

**ISLAMISM, TOTALITARIANISM AND DEMOCRACY;  
REVISITING ABU BAKAR BA'ASYIR  
IDEOLOGY OF JIHADISM**

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**Abstract**

Jihadism groups apparently still have influence in Indonesia. Data collected from a number of surveys shows that the number of supporters of the ideology of jihadism is quite significant, even though the ideology of jihadism tends to give birth to radical or extreme political movements. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, one of the bearers of the ideology of jihadism, has been proven to be involved in terrorism activities. Even so, for humanitarian reasons, due to age and health factors, in early 2019 there was an attempt to release him from prison. The effort received a positive response from the government. However, in the end the release was canceled because one condition was not fulfilled, namely loyalty to the Pancasila and the Republic of Indonesia. This study intends to examine who Abu Bakar Ba'asyir is, what is his view of jihad, why is he not willing to be loyal to the ideology of Pancasila and the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, what is the impact of the ideology of jihadism which is adopted for the development of Pancasila democracy in Indonesia. The method used in this study is the library method, using old data with new analysis. The conclusion of this study is that Abu Bakar Ba'asyir is a follower of Islamism in the form of jihadism which contains elements of totalitarianism ideology. The ideology like this has a negative impact on the development of Pancasila democracy for its exclusiveness and not able to accept plurality.

**Keywords:**

*Democracy, Islamism, Jihadism, , Sharia, Totalitarianism*

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**Abstrak**

Kelompok jihadism ternyata masih memiliki pengaruh di Indonesia. Data yang dihimpun dari sejumlah survey menunjukkan bahwa jumlah pendukung ideologi jihadism cukup signifikan. Padahal ideologi jihadisme cenderung melahirkan gerakan politik radikal atau ekstrim. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, salah satu pengusung ideologi jihadism, telah terbukti terlibat dalam kegiatan terorisme. Sungguhpun demikian, demi alasan kemanusiaan, karena factor usia dan kesehatan, pada awal 2019 ada upaya untuk membebaskan beliau dari penjara. Upaya itu mendapat respon positif dari pemerintah. Akan tetapi, pada akhirnya pembebasan itu dibatalkan karena tidak terpenuhinya salah satu syarat yakni kesetiaan pada Pancasila dan NKRI. Kajian ini bermaksud untuk meneliti siapa Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, apa pandangannya tentang jihad, mengapa dia tidak bersedia setia pada ideologi Pancasila dan NKRI, apa dampak ideologi jihadism yang dianutnya bagi perkembangan demokrasi Pancasila di Indonesia? Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini metode perpustakaan, dengan menggunakan data lama dengan analisa baru. Kesimpulan dari penelitian ini adalah bahwa Abu Bakar Ba'asyir adalah salah satu penganut paham Islamism dalam bentuk jihadism yang mengandung unsur ideologi totalitarianism. Ideology seperti ini berdampak buruk terhadap perkembangan demokrasi Pancasila karena sifatnya yang eksklusif dan tidak dapat menerima pluralitas.

**Kata Kunci:**

*Demokrasi, Islamisme, Jihadisme, Syariat, Totalitarianisme*

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## A. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has now been incorporated into a democratic state. Among Muslim countries, only Indonesia and Tunisia are considered successful in transforming into a democratic Muslim country. Indonesia has even been praised by a number of groups as a country that can prove that Islam is compatible with modernization and democracy. However, as an open system, democracy not only has the ability to continue to improve itself, but is also prone to be entered by anti-democratic elements. Anti-democratic elements can enter the government system or develop outside the government by continuously influencing or provoking the community. Among these elements is the Islamism group with the ideology of jihadism which tends to totalitarianism.

Jihadism groups apparently still have influence in Indonesia. Data compiled from a number of surveys indicate that the number of supporters of the ideology of jihadism is quite significant. According to the Alvara Research Center survey, 23.4% of students are ready to fight for the establishment of the *Khilafah*.<sup>i</sup> According to data from the Pew Research Center survey (2013), 42% of Indonesian Muslims say that the law enforced in Indonesia is not in line with sharia.<sup>ii</sup> The 2018 LIPI (Indonesia Science Institute) study found that 42.5% of respondents agreed that sharia regional regulations were applied in an area even though the area was occupied by people with diverse beliefs.<sup>iii</sup> In the last 13 years, publics who are pro-Islamic Republic of Indonesia increased by 9% while those who were pro-Pancasila decreased by 10%. In 2005, the public who were pro-sharia with NKRI reached 4.6%, by 2018 the figure had risen to 13.2%. If in 2005 the number of public who pro-Pancasila reached 85.2%, in 2018 it would drop to 75.3%.<sup>iv</sup>

The development of these figures cannot be separated from the development of Islamism which carries the ideology of jihadism which tends to give birth to radical or extreme political movements. In a number of

cases, this group was even involved in acts of terrorism. Among the leaders of Islamism with the ideology of jihadism that tends to totalitarianism is Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir was proven to be involved in terrorism activities. After serving a prison sentence for several years, for humanitarian reasons, due to age and health factors, in early 2019 there was an attempt to release him from prison. The effort received a positive response from the government. However, in the end the release was canceled because one condition was not fulfilled, namely loyalty to the Pancasila and the Republic of Indonesia.<sup>v</sup>

This study intends to examine who Abu Bakar Ba'asyir is, what is his view of jihad, why is he not willing to be loyal to the ideology of Pancasila and the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, what is the impact of the ideology of jihadism which is adopted for the development of Pancasila democracy in Indonesia?

