

## CHAPTER II

### THE EXPANSION OF ‘SALAFIS’ AND THE ZEAL OF ISLAMIC RESURGENCE

The origins of Laskar Jihad can be traced back to the mid-1980s, when the expansion of the Salafi communities was becoming visible and assertive. Signs of this expansion were first and foremost strikingly seen in the appearance of young men wearing long flowing robes (*jalabiyya*), turbans (*‘imāma*), trousers right to their ankles (*isbāl*) and long beards (*liḥya*), and women wearing a form of enveloping black veil (*niqāb*) in public places. These people were inclined to stand distinctly apart from the ‘anything goes’ open society around them, by organizing themselves into small tight-knit communities. They appeared enthusiastic to revive and imitate the exemplary pattern set by the Prophet Muhammad and the first generation of his followers, which is perceived as pristine, ideal Islam. They sought to offer an alternative model of society, which is distinctly different from the modern Western model and intended to counter what is perceived as rampant Westernization.

The efflorescence of the Salafi communities has marked a new trend in Islamic activism in Indonesia. Even while displaying their distinctive identity, these communities adopted a stance of apolitical quietism.<sup>1</sup> Their main concern embraces the question of the purity of *tawḥīd* and a number of other issues centred on the call for a return to strict religious practice and an emphasis on

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<sup>1</sup> The prototype of the communities to a large extent resembles what Olivier Roy (1996) refers to as neo-fundamentalism, which he defines as a non-revolutionary Islamic movement attempting to re-Islamize society at the grassroots level without being formed within an Islamic state. In his analysis, this phenomenon arose from the failure of Islamism, a modern political Islamic movement that claims to re-create a true Muslim society by creating a new Islamic order through revolutionary and militant political action. See Oliver Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam*, translated by Carol Volk (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 25; cf. Gilles Kepel, *La Revanche de Dieu: chretiens, juifs et musulmans a la reconquete du monde* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1991). Despite its strengths in offering insight through which to understand the late-twentieth-century evolution of political Islam, this theory has been criticized. In reality, political Islamic movements have never undergone a profound transformation from revolutionary to social modes of action. Both tendencies have constantly coexisted and the choice of a certain mode has greatly been determined by political constraints. See Francois Burgat, *Face to Face with Political Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), pp. 54-7.

individual moral integrity. Trivial, superficial issues, such as *jalabiyya*, *'imāma*, *liḥya*, *isbāl* and *niqāb*, have constituted the main themes in their day-to-day discussions. A commitment to wear the *jalabiyya* by men and the *niqāb* by women, for instance, has been viewed much more important than taking part in political activities. They believe that Muslim society must first be Islamized through a gradual evolutionary process that includes education (*tarbiya*) and purification (*taṣfiya*) before the comprehensive implementation of *sharī'a* can be realized. To reach this end, they have been fervently committed to *da'wa* activities (from the Arabic root *da'ā*, to call, which generally refers to the proselytizing that is incumbent upon every Muslim), participating in the establishment of *halqas* and *dauras*.<sup>2</sup>

There is no doubt that the phenomenon under discussion developed as the consequence of the expansion of the worldwide contemporary Salafī *da'wa* movement adopting the most puritanical sect of Islam, Wahhabism. This designation may cause some confusion, as in older academic parlance, Wahhabism is usually distinguished from Salafism. It is a term that denotes the reformist notions developed by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1703-1792), who drew inspiration from the teachings of Taqiy al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328). This medieval thinker was a follower of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 850), the founder of Hanbalism, the strictest of the four legal schools of Sunni Islam.<sup>3</sup> The reformist notions of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb first developed into concrete form in the eighteenth century as a movement that set out to fight the superstitions and sufi devotional practices prevalent in Arab society, which were blamed to be parts of *bid'a* (unwholesome innovations), and to attack those who claimed to be Muslim but whose behaviour was considered un-Islamic. This movement took a hard line in defining who could be regarded as a believer, stating that no deviation from *sharī'a* was permitted, and it drew a firm distinction between the world of believers and that of unbelievers. At the same time, it strongly rejected *taqlīd* (blind imitation of medieval scholarly authorities), by establishing the Qur'an and the Sunna as the two fundamental and binding sources of Islamic faith and law. It is no exaggeration that John O. Voll (1994) considers this movement a 'prototype of rigorous fundamentalism in the modern Islamic experience'.<sup>4</sup>

What is generally known as Salafism arose nearly one century after Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb had succeeded in exerting his influence

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<sup>2</sup> *Halqa*, literally meaning 'circle', is a forum for the study of Islamic sciences, in which an *ustāz*, a teacher or preacher, gives lessons on the basis of certain books and his participants sit around him to hear and scrutinize his lessons. It is distinct from *daura*, literally meaning 'turn', which is a type of workshop held for a period ranging from one week to one month, during which its participants gather and stay in one place and follow all the designed programs.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed discussion about this figure, see Samira Haj, 'Reordering Islamic Orthodoxy: Muhammad ibn 'Abdul Wahab', *The Muslim World* 92: 3-4 (2002), pp. 333-70.

<sup>4</sup> John O. Voll, *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World*, second edition (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), pp. 53-6.

throughout the Arabian Peninsula. It is identical to the reformist, modernist notions disseminated by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838-1898), Muḥammad ‘Abduh (1849-1905), and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935). Unlike their predecessors, these thinkers did not content themselves with appealing to Muslims to purify Islam of all kinds of *bid’a* and *taqlīd*, they also advocated a synthesis of Islam and modern, Western-style scientific rationalization, as appeared in their calls for opening the doors of *ijtihād* (independent reasoning). This synthesis was believed to be a necessity were the lost triumph of Islam to be regained. The spirit of wanting to combine Islam and modern science provided the basis for modernism in Islam, one that was significantly distinguishable from Wahhabism. Since the growth of Salafism went hand-in-hand with the rise of Muslim political consciousness in the face of Western colonization, an obsession with the reconstruction of the Muslim *umma* and the Islamic caliphate was inherent to this movement and left its mark on the dynamics of Muslim politics throughout the twentieth century.<sup>5</sup>

The contemporary Salafi movement can be called a form of reconstituted Wahhabism, owing to the determination of its proponents to more systematically introduce the thoughts formulated by the three main classical references among Wahhabis, namely Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya, Muḥammad ibn Qayyīm al-Jawziyya (1292-1350) and Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb. Also, followers often refer to the *fatwās* issued by contemporary Wahhabi authorities, such as ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ‘Abd Allāh bin Bāz (d. 1999) and Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī (d. 1999). Being firmly associated with the global Islamic resurgence, nevertheless, this movement also inherited some aspects of Salafism, notably its anti-West sentiments, which inspired the birth of twentieth-century Islamist movements, such as Ikhwān al-Muslimīn and Jama‘at-i Islami.

It seems appropriate to examine how the contemporary Salafi *da‘wa* movement has developed in Indonesia and formed an exclusive current of Islamic activism. What factors have contributed to its proliferation?

### ***Islamic Reform in Indonesia***

In terms of its desire for a return to pristine Islam, the contemporary Salafi movement is by no means new. Although Indonesia is located on the periphery of the Muslim world, it has witnessed the expansion of reformist notions since the first half of the nineteenth century, dramatically marked by the irruption of the Padri movement in West Sumatra.<sup>6</sup> This movement had been brought back to by Indonesians who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hājīs*), as it indubitably

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<sup>5</sup> On the evolution of Islamic modernism, see Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

<sup>6</sup> As for this movement, see Christine Dobbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy, Central Sumatra, 1784-1847* (London and Malmo: Curzon Press and Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, 1983).

represents an incursion of Saudi Arabian Islam into Indonesia. The ideas of Islamic reform later became more clearly articulated with the spread of the Salafism of Muḥammad 'Abduh and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā. These developments gave rise to a number of Muslim reformist, modernist organizations, including the Muhammadiyah, al-Irsyad and Persis in the first quarter of the twentieth century. These movements championed the calls for a return to the Qur'an and the Sunna and a detachment from various traditional practices deemed to be tainted with *bid'a*, *takhayyul* (superstitions) and *khurafa* (myths).<sup>7</sup> Alongside this campaign, they laid the foundation for the younger generation by developing Western-style schools and encouraged the teaching of modern subjects.

The emergence of the reformist, modernist organizations challenged the traditional '*ulamā*' monopoly on the religious corpus. It is therefore understandable that leading *kyais*, traditional '*ulamā*', in Java responded to the expansion by spearheading the establishment of the Nahdlatul Ulama in 1926.<sup>8</sup> They were undeniably influential figures among traditionalist, conservative Muslims, whose affiliation with one school of Islamic law, *madhhab*, particularly the Shafi'ite, was fundamental. The *kyais* were the main points of reference, imbued with legitimacy as the interpreters of the *madhhab* doctrines, and their mastery of the *kitab kuning* (yellow books, referring to classical and medieval Arabic texts) provided the foundation of their authority. The position of the *kyais* was usually supported by the presence of the *pesantrens*, rural-based Islamic learning centres where students studied Arabic and Islamic subjects using the *kitab kuning*. In many instances, the *pesantren* appeared to represent an exemplary Islamic centre with the *kyai* as its central figure who usually enjoyed the respect and loyalty of his disciples and the other people surrounding him.<sup>9</sup>

The fragmentation of religious authority that ineluctably arose from the expansion of the reformist, modernist organizations imparted a striking character to the immense and complex diversity of Indonesian Islam. It is relevant in this

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<sup>7</sup> Although there are many books dealing with the emergence of these Muslim modernist movements, the pioneering study made by Deliar Noer remains important. See Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1973). On the transformation of Islamic modernism from the Middle East to Indonesia, see Michael F. Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: the Umma Below the Winds* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

<sup>8</sup> Concerning this organization, see Martin van Bruinessen, *NU: Tradisi, Relasi-relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 1994); see also Greg Barton and Greg Fealy (eds.), *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia* (Monash: Monash Asia Institute, 1996).

<sup>9</sup> For a further account on the *kyai* and the *pesantren*, see Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition: The Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java* (Arizona: Arizona State University, 1999). On the *kitab kuning*, see Martin van Bruinessen, 'Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 146 (1990), pp. 226-69.

context to mention the concept introduced by the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1960), who divides Javanese society, the majority of Indonesian Muslims, into *santri*, *abangan* and *priyayi*.<sup>10</sup> The term *santri* is attributed to puritanical Muslims committed to a more or less normative profession of the faith, as opposed to the *abangan*, nominal Muslims, who felt comfortable with local customs influenced by Animism, Hinduism and Buddhism. The term *priyayi* refers to aristocratic bureaucrats of the Javanese courts, the bearers of the mystical court traditions, who, in the Geertzian paradigm, are close to the *abangan*. Some scholars have criticized this theory. They focus on the fact that while the first two categories are based on a personal commitment to Islamic doctrines, the last denotes a separate hierarchically determined social group that can be contrasted only with the common people. Accordingly, the basic division into the *santri* and *abangan* can also be applied to the *priyayi* group.<sup>11</sup>

It is the *santri*'s concern with the formal, orthodox variant of Islam that, Geertz argues, contrasts them to the *abangan*, who are devoted to the communal feasts that revolve around *slametan*. In a *slametan*, which constitutes the core of *abangan* ritual practice, all kinds of invisible beings are invited to sit together with the other participants and share the same food.<sup>12</sup> For the *santri* the belief in the presence of invisible beings in this ritual represents the profound influences of Hinduism and Buddhism still present that should be eliminated. The criticism of the prevailing religious syncretism eventually led to a split within the ranks of the *santri* themselves, which Geertz categorizes as *kolot* and *moderen*. These are in fact identical to the traditionalists and modernists, respectively. The *kolot* are more willing to allow some non-Islamic rites a minor place in their religious observance, while the *moderen* work assiduously to expunge non-Islamic elements completely in favour of a purified Islam. Having made the above distinction, Geertz asserts that it is no accident that the *kolot* are closer to the *abangan*.<sup>13</sup> It should be noted that despite the tireless efforts of the *santri* to convince them to conform to formal Islam, even today the *abangan* probably form the majority of the population. Consequently, the discourse on Islamization

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<sup>10</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960). For a comparison, see Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (Tucson: Association for Asian Studies, 1989).

