

Counter Ideology as a Method of Anticipation of Taqiyah in the Efforts of Deradicalization: a Study of the Bali Bombing Case I

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Abstract

Terrorism is an extraordinary crime that causes enormous losses of property, life and body. Terrorism is often triggered by a radical understanding of religious teachings that are interpreted incorrectly. The erroneous interpretation makes the perpetrators of terrorism view things outside the teachings they believe in as thagut and therefore must be eradicated. This makes the deradicalisation process for former terrorists very important. The deradicalisation process must be able to present the right understanding of religious arguments so that it can change the mindset and new perspective for former terrorists. Therefore, the deradicalisation process needs to use a method that touches the root of the problem of errors in interpreting religious propositions by terrorists.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Bali Bombing I tragedy was an extraordinary event and was one of the worst acts of terrorism in Indonesian history. The Bali Bombing I incident consisted of three bombings in three different places in the Bali Island area on October 12, 2002.

Quoting from denpasar.kompas.com, the chronology of the Bali Bombing I incident can be briefly described as follows (Rizal, J. G., & Haryanti, R., 2022):

At 20.45 WITA, October 12, 2002:

One of the perpetrators named Ali Imron placed the bomb on the sidewalk near the United States Consulate General Office. Ali Imron then headed to the Legian area near the Sari Club and Paddy's Pub to monitor traffic, and then returned to his rented house.

At 22.30 WITA, October 12, 2002:

Ali Imron along with two suicide bombers named Jimi and Iqbal left for the Legian area using a Mitsubishi L300 car. Meanwhile, the other perpetrator, Idris, followed the car using a motorbike.

Upon arriving in Legian, Ali Imron ordered Jimi to connect the detonator cables to the box switch bomb in a Mitsubishi L300 car parked in front of the Sari Club. Meanwhile, Iqbal, who was the bomb bride (a person who would carry out a suicide bombing) was ordered to wear a bomb vest that was intended to blow himself up at Paddy's Pub.

At 23.15 WITA, October 12, 2002:

The first explosion occurred inside Paddy's which came from the vest worn by Iqbal. The next explosion occurred five meters in front of the Sari Club which came from a bomb inside a car in a Mitsubishi L300 driven by Jimi. Not long after, another bomb exploded in front of the United States Consulate Office in the Renon area, Denpasar Bali.

Still citing the same source denpasar.kompas.com it is known that the Bali Bomb I claimed the lives of 202 people from 20 different countries, and left 209 people injured. The victims of the Bali Bomb I were 88 Australian citizens, 38 Indonesian citizens, 28 British citizens, 7 American citizens, 6 German citizens. Then there were 5 Swedish citizens, 4 Dutch citizens, 4 French citizens, 3 Danish citizens, 3 New Zealand citizens, 3 Swiss citizens.

The fatalities also included 2 citizens each of Brazil, Canada, Japan, South Africa and South Korea. Lastly, there was 1 citizen each from Ecuador, Greece, Italy, Poland, Portugal and Taiwan.

The large number of victims and the diverse national backgrounds of the victims of the Bali Bombing incident cannot be separated from the choice of the location of the bomb attack by the perpetrators in a densely populated area and an area popular with foreign tourists. Although the choice of the location of the bomb explosion was chosen by the perpetrators in relation to the foreign national victims who were indeed the targets (as will be discussed in the next section of this article), the area of the explosion was a very densely populated area and therefore was passed by many taxi drivers, motorcycle taxi drivers, traders and restaurant and bar workers in the area who generally consisted of local residents.

The attack in the form of a bomb explosion that was so large was a planned action. Based on the results of the identification carried out by the Indonesian National Police (Polri), it was discovered that the explosive components in the bomb, namely RDX (*Cyclotrimethylenetrinitramine*) and TNT (*Trinitrotoluene*). The detonator-equipped components were found on a motorbike parked at the Sari Club and Paddy's Club.

The Forensic Laboratory Center of the National Police Headquarters also found plastic leizer used to wrap bombs. The Head of Public Relations of the National Police Headquarters at that time (2002) Inspector General. Pol. Saleh Saaf ensured that all of these materials were supplied from abroad because they could not be obtained domestically (Liputan6.com., 2002).

2. ARGUMENTATION AND PERSON'S POINT OF VIEW

In conducting this research, the author uses a library method where the facts related to the Bali Bombing I incident were obtained from various news reports by national news media. The author then also conducted a library study of several previous studies related to *taqiyah* and *Counter Ideology Both* in Indonesia and other countries. From this research, facts were obtained as described by the author in this chapter.

a. Justification of Actions by the Perpetrator

In various statements obtained by the media, including tempo.co, one of the perpetrators of the Bali Bombing I named Imam Samudra admitted that the actions of the Bali Bombing perpetrators were a form of jihad against the United States and its allies. Imam Samudra stated that America had oppressed Muslims, for example in Afghanistan and Palestine. The perpetrators of the Bali Bombing also made Bali the target of the attack because Bali is known to be visited by many bule (foreigners) (Tempo.co, (n.d.)).

