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**The Power of Inclusive Interaction in Resolving
The Religious Conflict
(An Interactional Case of JAI, NU, and Muhammadiyah Activists
in Bandung City)**

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Abstract

This paper elaborates the power of inclusive interaction in resolving the social conflicts triggered by religious beliefs that is studied based on a case of Ahmadiyya marginalization in Indonesia during 2000 – 2012. In many pressures from both state and many nationalism communities, JAI has a sufficient empowerment through its counter responses against MUI and through its continuously sustainable existence. The research method used is in-depth data analysis mechanism, involving key informants from members of Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community (JAI), activist board of Nahdhotul Ulama (NU), and Muhammadiyah Mubaligh activists in Bandung city and numerous responses from mainstream Islamic organizations. The power of inclusive interaction is actualized by Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community (JAI) and subsequently responded by an accommodative attempt from activists of both Muhammadiyah Mubaligh and Nahdhotul Ulama in Bandung city. Pertaining to the difference of thought or ideology, the construction of inclusive interaction possesses certain power in resolving

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horizontal conflicts through interaction catalyst that reinforces the value of *ukhuwah insaniyah* (humanism), without any hatred but mutual trust, and open space for interaction among institutions from any religious streams. Disagreement shall be resolved through dialogs (*tabayyun*), and shall not be perceived as a part of conflict because disagreement is considered as a part of necessity (*sunnatullah*). Differences of belief shall be resolved through tolerance, mutual respect, and shall not be perceived as a part of hostility.

[Artikel ini mengungkap kekuatan interaksi inklusif dalam meredam konflik sosial atas nama keyakinan beragama. Realitas ini dikaji berdasarkan kasus peminggiran Jemaat Ahmadiyah di Indonesia pada kurun waktu tahun 2000 hingga 2012. Kekuatan interaksi inklusif diaktualisasikan oleh Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI), dan direspon dengan akomodatif oleh Mubaligh Muhammadiyah dan Aktivistis Pengurus Nahdhotul Ulama di Kota Bandung, serta sejumlah respon dari organisasi masyarakat Islam *mainstream*. Menyangkut perbedaan-perbedaan pemikiran atau aliran setajam apapun, konstruksi interaksi inklusif memiliki kekuatan dalam meredam konflik horizontal melalui katalis interaksional yang menguatkan nilai *ukhuwah insaniyah* (persaudaraan sesama ummat manusia), tanpa ada nilai kebencian dan lebih menguatkan rasa saling percaya, serta terbuka ruang melakukan interaksi bersama dalam suatu kelembagaan lintas aliran keagamaan. Manakala terjadi perbedaan pandangan, pilihan tindakan yang perlu dikuatkan adalah dialogis (*tabayyun*), dan bukan dinilai sebagai konflik, sebab perbedaan pandangan dimaknai sebagai bagian dari realitas atau keniscayaan (*sunatullah*). Saat terjadi perbedaan keyakinan, pilihan tindakan yang harus dikonstruksikan yaitu toleran, menghargai, dan tidak ahrus dipahami sebagai bagaian dari permusuhan.]

Keywords: *ahmadiyya*; inclusive interaction; social conflict

A. Introduction

This paper elaborates the power of inclusive interaction in social conflicts triggered by religious beliefs in Indonesia that is studied based on many rampant cases in varied regions related to the Ahmadiyya marginalization, including violence cases against Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community (JAI) that occurred during 2000 – 2012.¹ According to Bahtiar Effendy², the reality of such problems is a result of the decreased power of

¹ Wawan H. Purwanto, *Menusuk Ahmadiyah*, (Jakarta: CBM Press, 2008), 254–264.

² Catur Wahyudi, *Marginalisasi dan Keberadaban Masyarakat*, Preface by Bahtiar Effendy, (Jakarta: Penerbit OBOR, 2015), v–vii.

inclusive interaction among community in responding differences, especially in regards to the differences of beliefs (*excluding others*).

According to current studies related to the existence of Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community (JAI), it is found that “in conditions marginalized by the state authority (Central and Local Government) supported by Religious Institutional Authority (Islam) and mainstream Islamic groups, JAI existence as marginalized community remains being able to survive”.³ Even, in many pressures from both state and many nationalism communities, JAI has a sufficient empowerment through its counter responses against MUI and through its continuously sustainable existence.

An interesting fact on this is that the increase of rejection and dissolution of JAI in this reform era is indeed a reality of increasing appreciation on human rights, pluralism, tolerance, and democracy in nation’s and community’s life. According to Wawan H. Purnomo⁴, the allegation that Ahmadiyya was committed blasphemy and snared by Law Number 1/PNPS/1965 initially emerged in 1980s. In fact, the allegation that this community is considered heretical began to arise in this reform era since the issuance of a fatwa from Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) in 2005 stating that JAI is a misleading cult and has been excluded from Islam. The issuance of such fatwa was indeed due to various series of violence incidents on Ahmadiyya that had been widespread although it cannot be solely associated with the fatwa. At least, based on the observation of Setara Institute, the violence on JAI members and its assets occurred in 193 cases in 2008, 33 cases in 2009, and 50 cases in 2010.⁵

Understanding on the reality above, it is really important to analyze the power of inclusive interaction in resolving the horizontal conflicts among religious movements that have become a social reality in Indonesia, especially considering the high potential for social conflict. The power of inclusive interaction could expectedly tighten relationship and enhance autonomy and thus ultimately creating a characterized social network.

³ Catur Wahyudi, “Gerakan Civil Society Komunitas Islam Marjinal : Kasus Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia” (Ph.D Dissertation, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2014), 240–241.

⁴ Wawan H. Purwanto, *Tragedi Cikeusik Pembelajaran dari Kasus Ahmadiyah*, (Jakarta: CMB Press, 2011), 134–136.

⁵ *Ibid*, 135.

B. Methods

Methodologically, this paper was carried out by means of in-depth data analysis mechanism involving key informants from members of Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community (JAI), activist board of Nahdhotul Ulama (NU), and Muhammadiyah Mubaligh activists in Bandung city and numerous responses from mainstream Islamic organizations that are pros and cons with JAI such as: responses from Central Board of Nahdhotul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and LDII. Observation on the consistency of the institutional opinion was done during the correspondence and interview with central board and activists of Islamic organization as the key informants. The correspondence was carried out by means of written correspondence and teleconference through telecommunication media.

