

# Artikel As'aril

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**Submission date:** 04-Jun-2020 04:54PM (UTC+0700)

**Submission ID:** 1337596761

**File name:** Islam\_Radicalism\_Sinta\_2.pdf (1.03M)

**Word count:** 7626

**Character count:** 44155

## **ISLAMIC RADICALISM AND DE-RADICALIZATION STRATEGIES: A CONTRIBUTION OF NURCHOLISH MADJID**

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### **Abstract**

*This paper examines the phenomenon of Islamic radicalism and the contribution of Nurcholish Madjid in the context of de-radicalization. Islamic radicalism has rapidly developed a few years ago. This phenomenon has conducted widespread public anxiety. Various de-radicalization efforts have been carried out, but have not shown results as expected. In this framework, the offer of a de-radicalization strategy is important to be implemented. Nurcholish Madjid has a serious attention to the issue of both Islamic radicalism and de-radicalization. In case radical Islamic communities are not given adequate attention, the future of Indonesia as a pluralistic nation is threatened because it does not provide a conducive sphere for the development of various kinds of diversity.*

**Keywords:** *Islamic Radicalism; reconstruction; de-radicalization; Nurcholish Madjid*

### **Abstrak**

*Artikel ini mengkaji tentang fenomena Islam radikal dan kontribusi pemikiran Nurcholish Madjid dalam konteks deradikalisasi. Islam radikal mengalami perkembangan pesat dalam beberapa tahun terakhir. Fenomena ini telah memunculkan kegelisahan masyarakat secara luas. Berbagai usaha deradikalisasi telah dilakukan, namun belum menunjukkan hasil sesuai harapan. Dalam kerangka ini, tawaran strategi deradikalisasi penting untuk diapresiasi. Nurcholish Madjid jauh hari telah memberikan perhatian secara serius terhadap persoalan Islam radikal dan deradikalisasi. Jika kelompok Islam radikal tidak diberikan perhatian secara memadai maka masa depan Indonesia sebagai bangsa yang majemuk terancam. Hal ini disebabkan karena Islam radikal tidak memberikan ruang yang kondusif bagi berkembangnya berbagai macam keanekaragaman.*

**Kata kunci:** *Islam radikal; rekonstruksi; deradikalisasi; Nurcholish Madjid*

### **مستخلص**

كانت هذه المقالة لها الهدف للبحث في الإسلام الراديكالي وتعمير فكر نورخالص مجيد (Nurcholish Madjid) في استراتيجية إزالة الراديكالية. نشأ الإسلام الراديكالي في السنوات الأخيرة نشأة شديدة سريعة. تسبب هذه الظاهرة إلى القلق عند كثير من المجتمع. لقد أقيمت المحاولات الكثيرة بإزالة الراديكالية ولكنها لم تحصل على النتائج المتوقعة. وفي هذا المجال، تقدم إستراتيجية إزالة الراديكالية شيء مهم له تقدير. وكان نورخالص مجيد (Nurcholish Madjid) يهتم بالإسلام الراديكالي وإزالة الراديكالية اهتماما

كبيراً منذ الزمان الماضي. إن كان الإسلام الراديكالي لم يكن له مهتم به بالاهتمام الكافي فسوف يكون مستقبل شعب إندونيسيا مهدداً، لأن الإسلام الراديكالي لا يوفر تطوير التنوع و نشأته .  
الكلمات الرئيسية: الإسلام الراديكالي ؛ التعمير ؛ إزالة الراديكالية ؛ نورخالص مجيد

## A. INTRODUCTION

Islamic radicalism is a term that has to be serious attention. It's referred to as organizations that are rigid and uncompromising in their efforts to realize agendas relating to certain Muslim communities.<sup>1</sup> This rigid impression cannot be separated from its legalistic-formalistic in understanding of Islam.<sup>2</sup> The consequence of their uncompromising expressions, thoughts, and actions, this community gets a negative evaluation. Although the followers increase gradually, the path of violence chosen has aroused antipathy from the community.

When the New Order government collapsed in 1998, various religious communities that were suppressed find a very free sphere to actualize themselves. The religious social life is so freedom at the beginning of the reform. Religious portraits in various forms actualize themselves in the public sphere, both of most liberal to the most radical.

The fall of the New Order government became the beginning of the development of various religious expressions. The reform provides opportunities for the development of press freedom, an open sphere for expression, and guarantees of the constitution to establish any organization. This opportunity used by various Islamic radicalism communities to develop their existence.<sup>3</sup>

The New Order government policies that make uniformity including in terms of diversity have implications for the stagnation of various religious actualizations that are not in accordance with government policies. The religion which then develops is in their control.<sup>4</sup> The New Order government even era dicated all forms of thoughts and religious movements that were not in line with government policy. In fact, this policy fosters radicalism.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Khamami Zada, *Islam Radikal, Pergulatan Ormas-Ormas Islam Garis Keras di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Teraju, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> Abd A'la, *Ijtihad Islam Nusantara, Refleksi Pemikiran & Kontekstualisasi Ajaran Islam Di Era Globalisasi & Liberalisasi Informasi*, 2019th ed. (Surabaya: PW LTN NU Jatim & Muara Progresif, 2019).

