

# Reactualization of Inclusive Islam to Deal with Terrorism Issue in Indonesia

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**Abstract**—This research aims to explore the terrorism issue after the fall of Suharto regime in Indonesia in 1998. Sometimes, terrorism is considered part of Islam because of the misunderstanding of Western society that misidentifies terrorism as part of Islamic teachings. The study found that the concept of jihad in Islam mistakenly understood as the root of the suicide bombings. The fact is that the concept of jihad in Islam has many meanings, namely *jihad fi sabilillah* and *jihad fillah*. While in Islam itself, there are such an Inclusive Islamic Group and an Exclusive Islamic Group. Those who involve in the Exclusive Islam tend to come up as a hard-liner Muslims, extremism and absolutism. While Inclusive Islam spreads religious peace in societies. This research was conducted with qualitative approach. The data obtained through a depth-interviewed, observation as well as documentation. In conclusion, inclusive Islam is a characteristic of the Islam in Indonesia. The presence of the inclusive Islam such as Islam Nusantara resists the assumption that terrorism is exist in Islam. This research adapts a qualitative approach as the method for this study. The data were collected using an interviewed, observation as well as library research.

**Keywords**—terrorism; jihad; inclusive Islam; exclusive Islam

## I. INTRODUCTION

Since the attack on the West, especially the tragedy of the WTC bombing on 1 September 2001 which was claimed to cause 3000 victims, many people saw the action as part of a terrorist act carried out by a group of Muslims. The fact is that there is a long history of jihad which is touted as an act of terrorism. The phenomenon of terrorism occurred in the final period of the 20th and 21st centuries, although Islam has emerged since the 6th century. The act of terrorism does not involve religion that is held by the individual or group, but is related to political, economic, social and cultural conditions. This was clarified after the 1979 revolution, when some Iranian people declared an Islamic state for the first time, so that Islamic teachings were realized in the Constitution. Western society is shocked by the establishment of an Islamic state of Iraq, the west also admits that radicalism has developed in Iraq. Therefore, Western stigma considers radicalism that is manifested into terrorists, identical with Islam.

Radical movements do not only occur in Iran, Al-Jazair also shows heartbreaking events. Radicalism in the State of Al-Jazair originated from the first democratic election held in

1986. The victory of the Islamic party annulled by nationalists supported by the West. Nationalists and Westerners see the victory as a threat to democracy and pluralism [1]. Two-party feuds in the Al-Jazair country lasted very long and caused casualties between the two.

Radical movements in Indonesia have existed since the establishment of Darul Islam in 1942 and similar forms of radicalism have been found in Jema'ah Anshorut Daulah (JAD) in 2015. Radicalism has turned into an act of terrorism since the Bali bomb tragedy on October 12, 2002 and caused civilian casualties. Terrorism did not stop at the 2002 Bali bombings, but the Mako Brimob bomb in 2018 became a heartbreaking event that shook humanity. The mastermind behind the Bali bombing, Amrozi, was sentenced to death on the basis of the Law on Eradicating Crimes. The Indonesian state has officially declared its position against terrorists with the enactment of the Law on the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, although some human rights figures criticize the policy of the death penalty.

Terrorism in Indonesia, if traced further, is due to the transition from the New Order regime to the Reformation Era. The political situation of the rigid New Order regime transformed into a free Reform Era. Islamic groups in the New Order era showed doctrinal or textual religious understanding. While the Reform Era is characterized by inclusive religious understanding based on local wisdom and the spirit of pluralism and the development of liberalism. The transition of this era caused economic, political and social justice in the community. Some communities are unable to overcome problems in the midst of a sudden transition of the era. As a result, we found the longer list of issues of discrimination in the community. The issue of discrimination raises a sense of hatred towards the government which later turns into an act of terrorism. The Sarinah bomb is an action that attacks the symbols of liberalism, such as Starbucks coffee shops. While the Brimob Mako bomb in 2018 was one of the terrorist acts that attacked the symbol of the Indonesian state.

