

Handling Radicalism and Intolerance Practices is Just a Discourse

Josep Tatang¹, Victor Deak^{2*}, Joko Prihanto³

Kharisma School of Theology Bandung, Indonesia

* Corresponding Author Email: vicdeak@yahoo.co.id

Abstract - Indonesian is a great nation, a nation that is rich and plentiful with its natural resources. The Indonesian nation is very rich in traditions and various cultural and religious backgrounds, all of which are united in the formulation of Pancasila (The Five Principles). With the formulation of Pancasila, it is hoped that all Indonesian citizens will have a strong sense of unity, have high nationalism and tolerance. But it cannot be denied that the formulation of Pancasila is only a utopian ideal and it can be assumed that it is only a discourse for momentary interests. The purpose of this paper is to provide information about the nationalism praxis that occurs in the nation and provide solutions on how to protect the integrity of the nation and state from conflicts between groups that would lead to divide national unity. In this paper, the author provides clear information on the practice of legal injustice and the practice of nationalism that occurs in Indonesia. Indonesia needs to learn more from other countries how they uphold justice and unite differences in religion, ethnicity and race as their own strength.

Keywords: Discussion, Indonesian, practices, nationalism, radicalism, the eradication.

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a large and plural nation in terms of race, ethnicity, culture, language and religion. Living in such great differences often creates tensions for the sake and in the name of ethnicity, religion and race. The tension, of course, will continue if certain groups or religion feel better and truer. If things like this continue to happen, it goes without saying that it will harm the Indonesian nation itself to the biggest threat, namely division. Governments keep on changing but it seems that no one has really dared to act decisively. For example, there are some rejections for the establishment of houses of worship for Christians and persecution of the Ahmadiyah congregation. Unfortunately, Indonesian government seems to be silent and does not budge. This attitude, of course, raises a big question as to why the government seems cannot do much to handle the situation. The possible answer is either it's because the government or the rulers come from the same group and religion or they are bound by a political contract. If the Indonesian government does not dare to take firm decisions on such incidents, they will become a ticking time bomb that could explode uncontrollably at any time. My opinion above is the same as that of the Institute of National Defence's (Lemhanas) study team who wrote in the journal's 21st edition of 2015. They states that If the Indonesian government does not dare to take firm decisions on incidents like this, in return, it will become a ticking time bomb that could explode uncontrollably at any time. They also said in the journal that The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) is an archipelagic state which has diversity in terms of ethnicity, religion, language and customs. As a matter of fact, Indonesia also has a lot of kinds of natural resources as her wealth. This diversity, if not managed properly, fair and equitably, will be able to raise potential conflict, thus threatening the wholeness and the unity of the nation.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

The method used in this study is a descriptive qualitative one, to provide a real picture about the practices of nationalism and intolerance, radicalism in the name of religion that occur in Indonesia. Researchers collect information by using literature review from books or journals, online media in order to gather relevant and accurate information about the weak practices of nationalism and the increasing practices of intolerance in Indonesia.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Definition and Purpose of Nationalism

Nationalism born because of a common ideals and goals that arise from a sense of love for the homeland and a joint effort to take care of each other among members of the community or citizens by nurturing and cultivating differences and pluralism as a beauty. In Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (the Indonesian Language Dictionary), nationalism is defined as belief or teaching to love one's own nation and country; national character: -- *increasingly animates the Indonesian nation*; awareness of membership in a nation that potentially or actually together achieves, maintains, and perpetuates the identity, integrity, prosperity, and strength of that nation; spirit of nationality.

According to The American Heritage Dictionary of The English Language, nationalism is said to be devotion to the interests or culture of a particular nation. (Mifflin, 1996)

Based on the definitions above, the writer opinion regarding the aims of nationalism are as follows:

1. Cultivating awareness and a sense of belonging and love for the homeland in the frame of diversity
2. Build a sense of root and mutual acceptance and respect among members of society or citizens of different religions, ethnicities and races.
3. Cultivate a sense of love for fellow nation's children.
4. Cultivate a sense of love and develop an attitude of tolerance in order to maintain the unity of the nation.
5. Cultivate a sense of love for the homeland and a fighting spirit to build and defend the country from invasion of other countries.

Based on the understanding and purpose of nationalism above, it can be concluded that nationalism is an effort to build the nation, defend, and protect the homeland which is carried out together regardless the differences in religion, ethnicity, race, skin color in the spirit and frame of Indonesia's motto *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity). Nationalism is the spirit to accept and respect each other among the nation's children for the sake of progress, wholeness and mutual prosperity. In the course of time, the nationalism, that was aspired to, has not been achieved or was not achieved due to the growing sense of mutual suspicion among the children of the nation and the waning of love between tribes, groups, races, and religions. In Erick Fromm's theory of humanism, the thing that distinguishes humans and animals is a relationship based on productive love, which contains attention, responsibility, (Supardan, 2015). The logical implication of Fromm's statement above is that if humans do not have love, responsibility and respect for others then they are considered as animals.

