TERRORISM: THE GLOBAL CONFLICTS AND ITS EFFECTS ON EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

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Discussion dealing with the terrorism in Indonesia is recently actual and urgent, at least, for some reasons.

First, from the global-political perspective, a terrorism—whatever its type, basis, motive, and its modus operandi, is universally regarded as any violent act which is harmful and destructive for the people as a whole. So, the existence and the growth of terrorism or any event or process that leads to large-scale death or lessening chances and undermines States as the basic unit of the international system can be regarded as a threat to international security. Countering terrorism—including transnational organized crimes-has been being programmed as a global collective security for building the peaceful world today upto decades

Drs. Choirul Fuad Yusuf, SS, MA adalah Kepala Puslitbang Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan - Badan Litbang dan Diklat Departemen Agama RI ahead.¹ Globally, terrorism and other global threats have necessarilly to be eliminated from any country in the world.

Second, from the national perspective, Indonesia—as a developing country which has been carrying out the national development in reaching the national objective of the development in all aspects—socio-politically, needs constructing and maintaining any condusive, secure, and cooperative climates. Only with such structure of climates or atmospheres, the national development programs will relatively be able to realize effectively. On the contrary, the growth of terrorism or any other violent acts can become a inhibiting factor which slows down the programs of national development itself. Referring to on those reasons, the program of counter-terrorism or combating the violent acts will be very necessarily important and strategic ones to accelerate the national development effectiveness.

Third, the muslim community as the largest population in Indonesia, is politically often accused as the scape-goat dealing with the terrorist acts in Indonesia. Even some Pesantrens² in this country, by some nations in the world, are being accused as the centre for training the terrorist or organizing terrorist's activities—both local and international. Jane Perlez, a journalist of Western media,³ in this issue, wrote that the Pondok Pesantren Hidayatullah, Balikpapan, East Kalimantan, functions as the center for training terrorism or terrorists. For muslims community, in deed, this accusation becomes something important to be explained and cleaned up from the world's image, particularly form the Werstern World.

This paper tries to elabarote and describe how terrorism affects towards almost in all aspects of society life—politically, economically, culturally, and religiously. Furthermore, this paper also tries to elaborate what strategy can be effectively used for countering terrorism in Indonesia.

¹ United Nations, A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibiltiy, Report of the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change, New York, 2004

² For instances, Pondok Pesantren *Hidayatullah*, Balikpapan, East Kalimantan, Pondok Pesantren *Ngruki*, Solo, Central Java, Pondok Pesantren *Al Islam*, Lamongan, East Java, etc.

³ New York Times, Edition of December 2002.

Terrorism as the Global Conflict Phenomena

The issue of terrorism is not something new. Historically, this term had been very popular since some decade later. As a global phenomenon, the word "terrorism" which was derived from the Greece word "terrere" or Latin word "terreo" (: means to frighten, to make a person or people fear)4 can be traced its root in the English language to French Revolution (1789-1795) when The British stateman Edmund Burke used the term to describe the action of Jacobin-dominated French Government. During a period of the French Revolution known as the Reign of Terror (1793-1794) under the leadership of Maximilien Robespierre, thousands of "enemies of the state" were put on trial and guillotined. It was estimated that 500.000 citizen were arrested, 40.000 were executed, and 200.000 were deported and another 200.000 died in prison from starvation and torture.⁵ In this case, terrorism to be referred to all activities causing the terror, including any activities done by the state. In its development, because of terrorism is always changing, so terrorism, then was defined and understood through many perspectives and ideological interests. Walter Laqueur, in The Age of Terrorism (1987) stated that "NO definitions of terrorism can possibly cover all the varieties of terrorism that have appeared throughout history". But, most defintions tend to be more dominantly formulated by the states interest.6

A.P. Schmid, a terrorism expert, for instance, defines widely terrorism as "an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-)clandestine individual group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby the direct targets of violence

⁴ K. Prent c.m, J.Adisubrata, and 'W.J.S Poerwadarminta, *Kamus Latin-Indonesia*, Kanisius, Semarang, 1969, p.859.

⁵ "The Criminology of Terrorism: History, Law, Definitions and Typologies", dalam *Course Readings: Foundation for Senior Officer,* The Distillary, Jeff Penrose (Project Director), p.78.

⁶ The use of the term of terrorism by the states, philosophically, tends to be more understandable because the owner of political legitimation and sovereignty is politically the legitimate state. Dealing with this political argument, Weber underlined that the holder of the state's sovereignty is contractually acceptable by the citizens as the legitimate user of the coercions or violent authority for the *summum bonum* (public benefits).

are not the main targets" While The official of the United State Government defines terrorism as "...premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetuated against noncombantant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents usually intended to influence an audience..." Then, FBI defines the terrorism as "the violent actions, acted by nonstate actors wanting to make society feel "being terror or fear". Terrorism, according to FBI, is usually intended to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives by using the unlawful force or violence.

