Redefinition of Religious Nation-state; Tracing Textual Doctrine and its Impact on Religious Violence in Indonesia

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Abstract

This paper elaborates on the roots of textual indoctrination in religious violence. This study is important to redefine the concept of religious nation-state in order to avoid the distortion of religious texts’ understanding that can lead to religious violence. This research uses a literature approach. The results of this study state that 1) religious violence is divided into three, namely: internal violence of religious communities, violence between religions and forces outside of religion such as power regimes, and violence between religious communities, 2) Interpretation of religious texts are often obscured by people who want to use it as a tool to legalize violent acts. The deconstruction of the verses of the Quran against the justification of radicalism is often associated with verses describing warfare, identified with the meaning
of jihad in the Way of Allah, which is contained in At-Taubat verse: 24, Al-Hajj verse: 78, Al-Mumtahanah verse: 1, Al-Ankabut verse: 6. Whereas in term of warfare stated in the Al-Baqarah verse: 190, it is clear that the only war that is permitted is only for the purpose of defense, not for offense so let alone to take innocent victims, 3) Interpretation of the meaning of truth often triggers the justification of religious violence. This is because every religion has its own scriptural doctrines which lead their believers into the belief that their religion is the most correct one. However, we must not force other believers into believing what we believe as the truth.

**Keyword:** Textual Doctrine, Religious Violence.

**Abstrak**


Kata Kunci: Doktrin Tekstual, Kekerasan Agama, Negara Bangsa, Religius.
A. Introduction

The religious nation-state or a state that believes in God is a pillar of nationality that is compatible with Indonesia that tends to have a pluralistic and multicultural characteristic, which has been fought for by the ulama’ in the past, especially the ulama’ of NU. Pancasila which is the embodiment of the religious spirit of the nation-state has comprehensively explained all the values of divinity, humanity, unity or mutual cooperation, tolerance and social justice, so that different Indonesian people can live within the framework of the vision. Or in Islam it is termed “mitsaqon gholiza”. However, recently there has been a distortion of understanding of religious texts which has led to violence in the name of religion.

The history of violence and radicalism in all religions always presents the name of God. This is understandable because the power of the idea “in the name of God” is very powerful. This power can exceed all claims of existing political authority. “In the name of God” can be misused as a spirit of radicalism and even justification for all human actions against the chaos that occurs. Even the perpetrators claim that their actions received an affirmation from God. Na’udzubillah min dzalik.

In the past few years, we have always been shocked by news about horizontal conflicts between communities in the name of religion, such as in Ambon, Sulawesi, Maluku, Poso and so on. This fact is also accompanied by the growing number of radical mass organizations that prioritize violence in solving their problems. Acts of violence (terror or destruction) against groups that are ideologically different always use religious normative arguments to justify that the acts of violence they commit are scientifically correct. Religious texts are so easy to being made to justify acts of violence. And this raises a series of questions that once made the face of Islam, which its primary mission was friendliness and peace, to a scary and terrifying Islam.
The concern about ideological disorientation is not without reason if we look at other sad facts such as the rise of religious radicalism, terrorism, vigilantism, persecution and extremism that are mushrooming in various parts of Indonesia. The friendly, polite and cultured image of Indonesia in the eyes of the international community is now declining, as a result of being tainted by fanaticism and brutalism as well as increasing radicalism\(^1\).

Radicalism deconstructs religious teachings that have become role models for the society, encouraging conflict and violence, especially at the grassroots level by involving the mainstream. In this case the minority group is always defeated by various destructive treatments. On the other hand, religious understanding triggers social conflict.

Radicalism deconstructs religious tenets that have become role models for society, encouraging conflict and violence, especially at the grassroots level by involving the mainstream. In this case the minority group is always defeated by various destructive treatments. On the other hand, religious understanding triggers social conflict.

The emergence of violent conflicts in the name of religion is caused by truth claims. Because every religion has a scriptural doctrine that its religion is the truest of them all. Every religion has the belief of truth towards its religion, but does not force others to believe in the truth that is held. All groups are in the trajectory of the line of religious truth, as long as ethics and moral order are the main basis for action. As long as we uphold tolerance and don’t make truth claims by blaming others just because of different beliefs and ideologies.

