
FROM CONFLICT TO SOLIDARITY: Revisiting Muslim-Christian Relation after 171 Tragedy in Mataram

Rozi Ahdar

roziahdar98@gmail.com

Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies, UGM Yogyakarta

Abstract

Several Muslim-Christian conflicts occurred after the regime of Soeharto ended. Two of them are the Maluku and Poso conflicts. Another one occurred in 2000, on January 17th, or what is well known as the 171 tragedy. Why did the 171 tragedy occur in Lombok? Extremism and puritanism could be the answers. It is a sect that exists in both Islam and Christianity that “justifies” violence in the name of religion. What is interesting about the 171 tragedy is that it was not continued for long-term periods. Soon after the condition is safe, economic and academic collaboration between Islam and Christianity will resume normally. This is a descriptive-qualitative paper. This paper argues that 171 tragedy is the beginning of Islam-Christian collaboration to fight extremism in religion instead of an enmity reason for both religions. With that understanding, it is hoped that solidarity to combat extremism will continue to grow. The occurrence of 171 tragedies caused chaos and detriment for Christians. However, it transformed Mataram from a city of religious contestation among Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism into a city of unity.

Keyword: Muslim-Christian; 171 tragedy; Solidarity.



Abstrak

Sejumlah konflik antara Muslim dan Kristen muncul setelah jatuhnya rezim Soeharto. Salah satunya terjadi di Maluku dan Poso. Konflik lain terjadi pada 17 Januari tahun 2000 atau dikenal dengan tragedi 171. Kenapa kemudian tragedi 171 terjadi di Lombok? Ekstremisme dan puritanisme bisa menjadi jawaban. Ini merupakan sebuah sekte di Islam maupun Kristen yang “menghalalkan” kekerasan dengan dalil agama. Yang menarik dari tragedi 171 adalah, ia tidak berlangsung dalam periode panjang. Tidak lama setelah konflik mereda, kolaborasi ekonomi serta bidang akademis antara Muslim dan Kristen kembali normal. Ini adalah penelitian deskriptif-kualitatif. Argumen utamanya adalah, bahwa tragedi 171, alih-alih menjadi alasan permusuhan Islam-Kristen, ia justru menjadi awal solidaritas kedua agama untuk melawan ekstremisme. Dengan pemahaman tersebut, diharapkan kerja sama untuk melawakan ekstremisme terus tumbuh. Terjadinya tragedi 171 tentu menyebabkan kekacauan dan kerugian bagi umat Kristen. Di sisi lain, tragedi tersebut telah mentransformasi Mataram dari sebuah kota yang menjadi tempat kontestasi Islam, Kristen dan Hindu, menjadi kota persatuan.

Kata kunci: Muslim-Kristen; Tragedi 171; Solidaritas.

I. INTRODUCTION

Lombok is known as the island of a thousand mosques (*pulau seribu masjid*). This island is dominated by Muslim. However, there are minorities from other religions which exist in Mataram, the capital of West Nusa Tenggara, such as: 18.427 people are Christian, 68.792 are Hinduism and 19.575 are Buddhism (Mataram Statistics Center, 2018).

Mostly, interreligious contestation in Lombok happened between Islam and Hinduism. It has historical root. Karang Asem kingdom in 1641 came from Bali for war expedition. It was aimed to conquer Selaparang Kingdom in Lombok (Mahsun, 2000, p. 83). Karang Asem expansion did not only to get clout, but also to spread Bali's culture. 94 percent of Sasak language is influenced by Bali vocal (a), for example *nina* literally means girl. The rest maintains Sasak vocal (e). Society says *nine* instead of *nina*. It is the symbol of resistance from Sasaknese.

Resistances toward Bali Hindus were often initiated by *Islam Waktu Lima* or “five times” Islam. “Five times” refers to the main prayer in Islam. Meanwhile *Islam Waktu Telu* (syncretism Islam) had good relation with *Hinduism*. It is because *Waktu Telu* is the

combination among *Islam, Hindu, and Sasak* teaching (Depdikbud, 1977, 80). Muslim did huge aggression to Kediri, West Lombok in 1891. It was the border area of Bali Kingdom area. Bali Kingdom had to entreat 1500 armies from Karang Asem to oppose Muslim army. The battle was ended by the arrest of 300 Muslim troops (Bruinessen, 1992, p. 215).

After the independence of Indonesia, sentiment of Muslim and Hindu does not end. The social envy happens because of Sasaknese presumption about the better economic of Balinese in Lombok. Double standard of bureaucracy is also the problem, for example Balinese who do not wear helmet during religious visitation is not raided by the police on the way (Saloom, 2009, p. 72).

Perang Topat is a culture to conciliate the long period war between Islam and Hinduism. Historically, *Perang Topat* is purposed for thanking God and ancestor because of the fertility of land and the abundant of water. Furthermore, preachers of Islam and Hinduism ascertain this ritual to unite their follower. Currently, it has sociological interpretation as the symbol of tolerance and peace in Lingsar, West Lombok (Suadnya & Paramita, 2018).