The method used in this study is the library method, using old data with new analysis. The old data that I mean is that study actually derived from my previous study on Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, that has been published under the title "Sharia Law in Pluralistic State Based on Pancasila: Review on The Thought of Two Alumni of Gontor Boarding School".<sup>vi</sup> However the case of Ba'asyir refusal to be released from prison need more analysis especially the analysis from the perspective political science such as presented by of Hannah Arendt and others. Arendt was one of the first to recognize that Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union were two sides of the same coin rather than opposing philosophies of Right and Left. In her book *The Origin of Totalitarianism*, Arendt said that "totalitarian movements are mass organization of atomized, isolated individuals. Compared with all other parties and movements, their most conspicuous external characteristic is their demand for total, unrestricted, unconditional, and unalterable loyalty of the individual member. This demand is made by the leaders of totalitarian movements even before they seize power"<sup>vii</sup> This new analysis is important because the ideology of totalitarianism seems to be still

alive in the future through various names and clothes. It potentially will endanger the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. In addition, considering the relationship between religion and jihadism still the subject of controversy,<sup>viii</sup> this study also will make it clear how far this relationship is, particularly in the case of Ba'asyir.

## B. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 1. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and The Ideology of Jihadism

Abu Bakar Ba'asyir bin Abud Baamulim Ba'asyir was born in Jombang on August 17, 1938. His father and grand father were Yemeni origin who have become Indonesian citizen. His mother also Arabic origin but his grand mother is Javanese. Although his parent can be called lay people but both of them are devout people who diligently kept religious ritual. His father dead when Ba'asyir turn to ten years old. After the death of his father, he then survived by his mother.<sup>ix</sup> He get first religious education from *surau* (the place of worship) in his village as well as from his mother. He continued his senior high school in Surabaya. Unfortunately, because of "financial constrain" he terminated his study in the first grade. In order to help family's economic, Ba'asyir ever helped his brother opening textile and garment home industry.<sup>x</sup> In the age of twenty one, in 1959, Ba'asyir enrolling *Pesantren* (boarding school) *Darussalam* Gontor. In this *pesantren* Ba'asyir ever taught by Nurcholish Madjid, who eventually become Islamic scholar, for one year. "When I enrolled he has in the sixth grade" Ba'asyir memorized. But it is KH Imam Zarkasyi, the founder of Gontor which gave significant influence on his character, according to his confession. After graduating from Gontor in 1963, he continued to Al-Irsyad University majoring in sharia. One again, he cannot finished his study but not because of financial constrain but because of his involvement as Islamic preaching activities in society. "My preaching reached to very

distance place to the edges of villages." He added.<sup>xi</sup>

Ba'asyir well known for highly enthusiasm in Islam. His dreaming is only one, enforcing Islamic sharia in this archipelago. When he studied in Al-Irsyad University he ever became chairperson of Student Institute for Islamic Preaching (LDMI). He also ever become general secretary of Al-Irsyad Youth, in Solo branch. During his activity in community, Ba'asyir met with Abdullah Sungkar and Hasan Basri. Abdullah Sungkar (1937-1999) is a Muslim cleric and the founder and the leader of *Jamaah Islamiyah* (JI). He is one of the leader of *Fisabilillah* faction in NII ((Indonesian Islamic State) which at that time has been scattered. His reign territory including Ngruki *Pesantren* that is used as the base of his movement. His followers who have been trained reached 5000 persons, part of them had accepted military training.<sup>xii</sup> They then agreed to establish Islamic Preaching Radio, named ABC (*Al Irsyad Broadcasting Commission*) and Surakarta Islamic Preaching Radio (Radis), in 1969. Few years later these two Radio prohibited to air their program by Soeharto government because it is always inciting Islamic militancy and sharply criticized government.

On March 10, 1972 Abu Bakar Ba'asyir along side with Abdullah Sungkar, Yoyo Rosawadi, Abdul Qohar H. Daeng Matase and Abdullah Baraja established *Pesantren* (Boarding school) in Ngruki, Sukoharjo, Central Java. When Soeharto introduced Pancasila as the sole ideology of Indonesian, he refuted. He even incited people to refuse Pancasila as the sole basic for all organization. He also prohibited his student to salute the white and red Indonesian flag, because according to him this act is part of the polytheist act.

In 1983, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and Abdullah Sungkar were detained. They are accused of inciting people to refuse Pancasila as the sole basic ideology of Indonesia. He teaches his pupil that saluting or greeting Indonesian flag is part of the *syirk* (polytheist) deed. He was accused as the part of the

movement led by Hispran (Haji Ismail Pranoto), prominent figure in DI (*Darul Islam*) and TII (Indonesian Islamic Armed Force) in Central Java. Both Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and Abdullah Sungkar sentenced to 9 years prison.

In February 11, 1985 when their case still being tried in Supreme Court for appellate, and their status are house detention, Ba'asyir and Abdullah Sungkar escaped to Malaysia through Medan. In Malaysia Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, Abdullah Sungkar and *ajengan* Masduki established *Darul Islam* in 1985. Its name then changed in 1987 and became *Jamaah Darul Islam*. The aim of *Jamaah Darul Islam* is returning the glory of Kartosuwiryo who had proclaimed NII (Indonesian Islamic State) in West Java on August 7, 1949. NII which deemed legal according to them, then attacked an occupied by Sukarno (The first Indonesian president). Therefore, it is the obligation of all members of *Jamaah Darul Islam* to liberate the place in which God law or Islamic sharia ever declared and promulgated.<sup>xiii</sup> This organization led together collegially by the three. This organization then break up when *ajengan* Masduki refused Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and Abdullah Sungkar ideas to carried this organization through violence act. In the peak, they scattered, *ajengan* Masduki remain in Darul Islam while Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and Abdullah Sungkar formed a new one named *jami'atul minal muslimin* in 1996. The later congregation then well known among the follower as *Jamaah Islamiyah* (JI).

