

Arab Spring and the Emergence of Anti-Shia Movement in Indonesia

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Abstract

The rejection of Shia movement in Indonesia is a new discourse. Shia presence in Indonesia has been since the early arrival of Islam. But why the Shia resistance movement emerging in the early 21st century? I argue that the Arab spring is the biggest trigger is related to the rise of anti-Shia movements in Indonesia. This paper will explore the relationship between the Arab spring and its influence on the anti-Shia in Indonesia, including the emergence of a national-level organization called ANNAS, or Aliansi Nasional Anti Syiah (Anti-Shia National Alliance), which was declared on August 20, 2014. It aims to increase public awareness to the issue of anti-Shia and avoid potential conflicts which cause separations and threaten national stability as happened in the Arab countries that are currently happening provocations by parties who have interests and hidden agendas on them. Indonesia as a country that refer to Pancasila should be prepared for the issues that triggered the disintegration of the nation.

Keywords: Shia, Arab Spring, Anti-Shia, Indonesia

Introduction

Shia is one group in Islam. The existence of Shia has begun to emerge since the early centuries of the Islamic world after the Prophet Muhammad died. Shias themselves are divided into several groups. Shia constitute a large group, but not as big as the Sunnis are the majority in Islam. The development of the Islamic world strongly influenced by the ideas and contributions of scholars and scientists Shi'ite dynasties led by Shia cleric. Discoveries in the world of technology, medicine, astronomy, and many others pioneered by Shia scholars and inspire western scientists to study it and develop it in their world. But history of Shia is not always bright. A number of criticisms and objections to Shia been written in many books. Al-Shahrastani wrote in his book entitled *Al-Milal wa An-Nihal*. This book is one of the books of the chief remedy studying sects or schools of theology in Islam, and religion outside of Islam. In the book, al-Shahrastani peeling sects like the Khawarij, Murji'ah, Mu'tazila, Jabbariyah, Qadarites, and also Shia. Al-Shahrastani explain the main principles of faith of each group, and the figures are well known in the class. According to al-Shahrastani (2001), he argues that the Shia leadership (Imamate) should not be out of line from the descendants of Ali bin Abi Talib, and if it happens then, it is the tyranny of others and *taqiyah* for supporters of Ali (Shia) as the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad that were under the leadership of the family of the Quraysh. Ali ibn Abi Talib was the son-in-law and nephew of the Prophet Muhammad. That is, Ali bin Abi Talib had the same grandfather with Prophet Muhammad, Ali ibn Abi Talib also belong to the Quraysh tribe. Shia sects agreed that the imams were appointed from the descendants of Ali are required to have the properties preserved from error, as contained in the Prophet

himself. This belief is quite deeply rooted in the Shia. In fact, some scholars claim that the Shia Imams are exceeding the Prophets, as they could not commit the slightest mistake. Rejecting the imam is forbidden according to the Shia, except under circumstances of *taqiya* (hiding belief by stating something else / otherwise). Shia sect has several major groups, namely, Al-Kisaniyah, Az-Zaydiyyah, Al-Imami, and Al-Ghulat. Each sect has other branches.

Al-Kisaniyah Shia is a follower of Kisan, a former waiter of Ali bin Abi Talib. Al-Kisaniyah argues that religion is obedience to the leader (imam) because the Imams can interpret the teaching of religious subjects such as prayer, alms, fasting and pilgrimage. Most of them left the religious orders in order to obey the orders of the Imam, some not so convinced of the existence of the Day of Judgment, and the other is the follower of *hulul*, *tanasukh*, and *raj'ab*. *Hulul* is a concept in which the spirit of divinity emerge in to the human body, *tanasukh* is the spirit moves from one body to another, and *raj'ab* is reincarnation or back in to the world of life after death. Group Kisaniyah found certain imams do not die, and he will come back to this world. After living a second time, then he would be dead indeed.

Zaydiyya Shias are followers of Zaid bin Ali bin Husayn bin Ali bin Abi Talib. This group is referred as the most moderate Shia because in some cases it has similar teachings with Sunni, particularly in the field of jurisprudence. This group argued that the caliphate of Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman is valid for the benefit of the people and it is not a *taqiya*. When people of Shia from Kufa heard Zaid bin Ali statements that are not denounced and cursed Abu Bakr and Umar, they then refused Zaid, later Imam Zaid create their own group by the name of Rafidhah. In general, Zaydiyya still criticize the companions but not as hard as Imamiyyah group.