<sup>11</sup> For the criticism of this theory, see Koentjaraningrat, 'Review of Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (New York, 1960)', *Madjalah Ilmu-Ilmu Sastra Indonesia*, 1 (1961), pp. 188-92; Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Javanese Town* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1983), pp. 12-3; Zaini Muchtarom, *Santri dan Abangan di Jawa* (Jakarta: INIS, 1988); and Huub de Jonge, 'Western and Indonesian Views on the Abangan-Santri Division in Javanese Society: the Perception of Geertz's "The Religion of Java"', in Henk Driessen (ed.), *The Politics of Ethnographic Reading and Writing: Confrontations of Western and Indigenous Views* (Saarbrücken: Fort Lauderdale, 1993), pp. 101-23.

<sup>12</sup> Geertz (1960), pp. 121-30.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

is not fading away and always provides grounds for argument. In fact, it is intensifying as Indonesia is increasingly integrated into the Muslim world.<sup>14</sup>

The inherently antagonistic relations between the *santri* and *abangan* are reflected in the historical records of Indonesian politics. At the dawn of the Indonesian nation-state, the Majelis Syura Muslimin Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Consultative Assembly, Masyumi) was set up by the Japanese occupation in 1943 in an effort to mobilize Muslim support.<sup>15</sup> In the run-up toward independence, this assembly spearheaded the struggle of Muslim leaders to implement what was later known as the Jakarta Charter as the foundation of the would-be Indonesian state. But their struggle ended in failure because of the opposition of secular *abangan* nationalists and like-minded leaders who preferred a secular republican model based on the Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945. As a result, many Muslim leaders felt betrayed.<sup>16</sup> During the final years of the Indonesian revolution, the first serious challenge to the Indonesian secular republican model emerged when Kartosuwirjo, as mentioned earlier, proclaimed an independent Islamic state in West Java. This rebellion was triggered by an unfavourable agreement made by the Soekarno government with the Dutch that forced all armed forces, including guerrilla groups, to withdraw to Central Java.<sup>17</sup>

The Masyumi that had transformed itself into a political party in the early years of independence underwent a fragmentation in 1952 when the Nahdlatul Ulama decided to become an independent political party. Both participated in the first general election in 1955, winning the second and third largest number of votes, respectively, after the Partai Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian Nationalist Party, PNI).<sup>18</sup> With this result, the Masyumi again tried to propose *sharī'a* as the foundation of the state, but this attempt also failed because of the resolute rejection by secular nationalists, army technocrats and socialists who were all united in their opposition to any form of Islamic governance. Following an accusation of the involvement of some of its leaders in the largely Sumatran Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia

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<sup>14</sup> See Martin van Bruinessen, 'Global and Local in Indonesian Islam', *Southeast Asian Studies* 37: 2 (September 1999), pp. 158-175.

<sup>15</sup> The most comprehensive book dealing with this period remains Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945* (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1958). For a comparison, see Benedict Anderson, *Some Aspects of Indonesian Politics under the Japanese Occupation: 1944-1945* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1961).

<sup>16</sup> In the Jakarta Charter there is a stipulation that requires Muslims to conform to *sharī'a*, which would place the state unequivocally behind Islam. This stipulation was removed from the Pancasila, whose first principle simply contains the words 'Believe in One God (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*)'. The best reference for this issue is B.J. Bolland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Hijhoff, 1982).

<sup>17</sup> See Horikoshi (1975) and Van Dijk (1981).

<sup>18</sup> For more information about this election see Herbert Feith, *The Indonesian Politics of 1955* (Ithaca: Modern Indonesian Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1971).

(Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia, PRRI) rebellion, the Masyumi was banned and expelled from the political arena of Indonesia in 1960.<sup>19</sup>

### *Saudi Arabian Geopolitics*

The proliferation of the Salafī *da'wa* movement is inexorably associated with the rising influence of Saudi Arabia in the global politics of the Muslim world. As the place where Masjīd al-Ḥarām and Masjīd al-Nabawī, Two Holy Sanctuaries, are located, the Kingdom has constantly been obsessed by an attempt to place itself at the centre of the Muslim world, bolstered by its permanent position as *Khādim al-Haramayn*, the guardian of the two holy sanctuaries. For this purpose, it forged an alliance with, and, to some extent, co-opted Wahhabism. In fact, what we can call the first Saudi Arabian state was born out of a sacred alliance between Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd (r. 1747-1765), a local prince in Nejd. Its existence was short-lived, as in 1819 this state was crushed by the Egyptian forces of the Ottoman Empire. Wahhabism remained marginalized until the rise of 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Sa'ūd (d. 1953) at the beginning of the twentieth century. He created a nation-state by relying on a combination of force and ideological mobilization based on Wahhabism.<sup>20</sup> In effect Wahhabism was enshrined as a state religion and the '*ulamā*' are *de facto* agents of the state who are always prepared to provide tacit approval and, when requested, public sanction for potentially controversial issues.<sup>21</sup>

'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Sa'ūd played an enormously important role in initiating an effort to place Saudi Arabia at the centre of the Muslim world and preparing the ground for the sustainability of this position. In the 1920s he organized the Muslim World Congress whose aim was to forge solidarity between Islamic countries. This congress was a tactical move to take the initiative in the development of pan-Islamic politics out of the hands of the Ottoman Empire, which was then embroiled in a political crisis.<sup>22</sup> After the Second World War, Saudi Arabia adopted the spreading of Wahhabism as a major plank in its foreign policy, particularly to counter the expansion of Arab Socialist Nationalism launched by the then President of Egypt, Gamal Abdel

<sup>19</sup> On this rebellion, see James Mossman, *Rebels in Paradise: Indonesia's Civil War* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1961).

<sup>20</sup> Concerning the origins of Saudi rule, see James Piscatori, 'Ideological Politics in Sa'udi Arabia', in James Piscatori (ed.), *Islam in the Political Process* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 56-63. For a more comprehensive account, see Joseph Kostiner, *The Making of Saudi Arabia, 1916-1936: From Chieftaincy to Monarchical State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

<sup>21</sup> Joseph Nevo, 'Religion and National Identity in Saudi Arabia', *Middle Eastern Studies* 34: 3 (1998), p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> Concerning the politics of pan-Islam, see Jacob M. Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

Nasser. This policy brought the Kingdom into the Western bloc led by the United States, which was engaged in a Cold War with the Soviet Union-led communist bloc.<sup>23</sup> In 1957, Saudi Arabia sponsored the Organization of Islamic Conference, whose purpose was to formulate the foreign policy of the Muslim world. In addition, in 1962, it set up the Rābiṭat al-‘Ālam al-Islāmī (the Muslim World League, RAI), which was responsible for the institutionalization of Saudi influence in cultural and religious activities all over the Muslim world.<sup>24</sup>

The rise of the Rābiṭat has contributed a great deal to the further spread of Saudi Arabian influence, which has steadily gained momentum since the beginning of the 1970s. This is related to the success of Saudi Arabia in gaining an increasingly crucial position in the Muslim world, particularly in Middle East, as a result of the defeat of Muslim countries in the 1967 Arab-Israel War.<sup>25</sup> This position became more crucial after world oil prices skyrocketed, which provided considerable economic benefits for the Kingdom.<sup>26</sup> To spread its influence, Saudi Arabia urged the Rābiṭat to take part as its philanthropic agent in the liberal distribution of money for the construction of mosques, Islamic schools and social facilities, as well as to fund *da‘wa* activities for Islamic organizations all over the world.<sup>27</sup>

In tandem with the growth in Saudi Arabian influence, the Muslim world has witnessed the currents of Islamic resurgence marked by the proliferation of Islamist ideas developed by Sayyid Quṭb (1906-1966) and Abul A‘la al-Mawdudi (1903-1979), ideologues of the Ikhwān al-Muslimīn and the Jama‘at-i Islami, respectively. The ideological vacuum caused by the perceived failure of nationalist regimes following defeat in the 1967 war boosted the popularity of their notions. Alongside the slogan of ‘Islam is the solution’, the concept of *jāhiliyya*, introduced by Quṭb, quickly gained wide currency. This concept describes the situation of the Muslim world under the nationalist regimes as being in a state of ignorance and barbarism, and this undoubtedly provoked the consciousness of Islamists to resist the established order and devise actions that were aimed to overturn and transform it.<sup>28</sup>

Saudi Arabia played an important role in the consolidation of Islamist ideology. In the context of the fight against Nasser’s Socialist Nationalism, the Kingdom provided a haven for Egyptian Ikhwān refugees who had escaped

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<sup>23</sup> Gilles Kepel, *Jihad, the Trail of Political Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), p. 46.

<sup>24</sup> On these two organizations, see Saad S. Khan, *Reasserting International Islam: A Focus on the Organization of the Islamic Conference and Other Islamic Institutions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); see also Kepel (2002), pp. 72-5.

<sup>25</sup> Voll (1994), pp. 295-6; Kepel (2002), p. 69.

<sup>26</sup> Cary Fraser, ‘In Defense of Allah’s Realm: Religion and Statecraft in Saudi Foreign Policy Strategy,’ in Susanne Hoeber Rudolph and James Piscatori (eds.), *Transnational Religion and Fading States* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1997), p. 222.

<sup>27</sup> Reinhard Schulze, *Islamischer Internationalismus in 20. Jahrhundert* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 215-216; see also Kepel (2002), p. 72.

<sup>28</sup> Ayubi (1991), p. 131.

arrest following Qutb's execution in 1966. From Arabian soil, Islamist ideas were spread throughout the world. Consonant with its opposition to the revolutionary and anti-imperialist orientation of the Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, Saudi Arabia has favoured the non-revolutionary wing of this organization led by Hasan al-Hudaybi and 'Umar al-Talmasani. Both have rejected the *takfīr* doctrine (excommunicating the sovereign considered apostate) propounded by Qutb and opted to pursue Islamization from below rather than embrace the revolutionary strategy of taking over power.<sup>29</sup> In addition, it has forged a close relationship with the Jama'at-i Islami, which has likewise rejected the revolutionary mode of politics while criticizing Western democracy.<sup>30</sup>

The role of Saudi Arabia in global politics faced a serious challenge when the Iranian Revolution erupted in 1979 and brought Ayatollah Khomeini to power. The success of this revolution provided a model, indeed, a veritable blueprint, for the establishment of an Islamic state that had long been dreamed of by Islamists all over the world.<sup>31</sup> Saudi Arabia was haunted by the speculation that such a revolution would possibly wipe out its own monarchy. This anxiety was to some extent justified when the Kingdom witnessed the seizure of the Grand Mosque of Mecca by a group of people led by Juhaymān al-'Utaiby in November 1979, which was followed by a series of Shi'ite demonstrations.<sup>32</sup> The challenge posed by the Iranian Revolution became more apparent when Khomeini proposed that Mecca and Medina be granted international status.<sup>33</sup> Saudi Arabia tried hard to limit the devastating effects of the revolution. At the domestic level it sought to prove its commitment to Islam by imposing a stricter enforcement of religious laws. At the international level it intensified the spread of Wahhabism, whose ideological elements contain anti-Shi'ite sentiments.<sup>34</sup>

The intensification of Wahhabi influence all over the world, which also means the expansion of non-revolutionary Islamic activism, can therefore be seen as a direct reaction to the success of the Iranian Revolution. This revolution did indeed awaken ruling regimes in the Muslim world to the threat of revolutionary Islamic activism that was developing within their respective territorial borders. Consequently, activists in Islamic political movements were

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<sup>29</sup> For these developments, see Gilles Kepel, *Prophet and Pharaoh: Muslim Extremism in Egypt*, trans. Jon Rothschild (London: Cornell University Press, 1985).