The attitude of intolerance that emerged resulted in disunity and hostility between religious communities. Thus the urgency

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\(^1\) Fealy, Greag. 2004. *Islamic radicalism in Indonesia: the Faltering Revival*, dalam *Southeast Asian Affair*. 
of studying and implementing tolerance between religious communities is an important point in castrating and eradicating violence in the name of religion. Through the causes and reasons above, the author wants to examine more deeply about what forms of violence in the name of religion that occur within the scope of religious people, how is the deconstruction of the interpretation of the Qur’anic verses about radicalism and the issue of religious radicalism in Indonesia, as well as its reinterpretation of the meaning of truth. How is the reinterpretation of violence in the name of religion towards the meaning of truth?

Fahruddin’s research explains that the phenomenon of religious violence, as shown in various FPI actions, is a phenomenon of violence that commonly emerges in other realms of human life\(^2\). In Fahruddin’s research, he wanted to see to what extent the violent behavior as often exhibited by FPI has a correlation with the level of religious maturity. This is clarified in Stev’s research that the cause of violence and discrimination between religious communities in Indonesia is due to differences in understanding of values that becomes conflicts within religious communities. Namely the obligations that are required by religion, ideals regarding the certainty of the rights of religious people, understandings about tenets and views with various of different reasonings\(^3\).

Whereas the study that will be explained in this research is to try to describe the study by collaborating the roots of textual doctrine in violence in the name of religion. This is certainly a very important study to explain the concept of a religious nation-state, in order not to get caught up in the distortion of understanding religious texts that can lead to violence in religion. This study uses a literature review approach.

B. Discussion

1. Types of Religious Violence

There are various types of violence, however, in term of religious violence it is classified into three types, namely; internal violence of religious communities, violence between religions and forces outside of religion such as the regime of power, and violence between religious communities\(^4\).

As a term, religious violence can include violence perpetrated by individuals or groups against individuals or groups of either the same religious group or different religious groups, whether driven by religious motivations or other factors. Furthermore, violence is carried out by individuals or groups by means of isolating, intimidating or expelling other groups who choose religious beliefs that are considered deviant or different. Meanwhile, the latter is violence in the form of destruction or blasphemy of religious objects or symbols such as holy books, prophets, and worship places.

Judging from its forms and types, religious violence has many kinds and varieties, ranging from the smallest and simplest such as hitting children to obey their parents so that children perform prayers, to large ones such as taking up arms against a regime deemed hostile to their religion. Seen from the crime scene, religious violence usually occurs in the domestic sphere, such as violence against children or wives, and it also can be in the public space, such as destroying places considered to be a den of immorality. All of this can be categorized as religious violence.

Internal religious violence usually starts from a difference in understanding of teaching. There is one party that wants to do renewal while the other ones want purification. Violence then

\(^4\) Kuswanjono, Arqom. 2003, “Kekerasan dalam Perspektif Etika dan Agama”. *Religion Issues* 1, no. 2 h. 159-174
emerged due to the lack of communication and stagnation of internal religious democracy.

Violence between religions with outside powers is common when religions are confronted by tyrant rulers, and religions feel the need to go against them. Such contradictions can lead to various forms of violence. As for the conflicts that occur between religious communities, they are often complex, because many are related to internal fanaticism with the assumption that the willingness to sacrifice for the sake of religion is a sacred and praiseworthy act.

2. Deconstruction of Radicalism Interpretation through Quran Texts

The condition of the Islamic religious text which has multiple interpretations seems to provide opportunities for anyone who has an intention to interpret it according to his/her needs. Of course, the interpretation of religious texts is carried out and adapted to their respective needs. As has been done, some groups interpret the verses of the Quran as a means of legalizing violent acts in the name of religion. Text is shackled and hijacked to instigate acts of violence in the name of God. Even with the results of such an interpretation, some of these groups are then willing to sacrifice anything in the name of religion; from treasure to soul. For the sake of religion, humans are also willing to do irrational things as well as things that are considered unhealthy according to others.

Acts of violence and terrorism that occur in the world in general and in Indonesia, in particular, are the result of an expression of the understanding of Islamic fundamentalism that is linked to the Quran. This is because textually there are many verses of the Quran that provide a space or even motivate the birth of the Islamic fundamentalism movement. In other words, acts of violence and terrorism committed by these Islamic fundamentalist groups have a “Quranic basis”. This “basis of the Quran” can be traced in several verses of the Quran. For instance, surah al-Ahzab verse: 36 says: “It
is not for a believer, man or woman, when Allah and His Messenger have decreed a matter that they should have any option in their decision. And whoever disobeys Allah and His Messenger, he has indeed strayed into a plain error”.

