The Islamic fundamentalism in Southeast Asia

(The Case of Indonesia and Malaysia)

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Abstract

Islamic fundamentalism as a stream of Extremist claim a return to the true Islam and no compromise with the modern world has transformed the scene inside the country and in international relations as a threat and a serious contender in today's society. In fact, after September 11, 2001, expanded a serious debate about Islamic fundamentalism around the world. But it can be difficult to provide an overview of the history of political violence in which the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism as its starting point after September 11, is not mentioned. However, before the date mentioned in international studies, there are also traces of fundamentalism, But what is known today as the new form of Islamic fundamentalism, since 2011 and after the rise of the Middle East, was raised around the world and to create the challenges of Political sovereignty and security for the world's most strategic regions such as Europe and then Southeast Asia (especially Indonesia and Malaysia). Therefore, this research tries to answer this question: what is the most important factor in challenging the political sovereignty of states in Southeast Asia (especially Indonesia and Malaysia). The hypothesis is Islamic fundamentalism is a rival and threat against the sovereignty and national security of Indonesia and the Philippines. The result of this study explains and demonstrates the presence and role of Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia and Malaysia as a serious challenge in the security-political reality of these countries. Therefore, this study seeks to recognize and address the challenges and threats that are faced by these two-country with the growth of Islamic fundamentalism.

Keywords: Islamic fundamentalism, Salafism, Malaysia, terrorism, Indonesia, ISIL

Introduction

Fundamentalism is a modern phenomenon that is almost inherent in all religions. Islamic fundamentalism, as part of this international phenomenon, is partly the result of specific regional and international conditions. In the analysis of Islamic fundamentalism, we should consider that Islamic religion cannot be equal to religious fundamentalism. Islamic fundamentalism, a reactionary movement, is a non-scientific movement that regardless of all the tangible and historical factors, has gone through a 100-year course. Fundamentalism is rooted in the backwardness of society, social exclusion, low levels of awareness, poverty, and ignorance, and

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bigotry. Today, the phenomenon of Islamism with different titles of political Islam, fundamentalism, extremism, and even terrorism, etc. in Western literature, is identical in one sense, and Western discourse, Islamic pragmatism is commonly referred to as almost a unitary phenomenon. With the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, which had a Marxist ideology, extensive effort to promote Islam and Islamic fundamentalism was done as a growing threat. Accordingly, many people were encouraged in Western societies to believe that religious fundamentalism, especially Islamic fundamentalism, the replacement of Marxism has been a major threat to world order. Thus, by the end of the Cold War era, the idea of the clash of civilizations was introduced globally and Islam was recognized as the main challenge facing the West. After September 11, countless reports, articles, and books, reflected a fanatical view of Islam and it is offered as a one-dimensional religious; that is oppressive and fundamentalist and threatens democratic and civilian values. Therefore, Islamic fundamentalism as a threat to sovereignty and national security and the international system was depicted in the media. Thus, after September 11, 2001, and showing of the Ideas of the fight against terrorism, they (West) tend to gather all forms of Islamism under one heading and to call Islamic fundamentalism; this word is associated with the manifestations of Salafism and Islamic terrorism in political literature.

In recent years the growth of fundamentalism in the Muslim world, included in Southeast Asia is expanding. The region holds most of the Muslim world's population and there are a few important Islamic countries in it, among them Malaysia and Indonesia have tremendous importance in the Muslim world. Because, on the one hand, Malaysia is the most advanced Islamic country from the perspective of industry and technology, and Indonesia as the most populous Islamic country, is considered the most important and influential member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Besides, in other countries in the region, such as Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore also live Muslim populations that while are minorities, but of the kind of large and influential minorities that can be searched for by the social roots of the Islamic movements of these countries. The importance of fundamentalist movements in the region is on the rise; So that has become now one of the major concerns of the political elite and intellectuals of this country. It was almost two years ago (2015) that the media released to hold a broad meeting of Islamists in Indonesia that was held at the Jakarta Stadium on the initiative of Hizb ut-Tahrir. A summit is held on the anniversary of the collapse of the Ottoman caliphate and the purpose of its formation has been made a review of the revival of the Islamic caliphate in the current world and Hence, the media called it the Caliphate conference. In this way, Southeast Asia is becoming another major area of activity for this group. Therefore, this study seeks to recognize and address the challenges and threats that are faced by these two-country with the growth of Islamic fundamentalism. This research tries to answer this question: what is the most important factor in challenging the political sovereignty of states in Southeast Asia (especially Indonesia and Malaysia). The hypothesis is Islamic fundamentalism is a rival and threat against the sovereignty and national security of Indonesia and the Philippines. The result of this study explains and demonstrates the presence and role of Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia and Malaysia as a serious challenge in the security-political reality of these countries. Therefore, this study seeks to recognize and address the challenges and threats that are faced by these two-country with the growth of Islamic fundamentalism.

Theoretical Foundations

1. Islamic fundamentalism

Fundamentalism is the evidence of most scholars one of the most challenging political concepts of the present era and this has made fundamentalism a vague term with very similar meanings. This semantic slip, Problems in the field of research on this phenomenon, has created for researchers.