Definitions of terrorism above, substantially, are not further different from the *Islamic Conference Organization (OKI)* which formulates terrorism as "any act or threat of violence, notwithstanding its motives, perpetrated to carry out a criminal plan to terrorise people, threaten to harm them or endanger their lives.⁸ Analysing those definitions, it will be easily drawn any conclusion that definitions of terrorism tend to be formulated by the government or the state as the legitimation holder and also as the counter of the terrorist acts in at once.

Whatever definition formulated and whoever defines it, terrorism as any violent acts, historically, has various motivational background. In this case, at least, some terrorism motivated by political interest such as "the protest to Government's policies", "dissatisfaction toward certain leaders", "upholding the syariah Islamiyah", and also motivated by cultural motives as "stopping the Islamic cultural destruction by the West, and building the fundamentalist regime in the Muslim World", or "to counter any cultural values, norms or tradition perceived destructive, or and motivated by religious factors, such as: "sense to be marginalized by other religious group", "feeling to be treatened unproportionally", "protest to the Government to fulfil

⁷ See: <u>http://www.odccp.org/odccp/terrorism-definitions.html</u>

⁸ The International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, December, 1999, 2178 UNTS 38349.

⁹ Avyanthi Aziz, "Evolusi terorisme: Meninjau Teror dan Kekerasan dalam Konteks Historis", in the Jurnal InteNjen dan Kontra-Intelijen, Vol.1 no.6, Jakarta, Centre for the Study of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence, p. 31.

¹⁰ In this case, some global phenomena causing the religious destruction, such as the growth of secularism, etc. (See: "Religiosity a Last-Gasp Attack On Increasingly Secular World", by Bruce Mazlish, *Jakarta Post*, November, 30, 2006.

their religious wants or aspirations", etc. As examples, any global organizations characterized as "the terrorist group" are Al Qaeda and Hammas. Al Qaida as a *clandestine* has solid and strong international network in the world, such as in Africa, Asia, and other continents.¹¹

Through the Al Qaeda's publication, Al Neda website—which is published in Arabic—Al Qaeda disseminates its anti-American and Anti-Western messages—which persuade the world to hate or—at least—to compete against Islam as the political power in the world. Al Qaeda messages, in this case, usually emphasizes to publish three basic themes, viz: (1) the West is implacably hostile to Islam, (2) the only way to address this threat and the only language that the West understands is the logic of violence, and (3) Jihad is the only option—executed in certain targetted countries¹².

As a result, currently, American foreign policy faces a critical threat from the Muslim World in the form of a deeply embedded and rapidly growing anti-American in the Muslim World.¹³ The recent collective demos of the Muslims in some cities rejecting the visit of President George W. Bush to Indonesia, is an example of the negative perception and the hatred towards the American policy or the West.

Having seen the above net-works, Indonesia as the muslim country was hypothetically lebelled as one of the terrorist activities centers by the global society who culturally lacks of any comprehensive information of the muslim world. At least, for the past five years, in which a mental picture has been formed in the minds of many Westerners: an

¹¹ The Countries claimed as the lands for the global jihad of Al Qaeda are Afghanistan, Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, Bosnia, Chechnya, Kashmir, Philippines, Maluku, Poso. While Al Qaeda's doctrine of Jihad, amongst them are: estabishing the Allah's victory on earth by means of upholding the syariat Islam, defending Islam against the global conspiracy (apostate government) who willingly to destroy Islam in the world, struggling for muslim liberation, and also wanting to build the *Khilafat al Islamiy* (Islamic global or universal state). Source: *Theory of Counter Terrorism Recognition & Multilateral Collaboration for Combating Terrorism*, The Distilary in cooperation with Faculty of Law, Wollongong University, and Center for Counter Terrorrism Study and Research, Singapore.

¹² Paul Eedle, the British Journalist, "The Language of Jihad", presented at the Third Annual Conference of the Center for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, St. Andrew University, Scotland, 8 June 2002.

¹³ Most the Muslim World perceive that the contemporary realities of the West as'imperial, morally decadent, secular, and the Western power and values as the cause of all muslim problems. See: M.A. Muqtedar Khan, "Radical Islam and'Liberal Islam" in *Current History*, Vol102, No.668, Dec.2003, p.417-421.

image of the world of Islam as the breeding ground of terrorist and an abode of religious fundamentalism...¹⁴

Terrorism in Indonesia

The failure of The New Order Regime under the President Suharto resulted in a great deal of significant changes in nearly all aspects of life of the Indonesian people. At the macroscopic level, for instance, the changes occurred, in facts, placed the Indonesian people in the transitional position, beginning from the socio-political changes into the changes of the other sectors.

