

When Islam and Democracy Meet in Indonesia

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Abstract—Indonesia's political system is democracy. Indonesia's democracy is religious democracy. Even though democracy is godly, there are Islamic groups who are antipathy and want to overthrow it. Democracy in Indonesia still has many shortcomings, but that is no reason to leave it, especially if the substitute offered is not better. Unfortunately, the Islamic group wants to replace it with something bad, namely their version of the Islamic system which is tyranny, intolerant, and discriminative. Regarding the poor implementation of democracy in Indonesia, it must be recognized, and concrete steps are taken to improve it. Democracy education is one of the ways. And Social Sciences has a strategic role to take part in it. For democracy education to succeed, what must be considered is not only the education itself but also how to make the public aware that the existence of groups hostile to democracy in the name of faith is real and needs to be watched out for.

Keywords: *Islam, democracy, neomodernism, fundamentalism*

I. INTRODUCTION

The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) system is a democracy. Some experts say more specifically that the democratic system adopted by the Republic of Indonesia is a typical democratic system, namely Pancasila democracy. Democracy is a system that places the people as the highest holders of sovereignty. Basically, democracy is a secular system. But in Indonesia, democracy is different from Western-style democracy. In Indonesia, democracy is theistic in nature [9].

Democracy has not yet brought Indonesia to become a developed country. For decades, Indonesia is still a developing country. So many problems have plagued Indonesia, ranging from corruption, poverty, socio-economic inequality, to the low quality of human resources. In a book entitled "*Populisme Politik Identitas dan Dinamika Elektoral: Mengurai Jalan Panjang Demokrasi Prosedural*" published this year [7], Burhanuddin Muhtadi said that there are still many problems in implementing democracy in Indonesia. There are still many problems that must be resolved and also deficiencies that must be corrected. The essence of the book illustrates how the quality of democracy in Indonesia is still low and the level is just procedural democracy.

The challenge going forward is how to make democracy in Indonesia immediately move on to the next stage, namely democracy which does not only reach the procedural level but rises to the level of true democracy where the principles of true democracy can be implemented. The reasons why democracy in Indonesia is said to be new to the procedural level because identity politics is still strong. To a certain degree, identity politics is a natural thing, but if identity politics is so extreme, this can be a trigger for the rising of the

majority tyranny [10]. Instead of democracy being used to create justice and prosperity for all, democracy is hijacked by a majority group to oppress minority rights. To improve the quality of democracy in Indonesia, various efforts are needed to achieve this. One of the most important is to carry out democracy education through school institutions. In this case, Social Studies (*Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial*) gained relevance. There is a common vision between the ideals of Indonesian democracy with the vision of IPS as subjects whose main goal is to shape the character of good citizens [30, 31]. The good character of citizens is necessary to create a healthy democracy [32].

In democracy education or democratization, some things have the potential to become obstacles. Some western social scientists consider that religion, especially Islam, is out of sync with democracy [12]. Islam is seen as a religion that is not compatible with democracy and therefore, if a country wants the quality of democracy to be better than Islam must be thrown. That view has a point but also contains errors. On one side, there are Islamic groups who are anti-democracy. On another side, there are Islamic groups that are pro-democracy [29]. So, Islam is not single-faced. In this article, we will discuss two faces of Islam, namely the face of Islam which is anti-democracy and the face of Islam which is pro-democracy [33]. Furthermore, the author will name the anti-democracy Islamic group as a fundamentalist stream and the pro-democracy Islamic group as a neomodernist stream.

II. DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA

At the beginning of independence, the modernist wing and the traditional wing both demanded the total application of Islamic law. This demand was then constitutionally accommodated in the Piagam Jakarta [18]. The Piagam Jakarta and its seven words are the results of the consensus reached mainly by two representatives of Islamic groups, Abikusno and Kahar Muzakir with a Christian nationalist figure, A.A. Maramis At the second BPUPKI trial, July 10, 1945. The agreement was considered by the nationalist group to have permitted a kind of "Islamic State within the State". The seven words open the way for Islamist groups to propose new negotiations such as the provision that the president and vice president must be Muslim. Although it was agreed upon, in the end, the Piagam Jakarta was abolished. The abolition of the seven words in the Piagam Jakarta was carried out in a short time. At that time there was no serious rejection from the Islamists because the situation and conditions were critical, so the seven words controversy was not a priority. However, after conditions stabilized, the discourse to bring it back strengthened in the following years. This mission itself becomes the basic theme that forms the political identity of the Masyumi [26].