The data were analyzed by using literacy consistency approach to examine the consistency of stakeholders' opinions. The content transparency analysis was also used to yield the high consistency. In order to formulate the conclusions, it thoroughly elaborated several opinions expressed in workshop forum.

C. The Interactional Reality of Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community

In many studies on ideological movement based on religious faiths or believes, the interactional reality of Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community still exists in some exact degree under conditions of oppressive and marginalized circumstances; even, it grows significantly during the reformative and political climates that gradually tend to be more liberal.⁶

Previous studies have been able to identify the pattern of relations among Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community (JAI), the government, and other Islamic organizations in Indonesia.⁷ This pattern of relations is described in Table 1 below.

⁶ As'ad Said Ali, *Ideologi Gerakan Pasca Reformasi, Gerakan-Gerakan Sosial Politik dalam Tinjauan Ideologis*, (Jakarta: LP3S, 2012), viii–ix.

⁷ Catur Wahyudi, "Gerakan Civil Society Komunitas Islam Marginal : Kasus Jemaat Ahmadiyah Islam", (Ph.D Dissertation, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2014).

Table 1:
The Pattern of Relations among Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community, the Government, and Other Islamic Organizations in Indonesia

Actor	Pattern of Relations (Interactional)	Related Parties
JAI	Suppress and Co-optation	Government (The Ministry of Religious Affairs/Local Government)
		Indonesian Ulema Council
		<i>PAKEM (Pengawas Aliran Kepercayaan Masyarakat)</i>
	Confront with Ideological Conflict	Islamic Defenders Front
		Indonesian Islamic Forum
		Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia
		Front Betawi Rembug
		Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia (DDII)
		Islamic Defenders Team
		PERSIS (Islamic Unity)
	Accommodative and Tolerant Regardless Different Ideology	PPP (United Development Party)
		GAI (Indonesian Ahmadiyya Movement)
		Kyi NU, especially senior Kyi
		Ansor Youth Movement
	Humanistic Symbiosis	Muhammadiyah Central Board
NGO's activists of Pluralism and Nationalism ⁸		

The pattern of such relations as described above, explains that Ahmadiyya community in Indonesia is indeed in pros and cons relations as follows:

⁸ Consisting of : 1. AJI DAMAI; 2. Wachid Institute; 3. Pluralistic Muslim Intellectuals (Humanist); 4. Women Research Institute; 5. Indonesian Women's Coalition; 6. National Alliance of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika; 7. LBH Jakarta; 8. Ungu Institute; 9. Ungu Community; 10. Our Voice; 11. Institut Pelangi Perempuan; and 12. Activists for Human Rights.

1. *The Confronting Interaction*

Counter reality (ideological difference or even ideological resistance) generally occurs in a Muslim community that ideologically rejects interpretation on the existence of post-Muhammad prophecy; this, furthermore, is triggered by the prophetic declaration of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, as expressed in his book *Haqiqat al-Wahy*⁹, which states that:

“As what I have said several times that what I say to you is indeed the words of Gods as Al-Qur’an and Torah; and, that I am truly *Zilli* prophet (a prophet without sharia) and *Buruzi* (a shadow prophet from Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), and every Muslim must obey me in every religious affair. Anyone who knows the news of me as a judge in deciding his case, nor does he confess to me as the promised Messiah, nor does he recognize the revelation I receive from God, he will have a punishment in the hereafter since he has rejected what he should receive.”

This prophetic revelation declared by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad actually becomes the fundamental problem of JAI in the midst of Indonesian Muslims; although among Ahmadiyya per se, there are various distinct interpretations on the position of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad¹⁰, and therefore creating two different trends in Ahmadiyya community that are Ahmadiyya Qadian and Ahmadiyya Lahore.

Based on the elaboration above, mainstream Islamic communities in Indonesia perceive that the interpretation of prophecy and *al-Masih al-Mau’ud* status of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is deemed to be misguided and misleading so that it cannot be tolerated as a part of Islam. Such different interpretation becomes MUI authority under the Ministry of Religious Affairs that is represented by a deliberative board of PAKEM together with both Central and Local Government, which in this case such authority has a very significantly suppressing influence in Indonesian Muslim community.

⁹ Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Haqiqat al-Wahy*, p. 8. Cited from Wawan H. Purwanto’s book, *Tragedi Cikeusik Pembelajaran dari Kasus Ahmadiyah*, (Jakarta: CBM Press, 2011), 78–79.

¹⁰ *Ahmadiyya Qadian* in JAI believes that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is a *mujaddid* (reformer) as well as a *Zilli* prophet without bringing any new sharia; meanwhile, *Ahmadiyya Lahore* in Indonesian Ahmadiyya Movement (GAI) believes that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is not a prophet. Instead, he is just a *mujaddid* (reformer) in Islamic teachings.

This different interpretation has a strong *sound governance*¹¹ from civil society that is cons with JAI, and hence the supports for JAI dissolution continuously rise among mainstream Indonesian Islamic organisations such as: FPI/LPI, GUI, FUI, HTI, FBR, DDII, Islamic Defenders Team, and PERSIS. Meanwhile, the political suppression towards JAI dissolution emerges from United Development Party (PPP) that currently becomes the Minister of Religious Affairs and is supported by the status-quo, which in this case is Democratic Party. Surely due to this, the tendency of JAI dissolution progressively massively rises. Despite such controversial reality along with various suppressions from other parties, the existence of JAI remains firmly as one of powers of civil society in Indonesia. The ideology of humanism proposed by JAI emerges as a dominant factor for their civilized character. This character relates to Ahmadi's characters that become their basis of both actions and behaviors as the member and board of Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community.

2. *The Accommodative Interaction*

The accommodative reality, which is an attitude that is not confrontational against JAI yet tending to rather tolerate in spite of different interpretation, generally occurs in Muslim communities with strong humanism. It relates to the increasing interest of democratic states in human rights. Such accommodative attitude does not necessarily represent the supporting Islamic organizations but is rather oriented as personal perspectives or supports. This reality, in fact, implies that such accommodative interaction is ineffective to strengthen JAI position in encountering many pressures from either government (Central and Local Government) or from other Islamic communities that are opposing against JAI. However, at the very least the accommodative interaction upon JAI arises from varied parties such as: Indonesian Ahmadiyya Movement (GAI),

¹¹ *Sound Governance* is a term used by Farazmand Ali (editor), *Sound Governance Policy and Administrative Innovation*, (London: Preager, Westport, Connecticut, 2004); that one of its dimensions is providing an overview of feedbacks between state interest on one side and community's interest on another and hence creating a strong support or participation from the community.

senior Javanese NU *kyi*, Ansor Youth Movement, and the Chairman of Muhammadiyah Central Board.

