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# Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia Images on the West, Christian and Jewish

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Abstract: One of the most popular religious phenomenon at the end of the half after the New Order is the rise of fundamentalist religious movements in public universities. Many people judge these symptoms as the most tangible response to the failure of modernization in fulfilling its promises. Religion is offered as an alternative system of values that are considered most adequate in mitigating the negative aspects of secularization and modernization. But amid stiff resistance shown, many people worried about the emergence of various religious movements which tend to be exclusive, intolerant and do not recognize pluralism. This study reveals the ideological construction of the fundamentalist movement in view of the West and other religions. The results showed that the rise of this movement on public universities in Malang, it was not solely the result of the extension wing ideology of transnational movements but also due to concerns about the issue of proselytizing and Western hegemony. Therefore, although Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) have a difference in choosing a strategy of proselytizing, they had the same spirit in defining and understanding what they refer to as enemies of Islam and the need to show the superiority of Islam in the arena against the West. The growth of fundamentalist movements also appears to be sponsored by a political ecology that is open to groups and religious movements flow to actualize themselves.

**Key words:** Islamic radicalism, construction, West, Christian, Jewish, political ecology

#### INTRODUCTION

The emergence of Islamic fundamentalist movements in Malang not fully separated by the dynamics of this city with is icon as educational, tourist and industrial city. As the second largest city in East Java, Malang has a "siphon" urbanization. Hyperactivity economy has grown beyond its capacity to deliver urbanization. Everything that helped bring the current intellectual discourse drowned in an effort to find an adequate answer to the negative impacts of urbanization are grown. One result of intensive intellectual tussle among others have led to the movement of Islamic fundamentalism in the city. The rise of religious movements such as Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI) declared in Malang in 1990 and ICMI (Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia) embryonic ideas that eventually gave birth escalation that exceed original estimates, over concerns it allegedly present.

One of the main agenda of the various fundamentalist movements is enforcing Islamic law in Indonesia as an alternative setback Muslims which is one of the main reasons due to the engineering group of Jews and Christians. By picking paragraph QS.2: 120, Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) Malang Regency stated that any attempt to divide Muslims carried out by Jews and Christians. According to one of the characters (Bashari, 2003), the case of Yusman Roy who produces "ijtihad" two readings of prayer, was also rated as the Jews and Christians in an

attempt to destroy Islam.Liberal Islam Network/Jaringan Islam Liberal (JIL) which carries the ideology of liberalism and religious pluralism, is also considered as an agent of Zionism and Christian missionaries, who has an agenda to destroy Islam.

R. William Liddle states that the radical Islamic activists have an awareness of the symmetrical opposition between them (self) vis a vis the Western powers, Christians and Jews (the other). Awareness opposition consists of three assumptions (mindset), namely: the awareness which creates symmetrical position between us and them, the defensive character that sees the outside world as enemy and the awareness of conspiracy which saw the outside world as an organized group is neat to destroy Islam in under Jewish control. The findings of the study show the attitudes of radical Islam against the West, Christians and Jews which reinforces the theory of Liddle. All ideologies that come from the West are justified by the radical Islamic group as a Western agenda to destroy Islam. Likewise, all the ideologies are considered the backbone and a strong supporter of westernization in the Muslim world. These ideologies are believed to dissociate Islam from the people.

#### MATERIALS AND METHODS

This research was conducted in Malang by the following considerations the large number of radical groups in the city, especially those based in universities.

Malang is also a figure of the second major city in East Java which has a plurality both in terms of religious affiliation, race, ethnicity and other primordial ties. Malang is also often used as a barometer of fundamentalist religious movements, in addition to Solo and Bandung. The city is also one of the coaching centers of religious activity usrah models centered in mosques campus. The approach used in this study is qualitative with the data source is extracted from HTI activists and MMI. The data collection is done with participatory observation, interview and documentation. The analysis descriptive qualitative technique focusing understanding the activists of the West, Christians and Jews as the focus of this research. Mechanical testing of the data validity is done by triangulation and the extended period of involvement and observation.