In Indonesia, there are indeed ups and downs in the relationship between the state and religion. Some groups want to establish an Islamic state through a constitution like Masyumi and others through the power of weapons such as the DI-TII case. But in the end, the majority of the Indonesian people always agreed with Pancasila [6].

At the beginning of independence, the Islamic group had one voice, they wanted Islam to be used as the basis of the state. However, in the decades that followed, a paradigm shift occurred in the minds of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals, whose origins were more oriented towards symbols become the substance. This shift brought Islam to be more universal [28]. Although the influence of Muslim intellectuals became stronger and their political attitudes become increasingly inclusive, Islamic parties and communal identities still survived. The persistence of the politics of Muslim identity can be seen from the efforts of some Muslim intellectuals who are still struggling for Islamic law (sharia) to be applied. And that happens to this day [34].

Fundamentalist Islam heightens in the world [25]. In Indonesia, towards the fall of the Orde Baru, after decades of suppression by the regime, Fundamentalist Islam found its rebirth momentum. The indicators are spreading of organizations and political parties that want to change the nation-state into a religious state, replace the ideology of the Pancasila state with their version of Islam, or even eliminate the Unitary Republic of Indonesia and replace it with the *Khilafah Islamiyah* [23].

Pancasila functions as a unifier of a pluralistic Indonesian nation. Because of this diversity, Indonesia needs an ideology that can be accepted by all elements of the nation and simultaneously unite it. According to Comte, a society needs principles that can unite them, where each member will live in harmony with one another [8]. According to Nurcholish Madjid, social uniformity and political consensus are prerequisites for the creation of a stable democracy [22]. In this case, Pancasila is an ideology agreed upon by all elements of the Indonesian nation.

The founders of the nation realized that in Pancasila there were no principles that contradicted religious teachings. On the contrary, the Pancasila's principles reflect the main messages of all religions, which in Islamic teachings are known as *maslahat*. Thus, they reject the formalization of religion and emphasize its substance [6, 8]. Besides Pancasila, the Constitution also plays a very important role in the life of the nation and state. Like Pancasila, the constitution - UUD 1945 - is an attempt to find common ground and reconciliation from various values and interests of citizens. The state constitution reflects the values held by society [16].

Culture and democratic behavior are understood as a complex combination of several elements, namely: mutual trust among citizens, tolerance, support for the democratic system, and political participation [29]. Democracy is increasingly adopted by countries in the world. They hope that by implementing democracy they will be free from social, political, and economic crises. The appeal and superiority of democracy are that sovereignty is in the hands of the people. Robert Dahl said that democracy allows people to actively participate, equal rights, transparent and publicly supervised government, and social justice [12].

Over the past 50 years, Indonesian Muslims has made progress towards a more democratic system. Politically, Indonesian Muslims have become more pragmatic and rational than ideological. This argument is based on the four most democratic elections, namely 1955, 1999, 2004 and 2009 elections. In 1955 the Islamic party received 43% of the votes while in the last three elections only received about 20% [15].

What said above seems no longer relevant to the results of Burhanuddin Muhtadi's latest research. The irrelevance of that conclusions is evident in the case of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Election. The results of Burhanuddin's research showed that not all who were satisfied with Ahok's performance chose Ahok. Ethnicity and religion are two factors considered in determining voter decisions. Religious similarities are more considered than ethnic similarities. The DKI Jakarta elections case in 2017 shows that most voters are not rational voters. The indicator is the level of satisfaction with Ahok's achievement is not proportional to the level of his electability [7]. Identity politics, when it is out of bounds, threatens the quality of our social life. Tocqueville said, when religion is allied with political power, it increasingly influences one group, but at the same time it loses hope to embrace all others [29]. If this happens then injustice will occur. And if injustice happens, peace will be threatened. Peace without justice is an illusion. Justice is a prerequisite for peace. An unjust society, even though it seems stable, is all just falsehood that can explode like a time bomb.