The term fundamentalism in the Arabic language is equivalent to "Al-Osouliyah", which means returning to the principles. This term, which is a Western concept, first appeared in the early twentieth century in the discussions within the Protestant religion in the United States. Between 1910 and 1915, the Protestant evangelical church published pamphlets called fundamentals that In fact, the text of the Bible was emphasized in verses of the new interpretations. The aforementioned cult, with the belief in divine-eternal and infallibility of "the text of the gospel" adhered to certain theological foundations and was demanded the exact cleansing of the savior from the non-savior and selected from the non-chosen (Khosravi, 2005: 121). Fundamentalism means the foundation. From synonymous terms of fundamentalism, can be noted to backwardness and reactionary.

Islamic fundamentalism, from the perspective of the culture of political science, the term is the difference between Europe and America that each movement supports the implementation of the teachings of the Qur'an and the Shari'ah. In the West, this term is synonymous with religious dynamics, is converted especially the dynamics of Third World and Islamic flows (Kylie and Marfillet, 2001: 251-252). But in its definition it should be noted: Islamic fundamentalism is a movement that believes in fundamental Islamic values and it considers the victory and prosperity of Islamic countries to return to those values and does not follow the Western or Oriental pattern. It is a movement that reacts emotionally, spiritually, and politically to Muslims has been shown in an economic, social, and political crisis, aside from the fear of Westernization of Islamic culture, it also implies the direct intervention of the West in Islamic lands in recent decades (Asadi and Gholami, 2011: 40-59).

In the Oxford Political Dictionary, Islamic fundamentalism has been used to describe every movement that demands the full implementation of the teachings of the Qur'an and the Shari'a. In this culture is mentioned in the following explanation of the term Christian fundamentalism that After the Islamic Revolution of Iran, emerged the term of Islamic fundamentalism and fundamentalism has become a symbol of militancy, nervousness, and intolerance for many in the Western world (Masoudnia, 2011: 84). However, religious fundamentalism first was established in a Christian community, but the severity of its diversification and expansion in the Muslim world was much greater than that of Christian communities and over the past two decades, almost the cultural-religious revolution has absorbed all Islamic societies. Muslim minorities in non-Muslim countries have also joined fundamentalist movements and groups. Today, in Western developed societies and the Third World and also in the newly independent countries can be seen the expansion of Islamic fundamentalism that Sometimes leads to bloody conflicts. This has led to challenges and threats at the national, regional, and even international levels.

Nevertheless, numerous definitions of Islamic fundamentalism are provided; but, what can be said finally, that fundamentalism is means returning to the principles of Islamic faith (Quran and

Sunnah). So that should be revived the religious sources without distorting or justifying or interpreting based on a personal perspective.

Islamic fundamentalism despite the diversity and variety in the field of opinion and practice in the Islamic world, there are common intellectual and political foundations that are: comprehensiveness of the Islamic religion; relations between religion and politics; the need to return to the principles of Islam, the establishment of the Islamic state; pragmatism and having a plan and a scientific strategy to transition from an unpredictable non-Islamic state to a desirable Islamic situation, In this sense, Fundamentalism is synonymous with "Al-Osouliyah" that see Islamists such as Yusuf Qaradawi, Rashid Al-Ghanwishi and Hassan al-Banna. Accordingly, Islamic fundamentalism provides a new interpretative and contradictory reading of modernity from the relationship between man and Allah and society (Kia Ashkourian, 2014: 12).

Consequently, the general characteristics of Islamic fundamentalism can be summarized as follows: Explicit or implicit rejection of reason and ijtiḥad, opposition to innovation, traditionalism, anti-modernity, fight against "infidels", Violence, etc. Here too, we must point out the fundamentalist goals trying to achieve the following five purposes:

1. Reviving the Qur'an and Sunnah and Caliphate
2. Neglecting the Next Developments in the Middle Ages of the Islamic World (Jurisprudence, Theology, and Philosophy)
3. Opening the doors of ijtiḥad unlike the previous Sunni scholars
4. The notion of Islam is maximally unlike the "Mawdudi" in that it limited it to prayer, fasting, charity, and pilgrimage
5. Replacing Sufi Islam with Islamic Right (Hushangi, 2010: 182).

Thus, among the contemporary movements in the Muslim world, "The Salafist Movement" both in terms of timeliness and terms of high impact on the current movements of fundamentalism, such as the Taliban, al-Qaeda, Wahhabism, ISIL, Jaish al-Adl, and the Muslim Brotherhood and so on, it is very important because the proper and complete understanding of fundamentalist movements will not be achieved except in the shadow of Salafism. Given that the concepts of Salafism and fundamentalism are closely related, in the following, a theoretical and conceptual study will be considered.

2. Salafism

The exact definition of Salafism is difficult. "Salafism" is a name that a group of Sunnis refers to as a corrective movement to restore Islam to its principles. To be sure of the purity of their Islam, Contemporary Salafists emphasize a particular meaning of Tawḥid that causes many "unbelievers" to be considered. They also have a very detailed definition of innovation that causes very limited acceptable religious practices. They look very cautious about the Impact of Knowledge Resources other than Religious Books (Lauziere, 2010:369-389).

