PANCASILA AND RADICALISM: PANCASILA ENCULTURATION STRATEGIES AS RADICAL MOVEMENT PREVENTIONS

Sudjito, Hendro Muhamain, and Agung Saras Sri Widodo
Pusat Studi Pancasila, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta – Indonesia
Email: sudjito_fh_ugm@yahoo.com

Abstract

Indonesia has defined Pancasila as nation’s ideology which taught people to live with tolerance. Most Indonesian people embraced Islam and some sects such as salafi, wahabi, jama’ah tabligh, ikhwanul muslimin, and hizbut tahrir which offer alternative for Muslim to know and understand in practising Islamic values individually, group or country (Daulah Isamiyah). The emergence of those various teachings organizations become Islam dynamic. Religion (Islam)-based Radicalism movement is deemed to contradict the state ideology, Pancasila. This article tries to examine organizations or Islamic movement which should be tolerable, respect (lakum dinukum waliyadin), and keep the sovereignty of state. Thus, any Islamic movements that are not based on those principles are convinced that they do not come from Indonesia which is identical with local wisdom and plurality.

Keywords: ideology, Pancasila, radicalism, Islam, terrorism


Kata kunci: ideologi, Pancasila, radikalisme, culture, Islam, terorisme

Introduction

Radicalism as a view is not always materialized through violence but also non violent thought and ideology. The potential radicalism determined by individual perception is not merely influenced by a certain ideology but also caused by a variety of factors in a global, regional, or local issues. For example, terrorism in...
Indonesia, it emerged from a fanaticism by self-truth claiming which results in weapons use and bombings.

Religious ideology tends to be a motivation to justify violence. Violence enforcement in the name of religion is deemed to be a basic struggle of belief and as a form of *kaffah* religion. It makes some religious groups prioritize more on religious doctrine rather than tolerance with love and respect in accordance with human rights. A huge range of diverse expressions develop along with particular political tendencies in form of establishment of Islamic state as the influence of transnational movement regardless local wisdom.

Religion tends to be legitimized to hide the actual conflict. Theological aspect or religion influences somehow stimulate the emerge of radicalism by its bipolar concept: self truth claiming while others are wrong or deserve heaven more than others and there is a history resentment in every religion development. Al-Jabiri said that radicalism is not merely a social political phenomenon covered by religious issues.

**Radicalism: Meaning and Background**

Etymologically, radicalism derives from *radix* that means to act radically or get to the roots. Thinking radically also means thinking deeply to reach the roots which most likely to trigger anti-establishment attitudes. Therefore, radicalism can be understood as an attitude which crave for a change by resenting the status quo for something totally different. Commonly, it uses revolutionary method by drastically overturning the existing values through violence and extreme actions.

In Arab language, radicalism is known as several terms such as *al-unf, al-tatarruf, al-qulww*. *Al-unf* is violence act by illegal force (vigilante) to enforce their will. *Al-tatarruf* is derived from the word *al-tarf* which means tip or edge. It means being on the tip or edge both on the left or right edge. Hence, the word means radical, extreme, and excessive. So, al-tatarruf al-dini is all immoderate things in religion, that is opposite from word al-wasath (centre/moderate) that means good and admirable.

Based on the meaning, it can be concluded that radicalism is a view (ism), the action attached to someone or group who yearn for social or political change by violence, fundamental thinking, and extreme acts. Moreover, radicalism based on the exclusive paradigm, negating others, rigid, closed, extremism and sometimes military.

Radicalism has various terms, some called radicalism as fundamentalism, some also call it as extremism even some people tied it up with terrorism. Those terms constitutes similar meaning to some extent. If radicalism considers as notion referring to violence, fundamentalism is interpreted as notion that fights for something radically. Meanwhile extremism is understood as

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5 See also on: Imam Mustofa, “Terorisme: Antara Aksi dan Reaksi (Gerakan Islam Radikal sebagai Respon terhadap Imperialisme Modern)”, RELIGIA: Jurnal Studi Agama Agama, Vol. 15 No. 1, April 2012, pp. 65-87;

6 Muh. Khamdan, 2015, Bina Damai Terorisme, Kudus: Pribis, p. 40; The way to cover it is to say that it is only a social conflict, not an interfaith conflict. See on: St. Aisyah BM, “Konflik Sosial dalam Hubungan Antar Umat Beragama”, Jurnal Dakwah Tabligh, Vol. 15, No. 2, Desember 2014, pp. 189-208;


8 John M. Ehols and Hassan Shadily, 1995, Kamus Ingris Indonesia, Jakarta: Gramedia.

9 Marx Juergensmeyer, op.cit

a notion that tends to be extreme (strong). Furthermore, terrorism frequently tied to radicalism since terrorism means using violence to cause fear in order to reach particular group goals.