Religious figure in both sides do intense communication to prepare logistic before *Perang Topat* is conducted. Buffalo is the slaughtered animal. This animal is chosen as the midst of Hinduism that do not eat cow and Islam that do not eat pig. The ritual in the perspective of Hinduism is to honor Bhatara Gde Lingsar. Meanwhile Sasaknese believes that the ritual is done to obey the exhortation from Datu Wili Milir. Those terms refer to the same person, Raden Mas Sumilir. *Perang Topat* also has sense of unity between spirits in Rinjani and Agung Mountain.

On the other hand, conflict of Muslim-Christian was not rooted in Lombok. The conflicts of the two are just the branch of the main conflict. The problem of Muslim-Christian rooted in Maluku and Poso. Conflict in Maluku was begun by a simple thing. One day, there was a driver who was asked to pay to a hoodlum, then the fight happened. This fight soon extended to the whole district, it even crossed the island and touched almost the whole province of Maluku. It became the long term conflict which killed people. Yet, the conflict broke the public facility such as mosque, church, office, hotel, school and market. Transportation as like motorcycle and car were burned as well (Kusuma, 2000).

Meanwhile, the peak of Poso conflict was caused by two previous conflicts of politicians in Poso. Muslim newcomers changed the socio-political condition. Local people felt competed in the economics and politics part. After Indonesian reformation, most of the strategic positions were taken by Muslims. In 1998, there was the fight among Muslim and Christian youth. The fight happened on the Christmas and Ramadan month. It grew bigger due to the political situation where the candidates of regent were running to get their electability in public. Christian candidates gathered their supporter and named themselves as *Kelompok Merah* (red group). On the other hand, Muslim candidates did the same. They declared themselves as *Kelompok Putih* (Alganis, 2016).

The conflict happened more than two years. To solve the problem, each stake holder provides strategy. One of them is the *Malino I Peace Declaration* in the last month of 2001. Jusuf Kalla, a renowned figure in Sulawesi represents Indonesian government to facilitate the mediation among Muslim and Christian preachers. The meeting was conducted in Malino, both sides agree to stop the fight and let government to punish the provocateurs to reassure the condition (Widayat et al, 2021).

Moving to Lombok, in the beginning of 2000, an unforgettable tragedy happened in Mataram. This tragedy is unique because it is not among Islam and Hindu, but between Islam and Christian. Twelve churches were burned, more than ten houses were broken and stores' items were looted by people. Six people die (one of it is a lecturer in Mataram University) and eleven injured at the moment (Mahsun, 2000). The tragedy happened on 17th January which is abbreviated "171".

What interesting in that tragedy is the quickness of the coalescence between muslim and christian. It is not like the long term war of Islam-Hindu, Poso or Maluku conflict. This tragedy does not need any special ritual as like *Perang Topat* to re-unite society. Soon after the condition was safe, market and office were running back. Both religions continue the daily activity on trade, social, academic and other activities without any dispute (Nasrullah et al, 2019, p. 128).

Several researches have been conducted related to this research. Mahsun (2000) connected the tragedy with the reversion of Lombok cultural face as the *Pulau Seribu Masjid*. Doctoral thesis from Wanna (2015) specifically discusses about woman agency in *Gereja Protestan Indonesia bagian Barat* or Protestant church in Western Indonesia after 171 (p. 131). Meanwhile Nasrullah et al (2019) describe the activity and relation

between the two (Muslim-Christian) after nineteen years. The paper concludes that the relationship is good enough. However, there is the possibility of another tragic event hooked to the existence of extremist sect in both parties. To prevent the possibility of future conflict, the narrative of unity among Muslims and Christians in Lombok should be raised.

Unfortunately, the research of Christian-Muslim conflict in some cases does not provide any positive direction. It just highlights the conflict and has no coalescence narration. For example the study from Riansyah et al (2021) about the refusal factors of church existence in Cilegon. The study only explains some factors, like the high tension among the majority (Islam) and the prohibition of church existence by the previous leaders in Cilegon (Riyansah, et al, 2021, p. 48).

Writing from Husaini (2007) brought another negative framing to Christianity. He begins his article by stressing that Christian existence in Indonesia as the “problem” for Islam. He accuses that Christian is the part of colonization. Social program as like the distribution of aid, in the perspective of Husaini, was not counted as the “pure” social activity, he distrusts it as a disguised Christianization.

Such accusation shows that the articles about Muslim-Christian conflicts mostly written to highlight the conflict instead of building the mutual understanding or positive vibe between the two. The accusation is very dangerous and categorized as one of the conflict resources. The study that offers the view of collaboration between Muslim and Christian under conflict condition is still lack. This paper revisits the 171 tragedy and re-interprets it in the perspective of unity.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This paper revisits the 171 tragedy in Mataram and discusses the condition during and after the tragedy. It basically argues that the 171 tragedy should be understood as the beginning of Muslim and Christian collaboration against extremism instead of an incident of hostility. This research is a literature study and maintains descriptive qualitative approach. The main question of this research is: how does the tragedy of 171 in Mataram become the beginning of Muslim-Christian solidarity to fight extremism in Lombok?

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Extremism, in most cases, engaged with the concept of identity (William & Boutelier, 2021, p. 350). Islam and Christian for their “radical” followers are strongly apprehended as the *identity*. When a specific party or identity is defamed, isolated or eliminated, members of this identity possibly become the extremist. When the identity was presumed streaked, extremist group would purify the identity even by the violent way. This blind violent is called radicalism (Kelly, 2012, p. 402).