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Islam versus the West: In the discourse of the radical Islamic activists thought, so much hostility of West (the other) against Islam (the self). Hostility is carried out, either through physical war or a war of ideas. To evoke the spirit of religious communalism, activists arouse awareness that Islam is a religion that now has been dominated, crushed and defeated by the West. Therefore, the time has come for Muslims today to stand up against the hegemony of the West. Scattered diffusion of Muslims today, according to the activists of radical Islam is a tangible result of the work of Western imperialism. Military colonialism has now turned face with a new model of colonial style. In the economic field, the West apply the provision of foreign debt, privatization and so on. In the political field, the West impose ideas such as civil society, gender equality, democracy, human rights and religious pluralism (Jawi, 2006).

Following this line of thought above, it is logical that the activists consider that propagated ideologies such as religious pluralism is a means to conduct political hegemony of the West against the Islamic states. To reject the hegemony, the Western ideologies must also be rejected. The refusal, so not merely because the notion of religious pluralism conflict with religious texts but also for their political fear. Refusal to do because they want to fight the political hegemony of the West.

In the thought of radical Islamic groups, there is very rigid and clear distinction between Islam and the West. Both are regarded as different ideologies. Hence, Islam and the West is believed to be always running in collisions and mismatches. On the other hand, in the perspective of the West, radicalism is rated as a major destabilization force as was the case in the Christian tradition. When in fact the historical context and roots of

fundamentalism in the Christian tradition and Islam is very much different. Since its inception, Islam emerged as a religious as well as society. While Christianity appears first as a minority, at least until three centuries (Dimont, 1993). In addition, Christianity also oppressed by the state, since the beginning of its birth. This phenomenon does not occur on the historicity of Islam and the traditions of Judaism.

For the West, the emergence of symptoms of fundamentalist or radical Islam, rated totally unrelated to that level of the followers of Islam but rather reflect a rejection of some Muslims on Western universalism. Despite the "return" of religion in the era of modernity is believed to be an alternative to the crisis of modern ideology but not necessarily the phenomenon of fundamentalism and radicalism can be considered as expressions of religiosity Muslim community. This could be a reaction to an established system of global ideology which brings religion into the spirit and new aspirations for world renewal process (Thomas, 2002a, b).

Strength, completeness and perfection of Islamic concepts will be an alternative ideology that is believed to be able to evoke the spirit and reality of life in order that full justice as exemplified by the early generations of Islam. Therefore, this group continuously explores those aspects of Islam that is considered able to be the only solution to the problems in this world. Things like this always disseminated by activists of radical Islamic movements to the wider community whether done through print and electronic media.

A desirable solution revolutionarily of HTI and MMI activists actually not a closed and limited episode. It is a movement that emerged from the structural contradictions created by a "forced" hegemonic, the West has long been "stabbed" in the structure of the Islamic world. To plug a hegemonic powers, the West made a discourse, one of which is religious pluralism. The purpose of the West in a campaign discourse of religious pluralism in the Islamic world even by the Muslim intellectuals, according to activists of radical Islam is in order that Muslims do not feel controlled and colonized, so that they do not have the strength to resist the political structure. Those who support or accept Western values are also regarded as an enemy of Islam (Lewis, 2004).

In the context of Western hegemony, ideological resistance is also developed which is done by making a counter discourse. This is done through various publications, public debates, declared war against liberalism, secularism and religious pluralism. Language as a means of counter discourse, the ideology of the system is not only understood as a medium of communication but as a phenomenon of social history. It

also involves the conflict between human groups which are different with diverse interests as well (Thompson, 2003). Death of Islamic ideology for Western values into a "spotlight" is important for them to raise awareness of the Muslims against the West (Jaiz, 2004). The emergence of issues like this is due to the absence of a protector of Muslims. Therefore, the establishment of a caliphate institution believed to be the only political means to end the cruelty of the West against Islam.