<sup>3</sup> Muzayyin Ahyar, "MEMBACA GERAKAN ISLAM RADIKAL DAN DERADIKALISASI GERAKAN ISLAM," *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.2015.23.1.220>.

<sup>4</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Pergolakan Politik Islam: Dari Fundamentalis, Modernisme, Hingga Post-Modernisme*, 1996th ed. (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> Zada, *Islam Radikal, Pergulatan Ormas-Ormas Islam Garis Keras Di Indonesia*,.

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The rise and development of Islamic radicalism the more intensive it has actually become the attention of many peoples. Many studies have been conducted to understand this phenomenon. One of the focuses of research is the roots of Islamic radicalism.

Noorhaidi Hasan's research found that transnational Islamic ideology is the root of the rise and development of various radical Islamic communities.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the solidarity who have oppressed experience is also another factor that causes it.<sup>7</sup> The ideology of anti-westernism is another factor that cannot be ignored.<sup>8</sup>

Yanwar Pribadi's research also found that the development of Islam in Indonesia after the collapse of the New Order was marked by the strengthening of religious currents that were conservative and radical in character. There are many indications, starting from the emergence of various conservative-radical religious social organizations, regional regulations by Islamic sharia, to various of Islamic commodification carried out by the middle class.<sup>9</sup> This phenomenon did not appear in the New Order era.

One of the remarkable achievements in the reform era is freedom. Despite the fact, that freedom also does not have full positive implications. The interaction between ideologies that should have been dialectical-dialogic is actually counterproductive because disputes actually become a frequent phenomenon. This reform era was marked by the efforts of several communities to carry out ideological experiments. This effort shows the results marked by voter behavior that follows the ideology adopted.<sup>10</sup>

Another aspect cannot be ignored is the emergence of conflict as a result of political-ideological friction. The conflicts that occur are fluctuating. Nevertheless, due to the conflicts that have taken place in a few years ago, the number of victims who have fallen countless. Conflicts occur due to various factors and one of them is religious sentiment. There are three major patterns of religious conflict in Indonesia: conflicts of religions, conflicts within

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<sup>6</sup> Noorhaidi Hasan, "Islam Transnasional Dalam Perubahan Lanskap Politik-Keagamaan Di Indonesia", Dalam Ali Muhtarom, *Ideologi Dan Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Transnasional Di Indonesia: Kontestasi, Aktor, Dan Jaringan*, 2019th ed. (Yogyakarta: Zahir, 2019), p. 364.

<sup>7</sup> Sun Choirul Ummah, "Akar Radikalisme Islam di Indonesia", *Jurnal Humanika*, Volume 12, September 2012, 119.

<sup>8</sup> Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, "Fundamentalisme Dan Upaya Deradikalisasi Pemahaman Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis," *Religia*, 2010.

<sup>9</sup> Yanwar Pribadi, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, *Islam, State and Society in Indonesia*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315473697>.

<sup>10</sup> Firman Noor, "Perilaku Politik Pragmatis Dalam Kehidupan Politik Kontemporer: Kajian Atas Menyurutnya Peran Ideologi Politik," - *Jmi.Ipsk.Lipi.Go Id*, 2016.

religion and other communities labeled as perverted, and internal conflicts of religion that have different understandings.<sup>11</sup>

Various efforts to resolve conflicts have been taken by the government and various elements of society. But in reality, conflict is going on until now. Indeed, the escalation of religious social life experiences ups and downs. The character is dynamic, depending on the factors that influence it. One of them is the massive contestation of power in the public sphere.<sup>12</sup>

In this context, the efforts to contribute to the creation of a harmonious social life are important to be appreciated. Losses due to conflict psychologically, emotionally, socially, politically, and materially must be accepted by the community without being able to reject them. Therefore, efforts to create a harmonious life must be continuously pursued.

Thus, the reconstruction of Nurcholish Madjid's concept in the context of deradicalization is important. He is one of Indonesia's foremost Muslim intellectuals. The theme of deradicalization has only emerged in recent years. While Nurcholish Madjid died in 2005. Nevertheless, the founder of Paramadina University had given a very significant thought contribution to this issue.

Nurcholish Madjid's concept regarding radical Islam and deradicalization strategies are not systematically structured. But the various concepts are dispersed in various interesting works to be codified in the context of the strategy of deradicalization.

The legacy of the Nurcholish Madjid conception is diverse and covers several disciplines. The historian Taufik Abdullah called Nurcholish Madjid "... one of the most creative Islamic intellectuals in contemporary Indonesia." Similar praise was conveyed by Robert W. Hefner who called him a "pioneer of the Islamic reform movement with a liberal insight and respected."<sup>13</sup>

Nurcholish Madjid's study are actually extensive. But there are two aspects that are the focus: theology and social. In his various works, he tries to present a critical perspective

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<sup>11</sup> Andik Wahyun Muqoyyidin, "POTRET KONFLIK BERNUANSA AGAMA DI INDONESIA (Signifikansi Model Resolusi Berbasis Teologi Transformatif)," *ANALISIS: JURNAL STUDI KEISLAMAN*, 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Ahmad Ali Nurdin et. al., "The Dynamic of Religious Life : A Study of Conflict and Integration of Ahmadiyah in Garut, Tasikmalaya and Kuningan, West Java," *Komunitas*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.15294/komunitas.v1i1i.16931>.