<sup>30</sup> S.V.R. Nasr, 'Islamic Opposition in the Political Process: Lessons from Pakistan', in John L. Esposito (ed.), *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism or Reform* (Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997), p. 137.

<sup>31</sup> For a further account on this revolution, see Michael J. Fischer, *From Religious Dispute to Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980). For a comparison see Nikki R. Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

<sup>32</sup> Regarding opposition movements in Saudi Arabia, see Mamoun Fandy, *Saudi Arabia and the Politics of Dissents* (London: McMillan, 1999).

<sup>33</sup> On the contestation between Iran and Saudi in post-Khomeini revolution, see Fraser (1997), pp. 226-234.

<sup>34</sup> See Stephen Schwartz, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror* (New York: Doubleday, 2002), pp. 148-49.

subjected to state repression and coercion used as weapons by respective regimes and this situation engendered frustration among the activists. Saudi Arabia utilized the strictures on the domain of Islamic political activism arising from this changing political realm as a space to further spread Wahhabism.

***Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII)***

The inflow of Saudi Arabian influence has come to Indonesia mainly through Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (Indonesian Council for Islamic Propagation, DDII), a *da'wa* organization set up by Muhammad Natsir and other former Masyumi leaders in 1967. The catalysts for the establishment of this organization were the various political impasses checkmating the former Masyumi leaders, particularly in relation to their demands for the rehabilitation of the Masyumi and the implementation of the Jakarta Charter. Soeharto, who came to power in place of Soekarno in 1966 following the alleged abortive coup of the Indonesian Communist Party, rejected the demands and resolutely implemented a strategy of development and modernization, and, consequently, preferred not to involve religion. This rejection marked the beginning of an era of marginalization of Muslim politics by Soeharto, reinforcing the policies of the preceding Soekarno regime.

It can be plausibly inferred that the decision of the former Masyumi leaders to establish DDII was a strategic choice to extricate themselves from the political impasse and, at the same time, avoid Soeharto's pressure.<sup>35</sup> DDII was initially concerned with the publication of a series of sermons and religious homilies. To negotiate smoothly with the Soeharto regime, which remained suspicious of it, DDII adopted various strategies. One was to mobilize religious preachers all over Indonesia to hear briefings by government officials about Soeharto's policies.<sup>36</sup> More important, DDII immediately associated itself with Saudi Arabia, which was engaged in a persistent battle against the remaining forces of Nasser's Socialist Nationalism. From its inception, it became the Indonesian representative of the Rābiṭat.<sup>37</sup> This linkage reinforced the very existence of DDII in the eyes of Soeharto, who was trying equally hard to eradicate the remaining forces of alleged communists. In the context of its campaign against communism, the New Order encouraged religious observance by requiring students at all levels of education to take courses in religious

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<sup>35</sup> In relation to the establishment of this organization, Natsir has said, 'Previously we carried out *da'wa* through politics but now we run politics through *da'wa*'. See Muhammad Natsir, *Politik Melalui Jalur Dakwah* (Jakarta: Abadi, 1998), p. 22.

<sup>36</sup> Lukman Hakiem and Tamsil Linrung (eds.), *Menunaikan Panggilan Risalah: Dokumentasi Perjalanan 30 Tahun Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia* (Jakarta: DDII, , 1997), pp. 18-21.

<sup>37</sup> Schulze (1990), p. 260.

instruction. Paradoxically, while encouraging the promotion of personal piety, the New Order sought to increase its control of Islamic political expression.<sup>38</sup>

Having been endorsed in its position, DDII began to take on sensitive issues. Since the beginning of the 1970s, it has demonstrated its concern that Christianization is threatening the existence of Islam and the Muslim *umma* in Indonesia. The straw that broke the camels' back was the phenomenon of mass conversion to Christianity by former communists who were pursued by the military joining forces with activists from Muslim organizations. Missionary organizations, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, opened their doors for these political refugees.<sup>39</sup> Speculations then arose in DDII circles about the threat of the Christian domination of Indonesian politics. DDII believed that Ali Moertopo, the most trusted advisor of Soeharto who was often claimed to be the 'architect' of the New Order, worked hand-in-glove with a group of Chinese Roman Catholic political activists and intellectuals assembled in the Center of Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) to promote Christians to prominent positions in the military and civilian bureaucracy.<sup>40</sup>

Following the eruption of the global Islamic resurgence, DDII sought to popularize Islamist themes. Through the network of Muslim preachers and mosques, it spread the ideas of Ikhwān al-Muslimīn and Jama'at-i Islami, represented by the writings of such influential Islamist ideologues as Ḥasan al-Banna, Sayyid Quṭb, Sayyid Hawwā, Mustafā al-Sibā'ī and Abul A'la al-Mawdudi. This propagation partly inspired the birth of a younger generation of radicalized militants unwilling to compromise with the state authority. Fuelled by the spirit of the global Islamic resurgence, DDII gradually dared to openly criticize the policies of the Soeharto regime, particularly through the pages of its daily, *Abadi*. Nevertheless, its ambition to enter the political arena was soon countered by an increasingly repressive policy pursued by Soeharto, congruent with New Order enmity towards political Islam. The organization felt its impact directly when *Abadi* was banned in 1974.

After the 1971 general election that gave an absolute victory to the ruling faction Golongan Karya (Functionalist Group, Golkar), Soeharto explicitly intensified the marginalization of political Islam by implementing the 'parties fusion' policy.<sup>41</sup> This policy obliged all Muslim parties to be fused into one, the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party, PPP), just

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<sup>38</sup> Ruth McVey, 'Faith as the Outsider: Islam in Indonesian Politics', in James P. Piscatori, *Islam in the Political Process* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 199-225.

<sup>39</sup> Robert W. Hefner, 'Print Islam: Mass Media and Ideological Rivalries among Indonesian Muslims', *Indonesia*, 64 (October 1997), pp. 83-4.

<sup>40</sup> Hamish McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia* (Blackburn: Fontana/Collins, 1980), pp. 101-2.

<sup>41</sup> For a further account on the developments around this issue, see Abdul Aziz Thaba, *Islam dan Negara dalam Politik Order Baru* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1996). See also Martin van Bruinessen, 'Islamic State or State Islam? Fifty Years of State-Islam Relations in Indonesia', in Ingrid Wessel (ed.), *Indonesien Am Ende Des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Abera, 1996), pp. 19-34.

as the nationalist and Christian parties were fused into the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesian Democratic Party, PDI). To shore up this policy, Soeharto popularized development jargon and imposed the Pancasila. Any aspirations that challenged the Pancasila could be easily labelled either 'left extreme' or 'right extreme', for which the Anti-Subversive Act inherited from Soekarno was the chief government weapon. Through the indoctrination programme called the *Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila* (Guide to Comprehension and Practice of the Pancasila, P4), among other instruments, the Pancasila was systematically embedded in the minds of people. The spread of the Pancasila doctrine served as an isolating factor and constant possibility of surveillance, in Foucaultian terms, replacing the control of physical domination over the body.<sup>42</sup>

Resistance to this discouraging and distressing situation flared in the form of uprisings. A group called *Komando Jihad* (Jihad Command) led by Ismail Pranoto perpetrated terrorist acts; another led by Abdul Qadir Djaelani and calling itself 'Pola Perjuangan Revolusioner Islam' (the Model of Revolutionary Islamic Struggle) stormed the building of the People Consultative Council's Assembly. No less important was a series of murders and robberies committed by a group led by M. Warman (Warman terrors), and the attacks of an Imran M. Zein-led group on a number of government facilities that culminated in the hijacking of a Garuda Indonesia aeroplane on 28 March 1981. Led by West Javanese *Darul Islam* veterans who had initially been employed by Moertopo's intelligence operators to destroy communism, these groups acted for a common cause, namely, to revolt against Soeharto and establish an Islamic state.<sup>43</sup> Yet Soeharto remained undeterred and consistently wiped them out by force. Following the Tanjung Priok affair, which killed hundreds of people demonstrating to demand the release of their colleagues, Soeharto even applied the Mass Organization and Political Bill, which required all mass organizations and political parties to accept the Pancasila as the *asas tunggal* (the sole foundation) in 1985, thus forbidding Islam from being used as the basis for any organization.<sup>44</sup>

Soeharto's steadfast determination to marginalize Muslim politics and wipe out its radical expressions encouraged DDII to reaffirm its position as an exclusively *da'wa* movement. The change in the political map in the Middle East brought about by the success of the Iranian Revolution had a profound impact on the *da'wa* activities of DDII. As the primary agent of the campaign against Shi'ites in Indonesia,<sup>45</sup> it received more money from Saudi Arabia

<sup>42</sup> Micheal Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

<sup>43</sup> Santosa (1996), pp. 434-50. See also Martin van Bruinessen, 'Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia', *South East Asian Research*, 10: 2 (2002), pp. 117-54.

<sup>44</sup> On the dynamics behind the acceptance of Muslims on the Pancasila, see Faisal Ismail, *Islam, Politics and Ideology in Indonesia: a Study of the Process of Muslim Acceptance of the Pancasila*, PhD Dissertation (Montreal: McGill University, 1995).

<sup>45</sup> Bruinessen (1999), p. 172.

through such channels as Hai'at al-Ighātha al-Islāmiyya al-Ālamiyya (International Islamic Relief Organization, IIRO), al-Majlis al-Ālam li'l-Masājid (World Council of Mosques, WCM), al-Nadwa al-Ālamiyya li al-Shabāb al-Islāmī (World Assembly of Muslim Youth, WAMY) and Lajna Birr al-Islāmī (Committee of Islamic Charity, CIC). This considerable financial support significantly increased DDII activity in the *da'wa* and social fields, including construction of new mosques, orphanages and hospitals, the founding of Islamic schools, distribution of free copies of Qur'an and books, and preacher training. Within the framework of the Muslim preacher training project it entered into cooperation with the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (the Council of Indonesian 'Ulamā', MUI), a semi-governmental body that was in fact created by the New Order to domesticate the 'ulamā' by launching a programme of *da'i transmigrasi*, preachers to be sent to remote transmigration areas.<sup>46</sup>

In order to maintain the sustainability of its voice in the public sphere, DDII explored international Islamic issues through its mouthpiece, the monthly *Media Dakwah*.<sup>47</sup> One of the most abrasive issues was anti-Zionism, which perceives a covert conspiracy by Jews planning to rule and dominate the world through capitalism, communism, democratization, authoritarianism, revolution and economic liberalization, and to be the source of all problems afflicting the Muslim *umma*.<sup>48</sup> DDII played a role in sponsoring the translation and spreading of a number of Arabic texts that are frequently referred to as *Al-Maqā'id al-Yahūdiyya* (the Protocol of the Elders of Zion) and that provide the putative grounds for pursuing the issue.

Its control over resources led DDII to assume a central position on the map of Islamic organizations in Indonesia. In negotiations for financial support, it served as a bridge between Saudi Arabia and a number of Muslim organizations, particularly those from the modernist end of the spectrum, such as Muhammadiyah, al-Irsyad and Persis. Indeed, to receive financial support from a generous donor within the Kingdom, an *ad hoc* association needed a recommendation (*tazkiya*) from the local office of the Rābiṭat.<sup>49</sup> Saudi Arabian support seemed significant in facilitating the *da'wa* activities of these organizations, which were also forced by the situation to reaffirm their positions as exclusively *da'wa* organizations. In spite of a great doctrinal difference, the

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<sup>46</sup> Hakiem and Linrung (1997), pp. 27-28.

<sup>47</sup> Concerning this periodical, see R. William Liddle, 'Media Dakwah Scripturalism: One Form of Islamic Political Thought and Action in New Order Indonesia', in Mark R. Woodward (ed.), *Toward A New Paradigm: Recent Developments in Indonesian Islamic Thought* (Arizona: Arizona State University, 1996), pp. 323-56.