During his staying in Malaysia Ba'asyir preached Islam based on his strict understanding on the Koran and Hadits. According to the source derived from Nasir Abas, the scattering (*infishol*) between *Ajengan* Masduki in one side and Ust. Abdul Halim (Abdullah Sungkar) and Ust. Abdus Somad (Abu Bakar Ba'asyir) in other side occurred since 1993.<sup>xiv</sup> So there are two organization, *Jamaah Darul Islam* led by *Ajengan* Masduki and *jamaah Islamiyah* led by Ust. Abdul Halim who well known in Indonesia by Abdullah Sungkar. Abdullah Sungkar led *jamaah Islamiyah* until his death in 1999. After the death of Ust. Abdul Halim, the top leader of

this organization taken over by Ust. Abdus Somad.<sup>xv</sup> Abdus Somad is the alias of Abu Bakar Ba'asyir when he stayed in Malaysia.

On September 25, 2002, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir in his interview with TEMPO magazine said that during his staying in Malaysia he never established organization or movement. During there he and Abdullah Sungkar just taught Islam based on *sunnah nabi* ( prophet tradition). "I am not involved in politics. Once or twice in a month I visit Singapore. We teach *jihad* to Muslims and among them, they go to *jihad* in Philippine or Afghanistan but all of them based on individual preference." he said.

After returning from Malaysia in 1999, Ba'asyir involved in managing MMI ( Indonesian Mujahidin Council), the alliance of mass organization which determined to enforce Islamic sharia in Indonesia. When this organization for the first time performed congress in Yogyakarta in 2002, to team up this leadership, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir was elected as the chairman. As the alliance of mass organization the member of MMI might be individual or institution. MMI aimed to become umbrella organization for all Muslims together who agree to fight for the mission; enforcing Islamic sharia in Indonesia.

As mentioned above, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir ( Ust Abdus Somad) is also an *amir* or the leader of *al-Jamaah al-Islamiyah*. He replaced Abdullah Sungkar (Ust. Abdul Halim) after the death of the later in 1999. But considering *al-Jamaah Islamiyah* (JI) as a form of secret organization (*tanzim sirri*), only a few persons that have attained the level of leader who know his status as *amir*.<sup>xvi</sup> According to Nasir Abas one of the ten principles of *al-jamaah al-Islamiyah* is to perform Islam purely and totally through the system of congregation (*jamaah*) then (established) *daulah* (Islamic state), then *khilafah* (caliphate).<sup>xvii</sup>

In commenting on the core of Islam and Islamic sharia Abu Bakar Ba'asyir said that : "The core is *tauwhid* (the oneness of God). But there are many mistakes in understanding *tauwhid*. They think *tauwhid* is just belief in God and in the prophet Muhammad. If merely

belief to God, it is not different with the Devil. The true *tauwhid* is to confess the oneness of Allah and the oneness of God law. This is the *tauwhid* that should be explained. If you are only confessing the oneness of God but not acknowledged the oneness of God law, your *tauwhid* is failure. Allah is the only one we worshipped to. We live only to worship Him. And we only allowed to be regulated by the law of God. This is the real *tauwhid*. This is that many don't understand. They think if they have belief to the almighty God it is enough, then they can recklessly nurturing their carnal desire."<sup>xviii</sup>

Muslims, according to Ba'asyir, should belief that Islamic sharia is absolutely correct and excellent suitable for each time and place. He further said that "Muslims very belief all of Islamic sharia are absolutely correct and excellent whenever and wherever. Believing to such sharia is dead price, there should be no compromise. This is what we called Muslim. Therefore Muslim do not want to sacrifice sharia to be replaced by other including on behalf the unity of the nation. The unity is good including with the infidels, we are willing to life in peace with them but it should be in condition, don't abandon Islamic sharia. So the life should be in the umbrella of Islamic sharia. This condition is dead price there is nothing that can be reduced or to be bidden. This is what is called (true) believer."<sup>xix</sup> Ba'asyir was not agree if the implementation of sharia is limited to few aspects such as what is happened in Indonesia who just implement sharia limited to the matter of marriage, *wakaf* and inheritance such as regulated in KHI (Islamic law compilation). Ba'asyir intended that sharia should be implemented totally in all aspects of life. "It is right, Islamic sharia should be implemented totally (*kaffah*). It is must. It cannot be negotiated if they want to get salvation." He added.<sup>xx</sup> Back to Indonesian history, when Muslim leaders give up on *Piagam Jakarta* (Jakarta Charter), to me it is the wrong tolerance, untrue tolerance, in which for the sake of unity with Christianity in Indonesian state, Islamic sharia was then released. This tolerance caused disaster until

now. Strangely it is this tolerance that is developed now. Ba'asyir said <sup>xxi</sup>