<sup>13</sup> Robert W Hefner, "Islamisasi Kapitalisme: Tentang Pembentukan Bank Islam Pertama Di Indonesia", Dalam Mark R. Woodward," in *Jalan Baru Islam, Memetakan Paradigma Mutakhir Islam Indonesia*, ed. Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, 1998th ed. (Bandung: Mizan, 1998), 274.

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on Islamic faith and charity. He always relates his perspective to social problems.<sup>14</sup> In this framework, reviewing Nurcholish Madjid's concept of Islamic radicalism and de-radicalization strategies to be relevant in the contemporary context.

### B. DISCUSSION

#### 1. ISLAMIC RADICALISM AND DE-RADICALIZATION

The radical term has multiple meanings. Mustari said that radicalism is characterized by a total rejection of the prevailing social order. It departs from the perspective of moral dissatisfaction with those in power.<sup>15</sup> This perspective is in accordance with Jamhari who stated that radicalism is an ideological belief followed by strong fanaticism so that it becomes a trigger to struggle in an effort to replace values and systems that are believed to originate from Islamic creed.<sup>16</sup>

Radical term refers to personal and social behavior. While radical in the context of thought following Roy's concept is fundamentalism. When this thought metamorphoses into efforts to transform society by various means, including political, fundamentalism has turned radical.<sup>17</sup>

There are several terms that have almost the same meaning in referring to Islamic radicalism: "Islamic fundamentalism", "anti-liberalism of Islam", "extremism of Islam", "militants of Islam", "scripturalism of Islam", and "right of Islam". Each has a certain meaning. Therefore, it doesn't matter if someone uses certain vocabulary together. For example, some use the word "fundamentalism of Islam" interchangeably with "Islamic radicalism," but this paper distinguishes both of them.

The term Islamic radicalism was chosen for several reasons. *First*, radicalization has the context of the response to reality. It can be in the form of ideas, assumptions, thought, institutions, and movements. Those who belong to the Islamic radicalism community carry out radicalization in the rejection and resistance to establishment.

*Second*, radicalization is not only limited to rejection but also efforts to replace. Radical community offers new paradigms, concepts, theories, rules, and order as substitutes

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<sup>14</sup> R William Liddle, "Skripturalisme Media Dakwah: Sebuah Bentuk Pemikiran Dan Aksi Politik Islam Di Indonesia Masa Orde Baru", Dalam Mark R. Woodward, in *Jalan Baru Islam, Memetakan Paradigma Mutakhir Islam Indonesia*, ed. Ihsan Ali-Fauzi, 1998th ed. (Bandung: Mizan, 1998), p. 287.

<sup>15</sup> Mustari Mustafa, *Agama Dan Bayang-Bayang Etis Syaikh Yusuf Al-Makassari*, PT. LKJS Printing Cemerlang, 1393.

<sup>16</sup> Jamhari and Jajang Jahroni, *Gerakan Salafi Radikal Di Indonesia*, 2004th ed. (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2004).

<sup>17</sup> Oliver Roy, *Genealogi Islam Radikal*, 2005th ed. (Yogyakarta: Genta Press, 2005).

that are considered better and solutive compared to the old system. It's considered unable to solve complex problems.

*Third*, the radical community has an ideological belief that what is struggled is truth, while others are wrong. There is no appreciation or dialogue for truth. In practice, they use various methods including violence to realize the truth.<sup>18</sup>

Radical in this perspective is characterized by behavior that often ignores various rules and tends to show of violence. Rules are considered as a fetter. The radical behavior is harmful to religious social life and then intensive prevention efforts are needed. De-radicalization is an important alternative to consider.

Islamic radicalism is not a single case.<sup>19</sup> There are so many characters, models, or variants. There is no relation between one another. It's very possible contestation and conflict between themselves. Even from one community it is possible to split into new community.

Mapping conducted by Muhammad Najib Azca mentioned three variants of Islamic radicalism. *First*, Islam *jihadis*. They uses various methods, including violence and terrorism to realize their political goals. The ultimate goal is to establish a *khilafah* Islam. *Second*, *salafi*. They are focus on improving morals, purity and Islamic identity. This community is not interested in the politic. *Third*, political Islam. They have the characteristics of being involved in the political process and working in the context of the state constitution.<sup>20</sup>

Distinct to Azca, Oliver Roy provides a meeting point that is more appropriate as a reference: *first*, Islamic radicalism have a political orientation to shape Islamic power. The power achieved whatever of power becomes an effective medium for implementing Islam in entirety. *Second*, decide relations with contemporary society. The basic reason is the perspective of contemporary society that has deviated from Islamic creed. They call it "*jahiliah modern*". *Third*, create a theocracy. Their perspective, any system if not derived from Islam is *kufur*.<sup>21</sup> The estuary that brings together all characteristics of Islamic radicalism is an ambition to change the world order according to Islamic creed as they understand.<sup>22</sup>

M. Zaki Mubarak's research states that Islamic radicalism which is now developing is actually not a new phenomenon. There is a link and match to the existence of similar groups in the past, although the influence of the new transnational ideology cannot be ignored either.