Fading Nationalism

Nationalism which has been shown both by the community and even by the government is a pseudo, pragmatic and artificial one and as a result, it does not take root in the life of the nation and the homeland. The spirit shown is not the spirit to embrace differences as a beautiful mosaic but to use differences as a political weapon that tends to side with certain groups and religions. Nationalism like this has infected almost all circles and elements of the Indonesian nation from common people to state officials. In research conducted by the Alvira Research, a survey done from September 10 to October 5 2017 in six cities, namely Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya, Medan, and Makassar, reported that 19.4 percent of civil servants (government employees) disagreed with the ideology of Pancasila. (Friana, 2017). Anti-Pancasila like this has been rooted and deliberately maintained for certain interests and purposes. The Director General of Politics and General Administration of the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri), Major General (Ret.) Soedarmo, said that 19.4 percent of civil servants (PNS) in Indonesia did not agree with the Pancasila ideology. According to him, the rejection of Pancasila among civil servants is the cause of the weakness of national security. "What has caused the decline in national resilience in this country is the decline in ideological issues, 19.4 percent of civil servants disagree with the Pancasila ideology," he said at the office of the Unity Institute for Islamic Organizations (LPOI), Central Jakarta, Saturday (11/17/2018).

The former Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Ryamizard Ryacudu on June 19, 2019 said that 3% of the Indonesian National Armed Forces were exposed to radicalism. Still according to Ryamizard Ryacudu, although it is only three percent, this figure is a worrying number, because it can turn into a ticking time bomb that will divide the nation. (<https://fin.co.id/2019>). Referring to the same survey, Ryamizard said that there were 18.1 percent of private employees, 19.4 percent of civil servants, and 19.1 percent of BUMN (State-Owned Company) employees who did not agree with Pancasila and, 23.4 percent of university students and 23.3 percent of high school students agreed with jihad for establishment of an Islamic state in Indonesia. In a study conducted by Anan Bahrul Khoir 2021, titled the Causes and Efforts of the Government in Dealing with Radicalism in the State Civil Employees in Indonesia, he said

that; PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah reported the results of his research in 2017 on the diversity of Muslim students in Indonesia showing that 58.5% of students from the research population had a radical and very radical attitude, 20.1% of students were moderate, while the rest were neutral in religion (Center for Islamic and Society Studies, 2017). Furthermore, The results of this study also report that Muslim students tend to be intolerant of diversity within Islam itself, such as Ahmadiyah and Shia, whereas around 87 percent agree that religious minority groups and beliefs are prohibited by the government. As the glue and unifier of the nation, ASN/Aparatur Sipil Negara (Government Employees) should be tolerant and respectful, have multicultural outlook and integrity. However, the facts on the field found out that some ASN were exposed to radical religious understandings and some of them were involved in terrorist activities. In certain cases, they spread hatred, hostility, and rejection of other religions and/or the four basic national consensus, such as Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, and/or the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. (Khoir, 2021). In line with this, as reported by the online media Okenews, Rudi Widodo Head of Sub-Directorate for Victim Recovery of BNPT said that based on Law no. 5 of 2018, someone who is exposed to radicalism is someone who is "anti-Pancasila, anti-diversity, anti-NKRI, and anti-1945 Constitution and wants to apply other rules or ideologies, such as Islamic law and the caliphate.

Indonesian people tend to experience setbacks because they fail to carry out the mandate of the 1945 Constitution, namely to protect all the people of Indonesia and to educate the people of Indonesia. In our opinion, ethnicity, religion, race which have been disputed by most people or groups prove that the government has failed to elevate this nation to be a smart nation. The government's incompetence and indecision in carrying out the mandate of the 1945 Constitution have created groups that have lost tolerance and tolerance for other groups and religions. Religion has emerged as an obstacle and even destroyer of public civilization by monoliguitizing certain religious values into the public sphere, destroying national security and image through religious fundamentalism and triggering the issue of sectarianism.(Nd.Madung, 2009),

Love for the homeland and a sense of togetherness as brothers and sisters in the country are no longer the main principles in the life of the nation and state. Violence against adherents of other religions by some people or groups of people in the name of religion and obedience to religion has become a long list of how nationalism and the eradication of radicalism and intolerance are just a discourse.(Nd.Madung, 2009). The National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) also reported the results survey on radicalism. According to BNPT data, as many as 39 percent of students in 15 provinces in Indonesia that became respondents indicated that they were interested in radical understanding. The survey results confirm the notion that the younger generation is a target for the spread of radicalism and campuses are vulnerable to be the object of its spread. (Jalwis, 2020)