Ba'asyir sees that the central of his struggle is to enforce *sharia* or God law. He said that "In this life there is no something more worthy than struggle to enforce *sharia*. There isn't any struggle in this world that is more important than the struggle to uphold God law in this earth. It is what should be understood by all Muslims. There isn't any negotiation in this process. Take it all or leave it all."<sup>xxii</sup> In other occasion Ba'asyir said that "Enforcing Islamic sharia is absolute for every Muslim. Negotiation in whatever form cannot be accepted including consideration for maintaining the unity. Remember all and every victory that we grasp not because of humans smart or sophisticated but because of Allah blessing. The victory can only be get if we are persistent in upholding Islamic sharia or Allah sharia. It is better to break apart instead of we are not able to perform sharia which has been dictated by God. Life in this world just to do it."<sup>xxiii</sup>

Ba'asyir described himself as fighter for Islamic sharia who ready taking risk for his struggle including to be branded as extremist. He further said that "this is the natural law (*sunnatullah*), since the age of *Rasulullah* until now, the infidels always tried to discredit Islam. The prophet himself ever called *majnun* (crazy) a destroyer or the breaker of community. It is what we should face but we don't worry because it has became the song of the infidels. They (infidels) are not dare to face Islam by argument therefore they look for issues that undermine and weaken Islamic society for instance by labelling them as extremist, hard liner, terrorist and soon. So it is important to inform Muslims society that these are the songs of the enemy. What they mean extremists are Muslims who want to enforce Islamic sharia. They are worried, then they released the brands so Muslims will afraid and distanced themselves from the fighters".<sup>xxiv</sup>

Regarding the opinion saying that sharia state or Islamic state has no clear concept, Ba'asyir refused this opinion. He said

that “the concept actually has already existence, arranged by *Darul Islam* figures. Despite being called rebellion, they are actually has prepared these concepts. Now it is just to be revised. Islamic sharia actually a simple matter. For instance related to criminal code there are *hudud* and *qishash*, both have been mentioned in the Koran. So it just promulgate it. Of course the real application of sharia will be determined by situation. So it is important to promulgate it first, whereas the real application will be step by step. There are too much concept (on sharia state), if we are compare with Indonesian when they are fighting for independent aren't there any concept? Pancasila is their only concept, so in order to manage the new state then they borrowed it from the West, isn't it? Why so many people said that Islam has no concept (on Islamic state)? The concept is there and *Majlis Mujahidin* (mass organization that he chaired) will revise and elaborate it.”<sup>xxv</sup>

Ba'asyir strongly attacks the notion of secularism which will separate religion from the government. To him Islam has regulated all aspect of life from individual or private matter to public or state matter. “Secularists no less dangerous compared to the other enemy of Islam because they are blurring so many people assume that they good people but actually they are such as a hypocrite. Their acts like a hypocrite but I don't dare to called them hypocrite”<sup>xxvi</sup> When asked about the mission or program of MMI, Ba'asyir said that there are two main programs of MMI, firstly, socialization. This program stressed on building Muslim's awareness that fighting for sharia enforcement is obligatory in the same level as obligation to conduct daily prayer (*shalat*). Enforcing sharia is the sole solution in overcoming the so many problems faced by Indonesia. In order to socialize *sharia* MMI will managed a seminar inviting pastors or priests. “We are willing to inform them that the application of *sharia* will not suppress them. Conversely, they will receive circumstance, more comfortable, more justice for them”. Ba'asyir said.<sup>xxvii</sup> The second program is crushing secular thinking firmly. MMI will release guidance to determine who secularists

are and how to treat them according to Islamic jurisprudence. We will highlighted that secularists are the enemy of Islam although they use Muslim “cloth”. If they are become leaders, Muslims forbidden to follow their leadership so it is suggested to Muslims not follow them.

In Ba'asyir opinion, state should be ruled by Ulama (cleric) that understand and belief of the excellently of *sharia*. Since Indonesia from the beginning managed by secular leader, it is understood if the result is a chaos and moral degradation. “Since the independence day, this state always ruled by secular groups such as Soekarno, Soeharto and now (when Ba'asyir was saying) Abdurrahan Wahid. So Islam never has an appropriate place according to its *sharia*. The maximum it (Islam) was placed in religious ministry. In Soeharto era there is a broader space for Islam but it just given for the sake of his political interest. So, Indonesia from the beginning until now ruled by secular people not ruled by *ulema*. So it is understood if it lead to the destruction of the nation and Islam.”<sup>xxviii</sup>

Ba'asyir also refuted opinion which branded Islamic laws inhuman by referring to cutting hand for theft and other penalty code in Islamic law. While in the man-made law, the theft commonly punished by prison, cutting hand, he said, likely deemed inhuman. Well, it is the prison that surely inhuman for such reasons. Firstly, persons who jailed, their family are neglected because there is no breadwinner anymore. Secondly, prison not always make someone repentance. The evidence that prison not able to make someone wary is the *petrus* (mysterious killing policy aimed to curb criminal in the era of New Order regime). The background of *petrus* is because the government has desperate in dealing with criminal act. Prison not make them repentance whereby the government has spend so much money for their food during in prison. Eventually, the government makes *petrus* policy. Imagine ! if there is a cutting hand. (In sharia penal code) the thief who is his hand being cut is not picked up recklessly. If he steal because of hungry he is not punished but

released and be given an aid. The cutting hand penalty just applied to somebody who cannot be revised. After his hand being cut he released and not jailed so he still can support family with his earning. Secondly cutting hand will shocked him or her so he or she become wary. It is narrated in a *hadits* (written tradition associated to the prophet) if the thief repentance, his hand will in advance entering paradise, conversely if he don't wary, his or her hand will previously enter to hell. So it is clear, Ba'asyir said, that cutting "hand is proved more effective, more human and lesser cost. So, Ba'asyir added, if it is discussed, cutting hand is more logic. Why not logic, it is ruled by the Creator of human. What is decided by Allah, of course, suitable for human until the end of the days. Punishment for adultery, theft and soon certainty effective whenever. If this punishment not effective, it means that there is something imperfect in the Creator. But because of political interest, Islamic law, recently, often described as cruel law. This cannot be separated from the deeds of secular supporters."<sup>xxxix</sup>