<sup>48</sup> For a further account on anti-Zionist sentiments in Indonesia, see Martin van Bruinessen, 'Yahudi sebagai Simbol dan Wacana Pemikiran Islam Indonesia Masa Kini', in Ahmad Suaedy et al. (eds.), *Spiritualitas Baru: Agama dan Aspirasi Rakyat* (Yogyakarta: DIAN/Interfidei, 1994), pp. 253-268. See also James T. Siegel, 'Kiblat and the Mediatic Jew', *Indonesia*, 69 (April 2000), pp. 9-40.

<sup>49</sup> Kepel (2002), p. 73.

same holds true for the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama. Middle Eastern financial aid especially flooded well-known *pesantrens* attached to the organization.<sup>50</sup> In addition, DDII became an important link in the distribution of grants provided by Saudi Arabia for Indonesian youths wanting to study Islam in Middle Eastern universities. Since 1975, DDII has received twenty-five grants every year to be distributed to all Muslim organizations.<sup>51</sup>

### *Islamic Activism on the Campus*

The intensification of Islamic revitalization launched by DDII was felt most significantly on university campuses, which witnessed a rapid expansion of Islamic activism. On the basis of strategic considerations, DDII preferred university campuses as one of the most important *da'wa* targets. Muhammad Natsir has personally supported Imaduddin Abdurrachim, an activist of the Salman Mosque of the Institut Teknologi Bandung (Institute of Technology of Bandung, ITB), who has been appointed the general secretary of the Kuwait-based International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations (IIFSO), to develop the programme of the *Latihan Mujahid Dakwah* (Training of *Da'wa* Fighters), whose aim was to train new cadres among university students prepared to undertake *da'wa* activities.<sup>52</sup> This programme has provided a model for Islamic activism on the campus and facilitated the popularity of a variety of programmes for the study of Islam organized by religious activity units, such as *Mentoring Islam* (Islamic Courses) and *Studi Islam Terpadu* (Integrated Study of Islam).

To accelerate the spread of its influence, DDII sponsored projects for building mosques and Islamic centres in areas around twelve different universities, including the University of Indonesia in Jakarta, the Andalas University in Padang, the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, the Eleventh March State University in Solo and the Diponegoro University in Semarang. These projects were known as 'Bina Masjid Kampus'.<sup>53</sup> In these Islamic centres the DDII cadres, who were usually Middle Eastern graduates, offered Islamic training programmes to university students and introduced them to the thinking of the main Islamist ideologues.

<sup>50</sup> Interview with K.H. Irfan Zidni, Jakarta, July 2003.

<sup>51</sup> Interview with Misbach Malim, the head of secretariat bureau of DDII, February 2003.

<sup>52</sup> On the role played by Imaduddin Abdurrachim in the proliferation of *halqas* and his closeness with Natsir, see Asna Husin, *Philosophical and Sociological Aspects of Da'wah: A Study of Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia*, PhD Dissertation (Columbia: Columbia University, 1988), p. 168. Concerning this training, see 'Gerakan Kaum Muda Islam Mesjid Salman', in Abdul Aziz, Imam Tholikhah, Soetarman (eds.), *Gerakan Islam Kontemporer di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1989), pp. 207-50.

<sup>53</sup> A complete list of the mosques and Islamic centers built by DDII in and around university campuses is available in Hakiem and Linrung (1997), p. 31; see also Husin (1998), pp. 171-2.

The implementation of a restrictive policy of the New Order in 1978, which prohibited university students from playing an active part in politics, known as Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus/Badan Koordinasi Kampus (Normalization of Campus Policy-Campus Coordination Board, NKK-BKK), which was later strengthened by the enforcement of the *asas tunggal*, contributed to the acceleration of the spread of Islamic activism on the campus. As one of the remarkable consequences of this policy, student movements came to a standstill in organizing activities and voicing their political demands. Many of their proposed conferences and training programmes were refused permits by local police and military authorities. If any, their activities were no longer attractive to most students either because of strict censorship by the university authorities or self-censorship.<sup>54</sup>

The policy embittered all university student organizations. The Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (Muslim Student Association, HMI), the largest and oldest Muslim university student organization, was no exception. Although this organization supported New Order developmentalism, for which Nurcholis Madjid, its most prominent leader in the 1970s, introduced the idea of secularization,<sup>55</sup> many of its members grew highly frustrated by the state's repression of campus activism. Their frustration increased when they saw how HMI's Malaysian counterpart, the Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (Islamic Youth Movement of Malaysia, ABIM), was enjoying popular support in its advocacy of Islam as a comprehensive way of life.<sup>56</sup> Eventually, fragmentation occurred, generating a new HMI called the Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam-Majelis Penyelamat Organisasi (Muslim Student Association-the Assembly of the Saviour of the Organization, HMI-MPO).<sup>57</sup> This organization took the same position as several other Muslim student organizations, such as the Masyumi-affiliated Pelajar Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Students, PII), which fiercely rejected the Pancasila.

Soeharto's depoliticization of university campuses stimulated growing numbers of students to turn toward Islamic activism. This trend reached its pinnacle following the Iranian Revolution and the Saudi reaction to it. As a result, university campuses witnessed an Islamic resurgence marked by an increase in students' observation of their Islamic obligations, in their wearing of

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<sup>54</sup> For a detailed discussion, see Fauzie Ridjal and M. Rusli Karim (eds.), *Dinamika Budaya dan Politik dalam Pembangunan* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1991).

<sup>55</sup> On Nurcholis Madjid's notions on secularization, see M. Kamal Hassan, *Contemporary Muslim Religio-Political Thought in Indonesia: The Response to 'New Order Modernization'*, PhD Dissertation, (Columbia: Columbia University, 1975), pp. 137-77.

<sup>56</sup> For a comparative study about these two movements, see M. Kamal Hassan, 'The Response of Muslim Youth Organizations to Political Change: HMI in Indonesia and ABIM in Malaysia', in R. William Roff (ed.), *Islam and the Political Economy of Meaning: Comparative Studies of Muslim Discourse* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 180-96.

<sup>57</sup> Concerning the rise of this new HMI, see M. Rusli Karim, *HMI MPO: Dalam Kemelut Modernisasi Politik di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1997), pp. 127-135.

the *jilbab*, and in the spread of Islamist books. Alongside the translations of the books by the Islamist theoreticians, those by Shi'ite ideologues, including Ayatollah Khomeini, Murthadha Muthahhari, and Ali Shariati, were circulated widely among university students. The rise of Islamic publishing houses, such as Gema Insani Press, Pustaka Mantiq, Hasanah Ilmu, Al-Kautsar, Risalah Gusti, Pustaka al-Ummah, Asasuddin Press and Tandhim Press, which were concerned with the publication and distribution of such books, accelerated the spread of their ideas. This situation undoubtedly provided a precondition for the growth of transnational Islamic movements, such as Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, Ḥizb al-Taḥrīr and Tablighi Jama'at (*Da'wa Society*).

Ikhwān al-Muslimīn was initially founded under the name *Harakah Tarbiyah*, meaning 'the movement for education', and developed under the guidance of prominent figures, some of whom graduated from al-Azhar and other Middle Eastern universities. Among them were Abu Ridho or Abdi Sumaiti and Rahmat Abdullah.<sup>58</sup> The movement grew by recruiting through a system of secret cells. Under this system, *halqas* and *dauras* were organized in members' houses and other closed venues, called *usrahs*. Every cell consisted of between ten to twenty members under the leadership of a *murabbi*, literally meaning 'instructor'.<sup>59</sup> Because of its secret nature, all cell members were encouraged to be active in advertising their main readers, such as *Ma'ālim fī'l-Ṭāriq* (Signposts on the Road) by Quṭb, to potential followers by word of mouth. Those interested were invited to attend the *halqas* and *dauras*. Once they decided to be members, they too were encouraged to approach potential followers and invite them to attend their activities. In a relatively short time, the movement was present in nearly all Indonesian universities and emerged as the strongest force of Islamic activism on the campus. Its widespread influence, in retrospect, provided the foundation for the Partai Keadilan (Justice Party), formed soon after the collapse of the New Order regime and later transformed into the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperity and Justice Party), which won significant votes in the 2004 general elections.<sup>60</sup>

The Ḥizb al-Taḥrīr movement, established by Taqiy al-Dīn al-Nabhānī in Palestine in 1953 and introduced to Indonesia by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-

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<sup>58</sup> See Abdul Aziz, 'Meraih Kesempatan Dalam Situasi Mengambang: Studi Kasus Kelompok Keagamaan Mahasiswa Universitas Indonesia', *Penamas: Jurnal Penelitian Agama dan Masyarakat*, 20: 7 (1995), pp. 7-10. On the role of Rahmat Abdullah and Abu Ridho in this movement, see 'Ikhwanul Muslimin: Inspirasi Gerakan Tarbiyah', *Suara Hidayatullah*, August 2001.

<sup>59</sup> Aziz (1995), pp. 7-8. See also Ali Said Damanik, *Fenomena Partai Keadilan: Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Teraju, 2002), pp. 88-93.

<sup>60</sup> On this party see Mathias Diederich, 'A Closer Look at *Dakwah* and Politics in Indonesia: The Partai Keadilan: Some Insights into its History and an Analysis of its Programs and Statutes', *Archipel* 64 (2002); Damanik (2002); and Elizabeth Fuller Collins, 'Islam is the Solution, *Dakwah* and Democracy in Indonesia', *Kultur, the Indonesian Journal for Muslim Cultures*, 3: 1 (2003), pp. 143-82.

Baghdādī, an activist from Australia, followed the initiative of Ikhwān al-Muslimīn on university campuses.<sup>61</sup> Also like Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, it used secret cells. But, in terms of ideology, Ḥizb al-Taḥrīr was more radical than Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, as it vigorously espoused the creation of a *khilāfa islāmiyya*, 'Islamic Caliphate'. To achieve this aim, it did not hesitate to use violent means. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Baghdādī initiated his efforts to propagate this movement when he was invited by Abdullah Nuh to his Pesantren Al-Ghazali, in Bogor, West Java. From this town he began promoting the ideologies of Ḥizb al-Taḥrīr by organizing *halqas* in al-Ghifari mosque located in the biggest university in Bogor, the Institut Pertanian Bogor (Institute for Agriculture of Bogor, IPB) and in a private university located in the same city, Universitas Ibnu Khaldun (Ibnu Khaldun University). The movement soon attracted a significant number of activists in the *Lembaga Dakwah Kampus* (University *Da'wa* Organization) of both universities. Through the *Lembaga Dakwah Kampus*, it spread to other universities, including Padjadjaran University in Bandung, Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Airlangga University in Surabaya, Brawijaya University in Malang and Hasanuddin University in Makassar.<sup>62</sup> Later, it openly proclaimed its existence in the post-New Order Indonesian public sphere by calling itself Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. But it viewed the existing political system as illegitimate and refused to participate in the general elections.

Tablighi Jama'at, originally an Indian Islamic movement, joined the competition to attract followers at universities. Established in the 1930s by Maulana Muhammad Ilyas al-Kandahlawi, it maintained a loose organizational structure and functioned as a community based on personal relationships.<sup>63</sup> Tablighi Jama'at had established itself in Indonesia by the 1970s, but only in the 1980s did it venture onto university campuses. Centred in an old mosque in Kebon Jeruk Jakarta, it expanded to various cities outside Jakarta. Its followers have been active in conducting *khurūj*, travelling around to advocate *da'wa* causes. In contrast to Ikhwān al-Muslimīn and Ḥizb al-Taḥrīr, this movement was not interested in politics, or at least not in any direct effort to seize political power, rather concentrating on individual reform and renewal by preaching

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<sup>61</sup> For an introduction to this movement, see D. Commins, 'Taqiy al-Din al-Nabhani and the Islamic Liberation Party', *The Muslim World Journal*, 81 (1991), pp. 194-211; S. Taji-Farouki, *A Fundamental Quest: Hizb al-Tahrir and the Search for the Islamic Caliphate* (London: Grey Seal, 1996).

<sup>62</sup> On the spread of this movement, see Rusydi Zakaria, 'Studi Awal tentang Kelompok-kelompok Keagamaan di Kampus Universitas Pajajaran', *Penamas: Jurnal Penelitian Agama dan Masyarakat*, 20: 7 (1995), pp. 17-8.