At the socio-political aspects, in this case, the fall of the New Order Regime in 1998, politically, brought about the significant changes to rearrange the life quality of Indonesian people which have been experiencing difficult times in almost all aspects of life—economic, political, and cultural aspect. Such condition was primarily caused by the fundamental economic weakness besides various social factors related to the weakness of social ties and law upholding actions in society, which, in turn, increased the political temperature and also evoked socio-political flamings with all its implications. The social movements emerged with their various modus operandi such as social-protests and the likes, in this case, actually showed their social-dissatisfaction, disappointment and other social ecomomic deprivations which were historically structured since the New Order Regime in the past.

The transitional dynamic occurred—giving any chances widely for freedom, opennes, democracy, and any other reformative ideas and actions—in fact, affected significantly the growth of Islamic movements in Indonesia—in which during the period of the New Order Regime could not express their political aspirations and ideals openly. In this transitional period, there seems to be a wide opportunity for any groups to exist and express their wants and ideals, as well as for religious movements to revive and struggle their aspirations and needs.

Consequently, during the post era of the New Order, a large number of Islamic movements have been arisen, for examples: Forum

¹⁴ Hassan Wirajuda, "Challenging stereotyping of Islam, West", The Jakarta Post, November 29, 2006.

Komunikasi Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah/FKAWJ (Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah Communication Forum), which is more popular with Laskar Jihad, Hizbut Tahrir, Majlis Mujahidin Indonesia/MMI (Indonesian Mujahidin Council), Front Pembela Islam/FPI (Islamic Defender Front), Front Pemuda Islam Surakarta/FPIS (Surakarta Islamic Youth Front), Forum Ulama Umat Indonesia (Indonesian Forum for Ulama), Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syariat Islam (Committee for the Implementation of Syariat Islam), Komite Indonesia untuk Solidaritas Dunia Islam/KISDI (Indonesian Committee for Islamic World Solidarity), and also Jaringan Islam Liberal/JIL (Liberal Islamic Network), and many other Islamic movements whether in the form of "religiously, politically, or culturally based" movements. Amongst those Islamic movements, actually, does not appear in a sudden and unpredictable moment. But it embrionally tends to appear into surface at the time before the era of Government under president Jusuf Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Megawati.

The emergence of Islamic movements in Indonesia, in the one hand, has a great influence to change the social life, particularly in controlling any religious behavior deviation in the field of pornography, prostitution, alcoholic drink (miras), and the like. Furthermore, some movements are also be able to influence the governments' policies in handling various crucial problems in Indonesia, dealing with the muslim's aspiration.

However, some Islamic movements emerged in our country, are considered as a political and economic obstacles causing the new problematic agenda. In this respect, some of the movements, are generally issued as the terrorist movements, because of their operations that bring about the condition of being terror. The impact of this condition emerged, is ofcourse, inflicted a loss upon the people in various life dimension.

Psychologically, the people feels "being terrorized", insecure, and scaredful. Politically, in a more wide perspective, besides any movements causing of being unstable society, they also lebelled the Indonesia as the source of the terrorists movements. The speedy growth of the Islamic movements with their variant both in the local, national, and global scale in Indonesia with their various actions, on the one hand, and the needs for the condusive and integrative situation which are characterized by the harmonious relations amongst people, the minimum occurrences of the social conflicts, and the low of social tension in the

society at large on the other hand, so the efforts for reconstructing such conditions is very necessary to develop.

Some Approaches to Countering Terrorism

As being explained above, it likely has a similar belief that a terrorism—whatever its type, bases, motive, and *modus operandi*, is a very harmful and dangerous for a living. All people in the world-wide, agree that terrorism as a violent acts have to be eliminated or at least must be reduced in order to make the life condusive and peaceful.

There are many ways to counter terrorism in the world. First, the world is necessary to make a consensus for countering terrorism. For this effort, the people in the world must be aware how important the effort to collectively counter or eliminate terrorism due to its destructive effects for the people. Whatever its motives, a terrorism can become an inhibiting factor to succeed the development process in a country. Socio-political impacts of the terror will be able to influence the level of social stability in a certain country. For this reason, terrorism can be regarded as the social-parasites destructing the national development which is being processed in a certain country.