Ba'asyir realized that until now there is no single nation that has implemented Islamic sharia comprehensively (*kaffah*). He said that "there isn't any. In this world there is no state that has enforced Islamic sharia comprehensively. In one state that is more and in the other there is less. But there isn't any state that has totally implemented *sharia* including Pakistan. The problem is there is no will. Arab Saudi is rather better although still not complete yet "<sup>xxx</sup> Regarding the model or reference for sharia state, Ba'asyir prefer to use Saudi Arabia or Pakistan. Ba'syir cautioned to the Iran model considering that they are not *ahlu sunnah wal jamaah*. He said that concerning Iran, the problem because they are Syi'i so we should be cautious. "We don't negate the possibility of some aspects of their economics were in line with Islam. But because they are Syi'ah, their teaching contrary to *Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah* so we don't make them as the basic reference."<sup>xxxix</sup>

Abu Bakar Ba'asyir said that Muslims should follow the steps have been done by the prophet (*sunnah nabi*). Because the prophet

should be treated as model. It is said (in the Koran) *laqad kana lakum fi Rasulallah Uswatun Hasanah*. Islam, in the prophet era, according to Ba'asyir were implemented in the form of government by enforcing Islamic sharia.<sup>xxxii</sup> It is clear, in Ba'asyir view, sharia cannot be fully implemented if there is no state or government. Concerning the name of the state, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir said that the name of state isn't very important. To him Islamic state or Unitary State can be accepted as long as their positive law based on Islam." About nomenclature it doesn't matter to be called Islamic State or Unitary State of Republic Indonesia. The most important one is that the law should be based on Islam. This is the prophet tradition (*sunnah nabi*). This is the way to perform Islam.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

Abu Bakar Ba'asyir opposed the concept of human brotherhood and national brotherhood introduced by Abdurrahman Wahid and other clerics in Nahdatul Ulama. He said that "according to Abdurrahman Wahid, there are three kinds of brotherhood: *ukhuwah Islamiyah* (Islamic brotherhood), *ukhuwah basyariyah* (human brotherhood) and *ukhuwah wathoniyah* (state brotherhood). This concept is very dangerous, in Islam there is no brotherhood except Muslims brotherhood. Outside Islam all are enemy. However in certain condition they can be treated well in line with sharia norms. According to Islam, world can be divided into two: Islam and *Jahiliyah* (ignorance). Between Islam and *Jahiliyah* there isn't any brotherhood. Between Islam and *Jahiliyah* are an endurance enmity. Like pure water and dirty water when they were mixed, all becoming dirty water there is no third water. Therefore the concept of *ukhuwah basyariyah* (human brotherhood) and *ukhuwah wathoniyah* (national brotherhood) are poison and dangerous."<sup>xxxiv</sup>

In his reaction to Soeharto regime in imposing Pancasila as the sole ideology of Indonesia, Ba'asyir said that Pancasila is the product of engineering made or fabricated by Christian to destroy all institution in this country. In Ba'asyir view, the idea to make Pancasila as the sole ideology is the peak of



politics to suppress political force of Muslims. He said : “ surely the only one, Pancasila as the base of ideology is the Christian/ Catholics engineering aimed to destroy all of Islamic institution in this country.”<sup>xxxv</sup> In his view making Pancasila as the sole ideology is a great evil and part of the polytheist act. Therefore, as devout Muslim, Abu Bakar Ba’asyir feel that this matter cannot be abandoned. As the consequence of his statement he questioned by police in 1985. It is in this years, Ba’asyir then escaped to Malaysia. Until now (2019) , Ba’asyir likely hasn’t get a positive outlook on Pancasila as the sole state ideology. It is proved by his rejection to sign the letter of loyalty to state ideology of Pancasila and the Unitary Sate of Indonesia.

While authentic jihad is about peace and coexistence,<sup>xxxvi</sup> Ba’asyir’s jihad is similar with the jihad articulated by Osama bin Laden in the sense that, according to them Islamic faith and territory are under attack, United State (US), Western, and “Zionist” policies are anti-Islamic , in response to these attacks, they argued all Muslims are duty bound to engage in Jihad and the war between Islam and the “infidels” and the “apostates” will last until the “final days” when the “enemies of Islam” will be defeated.<sup>xxxvii</sup> It is not strange, because he is supporter of Osama bin Laden. “I support Osama Bin Laden's struggle because his is the true struggle to uphold Islam, not terror - the terrorists are America and Israel” Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, October 2002.<sup>xxxviii</sup>

## 2. Ba’asyir, Islamism and Human Rights

There is different levels of meaning of the word Islam. In the one hand, it refers to a universal attitude of submission to the will of the Divine, and, on the other hand, it refers to an institutionalized religion, bound by a juridical code of law.<sup>xxxix</sup> The confusion also occurs between the term of Islam and Islamism. In his book; *Islam between Culture and Politics*, Bassam Tibi said: *Islam is both a religious faith and a cultural system, but not a political ideology. The politicization of Islam in*