The practice of radicalism and intolerance continues to be carried out by certain groups of people or religions against those who have different beliefs. In 2018 there was a persecution of Mulyanto Nurhalim, a monk (Buddhist) carried out by a group of people and in the name of a certain religion. Monk Mulyanto is suspected of praying at his house.(Hantoro, 2018). This of course tarnishes the face of Indonesia as a religious nation but she is unable to teach its people to live side by side and respect the beliefs and religions of others. In our opinion, the actions of the government and the police in this regard were too weak. They were only giving suggestions. The government should, through its existing legal instruments, provide legal justice in order to provide a deterrent effect to perpetrators of persecution and intolerant practices. On March 28, 2021, threats to freedom of religion and practice of worship according to one's religion and beliefs were again shaken by a suicide bombing in a Catholic church carried out by a husband and wife who came from certain groups and religions. Although the government and religious leaders have denied that what these groups have done, does not represent a particular religion and has nothing to do with a particular religion, this cannot change public opinion which has linked violence to a particular religion, because the revelation of a reality does not come from a vacuum, but from awareness as a person, the result of a mature thought. This awareness is then actualized in behavior which is then articulated in the form of real activities or actions. Whatever a human does, is a command that he gets from the mind, so it becomes a very strange thing if there are people or groups who say that such people do it outside of their moral consciousness. In a religious context, belief is the main milestone in humans who believe in it to construct all ideas and behavior. In a parallel perspective, belief "always" determines behavior, so that behavioral manifestations are direct articulations of belief. Belief is the "power" to do something, whether directly related to religion or not. Practically beliefs derived in the form of teachings (creeds) allow a person to practice in line with his beliefs, but as Vilfredo Pareto said that cultural conditions also affect practices, so that behavioral determinants are not limited to belief alone. Nevertheless, Emile Durkheim said that belief is the main determinant, he even said that "the real function of religion is not to make us think, (Durkheim, 1926). Event after event that was identified as the practice of radicalism which is rooted in feelings of fanaticism is also increasingly appears in Indonesian news.(Widyaningrum , 2018).

The sense of nationalism that has been built turns out to be too fragile and pragmatic. This nationalism is a nationalism that is too artificial and pragmatic and is momental-provoris. (Gaut, 2012). If this continues, the ideals of the nation as mandated by the 1945 Constitution to build a nation that is intact with one language and one homeland will only become a ridiculous or utopian ideal because religious adherents, politicians and even religious leaders are too busy struggling for the sake of ethnic, religion, race and groups. When violence against other religions is considered to be normal and the state seems to be indifferent to the violation of human values which are universally accepted, then the violence has turned into a national crisis, which uproots society from its roots. (Gaut, 2012). If some community groups have been uprooted from their roots, they will automatically form a force to fight and act as a distrust action to the government.

Law Enforcement Pathology

Indonesia, which has an ideology of social justice for all its people, turns out to be only a discourse. Religious sentiments still influence public policies and decisions. The police too often do not carry out proper investigations into cases of violence against religious minorities, showing collusion with the attackers. The criminal justice system also does not prove to be a bulwark of persecuted defenders. In several cases of violence that went to court, the prosecutors demanded weak charges for the perpetrators of serious crimes, and the judges supported that. (Institute, 2011). The judicial system which is the last bastion of the people has been usurped by the interests of certain groups and religions, so it is not an exaggeration to say that justice only belongs to those who are considered to be one group and religion.

For example, in the 2011 Baha'i case in Sukadana, Islamist militants from the Islamic Ummah Forum shouted and clearly pressured the court. The defense attorney, Yulius Setiarto, believes the action influenced the verdict and noted it in his appeal to the Supreme Court, "It can be seen from the flags, banners and headbands. Several masses sat on courtroom benches, making noise during the trial sessions. Setiarto said the protesters also harassed defense lawyers, making comments about violence justified by Islam, without a response from the court: "They say that my blood is halal. (Memory of Cassation in the Case of Setiarto, Yulius, Number 130/Pid/2010/PN.TK East Lampung District Court on behalf of Syahroni and Iwan Purwanto, 8 March 2011, p. 12). Another example is the verdict given by Sampang court for a Sunni Muslim villager who was involved in a deadly attack on Shiites. He only sentenced Saripin, a resident of Nankernang village, to eight months in prison. The perpetrators of the Sampang riots were sentenced to 8 months in prison," Merdeka, 22 January 2013. This is in stark contrast to the Shi'ite cleric, Tajul Muluk, whose house was burned, his family forced to flee, his friend was killed during the attack, and he himself was sentenced to four years in prison.

It is easy to find terrorist acts in urban centers, bomb threats in places of worship, and violent actions and practices in some areas. There are indications of radicalism that occur (even) spread in educational institutions. Step by step they are increasingly bringing Indonesia in the world's spotlight on global security issues. The Bali Bombing incident in 2002 was considered to be the worst act of terrorism in Indonesia's history, and it was, at the same time, the initial peak where the action of radicalism shook the world (Widyaningrum, 2018).

On 23 May 2012, the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) at the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva, more than 20 countries, including member states of the European Union as well as Australia, Brazil, Canada, Japan, Mexico, South Korea, and the United States, voiced concerns and issued recommendations on the increasing religious intolerance in Indonesia. It is a state that has power and the power is not subject to the pressure from groups that have clearly violated the law and the Constitution. The beatings against religious leaders in Yogyakarta, the church bombing in Samarinda, the church bombing at the Makasar Cathedral, infidel remarks against followers of other religions add to the long list of violence that is legitimized in the name of religion in Indonesia. According to the Setara Institute in Jakarta, there were 216 cases of attacks on religious minorities in 2010, (Institute, 2011). The Wahid Institute, documented 92 violations of religious freedom and 184 incidents of religious intolerance in 2011, up to 64 violations and 134 incidents of intolerance in 2010. (Institute, 2011).

