Collective Violence, Peace Building and Reconciliation: Anthropological Perspectives

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The collective violence has become the recurrence phenomenon in the post-colonial history of Indonesia. A different pattern of collective violence took place in different regime of government. Unlike Soekarno era that deployed military to fight against pogroms and rebellions, the regime of New Order under Soeharto used state apparatuses to perpetrate violence toward civil societies for creating stability. After the extermination of communist party sympathisers in 1965-1966, Soeharto oppressed people or groups that challenged his power such as Islam fundamentalism. People who opposed to the government plan were also forced to agree unless they were intimidated or executed. Moreover, the regime also put the deliberation of issues on ethnicity, race and religion under their control to prevent the intergroup conflicts. However, when the authoritarian regime of New Order begins to weak followed by the resignation of from his presidency in 1998, the ethno-religious violence erupted in several areas. Starting the riot in Situbondo which attacked the religious buildings, the violence wide spread in other cities such as Banyuwangi, Kebumen, Tasikmalaya, Lampung, Surakarta, Jakarta and Medan. Not only Chinese descent who were attacked or harassed, other ethno-religious groups and minorities drag and became victim of the violent conflicts. Some conflicts were resolved by the chase fire or peace accord with the intervention of the central government, some others were left ended without reconciliation. This panel is going to discuss the contribution of anthropological studies in the discourse of violent conflict and peace building approaches. We hope that we can learn and update new research and theoretical framework as well as methodological aspects in the study of violent conflict and peace.

FAMILIAL TERRORISM: AN ANALYSIS ON FAMILIAL SUICIDE BOMBINGS IN SURABAYA 2018

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This article examines the three bombings in Surabaya, West Java on May 2018 where a few minor group of intellectual was behind the scene of this bombings plot. By utilizing the Gramsci’s concept of organic intellectual and Hoffman theory of violent intellectual, we elaborate this bombing plot in an anthropological way of analysis. The Surabaya 2018 bombing was a series of bomb explosions in various places in Surabaya and Sidoarjo, East Java on 13-14 May 2018. Three places included places of worship in the Church of Santa Maria Tidak Bercela, GKI Diponegoro, and the Central Pentecostal Church of Surabaya (GPPS) Sawahan. Two other places each in the Wonocolo Flats complex in Taman, Sidoarjo and Surabaya Polrestabes Headquarters. Sociologically, the group of JAD (Jamaah Ansharu Daulah) in Surabaya was claimed to be responsible as perpetrators. JAD is an organisation where many of organic violent intellectuals is grouped to run a radical support for anti-establishment movement in Indonesia aspired for the
**Introduction**

Terrorism in Indonesia is still rampant and becomes a scourge of society. The terrorist bomb attack in Surabaya in May 2018 has shocked the public in Indonesia. Bomb attacks on three churches in Surabaya, also in Mapolrestabes Surabaya and Sidoarjo, show the ferocity of terrorism carried out by three families with very strong theological-ideological motives: where they were killed together in a suicide-structured climax action which feared inspired many Muslim families do the same. Not long after that, National Police Chief Tito Karnavian revealed, the National Police were still processing around 242 suspected terrorists who were arrested in several parts of Indonesia post-terror bombing in Surabaya, East Java in May 2018 ago. The arrest was carried out after a series of acts of terrorism in Surabaya. The arrests were carried out in a number of regions in the country. “To date, 242 people have been arrested (suspected terrorists) post-action in Surabaya,” Tito said at that time. (thejakartapost.com 16/9/18 and Kompas daily, 17/9/18).

The terrorism movement still thrives in Indonesia. However, his character changed from era to era. According to Solahudin (2018), a researcher at the Center for Terrorism and Social Conflict Studies at the University of Indonesia (UI), before 2010, terrorist groups in Indonesia targeted western or far enemy symbols. They attack America and its allies, while any symbol of them must be attacked. But after 2010, terrorist groups changed their targets slightly from what was formerly enemy to near enemy. Their targets, namely the government, police and military. since the Bali Bomb 1, hundreds of people have been killed in Indonesia by terrorist attacks. So far, the suspected terrorists are still "entrusted" in the police offices of the area where they were arrested. Professor Tito Karnavian, The National Police Chief asserted that his party continues to monitor domestic terrorist networks affiliated with international terrorist networks such as ISIS (Islamic State of Syria and Iraq) and Al-Qaeda. In this regard, the Special Detachment 88 of the National Police Headquarters has maps of these terrorism networks and their affiliates.