"Salafism" literally means imitation of the past, old-fashioned or blind imitation of the dead, But the Salafiyye: Aḥab al-Salaf al-Saleh, in its idiomatic meaning, the name of the sect that is based on the religion of Islam, consider themselves a follower of Salaf-Saleh and in his deeds, behaviors,

and beliefs, he tries to follow the Prophet of Islam (PBUH), Sahabah and their followers. They believe that Islamic ideas should be expressed in the same way which has been in the age of the Sahabah and the followers; That is, Islamic beliefs should be learned from the Qur'an and Sunnah, Scholars should plan to provide evidence other than what the Qur'an. In Salafi's thought, the rational and wisdom forms have no place, and only the texts of the Qur'an, hadiths, and the proofs of the concept of the Qur'an are authentic for them (Faqihi, 1975: 20). However, Salafism was never considered a religion Until Ibn Taymiyyah made his Salafi invitation a slogan of his school, and "Mohammed bin Abdul Wahhab" followed the issues of Ibn Taymiyya and his comments with violence (Enayat, 1984: 7).

A historical survey can recognize the transformation of Salafism in four stages:

Phase I: The theoretical foundations of this movement were established by Ibn Taymiyyah in the eighth century.

Phase II: In the 12th and 13th centuries, "Mohammed bin Abdul Wahhab" and his successors promoted it in the Hejaz environment.

Phase III: Becoming an influential stream in the Muslim world, especially the descendants of Saudi emirs and Saudi Arabia's sheiks

Phase IV: Development of Salafist thought into a revolutionary ideology at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the emergence of political-jihadi Salafi groups in Egypt and Afghanistan and independent republics from the Soviet Union and Yemen and Africa and Southeast Asia.

Finally, based on the issues mentioned above, it can be admitted, the impact of intellectual and ideological resources for promoting Islamic fundamentalism provided field up to broadening its scope of activities and declaring the global struggle "against the West" and "non-divine governments" and "illegitimate". In this regard, have defined tactics for the global struggle against disbelief and they took action based on it, around the world. Among the most important tactics are The organization of al-Jihad, the establishment and expansion of Salafist and takfiri groups, including "al-Qaeda", which after September 11, 2001, as the international organization for combating disbelief in the world, The idea of establishing an Islamic caliphate in 2006, which appeared in 2011 as "ISIL" (the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) and also, the emergence of other extremist groups in most countries of the world, especially Indonesia and Malaysia Causing the challenges and threats to national security and international security.

The roots of Islamic fundamentalist growth in Southeast Asia

To properly understand the emergence of fundamentalism in the Malay world of Southeast Asia, one has to take a glimpse of its origins. From the very beginning of the rise of Islam in the lands of East Asia, there has been a conversion to the religion of Islam; but occurred the great convergence of the thirteenth century. Islam came to the lands of Malay (Southeast Asia) through geopolitical regions such as China, Iran, and the Arab countries. But the most important point of Islam's spread to the Malay world has been the area of "Hazratlomot" in southern Yemen. One of

the arguments is that Malay Muslims are often Shafi'ite. These shafi'i groups are usually on the ocean margin; From East Africa to South India and South East Asia. As a result, Muslims become Malay often achieved by the people of the same area. In the nineteenth century, Wahhabism expanded to other countries, including Southeast Asia. This kind of attitude toward religion has intensified with the arrival of Southeast Asian Muslim youths in Arab schools provided the ground for a Wahhabi tendency while the scholars of Southeast Asia before the invasion of Saudi Arabia's religious centers were traditional supporters of Egypt's Al-Azhar schools and There, they were more influenced by the thoughts of Mohammad Rashid Reza and the Salafist Brotherhood or Brotherhood Salafi and never was the close type of attitude to the issue of religious figures such as Sheikh Shaltout and Sayed Qutb.

But the fundamentalist movements and terrorist groups covered by al-Qaeda have been concentrated more than in Solo and the Miranda Islands by the Abu Sifa group and the Jamaat-i-Islami in the Aceh region of Indonesia's Sumatera Island and The cities of southern Thailand and Malaysia and Singapore. Malaysian MKO has operated in the Kelantan area and this operation, Nick Adel, son of Nik Aziz, spiritual leader of Hizb-i Islami Pas in 2001 by the police on charges of terrorist activities and having a jihadist plot and weapons and membership in the MKO was arrested without legal proceedings and released after 5 years of imprisonment, while there are al-Qaeda communications under the cover of Islamic Juma in almost all Muslim regions of Southeast Asia and they are organizing for the next operation in the region (Ziaie, 2015). Therefore, this region faces serious challenges. If the ideology of Wahhabi penetrates the Southeast Asian region, we will face the growth and development of takfiri and terrorist currents in this region. Such a situation jeopardizes the security and stability of the Southeast Asian region. The culture of violence, sectarianism, and terrorism, that mostly influenced by the Wahhabi ideology, is moving to South East Asia -to the area once considered the Asian stability harbor; after West Asia, become the focus of the crisis. In this regard, the presence of many Indonesian, Malaysian, Filipino, and even Singaporean youths in the Syrian war, is a threat to regional governments that take the risk of an outbreak of terrorism into the region seriously.