3. The Supporting Interaction

The supporting interaction on the JAI's existence, which is an ideological attitude with strong tolerance upon JAI, mostly occurs in Muslim communities with high pluralism, perceiving Islam as *rahmatan lil 'alamin* and that such freedom of expressing beliefs must be appreciated by both state (legal authority) and community.

This supporting interaction is generally motorized by NGO's activists for human rights with high pluralism, including those from intellectuals and influential individuals. This reality implies that such supporting interaction proves that there is another side apart from pros and cons against the JAI existence. Many supports, at least, have occurred from varied parties including: AJI DAMAI, Wachid Institute, Pluralistic Muslim Intellectuals (Humanist), Women Research Institute, Indonesian Women's Coalition, National Alliance of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, LBH Jakarta, Ungu Institute, Ungu Community, Our Voice, Pelangi Perempuan Institute, activists for Human Rights.

D. The Power of Inclusive Interaction : The Alternative selected by Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community in Responding Social Conflicts

The concept of inclusive interaction requires the prerequisites of values agreement that can be used as a mutual belief as well as minimizes the fact of *excluding others* that often occurs in the community. This values agreement is believed to be able to tighten any relations that are built based on beliefs and mutual understanding among members of organizations.

1. The Reality of Excluding Others

Studies on *excluding others* or putting other groups into "the others" in Islamic civilization frequently occur as the result of exclusion fatwa that majorly contributes to the dynamic of conflicts among religious trends. This is due to many fatwas issued by authorities in the name of mainstream religious (Islamic) organizations, including the fatwa issued by Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) on Ahmadiyya that results in the restriction of JAI's activities in Indonesia—even in several places, it is manifested as the

dissolution of JAI's activities.¹² In regards to Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community, MUI's fatwa has placed this community on misguided and misleading classifications.

Post-Muhammad prophecy and *Khulafa'ur Rasyidin*, the reality of such fatwa has become a political reality that is capable of *excluding others* and in its turn, can make the community marginalized. In the history of Islamic civilization, such problem has grown and dealt with both global and local authorities triggering many periodic movements. According to Hamid Dabashi,¹³ in post-Muhammad era, the communal conflict has transformed into political and ideological conflicts due to the competition among groups, such as: *sunni*, *shi'ah*, and *khawarij* in which at that time these groups claimed, inherited, and even negated Muhammad's (pbuh) authority as a prophet. The result of Bryan S. Turner's¹⁴ observation reveals that the tension emerging among pre-modern Islamic communities at that time happens between the political authority under the dynasties and local authority under the religious intellectuals. The collaboration between local and political authorities marginalizes the community and thus creating what many call as "*excluding others*".

According to Sayyed Hossen Nasr,¹⁵ the confronting dynamic in the history of Islamic civilization is grouped into three discourses, namely: *kalam* (theology), metaphysics and gnosis (*ma'rifah* and *'irfan*), philosophy, and theosophy. Among these discourses, the most confronting dynamic appears from *kalam* (theology), which mostly creates "*excluding others*" through its fatwas. Meanwhile, in the discourse of metaphysics and gnosis or philosophy and theosophy, the confronting dynamics appears in terms of thoughts or perspectives. In the discourse of *kalam*, Islamic trends or schools that are confronting one another appears in the case of *mu'tazilah*

¹² Mahmud Mubarik Ahmad (the deputy of JAI central board) in discussion with the author, July 24, 2017.

¹³ Hamid Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundations of the Islamic Revolution in Iran*, (New York : New York University Press, 1993), 6–7.

¹⁴ Bryan S. Turner, "Islam, Capitalism and Weber Thesis," *The British Journal of Sociology*, (June, 1974), 230–243.

¹⁵ Sayyed Hossen Nasr, *Islam: Agama, Sejarah dan Peradaban*, (Surabaya: Risalah Gusti, 2003), 175–198.

that dominantly prioritizes ratio (or rationale) comprising five principles¹⁶ in interpreting texts on one side. On the other side, *asy'ariyah* schools (otherwise known as *ahlusunnah*), formerly followed *mu'tazilah* in terms of perspective and theology but then somehow argues *mu'tazilah* theses by limiting the use of ratio in interpreting texts.¹⁷

According to Antony Black's¹⁸ perspective, the Islamic underlying scripts allow Muslims to reaffirm a 'typical' relationship between political and religious authorities more firmly; thus, it is not surprising that the movement of Islamic fundamentalism gradually steadily grows. Further, the perspective of Bassam Tibi¹⁹ identifies the religious fundamentalism as a political ideology to obtain hegemony in the structure of global politics. Such political ideology is used to fight against and replace the secular system.

As the methods of text interpretation later are established and used as determining criteria (legitimation), these methods become principles by which 'right interpretation' and 'wrong interpretation' can be distinguished; hence, the right interpretation will later become a part of orthodoxy while the wrong interpretation will be regarded deviation or heresy (*bid'ah*). On the other side, Abdelmajid Sharfi²⁰ deems that *bid'ah* is not a practical deviation on religious teachings and norms, but rather a norm practiced by religious community.

¹⁶ Five principles include: (1) the doctrine of God's unity (*at-tauhid*), (2) justice (*al-'adl*), (3) promises and threats (*al-wa'd w'al-wa'id*), (4) midst position for Muslims with major sins (*al-manzil bayn al-manzilatayn*), and (5) the strict advice to do good deeds and the definitive banning of evil deeds (*al-amr bi'l ma'ruf wan-nahi 'an al'munkar*) developed by the disciples of Hasan al-Bashri (d. 231H/845M), such as: Abu Ishaq an-Nazhzhah (d. 231 H/845M) and Abu'l Hudzayl al-'Allaf (d. 235H/850M).

¹⁷ The Al-asy'ariyah school was pioneered by Abu'l Hasan al'Asy'ari (d. 330H/941M). In particular religious matters, the use of ratio is totally acceptable (but not in theology). This school tends to find an eclectic stance among the extremists, believes in the forgiveness of sins and the *intercession* of Rasulullah (pbuh), perceives God's attributes are not like human nature, and regards Al-Quran as *azali* not creature.

¹⁸ Antony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: from the Prophet to the Present*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd., second edition, 2011), 304–310.