The Detachment 88 has all its maps. Right now The Police have Jamaah Ansharud Daulah (JAD), Jamaah Ansharu Khilafah (JAK), Mujahidin Timor Indonesia and soon who have affiliated with transnational terrorist movement. “And, later we will see what affiliates are they and to what extent,” Tito said. Radicalism and terrorism still thrive in Indonesia amid the recent economic worsening and the sharpening of the rich and poor widening gulf in the country. Many Muslims are disappointed and frustrated with this increasingly sharp economic gap. And their acts of terror as an option in the name of religion, are not merely ideological reasons, but also find their material reasons that injustice and economic inequality in Indonesia have been very painful and terrible, for example OXFAM’s findings on economic disparity and injustice that jolt the people.

The results of the OXFAM survey (2017), one of the independent international NGO institutions, stated that the wealth of four Indonesian tycoons was equivalent to the wealth of 100 million poor Indonesians. Oxfam is a well-known social institution and released on Wednesday, February 23, 2017, that Indonesia is the most unequal country in the world. “Indonesia as one of the most unequal countries in the world,” OXFAM reported.
In OXFAM’s report, four of the richest tycoons in Indonesia are described as having the same wealth as 40% of Indonesians or the wealth of 100 million people who still live below the poverty line. OXFAM bases this calculation on the poverty standards issued by the World Bank. So far, the existence of the Antiterrorism Law that was just passed some time ago has made easier for the National Police to deal with terrorism crimes. The old law does not give Police the authority to take action. Now, with the Law Number 5 Year 2018, it will make it easier for the National Police to eradicate terrorism. But the problem is not so easy and simple, even though there is the legal umbrella to deal with terrorism in Indonesia. Precisely, what is important is how to prevent the growth of terrorism and how to overcome the rich and poor widening gulf in Indonesia now and future. Income inequality, economic disparity and social injustice felt by Muslims make them partially choose the path of violence and terrorism to fight anyone who is established or in power.

In Indonesia, as in the Middle East, many Muslims launch social movements to fight injustice and economic inequality in their own ways. Various Muslim groups such as Jamaah Islamiyah, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Jamaah Ansharud Daulah (JAD), Jamaah Ansharud Khilafah (JAK), Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT), Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and so on, are trying to build strength to face and fight what they call liberalism, pluralism, secularism (Sepilis) and injustice of the ‘thogut’ regime. Thoght is an Islamic terminology denoting a focus of worship other than Allah. In traditional theology, the term often connotes idols, Satan and jinn. The term is also applied to profane tyrannical power, as implied in the Quran (surah An-Nisa verse 60).

Islamic Activism

Social movements in Islam are commonly referred to various literature on social movement with the term of “Islamic Activism”. And there are no clear limits on Islamic activism in question. Definition on Islamic Activism in the frame of social movements can be interpreted as mobilization of resistance to support the Muslims’ interests and goals.

Sociological studies on Islamic Activism generally are in several major domains, namely: first, violence and hostility. Second, violence and contention. Third, networks and alliances, and Fourth, culture and framing. Nevertheless, framing in studies of contemporary Islamic movements, especially the study of movements initiated and witnessed by radical Islamic groups, in general it has these three domains are used as tools analysis and commonly referred to as Islamic activism structure.

The network also plays an important role in the movement of radical Islam. Islamic activists are rooted in a networked society whose complexes tend to be more informal rather than formalized institutionalization. Formal Muslim organization such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, for instance, was established through networks that tended to exceed the size of the formally organizational scope linking activists with Islamists, friends, family, and other colleagues. In addition to incentives and networks, ideas also hold important role in Islamic Activism. This was expressed by Carrie Wickham (2003) when studying on the framing in the context of recruitment and expansion of Islamic dakwa. More specifically, even though at the beginning of individual youth and student interests often become an attraction for them to join the movement. This is supported by the ability of the movement to frame activism as a moral obligation that makes the movement a success, especially with regard to recruitment into high-risk activism.