Thus, fundamentalism is a reaction that has emerged in response to a social, political, religious, or ethnic phenomenon; so that the result would be to commit violent acts against deprivations. One of the main areas of the world that fundamentalism has challenged its security in Southeast Asia. The extreme currents of this region, due to the wide variety of ethnic, cultural, and religious, have a wide range. In general, terrorist and extremist activities in South East Asia are not a new phenomenon. Because during the cold war ethnic nationalists and different religious groups carried out such terrorist acts. Also after the cold war following the expansion of political Islam in this region and response to the modern policies of Southeast Asian regimes Terrorist activities were increasing in this part of the world. In general, it can be admitted that since the civil war in Afghanistan began in the 1980s, armed radical movements gradually expanded in Southeast Asia. In this context, several factors had a significant impact:

First factor: 230 million Muslims live in the South East Asia region that makes up about 20% of the population of the Muslim world. Most of the Muslims in the region have innovative and cooperative views and they want to co-exist with other religious groups and non-religious

organizations. However, there are also anti-pluralistic and Islamic extremists in South-East Asia that are inspired by countries such as Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Afghanistan (Shafie, 2018).

Second factor: radical trends in Southeast Asia was strengthened with the advent of the movement of Afghan mujahedin resistance against the Soviet forces and the support of the international coalition of them, many leaders of radical groups participated in Southeast Asia or Afghan wars or trained in these areas. Also, most of them have been educated in religious science schools. For example, Pakistan, due to its special position for a radical interpretation of Islamic thought, was a good place to study and train extremist forces in Islamic countries, including South East Asia.

The third factor is the local group's area with the development of its communications, they found the groundwork for inspiration, assistance, and financial support for radical groups. Until 1980, there were several Islamic radicals in Southeast Asia. For example, the separatist movements of the southern Thai Muslims, Indonesian Aceh Resistance for Independence, and separation currents like the Moro rebels in the Philippines until the outbreak of the Afghan war, there were significant impacts on the region (Mah Pishanian, 2009).

There were also other factors so that the countries of Southeast Asia become countries suitable for militant activities and the formation of jihadi groups. The borders of this region are very vulnerable, uncontrollable, and permeable and the immigration control and government protection system is also very weak. For example, until recently (2016), it was not necessary to obtain a visa to enter Malaysia, and Muslims from any OIC member country could enter the country without a ban.

Experts in analyzing the factors of the emergence of these Salafi currents, several causes have been mentioned. In the meantime, there are three reasons more than others, which are:

1. Violation of Muslim minority rights in Thailand, Singapore, the Philippines, etc. on the one hand raised the sensitivity of the neighboring Islamic countries and on the other hand, the behavior of Muslims living in these countries has led to violence.
2. The influence of Middle Eastern Salafist groups (especially Wahhabism) on Islamic communities in Southeast Asia. Wahhabism began its influence in the region in the early nineteenth century and this influence is continuing. In recent decades, after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Saudi Arabia has invested great amounts to promoting Wahhabism in this area. Most of Wahhabi's investment was in those private schools that were in remote and underdeveloped areas and they were more prepared to accept the teachings of Wahhabism. In the current context, the importance of Wahhabism in Southeast Asia is so high that has been affected the ideology of the majority of religious groups in the region.
3. The root of many of the problems that currently exist between governments and fundamentalists in Southeast Asia should be searched during the colonial era and the presence of the Dutch and other Western powers in the region. During the colonial era, numerous Islamic movements appeared in the region that strongly suppressed by colonists. Also in the post-colonial era, despite this fact that the Islamists played an important role in

the independence of the countries, secluded by secular nationalists and marginalized (United Nations International Unity, 2009).

Thus, Islamist groups on the border areas between the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia and declare allegiance with ISIL, was provided fears of the expansion of the territories of terrorism and fundamentalism to South East Asia and have chosen Malaysia and Indonesia as their new base. Therefore, belong some ISIL troops to Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines, They returned to Southeast Asia to create an "Islamic caliphate". ISIL for the formation of an Islamic caliphate has chosen three strategic regions of West Asia, Afghanistan and Pakistan India (the Great Khorasan), and Southeast Asia. Accordingly, the main reasons that ISIL has chosen Southeast Asia for the establishment of Islamic caliphate are:

1. The existence of extremist and terrorist groups in the Southeast Asian region over the past four decades: Recently (2016) they are acting as a regional branch by declaring allegiance with ISIL and people who return from Syria and Iraq are organized in these groups. These people may also be, as an independent and terrorist group, take action with the aim of a terrorist attack such as the Abu Sayyaf terrorist group in the south of the Philippines. Jamaat-e-Islami in Malaysia and Indonesia that many know as an Al-Qaeda colleague in the region, was the first group that pledged allegiance to the ISIL terrorist group in the South East Asia region.
2. Abu Sayyaf terrorist group in the Philippines after allegiance to ISIL has intensified to carry out terrorist attacks in the Philippines, Malaysia, and Thailand. This terrorist group has tried to nuke its hostages, show that it works like ISIL and it can be a good operational arm for this terrorist group in Southeast Asia.
3. A terrorist group called "Mao Teth" operates in the Philippines and has pledged allegiance with ISIL. Also, the groups include Aboudhaneh, Abu Khabib, Jondollah, Abu Sadr, Jund al-Tawhid, Ansar al-Sharia and Ma'rka al-Ansar also have a pledge allegiance with ISIL.
4. The factor and the basis of ISIL's influence in the ASEAN area is the existence of poverty and the problems in power structures, class contradictions, and injustice that provides a context for attracting young people to terrorist groups. In Malaysia, although ethnicity and race are the majority of the Malay people in practice, the economic situation is at the disposal of the Chinese and this problem raises the internal contradictions in Malaysia. Meanwhile, the ruling party in Malaysia, Amino, has not a little interest in enforcing Islamic law by certain groups and parties such as the pas party that emphasize Sharia law enforcement in Malaysia.
5. The factor and the basis of ISIL's presence in South East Asia is the existence of a variety of social networks in the countries of the region, such as Facebook, Instagram, and Telegram that ISIL with the massive advertising, recruit and dispatch them to Syria and Iraq. Although this trend is currently being reversed social networks are still the most important ISIL recruitment, and the countries of the ASEAN region, such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Thailand, have an acceptable level of growth in social networks (Vaghari, 2016).

Finally, you must say that Islamic fundamentalism, a phenomenon that has roots in South East Asia over the past three decades. The followers of Islam in this area, always known as moderate Muslims but in the last two decades, were reactivated after a period of suppression of political Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia. In this space, the context for the expansion of Islamic fundamentalism is also provided. The following will be examined the contexts of Islamic fundamentalist growth in this region, by the separation of the two countries, Indonesia and Malaysia.

The roots of Islamic fundamentalist growth in Indonesia

The roots of Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia dates back to the early nineteenth century; when the "Pathrey" movement emerged in the western part of the city of Sumatra. The leaders of this movement were three Muslims in the region that in 1803, they traveled to Saudi Arabia to perform Hajj rules. At that time, Mecca and Medina were dominated by the Wahhabis. Those who were influenced by the Wahhabism discourse, after returning from the Hajj, tried to imitate Wahhabism, revive Islam in the Sumatra. Although the rise of Wahhabism in the Arabian Peninsula and the increase in the flow of steamships from Arab countries to the Malay Archipelago and also visit Muslims, especially Malay youth, to Mecca and Medina to study religious sciences, it should be considered the beginning of extreme ideas entering Southeast Asia. But the history of Islamic thought has never been mixed up in this region with extreme thoughts, especially Wahhabism. The scope of religious extremism today is to the extent of the traditionalist institutions, like the largest Islamic organization in the world, That is, the organization "Nahzat al-'Alma", has expanded. Its existential philosophy has been to preserve Malay's Islam against the influence and dissemination of Wahhabi's thinking. Salafist and Wahhabi currents by influential in religious schools, mosques, and other religious and cultural institutions, have taken great strides to spread extremism in the most populous Islamic country (Rabbani, 2010: 30).

Islam as an ideology and political strategy, today, there are two species in Indonesia with a social base. One of them is wide and in the statement and practice, he follows the democratic method. This political Islamist movement has groups under its protection that the most prominent of them are "the Jamaat of Mohammadiyah", led by "Sheikh Sayyaf al-Ma'aref" and "Nahzat al-'Alma" led by "Sheikh Mosadukhi Beidlowi". These two congregations are like Sufi traditions and do not put political action as their priority, however, for their members, consider the right to party activity and participate in political and cultural activities. On the other hand, is Jamaat-e Islami, is located at the head of anti-west Islamic movements. This congregation, although there are no strong reasons for its close nexus with the organization of al-Qaeda, had based on the categories like the categories of al-Qaeda's intellectual categories (Hosseini and Zare, 2017: 211).

In general, Indonesian political and religious movements can be examined in two stages. In the first period, the most important issue was the domination of Western colonialism and Europeans (Portuguese, English, and Dutch). During this time many movements that began the most important ones are:

1. Nahzat al-'Alma: The activities of this group are mostly in the area of West Sumatra, Between 1820 to 1837, and Leading it was Imam Banjul, one of the prominent Indonesian scholars (Religious leaders).
2. Muslim Movement of "Atdjah Sumatra": The movement was formed under the leadership of religious leaders in 1837. The group was also led by one of the prominent scholars of the region, "Allama Tendjgosik De Tiru". Except for these two parties, there were other national and Islamic parties that were fighting for Indonesia's freedom and independence. But Muslims played a key role in gaining independence, mostly they were cooperating with these two parties. The expansion of Indonesian Muslim freedom movements during this period, eventually, the Dutch colonialists left Indonesia in 1942. The withdrawal of the Dutch, which coincided with the Second World War, Led to the arrival of the Japanese in Indonesia following the defeat of the Allies The arrival of Japanese people in Indonesia has been a source of fear and concern for libertarian groups; Because Indonesia might continues to dominate Japan. For this reason, the sovereignty groups continued their secret struggles. With the atomic attack of the Allies on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, the Japanese were defeated and Indonesia's Independent Forces have used this opportunity, Independence declared Indonesia (Darius, 1973: 109).