The resistance movement with particular ideological typical charge as a move that comes as a result of irregularities would be a threat to the values, norms, traditions or beliefs they have. Uncertainties values, morality, religion and politics, being a "capital" in the main evoke the spirit of resistance. Therefore, the resistance approach is based on the belief by using themes ideological struggle and social changes that threaten existing social institutions (Basrawi and Sukidin, 2003). Based on the construction, borrowing Derrida theoretical framework, it can be stated that the radical Islamic activists consider that the existence of violence, attempts of hegemony and destruction because the difference between the self with the other. The existence of these differences, making the self-identification to distinguish themselves from the other (Thomas, 2002a, b). The identification results can be used as the "capital" of the self in the resistance against the other.

Western hostility towards Islam, also due to the theological elite offense Christianity over the presence of Islam. Annexation of Christianity territory (Christendom) on Islam since the beginning of his birth to lead to the Crusades in the 13th Century was also a strong passion for the West to restore its hegemonic power over the Islamic world. The activists also considered that through the hegemonic discourse by spreading ideologies which could destroy Islam, basically the West has mastered the Muslims. Besides for the sake of politics, hegemonic discourse was also conducted with the aim for the realization of the triumph of Christianity in the Islamic world.

According to Berger's framework, the source of Islamic hostility toward the West, Christians and Jews, not done by identifying the superiority of Islam than others but as a source of enmity against the other. It is because Islam, according to activists of radical Islam, taught his people to antagonize the other, the West, Christians and Jews. Thus, in the thinking of Derrida, religion is a source of inspiration whereas in the framework Berger, religion has a function as legitimacy (Berger, 1967). Islamic radical groups to fight against the West because they think Islam teaches such things. They also aim to counter the hegemony of theological, political

and discourse of the West over the Islamic world, through the implementation of Islamic Shari'a and Khilafah Islamiyah. In addition, the objective awareness of HTI and MMI activists against the political-economic hegemony and discourse of West over the Islamic world as well as the destruction of Islam by the Western powers both physical and cultural-symbolic, becomes its own reason for them to be hostile to the West.

Based on their awareness of marginalization and the Western hegemony, not looking at HTI activists assessed the idea of the West as religious pluralism, democracy, gender and human rights, independently from western ideas of others. That is part of Western ideologies that serve as an attempt to weaken the power of Islam. Therefore, the activists believe that the West actually has a more important objective than simply rolling the discourse of pluralism and democracy, namely to preserve the power and political hegemony in the Islamic world. Based on their awareness of marginalization and the Western hegemony, not looking at HTI Activists assessed the idea of the West as religious pluralism, democracy, gender and human rights, independently from western ideas of others. That is part of Western ideologies that serve as an attempt to weaken the power of Islam. Therefore, the activists believe that the West actually has a more important objective than simply rolling the discourse of pluralism and democracy items, namely to preserve the power and political hegemony in the Islamic world.

According to Liddle's framework, the source and inspiration of the Islamic resistance against the West, Christians and Jews is a collaboration between theoretical frameworks resistance according to and religious legitimacy in the minds of Berger (1967). Messianic ideology even become inspiration for this group struggles to get a win in the future. Ideological convictions of Islamic activists "radical" that one day Islam will return to lead the world, becoming the strength and spirit of the movement, to get justice messianic after the crisis ends. To end the crisis that led to the weakness of Muslims and destruction of the system and the socio-cultural values of Islam, required their liberation and affirmation messianic under the control of a powerful and charismatic leader (Kartodirdjo, 1992). The products of this ideology is the creation of a universal structure of messianic justice, a justice that absolutely will have on the future and thus always "to come" (Thomas, 2002a, b).