Indonesia faces the massive form of radicalism after the visitation of people from Yaman that brings new ideology. *Pancasila* or five principles as an ideology which highly esteem tolerance under the plurality, has been challenged. The new ideology is clumsier than *Pancasila*. This ideology has strong relation to Salafism from Maliki sect. It was introduced by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab and so-called *Wahabi* in Indonesia (Hafid, 2020, p. 33).

Wahabism first came to Indonesia brought by three people from West Sumatra who returned from the pilgrimage. These three people are Haji Miskin, Haji Sumanik, and Haji Piobang. They performed the pilgrimage when Mecca was ruled by the Wahabis. They are fascinated by the purity of Islamic teachings which only refer to the literal Quran and Hadith. They brought these teachings to the land of Sumatra, and spread these teachings in various ways, including violent. It can be seen in Padri War that occurred in the early 1800s, and ended in 1930 with the intervention of the Dutch colonial (Azra, 1994, p. 27).

Wahabism is also well known as Salafi. This group usually blames those who do combination of ritual between local culture and Islamic guidance. For example, they blame the celebration of Prophet Muhammad’s birth (*maulid*) and visitation to the tomb of a famous preacher. They base their argument from Ibn Taimiyah, an outstanding figure of Salafi, which allow people to kill those who do the thing that has never done in the era of Muhammad (Hakim, 2004, p. 79).

Since 1990, Salafi started to build the schools in Lombok. Nobody realize its growth because of their small number. People realize that this group increases after 2016 when it had already 2949 students in Mataram and East Lombok. The approach of Salafi in Lombok is joining every Islamic competition, for example speech and Al-Qur’an memorization. Their achievement eventually becomes part of the promotion. Lately, memorizing *Al-Qur’an* becomes the trend in Islamic society. This trend becomes the

opportunity for Salafists. They provide the program that support the youth to do so. Students are prepared the comfortable boarding house and the qualified preacher to attract the parents to join them (Saparudin, 2017, p. 85).

Another group that was detected extremist is *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* (MMI). The fundamental reason of MMI existence is to build Islamic country (*daulah Islamiyah*) and to operate Islamic based governance in Indonesia. The leader of MMI was a controversial person, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir (Jamhari & Jahroni, 2004, p. 52).

Ba'asyir was left by his father when he was ten. He lived with his mother with the very strong religious doctrine. He finished study at Gontor Modern Islamic School. He continued to Al-Irsyad University in 1963. Ba'asyir was an active member of *Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia* (GPII). He was also the leader of *Lembaga Dakwah Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia* (LDMII) chapter Surakarta in 1966 (Adidhatama, 2009, p. 48). In 1967, he had ever built a radio channel that was banned by Soeharto government, namely Al-Irsyad Broadcasting Commission or ABC. In 1969 he built another channel namely RADIS or *Radio Dakwah Islamiyah Surakarta*. Unfortunately, this radio was prohibited by LAKSUSDA Central Java because of critics from Ba'asyir toward government compulsion on single principle to every mass organization, including Islam. RADIS was closed in 1975.

Ba'asyir's controversial actions lead the court to invite him in 1985. But, his friends suggested him not to come to the court, his friends distrusted that such action would let government easily jailed him. Eventually, Ba'asyir decided to leave Indonesia and go to Malaysia (ibid, p. 53). Ba'asyir was received by Malaysia to continue his preaching activity. However, during his existence in Malaysia, America accused that he had strong relation with Al-Qaeda, an organization of Jihadist (ibid, p. 54).

Abu Bakar Ba'asyir returned to Indonesia in the beginning of reformation era, under the leadership of B.J. Habibie. Ba'asyir proposed the establishment of *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* as the official mass organization. In 2000, the organization finally established based on Mujahidin Congress on August 7th in Yogyakarta. Ba'asyir did not only built MMI, but also built an Islamic School namely Al-Mukminin. The idea of Ba'asyir was shared through this school. The alumni had already spread, some of them became the suspect of several bombings case in Indonesia (ibid, p. 54).

There are some peculiar actions from MMI in the perspective of nationalism. The first is the rejection of flag honoring by putting hand on the forehead. MMI thinks that such action is part of what so called “syirk” (respecting other thing instead of God). Second of all, Muhammad Thalib was chosen in the third MMI congress as the new leader of MMI in 2013. One of the decisions in this congress is the rejection of general election. According to MMI, it is not parallel to Islamic rules (Sulaiman, 2014, p. 34).

MMI actively proposes several anti-thesis toward global ideology. For example about Human Right, United Nations believes that religious conversion is the valid right for everyone. In comparison, MMI believes that decision of someone to go out from Islam should get death penalty (ibid, p. 37). They also reject the secular ideology. From the view of MMI, Indonesia has already been a secular country. MMI thinks that Indonesia is a country of Muslim majority, the independence is gotten by the struggle of Muslims in all provinces. The first principle from *Pancasila* that stated “*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*” is also the basis argument.

Hasani & Naipospos (2010) defines radicalist as a group that wants to radically change the whole condition based on their perspective or the ideology that they practice. It is the social movement which rejects all running orders and opposes the dominant clan or power that has special right. Masduqi (2012) gives several characteristics of extremist such as: self truth claim and misleading others; narrowing tolerance room; focusing the appearance (beard and cloak); emotional and gruff preaching; and opposing the status-quo (Masduqi, 2012).