Jihad itself in Islamic studies actually has a broad meaning and is closely related to the state of society when the jihad is carried out. Quoting the explanation of Ustadz Quraish Shihab on the website of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) (N.d.), the word "jihad" is repeated in the Quran 41 (forty-one) times in various forms. The word jihad is taken from the word jahd which means "tired/difficult". Jihad is indeed difficult and causes fatigue. There are also those who argue that jihad comes from the root word "juhd" which means "ability". This is because jihad requires ability, and must be done to the best of one's ability. From the same word is composed the phrase "jahida bir-rajul" which means

"someone is undergoing a test". It can be seen that this word contains the meaning of a test and trial, which is natural because jihad is indeed a test and trial for a person's quality.

From the explanation above, it can actually be understood that jihad is carried out according to the circumstances. If the circumstances require a Muslim to fight because the Muslims are being attacked by enemies, then such jihad is obligatory. However, if in a peaceful state, then the field of jihad is very broad, namely in all efforts to realize goodness such as preaching, education, economy, and others.

However, Imam Samudra interpreted jihad fii sabilillah (jihad/fighting in the way of Allah) as fighting people who do not have the same beliefs as him regarding the teachings of Islam. Muhammad Haniff Hassan in his book tells his understanding of Imam Samudra's thoughts where Imam Samudra believes that the Bali Bombing was a form of jihad (Hassan, 2009).

Imam Samudra made American citizens the main target of the Bali Bombings, because according to Imam Samudra, America was responsible for the attacks on Muslims in Afghanistan in 2001. Imam Samudra equated those responsible for the attacks as "polytheists" and then used a fragment or excerpt from verse 36 of the At-Taubah Letter which means "*and fight all the polytheists as they fight you all*".

In addition, Imam Samudra also argued that the Bali Bombing was not a form of attack on civilians. He based this argument on the understanding that the United States, Australia, Singapore and Thailand and several other countries implement compulsory military service for all their citizens. Thus, according to Imam Samudra, tourists from these countries who visit Indonesia (Bali) cannot be considered as civilians.

Imam Samudra's subsequent justification or justification for the bombing he carried out was also based on several things below:

1. The trade embargo on Iraq imposed by America through the United Nations (UN) in 1991 resulted in the deaths of 600,000 infants. The death toll later increased to 1.5 million.
2. The United States embargo on Afghanistan during the Taliban rule from 1994 to 2001 resulted in the deaths of thousands of civilians.
3. Israel's attacks on civilians with the support of the United States Pentagon. Imam Samudra also believes that the United States provides military and financial support to Israel.
4. After the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, America has shown a cruel and brutal attitude based on revenge.

Based on the view that America and its allies are continuously attacking Muslim civilians, the limits of possible reactions have also shifted. According to Imam Samudra, justice can only be achieved if an appropriate retaliation is carried out. In this regard, Imam Samudra again uses an excerpt from Surah Al-Baqarah verse 194 which means "*...Therefore, whoever attacks you, attack him in proportion to his attack on you...*".

For Imam Samudra, attacking civilians is merely an attempt to equalize the degree of attack received and thus achieve balance. Samudra then quoted Surah An-Nahl verse 126 which means "*And if you retaliate, then retaliate with (retribution) equal to the punishment inflicted on you...*". It is interesting to understand that Samudra (seemingly intentionally) left out the continuation of the verse which means "*But if you are patient, indeed that is better for those who are patient*".

Based on the above-described matters, Imam Samudra believes that the Bali Bombing was not carried out without sufficient basis and consideration. Imam Samudra believes that the religious teachings contained in the holy book have been used as a basis for consideration and therefore he believes his actions can be justified.

b. Theory and Analysis of the Perpetrator's Justification

Randy Borum, a psychologist and associate professor at the University of South Florida explains that the psychological factors that are key for someone to enter the process of becoming a terrorist or being involved in terrorist activities are motivation and vulnerability (Borum, 2004). A person's motivation to join a terrorist organization is often reflected in the cause or ideology adopted by the terrorist organization. While the vulnerable conditions that make someone potentially enter terrorist activities are often in the form of injustice felt by the person, and the need to be part of a group with a certain identity.