The construct of cognition that can be seen from the messianic ideology of the radical movement is the ideological belief that Islam has been ravaged by the Western system will be back to win. Islamic civilizations which have disappeared from circulation of civilized world

will return its victory. This messianic belief, shared by HTI activists strongly. Their ideological belief, motivation and inspiration are always consistent in the line of the struggle that has been set by the movement. The belief that the critical period of the help(nasrullah) would go down and the belief that one day Islam received the mandate of the caliph (Istikhlaf) back as promised by God in the Quran, 24: 55 and 47: 7 are the testaments to the relevance of this theory. Therefore, according to their ideological beliefs, Muslims are obliged to realize the comprehensiveness (shumuliah), excellence completeness of Islam, through efforts to achieve the establishment of a caliphate. This can be seen for example in the yells of encouragement solidity of HTI activist, namely Islam execute, Shari'a apply, caliphate: enforce. However, there is the conclusion that so far, the use of ideology by the radical Islamic movement is limited at the level of criticism paradigm (Abdurahman, 2006)

Suppositions and exaggerated assessment of a group on what it has, in the context of psychology commonly referred to as narcissism. Feeling narcissistic, defined as feelings of self-esteem because of the subjective assessment of excellence and excellence, both in the context of national and religious (Alwi, 2004). Narcissism can arise in individual and group identity. These groups can be understood narcissism in beliefs HTI and MMI are admired and believed that Islam was perfect and complete, so religion or other ideology has to be defeated for the implementation of Islamic teachings are complete. This attitude can lead to exclusivity. It can also be a cause of conflict and violence.

The emergence of Western hostility towards Islam is also a reaction to the Islamic conquest over parts of Christianity, since a few decades after the Prophet's death. Climate of hostility from the two camps more pronounced when the Islamic empire annexing some areas of Western Christian powers. Even after the acquisition back in Christian Spain (Reconquista) in 1081 followed by the Crusades waged by Pope John Paul II in 1095, further strengthens this religious animosity towards Islam (Edangand, 2004).

Conflicts between Western Christianity and Islam happen especially when military force Islam entered Europe through the Strait of Gibraltar under the leadership of Tariq ibn Ziyad. According to Jansen (1980), it has since become a Christian-Western hate, abuse and attacked Islam during the next twelve centuries. Christian-Muslim confrontation began on theological issues. Therefore, the West also propagate Christianity in the Islamic world. It seems that Western hostility, not only directed against Islamic radical groups but also done to Muslims in general. Both of these opposite forces,

constantly fomenting mutual hostility between one another. Various evidence-Christian Western hostility towards Islam, can be seen in the relationship of the two religions are quite volatile. Since the 7th century until the latter half of the 20th century, Christian-Muslim hostility affirmed by the Council of Florence of the 15th century. Exclusiveness and hostility towards Islam Christian open new start of the 20th century, the post-Vatican 2 year of 1962-1965 which cemented the church inclusiveness.

Different from HTI is expressly aspire Khilafah, MMI aims to fight for the implementation of Islamic shari'a not only in Indonesia but also in the world. Even for MMI, the establishment of an Islamic caliphate shari'a embodiment of Islam. In more detail, the enforcement of Islamic shari'a aspired MMI can be seen in Ikrar Mujahideen, namely: first, to fight for the enforcement of Islamic shari'at in private life, family, community and country; second, implementing shari'a struggle for the enforcement of Islam based on the Qur'an and the authentic Sunnah of the Prophet; Third, prioritize shari'a struggle for the enforcement of Islam wherever they are with their wealth and lives over the biological life in the body; fourth, helping each shari'a struggle for the enforcement of Islam by Muslims in the other hemisphere with all capabilities (Awwas, 2001).