<sup>63</sup> Concerning this movement and its transnational network, see a number of articles compiled in Muhammad Khalid Masud (ed.), *Travellers in Faith: Studies of the Tablighi Jama'at as a Transnational Islamic Movement for Faith Renewal* (Leiden, Boston, Koln: Brill, 2000). See also Yoginder Singh Sikand, *The Origins and Development of the Tablighi Jama'at (1920-2000): a Cross-Country Comparative Study* (London: Orient Longman, 2002).

door-to-door and urging Muslims to perform their religious duties and rituals properly. Tablighi Jama'at now has a presence in almost all the afore-mentioned universities.<sup>64</sup>

These transnational movements had to compete with small underground quietist *usrah* groups known as a whole as the NII movement, as we have noted earlier. Overall, the aim of the NII movement has been synonymous with the *Darul Islam* aspiration. Specifically, it was aimed at creating an Islamic state with a pre-eminently revolutionary and non-compromising political stance by first establishing an Islamic community or *jama'ah islamiyah*. The activities of this movement generally followed a similar pattern to those of the other movements, particularly Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, but they were organized more secretly and followed the direction of particular *amirs*, 'leaders'. This movement likewise called the activities in its secret cells '*Tarbiyah Islamiyah*'.<sup>65</sup>

Initially, the NII movement developed among a small group of students in Yogyakarta. Irfan S. Awwas, the leader of the Badan Koordinasi Pemuda Masjid (Coordinating Board of Mosque Youth, BKPM), played an important role in accelerating the spread of this movement. He disseminated the movement's ideas by publishing the semi-clandestine magazine *Arrisalah*.<sup>66</sup> One of the most important links in the NII movement was the Pesantren Ngruki established by Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Despite the fact that both were relative newcomers with certain ties to DDII, they emerged as the movement's main ideologues through manuals teaching the inculcation of a spirit to overthrow the secular government and replace it with an Islamic state. As the manuals demonstrated, these two leaders were strongly influenced by Ikhwān al-Muslimīn thought. Because of their influential leadership in the movement, both were pursued by the police and consequently forced to flee to Malaysia in 1985. Without them, *usrah* groups continued to attract adherents and established footholds in cities in Java, including Karanganyar, Boyolali, Klaten, Yogyakarta, Temanggung, Brebes, Cirebon, Bandung and Jakarta.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> As for the growth of this movement among university students, see Marzani Anwar, 'Gerakan Jama'ah Tabligh dalam Kehidupan Mahasiswa Yogyakarta', *Penamas: Jurnal Penelitian Agama dan Masyarakat*, 20: 7 (1995), pp. 29-39. See also other articles in the same volume, such as Haidhor Ali Ahmad, 'Kelompok-kelompok Keagamaan di Dalam dan Sekitar Kampus ITS', pp. 44-46, and Huda Ali, 'Kehidupan Beragama dan kelompok-kelompok Keagamaan di Kampus Unibraw, Malang', pp. 62-64.

<sup>65</sup> One of the main references for the NII members in their secret cells is Imaduddin al-Mustaqim, *Risalah Tarbiyah Islamiyah: Menuju Generasi yang Diridhoi Allah (...)*.

<sup>66</sup> For a more detailed account on the NII movement, see Santosa (1997), pp. 451-4. See also Bruinessen (2002), and Sidney Jones, *Al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia: The Case of the 'Ngruki Network' in Indonesia*, Asia Report 42 (Jakarta/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2002).

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

### ***Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Bahasa Arab (LIPIA)***

Conditions created by DDII provided a foundation on which Saudi Arabia could further develop its Wahhabi influence. Alarmed by the widespread impact of the Iranian Revolution, the Kingdom set up Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Bahasa Arab (Institute of the Study of Islam and Arabic, LIPIA) in Jakarta in 1980. It was initially established by Saudi Decree No. 5/N/26710 as Lembaga Pengajaran Bahasa Arab (Institute of Arabic Teaching, LPBA). Its first location was at Jl. Raden Saleh, Central Jakarta, before moving to Jl. Salemba Raya, also in Central Jakarta, in 1986. Its current address is at Jl. Buncit Raya, South Jakarta.<sup>68</sup>

To pave the way for the establishment of LIPIA, the then Saudi Arabian Ambassador to Indonesia, Bakr ‘Abbās Khamīs, played an enormously important role in initiating diplomatic steps with the Indonesian government. The institute was the first foreign educational institution in Indonesia and began its operations on 12 May 1981. In the first three years it was concerned with teaching the Arabic language to candidates recruited by DDII to study in Saudi Arabia. They were generally talented preachers who had completed their task of conducting *da‘wa* activities in remote areas within the framework of the transmigration Muslim preachers programme.<sup>69</sup> LIPIA offered regular programmes of Arabic courses, including a one-year, non-intensive course and a two-year pre-university course.

Broadening of its programmes, LIPIA recruited talented students from numerous famous modernist and traditionalist *pesantrens*, such as the Pesantren Gontor Ponorogo, the Pesantren Manbaul Ulum Jombang, the Pesantren Al-Amien Madura and the Pesantren Darut Dakwah wal Irsyad, South Sulawesi.<sup>70</sup> It provided full scholarships to students attending the pre-university intensive Arabic course. In addition to tuition fees, they received an allowance, accommodation facilities and books. LIPIA eventually opened undergraduate programmes in Islamic law and first offered a bachelor’s degree in 1986. In this programme, students study of a variety of Islamic subjects, including Qur’anic Exegesis, Islamic Theology, Traditions, Islamic Jurisprudences, Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence, Maxims of Islamic Jurisprudence, Islamic History and Arabic. Several classical textbooks on Islamic doctrine are used, including *Fath al-Qadīr*, *Subul al-Salām*, *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid* and *Ibn Qudāma*, in addition to modern ones, such as *Al-Qaul al-Mufīd ‘alā Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, *Al-Wajīz fī ‘Īdāh*

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<sup>68</sup> Lembaga Pengajaran Bahasa Arab, *Prospektus Lembaga Pengajaran Bahasa Arab As-Su’udi di Indonesia* (Jakarta: LPBA, 1985), p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> Interview with Misbach Malim, Jakarta, 1 February 2003.

<sup>70</sup> Interview with Muhammad Zaini, LIPIA staff member of student administration, Jakarta, 25 March 2003. This information is based on the profile of the institute.

*al-Qawā'id* and *Muzakkarat al-Thaqāfat al-Islāmiyya*.<sup>71</sup> Since the opening of this programme, the name LIPIA has officially replaced LPBA.

LIPIA is directly associated with the Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd Islamic University of Riyad and directed by a Saudi Arabian responsible for academic and administrative affairs under the direct supervision of Saudi Arabian Embassy in Jakarta.<sup>72</sup> The first director was 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Abd Allāh al-'Amr, a student of Bin Bāz. As the institution administratively responsible for LIPIA, the university selects and recruits lecturers from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Sudan, Somalia and Indonesia. They work with the university on a contract basis. A few additional teaching staff were personally recruited by the director, such as 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Baghdādī, the main propagator of the Ḥizb al-Tahrīr, who was recruited by 'Abd 'Azīz 'Abd Allāh al-'Amr.<sup>73</sup>

Because of the important position of LIPIA in the eyes of Saudi Arabia, a number of high functionaries of the Kingdom have visited this institute: Prince Sulṭān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, Prince Sa'ūd al-Fayṣal, Prince Sulṭān ibn Salmān ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, Prince Turkī al-Fayṣal, Khalīd bin Muḥammad al-Anqarī, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, Usama Fayṣal, 'Abd Allāh al-Hijji, 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ al-'Ubayd and Ibrahīm al-Akhdār.<sup>74</sup> Because of the Kingdom's considerable support, LIPIA extended its influence in a relatively short time. LIPIA printed books on Wahhabite doctrines and al-Qur'an editions distributed free of charge to hundreds of Islamic educational institutions and religious organizations. Among the books are *Al-'Ubudiyya* and *Al-'Aqīda al-Wāsiṭiyya* by Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya, *'Aqīda Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a* by Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-'Uthaymīn, *Buṭlān 'Aqā'id al-Shī'a* by 'Abd al-Sattār al-Tunsawī, *Al-Khuttut al-'Ārida li al-Shī'a al-Ithnā 'Ashiriyya* by Muḥib al-Dīn al-Khātīb and *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb.<sup>75</sup> It has also nurtured *da'wa* activities by organizing the *Musābaqat al-Tilāwat al-Qur'an* (the Contest of Reciting the Qur'an), opening *halqas* and *dauras* and running *da'wa* trainings in cooperation with various Islamic organizations.

Although the exact extent of its influence cannot be assessed, many aspects of Wahhabite doctrine have been espoused by students. Their acquaintance with Wahhabite doctrine was facilitated more thoroughly by various *halqas* and *dauras* in which LIPIA lecturers had the opportunity to give

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<sup>71</sup> Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Arab, *Bayān bi al-Kutub wa al-Muzakkarat al-Muqarrarat li Qism al-Sharī'a* (Jakarta: LIPIA, 2003).

<sup>72</sup> Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Arab, *Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Arab di Indonesia Pada Tahun Kelima Belas Hijriah* (Jakarta: LIPIA, 1995), pp. 3-5.

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Muhammad Yusuf Harun, teaching staff of the LIPIA, Jakarta, 19 March 2003.

<sup>74</sup> Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Arab, *Warta Tahunan: Tahun Akademik 1418-1419 H* (Jakarta: LIPIA, 1999), p. 25.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-5.

lectures.<sup>76</sup> But it should be noted that the thoughts of the main Islamist ideologues, such as Banna, Quṭb and Mawdudi, also found fertile soil in the institute. In retrospect, it is no surprise that the institute generated many activists of the Partai Keadilan [Sejahtera].

In an effort to intensify its campaign for Wahhabism, LIPIA introduced the programme of sending talented students to study in Saudi Arabia, particularly at the Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa‘ūd Islamic University and the Medina Islamic University. Through this programme, hundreds of its graduates were able to continue their studies in the Kingdom. This opportunity became a major attraction of LIPIA. For many Indonesian Muslims studying Islam in Saudi Arabia remains a great source of pride. For centuries Saudi Arabia had been the main destination of Indonesian students wanting to seek religious knowledge in the Middle East. They studied in *halqas* conducted by well-known religious scholars in the Masjīd al-Ḥarām in Mecca and the Masjīd al-Nabawī in Medina.<sup>77</sup>

Consonant with the growth of the Salafism of Muḥammad ‘Abduh and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, however, the central position of Saudi Arabia as a favourite place to study was gradually replaced by al-Azhar University in Cairo. It took over the task of producing religious scholars who played an active role in the dissemination of modernist notions in Indonesia. Cairo’s position as the centre of religious authority remained intact for decades.<sup>78</sup> But it began to lose its attraction in the 1970s, ceding its position to the growing popularity of Saudi Arabian universities. The presence of LIPIA undoubtedly boosted Saudi Arabian efforts to revive its central position in the eyes of Indonesian Muslims and this is confirmed by the fact that the number of Indonesians studying in Saudi Arabian universities grew significantly from year to year.

To support its claim of being the ‘protector of the Muslim *umma*’, Saudi Arabia has always supported calls for jihad throughout the Muslim world. The first such instance occurred when the Afghan War broke out in the 1980s. At that time, Saudi Arabia, in collaboration with Ikhwān al-Muslimīn and other

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<sup>76</sup> According to Salim Segaf al-Jufri, teaching staff of LIPIA, students were not steered to believe in Wahhabite doctrines. Those who had the Nahdhatul Ulama background, for instance, did not generally change in their religious belief and remained with their NU-ness. The then director of the LIPIA prohibited lecturers to question the difference of students’ religious beliefs. Interview with Salim Segaf al-Jufri, 18 March 2003. This information is confirmed by Badruddin Busra, a LIPIA graduate. Interview with Badruddin Busra, Jakarta, 25 March 2003.