Frameworks of moral obligations that encourage students and youth to embrace an ideology that commands participation as an obligation moral, demanding self-sacrifice, and encouraging
commitment keep going. The success of this framing and discussion was by Wickham called transvaluation of value - a realignment priority that guide individual actions. The success of this framing that Wickham calls the transvaluation of value - a realignment of priorities that guides individual actions. The resonance power of framing depends heavily on the disappointment of society due to political repression, economic difficulties, and feelings of helplessness before extraordinary powers and the faceless process of globalization.

The power of resonance of this framing is very much dependent on the society caused by political repression, economic difficulties, and feelings of helplessness in front of extraordinary powers and the faceless process of globalization. In sum, Islamic activism that undergoes radicalization turns into radicalist and fundamentalist groups which then to partially choose the path of terrorism in their struggle to uphold the Islamic State. Therefore, terrorism cannot be separated from the ideals of building an Islamic State which they believe to be an alternative ideology towards the Republic of Indonesia which initiated and based on the Pancasila (Five Principle) ideology since on August 17, 1945. In this connection, terrorist bomb attacks in Surabaya are the main point for this paper to analyze the terrorist actions of three churches in the city, which have become a new precedent, namely the emergence of family terrorism which shocked the Indonesian people.

**Surabaya Bombing in 2018**

The Surabaya 2018 bombing was a series of bomb explosions in various places in Surabaya and Sidoarjo, East Java on 13-14 May 2018. Bombings in three churches in Surabaya and also in Mapolrestabes Surabaya and Sidoarjo were a ferocity of terrorism committed by three families with motives very strong theology: jihad and wanting to go to heaven as a family together. All actors from a series of bomb attacks in Surabaya were carried out by a family of six, including Dita Upriyanto (48), his wife Puji Kuswati (43) and invited four of his children, Yusuf Fadil (18), Firman Halim (16), Fadillah Sari (12), and Pamela Rizkika (9). National Police Chief, Tito Karnavian, in his press conference stated that this family had just been back from Syria and was a sympathizer of the Islamic State of Iraq and Sham (ISIS) and was a network of the Daulah Ansharud Jamaah (JAD) and Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT).

In the division of his duties, Dita Upriyanto was the driver of the Avanza car who crashed into the GPPS of the Sawahan Congregation. Before committing the crime, Dita took down his wife Puji Kuswati and her two daughters, Fadillah Sari (12) and Pamela Rizkika (9), at the GKI Diponegoro. These three people have been paired with three bombs wrapped around the waist. In the police statement, his wife's body and two children were damaged in the abdomen. While the perpetrators in the Catholic Church of Santa Maria Tak Bercela are Dita's sons, namely Yusuf Fadil (18) and Firman Halim (16). They ride motorbikes and hold bombs to be blown up. The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) through its news agency, Amaq, stated that they were responsible for this attack. There is one big circle that is not revealed from this family suicide bomb network. The large network consists of clerics who provide recitations containing orders and encouragement to carry out family suicide bombings. Not yet known how and what the contents of their communication. They communicate through games to avoid the monitoring of security forces. This communication technique is very creative and the results are truly undetectable, unexpected and very terrible.