*the last decades of the past century has created an increasing interest in contributions capable of drawing a clear distinction between Islam as a religion, thus as a cultural system, and the political use of Islamic cultural symbols resulting owing to the rise of the new political ideology of Islamism.*<sup>xl</sup> While in his book *Islam and Islamism*, he explained the different between Islamism and Islam by saying that *Islamism is about political order, not faith. Nonetheless, Islamism is not mere politics but religionized politics...In the case of Islamism, the religionization of politics means the promotion of a political order that is believed to emanate from the will of Allah and is not based on popular sovereignty. Islam itself does not do this. As a faith, cult, and ethical framework, it implies certain political values but does not presuppose a particular order of government. Islamism grows out of a specific interpretation of Islam, but it is not Islam: it is a political ideology that is distinct from the teaching of the religion of Islam.*<sup>xlii</sup>

The term of Islamism is closely related with the term of sharia. The term sharia in Arabic literary means a path or a way.<sup>xlii</sup> From this reading, sharia generally means the way or path that Muslims take to lead their lives – be it as individuals, as society or as a religious community. The term sharia is often used in present discourse as if it were synonymous with Islam itself as the totality of Muslim obligations in both the private, personal religious sense and vis-à-vis social, political, and legal norms and institutions.<sup>xliii</sup>

Historically, sharia, in which Ba’asyir dedicated his life for, has been influenced by time and place. The contemporary sharia contains the full spectrum of principles, rules, cases and interpretations that are developed and applied at present, throughout the Muslim world. New technologies of information and communication have decreased the dominance of legal schools of classical sharia. The variety of meanings of sharia has given rise to a flexible, multi-interpretable discourse about sharia. Therefore, the theological assumption that sharia is a fixed set of norms that apply exclusively to all Muslims must be dismissed

on the basis of both legal and empirical evidence.<sup>xliv</sup> So, sharia or Islamic law, experiences evolution from the perspective of Muslim's understanding.

Democracy, which in terms of language means that sovereignty in the hands of the people also experiences development. In its development, was limited by a number of principles. At least there are four principles that are often used to guard democracy. First, the principle of rule of law, the second is the existence of free and fair elections, third, the protection of human rights, fourth, the active participation of citizens in political affairs and civil life. In its development there is no liberal democracy that allowed people to do whatever they want without limitation. The 2004 United Nations General Assembly (UN) resolution recommended seven things to manage democratic state: (1) the separation and balance of power (2) an independent of judiciary, (3) the pluralistic systems of political parties and organizations, (4) respect for the rule of law, (5) the existence accountability and transparency, (6) free independent and pluralistic media, and (7) respect for human and political rights.<sup>xlv</sup>

If democratic state respected human and political rights, Islam also promoted human rights. In his book entitled *Democracy, Human Rights and Law in Islamic Thought*, Mohammad Abed al-Jabri mentioned seven human rights that should be protected by state or society, namely: (1) the right to life and its enjoyment (2) the right to belief (3) the right to acquire knowledge (4) the right to disagree (5) the right to deliberation or undertake consultation (6) the right to equality and justice (7) the rights of the oppressed to free from the oppression. This is the basic right that if the people cannot enjoy it, the punishment in the sharia cannot be carried out fairly. Al-Jabri added: *Without putting an end to poverty, ignorance and the injustice of the rulers and the injustices of the strong against the weak, the hudud will remain exposed to doubt. And, the Prophetic hadith says, 'Avoid the hudud [penalties] when in doubt.'*<sup>xlvi</sup>

George Makdisi, in his book *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West, With Special Reference to Scholasticism*, said that "There is also evidence that Arabic books in the field of humanism were not unknown to humanists of the Italian Renaissance. In the very first words of his famous oration on the *Dignity of Man*, delivered to an audience of priests, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola begins by citing a Muslim intellectual approvingly: 'I have read, reverend Fathers, in the works of the Arabs, that when Abdala the Saracen was asked what he regarded as most to be wondered at on the world's stage, so to speak, he answered that there was nothing to be seen more wonderful than man.'<sup>xlvii</sup>

According to Nurcholish Madjid, one of the Indonesia Muslim scholar, the values of Medina such as those spoken by the Prophet in the farewell speech (*wada* sermon) contain the sanctity of the human soul, property and honor (*al-dima wa al-amwal wa al-aradl*), then transformed into Europe through the chain a long process such as the crusade, through Italian philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola who in 1486 delivered an oration about the Dignity of Man, then continued by John Lock and continued to Thomas Jefferson who in declaring the independent of America used a formula that resembled a formula which was chosen by the Prophet Muhammad in seeing the sanctity of the soul, freedom and the effort to obtain happiness.<sup>xlviii</sup>

There is no substantial differences between human rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) with what is declared in *CDHRI (Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam) 1991*. Article 1 of UDHR said: *all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.* Article 1 of CDHRI said: *All human beings form one family whose members are united by their subordination to Allah and descent from Adam. All men are equal in terms of basic human dignity and basic obligations and responsibilities, without any*

*discrimination on the basis of race, color, language, belief, sex, religion, political affiliation, social status or other considerations.*

From this explanation, it is safe to conclude that Ba'asyir holds the Islamism in the sense that he used Islam not just a religion and cultural system but a political ideology. By refusing the concept of human brotherhood and national brotherhood, Ba'asyir actually has no respect to human rights as well as to democracy. Because, the concept of human rights cannot be excluded from the idea of democracy.