In regards to this, radically thinking, behavior and act potentials correlate. Radical ideology (radicalism) which highly grows to be radicalization is one’s initial motivation to be a terrorist. There is no terror without radicalism. In contrast, radicalism followers do not necessarily like violence (terror). However, there is language similarity used by radicalism or terrorism, militant language.

Philosophically, the religious radicalism is an issue related to core experience, collective memory and religious interpretation. In religious context, there is no shared agreement to describe the radical movement itself. To clarify religious radicalism phenomenon, what proposed by a religious sociologist, Martin E. Marty, with some modifications is quite relevant to be applied to observe the violence indications in the name of religion. According to him, the main indication is oppositionalism. It is a belief of threats resistance that may threaten the existence of the religion, such as modernity, secularism, and mainly Western values. This resistance is done such as fight back the group that threatens the existence or identity of life; fight for dreams which includes life problems in general, such as family and social institutions; fight with framework of value or certain identity that comes from the legacy or new construction; fight against certain enemies that come in form of community or deviating-perceived religious social system; they do it in framework of fight under the name of God.

The background of the radicalism which emerges sociological-empirically cannot be separated from internal dynamics of the society itself. This is based on some internal and external factors. Radicalism rise in Islam is not an abrupt phenomenon. It emerged in political, economic and social-cultural situation which Islam radicalism followers perceive it discrediting Islam. Muslims in politics is not only disadvantaged but also unfairly treated. They believe that their aspirations are not well accommodated since the current political system (they called it kafir system) tends to take secular-nationalist side rather than Muslim’s.

Furthermore, the effect of religious radicalism can emerge radicalization of religious


movement. As Endang Turmudzi said it occurs as a result of the increased religious fundamentalism of its adherents caused by a strong desire to practice the doctrines of their religion in form of ideal society, challenge of domestic reality and international politic constellation which damages social-political life of Muslims. Meanwhile Dahrendorf stated three conditions that support the emerge of struggle group and also trigger conflicts including: first, constant communication among people on the same boat; second, there is a leader that helps articulate ideology, organizes the group and formulates the plan for group’s action; and third, group’s legitimacy in community’s wider perspective—or at least there are no effective community’s pressure towards the group.\textsuperscript{15}

Therefore, the emergence of radicalism sporadically in the world does not come from an empty space. The fact that appears in society is a reckless attitude from people who judge Islam as the ringleader of radicalism and terrorism movement. Islam is stigmatized as a threat of peace in the world just due to some groups’ action. Those who do not have the actual understanding of Islam will easily accept the negative perspective and stigma. Hence, it requires a real action such as socialization of peaceful and moderate Islamic teaching to be the spirit of peace.

It is not fair if the emerge of various chaos in this world is assumed as the effort of Islam fundamentalism to construct a new world order and replace the western. It is not fair either if Islam is positioned as the ringleader of the existing chaos, radicalism, or terrorism nowadays. Anyone who wants to identify and analyze indications of radicalism and terrorism must be able to differentiate Islam as a religion from Islam as political ideology. Islam as religion and civilization is one thing while Islam as political ideology is another different thing. Treating both the same is frivolous and shows superficial understanding about Islam.

Idea, in any forms, is a force that deconstructs every static life order and a liberator of any form of oppression that befall upon human. Ali Shari’ati neatly elaborated the relation between religion and ideology and the differentiating side of both. According to him, religion basically consists of two kinds: first, religion as ideology; and second, religion as collection of traditions, social conventions or collective spirit of a group.\textsuperscript{16}

Radicalism and terrorism action done by radicals and terrorist always justify their action as jihad (holy war). This is fundamentally wrong. Since the concept of jihad itself is not holistically and comprehensively understood. The important question is whether their action is the suggested one in Islam? Perhaps the terrorist who confessed it as jihad does not understand the meaning jihad itself. They only know the surface not what the content beneath is. It will be more dangerous if what they called jihad is an effort to misappropriation of Holy Qur’an and Hadith.