In the previous sub-chapter description, it is known that Imam Samudra saw the United States and its allies constantly creating injustice for Muslims in various parts of the world. Various military and non-military actions such as embargoes carried out by America are believed by Imam Samudra to be factors that have resulted in large numbers of casualties for Muslim civilians in various parts of the world.

On the other hand, the environment where Imam Samudra grew up from childhood and adolescence seems quite homogeneous in terms of religion. In the book by Muhammad Haniff Hassan, it is explained that Imam Samudra's life background is quite exclusive so that he is isolated from interaction with people who have different backgrounds from himself. Since his youth, Imam Samudra has been accustomed to not using generally accepted greetings (such as good morning, good afternoon, etc.), not shaking hands with women and considering women who do not wear the hijab as a serious mistake (Hassan, op cit). The exclusivity of Imam Samudra's life environment makes it seem natural that group identity becomes very important to him and fanatic behavior towards group identity becomes a necessity so that he remains confirmed to remain part of the group.

3. Research result: *COUNTER IDEOLOGY AND DERADICALIZATION EFFORTS*

a. Answers to the Arguments Used by Terrorists

Imam Samudra's understanding of the pattern of relations between Muslims and people of other religions is only in the form of war and conflict. Imam Samudra failed to understand that in fact the teachings of Islam require peace and harmonious relations between humans regardless of ethnic background, religion and nationality.

Some of the scriptures that are not used by terror groups, including Imam Samudra, include:

Al-Anfal letter verse 61 (Islam prioritizes peace)

"But if they are inclined to peace, then accept it and put your trust in God. Indeed, He is All-Hearing, All-Knowing."

Surat Al-Anbiya verse 107 (Islam must bring Mercy to the whole world)

"And We did not send you (Muhammad) except to (be) a mercy for the whole world."

Surat Al-Maidah verse 32 (prohibition of killing fellow human beings)

"Whoever kills a person, not in lieu of killing another person, or not because he has caused corruption on earth, it is as if he has killed all mankind. Whoever saves the life of a human being, it is as if he has saved the life of all mankind."

Surat Al-Baqarah verse 256 (there is no compulsion to embrace Islam)

"There is no compulsion in (following) religion (Islam)".

Yunus letter verse 99 (God indeed wants humans to have diversity in religion)

"And if your Lord wills, surely all people on earth will believe. But do you (want) to force people so that they become believers?"

Some examples (from various other verses in the holy book of the Quran) are examples that a religion, Islam or other religions in Indonesia, is a teaching of goodness that

certainly leads to peace, compassion and respect for fellow human beings. A religion needs to be studied thoroughly so that the message of the religion is fully accepted by the people who follow the religion.

This complete, contextual and balanced disclosure of religious teachings is important considering that in the example of the Bali Bombing case as described above, the perpetrator (Imam Samudra) has a very exclusive view where he only recognizes the truth from one source, namely the arguments contained in the holy book. Therefore, efforts to radicalize perpetrators of terror like this need to present other dimensions that are pro-peace, mutual respect, and others from the same source as the reference that has been used by him in justifying the acts of terror that he has committed.

Providing an understanding that is contradictory or at least different from the understanding that has been held by the perpetrators of terror, if it comes from the same book, it is likely to be accepted more quickly as a truth. Terrorists who generally show high fanaticism towards one particular source of reference will find it difficult to absorb information from other sources to be accepted as a true norm.

b. Deradicalization Practices in Indonesia

There are various programs that are run in order to radicalize Terrorist Prisoners. One that is very prominent is the revival of the spirit of nationalism and love for Pancasila to Terrorist Prisoners. Terrorist Prisoners who have then grown a sense of nationalism and love for Pancasila will also be equipped with various skills to prepare the Terrorist Prisoners to return to living in society.

Terrorist prisoners are prepared so that when they leave prison, they will be able to become productive members of society and be able to meet the needs of their own lives and their families. There are various skills training available at BNPT, including skills in the textile sector (clothing, garments, etc.), wood skills (household furniture), automotive skills (workshops), plantations, fisheries and so on.

One thing that the author highlighted from the presentation of the deradicalization program by BNPT was the statement from Prof. Irfan Idris who described that most of the Terrorist Prisoners when entering the BNPT Prison had the understanding and belief that the Indonesian state and all its legal instruments were a form of "thagut" government. Zaini Masrur quoted Ibnu Manzur and Ibnu Sayidah explaining that thagut comes from the basic word (طغى) *thagha* which means going beyond the limits and excessive in terms of disbelief. Not only that, Ibnu Manzur also gave another understanding that the word (طغى) *thagha* has the meaning of going beyond the limits in terms of sin (Masrur, 2015).