Politicizing Religion Into Public Space

What often happens in Indonesia is that there have been widespread errors in interpreting quantitative differences (the majority-minorities) as a measure to determine the quality of belief of other religions and also access to the rights to get involved in political decision-making. (Kono, 2011) It doesn't stop there, religion is and has become the "legitimacy base" for horizontal violence in society, which is seen through massive physical-non-physical feuds. Even religion "participates" in creating structural violence by influencing the government to create legal products and various regulations that discriminate against minority religious groups and religions. Basically, the symptom of action of

violence which become a trigger for conflict can occur when continued love for a certain value system is growing politically. In research conducted by Anastasia Yuni Widyaningrum, on Radicalism and Identity Terrorism Indonesianness, in the name of democracy and human rights, the perpetrators of radicalism carry out acts of intolerance coupled with legitimacy and religious narratives. By involving various actors, both among politicians, clergy, entrepreneurs, and community leaders, the understanding of radicalism is increasingly ordained as the only way to make changes in Indonesia and to make Indonesia better. Various adage of religion is spread from the altar of this movement to trigger the emotions of public-especially a group of people who affiliated with this movement (Widyaningrum, 2018).

The politicization of religion has given rise to religious violence that hinders national development. Solidarity that comes from religion as a pre-political basis must be questioned (Kono, 2011). Another example is the dismissal of Christmas worship at Sabuga Convention Hall in Bandung. The other is the sealing of the GKI Yasmin Bogor since April 10, 2010-2020. GKI Yasmin congregation has been worshipping in front of the state palace since 2012, and apparently the change of government has not resulted in the justice being advertised. GKI Yasmin was sealed by Bogor city government due to pressure from intolerant and radical groups. If you look back at the history of the past when Indonesian Communist Party (PKI)/Communism/Marxism/Leninism were officially disbanded in 1966, fearing radicalism as the main object of fear within religious people should automatically be eliminated. It turns out that the fear is not disappeared but simply shifted from "left" to "right" – from communism (left) to religious radicals (right) – as a representation of right radicalism. There is a fear that religious radicals want to religiousize (Islamicize) the country and at the same time to religiousize (Islamic) heaven. If both the state and heaven are religionized (Islamic) then there is an eschatological concern that non-Muslims may not be allowed to enter heaven in the afterlife. After the left radicals (communists) removed, a new object that is considered equally scary, and therefore it should be kept watch – right radical (radical Muslim). (Wejak, 2018). In fact, the historical record of Islamic radicalism was increasingly growing during the post-war period after the independence of Indonesia until post-reform. Ever since Kartosuwirjo has led the operation of rebellion in 1950s under the banner of Darul Islam (DI), a political movement on behalf of religion, religious justification and so on has emerged. History tells that this kind of movement had finally been able to be thwarted, but then it reappeared during the reign Suharto (Robingatun, 2017).

Alleged Political Contract

Indonesia's existence is not merely the result of the struggle of one particular ethnic or religious group. This nation was born due to the common struggle of all ethnic groups, groups and religions. The country belongs to every tribe, ethnicity and religion in Indonesia. The government seems to be indifferent and powerless towards all incidents and the existence of intolerant groups. Religion should make or shape humans to act more humanely, so as not to be labeled as humans who still have animalistic traits as said by Erick Fromm in his humanistic theory, but it seems that it doesn't work for some people or groups, because it is proven that there is still intolerance committed in the name of religion, and even lawful to do so. This raises the question of whether there is really a bad religion in itself. In a study conducted by Kun Wazis, under the title Construction of Pseudo Reality Regarding the Issues of Terrorism-Radicalism Against Islamic Boarding Schools, he quoted Head of the State Intelligence Agency (BIN) General Budi Gunawan who confirmed the existence of mosques or houses of worship and Islamic boarding schools which were indicated to be exposed to radicalism (Muhibbin & Choliq, 2019). The same thing was reported by BBC.com (2017) and Cnnindonesia.com (2017) which linked terrorism-radicalism with Islamic boarding schools in Bogor, West Java, although Islamic boarding schools rejected it and considered it as a negative stigmatization.

Everyone is silent, and perhaps this lack of courage happens because they are held hostage by a political contract in order to preserve power. Diversity and pluralism have failed to be understood as a beauty and a gift in the nation and state. Even the government seems to be siding with the majority because it cannot be denied that the government itself is unable to act fairly because it is being held captive by religious sentiments and due to the fact that the government comes from the majority religious group. Religious people are supposed to do what they have to do but in reality they do what they want to do. The perpetrators of intolerance are increasing day by day and are disturbing the life of the nation and state. They have even entered government agencies and have found refuge under religious mass organizations so they would not be caught by the authorities. Rina Sari Kusuma, Nur Azizah under the title of Fighting Radicalism Through Websites said that radicalism used the internet as a forum to spread and even recruit members. Internet is more popular among its users, the internet enables terrorist organization to be part of the user itself. The internet, especially social media, is considered "friendly" and free, so terrorists easily reach their target. (Azizah, Kusumah, 2018).

