Abstract

**Purpose:** The purpose of this study is, first, to organize the debate on the reductionism of the concept of limiting terrorism to non-state organizations. Second, we analyze the characteristics of culturally motivated terrorism. Third, we study the discourse on the ideological fiction and violence of Islam’s Salafism.

**Method:** In the concept of terrorism by institutions or scholars studying terrorism, they point out errors limiting the actors to non-state organizations, explain religious terrorism and political and social contexts, and try literature research on logic and strategies that justify terrorism by interpreting Salafism as aggressive content.

**Results:** The reason why the actors who commit terrorism are limited to non-state organizations is because they are limited to the interests of specific countries or organizations. Historical examples of attempts at terrorism by the state are sufficiently accumulated in other studies. The reason for the occurrence of religious terrorism is not simply to realize a society where religious ideology is realized, but social discrimination and contradictions combine with religious ideology, resulting in terrorism. From this point of view, Salafist terrorism can also be interpreted.

**Conclusion:** Since the late 20th century, numerous terrorism has occurred mainly in Islamic society. Domestic and international disputes and system instability can provide an excuse for attacks on dissatisfied forces at any time, and incidents in which an unspecified number of people are attacked by groups armed with the name of religion will not be cut off. As so far, political oppression and military response alone are difficult to solve, so high-level complex strategies such as social reform and growth of anti-terrorism groups must be sought.

**Keywords** Non-State Organizations, Jihad, Salafism, Terrorism, Religious Obligations

1. Introduction

Today, terrorism is occurring in the context of a modern national state. It was the rise of a bureaucratic state that could not be destroyed by the death of a leader that forced terrorists to expand their target range to create an atmosphere of public anxiety and reduce trust in the government. This reality has been at the center of more violent terrorism over the past 100 years.

Terrorism in the 1970s and 1980s took the form of small-scale terrorism by certain groups to elicit political concessions, but terrorism after the 90s is gradually showing a pattern of organization and scale while it is unknown by which terrorist organization the terrorism was committed[1]. In the early 1990s, many terrorism arose as extreme left-wing terrorism declined due to the end of the Cold War in the East and West, but demands for independence of minorities erupted from around the world, including Russia and Yugo, and radical Islamic fundamentalist forces spread.

Meanwhile, the number of terrorist incidents temporarily decreased in 1994 due to peace negotiations in Middle Eastern conflict countries such as Britain and Israel, but nationalism and Islamic fundamentalist terrorism have soared since 1995. Since 1997, racial separation forces in Asia and Europe
have weakened, and fundamental Islamic forces such as Al-Qaeda have led international terrorism. In the 2000s, terrorism was temporarily lulled as a result of active counter-terrorism activities, but the Israel-Palestine bloody conflict and retaliatory war against the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States, especially the 2003 Iraq War, continued to increase anti-American and anti-Western terrorist incidents, creating anxiety for communities in the Middle East, Central Asia and North Africa. The 2010s was the era of the rise of ISIS and other Islamic terrorist organizations[2]. Recent terrorist organizations are characterized by forming a loose transnational network in religious and ideological ties rather than receiving support from specific countries like Al-Qaeda.

The history of all religions leaves traces of blood, and numerous modern terrorism has been practiced in the name of religion. Since the 20th century, some of the Muslim Sunnis in the Middle East and Central Asia have committed extreme terrorism armed with Salafi jihadists[3][4]. Representative groups that have committed dramatic terrorism since the late 20th century are Al-Qaeda, ISIS, and the Taleban.

Christianity, Judaism, and Hinduism have also committed violent actions against policies or movements that do not conform to their ideologies and ideas. However, the reason why many scholars are interested in Islam from the perspective of boundaries is that Islamists' terrorism has increased rapidly since the late 20th century. The so-called 'Salafi Jihadist group' has been treated as an object of threat to national security, and has been recognized as an object of hatred and fear, as it is often seen as a group committing terrorism in the media. Salafi Jihadist is considered an actor of rejection, resistance, and attack against a secularized society. However, in another case, other religious groups also launched attacks on secularized society. Examples include Lutheran attacks on Florida abortion hospitals, Christian armed groups throwing bombs at gay bars, killing radio talk show hosts in Denver, attacking Jewish daycare centers in Los Angeles, and Christian Monotheism’s bombing of the Oklahoma Federal Building. Most of the religious terrorism in the United States was caused by Christian groups except for the September 11 terrorist attacks.