In Al-Qur’an and Hadith, command to jihad has already been written in some verses and Hadith’ contents. Unfortunately, the verses and hadith that mention about the concept of jihad have often been haphazardly interpreted. The subjective interpretation and far from scientific study have become the justification and stimuli for some Islamic movements then it stigmatizes to all Muslims.

This is where many movements appear by politicizing religion that essentially contradicts the substance of the religion itself. As a result, the phenomenon of radicalism in religion, once again, should not be understood that the religion value is the wrong one but actually it is caused by the mistaken understanding towards the religion teaching (read: jihad) and also caused by


social, economic, and political factors. The religion comprehension cannot stand alone. Aspects of social, environment, education, and politics also take part in building up one’s religion comprehension.

From this point, religion seems to have a manifest functions which is well understood by participants as objective manifestation from a social system. For instance, to improve people connectedness (Ukhuwah Islamiyah), or it has latent function which is not expected by the social system dealing with radicalism. According to Azyumardi Azra, religion is a sitting duck to be a crying banner in doing the anarchy action (radicalism), and also be based on the textual construction that existed in the religion itself.

In this context, religion has two contradictory sides. One side is about the great strength in uniting people from any different background, on the other side, the subjective comprehension can also be the potential cause of radicalism. Here we see how the comprehension of religion can create the radicalism and terrorism action that will destroy the social harmony.

The Pancasila Reinforcement to Prevent Radical Movements

Basically, the existence of radicalism aims to change the order of Indonesia state by Islam which contradicts Pancasila. Nowadays, many provocations are thrown to spark Muslim anger. Whereas, people know that Muslims are easily provoked when their religion is teased. Nowadays, Islam has been divided into many ideologies that may bring a conflict among Muslims. Accordingly, we must concern this issue that is able to destroy the values of Pancasila by working together in strengthening Pancasila value considering the violence and radicalism have become the threat of the ideological resilience of Pancasila nowadays.

To tighten the unity of the nation there are several concerns like avoiding to distinguish people by seeing their societal group, nations, religions, races, and anything; uphold the human rights and respect for each other; then all problem that rises from the social interaction must be discussed in a good way and well accommodated to any perspectives; we must give the chance to others to do according to their beliefs peacefully.

Pancasila is a way of life, a view of life (Weltanschauung), and a life guidance (Wereld en levens beschouwing). Pancasila must be carried out in the daily life, using it as guidance in all daily basis and used in all aspects in this life such as politics, education, religion, culture, social, and economy. It means that all Indonesian behaviour must reflect Pancasila values. For Indonesia, the ideology of Pancasila is very meaningful especially to the citizen. Moreover, Pancasila is also the guidance to do any activities in state living. Pancasila is a character of Indonesia. Then Pancasila has to be internalized in citizen’s life, becomes the principle in social communication between the people, and becomes the guidance in harmonizing the life of the different believers in Indonesia.

The ideology of Pancasila owned by Indonesia is the very ideal and suitable ideology with Indonesian characteristics of different beliefs, societal group, customs, characters, and languages. In this regards, our founding fathers wished to unite all variety that existed in Indonesia and solve any differences by uniting Indonesia. Hence, the Ideology of Pancasila has the openness characteristics by always keeping and selectively selecting the other ideology to enter Indonesia.

All activities that may bring the radicalism and contradictory propaganda towards nation’s ideology has become the responsibility for all Indonesia community to control and to oversee any movement that allegedly changes the form and foundation of state. Pancasila, as the view of life must be the foundation of all aspects. Pancasila has reflected how to behave, talk, and act. As the foundation, Pancasila has a noble value, character, ethics, and moral to be implemented by Indonesian people in order to build the sense of nationality and sense of unity, instead of spreading the seed of hatred to Pancasila.
Pancasila is an ideology that is inseparable from religious and spiritual aspects. Pancasila first principle, the one and only God, is briefly explained that human has to believe in God of religious people. Hence, Pancasila gives freedom to Indonesian people to freely and consciously practice their religious activities. Pancasila as the national ideology functions as the goal which is in line with the ideology main function and as media to unite the people or conflict negotiator. Pancasila as the ideology was established with a purpose, as a means to unite the diverse Indonesian people such as Islam, Christianity, Catholic, Hinduism, and Buddhism.