Shia Imami has now become an official belief of the State of Iran. Imamiyah sect also referred to as Rafidhah for rejecting the leadership of Abu Bakr, Umar, and Uthman. According to this group, Ali ibn Abi Talib in the texts expressed as Imam, not only the so-called nature even appointed one. Al-Shahrastani wrote, the Shia Imami initially implement the teachings of imam in trouble creed, but after centuries born imams who brought the teachings of the maze and every imam brought the teachings of their own that was triggering to born new sects fractions in that group. Most of them affected and follow the teachings of the sect Mu'tazilah, Wai'diyyah, and Tafshiliyyah, others follow the teachings Ikhbariyah, whether or Shalafiyyah or Musyabahah. Twelver sect is the majority fraction there of, up to now this group continues to grow and develop, while others have become extinct swallowed up times and could not be found anymore. For al-Shahrastani, Shia Imamiyyah has at least seven major groups, namely, (1) Al-Baqiriyah Al-Ja'fariyah Al-Waqifiyyah, (2) An-Nawusiyah, (3) Al-Afathahiyah, (4) Al-Sumaithiyah ; (5) Al-Isma'ilism Al-Mufadhahiyah, (6) Al-Musawiyah and Al-Mufadhahiyah, and (6) Al-Ithna'Asyariyah. The most famous is the Shia Imami Ismaili groups and Ithna'Asyariyah.

There is another sect which is Shia Extreme (Al-Ghaliyah / Ghulat). This fragment has four characteristics, namely, *At-Tasybih*, *Al-Bad'u*, *Ar-Raj'ab* (reincarnation), and *At-Tanasukh* (incarnation). In general, this group is very exaggerated in the characterization of their imams, until at a certain moment a humanitarian nature that existed at the Imam

vanished and replaced with properties that only worthy of the Lord. They idolize their imams. Not infrequently, these groups often equate them with God's imams. According to al-Shahrastani, this tradition is the influence of the Jews who equate God with human beings and Christians equate humans with God. These extremes Shias have twelve splinter, the author (al-Shahrastani) cites only one course. Sabaiyah is the first group, this splinter is a follower of the teachings of Abdullah ibn Saba', he was exiled to the city of Madain. Abdullah ibn Saba' is a genuine Jew who pretended to convert to Islam. In Jewish teaching, Yusa' bin Nun was the recipient of the will of Moses, so also Ali, was the recipient of the will of the Prophet Muhammad and continued his message. He first stated that Ali is the Imam established through the texts of the arguments in the transcendental scriptures of God. This opinion was adopted by the Shia cleric. Ibn Saba' relates that "Ali did not die, because in him there is an element of divinity that is not possible destroyed. Therefore, Ali is above the cloud: lightning as his voice, the lightning as a smile, and he will fall back into this world when the world was hit by crime and injustice. "

Shia influence in Indonesia is very significant. In general, the Shia are religious ideas which rely on the opinion of Imam Ali and his descendants that have occurred since the beginning of the caliphs successors of the Prophet Muhammad. Shia evolved into several smaller sects because of differences in understanding and in the view of lifting the figure of Imam. Shia political development in Indonesia through the four stages of the waves: First, together with the emergence of Islam in Indonesia; Secondly, after the Islamic revolution of Iran; Third, through the Indonesian Muslim intellectual who studied in Iran; and Fourth, the stage of openness through the establishment of the organization Jemaah Ahlul Bait Association of Indonesia (IJABI). While the development of cultural and ritual Shi'ite sufficient root among Muslims in Indonesia. Ritual among the Sunnis as the tradition of pilgrimage to the tomb and made a grave dome is Shia tradition. The tradition that was born in Indonesia in the form Shafi is very different when Shafi run in other countries. Development of teaching pantheism (unitary form, mystical union, *Manunggaling Kawula Gusti*), in Java and Sumatra is a view of theology and mysticism (Sufism philosophical) which is synchronous with the Shia faith. Shia infiltration in the spread of Islam in Indonesia was evident at the NU community as a representation of Sunni, Shia traditions influence was strong enough in it. Said Agil Siraj as the leader of the NU openly say that the Barzanji tradition and Diba'i is derived from the Shia tradition. And even Gus Dur had said that NU culturally is Shia (Hasim, 2011).

