world of Islamic movements actually saves rich colors in a fairly pluralistic treasure. Not all people who are critical and anti against the US, Israel, Western culture, materialism, capitalism, issues of feminism, human rights and democracy can be categorized as 'fundamentalists'.

No.	Responses of Terrorist towards:
1	Capitalism
2	Sosialism and Social-Democracy
3	Communism
4	Liberalism dan Neo-liberalism
5	Fasism
6	Naziism
7	Budhism
8	Hinduism
9	Cristianism
10	Confucianism
11	Pancasila
12	Syiahisme (Shia)
13	Abrahamic Religion/Local Religions
14	Etc

Islamic radicals who have risen with different lines, even diametrically opposed to fundamentalists, are taxonomies of the Islamic movement that must be viewed with caution. The fact that fundamentalism has emerged in small and large explosions in all cultures (monotheistic religious culture, as well as polytheism) indicates a widespread disappointment in modern society where many of us actually feel it as something liberating, fun and empowering. Projects that are invisible to the good by liberals, where Islamic radicals are also included, such as democracy, peace creation, concern for the environment, women's liberation, or freedom of speech can be seen as bad, even haram, by the people fundamentalist.

Fundamentalists often express themselves in violence, but violence is the simplest way or way that emanates from their deep fear of the destruction of communities, traditions, values and cultures that they consider noble. Seen from an educational background, they are intellectuals - whom Bruce Hoffman called "violent intellectual" - who try to achieve their goals because they are motivated by the doctrines of religion that they perceive differently (out of mainstream).

Every fundamentalist movement that I have studied, there is an irrational fear of systematic destruction of them. According to Scott Appleby, the establishment of secular people aims to eradicate their existence as religious people from this earth, even in the United States itself. Fundamentalists believe that their response to violence is a form of resistance to the forces that have frightened them all along. Fundamentalists believe that they have been fighting to defend religion and maintain a civilized society.

Now many societies in the Islamic world reject the perception that the West is godless, unjust, and decadent. New radical Islam is not as simple as fundamentalists who hate the West. However, new radical Islam is not a homogeneous movement. Radical Muslims basically try to put their own home in a different set of rules according to what they perceive. Unlike fundamentalists who suffer from severe cultural dislocations, radicals also feel comfortable with modern times.

It is impossible to generalize the extreme forms of religious groups because they are not only different between each country, but also differ between each city even in each village and village. Only a small number of fundamentalists are loyal to acts of terror, while many Islamic radicals are even very friendly, want peace, hope in law and order, and accept positive values from modern society.

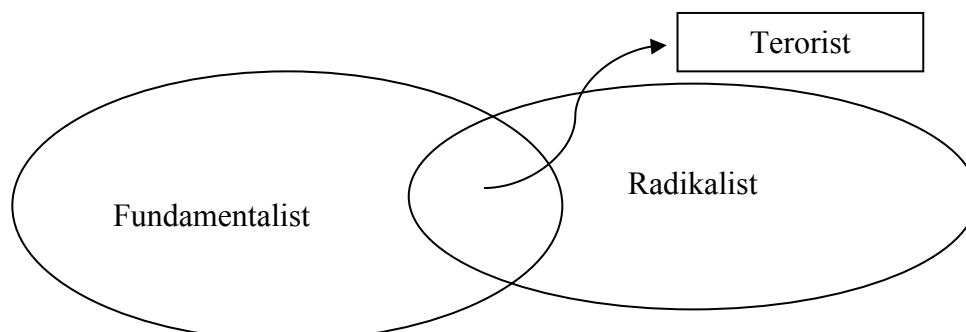
If fundamentalists have never had the time to talk about democracy, pluralism, religious tolerance, peace-building, individual freedom or the separation between religion and state, even the other even radical communities consider all of them to be sublimation of religious values in profane language. Hopefully the US — and countries that are being hit by an anti-terrorist spirit because of a series of bombs that have exploded in Christian places of worship or in places where capitalism has penetrated, Western liberalism and secularism — have not panicked and are wrong in distinguishing between fundamentalists and which one is radical.