¹⁹ Bassam Tibi, "The Totalitarianism of Jihadist Islamism and its Challenge to Europe and to Islam," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, (March, 2007), 35–54.

²⁰ Abdelmajid Sharfi, *Islam between Divine Message and History*, (Budapest Hungari: Central European University Share Company, 2005), 58–60.

In fact, the reality of *excluding others* (exclusion fatwas in Islam) in the Islamic civilization seems to be subjective rationality which its righteous values are solely based on theological schools (*kalam*) so that it is hardly categorised into objective rationality (universal Islam). This reality is also supported by the reality of the dynamics of thoughts, in which the *magnum opus* on 'Heresy' (As-Syatibi: "*al-I'tisham*") is deemed to have a decency 'heretical' by Syech Nasir bin Hamid²¹ after reading two books of as-Syathibi (*al-Muwafaqat* and *al-I'tisham*) since his most references of theology are from Asyairah books.

2. The Values of Inclusive Interaction of Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community

Referring to de Tocqueville's notion adopted by Azyumardi Azra and Muhammad A.S. Hikam,²² the concept of inclusive interaction is an integral part of civil society which in its turn builds the *civility* characters. In fact, JAI is always consistent to "obey" the state or status quo since they never want to be imaged as the dissidents (rebels). Understanding varied beliefs and JAI teachings, it emerges that the most significant power influencing JAI existence is that of Ahmadi's magnificence personality that becomes *core belief* of their movement.

This personality basically upholds the values of morality and spirituality that comprise three aspects: (1) the aspect of faith in God Almighty with all His rights and powers, as inspired from the treatise of "my teachings" by Ghulam Mirza Ahmad; (2) the social aspect that primarily upholds forgiveness and tolerance; and (3) the nationality aspect as a part of particular nation and state that is realized by the strong inclination not to fight against the nation unless with the basis of law mechanism. The alternative selected by Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community

²¹ Nasir bin Hamid al Fahd, *al-I'lam bi Mukhlafat al-Muwafaqat wa al-I'tisham*, (Riyadh: Maktabah ar-Rusyid, 1420 H), 5-7.

²² Muhammad A.S. Hikam, *Demokrasi dan Civil Society*, (Jakarta, LP3ES, 1996), 3; see also in Azyumardi Azra, *Civil Society dan Demokratisasi di Indonesia, Transisi selama dan setelah Presiden Abdul Rahman Wahid*, in Burhanudin : *Mencari Akar Kultural Civil Society di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: INCIS, 2003), 61.

in responding their conflicts is by actualizing such Ahmadiyya's²³ values as follows:

a. The Critical Conscience Actualization of Ahmadiyya's Values

As what has been elaborated previously that Ahmadis' personality derived from the treatise of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, at least there are 19 principles of personality.²⁴ Based on the principle of personality, the Ahmadis' personality can be ideally classified into these following characteristics²⁵:

- 1) Leaving behind any human natures that are forbidden by Al-Quran in all aspects of life and therefore can be avoided from any barbaric attitudes, steadfast with the good deeds.
- 2) Strengthening any good deeds and leaving behind any evil deeds through the holiness of *farji*, always cares each other and speaks good.
- 3) Strengthening the attitudes through the good deeds, including: forgiving others, being fair, giving unconditionally, and developing *ihsan* attitude with true courage, honest, patient, solidarity upon others, and ultimately look for the greatest form.
- 4) Strengthening the attitudes in order to achieve the upmost spiritual position through beautiful prayer, the nature of *serbat kafur*²⁶ and

²³ Catur Wahyudi, "Gerakan Civil Society Komunitas Islam Marginal : Kasus Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia", (Ph.D Dissertation UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2014).

²⁴ Those 19 principles are: (1) do not be anxious to *la'nat fii dunya*, and believe such curse will be annihilated; (2) do not be conceited; (3) straighten the faith and willingness; (4) do not be arrogant, selfish, and lazy; (5) do not easily 'prejudge' and always remember dead; (6) stop any contradictions between one another peacefully, and forgive others' mistakes; (7) do not follow lust; (8) avoid any tense; (9) be modest in any circumstances; (10) be united as a family; (11) merciful; (12) do not commit evil deeds; (13) being honest, do not love *dunya* excessively; (14) firm the spirit and be conscious of Allah; (15) do not be afraid of sorrow; (16) get closed to the God; (17) be compassionate to others; (18) be patient and persistent; and (19) fully believe in the God no matter what.

²⁵ Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Islami Ushul Filasafi*, translated by Mukhlis Ilyas : *Filsafat Ajaran Islam*, (Bogor: Sekretariat Isyaat PB. JAI, 2008), 26–101.

²⁶ *Serbat Kafuri* is perceived as a condition in which human experiences *ruju'ilallah* (referring back to Allah) through high honesty and thus it decreases the love of *dunya*, quoted from Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Islami Ushul Ki Filasafi*, translated by Mukhlis Ilyas : *Filsafat Ajaran Islam*, (Bogor: Sekretariat Pusat PB. JAI, 2008), 93.

zanjabil,²⁷ as well as maintaining the perfectly spiritual harmony with God.

Ahmadis' personality inspired from ten allegiances for the members of Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community fully inspires their existence as marginalized organization, even in the conditions oppressed by both state and numerous 'contra' Islamic organizations. Such personality is not merely demonstrated in the organization's characteristics as the *global civil society* that emphasize behaviors based on the deliberation, recognition, and respect for human rights and for harmonious values (known as '*love for all, hatred for none*') in resolving every thought differences and pressures from state as well as particular communities; instead, this is also affirmed by the transcendental spiritual power, which is a belief power where its rationality develops a *mental setting* for the members. According to Goffman (1959)²⁸, "the community movement based on religion has several fundamental values, including: self-reliance, responsibility, teamwork, social solidarity, initiative, sacrifice, respect for science, time, and others, and being polite (etiquette)". To figure out such values, it requires a series of regulations that must be obeyed by all members of the community through total institutional approach. In JAI community, this approach is carried out in a structured recruitment and in a *khilafah* management system. In this context, JAI power as a part of *global civil society* gives an effective model to strengthen its existence in spite of facing varied pressures and threats. It is affirmed by the characteristics of JAI movement that never 'oppose to' any authorities in the government and by its strong orientation on humanity.