III. MUSLIMS RESPONSE TO DEMOCRACY

A. *Anti-Democracy Muslim*

With the dissolution of Masjumi in the Orde Lama regime and the repression of political Islam by Orde Baru regime, fundamentalist Islamic groups were thrown from the national political arena. But, towards the end of the Orde Baru regime, political Islam strengthened again, they moved through education. This political Islam or fundamentalist movement found its momentum after the Orde Baru regime collapsed and changed into the Reformasi era. Political parties whose fundamentalist ideology is strong enough and can survive until now is Keadilan Sejahtera Party (PKS).

There are several theories about the birth of fundamentalist Islam. One of them is the failure of Muslims in facing modernity which is considered to have cornered Islam. The second theory is the solidarity with the fate of Muslims who are considered victims of Western tyranny such as Palestine, Kashmir, Afghanistan, and Iraq. The third theory is the failure of the government to uphold social justice and create equitable prosperity. Fourth, they are always suspicious that the West wants to oppress Muslims. Fundamentalist groups believe that the implementation of Islamic law through power is a shortcut to solving all problems [6, 23].

Their campaign to make the Islamic State has always been added with the romanticism of Islamic politics. Many myths are associated with the institution of the Khilafah. The perception that the Khilafah is a government by the will of God, the perception that the Khilafah system is better than the modern system, the perception that all problems can be overcome if the Khilafah is back, all of that is just an illusion [11]. Fundamentalist Islamic groups believed that the heyday of Islam was the best era that seemed perfect. Of course, the propaganda is not true because of the political history of Islam the same as other political histories in which contains beautiful

and dark episodes. In the history of Islamic politics, we can find not only examples of wise and ideal leaders such as Abu Bakr and Umar, but also unjust leaders and their governments are contained by disputes, killings, wars, and massacres which are all carried out in the name of Islam [19].

Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Ridha said that Islam provides prohibitions and legal provisions regarding various aspects of life. The Sharia will not be fully upright without political power to enforce religious prohibitions, implement legal decisions, and maintain public order. In line with these two figures, the Ikhwanul Muslimin figure, Hasan al-Banna, and his successor, Sayyid Qutb shared the same view. For Qutb, the state is an absolute requirement for the implementation of religious rules. Political identity for an Islamic state is based on the equality of *aqidah*, not based on territory, nationality or ethnicity. That means Qutb wants the formation of an Islamic state internationally [8]. Based on these facts it can be interpreted that they are anti-fraternity based on nationality and humanity. Religious-based fraternity is certainly reasonable and does not become a problem if it is proportional. However, if these feelings are accompanied by antipathy toward people or groups from other religions, this is certainly a big problem.

After understanding some of the facts about fundamentalist Islam, let us formulate some characteristics of fundamentalist Islam. *First*, they reject the separation of religion and state and state power must be held by devout Muslims (by their standards); Sharia is made into law, and scholars play a vital role in every formulation of public policy [28]. *Second*, they assume that democracy, including democracy adopted by Indonesia, is a modern jahiliyyah system [2, 17, 23]. This judgment is a consequence of the way of thinking of those who see everything in black and white [20, 33]. One of the reasons why they are so fanatical about Islam and cannot see reality objectively is the argument, "Islam is high and no one can match it" [12]. Their hatred of everything that they think is not derived from Islam can be categorized as an extreme act of primordialism [13]. *Third*, they are elitist [33]. The wider community which is not classified as *santri* and does not actively participate in Islamic organizations placed outside the "Muslim" concept. *Fourth*, they are the type of group that feels most self-righteous [6]. Therefore, they are very hostile to rural communities who practice local wisdom and secular urban communities [3]. *Fifth*, they have a belief (which is their illusion) that Islam and its people are always targeted by other groups and therefore they are always suspicious of those considered non-Muslim. They think negatively to the things that they consider attacking Islam such as Christianization, apostasy, and even development of technology [17]. Because of this, they reject all forms of culture that are ascribed to the West [33]. *Sixth*, they are often reluctant to compromise with other groups and always want to exploit Islamic symbols [12]. *Sixth*, fundamentalism views pluralism negatively. This attitude is a consequence of the way of thinking that Islam is absolute truth and everything else is false. And another consequence is, they become reluctant to seek "wisdom" from other societies and therefore fundamentalists tend to be closed-minded [33]. *Seventh*, they are intolerant and discriminative. Fundamentalist groups openly want to uphold the legacy of Islamic traditions that divide the status of citizens into Muslims and non-Muslims. Full political participation is only

for Muslims. Non-Muslim citizens are not allowed to occupy public positions related to policymaking, defense, and national security. The formation of political parties is limited to parties with Islamic ideology. Non-Muslims are not given the right to form their political parties. Freedom of religion [to a certain degree] is guaranteed, but as compensation, non-Muslim citizens are required to pay a kind of tax (*jizyah*) [33].