Analyzing religious terrorism occurring around the world away from the United States shows that Islamist terrorism is becoming more dramatic and larger than other groups. In addition, rather than simply realizing religious beliefs, the reasons for terrorism are complexly linked to inequality surrounding scarce resources, oppression of political and social freedom, and the injustice of foreign intervention that causes this situation.

In this paper, I would like to explore the relationship between modern Salafism and terrorism as a variant of Islam, the debate on the subject of terrorism, the role of religion in promoting terrorism.

2. General Debate over the Terrorism Actor

In the 20th century, the concept of terrorism had no consensus definition among scholars. According to Jackson, who analyzed 490 papers published in major terrorist research journals between 1990 and 1999, only 8 papers, or 1.6%, could be regarded as concept-oriented papers. In general, the term terrorism is used as a practice dealt with in the media, and scholars deal with terrorism without specifically presenting basic assumptions or conditions. Terrorism is a divisive concept in nature. The keywords in conceptualizing terrorism are ideology and movement. Most scholars present politics, ideology, religion, and economy as independent variables of terrorism[5]. Most terrorism occurs in the context of political struggles, one of the strategies of groups or countries attempting terrorism. However, most scholars and bureaucrats assume that the subject of terrorism is a non-governmental organization. It overlooks the fact that the government is implementing terrorism in many cases. A narrow example of the definition of the concept of terrorism can be found in the definition of the concept of terrorism by US government agencies[6].

The US FBI classifies international terrorism as international and domestic terrorism. International terrorism is a violent and criminal act committed by an individual or associated organization inspired or related by a designated foreign terrorist organization or state-sponsored organization[7]. Domestic
terrorism is a violent and criminal act committed by an individual or group for additional ideological goals resulting from domestic influences such as political, religious, social, racial, or environmental characteristics. The U.S. State Department also regards terrorism as "politically motivated planned violence, generally intended to affect the audience, perpetuated by non-combatants."[8]

This definition of concept also appears in scholars. Bruce Hoffman, for example, argues that terrorism has the following characteristics: "perpetrated by a subnational group or non-state." He argues that terrorism specifically has the following characteristics: 1) inevitable political nature in purpose and motivation; 2) designed to have a broad psychological impact beyond violent threats, direct victims of targets; 3) performed by organizations with identifiable command systems or conspiracy cells; 4) committed by sub-national groups or non-state entities[9].

In addition, Paul Wilkinson defines terrorism as non-state violence[10]. In response to this argument, Richard Jackson pointed out several problems. He argues that Bruce Hoffman argues that terrorism is committed by a transnational group or a non-state entity. There is a problem that the state's brutal torture or political oppression against citizens is not included in terrorism. Since the state has the power to use force, illegal violence against opponents for political and ideological purposes is excluded from terrorism. From this point of view, the definition of terrorism depends on the nature of legality, sovereignty, and violence. The actor-based approach to terrorism is wrong[5].

It is also dangerous to see terrorism from a reductionist point of view to characterize the whole of terrorism based on the interests and goals of the United States, given the broad range of terrorists, terrorist organizations, and motivation to support their chosen course of action. However, in the atmosphere of the post-Cold War in the late 20th century, the emergence of new independent countries, various conflicts in the Middle East, terrorism related to refugee issues in Europe, and the issue of Xinjiang Uighur in China were caused by non-state groups based on Islam[11]. The same is true of terrorism by right-wing groups in the United States and Europe. Often, terrorism by power groups occurs in dictatorships, but the number is insignificant compared to terrorism by non-state organizations. This does not mean that terrorism by the state should be excluded from the concept of terrorism. Terrorism can be an actor, whether it is a non-state or a state.

3. Religious Motivated Contemporary Terrorism

According to Tilly, the terms terror, terrorism, and terrorist do not identify causally coherent and distinct social phenomena but strategies that recur across a wide variety of actors and political situations[12]. And terrorists are linked to various organizations, environments, and beliefs[5]. Religious terrorism also justifies violence. The current culturally motivated wave of terrorism is not restrained, spreads indiscriminate violence, and is irrational. For religious terrorists, violence is, above all, a sacred act or sacred duty. Direct Response to Some Theological Needs Terrorism assumes a transcendental dimension, and thus terrorists are not bound by political, moral, or substantial constraints that appear to affect other terrorists[7].