Thus, referring to this basic concern there are five fundamental values of JAI community, namely: (1) strengthening the *illahiyah* existence, (2) upholding peace, (3) holding the principles of honesty and justice, (4)

²⁷ *Zanjabi* is taken from *zana* and *jabal* which means hiking a mountain. This is a condition in which human gains a full condition of spiritual and climbs into higher position. They could perform many difficult duties and sacrifice everything in their life for Allah. It is quoted from Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Islami Ushul Ki Filasafi*, translated by Mukhlis Ilyas: *Filsafat Ajaran Islam*, (Bogor: Secretariat Isyaat PB. JAI, 2008), 94.

²⁸ Erving Goffman, *Asylum: Essay on the Social Situation of Mental Patient and Other Inmates*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1959).

developing a solidarity, and (5) prioritizing for forgiveness.²⁹ This is asserted by a study conducted by Winny Trianita³⁰ which concludes that “among female members of Ahmadiyya, sacrifice is not simply interpreted as ceremonial practice but rather as of life meaningfulness. It creates an extent to express their *agency*”.

b. The Transcendental Endeavor

As what have been concluded in the early part of this chapter despite being marginalized minority, at least there are two beliefs underlying Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community, which are: (1) the promise of God who sends His Messenger with guidance and righteous religion so that “He could put Islam above all religions” (*liyudh-hirahu alad-diyini kullihi*), and (2) that *khilafatur-rasyidin* era comprises two periods: during Caliph Abu Bakr to Caliph Ali, and the period following it.

Such fundamental beliefs are indeed their ideals that underlie the struggling steps of Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community in any conditions. Practically, every time their existence is struck by threats, terrors, violence, or even murder, every Ahmadis’ believes that “every spilled blood during any struggles will strengthen the belief to reach God’s promises. This can only be fulfilled by developing Ahmadis’ values and personalities”.

The above arguments are rather adequate to draw a conclusion that any fundamental values with high ‘surviving’ ability of *civil society* in a marginalized community, which in this case is Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community, has concrete orientation and motive as a community organization whose ideology and values are transcendental. This is also affirmed by the results of discussion and in-depth interview with Ahmadiyya activists.

²⁹ The spiritual value of ‘forgiving’ (*afwun*) is believed by Ahmadiyya as an essence of tolerance upon many differences in the real life, see : Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Islami Ushul Ki Filasafi*, translated by Mukhlis Ilyas: *Filsafat Ajaran Islam* (Bogor: Sekretariat Pusat PB. JAI, 2008), 49.

³⁰ Winny Trianita, “Sacrifice Among Ahmadi Woman,” *Jakarta: Indo Islamika*, (Volume 5 Number 1, 2008/1429H), 57.

c. The Dialog Priority

Regarding the fact of different perspectives, even almost polarized, the best solution for resolving conflicts is by dialogs. However, an individual often prefers violence despite the fact that it never solves any issues; instead, it creates a new one. Conversely, a dialog offers discursive process that ultimately leads to many solutions and agreements. Since its early emergence, Ahmadiyya has created many notoriously debatable issues among Muslim theologians, especially in Indonesia. It seems so plausible (as a logical consequence) since the issues around Ahmadiyya are rather theological and perceived “different” (even contradictory) from mainstream Islamic perspectives.

In 1933, when the existence of Ahmadiyya significantly grew, the majority of Islamic organizations started worrying about them. Therefore, Islamic Defenders (Persis) initiated to carry out a dialog with Ahmadiyya facilitated by nationalist neutral groups. The first debate was held in April 1933 to discuss on the issues of Isa’s (pbuh) life and death. The second debate was held in September 28, 1933 discussing the issues of prophecy and the truth of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad’s teachings. And the third debate was held in November 1934 that made many Muslims pledge allegiance with Ahmadiyya. This triggered the establishment of first Executive Board (*hoofdbestuur*) in Jakarta in 1935.

In Indonesia, the great momentum in the 14 *Hijri* century was the dialog between the Islamic Defenders and Ahmadiyya Qadian, attended by the representatives of both press and Muslim communities. In April 1933, an official debate in open forum was carried out between Ahmadiyya community and the Head of Islamic Defenders, A. Hasan. It was initiated by the process of correspondence related to “the life and death of Isa (pbuh)”.³¹ The first debate was held in Sociteit Building “Ons Genoegen” – Naripanweg Bandung (attended by roughly 1000 people) while the second debate was held in National Deliberative Building at Kenari st., Jakarta (attended by more than 2000 people). These two debates yielded the book “Verslag Debat Resmi” signed by those two sides. Even, the third debate was held in Jakarta in 1934 attended by 1500 people.

³¹ Murtolo, “Sejarah Singkat Perkembangan Jemaat Ahmadiyah di Indonesia selama 50 tahun, *Majalah Sinar Islam*,” *Number Yubillium*, (January, 1976), 18.

According to Hans Kung,³² a dialog must be done demonstratively by expressing all perspectives. Therefore, a dialog is not supposed to seek truth but rather finding an agreement consented by respective side. The effectiveness of religious debate according to Raimundo Panikar³³ requires prerequisites, before an individual has a true ‘*universalism*’ vision, he often undergoes an initial phase that is *exclusivism*, a perspective that does not offer a chance to discuss and even suspect other religions. In the succeeding phase, an individual will come to *pluralism* perspective, which is a perspective that allows dialog and does not suspect other religions but still perceiving that his religion is the most righteous religion. Despite the absence of agreement, each side involved in a debate must be objective and tolerant. Certainly, such processes must be moderated by a neutral (independent) parties.

d. Mubahallah

If a dialog does not meet a meeting point (an agreement), an Islamic theology offers a solution known as *mubahallah* in which each side agrees that the solution must be solely relied on the God; and therefore, each side must be patient and fully believes in Him.

A *Mubahallah* early occurred in the era of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad with Maulvi Tsanaullah (an ulema from Amritsar), in 1897. At that time, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was 62 years old while Maulvi Tsanaullah was 29 years old.³⁴ The *Mubahallah* challenge was proposed by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad to all Indian ulemas and in the list of Indian ulemas, Maulvi Tsanaullah was in eleventh position. But eventually, Maulvi Tsanaullah refused *Mubahallah* and merely declared his willingness to pledge. In Indonesia, such *Mubahallah* also nearly occurred in 1975 between the members of Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community (JAI), who were the editor of “Sinar Islam” magazine (Syafi Rajo Batuah and Abadurahim Gani) and his opponents from the editor of “Al-Muslimun” magazine (Fawzy Sa’id Thaha and Husen Al Habsyi).³⁵ However, eventually the *Mubahallah* was

³² Hans Kung, *Etika Global*, (Bandung: Pustaka, 1999).