Dealing with the world-wide collective security, actually, it has been made some treaties or any legal-organizational collectivities for countering the terrorism phenomena, both organized at the level of ASEAN community and world-wide society, such as: (1) ASEAN Declaration on Transnational Crime (1997), (2) ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime/AMMTC, (3) ASEAN Declaration on Joint Action to Counter Terrorist Action on Border Security, Brunei, 2001, (4) APEC Forum Meeting, Bangkok, 2003 (Agreement on Measures for Terrorism and Transnational Crime, and the likes. Those organizations emphasizing to enhance bilateral and multilateral cooperation to combat terrorism through developing some collective programs, among them are (1) the enchancement of cooperation and coordination in law enforcement and intelligence sharing, (2) the harmonisation of policies, law and regulation, (3) cooperation in legal

¹⁵ See: http://www.aseansec.org, and http://www.apecsec.org.sg/apec/apec groups/ som special task groups/counter terrorism.html

and law enforcement matters and coordination of operations, (4) development of regional training programs.¹⁶

Second, each country has an obligation to develop anti-terrorism curriculla—conveying any educational message which functionally develop the collective awareness and attitude for preventing, avoiding, and also eliminating any type of terrific actions. In this case, it will be wisely and humanly for every religion and ethnic group to cultivate the inclusive values or norms stressing on the shared similarities, not differences to the another group or religious followers. For countering the growth of the religiously-based terrorism, every religion accepted in Indonesia, should actively disseminate all-inclusive doctrines which are capable of integrating all followers of the religion. For this purpose, on the contrary, it will be neccesary to avoid cultivating exclusively the fanatic, radical and extreme doctrines emphasizing the doctrinal difference and exclude other religious truth—which sosio-psychologically are very sensitive amongst the different religious followers, such as: the doctrinal teachingsof jihad fi sabiilillah, syahid (martyrdom), the absolute truth (al-haaq), takfiir (infidelization), etc.

Third, to bridge the religious gaps and difference, it is very urgent to develop the religious dialog amongst religious followers. The dialog can functionally be used to disseminate, socialize, and cultivate the humanitarianism-based universal values and norms besides to reconfirm that all religions in the world have a similar fundamental doctrine that teach us (human beings) to respect and to love each other and also to live in togetherness. The dialog is also be used for understanding the world-wide culture in order to eliminate or lessen the perceptional difference amongst the West and the East or the West and Islam in a frame of understanding of religion, culture or civilization in the world.

Terrorism and Its'Implication towards the Objective of Education

An education plays a very important role in improving the quality of society in almost every aspect of life—economic, political, cultural, etc. Education increases a quality level of economic welfare. Education develops the people's awareness to become good citizens. Furthermore,

¹⁶ Joint Communique of the Second and Third ASEAN Ministerial Meetings on Transnational Crime at http://www.aseansec.org

education also cultivates any values and norms which are socially acceptable in a society.

How important, determinative and strategic the role of education in changing human culture and civilization, so the process of education, teleologically, has to be oriented in building the national culture and civilization. National education must be engineered and designed as effective and efficient as possible on behalf of building a strong, integrated, unified and religious nation. In short, an education has to be planned and controlled systemicly in a purpose of fulfilling the society needs today and in the future.

In the process of education, an objective of education plays an important role in gaining the effectiveness of learning-teaching process. The level of clarity of an objective will systemicly influence the process of education itself. In short, the objective encolours the process, and also determines the final product of education itself. In regard of the terrorism phenomena and other violent actions appeared in our country, the education process must be an effective tool for socializing and disseminating any political, doctrinary, and cultural values which are functionally useful for strengthening nation or integrating plurality, multiculturality, and multi-religiosity of the people. In this purpose, an education has to be oriented to building and strengthening of (1) nationalism¹⁷, universalism, respecting to the Human Rights, and (2) pluralism and multiculturalism.¹⁸ Specifically, any process of education must be capable of transforming and developing the religious

¹⁷ Nationalism, in this regard, is any belief in or feeling of belonging to a people united by common historical, lingistic, and perhaps racial or religious ties, where this people is identified with a particular territory and' either constitutes a nation state or has' operations to do so. (See: David Jary and Julia Jary, *Unwin Hyman Dictionary of Sociology*, HarperCollins Publishers, Leiicester, 1991, p.435. Among of some basic ideas of nationalism are: (1) humanity is naturally divided into nations, (2) each nation has its peculiar character, (3) the source of all political power is the nation, the whole collectivity, (4) for freedom and self-realization, men must identify with a nation, (5) nations can only be fulfilled in their own state, (6) loyalty to the nation-state overrides other loyalties, and (7) the primary condition of global freedom and harmony is the strengthening the nation-state (See: Anthony Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, 2nd Edt., Duckworth, London, 1983, p.21.