However, similar to discussions on terrorism in general, current literature on religiously motivated terrorism lacks consensus on a definition and how it differs from traditional terrorism, if at all. David Tucker even argues that the term “religious terrorism” is not of much use because of confusion over its definition.

Scholars focused on apocalyptic, millennial, and or Messianic terrorism in studying religious terrorism. Religious versions of the apocalypse movement often focus on God's sudden, dramatic, upheaval intervention in history, human judgment, salvation of faithful selectors, and a puzzling revelation of the final rule of those chosen with God in the new world. The apocalypse that occurred in early Zoroastrianism was more fully developed in Judaism, Christianity, and Islamic apocalypse. However, it is not entirely a religious idea and is based on modern science, technology, political discourse, and conspiracy theory. Apocalypse have religious goals, but sometimes try to realize political goals. In order to prove apocalypse, violence that causes social
anxiety and fear is sometimes used against civilians and the government through collective activities[13].

In general, as with the discussion of terrorism, there is no consensus at all on how culturally motivated terrorism differs from traditional terrorism. Mark Juergensmeyer argues that culturally motivated terrorism emerged in the 1980s and was characterized by extreme cruelty and seemingly irrational motives and goals[14]. Bruce Hoffman argues that religion plays a role in justifying violence in religious terrorism[7]. A radical group belonging to a society with cultural continuity with a religious/political environment can be expected to continue to gain some support from people outside the group. In contrast, once turned into terrorism, the new religious movement will probably leave you fully alone without any support. In the 1970s, Italian and German universities may have environments for non-members who sympathized with ‘the Red Brigade’ or ‘the Red Army’, and there may have been environments for Muslims who sympathized with certain radical forces, but not many outsiders were ready to support or understand Aum Shinrikyo’s terrorism[15][16].

There are situations in which terrorism directly inspires the terrorist movement and cognitive factors that provide opportunities for terrorism in the motivation to directly inspire the terrorist movement. Modernization is one of the causes of terrorism because it is vulnerable to the increasing complexity of society and economy and creates opportunities for terrorist attacks. Revolutionary ideologies can also easily spread across borders, paving the way for international terrorism or encouraging other countries to develop similar revolutionary ideologies, eventually developing terrorism. Another direct cause of terrorism is when the government cannot resolve specific complaints such as majority discrimination against minorities. Terrorism is also a means of resolving complaints from extremist factions. Lack of opportunities for political participation and social discrimination are important factors in the occurrence of terrorism. If a ‘religious obligation’ is given here, a more solid terrorist group is formed.

Religious groups that use terrorism have leaders that are recognized as legitimate by their followers, but do not necessarily possess bona fide qualities such as religious education or clerical training.

It is important for counterterrorism forces to pay attention to what religious terrorists attack, because these targets offer important clues for the groups’ goals, which in turn affect the type of countermeasures employed. Groups that are focused on state targets are more likely to be vying for political control, whereas targeting other groups within the faith or other religions suggest a goal of religious cleansing. Mass casualties and damage that seem indiscriminate, illogical and excessive suggest apocalyptic aims. Just as there is more than one type of religious terrorism, there is more than one countermeasure to undermine a group’s goals. Better understanding of such groups, their leadership and goals, will allow for a more nuanced approach and, hopefully, lead to greater success in undermining their message and their use of terrorism in the name of religion[13].

The goals of religious terrorists are not purely religious. Some terrorists would suggest that they could have immediate goals of religious, especially apocalyptic terrorists, while others could have political goals such as creating religious governments. Terrorists may use terrorism for the purpose of overthrowing a government that does not support the doctrine of a particular religion and establishing a religious government there. The cause of terrorist acts is to deviate from faith, but the goal is uniquely religious.

4. Salafism, a Variant of Wahhabism

Islamic society is a society where religion and politics are not clearly separated. Therefore, the state is operated and social order is maintained by religious discipline. Islam has the openness of doctrine. Paradoxically, the openness of doctrine is sometimes used in extremism. For example, ISIS existed as a branch of Al-Qaeda and then confronted Al-Qaeda when it was reborn.
as an independent terrorist organization, and the ostensible reason was that it expressed a different view in interpreting Sharia. In pursuit of takfirim, ISIS chose a hard line, saying, "There are no restrictions on means for political benefit." Islamic fundamentalist leaders argued that aggression by external forces and control over Muslims brought about Muslim degradation and corruption, and that the solution to this was to expel foreign power through Muslims' jihad and restore to a "pure Islamic society." [17].