³³ Raimundo Panikar, *Philosophy of Religion*, (Glencoe, 1999).

³⁴ Ahmad Sulaiman & Ekky, *Klarifikasi terhadap Kesesatan Ahmadiyah dan Plagiat*, (Bandung: Mubarak Publishing, 2011), 93–97.

³⁵ Fawzy Sa’id Thaha, *Ahmadiyah dalam Persoalan*, (Jakarta: pt. Alma’arif, 1981), 47–59.

cancelled since both Fawzy Sa'id Thaha and Husen Al Habsyi did not agree with the procedures of *Mubahallah*.

Nevertheless, *Mubahallah* can be used as a solution in breaking the deadlock due to different perspectives; although, it still requires proper legal procedures to do so. At the very least, as a method to resolve any religious conflicts, *Mubahallah* offers adequate evidence as a part of fundamental values of civil society in the marginalized community, which in this case is the case of Indonesian Ahmadiyah Community (JAI).

e. Accommodative and Legal Obedience

Responding to varied pressures and intolerance, the most likely JAI's responses that will be used are: (1) when it comes to unlawful actions, the law mechanism must be applied; (2) when it comes to violence, terrors, or cynicisms, the caution must be taken and as much as possible minimizing others' outrage (by being patient and fully believing in Him); (3) when it comes to public opinions, the clarification must be made; even, it must be balanced by issuing books to answer or counter such opposing opinion;³⁶ and (4) when it comes to any actions threatening the existence of JAI as the result of the government's regulation, a good networking whether in the level of national or international must be established.³⁷

f. Consolidation and Collaboration of Community Members

In order to tighten a solidarity among community members in many pressing conditions, JAI develops a model of family gathering to uphold

³⁶ Several books specifically published for this are : Ahmad Sulaeman & Ekky, *Klarifikasi terhadap Kesesatan Ahmadiyah dan Plagiat*, (Bandung: Mubarak Publishing, 2011), responding to Hilman Firdaus's book titled *Kesesatan Ahmadiyah* and Prof. Dr. M. Abdurrahman, M.A., *Plagiat*; the work of R.H. Munirul Islam Yusuf, Sdd and Ekky O. Sabandi, *Ahmadiyah Menggugat*, (Bandung: Mubarak Publishing, 2011) with preface by Prof. Dr. M. Qasim Mathar, M.A. (Professor of UIN Makassar), Zuhairi Misrawi (Moderate Muslim Society) and Yenny Wahid (The Wahid Institute), responding to Dr. Muchlis M. Hanafi's book titled *Menggugat Ahmadiyah*, (Tangerang: Lentera Hati, 2011) with preface with Prof. Dr. M. Quraish Shihab (Professor of UIN Jakarta).

³⁷ Buya Syamsir Ali (a Mubaligh/Central Board of JAI), in discussion with author, February 4, 2012.; Ekky (Branch Officer of JAI – Bandung) in discussion with author, March 3, 2012.

spiritual togetherness and beliefs as Ahmadis, as well as the management of increasingly massive *candah* system.³⁸ Such a solidarity pattern is merely "a manifestation of *akhlaq* (morality) implementation to abandon wickedness so-called *hudnah* and *haun*, not to harm other people, and to become civilized humanbeings living a harmonious life, which represents a high level of morality and is of high importance for humanity due to its nature of human conscience so-called *ulfat* or familiarity".³⁹

In order to tighten JAI relationship with existing public domination, JAI's frequent mechanisms are "to collaborate with NGOs through charity programs, including its collaboration with PMI (Indonesian Red Cross) to conduct blood donor events, and to tighten relationship with press in both regional and national level to provide a proportional space for public clarification pertaining to Ahmadiyya marginalization issue".⁴⁰

Under such circumstances, several fundamental values that can be drawn in response to the counter-interaction facts are movements that highlight compromise, respond to opinions intellectual response, and rely on the existing network. In addition, this could also develop the tradition of internal solidarity with family-friendship system and massive management of *candah* system, and could also develop the tradition of external solidarity through the interaction pattern of humanistic symbiosis with NGO, especially through charity programs and good relationship with press.

³⁸ Buya Syamsir Ali (a Mubaligh/Central Board of JAI) in discussion with author, February 4, 2012.; Ekky (Branch Officer of JAI – Bandung) in discussion with author, March 3, 2012. *Candah* is one of financial sources of Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community (JAI) received from support (contribution) of all members. There are several categories of *candah*, namely: *candah 'Am* by 1/6 (one sixth) of member's overall income and *candah Wasiyat* by 1/10 (one tenth) of member's inherited incomes. Other financial sources other than *candah* are zakat, shadaqoh, wakaf and hibah, and other supports received legally. See JAI statutes, Chapter VII Article 16: Wealth in H, Munasir Sidik, S.H. (the Chairman of the JAI Association of Law Bachelors), *Dasar-dasar Hukum dan Legalitas Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia*, (Bogor: Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, 2008).

³⁹ Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *Islami Ushul Ki Filasafi*, translated by Mukhlis Ilyas: *Filsafat Ajaran Islam*, (Bogor: Sekretariat Pusat PB. JAI, 2008), 45.

⁴⁰ "The authority to collaborate with other parties in a joint program and press conference is only given to the Branch and Central Executive (*majlis-e-Amlah*), the Branch office is obliged to communicate and/or consult with the Central Executive". Buya Syamsir Ali, Mubaligh (a Mubaligh of JAI) in discussion with author, February 4, 2012.; Ekky (the board of JAI Branch Bandung), in discussion with author, March 3, 2012.

3. Analysis of the Power of Inclusive Interaction in Resolving Horizontal Conflict

Based on the fundamental values above, Indonesian Ahmadiyya community (JAI) has a high expectation to be able to survive in Indonesia, and even to show off its existence by resolving horizontal conflicts. Such fundamental values are capable of promoting the power of civilization, as stated by Ibnu Khaldun that “such existence still possesses the roles and functions as the guardian of state security, and so it never exists and could never exist in its world, civil society”.⁴¹

In the perspective of Islamic theology, Islam has established that the implementation of Allah’s command and prohibition is in the hands of the Muslims⁴², while the implementation of Allah’s command and prohibition anyhow requires authorities to carry out. Such a principal is adapted from the hadiths on *bai’at*, which establishes the rights to appoint *khalifah* in the hands of Muslims to practice the Holy Qur’an and Sunnah of the Prophet.⁴³ In this regard, Habermas⁴⁴ (German philosopher), reminds the importance of consensus in community, that in modern society “the divine authority is

⁴¹ Triyono Lukmantoro, “*Civil society Di Bawah Bayang-Bayang Sindrom Praetorianisme*”, the paper was presented in student seminar in Communication Science, FISIP, University of Diponegoro Semarang, (Semarang, 1998), 3-7.