<sup>77</sup> See Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern ‘Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004). For the dynamics around the life of Indonesian students in Mecca in the nineteenth century, see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: Daily Life, Customs, and Learning of the Moslems of the East-India-Archipelago* (Leiden: Brill, 1970).

<sup>78</sup> On al-Azhar as the centre of religious learning for Indonesians, see Mona Abaza, *Indonesian Students in Cairo: Islamic Education, Perceptions and Exchanges* (Paris: Association Archipel, 1994).

Arab Islamist organizations, mobilized jihad volunteers from Arab and other Muslim countries.<sup>79</sup> Thousands of volunteers were thereby able to take part in jihad. They were consolidated in the offices of the Rābiṭat and Ikhwān al-Muslimīn in Peshawar, which had become a centre for recruitment, training and coordination of volunteers, and later developed into the Maktab al-Khidmat li'l-Mujāhidīn al-'Arab (Service Bureau of Arab *Mujāhids*) run by 'Abd Allāh 'Azzām and now by the infamous Osama bin Lāden.<sup>80</sup> Almost all Afghan *mujahidin* factions, including the Hizb-e-Islami, the Jama'at-e-Islami, and the Jama'at al-Da'wa ila al-Qur'an wa Ahl al-Hadith, led by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, and Jamil al-Rahman respectively, enjoyed the support of the volunteers.<sup>81</sup>

The appeal for volunteers to wage jihad in Afghanistan emerged as the first serious challenge to foreign students studying in Saudi Arabia supported by grants from the Kingdom. They were required to prove their commitment to Islam. After finishing their studies many such students, among them Indonesians, decided to take part in the Afghan War. A dozen spent time in Afghanistan. Participating in the jihad there turned out to be a sort of fieldwork for them. In the Afghan battlefields they stood shoulder to shoulder with volunteer fighters from various radical organizations in the Muslim world, who found in the Afghan war an arena in which they could channel their radical spirit to defend Islam.<sup>82</sup>

### *A New Type of Middle Eastern Graduate*

The return of the LIPIA graduates who had completed their studies in Saudi Arabia and had undergone their baptism of fire in the Afghan War marked the birth of a new Wahhabi generation in Indonesia. Among them we note some famous names such as Chamsaha Sofwan or Abu Nida, Ahmad Faiz Asifuddin and Aunur Rafiq Ghufroon. They were DDII cadres who upon their return taught in *pesantrens* attached to it, including the Pesantren al-Mukmin, Ngruki, Pesantren Wathaniyah Islamiyah, Kebumen and Pesantren al-Furqan, Gresik. In contrast to traditional *pesantrens* of the Nahdlatul Ulama, these *pesantrens* are modern in character and ideologically close to Wahhabism. To some extent, they resemble the *pesantrens* developed by modernist Muslim organizations, including the Muhammadiyah, al-Irsyad and Persis, particularly in the fact that they adopt modern subjects. It should be noted, however, that the main emphasis

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<sup>79</sup> See Barnett R. Rubin, 'Arab Islamists in Afghanistan', in John L. Esposito (ed.), *Political Islam, Revolution, Radicalism, or Reform?* (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1997), p. 185.

<sup>80</sup> Concerning the history of this organization, see Gunaratna (2002), p. 18.

<sup>81</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Islam, Oil and Great Game in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), p. 132.

<sup>82</sup> Kepel (2002), pp. 138-41.

of their curriculum is on the teachings of Arabic, Islamic theology and jurisprudence.

Given their background, it is apparently inappropriate to characterize the fresh graduates as ‘lumpenintellegentia’, a term introduced by Oliver Roy (1996) in imitation of Karl Marx to describe a new generation of militants who are poorly educated and have no capacity to speak of Islam as a political project.<sup>83</sup> In fact, these graduates are well educated and enjoy a certain status as preachers capable of proper discourse. DDII prides itself on moulding religious authorities capable of speaking Arabic and reading classical and modern Arabic texts, while, in contrast to traditional ‘*ulamā*’, adopting puritanical views. As DDII cadres, they are well acquainted with the Islamist discourses of modern political Islamic movements.

Nevertheless, these fresh graduates can be distinguished from their predecessors, DDII cadres who likewise had the opportunity to complete their studies in Saudi Arabia or other Middle Eastern countries, in terms of their commitment to spread Wahhabism under the banner of the Salafi *da’wa*. They have asserted that Indonesian Muslims desperately need an understanding of true Islam as practised by the *Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ*. In the name of Islamic Reformism, they have criticized the established modernist Muslim organizations, including the Muhammadiyah, al-Irsyad and Persis, which they perceive as having lost their reformist élan by sacrificing it to a tendency towards rationalization. Instead of persistently struggling for the implementation of the principles of *tawḥīd*, they have claimed that the organizations have grown preoccupied with their own interests, like participating in politics and managing schools, orphanages and hospitals, at the expense of the main problems of the *umma*.

The environment in Saudi Arabia in the aftermath of the Grand Mosque seizure undoubtedly contributed to the birth of this new Wahhabi generation. Saudi Arabian policy to demonstrate its commitment of Islam more clearly, while suppressing radical expressions of political Islam, seemingly became a catalyst for widespread manifestations of Wahhabi resurgence, particularly among youth and university students and staff. They enthusiastically demonstrate a commitment to religious propagation and a puritanical life-style, while refraining from openly criticizing the government.<sup>84</sup> Witnessing this development directly, DDII cadres who studied in Saudi Arabia in the 1980s were seemingly obsessed with a more systematic propagation of Wahhabism. Upon their return, they were not just ready to apply their knowledge of Wahhabism, but also to mobilize people to join their organization.

It was Abu Nida who took an initiative to develop the Salafi *da’wa* movement. He was born in Lamongan, East Java in 1954. Having finished his secondary schooling at the Pendidikan Guru Agama Muhammadiyah

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<sup>83</sup> See Roy (1996), pp. 84-5.

<sup>84</sup> R. Hrair Dekmejian, *Islam in Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), pp. 139-40.

(Muhammadiyah Islamic Teacher Training School) in Karangasem, he showed interest in participating in a DDII *da'wa* training course held in Pesantren Darul Falah in Bogor, under the framework of the transmigration Muslim preachers programme. He was sent to the hinterland of West Kalimantan, and Muhammad Natsir recommended him for study in Saudi Arabia. He studied Arabic at LIPIA before going to Imām Muḥammad Ibn Sa'ūd University, sponsored by the Rābiṭat. While studying Islamic Law he worked as a staff member at the DDII branch office in Riyadh and made contacts with funding sources. Before returning home, he fought in the Afghan War, joining the Jama'at al-Da'wa ila al-Qur'an wa Ahl al-Hadith faction led by Jamil al-Rahman.<sup>85</sup>

In 1986 the fervour to conduct the *da'wa* activities had led Abu Nida to Yogyakarta after he had taught in the Pesantren al-Mukmin, Ngruki, for less than one year. Yogyakarta has a unique character. Although it is associated with a syncretistic Javanese *abangan* culture, symbolized by the existence of the Yogyakarta Court, it was the birthplace of the Muhammadiyah. From this city this largest reformist-modernist organization spread and took root all over Indonesia. In addition, the city has long been known as the main destination of students wanting to study at a university. At the beginning of every academic year, thousands of students from almost all the provinces pour into the city. Because of the influx of students from different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds, Yogyakarta has developed as a sort of cultural capital. Here, Abu Nida began to propagate Salafi *da'wa* activities, targeting university areas with the goal of attracting students.

Supported by Saefullah Mahyuddin, the then head of the DDII branch office in Yogyakarta known for his closeness to the Jama'ah Shalahuddin (Shalahuddin Community), a religious activity unit attached to the Gadjah Mada University, Abu Nida lectured at Islamic study forums organized by the community and promoted Wahhabite doctrines among students. He also participated in the *halqas* and *dauras* held by activists of the *Tarbiyah* Movement, known to be close to Ikhwān al-Muslimīn or engaged in NII activism. Working in conjunction with Abu Ridho, for instance, he organized *halqas* and *dauras* around Gadjah Mada University and created the slogan 'Aqidah Salafi, Manhaj Ikhwani', popular among activists at the end of the 1980s.<sup>86</sup> Abu Nida extended his reach to Solo, forging cooperation with NII activists, such as Muhammad Basiron, and attracted participants not only among students but also among the common people who had previously become acquainted with the activities of NII or Shi'ite-inclined NII led by M. Muzakir.

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<sup>85</sup> Interview with Abu Nida, Yogyakarta, 15 December 2002. This information was confirmed by my interview with Tri Madiono, one of the early followers of Abu Nida, Yogyakarta, 21 December 2002.

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Abu Mash'ab, Yogyakarta, 18 December 2002.

This movement was an NII splinter group known as *Kelompok Gumuk* (Gumuk Group), named after the village where it was based.<sup>87</sup>

As interest in the Wahhabite doctrines spread, Abu Nida expanded his influence by independently organizing Salafi *halqas* and *dauras*.<sup>88</sup> Favourite sites were the Mardiyah Mosque, near the Medical Faculty of Gadjah Mada University, the Mujahidin Mosque, near the Institut Keguruan Ilmu Pendidikan (Teachers' Training State College) in Yogyakarta, the Siswa Graha Mosque, Pogung, the STM Kentungan Mosque and a house in Jl. Kaliurang, Km 4,5 CT II/B7 Yogyakarta, known as B7. Through this strategy, Abu Nida recruited into his Salafi circles a significant number of university students from the Gadjah Mada University, the Teachers' Training State College of Yogyakarta and the National University of Development (Universitas Pembangunan Nasional, UPN) of Yogyakarta.<sup>89</sup>

With support from his two closest friends, Ahmad Faiz Asifuddin and Aunur Rofik Ghufroon, Abu Nida organized a one-month *daura* in the Pesantren Ibn al-Qayyim, Sleman, Yogyakarta, not far from Gadjah Mada University. This *pesantren* was established by DDII and led by Suprpto A. Jarimi, a Muhammadiyah preacher. The enthusiasm shown by university students wanting to attend this *daura* inspired Abu Nida to institutionalize it as the 'Daurah Ibn al-Qayyim'. Aunur Rafiq Ghufroon followed in Abu Nida's footsteps by opening a similar *daura* in his own *pesantren*, al-Furqan, in Gresik, East Java, to focus on the learning of Arabic. Many students who had attended the Daurah Ibn al-Qayyim went to Gresik to master Arabic.<sup>90</sup>

Since the early 1990s, the *da'wa* activities developed by Abu Nida have been buttressed by the arrival of Ja'far Umar Thalib, Yazid Abdul Qadir Jawwas and Yusuf Usman Baisa, LIPIA graduates of Hadrami descent who had studied abroad. Ja'far Umar Thalib, as we have noted earlier, had studied at the Mawdudi Islamic Institute of Lahore, Pakistan, while Yazid Abdul Qadir Jawwas and Yusuf Usman Baisa had completed their studies at the Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd University and the Islamic teaching centre run by Muḥammad bin Ṣāliḥ al-'Uthaymīn in Najran, respectively. LIPIA assigned them the task of teaching at the Pesantren al-Irsyad, Tengeran, Salatiga. They also immersed themselves in campus *da'wa* activities, particularly those at Diponegoro University, State University of Eleventh March, Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta and Gadjah Mada University. Seeing the high level of students enthusiasm, they decided to design their own programme based in the

<sup>87</sup> Interview with Ahmad Faiz Asifuddin, Solo, 27 December 2002.

<sup>88</sup> For preliminary surveys about this movement, see Ahzab Muttaqin, *Kaum Salafi di Yogyakarta: Melacak Sejarah Awal* (Yogyakarta: Pusat Penelitian IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, 1999). See also Sabarudin, *Jama'ah At-Turats al-Islami di Yogyakarta* (Yogyakarta: Pusat Penelitian IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2000).