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<sup>18</sup> Zada, *Islam Radikal, Pergulatan Ormas-Ormas Islam Garis Keras Di Indonesia*,.

<sup>19</sup> Ahmad Asroni, "Islam Puritan Vis a Vis Tradisi Lokal: Meneropong Model Resolusi Konflik Majelis Tafsir Al-Qur'an," *Conference Proceeding AICIS XII*, 2007.

<sup>20</sup> Muhammad Najib Azca, "Yang Muda, Yang Radikal: Refleksi Sosiologis Terhadap Fenomena Radikalisme Kaum Muda Muslim Di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru," *Ma'arif* 8, no. 1 (2013): 18–22.

<sup>21</sup> Roy, *Genealogi Islam Radikal*.

<sup>22</sup> Bassam Tibi, *Islamism and Islam, Islamism and Islam*, 2012, <https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.50-2316>.

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Islamic radicalism actually “derivative” of community was commanded by Kartosuwiryo with the DI/TII in the 1950s and the Komando Jihad in the 1970s. This relationship not only ideological, but also biological. M. Zaki Mubarak found that some names of suspected terrorists turned out to have a long history of being associated with similar movements in the past. They have a biological connection with two major movements in the 1950s and 1970s.<sup>23</sup>

While Kuntowijoyo said Islamic radicalism as a community that “wants to turn back the clock”. It’s due to the orientation that wants to restore Islam to its former glory in the past. The emergence of this community is caused by their disappointment with the reality which is considered not in line with the creed of Islam as they understand. The emersion of Islamic radicalism is a manifestation of counter-culture.<sup>24</sup>

The development of Islamic radicalism has led to ideas, thoughts, and policies to overcome them. If there is no attempt to contain it, they are feared that it will be increasingly rampant in various aspects of life. It is feared that the increasing number of those who follow the Islamic radicalism ideology will influence the existing social and religious life. The attempt to respond of Islamic radicalism is de-radicalization.

De-radicalization is an attempt to hold down the rising and development of Islamic radicalism. It’s important because Islamic radicalism has the potential to carry out violence, even terrorism.<sup>25</sup> De-radicalization is done by severing ideological involvement. This termination process is not easy because ideology has become an inseparable part of existence. Ideology is the most important factor that influences a person’s activities.<sup>26</sup>

In the context of religion, de-radicalization is an attempt to promote a friendly and peaceful understanding of religion in the perspective of diversity. This kind of religious understanding has implications for spaciousness to accept differences sincerely. A moderate understanding of religion becomes a logical choice in the context of social.

Moderate Islam (*washatiyah*) is a religious choice that is suitable for Indonesia. As a pluralistic nation, difference is a necessity. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding is needed to understand pluralism. A rigid and intolerant perspective actually endangers for Indonesia’s sustainability.

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<sup>23</sup> M. Zaki Mubarak, “DARI NII KE ISIS: Transformasi Ideologi Dan Gerakan Dalam Islam Radikal Di Indonesia Kontemporer,” *Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.21274/epis.2015.10.1.77-98>.

<sup>24</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Muslim Tanpa Masjid*, 2018th ed. (Yogyakarta: IRCISOD, 2018).

<sup>25</sup> Hasnan Arifin, Syamsul & Bactiar, “Deradikalisasi Ideologi Gerakan Islam Transnasional Radikal,” *Jurnal Multikultural & Multireligius*, 2013.

<sup>26</sup> Ali Muhtarom, *Ideologi Dan Lembaga Pendidikan Islam Transnasional Di Indonesia: Kontestasi, Aktor, Dan Jaringan*, 2019th ed. (Yogyakarta: Zahir, 2019).



## 2. NURCHOLISH MADJID DE-RADICALIZATION STRATEGIES

Nurcholish Madjid does not write books or special chapters on de-radicalization topic. It can be understood because the context of radicalization has not yet emerged when he lived. The fragments of Nurcholish Madjid's thoughts can be traced, mapped, and reconstructed into an integral part. At least the strategies can be mapped into five topics: (1) reconstruction of Islamic creed; (2) changing the mindset of Muslims; (3) development of a scientific ethos; (4) understand history objectively, and; (5) reactivation of Pancasila.

### *a. Reconstruction of Islamic Creed*

As a religion, Islam is singular, but its understanding is diverse. There are interpretations that produce different conclusions in an effort to understand and interpret the creeds of Islam. The emergence of various kinds of sects and communities in Islam is a consequence of the interpretation itself.