There is a statement accompanying the malignancy as jihad. God (Allah SWT) rejects the claim of jihad in the name of his religion which is noble and full of humanism. (Quran, Verse 22: 40). God (Allah SWT) strongly rejects the partial actions of some people over others where attacks on
The words of the Prophet SAW stated that: "You must not kill parents who are old, children and women..." (HR. Abu Dawud, no. 2614; Ibn Abi Syaibah, 6/438; al-Baihaqi 17932). Any religion must reject brutal terrorism involving children in a very brutal suicide bombing attempt with an obscure message to be conveyed to the authorities or the public. In Islam, there is never such a thing as terrorism, as can be justified by the most radical scholars or schools. As scientists studying terrorism, the writers were truly shocked, shocked by the events that claimed dozens of lives of the names of God in monasteries, churches, synagogues and mosques involving children who never knew hatred at a very young and pure age. Even Ustadz Aman Abdurrahman as the organic leader and ideologist of this terrorist group turned out to blame and never told his followers or worshipers to commit acts of terror by seeing their own wives and children. This ISIS support shows how great violent intellectuals are behind this case. Ustadz and ulama violence like this should be studied and detected as a social network of terrorism.

Bruce Hoffman (2005: 72) mentions that terrorists are "violent intellectuals" because they use violence that relies on authoritative sources of clericalness among those with referential references, though weak. And, the intellectuals who live and care for these terrorists are ulama su (rotten ulamas) who are real terrorists. Children and even their parents, father and mother, are also victims who are under the influence of compulsion in a terrible indoctrination. Terrorism carried out by JAD is a crime committed by intellectual actors who are anti-human and renegade.

For Gramsci (1971: 110), intellectuals consist of two regions, namely theory (traditional intellectual) and relate it to social reality (organic intellectual). Organic intellectuals are thus intellectuals who knowingly and are able to connect existing social theories and realities, and they join revolutionary groups to support and counter hegemony in a planned transformation. Traditional intellectuals are intellectuals who exist on campuses, in contrast to organic intellectuals who live in the midst of society such as monks and clerics and priests who try to answer every problem that arises from the lower-flowering society who want a simplistic answer.

Organic intellectuals often give fatwas in response to every question that arises. These answers or fatwas are then translated by the community in a simple way, with violence and ferocity for each solution of a complicated and controversial problem. Certainly the brutal and sadistic brutality and savagery is the khawarij, a deviant people in Islam. Attacking a zimmy infidel is wrong, especially when a house detonates a house of worship, what a surprise if one is in the name of Islam; but instead destroy what God forbids to destroy. The words of the Prophet Muhammad SAW strictly forbade barbary and ferocity in any form and in any situation, even in war: "Don't mutilate, do not kill children, or women, or elderly parents, or monks and pastors in their places of worship. "(Hadith, narrated by Muslim, number 1731). Those who dare to violate this hadith are only Wahhabi who are referred to in Islam as the khawarij.

In the study of terrorism, Al Chaidar (2015: 255) stated that there are three types Wahabi: (1) Wahabi Shururi; (2) Wahabi Jihadi, and (3) Wahabi Takfiri. This takfiri Wahabi is an exaggeration in expressing his piety. It is Wahabi Takfiri who fends to attack all religious people in all of his places of worship, even those who are fellow Muslims are brutally killed. This takfiri Wahabi
believes and misleads some people to support their political goals of reaching the position of caliph without thinking about ethical and legal processes. They straddle sharia legality openly.

If the khawarij organize, they like to make a name that seems to be a sacred institution that defends the establishment of daulah (state) and the caliphate. Even fighting in Islam must go through the command of Amir al-mukminin agreed upon by the Muslims not by small groups underground who are not clear who they are. The khawarij are people who diligently worship and dare to oppose the Prophet Muhammad. Their appearance seemed fierce but greatly damaged the image of Islam as a religious and humane religion. JAD as the khawarij has a Wahabi Takfiri ideology that dares to fight the Prophet and God at once. The victims killed by Khawarij were the best victims loved by Allah. The faithful security apparatus who succeeded in killing the khawarij, is the best killer who does not need to fear human abuse on any pretext.

RELATED RESEARCHES

This review literature was conducted to help plan our research on "Shifting motives and goals of terrorism: a case study of church bomb attacks in Surabaya." The main problem or research question that will be studied is how is the transformation of changes in motives and patterns of terrorist attacks in Indonesia? The concrete question is why does terrorism in Surabaya involve women and children as martyrs? Therefore, in general the purpose of this research is to analyze the evolution of changes in patterns and motives of terror attacks in Indonesia.