<sup>89</sup> Interviews with Abu Nida, Yogyakarta, 21 December 2002, and with Ahmad Faiz Asifuddin, Solo, 27 December 2002.

<sup>90</sup> Interview with Abu Nida, Yogyakarta, 21 December 2002.

*pesantren*. Called *I'tikāf Ramaḍān*, a term referring to the practice of remaining in mosques to read the Qur'an during the fasting month of Ramaḍān, it was a *daura* activity that focussed on Arabic language learning in the heightened spiritual atmosphere of Ramadan.<sup>91</sup>

The efforts made by these new graduates to spread the Salafī *da'wa* proved fruitful. Salafī communities, whose membership consisted mainly of university students, proliferated. Initially, their presence was most significantly felt in Yogyakarta, Solo and Semarang, where they formed an exclusive current in the Islamic movement. As other Saudi Arabian graduates returned, the phenomenon quickly spread to Jakarta, Bandung, Cirebon, Semarang, Purwokerto and Makassar. In Jakarta, a number of Salafī communities emerged and organized *halqas* and *dauras* in the area around Jatinegara, Duren Sawit and Salemba, where Dahlan Basri, Abdul Hakim Abdat and Ahmad Farid Oqbah gave lectures.<sup>92</sup> Likewise in Makassar, Masrur Zainuddin disseminated the Salafī *da'wa* messages by giving lectures in *halqas* and *dauras* held by students in the University of Hasanuddin, the Teachers' Training State College and the Indonesian Muslim University (Universitas Muslimin Indonesia, UMI).<sup>93</sup>

### ***Salafī Foundations***

The multiplication of Salafī communities led seamlessly to the emergence of foundations that received considerable financial support from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Gulf countries. Abu Nida set up the As-Sunnah Foundation in 1992 and involved Ja'far Umar Thalib, Yazid Abdul Qadir Jawwas and Ahmad Faiz Asifuddin. Together, they built a mosque at Degolan, Kaliurang, Yogyakarta as a centre of activities. Ja'far Umar Thalib managed the mosque named after the leader of the Jama'at al-Da'wa ila al-Qur'an wa Ahl al-Hadith *mujahidin* faction, Jamil al-Rahman. Students from universities in Central Java and other provinces attended *halqas* and *dauras* held in this *pesantren*. It quickly became the most important centre of Salafī activity in Indonesia.

Through the As-Sunnah Foundation, *da'wa* activities and the founding of *halqas* and *dauras* were pursued to promote the Salafī movement. More and more university students joined in the *da'wa* activities. Aware of this, Abu Nida and his closest companions published *As-Sunnah*, the first Salafī periodical to appear in Indonesia, in 1994. *As-Sunnah* addressed Wahhabite doctrines and *fatwās* of Saudi Arabian religious authorities about beards, television, radio and the like. Ayip Syafruddin was managing editor. Ahmad Faiz Asifuddin and several other Salafī proponents were on the editorial staff, while Abu Nida, Yazid Abdul Qadir Jawwas and Ja'far Umar Thalib served as its editorial

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<sup>91</sup> Interview with Yusuf Usman Baisa, Cirebon, 17 February 2003.

<sup>92</sup> Interview with Ahmad Farid Oqbah, Jakarta, 11 February 2003.

<sup>93</sup> Interview with Zainuddin Abdullah, Makassar, 12 May 2003.

board.<sup>94</sup> In every issue there was a debate on women and the limitations they should accept in social interactions. It also addressed political issues, particularly the Iranian Revolution, whose excesses some articles criticized.<sup>95</sup>

Their activities succeeded in attracting the interest of foundation executives in the Middle East. Al-Mu'assasat al-Ḥaramayn al-Khayriyya (Haramayn Charitable Foundation) and al-Jam'iyya Ihyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī (Reviving of Islamic Heritage Society) funded Abu Nida's ambition to build mosques.<sup>96</sup> Based in Saudi Arabia, Al-Mu'assasat al-Ḥaramayn al-Khayriyya was created in the mid-1980s with such aims as 'establishing correct Islamic doctrines, educating new generations, confronting ideological and atheistic invasion and calling non-Muslims to Islam'. Backed by the Saudi religious establishment, it was under the supervision of the Minister of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, *Da'wa* and Guidance of Saudi Arabia. Kuwait-based Al-Jam'iyya Ihyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī was set up in 1981, operated under the supervision of the Kuwaiti government, and also received support from the Saudi religious establishment, evidenced in a letter sent by 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Abd Allāh bin Bāz to its founder, Ṭarīq Samiy Sulṭān al-'Aishiy.<sup>97</sup> Heartened by these opportunities, in January 1994 Abu Nida created the Majlis Al-Turats al-Islami Foundation whose slogan is to call Muslims to return to true path of Islam (*tashhīd al-'aqīda*).

Under the auspices of Majlis al-Turats al-Islami, Abu Nida opened a model village at Wirokerten, Bantul, in which he set up the Pesantren Al-Turats al-Islami. His idea was to imitate the first model Islamic village established by Ashari Muhammad, the leader of the Darul Arqam, in Sungai Penchala, a remote area twenty kilometres from Kuala Lumpur.<sup>98</sup> In this modest village a mosque was built and named Jamil al-Rahman. Around it, Abu Nida and other teachers of the *pesantren* live in cluster of five or six houses. All activities of the *pesantren* were concentrated in the mosque. Its students were never many, fifty at most. They were taught to read classical and modern Islamic texts, particularly those emanating from the Wahhabite sect, and to internalize the

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<sup>94</sup> Interview with Ayif Syafruddin, Solo, 28 December 2002; see also colophon of the *As-Sunnah*, *As-Sunnah* 12: 1 (1995), p. 2.

<sup>95</sup> See, for instance, Abu Nida, "Bahaya Revolusi Iran", *As-Sunnah*, 16: 2 (1996), pp. 33-50.

<sup>96</sup> These two foundations are mentioned by Benthall and Bellion-Jourdan (2003) as the main sources of charity in the Muslim world. See Jonathan Benthall and Jerome Bellion-Jourdan, *The Charitable Crescent: Politics of Aid in the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), pp. 36 and 73.

<sup>97</sup> See Jam'iyya Ihyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, *Manhāj al-Jam'iyya li'l-Da'wa wa al-Tawjiyya* (Kuwait: Jam'iyya Ihyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1997), p. 23. See also [www.alturath.org](http://www.alturath.org).

<sup>98</sup> Concerning this movement, see Ahmad Fauzi bin Abdul Hamid, *Islamic Resurgence in the Periphery: A Study of Political Islam in Contemporary Malaysia with Special Reference to the Darul Arqam Movement 1968-1996*, PhD Dissertation (United Kingdom: University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1998). See also Noorhaidi Hasan, 'In Search of Identity: the Contemporary Islamic Communities in Southeast Asia', *Studia Islamika-Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, 7: 3 (December 2000), pp. 67-110.

Salafī way of life.<sup>99</sup> Later Abu Nida established the Islamic Centre Bin Bāz, with which the Bin Bāz Kindergarten, the Bin Bāz Primary School and the Bin Bāz Junior High School have been affiliated, in Karang Gayam, Sitimulyo, Piyungan, Bantul, Yogyakarta.

Inspired by the success of Abu Nida, Muhammad Yusuf Harun, another Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd University graduate appointed to the teaching staff of LIPIA, set up the Al-Sofwa Foundation.<sup>100</sup> Support was provided by Muḥammad Khalaf, an affluent businessman from Saudi Arabia, through the al-Mu'assasat al-Ḥaramayn al-Khayriyya and the al-Jam'iyah Ihyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī.<sup>101</sup> This foundation claimed to a duty to 'uphold God's message by cleansing the *umma's* faith of *bid'a*, *khurafa* and *shirk* and called Muslims to return to al-Qur'an and Sunna consonant with the understanding of the *Salaf al-Sālih*'.<sup>102</sup> Besides its main role as an agent channelling philanthropic aid from Middle Eastern foundations, it has been active in *da'wa* activities, such as *da'i* training programmes, *da'wa* courses and the publication and distribution of Islamic books. Its activities continued to develop under the leadership of Abu Bakar Muhammad al-Altway to the extent that it was able to produce and distribute *da'wa* cassettes called *Tasjilat al-Sofwa* as well as translate and distribute more Islamic books. Pustaka Azzam, the publishing house of this foundation, emerged as the most important Salafī publishing house in Indonesia.<sup>103</sup> This foundation was even able to build a fairly luxurious building in South Jakarta and a centre of Muslim preacher training named Imam as-Syafī'i in Cilacap.

Shortly after the setting up of the al-Sofwa foundation, Ahmad Zawawi established the Lajnah al-Khairiyah al-Musyarakah (Cooperative Committee for Islamic Charity). He was one of the DDII cadres given the task of coordinating a pilot project of *da'wa* among non-Muslims in the Mentawai islands, West Sumatra, in his capacity as the deputy-secretary of that region's DDII branch office. Thanks to the recommendation of Muhammad Natsir, he continued his studies at the Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd University in 1982. Having completed his studies, he was sent to be an instructor at the Arabic Training Centre of the Muhammadiyah by DDII and, at the same time, served as a staff member on its international cooperation board. Lajnah al-Khairiyah maintained direct contact with Jam'iyah Ihyā' al-Turāth. Indeed, it can be said to be an unofficial representative of the latter. When established, it had an office in

<sup>99</sup> Interview with Abu Isa, a teacher in the pesantren, Yogyakarta, 14 December 2002.

<sup>100</sup> Interview with Muhammad Yusuf Harun, Buncit Raya, Jakarta, 19 March 2003.

<sup>101</sup> Interview with Suroso and Sandhi, foundation staff, Jakarta, 25 October 2001.

<sup>102</sup> Yayasan Al-Sofwa, *Kilas Yayasan Al-Sofwa*, booklet (Jakarta: Al-Sofwa, t.t.). See also [www.alsofwah.or.id](http://www.alsofwah.or.id).

<sup>103</sup> There are a dozen other minor Salafī publishing houses in Indonesia, including Pustaka al Sofwah, Pustaka al-Haura, Maktabah Salafy Press, Penerbit an-Najiyah, Pustaka Imam Buchori, Darul Hadith, Pustaka Imam Syafei, Darul Falah, Pustaka Arafah, Pustaka At-Tibyan, Pustaka al-Atsary, Darul Haq and Najla Press.

the Central Office of the Muhammadiyah in Menteng Raya Jakarta. As a consequence of tension with the Muhammadiyah arising from competition over the right to channel Kuwaiti financial support for *da'wa* activities, one year later the Lajnah al-Khairiyyah moved to Cempaka Putih, where it rented a house. Ahmad Zawawi has even been able to strengthen his foundation as the official representative of the Jam'iyah Ihyā' al-Turāth of Kuwait. Its office is now located at Jatinegara, East Jakarta.<sup>104</sup>

Lajnah al-Khairiyyah was set up to impose Kuwait's will on the incorporation and coordination of Muslim preachers, particularly graduates of Middle Eastern universities, and to channel social and philanthropic aid to orphans and impoverished people. Besides these main activities, Lajnah al-Khairiyyah sponsored the building of numerous mosques and Islamic centres and promoted the translating and publishing of Islamic books. Its activities covered a vast area including Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan and Nusa Tenggara. Within this framework, Ahmad Zawawi asked Ahmad Faiz Asifuddin to develop the same activities in the area of Central Java, and the latter established Lajnah al-Istiqamah in Solo. This foundation evolved into the Imam al-Bukhari Foundation, which built an Islamic education complex called Kompleks Perguruan Imam al-Bukhari.

Foundations emerged in other cities but on a much smaller scale. In Semarang, for instance, Nurus Sunnah was created in 1993 to provide a centre of activities for Salafi followers. Led by Faqih Edi Susilo, a former NII activist, and using aid from Middle Eastern foundations channelled through al-Sofwa, it succeeded in building a mosque named Nurus Sunnah on land given by Amir Ali Bawazir, a businessmen of Hadrami descent in Semarang, which is located near the campus of University of Diponegoro.<sup>105</sup> In the same year, As-Sunnah was established in Cirebon and received considerable financial support from al-Sofwa.<sup>106</sup> In Bogor the Al-Huda Foundation was born, while in Karawang Nidaus Sunnah emerged. Other foundations have emerged very recently, including Al-Rahmah and Lembaga Dakwah dan Taklim led by Abdullah Baharmus and Muhammad Yusuf Harun, the founder of al-Sofwa, respectively.