The differences in interpretations of Islamic creeds are motivated by various interrelated factors. There are differences in social factors, culture, politics, *mazhab*, etc. It's a human factor. But religious creed themselves also create opportunities for differences. Some things that were appeared from this factor are words in Arabic that have non-singular meanings, differences in history, differences in sources, differences in the principles of *ushul fiqh*, *ijtihad* on the basis of *qiyas*, and contradictions in the use of *dalil*.<sup>27</sup>

Diversity in understanding, interpreting, and living the creed of Islam is impossible to avoid. The attitude that is important to develop is a constructive-productive attitude. Therefore, one community must not resort to coercion against another. Coercion, according to Nurcholish Madjid, is an act of tyranny.<sup>28</sup> The act of coercion so that others follow is dangerous for the continuity of social.

Indonesia consists of a pluralistic society. It must be viewed as optimistically and positively. So that tolerance becomes a logical consequence that must be continually developed. According to Nurcholish Madjid, tolerance an important role in historical Islam. The triumph of Islam in the past cannot be separated from the spirit of tolerance. It's a source of strength of classical Muslims in controlling non-Muslims who are the majority occupant of an Islamic country.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Muhammad Zukhdi, "DINAMIKA PERBEDAAN MADZHAB DALAM ISLAM (Studi Terhadap Pengamalan Madzhab Di Aceh)," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v17i1.1024>.

<sup>28</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Indonesia Kita*, 2004th ed. (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2004).

<sup>29</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan, Membangun Tradisi Dan Visi Baru Islam Indonesia*, ed. Muhammad Wahyuni Nafis, 2003rd ed. (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2003).

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Violence as practiced by Islamic radicalism actually not in accordance with Islamic creed. Islam does not teach violence. Islam actually is peace.<sup>30</sup> Disputes are prohibited in Islam.<sup>31</sup>

There are several factors that triggered the dispute. One of them is the single truth. The implication is that religion or ideology outside it is seen as not important. They believe that the ideology adopted will bring transformation to a better life.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, the problems that often afflict religious adherents are absolutism, exclusivism, fanaticism, extremism, and aggressive.<sup>33</sup>

However, if they adopt a constructive-dialogical paradigm, the difference is not a problem but a way to enrich life. The aspect that must be emphasized is how to compete in goodness.<sup>34</sup> Positive perspective makes the difference no longer a problem but as positive energy. Coercion and homogeneity, is not a good because it can kill a creativity.<sup>35</sup>

The reality of Indonesian is not ideal. Sociologically, "... Islam in Indonesia lacks depth in terms of understanding doctrine and intellectual development."<sup>36</sup> Despite in fact that scientific development has been going on for a long time.<sup>37</sup> Such reality it is important to make various efforts to continue to develop an understanding of Islamic creed and develop an intellectual climate seriously. Without this kind of effort, Muslims will be easily trapped in behaviors that are not in accordance with the spirit of religious.

Those who choose the way of intimidation actually reflect their understanding of Islamic creed. The way they take doesn't describe dialogue. Therefore, an important aspect to do is to reconstruct of Islamic creed.

Reconstruction of Islamic creed becomes a fundamental requirement so that understanding of religious is always dynamic and actual. Such a thing was not formed so sharply but through a long and tedious process.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, the reconstruction effort must be gradually carried out so that Islam is always in accordance with humanity. Islam

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<sup>30</sup> Madjid.

<sup>31</sup> Madjid, *Indonesia Kita*.

<sup>32</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 41.

<sup>33</sup> Firdaus M. Yunus, "Konflik Agama di Indonesia: Problem dan Solusi Pemecahannya", *Jurnal Substantia*, Volume 16, Nomor 2, Oktober 2014, 220-222.

<sup>34</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Indonesia Kita*, 50.

<sup>35</sup> Mujiburrohman, *Agama Generasi Elektronik* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2017), 39.

<sup>36</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin & Peradaban*, ixv.

<sup>37</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin & Peradaban*, ixv.

<sup>38</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 14.

is a religion that carries the mission of *rahmatan lil 'alamîn*. It's compatible with de-radicalization, and reconstruction of Islam can be a moderate.

*b. Change of Mindset*

History can never be separated from thought. Therefore, it has an important role in life. But ironically, the history of Muslim thought is dominated by disputes. The implication, history cannot be used as a starting point to build optimism. It does not make a positive contribution to the unity of Muslims, the unity of humanity, and national unity.<sup>39</sup>

According to Nurcholish Madjid, thought is something that is very important in life. It was even considered as something existential because it has a very significant role. The condition of people is determined by thought. This confirms that thought affects life.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, de-radicalization will be maximal if the patterns of thinking of those exposed to radicalism can be changed.