Fundamentalist groups do not only exist in one religion but many and not only in developing but also in developed countries. The most extreme of fundamentalism is to fall into terrorism [6]. When discussing religious fundamentalism, it is quite difficult if understood simplistically. The behavior of adherents to religious fundamentalism has many levels. There is fundamentalist who thinks extreme but not aggressive and does not commit violence against other groups. Some others commit acts of violence or terrorism. They who think extreme, if have been given the power and opportunity then they will potentially do it [7].

The cases below can provide a clearer picture of the activities of religious fundamentalist groups. In Egypt, there have been killings committed by Islamic fundamentalist groups. Farag Fouda was killed by two people from the Jamaah Islamiyah on June 8, 1992. A few days before the assassination, on June 3, a group of ulama from al-Azhar University stated that, based on his thoughts and writings, Farag Fouda was declared to have blasphemed religion and therefore, he was declared to be out of Islam. And this means that he is an enemy of Islam. From this case, we can see how fundamentalist intellectuals collaborate (indirectly) with fundamentalist people. Intellectuals give the legitimacy of killing, while ordinary masses are the executors. In addition to the killings, some other things carried out by fundamental groups in Egypt are as follows: attacking the Coptic Christian church, rob their business, terrorizing government officials who are considered wrongful by them, and they attack foreign tourists who they consider coming to Egypt to just admire idols and heritage of Pharaoh. They also sweep books that are written by secular writers and ask the authorities to withdraw certain books from circulation. They also often ask the government to stop films or television shows that they think are not compatible with them believe [11].

We can see another example to give an illustration of what religious fundamentalists can do if they are allied with or hold power. This case occurred in the Middle Ages. The Muktazilah at the beginning of its appearance is known as a rigid puritanic stream. In subsequent developments, this stream turned into a rationalist group that glorifies the results of human reasoning thought and considers it an absolute basic of truth, even beyond the Koran. When the Muktazilah was in power, there was irony. They are a stream that advocates free-rational thought, however, they instead use their authority to oppress freedom of thought by intimidating and even punishing people from different thoughts [24].

B. Pro-Democracy Muslim

There is something far more important than the formalization of Sharia, which is how universal Islamic values can be practiced creating an Islamic society and life. There is no meaning if Islamic law is formalized but it does not bring benefit. We can see an example in the Aceh case. In Aceh, Sharia formalization has been implemented, but this step is not directly proportional to the welfare and progress there. The

awareness to prioritize the contents rather than the packaging has existed in the body of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) for 84 years ago. In the 1935 conference in Banjarmasin, NU did not support the Islamic formalization or Islamic state and decided to encourage Muslims to practice the teachings of their religion and at the same time allow the establishment of a nation-state [6].

At the end of the 20th century, although Muslim intellectuals had stronger credibility and increasingly held important positions in the bureaucracy, Islam political parties still did not get the majority. This indicates that most Indonesian Muslim intellectuals are not fundamentalists but neomodernists. Indonesian Muslim intellectuals were no longer obsessed with returning the Piagam Jakarta [34]. The neomodernist group views that the ethical basis of the Sharia is more suitable for the reality of Indonesian society which is pluralistic and is changing towards an increasingly modern [3]. Neomodernist Muslim intellectuals view that Islam has no connection with any particular system or form of government, and the Caliphate in Islamic history is not a religious institution, but rather an earthly system. Islam gives full freedom to organize the country depend on the development of intellectual, social, economic, and demands of the times [8].

Neomodernists see Islam as a religion that teaches openness, especially in taking wisdom. Ali said, "Wisdom is a valuable item that lost from the believers. Therefore, wherever believers find wisdom, they will pick it up. Take that wisdom, even from hypocrites!" The Prophet Muhammad said, "Take wisdom and do not worry about where came from." Previous Muslims, in their golden period, did not hesitate to take knowledge from Greece, Persia, and India. When the dark era of Islam came, Muslims became closed-minded. Muslims are mired in fanaticism and become *letterlijk*. Critical thoughts are silenced. A new understanding is labeled a heresy. Differences in understanding are considered taboo. Muslims no longer learn from all corners of the worlds. Muslims do not even want to learn from fellow Muslims who are a different stream of thought. The truth is only my version of Islam, the other version is misguided and misleading so that heaven only belong to my group, while other groups belong to hell [13].