These events were not confined to Java. In South Sulawesi, for instance, M. Zaitun Rasmin, a graduate of the Medina Islamic University, set up Wahdah Islamiyyah with support from al-Mu'assasat al-Haramayn al-Khayriyya, Jam'iyah Ihyā' al-Turāth and Jam'iyah Dar al-Birr (Charity House Society), a United Arab Emirates-based Salafi foundation linked to Saudi Arabia. This foundation has developed various educational institutions at different levels, including the Islamic Kindergarten, the Islamic Primary School the Islamic Secondary School and the College for the Study of Islam and Arabic (Sekolah

<sup>104</sup> Interview with Ahmad Zawawi, Jatinegara, Jakarta, 10 March 2003.

<sup>105</sup> Interview with Faqih Edi Susilo, Semarang, 18 February 2003.

<sup>106</sup> Interview with Diding Sabaruddin, the secretary of the Yayasan As-Sunnah, Cirebon, 14 February 2003.

Tinggi Ilmu Islam dan Bahasa Arab, STIIBA). It also has a magazine, a radio station and several retail business centres.<sup>107</sup>

The emergence of foundations contributed to the burgeoning Salafi communities, which, beginning in the 1990s, no longer needed to organize their activities secretly owing to the shift in state policy towards political Islam. At the end of the 1980s, Soeharto introduced an Islamization strategy focusing particularly on the accentuation of Islamic symbols in public discourse and accommodating religious socio-political powers. A number of organizations and institutions that made use of Islamic symbols appeared on the scene. The Islamic Court Bill was introduced, followed by the Presidential Decree on the Compilation of Islamic Law. Islamic *sharī'a* banks and insurance companies sprang up and thousands of mosques were built under the sponsorship of the state.

While this was being endorsed at state level, growing numbers of people in popular and elite circles adopted symbolic expressions of Islam, such as wearing the *jilbab* and making the *hajj* to Mecca. Soeharto himself and his family decided to perform this ritual. Most important, Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim se-Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Intellectual Association, ICMI) was established under Soeharto's patronage, and Habibie, as a close associate of Soeharto, was appointed the leader of the organization.<sup>108</sup> In the wake of the introduction of this conservative Islamization strategy, the state made a drastic move away from its former secular position and prominent Muslim figures strode confidently onto the political scene. This shift diluted the long tension and conflict between Soeharto and Islamist figures around DDII, and led to the establishment of linkages between the two camps. DDII felt confident acting in the political arena of the state and a particular wing, KISDI, which had been established in 1987, began mobilizing rallies and demonstrations to call for Indonesian solidarity for Muslims in Palestine, Afghanistan, Chechnya, Bosnia, Kashmir and other trouble spots. The appearance of this organization was followed by the expansion of some Islamist print media, such as the *Suara Hidayatullah* and the *Sabili*.

Some scholars see this shift as a positive New Order accommodation towards a new Muslim middle class who had accepted the Pancasila and supported the New Order ideology of development.<sup>109</sup> Several facts indicate that the legitimacy crisis then being experienced by a regime more than twenty years

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<sup>107</sup> Interview with Bahrun Nida Amin, the right-hand man of M. Zaitun Rasmin, and Lukman Abdus Samad, the director of Ma'had 'Ali, Makassar, 8 May 2003 .

<sup>108</sup> Bruinessen (1996), pp. 29-30.

<sup>109</sup> See R.W. Hefner, 'Islam, State, and Civil Society: ICMI and the Struggle for the Indonesian Middle Class', *Indonesia*, 56 (October 1993); Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam and the State: The Transformation of Islamic Political Ideas and Practices in Indonesia*, PhD Dissertation (Ohio: Ohio University, 1994); and M. Syafi'i Anwar, *Pemikiran dan Aksi Islam Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian tentang Cendekiawan Muslim Orde Baru* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995).

in power contributed a great deal to this shift. Indeed, at the end of the 1980s, Soeharto was losing the support of his political pillars, particularly the army. Then pro-democracy groups came on the scene to demand changes.<sup>110</sup> Soeharto was apparently seeking to shore up his legitimacy by relying on Muslim overtones to consolidate his power. As William Liddle (1996) rightly puts it, this shift was part of Soeharto's political strategy to hold onto power.<sup>111</sup>

### *Post-Gulf War Drift*

The increased interest of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states in Salafi foundations clearly had something to do with the impact of the Gulf War, instigated by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on 2 August 1990. Saddam Hussein, who had been supported by Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries in his battle against Iran, now claimed himself to be a liberator of Arab countries in the grasp of Western power. He even threatened other countries by placing his forces at the borders. As a response, Saudi Arabia invited American troops to guard its territory. Since then, the United States has built huge military bases and deployed troops on Saudi Arabian soil. Saudi Arabia even provided itself as a base from where the coalition forces launched counter-attacks to liberate Kuwait.

The presence of American troops on Saudi Arabian soil unleashed storms of protest. As in other Muslim countries, anti-American sentiments fanned by Saddam Hussein gained popular support. People praised Saddam as a heroic leader who dared to resist what they believed to be the tyranny of the West. Saudi Arabia's decision to invite American troops was certainly not popular.<sup>112</sup> Criticism of this policy was particularly vociferous among a new brand of Islamists who were predominantly urban and university-educated, mastering the language both of Islam and of modern concepts of rational government. They were the new generation of Wahhabis who had enthusiastically welcomed Wahhabi resurgence a decade earlier.<sup>113</sup>

In response to their criticism, the Hai'at Kibār al-'Ulamā' (Committee of the Senior 'Ulamā') led by Bin Bāz, the principal Wahhabite ideologue, issued a *fatwā* legitimizing the presence of the American troops. It should be noted that as an institution sponsored by the Kingdom, the Hai'at Kibār al-'Ulamā' enjoys unprecedented power and authority, far outweighing its

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<sup>110</sup> For a detailed discussion, see Douglas Ramage, *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam, and Ideology of Tolerance* (London: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>111</sup> R. William Liddle, 'The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 55: 3 (August 1996), p. 631.

<sup>112</sup> John L. Esposito, 'Political Islam and Gulf Security', in John L. Esposito (ed.), *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism or Reform* (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997), pp. 56-7.

<sup>113</sup> R. Hrair Dekmejian, 'The Rise of Political Islamism in Saudi Arabia', *Middle East Journal*, 48: 4 (Autumn 1991), pp. 627-43.

counterparts in other Muslim countries.<sup>114</sup> Yet this *fatwā* elicited criticism from a number of personalities, like Safar al-Hawalī and Salmān al-‘Auda. They considered it to be proof that the institute had been co-opted by the interests of the Kingdom rather than of Islam. Both were Ikhwān’s cadres and drew great inspiration from Muḥammad Quṭb, the brother of Sayyid Quṭb who had lived in Saudi Arabia and had influenced several universities, particularly the Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa‘ūd Islamic University and the Umm al-Qura University of Mecca.<sup>115</sup> Their criticism reverberated loudly via other personalities such as Muḥammad ibn Surūr al-Nayef Zayn al-‘Ābidīn. He condemned the ‘*ulamā*’ and joined those accusing Hai’at Kibār al-‘Ulamā’ to be slaves of the United States. He was an al-Ikhwān refugee from Egypt who had been active in popularizing Ikhwān al-Muslimīn in Saudi Arabia before moving to Kuwait.<sup>116</sup>

A similar discourse also awoke echoes in other Gulf countries. In Kuwait ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Abd al-Khāliq, a graduate of the Medina Islamic University who was actively engaged in the Salafī *da‘wa*, launched a harsh volley of criticism against the Hai’at Kibār al-‘Ulamā’. He condemned the members of the Hai’at Kibār al-‘Ulamā’, castigating them as ‘*ulamā*’ who had no comprehension of Islam and acted only in the interests of the regime. In Qatar, Yusuf Qaradawī, a moderate activist of the Ikhwān working at the University of Qatar, criticized Bin Bāz for issuing a *fatwā* legitimizing the attempt to bring about a peace process with Israel. In response to this *fatwa* Qaradawī argued that there could only be peace (*sulḥ*) when Israel settled the problem of its colonization of Palestinian soil. In his eyes, accepting the claim of Israel to Palestinian soil is an unforgivable mistake.<sup>117</sup>

Afghan war veterans whose experience of conducting a jihad was still fresh lost no time in launching their criticism of the royal family and the religious establishment of the Kingdom. Under the leadership of Bin Lāden, whose proposal to invite Afghan war veterans to fight Saddam Hussein was rejected, they condemned the Saudi Arabian policy of inviting in the Americans and asked the official Saudi ‘*ulamā*’ to issue *fatwās* against non-Muslims based in the country. The Bin Lāden-led protest marked the rise of Salafī jihadis, to use Kepel’s term, who reiterated the call for a global jihad that now included the Saudi government as an enemy regime.<sup>118</sup> They adopted ‘Azzām’s original call to defend the Muslim community in Afghanistan to extend the duration of jihad

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<sup>114</sup> Farouk A. Sankari, ‘Islam and Politics in Saudi Arabia’, in Ali E. Hillah Dessouki (ed.), *Islamic Resurgence in the Arab World* (New York: Praeger, 1982), pp. 185-188. See also Frank E. Vogel, *Islamic Law and Legal System: Studies of Saudi Arabia* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 83-117.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Kepel (2002), pp. 213-7.

<sup>116</sup> I am grateful to Stephane Lacroix and Guido Steinberg, two scholars concerned with the issue of Islam and politics in Saudi Arabia, for their information about this figure.

<sup>117</sup> Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, ‘Islamists and the Peace Process’, in John L. Esposito (ed.), *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism or Reform* (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997), pp. 218-9.

<sup>118</sup> Kepel (2002), p. 219.

indefinitely, moving into a permanent jihad against what they perceived as infidel oppression associated with the so-called 'Jewish-cum-Crusader' coalition led by the United States. They evolved into the network known today as al Qaeda, which in 1998 issued a manifesto under the aegis of 'The World Islamic Front for jihad against Jews and Crusaders'.<sup>119</sup>

In response to this criticism, Saudi Arabia implemented several repressive policies. Public meetings and discussions were prohibited and hundreds of activists were arrested. It banned the circulation of cassette recordings and pamphlets that criticised the Kingdom and the religious establishment. But this policy backfired, because it triggered violence and terrorism. In late 1995 bombs exploded near the American military base and at the training centre of the National Guard, in Dahrán, killing a dozen American officers.<sup>120</sup>

Rising radicalism proved that the Saudi's policies had so far been fatal. The use of Islam, especially Wahhabism, to legitimize its policies has become a doubled-edged sword. As Mai Yamani (2000) rightly puts it:

Although it [Saudi Arabia] has provided a set of unifying cultural symbols, it has also produced a vocabulary that can be deployed to criticize the ruling elite and call for a change in the direction of government policy. Such demands are hard for the state to crack down on because they are framed in the same terms as the language the state uses to legitimate itself. The government is caught between two broad sections of the new generation with different perceptions of the role of religion within society.<sup>121</sup>

The issue to be stressed here is that the tension and conflict that flared up in Saudi Arabia in the aftermath of the Gulf War had a great impact on the development of the Salafi *da'wa* movement in Indonesia. A division became visible between the protagonists of this movement, the issue that will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

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<sup>119</sup> See Gunaratna (2002), p. 45. See also Rashid (2000), p. 134.

<sup>120</sup> Esposito (1997), pp. 62-3.

<sup>121</sup> Mai Yamani, *Changed Identities: The Challenge of the New Generation in Saudi Arabia* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000), p. 45.