¹⁸ Multiculturalism, philosophically, refers to the belief that in the real reality of life, there is a diversity or plurality of nationality, race, ethnicity, language, tradition, religion, interest and the like which has to respected, accepted, and operated. Many social scientists termed it as "cultural pluralism". Based on this definition, it is assumed

inclusivism.¹⁹ Teaching and learning of any doctrine of a certain religion should be able to create the condusive atmosphere which mobilizes the growth of awareness to be unified and integrated in the same frame of nation. On the contrary, religious exclusivism have to be elimineted or at least to be reduced. By this orientation, Indonesian people—which is culturally, religiously, and ethnically plural—will become stronger, more integrated, and ofcourse will be faster in reaching the final goal of the nation. From this analysis, it has been clear that, the awareness of plurality, of multiculturality, multireligiosity, and of being togetherness, is something necessary to realize "the progress" now and in the future. In other word, it will be very impossible to realize the progress, without those conditions.

Implication towards the Religious Curriculla

United Nation Report on The Global Peace stated that the global peace and security, beside economic and environmental needs are the prior agenda, at least for some decades forward. Those security demands, beside systemicly arisen from the growth of terrorism phenomena and caused by the global appearances occurred in the world-wide, such as: proverty, insecurity, and global conflicts whether politically and culturally involving many parties or interest groups, it is also predominantly caused by some religiously-based conflicts—according to the operational definition of terrorism formulated by UNO and other western countries—characterized as the terrorism's activities.

The curriculum as the message content of education, is ofcourse, have to be contextualized, adapted and relevant to the societal needs reflecting to the concrete and real condition of the stakholders. For preventing any kinds of terrorism, for long time frame, the curricullum of the education system—especially in any countries experincing those violent phenomena—have to bridge the needs for the people security and safety. In this case, for fulfilling those needs, so any

that multiculturalism structurally wants the harmonious, balanced, functional, and systemic life order. (see: Will Kymlicka, "Multicultural Citizenship", dalam Steven Seidmen and Jeffery C. Alexander (Ed.), *The New Social Theory Reader*, Rotledge, London, 2001, p.217.

¹⁹ Religious inclusivism is any religious teachings or doctrines of certain religion contains any universal values or norms which tend to stress the similarity not difference of religion doctrine..

structural conditions are necessary to develop. The government, in cooperation with all societal components, needs developing any kind of curricullua which are capable of creating the public or social awareness for preventing violent activities or actions including what is termed by terrorism. May be, subtantively, some subject-matters—such as multicultural education, human rights socialization, and recognition of religious diversification, will be more relevant to be taught in schools or society through the various didactical approaches & methods. On the contrary, any subject-matters teaching "exclusive and extreme message"—whether culturally, politically, or religiously-based, it should be eliminated or reduced in order to make more effective in teaching subject-matters oriented to building peace and security of the society.

Implication toward the Educational Environment

An environment is any structural condition rounds a certain organization, process or anything else. In educational process, environment plays an important role in reaching the effectiveness of education. Consequently, any environment of education, must be structured condusively in a reach of the objective of education being processed.

In supporting the counter-terrorism education, any conducive environment can be designed and engineered by strengthening any form of student paricipation to prevent and eliminate any various form of social conflicts, violence, other deviative behavior—both in school campus or outside (in society). Conversely, the school or university must develop any type of norms, values, or doctrines teaching and respecting the pluralism, multi-culturalism, the differences. By means of creating the condusive, dialogal, and communicative environmental culture, the programs of preventing terror acts can be structurally reduced and eliminated.

Epilogue

As the closing words, this article highlights that: (1) the problem of terrorism—whatever its background, type, basis, motives, and targets—should be regarded as the harmful, dangerous, and destructing acts for the people, for the national development of Indonesia and humanism, (2) Indonesia—as a developing country—has to give a more serious concerns and attention in countering the growth of

terrorism phenomena and other violent acts—through any various approaches both sophisticated, soft and long-term and the short term and military ones. This countering terrorism programs will be very important and strategic, because of the needs for collective security needed for national development being processed, (3) one of the most effective approaches in handling or countering the terrorism and violent acts is the educational approach. It is hoped, through this approach, all educational institutions—under guidance of Ministry of Relegious Affairs, Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Domestic Affairs, and private institutions—are obliged to socialize or cultivate the religiously, ethnically, and culturally inclusive messages of education. In other words, educational institutions must always be aware to avoid teaching the exclusive doctrines which tend to mobilize the violent or terrific acts.

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