Terrorism in Indonesia: Integration of Fundamentalism and Radicalism

Actually, terrorists are not a new group in the world of Indonesian radical and fundamentalist movements. Terrorists are a combination of the core teachings of fundamentalists and radicals who meet at one point in planning war against what they perceive as 'tyranny'. In Indonesia, these terrorist groups are small in number: (1) Jamaah Islamiyah, and (2) Darul Islam (limited to certain factions). The chart below shows how the anatomy of terrorist ideological thinking.

Categorization of Fundamentalists, Radicals and Terrorists

(Kategorisasi Kaum Fundamentalis, Radikal dan Teroris)



From the chart above, it is clear that Islamic terrorism is formed from the overlapping of interest from fundamentalism and Islamic radicalism. Thus, how to overcome terrorism, ideologically is to separate between the notions of Islamic fundamentalism and the notion of Islamic radicalism not to meet in one intact container. If this separation is successfully carried out, then terrorism will experience its death slowly.

However, if radicalism and fundamentalism continue to gain momentum to unite, it will be very difficult to overcome terrorism. Terrorism will flourish in circles where symbols and essence meet. Jama'ah Islamiyyah was originally not a terrorist organization, it was a radical organization that experienced fundamentalism in Malaysia after meeting with many fundamentalists outside Indonesia. While Darul Islam which practices terrorism is only a small part. The Bali Bombing incident which claimed hundreds of innocent lives on 12 October 2002 has brought Islamic fundamentalists (Jama'ah Islamiyah) as "terrorists" in the current world political map of the world.²⁵

The people who try to implement the teachings of Islam in a religious manner (totality) in their daily lives are seen as people who cannot coexist peacefully with a "modern" society that applies Western ways of life. For them, the West (including all cultures and even its people) is unclear and unclean in this world.

At the end of the 20th century, Islamic fundamentalism has emerged as a very powerful force in the world that seeks to rival the dominance of modern secular values and its presence is considered to have threatened the

²⁵ For an initial discussion about Jama'ah Islamiyah, see *Nida'ul Islam*, February - March 1997, pp. 7-11.

peace and harmony of the earth. Fundamentalists are militants who always apply a firm attitude towards elements that are deemed to deviate from these religious values and feel that only by religion can they restore the balance of the world to its original state. The manifestation of these different perspectives on the political stage is often shocking especially with the terrorist attacks which consume many innocent victims.

Fundamentalists have their own framework of values and rules and often they perceive them as something incompatible with modernity. For them, civilian casualties and other victims who are often called lay people as "innocent", are actually seen as an oppressive society that must accept the effects and consequences, both directly and indirectly of all the shocking actions they make.

For Islamic fundamentalists in Indonesia, they feel that the liberal culture that generally originates from the West has so devastated the noble values of entities that lived and blossomed in their communities for a long time. It is this reaction to changes in social values that later, according to Karen Armstrong, directed fundamentalists to fight and kill in the name of and for God (the battle for God). What happened in 1978 with "Commando Jihad Events", 1982 with "Usroh Events", 1984 with "Teror Warman Events", 1985 with "Blasting of Borobudur Temple", 1989 with "Warsidi Jamaat Talangsari Tragedy", year 1986 with "Cicendo Events", 1987 with "Woyla Plane Piracy", 2000. In other words, in Indonesia, bombings are not new. Since 2000, there have been various bombing attacks in various major cities in Indonesia. In 2000, at least four acts of terror struck the city of Jakarta in front of the Philippine Embassy (August 1) and Malaysia (August 27). Subsequently on September 13, a bomb blast took place at the Jakarta Stock Exchange Building and on December 24, terrorist bombings took place in various locations for Christmas celebrations.

Subsequently in 2001 a bomb blast occurred again, the first in the Church of Santa Anna and HKBP (July 22, 2001). The two bombings occurred in the Atrium Senen Plaza area (September 23, 2001). Still in the same year the bomb blast occurred in the city of Makassar, namely in a KFC food outlet (October 12, 2001). Furthermore, on November 6, 2001 the target of the bombing was the page of the AIS (Australian International School) school. Terror bombings did not stop until 2001, in 2002 various bombings hit Indonesia again. The first bomb occurred on New Year's Eve, January 1, 2002 in the Bulungan area, Jakarta, and there were four bombs exploding in various churches in Palu, Central Sulawesi.