## II. METHODS

This research adapts a qualitative approach as the method for this study. The data were collected using an interviewed, observation as well as library research.

### III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

One of the Jewish philosophers, Hannah Arendt explained that there are aspects and dimensions that exist in violence that need to be distinguished. This aspect is an inseparable part and sometimes misinterpreted by violence itself. To get a complete picture of aspects of violence must be distinguished and explained in relation to violence, so that there is no mistake in understanding the violence. The aspects referred to by Arendt are; power, strength, force, authority and violence [2]. In the view of researchers, Arendt was very thorough with the division, because it was able to accommodate the etymological meaning that existed in the word violence. Violence accompanied by power will create terror and war, while institutionalized violence in organized societies often appears in disguise of authority [2].

The transformation of the meaning of violence assessed by Adriana Cavarero changed after the events of September 9, 2001. Cavarero in *Horrorism Naming Contemporary Violence* considered that one of the reasons why violence was so difficult to understand, especially after the 9/11 incident, because the violence had become a slogan and ideological product that used to enemies of the country. The word violence and its variants, including terrorism and war have had a new dimension of meaning in the contemporary era. The meaning contained in the word violence has evolved, especially after the nine eleven event, which has political consequences on a macro scale. Cavarero explained that currently sociologists tend to term violence as a form that exceeds the basic form of violence, hyper. The current violence is hyper violence and hyper terrorism, which is a new form of violence and terrorism. Cavarero stressed that scholars still had difficulties in explaining in detail the phenomenon of violence [3].

Cavarero himself considers that the meaning of violence that occurs in the era synergistically means terror, horror and war. Cavarero explained that the word terror comes from the Latin word *terreo* and *tremo*. The word *tremo* is the absorption of the Greek word which has the meaning of fear related to the body or physical. The dimension of fear in the word *terreo* lies in the body and not psychological fear. The word *terreo* means the fear of death that occurs on the battlefield. This fear is not related to cowardice. In other words, the fear instilled in terror is a fear that can lead to a maximum level of panic. The etymology of the word horror comes from the Latin word '*horreo*', which means stretching or the formation of one's hair due to cold. In this case the fear presented in *horreo* is a level higher than *terreo*, because *horreo* is able to attack the body and mental at once. The word war in the view of Cavarero comes from the German language which means a fight or conflict that is chaotic. The highest form of violence is war, which grows from constant manipulation of terror and horror [3].

Slavoj Zizek, Slovenian philosopher, said that the attack on the WTC was terrorism, violence, extremism and fundamentalism which contained the *master signifier's* hegemonic meaning. Bombing cases in Europe by some Islamic extremists are formed from the super ego as well as the construction of symbolic subjects who want the pleasure felt by the West. Islamic extremists want to enjoy what the West feels,

under the pretext of establishing a religion or a state without a West. Islamic extremists include their hegemony on the *Master Signifier* in terms of *jihad*, *khilafah*, *Islamic state* and so on. For Lacan, the *master signifier* is a *signifier* that does not refer to markers, but to other sets of markers [4].

Not only Islam, Christianity uses military power to smooth out its mission of religiosity in several countries. Judaism even destroyed the land of Palestine for their political purposes, so it cannot be said that Islam is identical with terrorism. Terrorism tactics have been known since the 48th century AD, when a Jewish sect called the *Zealots* campaigned through acts of terrorism to force rebellions against the Romans in Judaea. Campaigns include conducting assassinations (by *sicarii* or digger humans), which will infiltrate cities under Roman rule and kill Jewish collaborators or Roman soldiers by using *sica* (dagger), kidnap temple guards to get ransom or wear poison. The justification of the *Zealots* group when committing acts of murder against the Jews was to show the result of collaboration with Roman invaders who were seen as immoral, in addition to demonstrating the inability of the Romans to protect Jewish collaborators working for them [5].