In order to answer the problem or research question, we propose two methods of literature review. First, tracking efforts on a number of literatures that discuss terrorism and radicalism. Second, tracking efforts on a number of literature discussing the involvement of women and children in terrorist suicide bombings. These two methods become approaches to review literature on a number of articles in several journals.

Schuurman, Bakker, Gill and Bouhana (2018) discussed the use of the term "lone wolf" which is attached and used by academics and observers in describing the phenomenon of a single attack of terror. The concept of lone wolf is a terror attack with single and independent actors inaccurate because in reality what is called the lone wolf attack is a planned terror attack. In fact, they generally have good social relations with the community. The analytic concept used in dissecting a single terrorist called "lone wolf" is a social analytic of perpetrators which includes the social ties of actors with society, social ties with other groups etc. This concept becomes important to understand so that radicalism never goes alone but there is a process that forms bonds between groups so as to make militant. The conclusions are: first, single actors tend not to care about the security system when operating. secondly, they are involved in interactions with others that allow their actions to leak or be known. Third, they have social relations to build motivation and ability to do violence. Fourth, there is no single actor attack carried out independently or unplanned. In contrast, the "lone wolf" terror attack was carried out in a planned and systematic manner.

Nava Nuraniyah (2018) dissected the process of radicalization of women in Indonesia, especially those belonging to the ISIS group. Including is the case of three Indonesian migrant workers who are members of the ISIS group through social media. why do women become extremist and radical? How far do they have a self-agency? Why do women play traditional roles as wives while others choose the path of activism to join the ISIS group? Are some of the questions raised in this article. This article aims to uncover the factors that cause women to be involved in radical and extremist actions. The research method used is a virtual ethnographic approach. The authors of
the article conducts interviews and observations of a number of women who are members of several communities on social media. The results of the study have some interesting findings such as the involvement of women in ISIS radicalism is a personal choice not for coercion, personal choices tend to be influenced by socio-economic conditions that allow women to choose choices radically, besides, it also shows gender bias in counter-radicalism programs that tend to regard women as victims of brainwashing, the fact is that women are not just victims but also agents of radicalism provocateurs.

Karen Jacques and Paul J. Taylor (2013) describe the social and educational background of women involved in acts of terrorism. In addition, the background of this research seeks to change the paradigm of patriarchal domination of terrorism. In the case examined by the authors, terrorism does not recognize gender. How is the involvement of women in acts of terrorism and how can terrorism be carried out by women into questions posed by Jacques and Taylor. Jacques and Taylor aim to show that the involvement of women in acts of terrorism is not just an act of frustration or pressure of life but is a rational action not just a mental disorder. The social concept of isolation is an instrument to find out the process of radicalization of women. This concept explains several variables; marital status, immigrant status and religious conversion. The results of the study found that the characterization of female terrorists as isolated individuals who have no attachment to social groups, lack of consistency in the level of education has a correlation to women's terrorism and the economy is not a single factor of women's involvement in acts of terrorism. Social, economic and educational dimensions are indeed important to know the involvement of women in acts of terrorism, but are not a single factor to be the reason for terrorism. It could be that women's involvement is precisely because of the dominance of patriarchal culture that makes women in husband and wife relationships become victims of the husband's doctrine of women to commit acts of terror.

Robert J. Brym and Bader Araj (2006) examined the intifada namely the Palestinian resistance against Israel. The Palestinian intifada movement is not infrequently carried out by carrying out suicide bombing. Social scientists tend to see the suicide bomb phenomenon as another frustrating and psychological act. This explanation in the Palestinian case is inaccurate because suicide bombings in Palestine have special characteristics that get religious justification. What factors make suicide bombings a Palestinian resistance against Israel? What are the motives and goals of suicide bombings in Palestinian-Israeli? Research offers the concept of the relationship between suicide bombings and the repressive actions of the Israeli government. This study provides one finding that suicide bombings in Israel are rational actions based on strategic calculations. In other words, the Palestinian suicide bombing is not just a form of frustration and stress, but an act of awareness to fight the repressive actions of the Israeli government against Palestinians. This article also shows the correlation between Israel's repressive actions will be followed by the ranks of Palestinian suicide bombings.