Amman Message

Amman Message is a project that aims to strengthen brotherhood among Muslims. Browers (2011) said that it is against the background of the many groups who love to accuse infidels against fellow Muslims who are not affiliated with their group, especially since 9/11. Amman Message started as a declaration released 9 November 2004 AD by King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein in Amman, Jordan later called the Amman Message. Amman Message has a mission to search form about which of "Islam" and which are not Islamic, which represents the action of Islam and what is not representing Islam. The aim is to provide clarity to the modern world of true Islam.

King Abdullah II sent three questions to 24 senior scholars from various parts of the world that represents the entire group and sect in Islam to further strengthen the principle of religious authority. The statement is: 1. Who is a Muslim? 2. Is it permissible to perform Takfir (pronounced Kafir)? 3. Who has the right to issue fatwas? On the basis of fatwas great scholars including Shaykh al-Azhar, Ayatollah al-Sistani, Sheikh Qardhawi, then in July 2005 AD, King Abdullah II held an International Islamic Conference were invited 200 prominent scholar world from 50 countries. Eyadat (2011) says that in Amman, Jordan, clerics had issued a guide on three fundamental issues (which became known as the "Three Points Amman Message") Here is an excerpt Amman Charter from the International Islamic Conference held in Amman, Jordan, with the theme "True Islam and its Role in Modern Society" 4-6 July 2005 AD. It was attended by hundreds of scholars from all over the world as follows:

First, anyone who follows the school of 4 from Sunni / Ahlussunnah wal Jamaat (school of Hanafiy, Malikiy, Syafi'iy, Hanbali), school of Jakfariy, school of Zaydiy, school of Ibadiy, or school of Dhahiriyy, then he is a Muslim, it should not be accusing him kafir (infidel sentenced) and unclean (*haram*) their blood, honor and property. And also the fatwa of Sheikh of Al-Azhar should not be accused scholars with Asy'ariyah beliefs and flow of true Sufism. Likewise, should not be sentenced infidel scholars from the Salafy group. As also not be sentenced disbelieve another group of Muslims who believe in Allah and the Prophet, the pillars of faith, respect the pillars of Islam and does not deny the information that comes from Islam.

Second, among the many schools, indeed there is a difference (deviation), the scholars of the eight schools that agree on the fundamental beliefs of Islam. All of them believe in Allah Almighty, al-Qur'an is words of Allah, the Prophet Muhammad is the Prophet well as the Apostle to the whole human race, and they agreed on the five pillars of Islam: Two creed, prayer, Zakat, fasting Ramadan, Hajj to the Mecca, and also agreed on the Pillars of Imam 6; believe in Allah, the angels, His books, His Messengers, the Day of Judgment, and the fate of good and bad, and scholars from the school follower of the different opinions on the issue of *Furu'* (branch) and not the problem of *Usul* (principal), and it is grace, and the former has been said; "Indeed deviation (difference of opinion) scholars in the matter of thinking (*ijtihad*) is a good thing"

Third, the recognition of schools in Islam means committed to the methodology (*manhaj*) in the case of the fatwa; then people should not be issued a fatwa in addition to meeting certain criteria within each schools, and should not be issuing fatwa other than those relating to the methodology of the schools, should not one was able to claim *ijtihad* and develop / create schools / new opinion or issued a fatwa which could not be received that can eject Muslims from Islamic norms, principles and provisions of their schools.