Those who are affected by radicalism do not provide a sphere for thinking in themselves, except ideology. Indeed there is a positive aspect of ideology, which is when it becomes the basis of a world view of the community's values to advance interests. But the negative aspect is quite dominant because it builds false consciousness to distort understanding of reality.<sup>41</sup> Islamic radicalism communities seem to be more negatively influenced by ideology. Those who embrace the radical ideology and understand that Islam is just one. Such understanding has implications for making absolute real something relative.<sup>42</sup>

According to Nurcholish Madjid, those who are affected to radical ideology do not really appreciate differences, including classical Islamic heritage. The implication is they experience intellectual poverty. Furthermore, they also do not have alternative thoughts, and do not have intellectual concepts. In fact, intellectual concepts to have an important role in sustaining the demands of the increasingly complex modern era.<sup>43</sup>

Such a perspective is exclusivism. There is no sincerity to respect the authentic thoughts and opinions of others. In fact, an open-minded is very important to build

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<sup>39</sup> Mujamil Qomar, *Pemikiran Islam Metodologis, Model Pemikiran Alternatif untuk Memajukan Peradaban* (Yogyakarta: Kalimedia, 2015), 7-9.

<sup>40</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 41.

<sup>41</sup> Alex Sobur, *Analisis Teks Media, Suatu Pengantar untuk Analisis Wacana, Analisis Semiotik, dan Analisis Framing* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2009), 61.

<sup>42</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 85.

<sup>43</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin, dan Peradaban*, 178.

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tolerance. However, it cannot be released from being critical. The critical attitude that underlies openness is a consequence of faith.<sup>44</sup>

Sincerity and critical attitude for Nurcholish Madjid are a series. This will be a fairly objective reading tool and a more comprehensive perspective. Opinions against diversity must be understood proportionally. The assumption that Islam is one is not entirely wrong, but in the historical, it is very complex and dynamic.<sup>45</sup>

Persuasive efforts are important to do for those who have been influenced by radicalism to have open-minded. These ideas are very important to be developed and made as part of their understanding so as not to become ideological people who close themselves from the truth beyond what they believe.<sup>46</sup> Openness is marked by a willingness to listen to the opinions of others. In other words, there is both “right to hear” and “right to speak.” The combination of these resulted in the principle of deliberation. It’s open opportunities for mutual giving and receiving, mutual respect, and striving for each other to find the best.<sup>47</sup>

There are parts of a religious creed that must be believed without the interference of thought. On the other hand, there are aspects that actually encourage Muslims to utilize their thinking. The thought is an attempt to understand and interpret religious creed so it are always contextual.<sup>48</sup> Thought—in this context—is part of a dynamic culture. It’s a consequence of the dialogue between revelation and social reality.<sup>49</sup>

Mans must always try to use all their minds to produce innovation and creation. In this process, they must have an awareness that the truth produced is not absolute, but relative. This means that the thought developed has the potential to be wrong. Nevertheless, thought must continue to be developed without the shackles of fear of wrong.<sup>50</sup>

The thought is closely related to cultural aspects. The existence of elements of local culture does not reduce the validity of aspects of the Islamic creed. Religion and

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<sup>44</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Cita-cita Politik Islam di Era Reformasi* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999), 120-121.

<sup>45</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Tradisi Islam, Peran dan Fungsinya dalam Pembangunan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), 67.

<sup>46</sup> Fathul Mufid, “Radikalisme dalam Perspektif Epistemologi”, *Jurnal Addin*, Volume 10, Nomor 1, Februari 2016, 70-75.

<sup>47</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 64.

<sup>48</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 60.

<sup>49</sup> Halid Alkaf, *Quo Vadis Liberalisme Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2011), 227.

<sup>50</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 63.

culture actually have a very close relationship. Both are not the same, but cannot be separated.<sup>51</sup>

Every result of cultural dialogue from the universal-particular aspect or *kullî-juz'î* is a valuable form of creativity. This aspect makes Islamic creed find relevance to the times. The dynamics and vitality of Islamic creed find the right context because of the intensive dialogue between these universal and particular aspects. Without such dialogue, religion will lose its relevance to the needs of the age. Nurcholish Madjid refers to it as, "... flying in the air that does not land on the minds of the community."<sup>52</sup>

Intrinsically, Nurcholish Madjid invites Muslims to change their mindset. Moderate Islam is only possible because of a change in mindset.<sup>53</sup> This change is an important de-radicalization strategy to consider and fight for.

*c. Development of a Scientific Habitus*

Science has a significant role in determining a person's perspective. People who have extensive science, have the possibility of having a richer perspective in seeing every problem. Such people are not easily trapped in unilateral judgment and truth claims. While those with limited science tend to see things in binary opposition. There is no alternative to truth besides what they know.

Those who have a narrow insight have a greater chance of being influenced by radicalism. The lack of insight makes it easy for someone to take part in the invitation. The ethos of science enables one to read, understand, and develop science in a constructive-productive manner.

Recent research states that the media has a significant role in the infiltration of ideological radicalism. Social networks have become the media for the Islamic radicalism movement. Muthohirin said that the choice in the use of internet-based media was quite effective because internet users in Indonesia continued to grow rapidly from every year. In 2005 there were 16 million internet users in Indonesia. This number increased sharply in 2014 with 88.1 million users.<sup>54</sup>

This reality confirms that social media has an enormous influence on the shaping of perspective. Access to media that is currently wide open allows one to read, study, and absorb whatever is on social media without anyone being able to get in the way. On the

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<sup>51</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 37.