An open perspective makes the modernist group more flexible in accepting change. They believe that rejecting the Chalipate or rejecting an Islamic state is not the same as rejecting Islam. Islam does not have standard rules about what systems must be adopted by a society. What is regulated by Islam is, what is important is that the system implemented can bring *maslahat* (benefit) [20]. The way of thinking of neomodernists is not textual. They combine text and context proportionally. The dialectics between the Sharia text and the context of reality (socio-culture) based on the principle of *maslahat* will give substantive orientation. Therefore, Islam will not be understood through a legal-formalistic approach. This perspective makes NU view that Pancasila is not only a political system that is following Islamic law, even more than that, but Pancasila itself is also a legal system that is Islamic. In accepting the democratic system, Kiai Sahal Mahfudh said, the most important thing is the creation of social justice. Then he strengthened his argument with the words of Ali ibn Abi Talib: "Power, the state, can stand upright with justice even though in the hands of infidels and the country will be destroyed with tyranny even in the hands of Muslims." [5].

The Koran is not detailed. When it will be implemented must go through a process of *ijtihad* in which intellect is needed to do this [28]. Classic political *fiqh* is often not in line with the idea of democracy which requires justice and equality of human rights before the law. The *fiqh* that places non-Muslim as second-class citizens must be changed because it is contrary to the idea of modern democracy and also against the idea of a nation-state like Indonesia. The principle of meritocracy must be the benchmark for choosing leaders. So choosing a leader is not a matter of being Muslim or non-Muslim, whether he is male or female, but whether he is professional and capable or not. In a democracy, there is the principle of equality. In the classical *fiqh*, there is the concept of *kafir dhimmi* which places non-Muslims as second-class citizens. If there is a *fiqh* product that does not lead to social justice, it must be abandoned [5].

Neomodernists are people who use reason proportionately. They are not afraid to think [11]. The tradition of thinking of neomodernists makes them tolerant in looking at differences. The same verse can be interpreted differently. The difference of opinion is something that cannot be avoided [21]. Neomodernist Islam tries to see any thought clearly and critically. They do not take for granted the product of thought simply because it is from Muslim thinkers and they do not reject thought even though come from Western thinkers. Neomodernism is an Islamic way of thinking that is combined with a consistent and correct methodology for understanding the Koran and Hadith [1].

The need for changes in viewing religious doctrine and social reality is a consequence of our obligation to learn from history and use it to avoid repeating past mistakes while improving the future. Neomodernist group do not want Islam disproportionately combined with the state. It aims to prevent religion from manipulation of politicians and government. Besides the government to be carried out without the burden of religious particularism [11]. History has proven that the politicizing religion or using religion as a tool for political purposes, whether maintaining power or seizing it, do often occur [21].

Based on the explanation above, some characteristics of Islamic neomodernism can be formulated. *First*, the awareness that Islamic thought must be able to respond positively to the challenges of modernity and social change. *Second*, awareness of the need for systematic and wide-ranging *ijtihad*. *Third*, there is more attention to optimizing intelligence and looking at the history of Islamic civilization objectively. *Fourth*, the awareness that knowledge must be understood dynamically and therefore stay alive, not stagnate, decay, and die. *Fifth*, the awareness to place humanity in the proper position. *Sixth*, acceptance of social pluralism and pluralism of religions. *Seventh*, separating religion and politics or regulating that the relationship between them must proportional so that the state is not sectarian [1, 4, 9]. All this principle must be believed as to be based on the source and teachings of Islam itself.

The important thing that needs to be underlined in this paper is what is confronted with fundamentalist groups is not the secular group but the Islamic neomodernist group. Like the fundamentalists, the neomodernists based their views on the sacred text. The difference between them is that neomodernists place the role of reason with more respect.