Another event that greatly shocked the world was the event known as the Bali Bombing 1. This incident occurred on October 12, 2002 which caused 202 deaths and 300 people were injured. Most of the victims who

were victims were Australians. These bombings not only hit foreign embassies, shopping centers and places of worship (churches), but also penetrated police headquarters. In February 2003, a bomb exploded at the Jakarta Police Headquarters Loby Bhayangkari, and on April 15, 2011 a suicide bombing took place at the Mapolresta Mosque in Cirebon City.

No.	Names of The Popular Leaders of Terrorist or Radicalist
1	Osama bin Laden
2	Abdullah Azzam
3	Hasan Al Banna
4	Yusuf Qaradhawi
5	Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo
6	Abubakar Ba'asyir
7	Abdullah Sungkar
8	Haji Ismail Pranoto (Hispran)
9	Danu Muhammad Hassan
10	Kastolani
11	Ali Mahfud
12	Jakfar Umar Thalib
13	Dll.

Based on the table below, there are several schools of thought that underlie radicalism and fundamentalism in Indonesia that we have been able to collect in previous studies. This research was conducted from 2002 to 2017 where many streams were unknown or not detected by many researchers. These schools of thought are transnational religious thought movements that entered Indonesia since the 1990s.

No.	The Aliran/School of Thought of Radicalism & Fundamentalism
1	Wahabiism
2	Salafi Jihadi, (Salafiism/Jihadism)
3	Takfir wal Hijrah
4	Ikhwanul Muslimin
5	Syi'ah (Shia)
6	Dll.

Another bombing event that was quite shocking to the world was the bombing of the JW Mariot hotel in Jakarta on August 5, 2003 and 2009, then the bombing in front of the Australian Embassy on September 9, 2004 and the 2nd Bali bombing which occurred in October 2005. "The Natal Natal Bombs in 18 cities", Bali Bombing and bombs at JW Marriot Hotel,

are religious emotional expressions of Indonesian fundamentalists and radicals. They also struggle to bring sacred things into the world of politics and force them to enter into national struggles - incompatible with religious teachings - to create a "new harmony" according to what they perceive.

Ali Imron is the designer and maker of bombs in cafes of Paddy's Pub and the Sari Club in Kuta, Legian, Bali on October 22, 2002. The first Bali bombing has been into mourning for the whole world because about 202 people, including 164 foreign tourists were killed pathetically in the incident. Ali Imron from behind prison reminded us, only 10 of the 400 alumni of Afghanistan who commit acts of terrorism involving Santoso in their action and it's been shocking the world. What if hundreds of others doing the same abominations? It was horrible.²⁶

The tragedy was repeated in the following year when a suicide bomber exploded the lobby of the J.W Marriott hotel in Jakarta in August 2003, in front of the Australian Embassy in 2004, and the second Bali bomb on 1 October 2005.²⁷ After three years of relative quiet of bomb attacks, suddenly in Jakarta on July 17, 2009, two powerful explosions occurred at the JW Marriott and Ritz-Carlton, Jakarta. The explosion occurred almost simultaneously at around 7:50 pm. The Suicide bombings killed at least nine people and injured more than 50 others, either Indonesian or foreign nationals.

Later in January 2010, there was a terrorist shooting of civilians in Aceh and CIMB Niaga Bank robbery in September 2010. Then, there is blasting of bomb in Cirebon, April 15, 2011. The explosion of a suicide bombing was also occurred in the Police Mosque Cirebon when the Friday Praying was went on, that killed the perpetrator and injured 25 others. Then, terrorist bombing in Gading Serpong happened, in April 22, 2011. The terrorists made a plan to target the Christ Church Cathedral in Serpong, South Tangerang, Banten and they placed the bomb in a gas pipeline, but the police can handled and put down this terrorist action.²⁸

Then, there was a bomb explosion in Solo, September 25, 2011. The explosion of a suicide bombing in the church of GBIS Kepunton, Solo, Central Java happened after the church service and the congregation out of the church. One suicide bombers were killed and 28 others injured.