### 3. Ba'asyir, Totalitarianism and Democracy

The ideology of totalitarianism in Islamic discourse is close to the radical Islam. According to Bilveer Singh the characteristic of radical Islam in Indonesia like this: 1) using literalist approach towards religion with religious teachings being interpreted strictly based on the written word. 2) A romantic importance attached to religion, with the unseen past viewed as good tradition and the ideal type that should be re-created; 3) Hold the view that there should be no new interpretation or *ijtihad* of what has been stated in the Holy Koran. 4) Believes in the unconditional absolute truth, with any other view treated as heretical. A believer of such "wrong" views can be classified as apostate or *murtad*, and labelled as a traitor to the religion; 5) Practices exclusivity, where working with adherents of other religions (*kafirs* or *infidels*) is considered *haram* or forbidden. Many Islamist hardliners will not even cooperate with Muslims who do not share their views, viewing them as *jahiliyyahs* (ignorant) or worst still, as *kafir harbi* (enemy *infidels*), which traditionally only described non-believers operating in a conflict zone 6) Sees justification in the use of violent *jihād* to realize their beliefs. Radical Islamists believe that violence carried out for religious causes is legitimate. 7) Adopts Islamist radical ideology in political discourse. All issues are described purely in religious idioms with

Muslims' persecution as the common theme; 8) Virulently opposed to Westernization and democracy, as these are viewed as un-Islamic; 9) Resists liberalism, pluralism, and secularism as being antithetical to Islam; 10) sharia-minded, and aims to create a *Darul Islam* (Abode of Islam) as a prerequisite to *Darul Salam* (Abode of Peace), where Islamic law or *Sharia* would determine the rules of society (Singh, 2011).

The ideology of totalitarianism in Islamic discourse also close to the Islamic extremism. In his paper entitled: "Violent and Non-Violent Extremism: Two Sides of the Same Coin?" Alex P. Schmid (Schmid, 2014) presented 20 indicators for extremism that may lead to radicalism, among other are 1) Reject the existing social, political or world order. 2). Seek to overthrow the political system in order to (re-) establish the natural order in a society based on race, class, faith, ethnic superiority, or alleged tradition. 3) Are usually in possession of an ideological program or action plan aimed at taking and holding communal or state power. 4) Reject or, when in power, subvert the liberal-democratic conception of the rule of law; use the political space provided by it to advance their cause in efforts to take state power. 5). Reject universal human rights and show a lack of empathy and disregard for rights of other than their own people. 6). Reject diversity and pluralism in favour of their preferred mono-culture society, e.g. a worldwide Islamic state. 7) Reject democratic principles based on popular sovereignty. 8) Reject equal rights for all, especially those of women and minorities. 9) Adhere to a (good-) ends-justify (-any)-means philosophy to achieve their goals. 10) Are unwilling to accept criticism and intimidate and threaten dissenters, heretics, and critics with death 11) Have fixed ideas and closed minds and believe there is only one truth – theirs. In its pursuit, they are often willing to face punishment or even death and sometimes actively seek martyrdom (Schmid, 2014)

Actually, there are many similarities between Ba'asyir and other clerics in Indonesia. They admitted that the most important element of Islamic teaching is

*tauwhid*. While other clerics particularly progressive ones used *tauwhid* as the basis for liberty, equality and brotherhood among all humans before the God, Ba'asyir used his *tauwhid* the basic of his authoritarian model of sharia interpretation. According to Khaled Abou El Fadl, authoritarian interpretation is the act of "locking" or captivating the Will of the Divine, or the will of the text, into a specific determination, and then presenting this determination as inevitable, final, and conclusive.<sup>xlix</sup>

Ba'asyir and his activities also meet with the criteria of totalitarian movements described by Arendt. By using exclusive interpretation of Islam, he actually want to build Islamic mass organization of atomized, isolated individuals. Their external characteristic of this mass organization is their demand for total, unrestricted, unconditional, and unalterable loyalty of the individual member to what they called sharia law or God law. For Ba'asyir God law or sharia should be totally obeyed.

Sociologically, there are three similarities between Islamism who adhere ideology of jihadism and the ideology of totalitarianism such as fascism and communism. Both are used the term vanguard, defenders and revolutionary to name themselves and used the term imperialist, capitalist, colonialist to name their enemy. Both are using violence indifferently. Substantially, there is no difference between the killing conducted by Adolf Hitler and Bin Laden. Both are glorifying the death. Jose Millan Astray, pro-Nazi General exploited the concept *Viva la Muerta*, or "long live death", while Bin Laden exploited the concept of *syahid* or martyrdom. How unconditional and unalterable loyalty of the individual member of extreme ideology able to inspire people to perform suicide attack on September 11 was well described by Reza Aslan in his book *Beyond Fundamentalism*.<sup>l</sup>

It is right that Jihadism's murderous violence is an integral part of the history of a certain form of Muslim fundamentalism, "jihadist Salafism".<sup>li</sup> However If we use the analysis used by Arendt and Aslan it can be

argued that in the context of Indonesia, Islamism, particularly in the form of jihadism which embraced by Ba'asyir, and communism is actually two side of the same coin. Both of them glorifying the totalitarian ideology which contrary to the democratic ideals.