Tunde Agara (2015) discusses the relationship between women, gender and terrorism. The role of women in acts of terrorism can no longer be underestimated. Women's terrorism acts have tremendous strength but become a new history in the world about the involvement of women in terrorism today in the 21st century. Questions about the motivation of some women to be actively involved in terrorism organizations are the lighters in the discussion of this article. For example, do they participate on religious, political or personal grounds? Is the increase in the number of women involved in acts of terrorism carried out through the kidnapping mechanism? Therefore, the dimension of the relationship between gender, women and terrorism is a polemic in the
discussion of this article. The involvement of women in acts of terrorism breaks the patriarchal tradition in seeing the role of women merely in the domestic or secondary area. Women’s actions in terrorism organizations actively generate new concepts about women’s stereotypes that are active not static. This article gave birth to a new idea of female stereotypes that transcended the traditions of the patriarchal system. The involvement of women in acts of terrorism to suicide bombers should not be a form of deviation, but a rational choice with strategic calculations. This finding is the basis for formulating a counter-terrorism concept that is more egalitarian in gender. Counter-terrorism that is gender biased will become a gap for terrorist groups to enter by actively utilizing women’s involvement.

Andrew Fraser (2017) discusses the problem of increasing the number of children involved in Afghanistan in the act of suicide bomb martyrs. The involvement of children in the actions of Taliban martyrs is a recent phenomenon in the conflict in Afghanistan. This problem became a polemic in the discussion of this article. Why are children involved in suicide bombings in Afghanistan? What factors are behind the martyr’s action? The concept of the exclusiveness of the education system in Afghanistan has triggered a process of radicalization in Afghanistan. The results of the study found that some indications of child involvement in acts of martyrdom terrorism were caused more by the existence of poverty factors which then led children to an educational system managed by the Taliban network. This exclusive education system then provides a doctrine of the image of heaven, sex and welfare, which gave birth to militancy against the Taliban in order to change the family life of the child. In some cases, the role of community leaders was also found; mullahs and Taliban network scholars who facilitate children to enter education managed by the Taliban.

Burcu Pinar Alakoc (2017) discuss about a suicide bombing which is a deadly attack rather than a stationary controlled bomb. In particular, this article dissects suicide bombings as a strategic rational choice to destroy what is considered an enemy. Does the implementation of suicide bombing strategies correlate with goals? This question is a light discussion for this article. The author wants to see whether the suicide bombing strategy is a straggly instrument to kill the enemy or vice versa. The concept of lethality or lethal is an instrument to measure the success rate of suicide bombings. Therefore, this concept provides a meaning that sophisticated technology weapons do not compare with suicide bombings because they are relatively costly but have a deadly effect to destroy the enemy. The results of the study show that the strategy of suicide terrorism has more victim targets than other weapons instruments. Suicide terrorism is very difficult to control compared to other strategies. Therefore, the instrument of suicide is the weapon of terrorism groups by using special attributes inherent in the body.