The understanding that any values or norms outside of the "religious values" understood by Terrorist Convicts will be seen as something wrong is consistent when viewed from the example of the background of Imam Samudra's exclusive environment described above. Terrorist Convicts, when viewed from the example of Imam Samudra's background, have an environment that is quite isolated from the values of Indonesian society in general and only receive knowledge and insight from within their group.

Seeing from the belief that has been built for years in the minds of Terrorist Prisoners that everything outside the teachings of their group is misguided, infidel, evil and sinful, then it can be imagined that when they become Terrorist Prisoners, they must absorb the teachings that national values and Pancasila as a good norm are certainly not easy. In the minds of these Terrorist Prisoners, the belief has been formed that what they currently have to believe in and love (national insight, Pancasila ideology, etc.) is something evil and is the fruit of the thoughts of infidels and sinners. However, on the other hand, perhaps these Terrorist Prisoners also understand the situation they are experiencing, namely being in prison, facing a legal and state system that is so strong that it is natural

that they will have fear and follow the instructions of the officers as a form of effort to defend themselves alone.

On the basis of that, it is very possible that expressing or showing a cooperative attitude or even loving the country of Indonesia and accepting the ideology of Pancasila is simply a form of *taqiyah* in order to save oneself while being a Prisoner of Terrorism. *Taqiyah* (*taqiyyah*) is hiding something that is real in front of the public, including hiding faith. The essence of *taqiyyah* is not to reveal or hide something that is real in order to protect oneself and one's faith so that life becomes happy (Ulya, 2021).

The *Taqiyah* attitude that may be shown by Terrorist Prisoners will certainly make evaluating the success of the deradicalization program much more difficult. On the other hand, an unsuccessful deradicalization process has the potential to result in a repeat of terrorist crimes. One example of the failure of deradicalization of Terrorist Prisoners is the bombing incident at the Astana Anyar Police Sector, Bandung, West Java in early December 2022 which was carried out by a former Terrorist Prisoner (detikJabar Team, T. detikNews., 2022).

With the risk of *taqiyah*, the writer thinks that the deradicalization process or effort should be done first through the process *counter ideology* by using the same references or sources as those that have been considered as sources of truth by Terrorist Prisoners. *Counter Ideology Itself* is interpreted as an effort to refute, delegitimize and show the errors and shortcomings of the ideology that has been believed in and embraced by perpetrators of terrorism (Hassan, 2008).

Effort *counter ideology* by using the same reference to Terrorist Prisoners must use the holy book of the Qur'an which has been used as a basis for justification by the perpetrators of terror who act on partial and selective understanding of the holy book for the guidance of their respective terror groups. The disclosure of the Qur'anic arguments, among others, with several arguments that the author cites in subchapter a in this chapter seems to have a better chance of success.

Counter ideology Using the holy book of the Quran will make terrorist prisoners not need to make drastic changes in their thinking in accepting new values because these values come from the same place that has been believed to be the only source of truth. Terrorist prisoners do not need to absorb a new value system from a source that for years they have believed to be something that is misguided and sinful. Thus, the opportunity for change for the better can be expected to truly reflect the contents of the hearts of terrorist prisoners and not just *taqiyah* to seek safety while being terrorist prisoners.

c. Counter Ideology Through Public Communication

The process of spreading terrorist understanding and ideology currently no longer depends on physical meetings and direct cadre formation (*face to face*) with people who are to be recruited by terrorist groups. The spread of terrorism and certain anti-government sentiments is easily disseminated through various social media and effectively reaches the wider community.

Nur Azlin Mohamed Yasin thinks "*looming threats of online and offline extremism and the dissemination of the terrorist ideology present us with the clear understanding that apart from physical violence and fear, terrorism also poses us with yet another long term challenge – the battle of the hearts and minds*". The problem of terrorism today is no longer just focused on the problem of physical threats and terror, but has also become an ideological battle that is easily disseminated using various existing media (Yasin, 2011).

Therefore, it becomes very important *counter ideology* become a primary mechanism not only in combating terrorism but also in preventing the spread of terrorist ideology or

understanding that uses a misinterpretation of religious teachings. The government and society must actively clarify that religion is not a justification for acts of terror, and a comprehensive understanding of religious teachings will actually guide humans towards a state of peace and mutual respect for fellow human beings.

4. CONCLUSION

Deradicalization efforts also need to be carried out by considering the fanaticism of perpetrators or former perpetrators of terrorism towards their reference of understanding, namely the holy book. Misunderstanding, partial and selective understanding of religious arguments has encouraged wrong understanding so that it is used to justify acts of terror. The use of proportional and comprehensive arguments of the holy book is expected to be able to present a new perception for Terrorist Prisoners without forcing them to absorb a new value system that originates from something that for years they have considered as heretical and sinful.

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