According to MMI activists, shari'a Islam is the set of Islamic law which is the rule of life according to the will of God as contained in the Qur'an and Hadith. Shari'a implement Islam is the duty of every individual Muslim. Therefore, according to Bashir, every Muslims only have two choices, noble life or martyrdom. Precious life is a life governed by Shari'a Islam as a whole, namely life suffused struggle to uphold Shari'a Islam. While martyrdom is killed by the enemies of Islam in jihad in the way of Allah (Jihad fi Sabilillah) or killed by the tyrant for his courage to speak the truth. The struggle to uphold Islamic shar'a is based on the main principles of Islam, tawhid (Awwas, 2001).

Islam versus Cristians and Jews: Liddle's theory that radical Islamic groups are diametrically positioned himself against the power of Christians and Jews is also evident in mainstream thinking of HTI and MMI activists in Malang, although the expression the intensity of the hostility and the reasons vary. The experiences of the two religions hostility against Islam, according to the judgment HTI activists and MMI always get the legitimacy of religious texts. Paragraph popular to construct Christian and Jewish hostility towards Islam is the Quran, 2: 120. The text explains that the Jews and the Christians will never be willing to Muslims before the Muslims to follow their millah. The meaning of millahin the

text is a way of life or way of thinking. The verse used as the activists as justification for hostility practices carried out by the West as a representation of Christians and Jews, in doing discourse hegemony to mislead the understanding of Muslims towards their religion. Therefore, the West no longer concentrate to convert the Muslims from their religion to be converted to Christianity and Judaism but rather to change the way of thinking and lifestyle of Muslims, to conform with the wishes of the West. The idea of religious pluralism that is rated as ideology (hadarah) is clearly the socialization discourse rated Western centric, either for political ends as the view HTI activists as well as the theological purpose constructed by activists of MMI.

Islamic hostility toward the West-Christian, also triggered by the offense theological and political interests. Since the presence of Islam is regarded as a religion that "aside" Christian, following the corrections made by Islam against the system of theology, the Christian view Islam as a Christian heresy. Likewise, when from the very beginning of its development, Islam has made physical contact with the Christian world. When Muhammad began his mission at the beginning of the 7th century, the whole of the Mediterranean is part of the territory which is under Christian ruler (Christendom) (Lewis, 1982, 1993). Compared theological issues, in view of the radical Islamic activists that the phenomenon of the struggle for political supremacy icons are now more strengthen Western-Christian hostility towards Islam. Fellowship of Christians and Jews in hostile to Islam, among others due to both assess that Islam is a serious threat to their interests, not only theological but also political interests. In addition, because they also have in common and attachment to the values of cultural and religious based on the Judeo-Christian ethics (Rais, 1991).

The construction of HTI and MMI activists on Christianity also affects their perspectives on the religion. In fact, Islam-Christian relations are dominated by a standard scoring system with a double (double standard). Both of these religious communities, continually applying different standards for herself. They measured their religion with normative standards. At the same time they judge the religion of others with the standards that are realistic-historical (Jhamtani, 2001). When cases of religious violence for example, each party is apologetic stating that his religion does not teach violence. The fact of the existence of religious texts that can give birth to violent behavior seems undoubted.

Feelings and attitudes that are believed to favor the excess religious and at the same time degrading other religions is another form of existence of the double standard. This could bring war claims of truth and

salvation. HTI and MMI activists who believe that Islam is a divine religion that is still pristine whereas Christianity and Judaism have experienced irregularities an assessment of the monolithic hurry. Efforts classification us-them, directly or indirectly, can foster antipathy between one party against another party. As a result, a misunderstanding of the other into a construction stored in the minds of each community religious community. This could spark a conflict that could explode at any time when there is a trigger factor. Conflict in this context, does not occur merely because of differences or interests mutually exclusive but rather for their efforts to eliminate the existence and the existence of the other. Although, humans have destructive potential, according to Arendt (2003) that this potential will be shown in an act when there are external factors that trigger it.