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), terrorism is the unlawful use of force against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, civilian population, or any segment of the threat into advancing or political or social ends. (Alexandra, 2017). Meanwhile, according to the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 15 Year 2003 concerning criminal acts of terrorism, which is clarified by Government Regulation Substitute for Law Number 1 of 2002 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts terrorism defines terrorism as: "An act using violence or threats of violence creating the atmosphere of terror or widespread fear, causing mass casualties, and/or creating damage or damage of strategic vital objects, environment, public facilities, or international facilities with the motivation of ideology, politics, or disturbing security. (Alexandra, 2017)

Government institutions also play a role in violation of the rights and freedoms of religious minorities. These state institutions -- including the Ministry of Religion, the Coordinating Board for Monitoring Community Beliefs (Bakor Pakem) under the Attorney General's Office, the semi-state institution i.e., the Indonesian Ulema Council -- undermine religious freedom by issuing regulations and fatwas against adherents of religious minorities and using their powers to support religious freedom, criminalization of "blasphemy of religion." (Institute, 2011). Diversity and pluralism are something that is unique and to be proud of, but the reality is that it is now in ruins because for some groups of people or individuals, diversity is not a beauty that must be cared for and maintained. Bhineka Tunggal Ika begins to be crushed by an attitude of intolerance. Ethno-culture should be understood and accepted as the wealth of the nation, the diversity of religions, ethnicities, nations and races must be assessed as part of the nation's culture, but in practice what reveals the surface of this pluralism is a latent danger of conflict that can erupt at any time because many people are trapped in a conflict of primordialism. Wealth in the context of diversity and pluralism is no longer seen as a grace and gift from God that must be guarded and cared for but as a source of disaster that divides the nation itself. The nationalism that is being displayed today is primordial or ethnocentric nationalism so that diversity is no longer seen as a beautifying mosaic but an enemy that must be destroyed. The identity of the other groups is no longer confirmed by a dialectical approach, because our constitution, UU D 1945, affirms their existence and other different groups, but instead, through conflict so that fellow children of the nation do not protect each other but look for loopholes to destroy each other.

Militant Without Knowledge

These intolerant groups build a spirit without a clear vision and mission, so it is not surprising that this group becomes a destructive group or destroys the integrity and harmony of religion, nation and state. "Militancy without solidarity and shared responsibility because of the shared ideals that bind, will only be small, sporadic ripples without significant transformative power, and can even turn into a destructive force that divides unity, and vice versa, solidarity and shared responsibility without militancy and shared responsibility will be trapped in romanticism without a clear vision and mission. (Gaut, 2012). According to Kallen, the phenomenon of radicalization has three characters: first, radicalization emerged as a response in the form of evaluation, rejection or resistance to conditions that ongoing, either in the form of assumptions, values, or even religious or state institutions; second, radicalization always tries to replace existing order with another order that systematized and constructed through their own view of the world; third, strong belief in the truth of ideology that they offer and in return it can bring out a potential emotional attitude and often leads to violence (Robingatun, 2017).

Intolerance as a Threat to the Integrity of the Nation

If one day Indonesia in its plurality will constrict and use religious ideology or the communal values of certain hegemonic groups, then Indonesia is not a "nation" related to "rooted feelings" but rather as a form of terror community state that will lead to destruction. (Gaut, 2012). What should be realized is that, without a real conservation effort for what is owned, the life of the state is only a repetition of the past and the future is only a mirage. The life of our state today is marked by the repetition of many errors or mistakes that have occurred and seem to be repeated regularly and well scheduled. Happiness was hoped for, but all quickly vanished, the old rulers passed and the new one who was expected to make a change but unfortunately they were the same, they too were nothing less than a group of small and cowardly children. This kind of thing is really choking on the neck, so it is true what the German political philosopher Carl Schmitt said "the highest authority or sovereignty is he who has the right to decide the exceptions". The justice seekers coming from minority groups must surrender to injustice condition because the government is not strong enough to provide justice for all groups and classes.