The three points of Amman Message are then adopted by the political leader of the Islamic world at a meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in Mecca in December 2005. And after a one-year period from July 2005 to July 2006, a plaque was also adopted by six Councils of Islamic Scholars. Overall, more than 500 leading Islamic scholars have supported Amman Message and those three important points. Anyone followers of one of the four schools of Sunni Islamic jurisprudence (Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i

and Hanbali), two schools of Islamic law Shia (Ja'fari and Zaydi), schools of Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic schools of law Ibadhi and Zahiriis a Muslim. Stating followers of schools as infidels is impossible and forbidden. It is certain that the blood, honor and property are maintained and preserved. Differences of opinion among scholars of the eight schools of Islamic law are only in the areas of additional or religious branches and some basic things. Difference of opinion with respect in terms of religious branch is a grace. Recognition schools of law in Islam means refer to the basic methodology in issuing a fatwa: no one may issue a fatwa without the requisite scientific qualifications. No one may issue a fatwa without reference to the methodology of Islamic schools of law. No one can claim to perform *ijtihad* as it is not limited and creates a new opinion or issuing fatwa Muslim in oppose the issue from the principles and provisions of sharia and what has been built in honor of the school.

Arab Spring

Arab Spring is a phenomenon of Arab countries which are volatile and deserving national transformation. According to Stepan and Linz (2013), the issue of democratization plays an important role in the phenomenon of the Arab spring. The folk revival in the Arab world and sparked political conflict has attracted public attention. This issue is no longer something foreign countries before this ignore and isolate themselves from the political developments. Folk revival that occurred in the Arab world began to emerge in Tunisia in December 2010, which sparked a wave of folk revival and spread to Egypt and then Libya and continues to the Arab countries to another. However, these events have triggered the previous two years in Yemen in 2009 and Bahrain in 2010. This second resurrection as if it is ignored and not considered. Most of the events that occur have a similar purpose, the demand for a fair and thorough leadership. Even indirectly it is the factor of awakening the people to oppose the reins of government already there and people dreaming of a transformation that must take place in their country.

The awakening waves are more popular known as the Arab Spring. This revival is the voice of the people demanding their rights restored original rather than being ruled by kingdom. Arab Spring or in Arabic called *al-Arabi al-Rabi'* is the people's protest against the unjust system of government and demanding a new and more democratic government. People have just realized that they had been oppressed and denied their rights and they oppose the incumbent leader. If people are not allowed raising a voice, then what are left is street protest. Royal regime considers this issue is the same as what happened in Palestine because the people who took up arms against the Zionists considered as trigger and opposing reconciliation. Arab world upheaval that occurs has an impact on the whole world. There are many factors that led to the popular uprising in the Arab countries. Folk show their protest against government tyranny that has prevailed since a long time. Suppression royal inhuman regime make people rose to demand freedom of those who have been ignored. Serious economic failure and an increase in unemployment is also a factor of awakening among the people in the Arab world. Cook (2012) stated that corruption and misappropriation of power among the issues that received attention and cause dissatisfaction of people's hearts. This is not a new matter which triggers the anger of

the people. This is because a promise by the government to eradicate corruption seriously not fulfilled then he added the hatred of the people. These factors could arguably be the main summit and the folk revival was certainly encouraging people urged the kingdom than it is to fix. Among the countries that experienced a popular uprising are Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria.

Shia issue is not new in the phenomenon of the Arab Spring. Ayoob (2012) adds that there is a claim that the leaders of Arab countries were forced to make a revolution and transformation are Shia, as alleged in Saddam Hussein in Iraq, Muammar Gaddafi in Libya, and most recently Bashar Assad in Syria. This turmoil that provoke Iran as a Shia-majority country to protect and assist their foreign counterparts so as behold the battle between Shia and non-Shia (sunni / west). Jones (2011) even said that Saudi Arabia plays an important role. Saudi Arabia had been still looks safe. Saudi Arabia has an interest in securing the mobilization of oil in the Middle East along with countries such as Turkey and Qatar coalition. Economic interests also be one trigger of the Arab Spring. Moreover, Saudi Arabia is a country that is a sensible Wahhabi sect that hated Shia. This makes Saudi Arabia using justifications to attack countries that do not agree with their interests. Saudi Arabia plays a role behind the scene that happened in the Arab Spring (Notten, 2014).