The textual understanding of the verse only provides an alternative that the commands given by Allah and His Messenger must be carried out without having to look in what context the commandment was given. The textual understanding of the verse also does not provide an exception to other commandments, for example regarding the relationship between Muslims and adherents of other religions. The textual understanding of the Quran only provides one option that Muslims must fight against adherents of other religions, also against Muslims who do not totally implement Islamic teachings. In order to realize the activities plan, such as discussing religion and power partially-textually and designing radical changes, implementing decisions without compromise must be done. All of them are guided by those who have the authority as a source of transcendental, defining political actions with the ideology of jihad (striving) and amar ma’ruf nahi munkar (enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong) in all aspects.

Before parsing the verses relating to the acquisition of warfare in the Quran, it is necessary to explain the real concept of jihad in Islam. This is important because religious radicalism is often identified with jihad in the way of Allah. The word jihad contained in surah at-Taubah verse 24 which says: “say, if your fathers, your sons, your brothers, your spouses, your kindred, the wealth that you have gained, the commerce in which you fear a decline, and the dwellings in which you delight are dearer to you than Allah and His Messenger, and jihad in His cause, then wait until Allah brings about His decision (torment). And Allah guides not the people who

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are rebellious”. The word *jihad* can also be found in surah al-Hajj verse 78: “And *jihad* in Allah’s cause as you ought to *jihad*. He has chosen you, and has not laid upon you in religion any hardship: it is the religion of your father Ibrahim”. Furthermore, the word *jihad* is also found in surah al-Mumtahanah verse 1: “If you have come forth to *jihad* in My cause and to seek My good pleasure. You show friendship to them in secret, while I am All-Aware of what you conceal and what you reveal.”

In Surah Al-Hujurat verse 1 the word *jihad* is also found: “Only those are the believers who have believed in Allah and His Messenger, and afterward doubt not but *jihad* with their wealth and their lives for the cause of Allah. Those! They are the truthful”. The word *jihad* also appears in Surah Al-Ankabut verse 6: “And whosoever does *jihad*, his *jihad* is only for himself. Verily, Allah stands not in need of any of the creatures”. The descriptions and thematic analysis above, make it even clearer that from the verses that have a connection with *jihad*, none of them has the connotation of fighting and legalizing violence in solving any problem. On the other hand, *jihad* is emphasized solely to increase worship both vertically and horizontally which is only intended to gain the satisfaction of Allah SWT, or at least, the *jihad* that is meant is to be defensive, not aggressive, whenever the enemy attacks the Muslim ummah first.

This is the starting point for misinterpretation of *jihad* which in turn is used as a justification tool by some “interpreters” to carry out the radicalism in religion. As explained by al-Qardawi in his book *as-Sahwa al-Islamiyah baina al-juhud wa al-tatarruf*, the main factor in the emergence of radical behaviors in religion is a lack of true and deep understanding of the essence of Islamic teachings. Islam is only understood superficially and partially⁶ (Al-Qadrawi 2001).

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However, on the other hand, the Quran also talks a lot about and allows acts of warfare by using the words *qatala, qital*, and various kinds of derivations. In the following, we will examine verses related to the basis of religious radicalism. The first is in Surah al-Hajj verses 39-40 which says: “Permission (to fight) is given to those (believers) who are fought against, because they have been wronged; and surely, Allah is able to give them victory. Those who have been expelled from their homes unjustly only because they said: Our Lord is Allah.” This is the first verse that was revealed regarding the doctrine of war and violence in Islam.

However, the above verses are interpreted by the historian Shalabi, a professor of history from Egypt, which clearly explains that whoever wants to study the verse will see that Islam does not really want war. This can be seen in the use of the verb at the beginning of the verse where the term *mabni majhul* is used with the word *udzina* whose *fa’il*, in this case Allah, is hidden. This illustrates how God dislikes war. In this verse, it appears that it is limited to giving permission to those who are persecuted by the words “*bi annahum dzulimu*” (because in fact they are being persecuted). Therefore, when this verse was revealed some of the Muslims were not sure enough about this verse to be used as an excuse to wage war\(^7\) (Syalabi 1994).

Therefore, Allah SWT sent down another verse that emphasizes the permissibility of war as a reinforcement of the above verse. This is found in surah al-Baqarah verse 190: “And fight in the way of Allah those who fight you, but transgress not the limits. Truly, Allah likes not the transgressors”. The commandment to fight in the way of Allah in that verse explains that it is permissible to wage war as long as it is done in the way of Allah, that is meant to uphold the values of the Almighty God and independence and

freedom which in line with the goals of religion. This verse also explains the time when the war is needed to happen, that is when it is known for certain that there are people who want to fight by showing an indication that they are preparing plans and taking steps to fight against the Muslims or have actually committed aggression. This insight is taken from the use of the present tense verb which has the present and future meanings in the word *yuqatilunakum* (they are fighting you).