Gray and Matchin (2008) explores the use of children as terrorists and the organizational structure of one of the most feared terrorist groups in the world, Hamas. In particular, this paper investigates terrorist children who are members of the Tamil Tiger organization in Sri Lanka. How are child soldiers in the Tamil Tiger organization trained and indoctrinated? The concept of child terrorism is an instrument for discussion of the author. Defining the concept of child terrorism will have consequences for counter-terrorism policies against children involved in acts of terrorism. The results of Gray and Matchin’s research show that the involvement of children in Tamil Tiger organizations is more influenced by family conditions. In addition, the propaganda carried out by the leaders of the Tigers has been able to provide doctrine to the children from the outset to carry out combat against the Sri Lankan government.
Julie Chernov Hwang and Kirsten E. Schulze (2018) explore the development and evolution of the paths of the entry of radicalism in Indonesia through recitation, conflict, family and school relations. In addition, this article talks about how relational relationships play a role in each path. This research is an attempt to understand the Ambon conflict by understanding the evolution of the development of the entry of radicalism in Ambon. How do religious-based radicalism groups enter Indonesia? The concept that stands out in this article is the evolution of jihadism in Indonesia through four entrances namely recitation, school, local conflict and family relationships. These four concepts are the key to understanding the input of radicalism in Indonesia. The results of the study show that the entry of radicalism in Indonesia through four doors, among others: recitation, local conflict, family and school relations. Recitation instruments are the most prominent door in shaping the process of becoming radicalism.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses library research methods that utilize library resources to obtain research data. Strictly speaking, library research limits its activities only to library collection materials before we conduct field research. This research is a preliminary study of familial suicide terrorism, which is the first reality in the world that challenges science to find its theoretical explanation. The library research we did was not just about reading and recording literature or books as many people have understood so far. What we called as library research or often also called literature study, is a series of activities related to library data collection methods, reading and recording and processing research materials.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Children are the most innocent, innocent, sincere, pure and never hate anyone who becomes his friend in a plural and multicultural environment. Damaging them by indoctrinating or taking them to participate in war or acts of violence is a crime. Children will never be able to be perpetrators of any crime, let alone those with a malignant nuance full of hatred. Exploding bombs in places of worship that are not fortified by weapons is an extraordinary crime. Inviting children to commit crimes is to sacrifice them. Children always fall victim to parental influence. And, parents are often under the influence of ulama su’ (rotten ulama) fatwas whose work only indoctrinates and then runs away from their responsibilities. This kind of ulama is the real culprit.

The results of our research show that the scholars of Islamic radicals in Surabaya and surrounding areas are organic intellectuals who break the hegemony of the capitalist rulers in Indonesia. Seen through the concept of Gramsci, then in order to break the hegemony of the bourgeoisie and formulate a new world view of the proletarian class, Gramsci has a very important favorite instrument, namely "organic intellectual". This group played a significant role in waging a "position war" to take over hegemony.

Our research looks at how the influence of the ulema as using the concept of organic Antonio Gramsci. By using the term "intellectual" in a broad sense that is practically equivalent to the "intelligentsia" or all educated classes, Gramsci (1971: 53) sees generally every major class producing its own intellectual layer in charge of maintaining the continuity of its class culture and uniting them based on certain solidarity. Influential scholars in many cases of terrorism anywhere in the world have strong networks, references and followers. Unlike traditional intellectuals who do not have followers or worshipers, organic intellectuals have knowledge and can use and abuse their knowledge towards their own followers, students or worshipers.
Ulama as organic intellectuals are respectable circles and politically have a very crucial position in society. For Gramsci, organic intellectuals are intellectuals who not only explain external social life based on scientific principles, but also use the language of culture to express real feelings and experiences that cannot be expressed by the people themselves (Leszek Kolakowski, 1978: 240). Organic intellectuals are those who are able to feel emotions, enthusiasm and what is felt by the workers, side with them and express what is experienced and objective tendencies of society. In the Surabaya Bomb case (2018) this shows how Khalid Abubakar and also Yahya Khalid played a very organic role, attached and integrated and became a part which then escaped from the pursuit of security forces after the explosion of familial suicide bombs. There is no one who claims morally and intellectually responsible for this family suicide bombing incident where the wives and children of the pilgrims from this cleric recite.

Organic intellectuals such as radical clerics always have answers and reasons for each problem faced. In the effort of social change, it is necessary to formulate and organize an intellectual layer that expresses the actual experience of society with learned beliefs and language. It has the meaning that organic intellectuals will present the voices of the interests of the lower classes of society with high cultural languages so that the worldview, lower class values and beliefs extend throughout society and become a universal language. If this stage is successful, the road will be wider for the lower classes to make revolutionary changes, namely to seize political power.

These Gramsci ideas are very relevant both as literature and as a tool to build social movements, especially the terrorism movement. Antonio Gramsci saw the importance of that revolutionary will and determination in the hearts of the proletariat to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie which had pervaded all dimensions of community life. Therefore, a group of intellectuals and revolutionary parties is needed to realize socialism which in the discussion of religion is known as khilafah or Islamic super state.