Pancasila Ideology is values order which is derived from the basic value of Indonesian culture. Its principles are a unity so the understanding and the implication should include the whole values in those principles. The ideology endures means the dynamic condition of Indonesian ideological life including the tenacity and strength which contain national power ability to solve any direct/indirect challenge, threat, obstacle and internal/external interference to preserve Indonesian people and nation ideology life. To realize this, the people must believe in Pancasila as the people and national ideology and consistently implement the principles.

Therefore, by consolidating Pancasila as state base, it is expected to repel the radical ideology and intolerance acts that aim to destroy our final ideology as the life guidance of Indonesian people. If there are some people or religious organization that do not agree with Pancasila as the state ideology, it means they violate the Social Organization Law and they need to be exterminated as well as their ideology. We must develop balance mind in binding harmonious relationship between religion and state because both are inseparable combination.

Accordingly, it is necessary to respect Pancasila as our ideology, back to Pancasila ideology spirit, and to implement the values. Return to Pancasila is crucial to prevent radicalism. Pancasila has obvious role and functions to manage human behaviour in the society, state, and religion. Thus, the radicalism ideology brought by certain religious organization must be controlled and under the supervision of all parties. This organization absolutely will destroy Pancasila as the final state base, life vision and guidance.

Consequently, every activity of religious organization must represent Pancasila’s values. Pancasila as Indonesian philosophical system which is full of good characters, wisdom, and morality has to be implemented by all Indonesian people and the undergraduate students. It should be the base principle in holding the organization as the fortress to prevent radicalism, intolerance, and terrorist acts. Therefore, Pancasila is definitely relevant to destroy radicalism mindset. We must return to Pancasila mindset. By doing so, we have to obey the Indonesian law and philosophical system.

**Deradicalization Policy**

Deradicalization etymologically comes from the word ‘radical’ added by prefix ‘de’ that means abolishing, removing, or eliminating something. It can be interpreted as an effort to abolish, remove or eliminate the radical acts. Based on the etymology, deradicalization of religious understanding means an effort to eliminate the radical understanding. It does not aim to deliver a new understanding but to emphasize the holistic and contextual understanding according to its main mission as the desimation of *rahmatan lil alamin* tenet and world peace spirit.17

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Based on the definition and its scope, deradicalization is expected not only as the government duty but also those who are in the state, civil, and business society. Basically, all religion teach love and respect. Their message is to live in peace with all God’s creatures. There is no religion that encourages the people to act radically, anarchically and spread terror. This is the challenge in this global era. It is also the duty for the whole elements of the society, especially religion leaders, intellectuals, academicians and politicians to recognize the religious moral values. It will bring the harmonic life of plural society. The anarchy, radical, and destructive acts conducted by the radical community are absolutely diametrically contradicts the religious principles.

Therefore, the psychological implication of religion radicalism and the other violence will make the religions, especially Islam, are reduced as terrifying shadow and lose their humanity aspects. The beauty of religion will be faded and turn into rage and its inspiration turns to arrogance. The plurality that is developed upon emotional intelligence and argumentative thought turn to destructive power in form of bombing, massacre, and death. This will not give awareness impact and transformation of Islam noble moral value.

Conclusion

The religion radicalism emergence is caused by a wide range of complicated factors. One of them is the understanding aspect of the religion fundamental tenet which is literal-scriptural, rigid, and tends to self-truth claiming. This main character is related to their understanding and interpretation of jihad doctrine, that is rigid and literal. The violence ideology namely Jihad is frequently used as legitimization to do violent acts using distorted interpretation. The religion interpretation monopoly leads to a destructive implication in the social life.

Radicalism ideology is often employed to legitimate the violence conducted by certain people through the distorted interpretation of jihad. This monopoly brings the destructive implication to the society so it seems that this interpretation is the main focus in religious life. In fact, the religion’s holy mission is different from what is expressed by the radicalists who lean on jihad interpretation. Thus, the deradicalization of religion understanding must be implemented.

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