Jihad is usually related to Islam and Muslims, but in fact, the concept of Jihad is found in all religions, including political/economic ideologies such as Christianity, Judaism, Capitalism, Socialism, and Communism. Islam defines jihad as not only fighting back to protect itself, honor, assets, and homeland, but also striving for improvement. In addition, Jihad is interpreted as a struggle against evil inside or outside an individual or society. In Islam, Jihad aims for the following.

First, learn, teach, and practice Islam in all aspects of a person's life to reach the highest level of education to benefit himself, his family, and society. Second, be a Muslim lion everywhere, every action and action. Third, evil, injustice, and injustice must be fought by hand or mind. Fourth, respond to the demands of jihad with money, effort, wisdom, and life. However, do not fight against Muslim brothers, Muslim countries, or non-Muslim societies that do not have aggressive intentions against Muslims or Muslims. Fifth, no matter what excuse you make, suicide is not tolerated as a jihad in Islam. Sixth, converting people to Islam by coercion or coercion is never a jihad, but a crime and can be punished by law.

Since 2000, religious terrorism has been dominated by Islamic terrorism. These terrorist incidents occurred on a global scale, affecting major Muslim countries in Africa and Asia as well as countries in Russia, Australia, Canada, Israel, the United States, and Europe. Such attacks target Muslims and non-Muslims, with 80% of terrorist victims being Muslims. This is because Islamic extremist groups justify the punishment of unbelievers by armed jihad, and believe that unbelievers who violate Islamic law can kill even Muslims.

Surprisingly, however, there was no jihad in Islam. The term was coined in Europe during the Crusades and wars against Muslims. For current radical Muslims, Jihad is not only about the practice of religious obligations, but also about adhering to the traditions of Islamic society, rejecting corrupt and corrupt Western civilization, and practicing Salafism as a political-led ideology. Therefore, for Salafists, Jihad allows them to attack Muslims, not non-Muslims or Salafis.

Since the 1970s, rapid fluctuations in the global economic order have resulted in the strengthening of the political and ideological status of religion, which had weakened somewhat in front of the power of secular ideology and values in the 20th century, and close relations between religion and state. Selective affinity exists in the combination of religion and ethnicity[18].

Although the nature of Islam changed from one movement to another, the frustrations of the 1992 Algerian Muslims' election revolution, the Middle East peace ideology in the 1990s, political and economic openness of Arab countries, and 9/11 terrorism were triggers. Islamic terrorism, which occurred before and after 9/11 terrorism, was the product of the crisis of Islamism[19]. Islamic terrorism is divided into European-Palestine terrorism in the 1970s, national terrorism in Iran, Syria, and Libya in the 1980s, and terrorism targeting Western society and Islamic countries since the early 1990s[18].

Recently, the terrorists who have been adored by Islam are Salafists, and these groups are increasingly influential. Figure 1 In the early 1990s, about 10 groups increased to about 50 by 2013. Salafism, a variant of wahhabism, is associated with policy-oriented and violent extremism. Salafists are typically exclusive, have a narrow character for local culture and other religions, and use the practice of jihad[20].
Religious interpretation does not use violence as a tool to distinguish between salafism and sufism. Salafism does not preach the holy war against pagans, but preaches the war against itself. Salafis is obligated to accept Sharia and regulates her own behavior. Many Sufis approach God through the intervention of religious leaders and believers. Salafis argues that nothing should be between man and God. From the 13th century to the rise of the Salafi movement in the 19th century, Sufism permeated Islamic discourse. In West Africa and Southeast Asia, Sufis still accounts for a significant portion of the Muslim population. Salafism is a conservative and behavioral form of Islam. Wahhabism is the official religion of Saudi Arabia today. Wahhabism, which began in Arabia in the 18th century, became a textbook for various Salafism groups[21]. Many Salafis accuse Sufism and local cultural practices of distrust of Islam’s identity. Known as Takfīr, this practice is one of the doctrinal roots of Salafi radicalism. Salafis’ strategies include preaching, printing, the use of conversion tools in broadcasting and electronic media, participation in election politics, and violence jihad.

Muslims believe that declaring the five pillars of Islam, Shahadah, Salat, fasting Ramadan, donating zakat to the poor, and practicing pilgrimage(hajj) to Mecca. Salafi Muslims argue that the Sharia state is built on the basis of these religious beliefs. However, the new Islamic order is just a made-up tradition[22]. By the 1920s, the Islamic Reform Movement in the 18th century spread Wahhabism to Islamic society with the support of Saudi Arabia, and Wahhabism was established as a doctrine of Islamic Sunnis as it resisted foreign pressure that corrupted Islam. Wahhabism started from a movement that complies with religious obligations, but developed into an institutionalization that limits the behavior of the people, and turned into an ideological movement and the doctrine of terrorism of Sunni radical groups.