Unlike traditional intellectuals such as lecturers or researchers or other educated people such as teachers, scholars are organic intellectuals who are full of the agenda for the struggle for extra parliamentary political power and even extra judicial. Thus it is something very important that the existence of intellectuals is not in the ivory tower, elitist, but must be united and on the side of the workers. Likewise, political parties do not have the duty to inject into the working class a true awareness, but make them aware of the implications of the awareness they already have and the aspects of the struggle. This is all due to the efforts of the workers to plant cultural and ideological hegemony before starting the struggle for political power.

Islamic scholars in Indonesia are always beside their followers and guide them to always be on the political path to achieve the goal of owning the state and the caliphate itself that implements the Islamic legal system. Because in Gramsci’s view social change is not solely an attempt to deal with the problems of economic and physical strength, but also involves the struggle for cultural and ideological territories: an effort of the lower classes to free themselves from the culture of the bourgeoisie and to build their own cultural values together with the oppressed and intellectuals who take sides. In this context it can be said that intellectual supremacy is a precondition for achieving political power (Leszek Kolakowski, 1978: 242).

For Gramsci the process of social change is not merely a struggle for political power, but rather a struggle for cultural and ideological power. Gramsci’s theory is very appropriate to use in seeing the role and characteristics of Islamic radical scholars in Indonesia in spreading ideology, awareness to live freely from the democratic legal system that has long been opposed. The ulamas
carried out a long struggle which was to change people's views from secular views to religious views even to sectarian views. The ulamas as organic intellectuals also planted certain values that were previously unknown to the public. Likewise, a socialist revolution cannot be carried out once through a struggle for political power, but requires a long time in a war of positions to change the views and values of civil society. If civil society has been hegemonized, actually de facto power is already in the hands of the working class, and political leadership can be easily taken over.

These organic scholars are very different from traditional intellectuals who often prostitute themselves in order to get a development project that is shared by the executive authorities. In addition, in the context of today's world order where all aspects of life are under the hegemony of neoliberal capitalism in the form of exploitation of workers to commodification and consumerism, the Gramscian idea of a counter-hegemonic transnational blocco storico (transnational historical block or progressive power) becomes very important. to be seen because it is attached to the group of organic scholars who are trusted, loved and protected by the radical Islamic community in Indonesia.

CONCLUSIONS

Terrorism always appears in its very brutal and sadistic form. Terrorism also always emerges viciously, unpredictable before and present in the most perfect form: unrivaled savagery. This savagery is only able to be done by the Khawarij in the past and the Jamaah Ansharud Daulah in the present. The Jamaah Ansharud Daulah (JAD) is a modern khawarij which is very dangerous to the continuation of Islamic jihad and dakwah. JAD practices sectarian teachings that are very anti-human, namely violent terrorism. This ferocious terrorism was presented by people who claimed to struggle to uphold the religion of God, a religion full of love. This terrorism also appears always in its unpredictability and unpredictable form by reason and science.

Based on our study and research, it seems that a number of reviews were found which examined the phenomenon of the involvement of women and children in acts of terrorism. Thus, this phenomenon is new in the pattern and mode of terrorism attacks. However, in general this literature review has a correlation with the dissertation research plan that will be carried out specifically the involvement of women and children in acts of terrorism. Organic scholars always need organizations as their political vehicles to mobilize and also crush communities for their political goals which are considered noble and sacred. Likewise, the concept of Gramsci’s hegemony is very useful and becomes an important lesson for party and intellectual politicians. If a party wants to be big and successful, all this when the party is able to articulate the real interests of its people. And it is the duty of intellectuals to become agents of change and social liberation.

Unfortunately, some rotten ulamas (ulama su') in Indonesia use the party not as an instrument for achieving virtue, but rather use the Jamaah Ansharud Daulah organization and the Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid, for instance, as their cultural vehicle in organizing their followers to launch terrorism. So, the Surabaya bombing by familial terrorism was inevitable and this tragic terrorism act is a new phenomenon in Indonesia, even in the World.

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