<sup>52</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 40.

<sup>53</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 47.

<sup>54</sup> Nafi' Muthohirin, "Radikalisme Islam dan Pergerakannya di Media Sosial", *Jurnal Afkaruna*, Volume 11, Nomor 2, Desember 2015, 240-255.

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one hand, this phenomenon shows a democratic perspective because everyone has the same opportunity to obtain information. However, not everyone has the same critical device for absorbing information. Not all information is neutral. The information presented by the media, especially in this internet age, opens opportunities for anyone to become good or become radical.

The internet is a spectacular found. The presence of the internet has changed many things. The world which was originally envisioned as an unreachable area, has now become increasingly narrow and smaller. The hidden sphere in social life is so easy to upload and read by everyone. This phenomenon has never been predictable. The internet has carried out a radical transformation function in the behavior, lifestyle and even the world of view of every mans.<sup>55</sup>

The internet has become an inseparable part of life today. The information provided by the internet so much has resulted in users experiencing confusion in determining priority. The mass media distort reality; wants are made into needs, and basic needs are transformed into something that is considered tertiary

Religious life also cannot be separated from the influence of the internet. There are several forms of influence of the internet on religious life. *First*, religious authorities can no longer claim to be the sole authority that can force everyone to follow it. *Second*, the fragmentation of religious authority has implications for the fact that we currently live in a pluralistic era. *Third*, this reality challenges religious experts to present religion that is in accordance with the interests and needs of the community. *Fourth*, the thesis which states that religion will retreat because it is defeated by science and technology in reality is not true. In fact religion increasingly showing its significant role.<sup>57</sup>

In this context, the thought of Nurcholish Madjid is important to be reconstructed within the framework of de-radicalization. According to him, the attitude of Muslims in terms of normative or history is appreciative for science. Nurcholish Madjid mentioned accurate historical data. The classical Muslims (*Salaf*) exactly practice Islamic universalism and cosmopolitanism.<sup>58</sup> Since its inception, Islam has an interest to

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<sup>55</sup> Agus SB, *Deradikalisasi Dunia Maya, Mencegah Simbiosis Terorisme dan Media* (Jakarta: Daulat Press, 2017), 16.

<sup>56</sup> Abd. A'la, *Ijtihad Islam Nusantara*, 15.

<sup>57</sup> Mujiburrohman, *Agama Generasi Elektronik*, 61.

<sup>58</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 54.

science.<sup>59</sup> This kind of attitude makes Muslims always optimistic and positive in developing science so that Islam has achieved glory in the past.

Science can develop through the support of adequate education. Well-designed education can be the answer to the increasing problem of radicalism. The material, design of learning, and matters related to education are very effective means to disseminate of moderate Islam. According to Nurcholish Madjid, "Education is the most important, productive and meaningful investment".<sup>60</sup>

The significance of education can be examined from the perspective of its philosophical goals: increasing the value of human purity in its *fitrah* gift from God.<sup>61</sup> Inviting to join a radical community is substantially contrary to human *fitrah*. The acts of violence chosen by radical community are against human purity. Thus, education has a significant role to keep human *fitrah*.

From another perspective, education is a very strategic instrument of de-radicalization. It has a significant role in improving the ability to think and act rationally and absorb information systematically. The framework of thinking of educated men is different from those of do not. Education contributes to identifying problems and alternative solutions.<sup>62</sup>

This perspective covers aspects of de-radicalization. A good education makes a mans not to be radical. The deep insight makes them can think critically about the views of life and not easily trapped to join the radical community.

#### *d. Understanding History Objectively*

History has an important contribution in the context of social life. It is not only related to the past alone, but also give important lessons for the context of the present life. This perspective confirms that history will have important meaning if it is positioned correctly. History is not just a journey of a community in the past. It will have a productive meaning when used as part of the dynamics of life and to reconstruct the future.

History is an inseparable part of society's lives. The implication is the historical context cannot be separated from the dynamics of community development. This perspective explains a number of things.

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<sup>59</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin & Peradaban, Sebuah Telaah Kritis tentang Masalah Keimanan, Kemanusiaan, dan Kemoderenan*, Cet. Ke-V, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2005), xi.

<sup>60</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Indonesia Kita*, 147.

<sup>61</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Indonesia Kita*, 149.

<sup>62</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Indonesia Kita*, 150.

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*First*, history must be seen in the objective context of society. Understanding of society is important in order that there is no disconnection in understanding its relationship with history. *Second*, understanding the society can give an idea of the continuity and change in society. *Third*, this understanding can ultimately anticipate changes.<sup>63</sup>

In addition, history also occurs through construction. It's part of the results of man created in the context of time and sphere. The position of history is very important, one of which is a mirror for civilization. Then history is also called the queen of science.<sup>64</sup>

An objective understanding of this history can be a strategy of de-radicalization. Islamic radicalism ideology does not recognize history. For them, history is something that is not considered important. Even though they themselves also reconstructed their own version of history. They reconstruct of Islam that is not in accordance with its historical heritage."<sup>65</sup>

Nurcholish Madjid said history as a laboratory of human social life. Through it, we can learn about the operation of God's Law for mans.<sup>66</sup> Awareness of history has a very important role in realizing religious creed that have close relations with real life.<sup>67</sup> Learning from history is a direct command from Allah to attention of *Sunnatullah*.<sup>68</sup>

The historical aspect has a very important role in understanding the phenomenon of radicalism. Historical experience can be used as a guide to life with all its challenges,<sup>69</sup> including of radicalism.