Based on those explanations, the actors of 171 tragedy in Mataram should be from extremist group. The research from Mahsun (2000) explains that the extremist actors during that event did provocation and they were focusing to destroy religious symbol from Christian as like the cross. The detail story is written in the further paragraph.

The ruin of Soeharto regime opens the possibility to freely express the idea about religion. During the new era after Soekarno (*orde baru*), expressing religious ideology through demonstration was very troubled by government. Those who came to the street strongly possible to not came home after demonstration. After Soeharto fell, society in Lombok expressed bravely their desire. Minor explosions happened due to the increasing number of church in Mataram. There are two: refusal toward the glorification of GPIB luxurious church through Mataram mayor, Drs. Lalu Mujitahid and protest in

Tanjungkarang residence when the church was being built in Panjitar Negara Street (ibid, p. 88).

The peak of the explosion was on January 17th when *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* did *Tabligh Akbar* or public preaching in Sangkareang field, Mataram. MMI had not been officially established and still spread its ideology. It was an event of solidarity toward Poso and Ambon. Victims from Poso-Ambon tragedy were invited to the agenda in order that people could see their physical condition. After listening the testimony from the victims, the congregations felt very emotional. When they went home, they directly broke the nearest church from Sangkareang field. Society and security troops never expected the condition could be that worst. Approximately, more than a thousand Muslim after going out from the preaching stage, started their action by breaking Imanuel Church which is located behind Mataram mayor office. On the second and third day, the target of attackers was not only worship place, but also residence. In Tanjungkarang, they took the inhabitants' stuff and burnt it on the way. The inhabitants were expelled out of their residences. The attackers even tried to break the church near *Aletheia School* around West Nusa Tenggara Police Office or Polda NTB, but they could not penetrate the defense of police. In the end, twelve churches were burned, more than ten houses were attacked and stores' items were looted by people. Six people die (one of it is a lecturer in Mataram University) and eleven injured at the moment (Mahsun, 2000).

Christian followers, during those scary moments, salvaged themselves by going out through shore, ocean and air track. Some others stayed in Mataram, moved to their relatives that had safe space or refuge camp. This sudden migration leads government to create a policy for states civil servant to return to Mataram or preferred to have mutation (Wanna, 2015).

There are some religious groups that exist in Lombok that could be accused as the actors of that tragedy. They are *Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)*, *Muhammadiyah* and *Nahdlatul Wathan (NW)*. NU and Muhammadiyah are the biggest organization in Indonesia, they already exist in every province including NTB. Another Islamic national organization whose headquarters were Lombok is NW.

However, that accusation has very low probability to be right. NU, NW and Muhammadiyah are tolerance organization. They basically uphold values of moderation for their followers. These three organizations have story of war. But the war is reasonable.

The war was taken by NU and Muhamadiyah because of they were forced to do so. They never started the war. The aggression of Netherland to Indonesia forced them to defend Indonesian sovereignty. NW in Lombok had to do war because Lombok had to fight two parties (Netherland and Bali Kingdom) to defend the sovereignty of Lombok Island.

The provocateurs on public preaching agenda in Mataram were *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia*. Even the official establishment of this group was on August in Yogyakarta, the action of this group on January was part of their organizational promotion. Before establishing a mass organization, the organization should recruit followers.

Too emotional model of follower recruitment lead people to do extreme action such as 171 tragedy. This tragedy is the battle of moderation foundation that has been built by tolerant preachers in Christian and Muslim against extremism provocation. Who wins? The next part of this paper has the answer.

Before the Tragedy

Before answering the former questions, it is important to explain the foundation of religious moderation which has been built by the figure of Muslim and Christian in Lombok. These two religions basically teach what so-called affection. It is the very foundation of every preacher's speech.

16th century was the entrance of Christian in *Nusa Tenggara*, specifically Ende, Flores. It was brought by Portuguese before the Netherland came to Indonesia and took Lombok and Bali through an agreement. In 1935, Peter Van Der Heijden, a priest, stayed in Lombok. During his dissemination, he built the first Chatolic Church in Mataram. Four further years, the *Christian and Missionary Alliance* (CAMA) started the introduction class to learn the Bible in Lombok (Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008, p. 737).

That was the starting point of Christianity in Lombok. It continuously grows. In 2018, there were already 18 churches in Mataram. In 2021, the followers of Christianity in West Nusa Tenggara were 13.550 people (Kusnandar, 2021). This religion is based on the Bible. Most of the teachings of Bible ask people to do interaction without seeing their background of ethnicity or religion. Everyone should be treated the same under the love of God. No one should get violence, assassination or genocide because of their race.

To implement those main concepts, Christians conduct many programs to strengthen the inter-religious relation in Lombok. One of the program is the sharing of food and drink for Muslim before the breakfasting time in Mataram. Yance Tonapa, the

priest at Imanuel WR Supratman Church, explains that the activity is a symbol of respect for those who do fasting during Ramadhan. The management also shares the food for those who need it in other months (Imansyah, 2022).