Fading Hope

The crisis of trust to the government due to mishandle of the practice of intolerance and radicalism is increasing. The new ruler who was initially believed to be able to eradicate radicalism and intolerance seems to be trapped in the logic of political "business" and it is not impossible, if this continues. The people will be angry. When Confucius was asked what vital things a ruler should do, Confucius replied: Adequate food supplies, adequate military strength, and people's trust in the ruler. Confucius was asked again, if only two things are needed which one should be removed? Confucius replied, abolish military power. Confucius was then asked again, if only one is needed, which one should be removed? Confucius replied "let the people lose their food" and defend their belief, because without it, power will not last. It is clear that Indonesia has a very strong supply of food and military strength, but it lacks the vital thing that Confucius said, namely the trust of its people. (Gaut, 2012). The government's hesitation in giving punishment to those who are not nationalists and adhere to radical and intolerant views have resulted in the collapse of people's trust. In determining political choices and decisions, the rulers tend not to prioritize the quality of the personality and the existing vision and mission, but choose primordial relationships and collectivities based on similarities in religion, ethnicity, kinship and group interests. This kind of democratic praxis will certainly not last long nor can it be relied upon to carry out the mandate of the 1945 Constitution as the womb that produces national leaders with quality. The government tends to use politics as a means for personal interests and groups are no longer used as a forum to achieve common prosperity. Rulers as umbrellas and guardians of society as a whole, is expected to be able to silence the practice of anarchy and radicalism. But so often the rulers have silenced themselves, not the anarchy itself. In fact they have applied a double standard. They don't want to be called allowing this practice, so they are busy criticizing radicalism in other countries and forgetting to take care of their own country. This is what is referred to as social and political and religious discrimination. There are even laws that openly ignore the interests of certain community groups without considering the religious background of a society, (Gaut, 2012) Just look at the government's attitude towards intolerance towards the pastor of the Huria Kristen Batak Protestant Church of Pondok Timur (12 September 2010) . In this case the government seems to be slow. The incident has become a sign of the cracking of religious freedom in this country. (Gaut, 2012) and the loss of nationalism and justice in this so-called PANCASILA country. Radicalism, in fact, is a neutral concept, does not connote pejorative (harassing), and also does not have negative meaning. (Setara Institute, 2011). Radical change, in fact, it can be achieved through an elegant medium which is peaceful, friendly, polite and persuasive, but it can also be reached by means and acts of violence, cunning and vulgar. However, recently, the concept of radicalism, which has something to do with violence, exclusively, tend to be pinned on certain religious movements, the teachings of which are based on the notion of scripturalism, fundamentalism and Puritanism (Jalwis, 2020)

In the twentieth century AD, the world conference on religion and peace was held. The purpose of the conference is to be able to build faith in religions that can soothe the world, in connection with the strengthening (escalation) of global violence. The conference was held for the first time in Kyoto. The second took place in Louvain in 1974. The third took place at Princeton in 1979. The conference was attended by about 338 participants from 47 countries of various faiths and beliefs. (Banawiratma, 1986). Of course this is a good attempt to participate in creating world peace through religion. In the conference, religion is asked to bring comfort and justice and show its role in sacred actions and do not violate human rights. The Indonesian government does not seem to be able to carry out this consensus well, either because it is bound by a political contract with a certain religion or the government itself is part of that religion group or class.

Religion should call for world peace on the basis of love, tolerance, freedom, justice and truth. The conference, of course, slap on the face of religions that are said to be oriented to God but behave in a barbaric manner and are far from the values of divinity itself. It is undeniable that there are religious figures who keep on teaching violence to achieve their goals so that religion is no longer seen as something sacred but is considered a divisive force because they are often dragged into political interests to legitimize their interests and behavior. The hope of the consensus is that people who profess to be religious are able to live side by side and share in love and affection between one another. Groups that are allegedly embracing radicalism have special characteristics. The characteristics of radical groups can be broadly mapped into three points, that is; first, the group that claims the truth is single and as a result they can easily mistreat other groups who do not agree with him. Second, prioritizing things that are *furu'iyah* (secondary) so that rule out the primary issue. For example, the phenomenon of raising the pants on above the ankles and lengthening the beard for men, wearing a veil for women, and so on. Third, too extreme in religion even sometimes unable to place a case according to the situation and condition. (Jalwis, 2020)

Violence or acts of intolerance in the name of religion arise in protracted social conflicts. The conflict itself represents the long struggle of several groups who are dissatisfied with past decisions such as the annulment of the Jakarta charter in Indonesia. This gives rise to bitter roots for certain religions or at least for some groups of certain religions. Edward

Azar said that violence was carried out for certain interests such as security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institutions and economic participation. Edward Azar after studying several events that occurred in several countries such as in Lebanon, Sri Lanka, the Philippines and others.(Sastrio, 2000). In this research, He found three important things that cause conflict or violence in religious life:

First, communal content, which is understood as certain identity groups such as race, religion, ethnicity, and culture. The core of the communal problem is the disarticulation between the interests of identity and the interests of the state.

Second, The main source of the emergence of protracted conflicts in a country is the deprivation of human needs which are then articulated collectively. Just like what happened in Indonesia, the emergence of certain intolerance groups which then on behalf of themselves represent certain religions nationally. On the other hand, the role of the state seems to be slow so that problems or conflicts like this continue to drag on from one government to another.

Third, The role of the state government is considered incompetent and one-sided in managing and unable to satisfy the basic desires of individual and group identities. So it is impossible for a state government that is unable to manage its government to be classified as a narrow, fragile and authoritarian state government.

Edward noted that conflicts and violence tend to be concentrated in developing (third world) countries, one of which is Indonesia. This is related to past history because it does not have an independent political concept but is a colonial legacy. Another characteristic is that there is rapid population growth and limited basic resources. Violence in the name of religion cannot be seen as violence in the name of religion alone, but must be seen as an accumulation of various factors or demands and the fulfillment of individual or group needs that are not accommodated. These factors can be in the form of high social disparities due to the widespread culture of corruption and nepotism, inadequate human and natural resources, siding with oligarchs or capital owners and others.(Sastrio, 2000). In a broad perspective, the phenomenon of violence (religion) cannot be separated from global sources of contemporary conflict and violence. Violence is not only the result of individual psychological factors, biological upheavals, or socio-cultural factors, but is also caused by a causal network between individual structures, processes, and behaviors and the global environment. Within this framework, the tendency of individuals to commit violence will not occur except in the context of a "culture of violent settlement". That is, any psychological vulnerability to engaging in violent behavior is driven by the broader culture that allows the behavior to occur. Violence is thus the result of the dialectical interaction of processes at the micro and macro levels. (Santoso, 2002).