Alwi Shihab actually denied that Islam is a 'sword' religion that advocates radical action. For Shihab that in his interaction with external forces (non-Muslims), Islam had succeeded in spreading its wings and stuck its feet through military expansion far from the geographical point of its birth. Islamic internal relations that took place between opposition groups and the authorities, can be traced since the murder of the third Caliph Uthman ra until now always colored violence. This style of violence for some Orientalists is a logical consequence of the emphasis on the concept of *jihad* in Islamic political life [6]. Therefore, it is important to make a difference about the concept of terrorism with *jihad*, especially relating to social, cultural and political conditions in the 20th century.

#### A. *The Differences between Terrorism and Jihad*

Terrorist actions in various parts of the world, including in Indonesia raises a question. Is terrorism identical to the concept of *jihad* in Islam? Is Islam synonymous with violence? From these questions, the author will explain some of the differences between terrorism and *jihad*, so that it will obtain a comprehensive understanding of Islam as the religion of *rahmatan lil 'alamin*.

A.M Fatwa described several characteristics of terrorism, including: destructive (*ifsad*) and anarchic / chaos (*faudha*); aims to create fear and or destroy other parties; and done without rules. While the characteristics of *jihad*, among others: are to make improvements (*ishlah*) even by means of warfare; aimed at upholding the religion of God and defending the rights; and carried out by following the rules determined by the *Shari'a* with clear enemy targets. In other words, terrorism is destructive, while *jihad* is doing repairs or *ish* which aims to uphold justice [7].

According to Shihab, *jihad* in the Qur'an is divided into two categories, namely: *jihad fi sabilillah*, as a sincere attempt in the path of Allah including sacrificing wealth and life. Then *jihad fillah*, is a sincere effort (approaching God) as an effort to deepen the spiritual aspect so that there is a close relationship

between people with God. To clarify the substance of jihad not to be identical to the lifting of weapons, the Qur'an distinguishes between the concept of *qital* (armed interaction) with the concept of jihad. Jihad shows a comprehensive concept, one of which is fighting in the way of Allah through the use of weapons [6]. Jihad in the second meaning (*jihad fillah*) is often neglected in today's society. This gives the impression of non-Muslims, if Islam is synonymous with violent, hard-line and doctrinal religious beliefs. In fact, there are two streams in understanding the concept of jihad, namely: exclusive Islam, which is identical to absolutism and Islam inclusive which emphasizes plurality in diversity. Therefore, by comprehending inclusive Islam and exclusive Islam comprehensively, it will disrupt the negative view of Islam.

#### B. Inclusive Islam as Solution for Terrorism Issues

A series of terrorism issues attached to Islam make it important to understand the discourse on inclusive Islam with exclusive Islam. Exclusivism is not a new problem in theological studies. Exclusivism is a new danger in the history of the modern state which then changes to "primary sin". Volf calls it theological responsibility for the issue of exclusivism. Volf's analysis of exclusivism and inclusivism as a modern socio-cultural phenomenon whose roots can be traced from the Christian theological tradition. Alwi Shihab said that inclusive theology was associated with Karl Rehner, a Catholic theologian, who rejected the assumption that God condemned those who did not have the opportunity to believe in the gospel. Those who do not get divine light, though not through Jesus, will still get salvation [6]. While exclusivist theology in the Christian world, meaning eternal happiness can only be achieved through Jesus, and only those who believe in Him are saved [6].

Omar Bakar gives a brief analogy about the difference between inclusive Islam and exclusive Islam. The question that often arises in Islamic studies is whether non-Muslims can enter paradise in life after death? In this context, if one agrees with the possibility, then he embraces inclusive Islam beliefs. If one rejects the possibility, then one's religious belief can be said to be an exclusive Islam. For exclusivism, their fear of inclusivism is the loss of their faith because of spiritual beliefs outside their religion [8]. Exclusivism leads to the understanding of doctrinal religions, while inclusivism leads to plurality.