⁴² The only judge in Islam, who determines the good and evil things and human deeds, is Allah SWT. The one and only perfect law-maker is Allah (see QS. Al An’aam: 57).

⁴³ Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) said: “Whoever dies while there is no *bai’at* in his neck, (to the *khalifah*), he has died ignorance (*jahiliyyah*). From Ubadah bin Ash Shamit ra, he said: “We have blamed the Prophet for hearing and obeying it in terms of the hated and the favored (HR Bukhari). Besides, there are many other hadiths explaining that it is the ummah who appoints the ruler (*khalifah*) by *bai’at* to practice Holy Qur’an and Sunnah of the Messenger. Despite the *sharia* establishment that power is in the hands of people – delegated to *khalifah* to rule the people through the process of *bai’at* –sharia does not grant the rights for the people to dismiss the ruler, as in the democratic system. Such a rule is based on the hadiths obligating the obedience to the *khalifah* despite his zalim attitude, as long as he does not command evil deeds (*ma’siyat*). From Ibnu Abbas ra. He said, “Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) said: “Whoever sees from his leader what he hates, then let him be patient. Because indeed anyone who breaks away from the congregation at a time and dies, then he dies ignorant ". (H.R. Muslim).

⁴⁴ Jurgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norm: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1996), 145-146.

gradually replaced by a rational consensus one”. Community comprises different inter-group compromises, and mutual consent to a construction of norm and law. The most important thing is that the marginalized groups need to be mediated and given decent institution to reduce its marginalization.⁴⁵ The inclusive interaction pattern is in accordance with the belief that Islam is a system that benefits all people including the non-Muslims. This is called inclusivity in Islam.⁴⁶

Based on the analysis above, the power of inclusive intraction encompasses the characteristics below:

Table 3 :
The Characteristics of Power of Inclusive Interaction

Interactional Context	Inclusive Character
State and civil society	Integrative
Among civil societies	Collaborative
Probability of Interaction Pattern between State and civil society	Equal Mutual Acceptance
Probability of Collaboration Pattern between State and civil society	State as protector, civil society as supporter and controller
Probability of Interaction Pattern between civil societies	Non-discriminative
Probability of Collaboration Pattern between civil societies	Mutual symbiosis

Considering fundamental values of Indonesian Ahmadiyya community (JAI) in resolving its conflicts in Indonesia, and also referring to the existing studies that strengthen the concept of inclusivity, the power of

⁴⁵ Al Makin, “Jejaring Sutra: Putusnya Satu Benang, Hancurlah Seluruh Sistem”, documentation of Dialog and Hearing Materials pertaining to “Handling of Ahmadiyyah Issue in Indonesia Year 2011”, *Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia*, (Jakarta, March 23, 2011), 10.

⁴⁶ Nurcholish Madjid, *Cendekiawan & Religiusitas Masyarakat*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2009), 15.

inclusive interaction can be constructed in resolving horizontal conflicts, which is based on 9 (nine) principles⁴⁷, namely:

- a. State Constitution shall be the basis of nation and state ideology that protects the rights of all citizens, either individual, group, or organization, and shall also be the basis of State (Government) or Community's compliance;
- b. Universal principle and values of civilization is the fundamental of morality and mentality for the whole components of a nation, either for the Government or Community's element;
- c. Community is the reality of civil power (weak, medium and powerful), either the organized or unorganized one, which reflects equality in universal principles and values;
- d. State/Government executes the constitutional mandate under the principle of justice, accountability, and national-interest;
- e. Interaction between State/Government and Community is based on the principles of non-discrimination, fair, zero political interest, and strict to the rule and mandate of national constitution;
- f. The interaction of inter- and intra-society is based on mental-setting and critical awareness of the principles of tolerance (*tasamuh*)⁴⁸, acceptance on the reality of pluralism in a community, respecting differences, not violating human rights, capable of making decision through deliberation,

⁴⁷ Catur Wahyudi, "Gerakan Civil Society Komunitas Islam Marginal : Kasus Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia", (Ph.D Dissertation UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2014); compare with the thought of Qianhong Fu, "Trust, Social Capital and Organizational Effectiveness", *Major Paper on Faculty of The Virginia Polytechnic Institute*, (April 2004), 5-19; referring to the concept of Dasgupta (2000) which indicates strong relationship between individual, group and institution in strengthening trust on other public as the existence fundamental of an organization or movement. It can be concluded that the strength of an organizational movement is determined by the continual volunteerism, commitment integrated in organizational/institutional endeavor, and makes the organization inclusive or accommodative (not exclusive).

⁴⁸ The term 'tolerance' was introduced by Robert Hefner, *Islam dalam Era Negara Bangsa*, (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1999); Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam dan Negara Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1988); Nurcholis Madjid, *Menuju Masyarakat Madani*, (Edi Cahyono's Page, 2007); Anen Sutianto, *Reaktualisasi Masyarakat Madani dalam Kehidupan*, (Bandung: Pikiran Rakyat, Friday, September 17, 2004).

- providing security to the marginalized group, solidarity on every threat of disunity, having the value of “spiritual theology” (struggle without violating Divine rules) or spirit of civic religion⁴⁹, and prioritizing exemplary attitudes (empathy) in every ideological movement of its group;
- g. Any issues related to vertical interaction, the lawsuit between the State/Government and Community is consistently returned to the applicable law mechanism;
 - h. Any issues related to horizontal conflicts, differences, or conflicts between groups or community organizations are restored to the approach of deliberation facilitated by neutral parties (either from Government or Community) to find a “common ground” through a cultural, dialogical, or negotiational approach, which result in mutual understanding. If “common ground” is not reached, the law mechanism shall be implemented;
 - i. Particularly related to the friction of ideology/belief failing to reach the “common ground”, it may take the judgmental solution to God⁵⁰ in accordance with the sharia believed by the involved parties, by respecting the differences.