Anti-Shia Movement in Indonesia

Chamki (2014) relates that after emerging phenomenon of the Arab spring, emerging neo-Islamism is increasingly daring to show their existence. They indicated to the efforts of intolerance, including hostile to Shias. Meanwhile, specifically in Indonesia, where the Shias are not new comers, Shia has existed since time immemorial. But in general, initially in Indonesia, it almost never encountered involving the sectarian conflict between Sunni-Shia. Therefore to some observers, it is very surprising if suddenly Sunni-Shia conflict foreshadowed racial nuanced in Indonesia. There are interests outside racial contributing even greater role in the Sunni-Shia conflict in Indonesia. Facts on the ground indicate that this is not fantasy. Long before the Iranian revolution in 1979, it is rare to find an open conflict between the Shia and the Sunni, except for sporadic conflict between small groups of two circles in Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria. The victory of the Iranian Revolution of 1979 had been thwarted Western politics that previously dominated the area of Islamic countries. Iran previously submissive and obedient to the US, when the post-revolution, more precisely showing the opposite stance with As. Therefore, the United States felt compelled to keep the Sunni-Shia conflict that still exist in the Middle East region in order to continue its hegemony in the region (Hasim, 2011).

The Emergence of ANNAS

The anti-Shia in Indonesia continued to show an escalation after the emergence of ANNAS organization (National Alliance of Anti-Shia). Data gathered from the official website of ANNAS (annasindonesia.org) indicates that the ANNAS organization increasingly expanded and its influence in Indonesia. One of the central figures and also the leadership of the organization is Athian Ali Dai. According Athian, from day to day, the development of the Shias in Indonesia increasingly clear and bold reveal its existence in spreading their misguided ideology and teachings. *Taqiyah* concept is highlighted by Athian Ali Dai is causing growing Shia group and managed to infiltrate in many fields and the

general public. Shia groups accused by Athian Ali Dai taking ambivalent strategy to present themselves in preaching to Muslims who lay as if they are part of a school of Islam that must be tolerated their differences and existence. However, the Shia group allegedly slipped quietly teachings slowly with various arguments. The spread of Shia more so when Athian Ali felt they showed more courage their identity as Shia, and no longer rely on *taqiyyah*. These last few years, they began to enter the *marhalah idzhar*, dared to undress the hypocrisy as he puffed stated we are Shia. Athian Ali claimed that in various discussions, seminars, writings and religious celebrations such as the Shia celebration of *Ashura*, with their berate, insult and even pronounced *kafir* to the companions and wives of the Prophet Muhammad. Noting the phenomenon mentioned above, and weigh the many Muslims who asked for legal clarity, as well as the aspirations of the Scholar and Chairman of Islamic Organizations submitted to the Forum Ulama Ummat Indonesia (FUUI), then the advisors FUUI has recommended to the Executive Committee to issue a fatwa about Shia and held a strategic discussion by involving as many Scholar and Muslim leaders. Then through a meeting held on Tuesday, February 28, 2012, agreed to the release of "Fatwa About Shia" and to hold back "Council of Ulama and Muslims Indonesia-2" with a single agenda "Formulating Strategic Steps for Dealing with Deception and Insult by the Shia ". On Saturday, March 17, 2012 at the secretariat of FUUI assembled a special team consisting of Amin Jamaluddin, Lutfi Bashori, Hartono Ahmad Jaiz, David Rashid, Setiadi Ehsan Latif, and Adian Husaini that although unable to attend but has submitted input in writing. Agenda for the meeting aims to gather proposals regarding the plan FUUI issuing fatwas and the agenda of Scholar Council and Indonesian Muslims 2.

On Thursday, March 22, 2012 "Fatwa About the Shia" signed by the Chairman FUUI Athian Ali and one Advisory FUUI, 'Abdul Qadir Shodiq. However, taking into account the advice of the advisory FUUI in order to maintain unity, then the issuance of fatwa FUUI pick up momentum when the Council of Ulama and Muslims Indonesia-2 is planned to be held on April 22, 2012, with the first informed of the Ulama and Leaders Islamic organizations in Indonesia. Finally on Sunday 22 April 2012 M, held at the Al-Fajr, Jl. Cijagra, Buah-Batu, Bandung, West Java, carried out "Deliberation 'Ulama and Muslims Indonesia 2" with the agenda: "Formulating Strategic Steps for Dealing with deception and insult by the adherents of the Shia". Deliberation was opened by a speech from Bandung Mayor, Dada Rosada and West Java Governor, Ahmad Heryawan. Present at least 200 Ulama and Muslim leaders from all over Indonesia, including the entire Java, Sumbawa, Madura, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Medan, Aceh and others. Deliberation is divided into three commissions; Commission Strategic, Tactical Commission and the Commission socialization. Among the key points noted by tactical commission is: "Creating a guard post or anti-Shia".