The incarnation of Inclusive Islam based on QS. Al-Maidah (5): 69.

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا وَالَّذِينَ هَادُوا وَالصَّابِرُونَ وَالصَّابِرَاتُ مَنْ ءَامَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ  
وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا فَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ ٦٩

69. Surely those who believe and those who are Jews and the Sabians and the Christians whoever believes in Allah and the last day and does good-- they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve.

While the incarnation of Exclusive Islam based on QS. Ali Imran (3):19.

إِنَّ الدِّينَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ الْإِسْلَامُ وَمَا اخْتَلَفْتِ الدِّينَ أَوْثُوا الْكُتُبَ إِلَّا مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جَاءَهُمُ الْعِلْمُ  
بَغْيًا بَيْنَهُمْ وَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِآيَاتِ اللَّهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَرِيعُ الْحِسَابِ ١٩

19. Surely the (true) religion with Allah is Islam, and those to whom the Book had been given did not show opposition but after knowledge had come to them, out of envy among themselves; and whoever disbelieves in the communications of Allah then surely Allah is quick in reckoning [6].

Inclusivism is divided into two parts, namely: inclusive descriptive which recognizes religion, and inclusive normative-prescriptive that not only recognizes plurality but also fights for it. *Din*, *millah* and *syari'ah* are three elements of language in understanding the relationship between religions in the Qur'an. In the view of inclusivism, these three elements have sinomini relations so that the three elements of the language can be mutually substituted. The method of interpreting the text avoids the problem of *ta'arud al-adillah*. While exclusivism sees *din* and *syari'ah* having hypomini meaning relationships, so that problems arise *ta'arud*. *Naskh juz'i* (partial removal) is a way out of the problem [9].

Inclusive in the Qur'an is an important component then called inclusive Islam, believing that all the prophets (Adam and Muhammad) bring messages from God. Islam presents two different faces in one container, namely *shari'ah* and *haqiqah* or *tasawuf*. *Shari'ah* in its elaboration with *fiqh* features Islamic exoteric aspects. This aspect sets out what is obligatory, practiced and prohibited (illegal) being done. While *haqiqah* or *tasawuf* in Islam is an esoteric aspect, teaches the achievement of the deepest Islamic experience. Islam presents two faces between *shari'ah* and *tasawuf*, although in the course of a conflict with both.

Islam in Indonesia is inclusive Islam with the character of the culture of on this archipelago or what so called Islam Nusantara. Islam Nusantara began to develop as a response to the development of exclusivism, absolutism and extremism. The development of Islam Nusantara presents a new face in maintaining tolerance between religious communities. Islam Nusantara is also able to accept the foundations of the Indonesian state, namely Pancasila. Inclusive Islam Nusantara has demonstrated pluralistic, tolerant and creating peace for the Indonesian people.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

Indonesia is facing a serious challenge in destabilizing national security and stability. After the New Order era, Indonesia's socio-political conditions were marked by democratization and liberalization. Freedom of religion and opinion are two sides of the coin, besides giving access to freedom and prioritizing human rights, freedom is the spearhead for the progress of liberalization. The development of religious understandings that tend to be doctrinal, absolute and extreme is a thorn in the reform era. Exclusivist Islam wants the Caliphate, and rejects the Indonesian state basis, namely Pancasila. Acts of terrorism became one of the forms of exclusivist's rejection of Pancasila. While Islam Inclusive merges in tradition and accepts diversity which is the basis for the establishment of Pancasila. The development of *Islam Nusantara* brings new ways to the creation of peace in

Indonesia. *Islam Nusantara* featuring *Islam rahmatan lil 'alamin*. *Islam Nusantara* accommodates traditions inherent in Indonesian society. *Islam Nusantara* is the identity of the Indonesian people.

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