⁴⁹ The term ‘*civic religion*’ is used by Wawan H. Purwanto, *Tragedi Cikeusik Pembelajaran dari Kasus Ahmadiyah*, (Jakarta: CMB Press, 2011), 141. There are two important things to actualize the concept of civil religion for the dynamics of democratization. *First* is the fact that religion encompasses moral values on tolerance among mankind. Differences are absolute, so that the idea of pluralism shall be taught, for which every religion acknowledges and understands disagreement in religious understanding. *Secondly*, due to the existence of difference, tolerance needs to be performed. Because religion is in accordance with tolerance, every mankind shall hold the principles of tolerance per se, and shall implement such a principle amidst the difference.

⁵⁰ The concept is known as ‘*mubahallah*’ as guided in al-Qur’an Surah Ali ‘Imran: 61, “*Whoever discourages you about the story of Isa after coming to science (who assures you), then say (to him): Let the community call our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, yourself and us then let the community do muhaballah to God and the community ask that the curse of Allah inflicted on those who lie*”. Mubahallah is a situation when the people with different arguments pray in earnest, so that Allah curses the liars. Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) once invited the delegates of Christian to do muhaballah but they reject the invitation, and this becomes the truth of the dakwah delivered by Muhammad (pbuh).

The result of interviews on key informants and the responses of Islamic community organizations on the existence of JAI are presented as follows⁵¹ :

- a. All Islamic mass organizations can accept the 10 conditions of JAI members' *bai'at* (a promise or commitment of integrity), except on the 10th point pertaining to Imam Mahdi and al-Masih al-Mau'ud, which is perceived debatable by several parties. The 10 conditions of *bai'at* are as follows:
 - 1) Will always avoid shirk during lifetime;
 - 2) Will always avoid lies, adultery, lustful attitudes toward *non-muhrim*, deeds of evil, crimes, persecution, treachery, chaos, and rebellion, and negative desires;
 - 3) Will always do five times prayer (*shalat*) solely due to the command of Allah and His Prophet, attempt to do *tahajjud* prayer, send *shalawat* to Prophet Muhammad SAW, beg for forgiveness and protection from any sins, remember God's blessing and feel grateful with a sincere heart, as well as praise and uphold His name with a loving heart;
 - 4) Will never bring any misfortune against God's creature in general, and Muslims in particular due to the impulse of negative desire, either verbally or non-verbally;
 - 5) Will remain faithful to Allah SWT in difficulty or happiness, sadness or joy, favors or misfortunes. Shortly, we are willing to the fate of Allah SWT, accept every single humiliation and distress in Allah's way, and will not turn away our face from Allah SWT during bad luck and disaster, and will even continue to move forward;
 - 6) Will abandon any kinds of bad tradition and lust, and will surely uphold the command of the Holy Qur'an upon himself. The word of God and His Messenger will always be the guidance of his life;
 - 7) Will abandon arrogance, and live with humility, politeness, gentleness and courtesy;

⁵¹ Islamic Society Organizations that have responded the issue are: NU Executive Board, Muhammadiyah Central Executive, LDII Central Executive, and JAI Board of Bandung City, in correspondence with author, August 2017.

- 8) Will always respect religion, religious honor, and Islam, more than our soul, wealth, children, and all that we love;
 - 9) Will be compassionate toward God's creature in general, and will as far as possible bring benefits to all mankind with the strength and favor that Allah has bestowed upon us;
 - 10) Will establish brotherhood with these servants, Imam Mahdi and *al-Masih al Mau'ud* solely because of Allah with admissible obedience (any good deeds) and will stand upon the covenant until death, and uphold the bond of this covenant outweigh worldly bonds, families, friendships, and profession.
- b. The conception of hostility (or declaring war) can only be carried out in the event of an attack beforehand, and the priority is to establish brotherhood, not only Islamic (*ukhuwah islamiyah*), but also national brotherhood (*ukhuwah wathaniyah*) and humanism (*ukhuwah insaniyah*), and so there would be no justification to attack certain groups on the basis of different beliefs (interpretation);
 - c. Response to the limitation of social interaction basically can be done under the principles of *ukhuwah insaniyah*, for instance: helping each other in particular celebrations, gathering in a group, mutual assistance, visiting sick people, conducting *iftar*, *halal bil halal*, involving in social activities, adoption, mutual business/investment, and sharing political coalition;
 - d. Any sensitive social interactions between Islamic organizations and JAI are related to the rituals of worship, such as: becoming *jama'ah* in congregational prayers and being scheduled to be Friday sermon unless "the mutual believe" has been greatly established (respecting each other in mutual relationship and avoiding any hate speech);
 - e. If the disagreement appears, the acts that must be done is by dialog/discussing (*tabayyun*), which is not perceived as a part of conflict, yet differences shall be perceived as a part of necessity (*sunatullah*); and
 - f. Any optional acts over such differences are establishing tolerance, mutual respect, morals, and civilized humanity. Differences shall be perceived as one of God's authority in providing guidance to mankind.

E. Conclusion

The power of inclusive interaction can be actualized by Indonesian Ahmadiyya community (JAI), and responded positively by Mubaligh Muhammadiyah and Nahdhotul Ulama Activist in Bandung City. Such an interaction is built under the basis of community's principles and universal values of humanity with strong motivation and tolerance toward different thoughts or ideology.

This power was built under the basis of understanding that: (1) hostilities should only be done if the attack has done beforehand and the brotherhood, which is based on Islamic brotherhood (*ukhuwah Islamiyah*) and nationality (*ukhuwah wathaniyah*), must be given precedence; (2) massive social interaction can be established based on humanism values (*ukhuwah insaniyah*) such as: helping each other in particular celebrations, gathering in a group, mutual assistance, conducting *iftar*, *halal bil halal*, involving in social activities, adoption, mutual business/investment, and sharing political coalition; (3) any sensitive social interactions between Islamic organizations and JAI regarding the worship rituals must be preliminarily concerned, namely: becoming *jama'ah* in congregational prayers and being scheduled to be Friday sermon unless "the mutual believe" has been greatly established (respecting each other in mutual relationship and avoiding any hate speech); (4) if the disagreement appears, these following actions must be done: dialog (*tabayyun*), perceiving any differences as a necessity (*sunatullah*); and last (5) the final options over such differences are tolerance, mutual respect, morals, and civilized humanity.

Finally, civilized humanity shall be maintained to prevent religious conflicts because eventually it is of God's authority to provide guidance to mankind.

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