²⁶ Interview with Ali Imron in Jakarta, July 20-30, 2016.

²⁷ Sukawarsini Djelantik, *Terrorism in Indonesia: The Emergence of West Javanese Terrorists*, Hawaii: East -West Center Working Paper, International Graduate Student Conference Series No. 22, 2006 .

²⁸ *Antara*, 21 Juli 2009.

There was another bomb blast in Solo, August 19, 2012. The grenade exploded in Pospam Gladak, Solo, Central Java. Then, in Poso, terrorists attack the Police with bombing in June 9, 2013 with the target of police personnel who were apples morning. The bomb exploded in front of the mosque Mapolres Poso, Central Sulawesi. one officer wounded seriously, while a suicide bomber killed on the spot.

And in January 2016, terrorist bombings and crossfire occurred in Jakarta. The explosion and firefight around Plaza Sarinah, Jalan MH Thamrin, Central Jakarta, in which 8 persons killed, two of them are perpetrators of the attack.²⁹

It is always in every society, in every age and tradition there are people who fight against modernity. This is a reaction to scientific and secular culture that originated in the West but has taken root in all places in the world. The West has developed an "entirely authentic and wholly different type of civilization", so that the religious response to the West is very unique. The fundamentalist movement in modern times now has a symbiotic relationship with modernity itself. They may reject Western scientific rationalism, but they cannot escape it. Western civilization has changed the world, and Fundamentalists will try to return it as far as the West has changed.

Fundamentalists also oppose the hegemony of the (Western) secularists who are considered to have eliminated space for religious improvisation. Secularists also consider that the more rational a society is, the less spiritual needs that are usually supplied by religion. So, fundamentalists always feel they are in a war against their most sacred values (battling against forces that threaten their most sacred values).³⁰

When the feeling of being in a war situation is increasingly squeezing them, both secular and fundamentalist parties, like what Karen Armstrong wrote, it is very difficult for combatants to appreciate one another's position. Open war is very likely to occur.³¹

²⁹ *Metrotvnews*. 17 Januari 2016. Diakses tanggal January 17, 2016.

³⁰ In other words, Karen Armstrong state that, "...but during the 20th century, the militant form of piety often known as fundamentalism erupted in every major religion as a rebellion against modernity. Every fundamentalist movement I have studied in Judaism, Christianity and Islam is convinced that liberal, secular society is determined to wipe out religion." Karen Armstrong, "The True, Peaceful Face Of Islam", *Time*, October 1, 2001 Vol. 158 No. 15.

³¹ See, Karen Armstrong, *A History of God, The 4000-Year Quest of Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, New York: Random House, 1996. See also, *The Economist*, 21-December 1996.

In the late 1970s, Islamic fundamentalists in Indonesia began to hold a rebellious movement against the secular hegemony and try to force religion back from a marginal position to a central position on the stage of political struggle.³²

On this stage, fundamentalists have enjoyed spectacular success. Religion from then on has once again become a force in which, as Martin E. Marty and Scott Appleby (1979) wrote, "no government can safely ignore."³³

Fundamentalism is now an essential part of the modern landscape and will continue to play an important role in political, social, cultural, economic and domestic security in the future. These developments have led to increasingly crucial problems that have aroused the wonder of many social researchers and scientists so that, as Marty and Appleby wrote, "therefore, we try to understand what this type of religiosity means, how and for what reasons it has been developed, "How come we should deal with it, and how we should deal with it." ³⁴ Fundamentalists become an almost undefined entity and no one knows for sure how to tighten them.

All of these tendencies are increasingly pointing to what Karen Armstrong calls "new fundamentalism has been back on the right track and make the umma [Muslim community] effective and strong once again." ³⁵ They will not stop being fundamentalists before all this plurality is under their control. We can be sure, the leaders who will emerge and influence in the future are mostly from this circle.