After some time organizing internal meetings Board and the Advisory Board FUUI, then on Sunday, April 20 2014 M, FUUI carry out one of the main mandate of "Deliberation Ulama and Muslims Indonesia-2" held a declaration of "National Alliance of Anti-Shia (ANNAS)". Declaration which was held at the Al-Fajr, Jl. Cijagra, Buah-Batu Bandung, West Java, was attended by thousands of Muslims from 99 scholars, *habaib*, Head of Islamic Organizations, Head of Pesantren from various regions in the country, was also

attended by representatives of West Java governor in his speech representing the Governor of West Java states fully support the Local Government of West Java to the Declaration of the establishment of the National Anti-Shia Alliance (ANNAS). The Declaration begins with the delivery of representative speeches by Islamic organizations and closed with speeches from Athian Ali Dai who is Chairman of the Indonesian Ulama Ummat Forum (FUUI). The text of the declaration ended with the reading of the declaration by the chairman ANNAS, Athian Ali echoes *Takbir* preachers who greeted thousands of pilgrims who attended and followed by the signing of the Declaration contains: First, Making institutions, "the National Alliance of Anti-Shia" as a forum for propaganda in commanding the good and forbidding evil; Secondly, Maximizing preventive measures, anticipatory and proactive to defend and protect the *ummah*, of various creeds and Shari'ah misdirection efforts undertaken by the Shia group in Indonesia; Third, Establish Muslim brotherhood with various organizations and missionary movement in Indonesia, to be alert, inhibit and prevent the development of heretical Shia; Fourth, urge the government to immediately ban the spread of Shia ideology and doctrine, as well as revoke the license of the entire organization, foundations, and institutions related to the teachings of the Shia in Indonesia.

To actualize the mandate of the Declaration, ANNAS through various efforts to implement the consensus reached after the declaration, such as: First, Consolidation among scholars, leaders of the Islamic movement, the Muslim scholars, Muslim activists, both individually and through their organizations and organizations concerned; Secondly, Consolidation among Islamic organizations, Islamic Movement, boarding school, *Majelis Ta'lim* in Indonesia as well as collaborate with organizations and embassies of various countries to give full attention and efforts to save the Muslim faith of the influence of the Shia heresy; Thirdly, Build a network through *halaqah* and representatives throughout Indonesia as container of ANNAS activity in order to anticipate the movement of the Shia heresy; Fourth, Anticipating the movement heretical Shia in Indonesia through socialization movements and activities formulated by the Board of ANNAS, taking into account the advice and input from the Advisory Council, and the Board of Experts. The fourth step, a part of Jihad in the form of commanding the good and forbidding the evil that held together all the components of Muslims who have a concern in maintaining the faith Muslims of the influence of the Shia heresy. Anti-Shia National Alliance is open, or cross-institution. The Ulama, Leaders of Islamic Movement, Muslim Intellectuals who gathered in ANNAS both at the Centre and in the region together with the *Ummah* to fight alongside reflect on God's command, to mutual help in doing good and piety in order to build unity in the ranks of the realization of the ultimate goal, a blessing from God to still cling to the Qur'an and *Sunnah*.

Discussion

As a political ideology which is packed with religious aspects, then in addition to the positive response by the youth, intellectuals, *habaib*, or students who are eager to make Islam the power of change, as in Iran, also anticipated the rejection of heresy and the threat of danger to the integrity of people in a country. In some countries the conflict would occur with very severe as in Syria and Iraq (which gave rise to the phenomenon of Islamic State of Iraq Syria / ISIS). Samii (2006) adds conflicts such as horizontal conflict in

Lebanon and Bahrain, Shia coup in Yemen. Shia Fathimiyah also dominant in Libya. Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Sudan experienced a Sunni-Shia conflict that led to the expulsion and prohibition. Malaysia and Brunei make illicit Shia teachings. It could not be denied that the Shia political movement always eyeing political power anywhere, high resistance because of political struggle accompanied by attacking the Sunni faith. In Indonesia Shia political movement is not massive, but the spread of Shia cadres in political institutions indicate that they will move toward habitat. Courage signal appears as a cadre of Shia showed confidence that higher power that has awakened. For some, it is the potential for conflict and intolerance (McCoy, 2013).