Neomodernists are the same as fundamentalists in believing that the Islam that is understood and practiced by each of them is comprehensive [5]. Neomodernist Islam is a substantial Islam whose understanding of the Koran and its traditions is carried out holistically and is also based on the legacy of Islamic thought [1]. So, Islamic neomodernist groups have provided religious legitimacy for Muslims whose minds are open, so they don't have to worry about to oppose fundamentalist Islamic group's thoughts.

Religion is in the deepest dimension of human psychology [14], therefore religion is very important for the people who embrace it. Especially in Indonesia, where the majority is classified as religious people. When we want to democratize, do not rule out the role of religion. Religion must be the basis for democratization. Democratization without basing it on religion will fail. Explanation from Saiful Mujani will explain how important the role of religion is. "The influence of religion on culture depends on the important role of religion in society. If deemed important by someone, religion can influence the way of viewing many aspects of life. The more important a person looks at religion, the higher the influence of its religion. Geertz states that the nature of religion is as a symbol system that forms a passion and motivation in long-term in human life by wrapping these conceptions with an aura of factuality, so these passion and motivation are looking real. Religion and politics are similar because politics is also related to passion, motivation, and human interests." [8, 29].

The succession of the Prophet Muhammad leadership was not carried out on a hereditary basis. Succession in that way survived for just 30 years after the prophet died. After that time, the succession returned to the old-fashioned way, namely the succession of leadership based on heredity. So, the Caliphate period only lasted for 30 years because after that was the kingdom system. Judging from the succession mechanism, the Caliphate was similar to modern democracy [19]. Gellner view that Islam has basic elements of democracy. Robert N. Bellah stated that the government organized by the prophet Muhammad were egalitarian and participative. So amazed, Bellah praised that what the Prophet Muhammad did was too modern for his day. That is why the Prophet Muhammad's democratic political buildings did not last long. Moral principles contained in the Koran include the principle of justice, equality, and deliberations. These three examples of principles correspond to democratic principles [27].

IV. CONCLUSION

Fundamentalist group viewed the relationship between democracy and religion, especially Islam negatively. Neomodernist group viewed that Islam is relevant to democratic political culture. Another group said that Islam could be interpreted in various ways. Islam can be used to support democracy or against it. Religion can support political stability. Religion can be used to justify injustice in society. Religion can be used to blind people from reality. In the case of America, religion supports the application of democratic principles.

This is about legalism-formalism versus substantialism. The first group views that the substantialism has no religious basis at all. Even though, both streams view is based on religion. Their sources are the same, the Koran and Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad. What causes the difference between

the two is the difference in interpreting religious doctrine. The same religious teachings can be accepted differently.

After the golden period passed, Islam civilization collapsed. This is the background for the birth of new Islamic movements. In general, the new Islamic movement is divided into two groups, namely fundamentalist and neomodernist streams. Fundamentalists want to restore the glory of Islam but take the wrong way. They want Muslims to return to the Koran and Hadith and leave everything that is considered heretical. But unfortunately, that spirit was not accompanied by proper intelligence, they instead marginalized the intellectual heritage of the Middle Ages. They are anti-intellectual. Therefore, the Islamic movement which is driven by fundamentalism does not produce adequate solutions to solve the problems of Muslims faced today.

Those who justify any ways to gain power, those who use identity politics to defeat political opponents have violated the principles of democracy. They are anti-democracy but using democracy to gain their interests. They argued that democracy had failed to bring justice and prosperity and offered the Islamic system to replace democracy. Indonesia is still far from the ideals of social justice, but the methods of fundamentalists will not get us closer to the goal. The problems faced by our nation will not be solved by simple thoughts that prefer shortcuts, sometimes in the form of violence. Their ideas are wrong from the start because of it containing doctrines of injustice, intolerance, and discrimination.

The main idea of the nation-state emphasizes that the democratic process must guarantee the integration of diverse societies and how democracy must guarantee the rights of individuals and equality of various cultural groups so that they can co-exist in a just, peaceful and productive towards a common goal as a nation. For Muslims, obedience to agreements is a religious obligation. Indonesian Muslims as the majority are demanded to transform their universal religious values as a source of good for all. According to Masdar Farid Mas'udi, "The agenda of Muslims in the future is no longer how to fight for the formalization of the Islamic state but how to realize the values in the life of the nation and state seriously, wholeheartedly, honestly, and consistently". Strong democracy and moderate Islam will guide Indonesia to achieve its goals.

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