Excessive suspicion shown by the radical Islamic group against another religion is an attitude that is counterproductive for community acceptance of other religions to the idea that they develop. This is because these activists are less communicate with non-Muslims intensively. Forum dialogue or communication usually leads to efforts to favor mutual ideological convictions of each, not to look for points that may be met in terms of building unity and harmony of life. They limit themselves in relation to non-Muslims. Therefore, the attitude of the activists is rated by some as an exclusive attitude, an attitude that is inversely proportional to the necessity of pre-requisite for the development potentialities pluralistic society in Indonesia.

Skepticism of non-Muslims will be guaranteed of their rights in the "shade" Islamic system of governance as voiced by the activists HTI and MMI, is a material reflection of its own for them to make corrections to the ideological system believed to be true that in order to realize their political ends. In the concept of HTI activists and MM, the treatment of Islamic rule against non-Muslims also refer to the example of the Prophet Muhammad. The concept of Islam as a mercy to all the worlds (Rahmatan li Al-'alamin) means that Islam should be beneficial not only for Muslims but for all people. Shari'atimposition of Islam, does not mean that non-Muslims were forced to convert to Islam. They are still allowed to embrace their religion. Even in certain things for they do not apply the law of the shar'a (Turmudi and Sihbudi, 2004). More clearly, the following is a table of the hostility of radical Islam against the West, Christians and Jews as Fig. 1.

Figure 1 illustrates that according to Liddle theory, positioning themselves diametrically between radical Islam and the West, Christians and Jews, caused

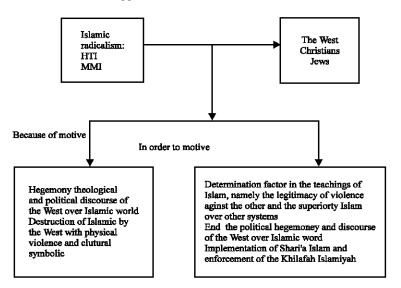


Fig. 1: Radical Islam hostility toward the West, Christians and Jews framework according to Liddle

by external factors (because motive) in the form of the hegemony of theological, political and discourse West over the Islamic world as well as the destruction of Islam who do by the West as an icon of Christian and Jews, whether committed with physical violence as well as cultural-symbolic. In addition to external factors, there are internal factors Islam (in order to motive) which is the spirit of the Islamic resistance movement against the West, Christians and Jews. The spirit is the text of the teachings of Islam which ordered the tough and fought the three forces. Powered by ideological convictions to excellence, the implementation of shari'a Islam and the Khilafah Islamiyah is also a source of energy "of these groups to fight the power of the West, Christians and Jews.

#### CONCLUSION

HTI activists view the Western civilization and the things associated with it tend to be political. This is influenced by the ideology of the organization that clearly and openly has a political purpose in the form of the establishment of Islamic caliphate. In order to achieve political objectives, HTI received a science products (madania) to facilitate the movement but refused ideology (hadara) assessed will weaken the strength of Muslims such as religious pluralism. While the view of the western property MMI activists tend to be theological. Their refusal to emulate (tashabbuh) on performance (physical and ideological) West is based on religious texts. Based on the ideology of the organization, HTI activists view that cases of religious violence is considered as an

international force conspiracy "driven" by capitalism. Liberalism thought which is believed to be the segmentation of capitalism, considered as a means of West's hegemonic Islamic world. While some activists MMI constructing religious violence as tangible evidence of hostility Christians and Jews against Islam. Liberalism thought and liberal Islamic group also watch out as a result of the construction of the Christians and Jews. HTI activists tend to the view that political and activist views that tend theological MMI Christians and Jews, has implications for their relations and dialogue with non-Muslims. The activists of both organizations resisting relations and theological dialogue with non-Muslims but receive social relations. Difference between the two lies in the intensity of prudence and vigilance against non-Muslims, especially Christians. If the activists HTI never showed physically hard, some activists MMI precisely there that shows the attitude of hard physically, either through threats and bullying for example when responding proselytizing and the establishment of houses of worship.

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