After Indonesia's independence from Dutch colonialism, a persona spiritual from "Java" called "Kartosevirio" in 1949, Founded a new movement called "Islamic Republic of Indonesia" that later, became known as the "Dar Al-Islam" movement. This movement that expanded from "West Java" to "Aceh" and "Sulawesi", more than religious, it was political. The leaders of this movement are inspired by Sukarno's policies; the first Indonesian president was protesting and used Islam to criticize the Indonesian government and legitimize their activities. The main goal of this movement was the establishment of the Islamic Emirate.

The history of extremist Islamism in Indonesia, shows that these movements are divided into two main categories according to their indicators:

1. Movements that resort to force and violence to achieve their goals; such as the movement of "Pathrey" and "Dar Al-Islam" movements. These movements are known as "Jihadist groups."
2. Movements that have laid the foundation for their educational activities and to change the status quo; Such as the "al-Ershad" Movement and the "Persis" Movement. These movements are known as "Islamic Calling Groups".

In general, according to the previous discussions, we can say that over the past decades of Indonesia, Several factors have served as a stimulus for the reorganization of fundamentalism and radicalism in the form of new Islamic organizations. Below, the most influential factors contributing to the expansion of Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia over the past two decades, Referred to:

1. suppression of Islamists during Suharto

Suharto took power with a coalition of army officers. He was very successful in weakening the Islamic militant groups and Indonesian reformists, but given the different political pressures on

Islamic movements, Muslims and their Islamic organizations did not stop fighting. He placed on the path to Westernization by modernizing Indonesia with secularist orientations, the emphasis on the five principles of Pancasila, eliminating the role of Islam as a political ideology, and Separation of politics from religious beliefs.

2. Political and economic crises

The crisis of Indonesia in the 1980s and its consequences, Such as embezzlement, corruption of government organizations, and the spread of poverty and unemployment, led to be viewed political Islam as a "credible alternative" for many Indonesians. Although these factors do not directly provoke extremist Islamist groups to violence, statements by Islamist militants express the fact that the appearance of inequality and corruption in society, justifies the use of violence by this group; especially when people consider the widespread corruption as a result of government corruption.

3. The influence of the Wahhabi ideology

In recent years, the rise of radical Islamism in South East Asia accelerated and was guided by the influence of Wahhabi ideology and material support of Saudi Arabia in the region. Many leaders of jihadist groups in Indonesia, were influenced by the Wahhabi ideology and have a Salafist style. Most of them have been educated in Saudi Arabia by the Wahhabi Muftis and after returning to Indonesia, are located their spiritual and material support. Saudi Arabia's money is invested in two forms in Indonesian Islamist groups: the money that is spent on Wahhabis religious-educational affairs and the money that is distributed secretly between Jihadist and Islamist militant groups. This has led to the penetration of the extreme groups in the Indonesian Muslim education centers and get more and more day by day.

4. The Middle East and North Africa events called Islamic Awakening

One of the main causes of fundamentalist growth in Indonesia is the situation of Muslim countries in the Middle East and the presence of the US military in this region. The situation of Palestine, the war in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the operation against al-Qaeda in Pakistan, everyone has been construed by extremist Islamists as a war against Islam, not a war on terrorism. These events have led many of these groups to legitimize their existence in the name of defending Islam. Al-Qaeda in Indonesia knows the movement of "Islamic Jama'at" as a strategic force for his jihadi activity around the world. On the other hand, following the revolutions in the Arab countries and the Syrian crisis, and the emergence of groups such as the "ISIL", Indonesian extremist groups have been openly supporting these groups, and especially ISIL. On March 16, 2014, hundreds of extremist Islamists, demonstrated in central Jakarta while carrying ISIL flags. Following the Syrian crisis, several campaigns have been established in Indonesia for supporting active terrorist groups in Syria.

5. Globalization and the media

Internet for extremist Islamist groups provides the ability to cross the limits of geographical and national boundaries and also employing multiple identities and establishing a transnational organization. Of course, in a country like Indonesia, that many of which still do not have access to

the Internet, extreme groups by connecting the Internet to their local communications networks, have spread their influence among different classes; In such a way that messages received from individuals and local groups from cyberspace among those who do not have access to the Internet, be published. Extremist groups use the Internet as prey for recruiting forces at local, national, and international levels (Khademi, 2017: 99-102).

Here, to better illustrate the issue, the following table describes the Islamic fundamentalist groups and movements in Indonesia:

Table (1): Islamic Fundamentalist and extremist groups and movements in Indonesia