Thus, this verse guides us not to stand idle by waiting until the enemy enters the territory or threatens the peace and safety of the souls of the Muslim community. The word also implies that the command to fight is only intended for those who are meant to join a war, in which, women, parents, or children are not included. They must not be fought, even those who start a war and then surrender are no longer allowed to be fought. Therefore, facilities that are not used as weapons of war should not be destroyed, such as hospitals, residential housing, trees, and others. This is all covered in the continuation of the verse, which says “but transgress not the limits. Truly, Allah likes not the transgressors.”

It is clear that war for self-defense must be fought in the way of Allah, whereas under normal conditions, Allah does not allow it and He does not like those who attack first. This is a very explicit verse of the Quran and there is no doubt about it.

### 3. Religious Radicalism Issues in Indonesia

The word radical, or *radikal* in Indonesian, itself comes from the Latin *radix* which means root, so radical basically means to take root or get to the roots. The issue of religious radicalism in Indonesia is very concerning. The emergence of radical ideas in

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the name of religion has long been occurring in Indonesia. Starting from the issue of terrorism to the emergence of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), and the impact of the closure of 22 Islamic sites by the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology on the proposal of the National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT) on the pretext of having negative content that angered many parties, especially Muslims. (kominfo.go.id). BNPT has four criteria for a media website to be considered radical. First, want to make changes quickly using religious violence; second, *takfîri* or declare other people to be apostate; third, support, spread, and invite others to join ISIS/IS; and fourth, interpret *jihad* in a limited way. (bnpt.go.id)

Article 5 paragraph (1) states that the public can submit reports to request the blocking of negative contents as referred to in Article 4 paragraph (1) letter a to the Director-General. Meanwhile, Article 7 paragraph (1) states that the public can participate in providing blocking services by posting at least sites in positive trust. Paragraph (2) states that the blocking service as referred to in paragraph (1) is carried out by the provision of blocking services. The National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) said that the blocked sites spread radicalism such as being pro-ISIS and declaring other people to be apostate.

In Indonesia, the existence of religious sects and movements in various places has generated mixed reactions and responses in society. Oftentimes, the reaction that arises is in the form of vigilantism by prosecuting the leader or followers of the sect who are considered problematic. The emergence of a radical Islamic movement in Indonesia manifestly in the decade of the 90s appalled many parties in the country. This appalment occurred for several reasons: first, the hegemonic power of the New Order, at that time was strongly against radical Islamic movement, so that no matter how small the potential that led to the formation of this movement would be quickly eliminated; second, the emergence of this movement would threaten the integrity of the Unitary State of
the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), which has a pluralistic society; third, this movement sociologically had no roots in Indonesia, because Indonesian society basically did not have a radical tradition of religion. Due to this consideration, many people responded to the emergence of this radical movement with various views, some strongly refused, some were afraid, some were worried, and there was some who were proud\(^{10}\) (Zainuddin 2003). Not only that, in the last few years we have always been appalled by the news about horizontal conflicts between communities in the name of religion, for example, the Poso conflict.

The Poso conflict was triggered by a series of major events in Indonesia in 1998. This led to chaos which heated up the atmosphere in the country. Starting from the economic and financial crisis since mid-1997, then ended with President Soeharto’s resignation. The system of centralism of power also collapsed instantly. There was no social readiness for regions that have long been marginalized which then led to the riots of Sampit, Maluku, and Poso. The Poso conflict that surfaced, in the end, was more likely caused by SARA (ethnicity, religion, race, and social relations). According to the Chairperson of the FSPUI (Islamic Forum), H. Muh. Adnan Arsal, the conflict had always been occurring and aimed to pit religious believers in Poso against one another.

The beginning of the Poso conflict occurred after the election of the Regent in December 1998. There was the religious sentiment behind the election. With the victory of Piet I and Mutholib Rimi, who at that time could not be separated from religious and ethnic identities. Henceforth, religion was used as the main trigger for problems in every conflict that occurred in Poso. Small feuds, such as fights between persons can trigger riots there. In case a fight occurred between two young men, with one was Muslim and the

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other was Christian, and one party suffered defeat, there was a feeling of unacceptability between the two. After that, one or both of them reported the problem to their respective groups and riots broke out involving many people and even groups.