According to Social Learning Theory proposed by Albert Bandura, most human behavior is learned through observations of other person's behavior. The results of these observations or examinations form an idea of how one should behave. Someone who has radical thoughts or someone who commits acts of terrorism can be said to have an excessively aggressive attitude within him and according to Social Learning Theory, the attitude of aggression in a person is actually influenced by the things he learns through his social environment. In other words, human who grow and develop in an environment that is familiar with things that contains elements of violence, he tends to grow with excessive aggression within him. Still according to Social Learning Theory, there is a relationship between the environment and a person's behavior. Environment not only able to influence a person's behavior but the behavior of a person is able to affect the environment. The attitude of aggression in a person can arises because it is influenced by the surrounding environmental conditions and when this attitude continues getting no attention and it is escalating, then in turn, it will affect again environment such as the emergence of a sense of insecurity.(Alexandra, 2017)

Before it is too late, all elements of this nation must realize that a nation will only remain standing and will be strong if all elements of the nation have a strong sense of nationalism and have a strong commitment and determination to stay alive and stand on PANCASILA. Pancasila, the spirit of nationalism and love for the homeland unite the existing diversity because without it all of us will be scattered and this separation is actually not something that is born and not because we don't have the power to achieve it but are too busy boasting of our collective culture and primordialism legitimized by certain religious values. Collective and primordial culture should be understood as a spirit to build the nation in a spirit of tolerance, not as a weapon to destroy fellow children of different nations. The nationalism of those who are in power began to be questioned, because it turned out that their nationalism was an artificial, pragmatic, and momental-provisoris political one. The nationalism of the rulers also does not seem to be natural one but is too accidental and not rooted in ethnic-cultural kinship. The phenomenon of "match war" and "civil war" is a real representation of the

widespread ethno-cultural nationalism, so that even though they are from the same group, ethnicity or religion, it is still easy and always has the potential to cause conflict due to different interests.

Even those who claim to be "statesmen" do not escape this fatal mistake, using the issue of collectivity and primordialism. The political stage is filled with intrigue to power and shackle others. Often we find rampant discrimination against some people who have different political opinion. Until now, intolerant practices still occur and everything is finished with just the word "sorry" and there is no legal process as a form of obedience to the law itself. The government seems to "allow" or even worse to be deliberately giving room to intolerant groups who are clearly carrying out intolerance practices. In my opinion, the jargon of eradicating radicalism and fostering a sense of nationalism should not need to be uttered as if it is an absolute thing if in the end the rulers still submit to such groups. This leads us to a question about the government's intention and consistency to eradicate radicalism. On June 1, 2018 the President of the Republic of Indonesia Ir. Joko Widodo said that Pancasila is a solid foundation and should not be disturbed by anyone and any group, but apparently this statement is now being questioned because violence and intolerant acts still exist.

The government must return to the mandate of the 1945 Constitution to maintain the unity of the nation, the government should not be subject to any group that has no roots in Pancasila and practices intolerance. The government must carry out its obligations as a giver of justice, apply the right law, prioritize the public interest and override the interests of groups based on collectivity and primordialism as well as destructive religious sentiments. All must care for each other and accept that the diversity is something that must be cared for and cultivated.

According to Lemhanas' study on overcoming radicalism, the government needs to do the following:

- 1) Empowering the characters of community in implementing national resilience, especially in character building and national identity.
- 2) Improving the program for the development of religious harmony.
- 3) Increasing the national insight program for the community component in order to strengthen national resilience.
- 4) Intensifying the Deradicalization Program.
- 5) Improving Security Regulations.
- 6) Security Sector Reform.
- 7) Educational Reorientation.
- 8) Social and Cultural Campaign Massively.
- 9) Synergy of Tasks and Functions between Forums

Those are the nine main proposals based on Lemhanas study that must be carried out by the government. (Research Journal of the Indonesian National Defense Institute | Issue 21 | March 2015)

IV. CONCLUSION

The ideal religious tolerance should be built through the active participation of all members of diverse religious communities in order to achieve the same goals on the basis of togetherness. All religious people must maintain an inclusive attitude, respect and understanding regarding the implementation of certain rituals and doctrines of each religion. Only in this way can the praxis of nationalism and the eradication of radicalism be made and the ideals of nationalism can be achieved. Indonesia's reputation as a country "which recognizes the principles of freedom and religious tolerance" can only be maintained if the government takes preventive measures against increasing targets and discrimination against religious minorities, restoring state principles. Develop a culture of acceptance and respect for citizens of all religious groups. Stronger leadership is needed to establish a task force. The task force should be given a strong mandate and essential resources to develop a work plan. The key elements of this work plan include:

1. Do not compromise with religious thuggery.
2. Every violence, intolerance, radicalism even though it is legitimized by certain religious values must be punished according to the law and the constitution so as not to cause social jealousy which ends in division in the life of the nation and state.
3. Strict steps against regional officials who do not respect court decisions regarding religious freedom, and the establishment of houses of worship.
4. Evaluate regulations and decisions related to religion, in order to identify articles that hinder freedom of religion and freedom of conscience, with a deadline for revising or repealing these articles .