As an Iranian-backed political movement, it is not impossible in the near future Shias in Indonesia will conduct a political grouping that is more viscous, such as making a political party. Organizations Ahlul Bait Indonesia (ABI) and the Congregation of Ahlul Bait Indonesia (IJABI) will become the embryo of the political clotting. Hafez & Wiktorowicz (2015) states that the scholars had predicted the post-resurrection will appear explication of the Iranian revolution which has a line which is based on a belief system. Military support also has a significant role. Thus the political legality to develop Shia teachings will become stronger. The wings of the economy and the military would also seriously think of the possibility in the future. Everything is heading in readiness for conflict with the Sunnis. Shia scholar Jalaluddin Rahmat never threatened when events occur in Sampang Madura, he sacrificed blood it streams along Imam Husein is a dream desired by Shia. The entry of Jalaluddin Rahmat within the scope of government and politics make the ANNAS increasingly anxious. This is only natural because the Shia also requires political recognition in an open democracy adopted by Indonesia, the same rights obtained also by ANNAS to establish their own organization or party (Carnegie, 2014).

Hafiz & Wiktorowicz (2015) reported that the political opportunity structure has an important role. In this context, ANNAS has it all. The first is the availability of allies. Athian Ali Dai has managed to collect those that are in line with it. He invited representatives of Islamic organizations in Indonesia. Even every representation given the opportunity to deliver a speech when a declaration of ANNAS. Secondly, the support of the ruling elite has been obtained by ANNAS. This is evident when ANNAS held deliberations and declarations which was attended by the heads of government from mayor to the local governor. This is interesting because it turns the region of West Java that make radical organizations thrive. Third, framing that helps ANNAS to justify their efforts. In addition to using the justification of the Qur'anic verses and hadiths, ANNAS mention that the Arab Spring one of the triggers that make the characters ANNAS did not want the commotion going on in the Arab spreading to Indonesia. ANNAS blamed Shias as the mastermind behind the unrest in the Middle East, it makes ANNAS tried to prevent the Shia do the same in Indonesia. In addition, ANNAS is also blames sectarian conflicts that brought Shia as has already happened in Sampang Madura.

Conclusion

Many historians agree that the Shia have existed since the beginning of the period of the development of Islam. Even the Shias are the ones who contributed to spread Islam

to Indonesia. Since its inception, the harmony between Sunni and Shia in Indonesia are already well established. However, a number of conflicts and fears sparked discourse anti-Shia rolling and spread almost all over the world, including Indonesia though scholars worldwide have been anticipating for not carelessly pronouncing *kafir* to other groups. Although not all, but some Shia groups recognized in Amman Message as an Islamic group that should not be despised. However Amman Message as forgotten as the interests owned by certain parties. The desire to create horizontal and political conflict pitting make anti-Shia issue became more widespread. The issue of anti-Shia in Indonesia is estimated to begin the peak period after the formation of the organization ANNAS. Although not a physical conflict caused directly by ANNAS, but a number of reports related to police conduct ANNAS had often encountered. Among these are the profiteering logos or identity of Muslim organizations to support their action. This makes the public must be aware of all the efforts or mobilization done by ANNAS.

Shia issue a new issue after a similar hostile people JIL (Liberal Islam Network). This is a continuation of their efforts to combat JIL after they formed a movement "Indonesia Without JIL". After the declaration of ANNAS in 2014, NU (*Nabdlatul Ulama*) held a conference on the theme Islam Nusantara. Not long after a negative response from the group of people who are behind ANNAS filed opposition to the Islamic concept of the archipelago. This is of special concern that the fact there is a specific group targeted by people who are behind ANNAS, the NU group. After less successful with liberal issues, they are targeting Shia issue. Lastly, they are targeting the issue of Islam Nusantara to attack the NU group. NU existence as the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia and support the constitution of the country pose a serious threat to them, because they make efforts to destroy NU and worsen the image of NU leaders on charges of liberal, Shi'a, *kejawan*, and so on.

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