Organized Salafi movements first developed in Southeast Asia in the mid-19th century and in West Africa a century later. In both regions these movements focused on local concerns as well as on the trans-regional Salafi issues of theological and ritual purity. Wahhabism was incorrectly evolved into a variant of salafism, that is, ‘political salafism’. Salafists, who have become variants, do not recognize the diversity of religion and sell the tolerance and non-violence of Sufism as pagan ideas. They treat liberal Muslims as demons and refuse political and economic
cooperation and coexistence with non-Muslims. The goal of the Salafist group's Jihad is not a struggle against the self, but a global victory for Islam. Salafism had no restrictions on the use of religious 'justified violence' against modernization and westernization.

There are researchers who argue that terrorism in Islamic terrorist groups tends to cause more victims than other terrorism. However, each Islamic terrorist group has different organizational characteristics and goal structures, and there are strategic and abstract groups pursuing secular national liberation or regime change movements, and the form and object of terrorism between groups may be different [23].

Figure 2. Four deadliest terrorist groups in 2019.

![Figure 2](image_url)

Note: START GDT(2020).

The correlation between terrorism and the religious promises of terrorist groups and actors has been the subject of extensive academic investigation. Although the focus has often been on extreme Jihad terrorism, other terrorist groups and individuals who made religious promises such as Baruch Goldstein's attack on Hebron in 1994, American Christian identity groups, and Japan's Aum Shinrikyo have been widely discussed. For example, it is argued that many terrorists are "dedicated actors," and that members of a very conservative religion are typically dedicated actors. Religious-inspired terrorists such as the Taleban, ISIS, and Boko Haram are using operations to strengthen their self-control and maximize the number of casualties in the event of an attack. <Figure 2> In the future, very conservative religious terrorist groups will generally attempt more effective terrorist acts than non-religious or moderate religious groups [24][25].

Incidents and fatalities from Islamic terrorism have been concentrated in six Muslim-majority countries (Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Pakistan, Somalia, and Syria), while four Islamic extremist groups (ISIS, Boko Haram, the Taliban, and al-Qaeda) were responsible for 74% of all deaths from terrorism in 2015. These groups all have Salafi or other Sunni beliefs.

5. Conclusion

The reason for paying attention to Islam is that terrorism linked to Muslim groups is occurring around the world, and there is a widespread biased perception that "the religion of Islam is radical and pre-modern." However, if you try to understand more deeply the causes of Islamic terrorism, you will find out that corruption, inequality, discrimination, and oppression exist in
that society. Like the theory of civilization conflict, it is difficult to resolve Islamic terrorism only with a partial and dichotomous perspective. Islamic radical salafism is growing into a variant fungus within the culture of terrorism. Most Muslims hope for a peaceful and intact world, but very few violent groups are trying to aggressively interpret and apply Islamic doctrines to society, and their political and social greed is being realized through numerous sacrifices by them.

The new terrorist of the late 20th century is an extension of traditional terrorism, but it operates across borders and takes the form of an international network with access to advanced technology[26]. New terrorism is an anti-order of the new world order in the 21st century and seems to be strongly influenced by religious inspiration. New terrorism has three main characteristics as follows. It was inspired by the rise of nationalism and separatism, extremism, fundamentalism, and religious factionalism.

Recently, the network of terrorist organizations is not limited to one country but is distributed worldwide. To crush them, a multi-spectrum anti-terrorism strategy is needed that requires multinational and multidimensional mobilization of diplomatic and economic means as well as military means. In order to cope with terrorism, it will require a high level of information to prevent and prevent terrorist outbreaks rather than large-scale military forces. In particular, long-term social reform pressure is needed before external military intervention in response to terrorism.

Internally, consensus and practice by local members are needed to resolve social/economic discrimination prevalent in Islamic society, and there is a task of fundamentally breaking down the pre-modern political system and incorporating it into a democratic system. Externally, the international community should support groups that can compete ideologically and culturally with them as strategies against terrorists to grow.

6. References

6.1. Journal articles


6.2. Books


7. Appendix

7.1. Authors contribution

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