Conclusions

In Indonesia, fundamentalists develop towards scripturalists where they are identified by the literal interpretation of religious texts and the sharpening of certain core doctrines such as jihad and shari'ah.³⁶ These two core teachings turned out to be very influential on disharmony problems

³² R. William Liddle, 1995, *Islam and Politics in Late New Order Indonesia*, unpublished paper presented at the Conference on Religion and Society in the Modern World: Islam in Southeast Asia, Jakarta, 29-31 May 1995, organised by the Indonesian Institute of Science (LIPI), American-Indonesian Exchange Foundation (AMINEF) and IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, *Conference on Religion and Society in the Modern World*, Jakarta.

³³ See, E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (eds), *Fundamentalisms Observed*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Karen Armstrong, *The Battle for God...Op.cit.*

³⁶ See, Abdul Aziz, Imam Tholkah; and Soetarman, *Gerakan Islam Kontemporer di Indonesia*, Jakarta, Pustaka Firdaus, 1991.

between fundamentalists and secularists. Disharmoni can turn into a battlefield when triggered by mass issues where religious morality becomes the main referee. Today fundamentalists are also developing towards the impression that fundamentalists are inherently conservative and always refer to the past but with the addition of certain essential abilities that are modern and very innovative. So, this field in the future will definitely be won by fundamentalists.³⁷

They have now absorbed pragmatic rationalism from modernity and under the care of their charismatic leaders, they filter out what is "fundamental" to create an ideology that gives them a plan of action. So now they appear to be attacking and trying to reconcile the world that has been made more skeptical and run away by the group. They make it all as a tool to explore the implications of the global response to modern culture.³⁸ In certain Islamic fundamentalist movements, where many of them are very famous and influential, such as Darul Islam (DI-TII),³⁹ the global response to modern culture is indicated by motivations that are psychological pathologies as mentioned by Karen Armstrong: "*Common fears, anxieties, and desires that seem to be unusual in response to some of the problems of modern secular world difficulties.*"

These pathological symptoms do not disappear even though they experience progress in their movements and, even though the United States is now suffering, they still feel irrational fear. This irrational fear is largely due to their position which tends to be underground, closed, anti-democratic and only believes in primitive rebels in the form of violence. This severe psychological pathology certainly separates them from the modern world which is all democratic, open, gentle and institutional. Seeing this kind of reality, then no one party is willing to approach them, let alone to help.

If the choice isolates fundamentalists, then it means that secularists — who have a lot of Western enlightenment— provide enough space for fundamentalists to take a swing before attacking. Fundamentalists should be invited to dialogue in an atmosphere that is open, warm, friendly and without threats that further alienates them. In the case of Darul Islam and

³⁷ Martin van Bruinessen, "Gerakan Sempalan di Kalangan Umat Islam Indonesia: Latar Belakang Sosial-Budaya" [Splinter Movements within the Indonesian Muslim Community], *Jurnal Ulumul Qur'an* (Jakarta), 3, 1, 1992, pp. 16-27.

³⁸ Manning Nash, 1991, "Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia and Indonesia", in Martin E. Marty, and R. Scott Appleby, (eds), *Fundamentalism Observed*, Chicago/London, University of Chicago Press, [Vol. 1], pp. 691-739.

³⁹ On the DI/TII cases, see, Hold Harald Dengel, *Kartosuwiryo dan Darul Islam*, (trans.), Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1999, pp. 58 ff.

Jama'ah Islamiyah in Indonesia,⁴⁰ it is still possible to carry out a series of transformations that can eliminate psychological pathologies that are often irrational to them.

They must be excluded from the gloomy, dark and intriguing underground world into an open, warm and respectful world. They must be institutionalized through a permanent institution, so that the feeling of nothing to loose turns into a responsible attitude. They must be made aware that violence is not a good way to solve problems. They must also be understood that only through a democratic climate can they be guaranteed to demonstrate, even though democracy is always perceived as incompatible with Islam. To understand all sides of this "warrior of God", the study of radicalism and terrorism is needed. And that is very urgent given its widespread proliferation and its existence which is difficult to detect.***

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⁴⁰ For a brief history of Jamaah Islamiyah originating from the Darul Islam movement or the Islamic State of Indonesia, see "Transcripts of Dialogues of Ulama and Central Java Community Leaders with Terrorists in the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) Group", Document of the Republic of Indonesia National Police, September 25, 2003 p. 4.

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