5. Develop national achievements in the principles of religious freedom and religious tolerance, including educational programs developed through the media and schools, as well as policies and stronger responses to incitement to violence against religious minorities, including setting the issue clearly when freedom of expression becomes incitement to violence.
6. The state must carry out strict supervision and action against legal instruments (Police, judiciary institutions) that do not work professionally and who are held captive by religious sentiments in their investigations and decisions for law violators.
7. Provide firm action in accordance with applicable laws against all government officials, community organizations, individuals, religious leaders who openly issue statements or engage in actions that promote discrimination or proclaim religious violence and acts of intolerance.

REFERENCES

- [1] Alexandra. Frisca, Analysis of Terrorism and Radicalism Studies in 3 Theoretical Perspectives, Paradigm Journal” 2017
- [2] Banawiratma, JB "Religion and Ppeace”, *Prism*, September, 1986, p.54.
- [3] Durkheim, Emile. The Elementary Forms of these Religious Life (London: Allen and Unwin, 1926), 416.
- [4] Gaut, Willy. Discourse and Practice of Nationalism in Indonesia, Maumere-NTT. Publisher: St. Seminary of St. Paul Ledalero. Case. 16.
- [5] Jalwis, Socialization Against Radicalism *among students*, (Kerinci. Publisher: State Islamic Institute, 2020)
- [6] Kusuma, Rina Sari & Azizah, Nur, Against Radicalism, (Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University, 2018)
- [7] Kutz, Lester R and Turpin, Jennifer “Explaining Violence Networks”, in Thomas Santoso, (ed.) Theories of Violence, (Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia & Petra Christian University, 2002), p. 200-2002
- [8] Kono, Redem. Where Religion Wants To Go, (eds) Political Gait of Religion in Indonesia: The Presence of Transposition or the Euphoria of Religious Infallibility. (Maumere: Ledalero, 2011) p. 29.
- [9] Miall, Hugh et.al., Contemporary Peaceful Conflict Resolution Resolving, Preventing, Managing and Changing Conflicts with Political, Social, Religious and Racial Origins, Pent. Tri BuddhaSastrio, (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2000), p. 111
- [10] Nd.Madung, Otto Gusti. Religion, Public Sphere and Cultural Pluralism in Paul Budi Kleden & Otto Gusti Madung (eds) Dives Deeper (Maumere: Ledalero, 2009), p. 71-72.
- [11] Robingaton, Islamic Radicalism And National Threats, (Publisher: Empirisma, 2017)
- [12] Supardan, Dadang. Theories of Learning and Learning, (From Classical Age to Behaviorism) Volume II. Rahardja Foundation, Bandung, 2015). page 218
- [13] Santoso. Thomas, (ed.) Theories of Violence, (Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia & Petra Christian University, 2002) Pg. 200-2002.
- [14] Widyaningrum, Anastasia Yuni. Terrorism, Radicalism and Identity Indonesianness journal of communication studies 2018. Volume 2 issue 1 pages 32-67.
- [15] Wejak, Justin L, Narrative of Radicalism and Fear.Maumere Ledalero: 2018
- [16] <https://fin.co.id/2019/06/20/ternyata-3-persen-tni-no-setuju-pancasila/>
- [17] "Ministry of Home Affairs Says 19.4 Percent of Civil Servants Disagree with Pancasila Ideology", <https://tirto.id/daef> (<https://national.tempo.co/read/1059989/kata-menteri-agama-jual-persekusi-biksu-di-legok-tangerang/full&view=ok> https://www.hrw.org/id/report/2013/02/28/256410#_ftn2
- [18] Memory of Cassation in the Case of Setiarto, Yulius, Number 130/Pid/2010/PN.TK East Lampung District Court on behalf of Syahroni and Iwan Purwanto, 8 March 2011, p. 12.
- [19] Interview Human Rights Watch interview with lawyer Yulius Setiarto, Jakarta, September 13, 2011. Setiarto also provided a DVD with pictures of protesters in the courtroom.
- [20] CNN Indonesia, <https://m.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200216222158-20-475167/bima-arya-promise-problem-gki-yasmin-beres-pertengah-2020>. Accessed on September 10, 2020. Pkl. 02.15 WIB.
- [21] https://www.hrw.org/id/report/2013/02/28/256410#_ftn2
- [22] The American Heritage Dictionary of The English Language, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1996
- [23] Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), 2021
- [24] “The perpetrators of the Sampang riots were sentenced to 8 months in prison,” Merdeka, January 22

https://www.hrw.org/en/report/2013/02/28/256410#_ftnref300. Wahid Institute presentation sheet at a press conference at its Jakarta office, December 29, 2011 attended by Human Rights Watch.