On the other hand, the arrival of Islam in Lombok was in 1545. It was brought by one of nine Islamic preachers or *Wali Songo, Sunan Prapen*. He came to Lombok through the northern part of Lombok. This area is now called Bayan (Budiwanti, 2000, p. 59-60). The process of reception among Islam and local belief was not by violence. Sunan Prapen did respect local tradition of Sasaknese. He taught Islam step by step. When the people were feeling tired of doing five daily prayers or fasting for a month, he did not give any punishment. He gave them choice to do prayer three times. So did fasting, local society negotiate to do it in the beginning, middle and the last. It is one of the reasons for *Islam Wetu Telu* (means three times) existence in the northern part of Lombok (Bartholomew, 2000, p. 86).

Sunan Prapen strengthened his teaching by visiting the kings of Lombok. The first prince who received Islamic doctrine was Raden Mas Pahit, which was followed by his society (Dahri, 2004, p.135). There were two huge kingdoms in Lombok at that time, they were Bayan and Selaparang Kingdom. These two kingdoms approved Islam as the foundation of life and management (Samsyu, 1999, p. 114).

After Sunan Prapen reached the agreement, he moved to the other villages. Even the king commanded his followers to adopt Islamic rules, there were many villagers who stayed far away from the palace. These people had lack of information, they still practice what their ancestor belief which was known as *Boda* (Zakaria, 1998, p. 17).

Islam was not taught completely due to the colonization. Up to 19th century, there was an opportunity for Islamic preacher to go study in Mecca. Those who returned from Mecca was called *Tuan Guru Haji* (TGH). Two prominent figures on that era were TGH Makmun and TGH Ali Batu (Bartholomew, 2000, p. 98). According to Asnawi (2004) These *Tuan Gurus* teach Islamic understanding to complete what was lack previously. TGH Mutawalli had the big role in this case. He visited rural areas to share the broader perspective of Islam. In 1960, he built his own *madrasah* (Islamic boarding school).

TGH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Majid or well known as *Hamzanwadi* has the biggest effect on the separation of Islam in Lombok. He was the founder of the biggest Islamic organization in West Nusa Tenggara namely *Nahdlatul Wathan* (NW). Up to

1997, this organization had established 600 *madrasah* (Hamdi & Smith, 2012). The movement through educational field was very important on the perspective of Hamzanwadi. Religious group normally find the challenges in the future, the existence of *madrasa* is the preparation to deal with those challenges (Majid, 1994, p. 307). NW pledged to not share religious understanding radically. *Tuan Guru* are not only preaches to change the attitude of the students, but also, every *Tuan Guru* in NW follows the guideline which has been prepared by the country. They respect the national law and have the commitment to strengthen the unity and peace among society (Baharuddin, 2007, p. 227).

The hefty foundation of tolerance that has been built by the *Tuan Guru* and Priests for decades should face the challenge of knowing how sturdy that foundation is. The fine relationship between Muslims and Christians in Lombok, specifically Mataram, was examined by the occurrence of 171 tragedies. Under that risky situation, Muslim and Christian finally showed their power through collaboration to appease the sudden riot.

Muslim-Christian Collaboration in 171 Tragedy

Fortunately, the idea of tolerance from Christian and Islamic preachers before the moment of 171 worked so well. Christian victims excessively realise that the actors were not Muslims around the conflict spot in Mataram. When the incident was running, neighbor of Christian followers got the *heart-touching* service from Muslim. They provided their house as the place to hide and to put the property of Christian until the condition got handled by police (Nasrullah, 2019, p. 134).

What is even more emotive is that the tolerance doctrine still controls the actors. Half of their heart is commanded by the provocation of public preaching by MMI, the rest is still controlled by the awareness of tolerance. During the tragedy, attackers consciously asked kindly the inhabitant to get out and took their stuff and burn it on the way, they did not burn the house to avoid the movement of fire to other houses. Control of tolerance awareness in the heart of attackers also guided them to be selective for breaking the public facility. The attackers did not event touch worship place of Hinduism (Mahsun, 2000, p. 90).

Muslims around the tragedy spot gave information for Christians about the safe track to save their live. In the camp, refugees got dress, food and drink from inter-ethnic

and inter-religious group. Muslim neighbor also secured the asset of Christians by putting Islamic symbol on Christian inhabitants (Wanna, 2015, p. 78).

The reparation of relation between Muslim and Christian did not take long term. After the announcement about Mataram safety from the police, economic, social, and educational activity returned normally. Victims of the 171 tragedy came back to Mataram. The cooperation is continuing. Even Christians are the minority in Mataram, but they get the same access to vacancies. Staff recruitment in the stores is fair. Several Christian entrepreneurs have Muslim staff. This various staff background is aimed at avoiding service emptiness during the religious holiday. The Indonesian president, after getting the information about 171, directly commanded the local government to repair the damage (Nasrullah, 2019, p. 136).

Ismail (2005) argues that 171 tragedy happened by design. It was a tragedy to shatter religious harmony in West Nusa Tenggara. Based on the explanation of society which directly watched the aggression, the destruction of GPIB Immanuel happened too fast before the congregants of public preaching went out. The event was followed by shots of police everywhere to soothe the situation. Rationally, there should be a space of time for the movement of congregants. The fact showed that destruction in many places happened super-fast (Ismail, 2005, p. 6).