Group or party	Description
Indonesian Mujahideen Council	After the fall of Suharto, the Indonesian Mujahideen Congress was established. Participants in the congress included some Afghan guerrillas, groups of Indonesian Islamists, and some former members of the Dar al-Islam (DI) movement.
Islamic Defenders Front	A group of Arab sheiks in "Jakarta" was established in 1998. The organization's founders were motivated by the fact that Indonesian Muslims have always been suppressed by the government; Human rights have not been respected for Indonesian Muslims, and no authority has so far sought to enforce their rights.
Hizb ut-Tahrir	The Hizb ut-Tahrir, which is also active in many Arab countries, began its secret activities during the Suharto era in Indonesia and After the fall of the Suharto, he made his presence known through numerous protests rallies. The goals of the extremist Salafist Group include: Enforcement of Islamic rulings, both in the public sphere and in the field of government; Islam is not only a religion but also a political system; The establishment of the Islamic Emirate and the revival of the Caliphate by referring to the past of Islam and the denial of any religious pluralism, even among Sunni sects and the ex-communication of other sects.
Communications Forum Sunnis and Jama'at	The primary motivation for founding this group was opposed to women's leadership; After the fall of Soeharto, there was an election rivalry between two presidential candidates; That is, Yusuf Habibi and Megawati Sukarno, the daughter of Indonesia's first president. Jafar Omar Talib and his companions, who were Salafi trend, opposed the leadership of women and They held their first protest rally to condemn Megawati Sukarno's candidacy. After the establishment of this organization, Jafar Omar Talib sought to revive jihad and support Muslims in the ethnic and religious conflicts that took place mainly in the "Ambon" and "Maluko" areas between Muslims and Christians, he formed the military branch of this organization called "Lashkar" Jihad. He was strongly influenced by Wahhabi principles and pursued a policy of Salafism and Wahhabism.
Lashkar Jihad	Jihad is the main feature of this group. The Jihad Lashkar has formed command centers in all Indonesian cities to recruit and train Mujahideen to be sent to various parts of Indonesia and carry out military operations. Lashkar-e-Jihad does not seek the Islamic Emirate about the past and believes that the same government in Indonesia should be Islamized.
Jama'at-i-Islami party	The roots of the Islamic community go back to two Extremist Muslim clerics in the Zulu region, Abdullah Sungkar, and Abu Bakr Bashir. The two clerics, who expanded their activities in 1973, were heavily influenced

	by the Dar al-Islam movement. The Jama'at-i-Islami party was originally an underground organization that used violence to achieve its goal. The party's main goal is to establish an Islamic state in Southeast Asia, including southern Thailand, Malaysia, Brunei, Indonesia, Cambodia, and the southern Philippines.
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Resource: Ahmadvand, Sh. (2006), Hosseini, M., and Zare, H. (2016), Khademi, M. (2016)

Origins of Islamic fundamentalist growth in Malaysia

Islamic fundamentalism in Malaysia is not a new phenomenon, and this country has faced extremism since its independence in South-Eastern Asia. Malaysia has always been faced with fundamentalism since independence, that its origins either religious or non-religious. Even there was fundamentalism before its independence in 1957 that caused the British to leave Malaysia. In the pre-independence era, Malaysia was threatened by the "fake religion" that resulted from the activities of the Malay Communist Party and this struggle against the government continued from 1948 to 1989 (after independence). In the context of the threat of extremist groups, in the past decades, Malaysia has been threatened by various threats, including the "Army path of Allah" (1967), 'Grakan spiritual' (1971), Malaysian Revolutionary forces Co-operative (1974), 'Craipto' (1977), 'Islamic Group of Mohammed Nassir' (1980), 'Jundallah' group (1987), Mujahideen Kadah's group (1988), and 'Islamic Perak' (1988).

In this regard, some of the Malaysian religious movements, heavily influenced by the teachings of Wahhabi missionaries supported by Saudi Arabia that can be referred to as the Sunni Movement of Perlis, the "movement of tradition" in the city of Johor, “Orang tradition” in the city of Pahang, "Uba'a al-Sunnah" or followers of the Sunnah from Negri Simibilan and "Islam and Jamaat" from Selangor. Though these religious groups and Malaysian organizations are affected by Wahhabism perhaps it is hardly possible to find definitive evidence of financial support from Saudi Arabia. It is worth noting that none of these Salafist groups do attribute themselves to the four Sunnite religions. Because Wahhabism has not had a brilliant history; therefore, none of the Malaysian leaders of these groups, reluctant to use the term "Wahhabism" in explaining and introducing their religious beliefs. However, due to the many similarities of beliefs, these groups can be placed in the Wahhabism queue. The commonalities of Wahhabism and these Islamic groups of Malaysia are the use of the words "salaf ulamaa," "Sunnah," and "Fighting with heresy and superstition", especially worship (Ziaee, 2015: 76).

Therefore, the rise of Salafism in Malaysia and its influence on the political levels of this country has led to some people call the term "peaceful Salafism" to justify this trend. Due to the increasing Salafi ulamaa in the United ethnic Malay party (the ruling party of Malaysia), Salafism in this country has become more prominent. Salafism has a close relationship with Wahhabism and followers of the Salafists believe that they should return to the Prophet's time (PBUH) and all forms of innovation have become obsolete. In this context, even some Malaysian experts, the term "peaceful Salafism" has been created to distinguish between extremist Salafism and non-violent Salafism. In a study of "Fred R. Von der mehden" about Islam and the role of Islamic movements in the political equations of Southeast Asia, There are four types of Islamic movements in Malaysia:

1. Extremists: In terms of support and audience, very small and little and their ultimate goal is to create a purely religious community that Islam and religious teachings are their main basis. Many radical Islamist movements, including the Mujahideen (Malaysia), Jamaat-ul-Islam (Malaysia), and ... are in this category.
2. Fundamentalists: Conservative religious forces that in the direction of developing and strengthening religious values and ultimately establishing an Islamic state in these countries. The supporters of the Islamic Party of Islam PAS (the most important Islamic organization in Malaysia) and the invitation movement usually belong to this spectrum.
3. Revivalist movement: Groups that are trying to spread Islam in their countries, and of course, also take advantage of the modern world. The Malaysian Muslim Youth Movement, founded by Anwar Ibrahim and in the current circumstances, the Malaysian National Justice Party can be placed in this category.
4. Traditionalists: The majority of Malaysian Muslims can be categorized in this stage, which declares their religion to support Islam and adhere to Islam. For example, the Amnon Party (secular nationalism), which is the largest political party in Malaysia, is rooted in this group of Muslims in Southeast Asia.

Based on this, one of the most important reasons for the growth of Islamic movements in Malaysia can be referred to the following factors:

- National Economic Policy
- The thoughts of political activists in the Arab world, Iran and Pakistan
- The events of the Muslim world, such as the Arab-Israeli War (1967), Arab Oil Sanctions (1973), Zia-ul-Haq Islamicization Program in Pakistan and the Islamic Revolution of Iran (1979), September 11 (2001), the Syrian crisis (2011), and the rise of ISIL

In this way, the Malaysian government's policies in support of missionaries from Saudi Arabia and other countries exporting Islamic fundamentalism in recent years (after 2011) and The unprecedented presence of Wahhabism in mosques in Malaysia, and the presence of countless Malaysian students at Saudi universities to learn religious teachings and Joining Malaysian youth to ISIL terrorist groups in Syria and Iraq, the Malaysian government faces serious challenges and threats.

Here, to better explain the subject, the following table shows the groups and fundamentalist and radical groups in Malaysia:

Table (2): groups and fundamentalist and radical groups in Malaysia

Group or party	Description
Dar el-arqam movement	As one of the non-governmental and Mahdist Islamic movements of Malaysia, the Dar al-Arqam movement is one of the most important social and political institutions of contemporary Islamism in Malaysia, or According to Western scholars, it is Islamic fundamentalism. It is also one of the largest movements of the Islamic Movement, "Aldaavat" or movement of return to Islam in Southeast Asia, particularly Malaysia.
	The Islamic Society was first formed in Malaysia in 1993, and its most important goals are to establish an Islamic caliphate in the Nonsantara region,

	including Indonesia, southern Thailand, southern Philippines, Brunei, Singapore, parts of Australia, and Malaysia. The quality of the Jama'at Islamiyah Malaysia's operations was very similar to that of al-Qaeda; Because members of this group use the "Regional Advisory Council" to carry out their operations.
Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia	The movement is often associated with its charismatic leader, Anwar Ibrahim; The movement was founded in 1971-72 under his leadership with 35,000 members and became the dominant Islamic movement in the 1970s and 1980s. This movement believed that Islam had adopted a particular way of life, linking religion to economic and social reform, and devoting all its efforts to the practical realization of this idea.
Islamic party PAS	This movement is one of three parties in the Malaysian Opposition Coalition, or "Pakatan Ra'it". The party's spiritual leadership is under the auspices of Nik Aziz Nik Matt and its political leadership is under the tutelage of Abdul Hadi Aung. This party was founded in 1951 by Almani as Malaysia's oldest and largest Islamic political party. Inspired by influential Islamic movements such as the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic Jama'at of Pakistan, and the Indonesian Islamic Movement, the Pas Party formed its core in the late 1940s.

Resource: Ahmadvand, Sh. (2006), Hosseini, M., and Zare, H. (2016), Khademi, M. (2016)

Conclusion

Fundamentalism is a modern phenomenon that is almost inherent in all religions. Islamic fundamentalism, as part of this international phenomenon, is partly the result of specific regional and international conditions. In the analysis of Islamic fundamentalism, we should consider that Islamic religion cannot be equal to religious fundamentalism. Islamic fundamentalism, a reactionary movement, is a non-scientific movement that regardless of all the tangible and historical factors, has gone through a 100-year course. Fundamentalism is rooted in the backwardness of society, social exclusion, low levels of awareness, poverty, and ignorance, and bigotry. Today, the phenomenon of Islamism with different titles of political Islam, fundamentalism, extremism, and even terrorism, etc. in Western literature, is identical in one sense, and Western discourse, Islamic pragmatism is commonly referred to as almost a unitary phenomenon. Finally, you must say that Islamic fundamentalism, a phenomenon that has roots in South East Asia over the past three decades. The followers of Islam in this area, always known as moderate Muslims but in the last two decades, were reactivated after a period of suppression of political Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia. In this space, the context for the expansion of Islamic fundamentalism is also provided. Therefore, this research tries to answer this question: what is the most important factor in challenging the political sovereignty of states in Southeast Asia (especially Indonesia and Malaysia). The hypothesis is Islamic fundamentalism is a rival and threat against the sovereignty and national security of Indonesia and the Philippines. The result of this study explains and demonstrates the presence and role of Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia and Malaysia as a serious challenge in the security-political reality of these countries.

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