#### 4. The Cause and Impact of Ba'asyir Ideas and Activities

One of the harsh criticizer toward Abu Bakar Ba'asyir is Ziauddin Zardar, intellectual Muslim Pakistani origin. When he visited Indonesia and interviewed by journalist he said that Indonesian Muslim cleric Abu Bakar Ba'asyir has no understanding of what power is in the contemporary world or modernity. Everything is seen from simple slogan: Islam is the answer and the Koran is the law. This is basically very stupid mistake. If Islam is the answer what is the question? If you don't understand the question, how are you going to come up with answers. The kind of fundamentalism he represents is all slogans with no programs. The only program is violence and imposing their own will because they cannot talk to people. There is no reason behind their idea.<sup>lii</sup> According to Dr Khaled Abou El Fadl, there are methodological flaws in the paradigm of people who supported the thesis of "a clash of civilisations" such Ba'asyir and others. Abou El-Fadl argues that the terrorist activities and extremist ideas of Usama bin Ladin and his followers reflect a sense of alienation from modernity, on the one hand, and from the Islamic heritage, on the other, neither of which they properly understand. In his view, the theory of a clash of civilisations only aggravates the siege mentality of such groups, whose puritanical self-righteousness reflects the influence of Wahhabi and Salafi schools of thought.<sup>liii</sup>

It is right that Abu Bakar Ba'asyir from the beginning has live in environment heavy influenced by Wahhabi's thinking as represented in al-Irsyad. But merely influenced by Wahhabi not compelled him to become radical and fundamentalist if he is not knit close relationship with Abdullah Sungkar. The

radical aspect of Ba'asyir attitude likely caused by influence of Sungkar who well known for his adamant and dissident. The closeness with Sungkar was seen when he was in Malaysia, when they both had to part with *Ajengan Masduki*, because of differences in principle. While Masduki rejected the struggle with violence, Sungkar and Ba'asyir allowed it. The closeness was also proven, that it was Ba'asyir who was the successor of Sungkar when the latest passed away in Bogor in 1999. Ba'asyir continued the leadership of the *Jamaah Islamiyah* left by Sungkar.

Ba'asyir ideas and activities has negative impact to the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. Because, democracy in Indonesia is built at least based on five principles ;1) popular sovereignty 2) state law and supremacy of the constitution, 3) distribution and restriction of power (checks and balances) 4) respect for human rights and 5) independent justice.<sup>liv</sup> These five principles are driven by the ideology of Pancasila, the motto unity in diversity (*Bhineka Tunggal Ika*), in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Yes, that Ba'asyir until now (this article was written) is still in prison. But the totalitarian ideology which he believes is still quite influential in some parts of the Muslim community in Indonesia. This ideology, whether using violence or not, has entered the elements of society, through continuous propaganda. "Propaganda is the most important instrument of totalitarianism for dealing with the non-totalitarian world" Hannah Arendt said. In the era of Nazi, the most efficient fiction of Nazi propaganda was the story of a Jewish world conspiracy.<sup>lv</sup>

Although Indonesian people, currently, live in a free and democratic society, thanks to the new amended constitution. But freedom and democracy are not something that can be guaranteed once and for all through installing a constitution. According to Voegelin, democratic constitution was able to be paralyzed in its functioning by a majority bloc from the right and left.<sup>lvi</sup> In Voegelin's view, the morality of democracy is inseparable from rationality. The connection will be clarified by

the definition of conscience. Conscience is the act of judgment by which we approve or disapprove our actions in the light of rational moral principles. In order to act rationally, a man must know who he is, in what kind of a world he lives, and what his station is in the order of being. A man who is confused about the essentials of his existence is incapable of rational action; and if he is incapable of rational action, he is incapable of moral action.<sup>lvii</sup> Tocqueville added that moral action not only be based on rational action but also should be based on beliefs or ideas which can be used as unifying factor for all citizens. There is no society that can prosper without such beliefs or ideas. Without common ideas there is no common action, and without common action a social body does not exist. So, it is necessary that all minds of the citizens always be brought and held together by some principal ideas.<sup>lviii</sup> Indonesia actually has possessed these principal ideas, namely, *Pancasila* which belongs to Indonesia itself, which according to some recent surveys still be believed by people as a unifying factor. Base on survey conducted by *Kompas* , on May 25-27, 2016, 95,3% respondents believe that Pancasila is the best ideology for Indonesia.<sup>lix</sup> In 2018, Indonesian Institute of Science (LIPI), conducted survey and the result is that 95,6% respondents agree that Pancasila is the suitable ideology for Indonesia.<sup>lx</sup> In 2019, the similar survey conducted again by *Kompas*, with the result is 95,8 %.<sup>lxi</sup>

In the language of Habermas, *Pancasila* for Indonesian is "the basis of an existing value consensus".<sup>lxii</sup> So, it is right, when Karl Popper said that democracy should be continuously preserved base on the assumption that there may be anti-democratic tendency latent among the ruled and the rulers. According to Popper, democracy should be defended because democracy provides invaluable battle for any reasonable reform. If democracy destroyed, all rights are destroyed. If democracy destroyed what will emergences is tyranny.<sup>lxiii</sup>

### C. CONCLUDING REMARK

Ba'asyir's jihadism is part of the growing Islamism in the world. However his Islamism contains elements of totalitarianism ideology. The jihadism's ideology of Ba'asyir also meets with the criteria of Islamic radicalism and extremism. The ideology like this has a negative impact on the development of democracy for its exclusiveness and not able to accept plurality. There are many causes that influenced Ba'asyir ideas and activities, from not understanding of what power is in the contemporary world or modernity, the methodological flaws in his paradigm until his alienation from the Islamic heritage. For Indonesian people, Pancasila is the principle ideas which belong to Indonesian themselves. So, democracy in Indonesia can be preserved, only if Indonesian people, Muslims and non-Muslims, ready to defend this existing consensus. The best way to functionalize Islamic values as well as to apply sharia in Indonesia is through democratic constitutionalism base on state ideology of *Pancasila*.

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