H. Muhammad Ruslan, the mayor of Mataram city at that time created a policy to appease the situation. All students and teachers have to follow religious preaching and wear their own attribute at 07.00-07.30 on the *Krida* (Saturday). He also continuously monitors the situation. Protestant public figures showed their attention by declaring the peace, support and respect among inter-religious follower. They did the declaration through RRI Mataram. Meanwhile, in the Catholic Church, the priest urges the followers to not blame anyone in the 171 case; it is a moment for everybody to do self-introspection (Ismail, 2005, p.7).

Provocation 171 faces the rooted tolerance doctrines of Islam and Christianity. Islam teaches a lot about tolerance through moderate organization as like *Nahdlatul Wathan*. This organization started to actively share the idea of peace before Indonesian Independence. It was established in East Lombok on 25th August, 1937. NW's ideology based on the inclusivity. It is found on the pattern of social relation of NW that never completely removes the local tradition. For example the tradition of praying for ancestor,

this tradition is continuously conducted by the additional activity such as reciting *salawat* and short verses of Al-Qur'an (Nahdi, 2013, p. 385).

On the economical element, NW emphasizes the higher management to avoid monopoly. Hamzanwadi University in East Lombok and Nahdlatul Wathan University in Mataram are two big campuses of NW. However these two campuses do not have specific dormitory. The reason of this policy is to let society build their economical basis. Society may manage the monthly or yearly hostel to be rented by thousands students of NW and sell the side-dish or snack to them. Another reason to not build campus dormitory is to make the friendly students. Dormitory usually makes students feel exclusive and have social distancing with the local issue. Their existence around society is hoped for creating or thinking about the solution of problems that appear around the village. Their closeness makes them able to share the idea of social development and tolerance (Ibid, p. 386).

On the other hand, Christian doctrine explains that all creations of Allah are created to serve others human need. This is the fundamental reason of tolerance in Christian. On that part, there is no specific group, ethnic, race or religion that should be served more than others. It clearly states "human" in general. There is no explanation to treat religion A kindly and religion B badly. All humans should get the kind treatment. No religious followers are allowed to break others' worship house or to kill other religion follower.

Tolerance is very essential for the missionary approach. It is important to do social interaction and to build social harmony. Tolerance was taught in the long period of time by Jesus and continued by the Christian preachers. The goal is to make people close to Allah (Taliwuna & Veydy, 2021, p. 4). Closeness to Allah is seen from the attitude of someone toward Christians and those who are not affiliated to Christianity. Tolerance is the gate of opportunity for Christian follower to show how Jesus acts toward those who close to Him and those who hurt Him. Kindness should be replied by kindness. But, wickedness should not be returned in the same form. Wickedness that was replied by wickedness would just bring vengeance. Obstinacy to stop the enmity is the key of building harmony.

Fast response from the government and the former doctrine of tolerance from Christianity and Islam unite to muffle the scary days of the 171 tragedy. If the tolerance doctrine were not rooted in the hearts of society and government, the condition would

probably be worse. Muslims and Christians rapidly collaborate to make sure that the victims feel safe enough to come home.

The collaboration continues in many sides, including economy. Both religious group follow the command government to grow the economy of West Nusa Tenggara with the tourism as the priority. Government seriously builds this sector to assist society in reaching their prosperity. Correspondingly, promotion was done to the whole world through social media. Even though the promotion is good, the tourists would not come when they knew they were not in a secure condition. For example, there is a riot or inter-religious conflict. The data shows the number of travellers in West Nusa Tenggara reached 3.7 million people in 2019 (Tourism Department of West Nusa Tenggara, 2020). It shows that they feel safe and have no Muslim-Christian sentiment after the 171 tragedy.

There was a lot of hesitation among people about the development of the tourism sector in Lombok. The colliding of Western life-style and Islamic value is an issue during the construction this sector. Gili Trawangan is an example. Most of the inhabitants in Gili Trawangan are Western travelers. On the other hand, the workers in this Gili are Muslim who should deal with the routine of their guests. For this condition, the staff has been trained to serve the guest based on the universal hospitality that makes the guest feel comfortable (Asyari *et al*, 2022, p. 480).

Those who work in the tourism sector consider the concept of inclusivity in religion that they affiliate with. It is the foundation to reach the global citizens with the various values. Ideology of tolerance has to stay on the mindset of each servant. Only by this perspective can the tourism sector welcomed goodly by travelers. The huge number of visitation helps local people to upgrade their economic condition. The harmony and coordination among all religious followers, including Muslims and Christians, after the 171 tragedy makes Lombok believed to conduct one of the biggest sporting events in the world, namely the MotoGP.

IV. CONCLUSION

This paper has no intension to declare the hostility with the radical group. Both Islam and Christian have no intensity or doctrine to do offensive action or to begin the conflict. Christianity and Islam only let people to defend themselves until the condition is stable. A defensive action by a Muslim or Christian has no will to torture the offender

or, moreover, to eliminate it. Such action is taken to make the offenders realize that they do the wrong action. When the offenders realize it and apologize, Muslim and Christian are supposed to forgive.

Every bad case, however, always has a good side. Many lessons can be learned after a tragedy. The occurrence of 171 tragedies shows us that every religion should conduct intensive preaching about inter-religious tolerance and peace. The existence of an extremist group could be unexpected. 171 tragedies happened suddenly, without any detection from the police or army. The main agenda before this tragedy sounded safe. It was a meeting among Muslims to listen to the tutorial for a blessed life. In the middle of the agenda, provocation turned people into fury and panic.