Radicalism opens the sphere for conflict. History teaches that the decline of the Islamic world occurred because of endless conflict. As a result, the progress of science is fading.<sup>70</sup> This historical experience is important to be material for mutual reflection in the de-radicalization strategy.

### *e. Reactualization of Pancasila*

When the Islamic radicalism movement became increasingly rampant, the re-actualization of Pancasila found its momentum. There is a tendency for attention to

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<sup>63</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Bentang, 2001), 3-4.

<sup>64</sup> Kamaruzzaman Bustamam-Ahmad, *Acehnologi*, Volume 1 (Syiah Kuala: Bandar Publishing, 2017), 116.

<sup>65</sup> Bassam Tibi, *Islam dan Islamisme*, 1.

<sup>66</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Masyarakat Religius*, 187-201.

<sup>67</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 40.

<sup>68</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 62.

<sup>69</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Masyarakat Religius*, 56.

<sup>70</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin & Peradaban*, xivi.



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Pancasila to decrease. Pancasila not only lost its sacredness but also became increasingly unknown to the younger generation. The reverberation of the Pancasila is decreasing.<sup>71</sup>

In the New Order era, Pancasila was used as an abuse of power. "The Suharto administration used Pancasila to curb religious freedom, forcing Indonesians to accept it and to value it in a standardized way".<sup>72</sup> This intimidation raises problems for religious social organizations in Indonesia. Because the attention of most religious social organizations in Indonesia is the aspect of rituals and social movements, while the imposition of Pancasila acceptance is a political dimension.<sup>73</sup>

According to Nurcholish Madjid, Pancasila is a common platform between various social and religious communities in Indonesia. It's the meeting point among all them.<sup>74</sup> Pancasila is a social contract or *uqud* that binds all Indonesian.<sup>75</sup>

Historically, Pancasila has demonstrated its effectiveness as a support for the Indonesian. Nevertheless, the maximum operationalization of Pancasila values still requires a long struggle. The challenge is how to make Pancasila fully functional as a source to build the future. In this framework, Nurcholish Madjid offers an interesting formula, namely by making Pancasila an open ideology.<sup>76</sup>

For Nurcholish Madjid, Pancasila should be positioned as the nation's ethics. Although still in the formal-constitutional aspect, the contributions that can be obtained from several sources will enrich the process of filling the political ethics of the Pancasila.<sup>77</sup>

In this context, Pancasila is a *kalimatun sawa'* which invites all to obey the creed of God.<sup>78</sup> The point is to appreciate the diversity and plurality that already exists in society. By this appreciation that a peaceful and harmonious life can be realized. This perspective is intrinsically an embodiment of the strategy of de-radicalization.

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<sup>71</sup> Moh. Mahfud MD, *Perdebatan Hukum Tata Negara Pasca Amandemen Konstitusi* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2007), 5.

<sup>72</sup> Nicola Colbran, "Realities and Challenges in Realising Freedom of Religion or Belief in Indonesia", *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 14 No. 5 (2010): 682.

<sup>73</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban*, 78.

<sup>74</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 21.

<sup>75</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 75.

<sup>76</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Kemodernan dan Keindonesiaan* (Bandung: Mizan, 2008), 15-17.

<sup>77</sup> Nurcholish Madjid dan Mohamad Roem, *Tidak Ada Negara Islam, Surat-surat Politik Nurcholish Madjid—Mohamad Roem* (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1997), 75.

<sup>78</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, 75.

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Thus, Nurcholish Madjid has a very fundamental view with regard to de-radicalization. Indonesia actually has a solid basis for the development of tolerance: Pancasila.<sup>79</sup>

### C. CONCLUSION

Indonesia's social-religious life has experienced interesting developments in a few years ago. Islamic radicalism movement is becoming a stronger phenomenon. The development of this group has caused widespread public concern. Various efforts to prevent its development have been carried out by the government, academics, religious social organizations, and other community, but the results not satisfying.

All of contribution to prevent the development of Islamic radicalism must be appreciated. Through various serious and consistent efforts, religious moderation can strengthen. In this context, the reconstruction of Nurcholish Madjid's thoughts on the strategy of der-adicalization becomes urgent.

Reconstruction of thought is an effort to compile a thought to be comprehensive. Nurcholish Madjid's de-radicalization strategy is relevant in the contemporary context. It's quite important to consider as part of the effort to present a religious model that respects diversity.

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<sup>79</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Cita-cita Politik Islam Era Reformasi* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999), 62.

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