The triggers for conflicts that occur between religious communities are often complex because many are related to blind fanaticism with the assumption that the willingness to sacrifice for the sake of religion is a sacred act. Thus, whatever is done between religious groups is considered correct in the context of defending their respective religions. What can be done to alleviate conflicts like the one above is to provide an understanding of the importance of upholding tolerance among religious communities.

4. Reinterpretation of the Meaning of Truth

Reinterpretation of the meaning of truth is one of the factors causing radical thinking. This is because truth claim in every religion is supported by their scriptural doctrines which make them believe that their religion is the most correct one. In Islam, the verse that is often used as proof, in this case, is Al-Imran verse: 19 which says “Truly, the religion with Allah is Islam. Those who were given the Scripture (Jews and Christians) did not differ except out of rivalry after knowledge had come to them. And whoever disbelieves in the Ayat of Allah, then surely, Allah is Swift in reckoning.”

In this verse, it is stated that the religion accepted by Allah is Islam. Thus, the beliefs outside of Islam are wrong. Textually, the meaning is stated like that, but this is then elaborated through Al-Qurtubi’s interpretation of the real meaning of Islam. The Word of Allah SWT, which says: “Truly, the religion with Allah is Islam” Abu Al Aliyah explained that the word ad-din in this verse means teaching and obedience, while the word (al-Islam) means faith. This opinion was also followed by experts in Kalam science.

Initially, the terms iman (faith) and Islam were two different things. The daleel (proof) is a hadith that tells the questions of the
Angel Jibril to the Prophet SAW. However, they can also mean the same thing, of which the term Islam can be used for the meaning of faith and the term faith can be used for the meaning of Islam. The proof is the hadith that was narrated about Abdul Qais. That is when the delegates were ordered to have faith only in Allah, the Prophet SAW asked them, “Do you know the meaning of faith?” they answered, “Allah and His Messenger know better.” Then the Prophet said, “Faith is shahada that there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, do prayers, pay zakat (alms), fast in the month of Ramadan” (al-Hadith). Then in the history of Imam Muslim, it is added, “Shame is a part of faith.” Or it could be that both have a vague meaning, where one is mentioned but what is meant is the other, as happened in this verse, where what is mentioned is the word Islam but the implied meaning is moral justification

Each follower of religion, especially the mission of religion, tries to offer the salvation that they believe in to as many people as possible, including people who have embraced a certain religion. The mission invitation is not only a realization of wanting to save people in the world and the hereafter but also as part of that religion. For example, Christianity with its mission of salvation and Islam with its preaching of amar ma’ruf try to call as many people as possible to their respective religions to be saved and escape from hellfire. This is a normal effort of religious adherents when viewed from a sociological perspective, but when the invitation is carried out in an extreme and deceptive manner it can certainly cause clashes and humanitarian disaster. The implication that appears in these ways is none other than religious conflict

Although the claim to truth is understandable as an exclusive doctrine in the teachings of religions, losing awareness of religious

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pluralization is a disaster for social and human life in a global society. The literal understanding of this exclusive doctrine leads to fundamentalist and radical behaviors. The result that can be seen in the history of mankind is the creation of prolonged disharmony and horizontal conflicts in religious communities as of what happened in the era of the crusades. Therefore, the religions' goal to bring prosperity and save people in this world and in the hereafter will turn into a human disaster and calamity.

Islam does not promote violence but also does not avoid it if it is necessary. On that basis, the measure of the legality of violence in Islamic perspective only rests on the concept of the oneness of God (tauhid) with various consequences including God as the only Being who has absolute authority in determining law, including the law of jihad. The concept of monotheism is supported by historical arguments, texts, human nature, and common sense, and not a monotheistic concept that has been tainted with polytheism as in the Trinity doctrine which has no historical basis, text, or human’s common sense.

C. Conclusion

In general, violence in the name of religion is divided into three, namely: internal violence of religious communities, violence between religions and forces outside of religion such as regimes of power, and violence between religious communities. Violence in internal religion usually begins with differences in understanding a tenet. Inter-religious violence with non-religious forces usually occurs when a religion is confronted by unjust rulers, and the religion feels compelled to react to a resistance. Such conflict can give rise to various forms of violence.

Religious texts interpretation are interpreted by people who have an interest as an instrument to legalize violent acts. Reinterpretation towards the meaning of truth often triggers the justification of violence in the name of religion. This is because every
religion has a biblical doctrine that its religion is valid, authentic and adheres to the truth in accordance with their respective beliefs. But what is right according to our beliefs, we must not force others to carry out that truth. To overcome problems related to violence in the name of religion is to provide an understanding of the importance of upholding the attitude of tolerance between religious communities.
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