It is important to have seminars or conferences about inter-religious peacebuilding to prevent the sudden provocation of extremist groups. The dismissal of radical groups like Front Pembela Islam (FPI) or Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) would not stop the probability of another movement. Extremist groups still exist. Again, even Abu Bakar Ba'asyir is already old and retired. He has disciples who have already graduated. Some of them had been caught by the police due to dangerous public action; others should be anticipated.

Uniquely, the problem after 171 was done soon. Compared to the case of Poso or Maluku, this case indicates that the effect of moderate preachers in Lombok is fervent. The provocateurs of tragedy of 171 created the huge riot, but society had the immune of peace understanding. Meanwhile, provocateurs in the case of Ambon and Poso caused the simple thing, but the effect seemed like the domino. It directly moves to another island and took the long track of reconciliation.

In the case of 171 tragedy, H. Muhammad Ruslan, did intensive meeting with the preachers, local figures, sociologist, religious department, DANREM, DANDIM, KAPOLRES, KESBANG LINMAS and judiciary to create FOKOSIDA (*Forum Komunikasi Situasi Daerah*) or Communication of Situation Forum. It has role for perceiving and monitoring the condition in Mataram (Ismail, 2005). This condition is the symbol of consciousness about tolerance. All parties already understood the doctrine of their own religion. The former preachers who still alive or already die had been successful to plant the teaching of love in the heart of Lombok society.

The occurrence of 171 tragedy transformed Mataram from a city of religious contestation among Muslim Christians, Hindus, and Buddhists into a city of unity. Supply from Muslims to make their house a place to hide and to put the property of Christians, the consciousness of attackers to kindly ask Christians to get out and take their stuff, inter-religious aid to help refugees, and Muslim action to save the assets of their Christian neighbour by putting Islamic symbols are some of the forms of collaboration beyond religious borders. The 171 tragedy opens the gate of Muslim-Christian collaboration to fight extremism.

After all, the most important thing in the velocity of the 171 tragedy settlement is the greatness of the hearts of Christian followers to not avenge the aggression by the same thing. They show the best form of Christian teaching: not to take revenge. They give the good presumption towards Muslims instead of reproach.

Christians “on the scary condition” opened their hearts. They convince themselves that their Muslim neighbour is not that bad. Their Muslim neighbours (with a Christian mindset) are kind. Their hearts' greatness yields an amazing result. 2.6. million detriments because of the 171 tragedy was a huge loss. However, the unity after this tragedy is priceless. After the condition is safe, Muslims pick Christians up from the refugee camp. Christians give all their trust to Muslims to return to their harmony area, their sacred land, and their home, Mataram.

Bibliography

- Adidhatama, Praga. (2009). *“Islam dan Negara, Pemikiran Abu Bakar Ba’asyir tentang Negara Islam,”* Undergraduate Thesis, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta.
- Alganis, Igneus. (2016). *“Konflik Poso: Kajian Historis Tahun 1998-2001,”* Jurnal Criksetra, volume 5, No. 10. August, 66-173.
- Aritonang, Jan Sihar and Steenbrink, Karel. (2008). *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, Leiden: Hotei Publishing.
- Asyari, Akhmad et al. (2022). *“Beragama di Pulau Pariwisata Internasional: Pengalaman Toleransi Komunitas Muslim di Lombok, Nusa Tenggara Barat,”* MANAZHIM: Jurnal Manajemen dan Ilmu Pendidikan, Volume 4, Nomor 2, Agustus; 475-490. <https://doi.org/10.36088/manazhim.v4i2.2021>.

- Azra, Azyumardi. (1994). *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar Pembaruan Islam di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Baharuddin. (2007). *Nahdltul Wathan dan Perubahan Sosial*, Yogyakarta: Genta Press.
- Bartholomew, John Ryan. (2000). *Alif Lam Mim: Kearifan Masyarakat Sasak*, trans. Imron Rosyadi. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- BPS Kota Mataram. (2018). “Data Pemeluk Agama”.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. (1992). *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia: Survei Historis, Geografis, dan Sosiologis*. Penerbit Mizan, 1992.
- Budiwanti, Erni. (2000). *Islam Sasak Wetu Telu versus Waktu Lima*. Yogyakarta: LKIS.
- Dahri, Harapandi. (2004). *Wali dan Keramat dalam Persepsi Tradisional dan Modern*. Mataram: IAIN Mataram Press.
- Hafid, Wahyudin. (2020). “Geneologi Radikalisme Di Indonesia (Melacak Akar Sejarah Gerakan Radikal),” *Al-Tafaquh: Journal of Islamic Law, Islamic Faculty, UMI*, Volume 1 No. 1, 31-44.
- Hakim, Bashori A. (2004). “Wawasan Kebangsaan Kelompok Salafi di Nusa Tenggara Barat: Studi Kelompok Salafi di Pondok Pesantren Daarusy-Syifaa,” *Jurnal Harmoni*, Mei-Agustus, 71-80.
- Hamdi, Saipul & J. Smith, Bianca. (2012). “Sisters, Militias and Islam in conflict: questioning ‘reconciliation’ in Nahdlatul Wathan, Lombok, Indonesia,” *Springer Science, Islam*, 6:29–43. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-011-0168-5>.
- Hasani, Ismail dan Naipospos, Bonar Tigor. (2010). *Radikalisme Agama di Jabodetabek & Jawa Barat: Implikasinya terhadap Jaminan Kebebasan Beragama/Berkeyakinan*. Jakarta: Pustaka Masyarakat.
- Husaini, Adian. (2007). “Kristenisasi di Indonesia, Tinjauan Historis dan Teologis,” *Media Dakwah*, Februari.
- Imansyah, Nur. (2022). “Umat Kristen di Mataram membagikan takjil buka puasa,” *Antara NTB*, April 10. <https://mataram.antaranews.com/berita/191133/umat-kristen-di-mataram-membagikan-takjil-buka-puasa>. accessed, 15 November 2022.
- Ismail, Sirajudin. (2005). “Ketika 171 Bergejolak,” *Jurnal Al-Qalam*, no. XVI., 4-9.

- Jamhari & Jajang Jahroni. (2004). *Gerakan Salafi Radikal di Indonesia*. Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Kelly, Charlotte Heath. (2012). "Counter-Terrorism and the Counterfactual: Producing the 'Radicalisation' Discourse and the UK Prevent Strategy," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, no. 3, 394–415. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2011.00489.x>.
- Kusnandar, Viva Budy. (2021). "Lebih dari 96% Penduduk Nusa Tenggara Barat Beragama Islam," *Databoks*, September 21, 2021. <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2021/09/21/lebih-dari-96-penduduk-nusa-tenggara-barat-beragama-islam>, accessed, 15 November 2022.
- Kusuma Sp. (2000). "Konflik di Ambon: Penafsiran Sosiologis atas Pengamatan Konflik Januari-Mei 1999," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, Volume 3, 3, March, 265-283.
- Madjid, Ma'shum Ahmad Abdul. (1994). *Meneladani Kepemimpinan Hamzanwadi*. Lombok Timur: Himmah NW Press.
- Mahsun. (2000). "Tragedi di Pulau 'Seribu Masjid': Konflik Agama atau Perlawanan Budaya?" *Jurnal Antropologi Indonesia*, 82-91.
- Masduqi, Irwan. (2012). "Deradikalisasi Pendidikan Islam Berbasis Khazanah Pesantren," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, No 2 Vol 1, 3.
- Nahdi, Khirjan. (2013). "Dinamika Pesantren Nahdlatul Wathan dalam Perspektif Pendidikan, Sosial, dan Modal," *Islamica*, Volume 7. Number 2, 382-400.
- Nasrullah, Arif et al. (2019). "Dinamika Hubungan Islam-Kristen di Kota Mataram," *Resiprokal*, Vol. 1, No. 2, December, 124-134.
- Riyansah, Abdul et al. (2021). "Faktor Penolakan Pembangunan Gereja oleh Masyarakat di Kota Cilegon," *International Journal of Demos*, Volume 3, Issue 1, April, 43-52. <https://doi.org/10.37950/ijd.v3i1.79>.
- Saloom, Gazi. (2009). "Dinamika Hubungan Kaum Muslimin dan Umat Hindu di Pulau Lombok," *Jurnal Multikultural & Multireligious*, volume VIII, no. 30, April-Juni, 70-79.
- Saparudin. (2017). "Salafism, State Recognition and Local Tension: New Trends in Islamic Education in Lombok," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 81-107. <http://ejurnal.iainmataram.ac.id/index.php/ulumuna>.

- Stephen, William, Stijn Sieckelinck & Hans Boutellier. (2021). "*Preventing Violent Extremism: A Review of the Literature*," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, vol. 44, no. 4, 2021, 346-361. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1543144>
- Suadnya, I Wayan & Paramita, Eka Putri. (2018). "Komunikasi Ritual Perang Topat sebagai Media Pemersatu Kebhinekaan di Lombok," *Journal of Media and Communication Science*, 3-9.
- Sulaiman, Rio. (2014). "*Pemikiran Dan Kiprah Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia*." Undergraduate Thesis, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, 2014.
- Syamsu AS., Muhammad. (1999). *Ulama Pembawa Islam di Indonesia dan Sekitarnya*. Jakarta: Lentera Basritama.
- Taliwuna, Mario C & Mangantibe, Veydy Y. (2021). "*Toleransi Beragama Sebagai Pendekatan Misi Kristen di Indonesia*," *Jurnal Ilmiah Religiosity, Entity, Humanity (JIREH) Volume 3, Number 1, 4*.
- Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. (1977). *Monografi Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat*. Jakarta.
- Tourism Department of West Nusa Tenggara. (2020). "*Tourist Visitation to NTB: 2015-2019 data*".
- Wanna, Margie Ivonne. (2015). "*Agency Perempuan dan Struktur Gereja Merekonstruks Ekklesiologi Konstektual GPIB Pasca Konflik 171 di Lombok*." Phd diss., UKDW, Yogyakarta.
- Widayat, Ilovia Aya Regita et al. (2021). "*Konflik Poso: Sejarah dan Upaya Penyelesaiannya*," *Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu-ilmu Sosial*, 13 (1): 1-9 <https://doi.org/10.24114/jupiis.v13i1.18618>.
- Zakaria, Fathurrahman. (1998). *Mozaik Budaya Orang Mataram*. Mataram: Yayasan Sumurmas Al-Hamidi.