

Indonesian Islamic Moderation for National Defence

Ahmad Junaidi Saleh

S. Sos, Total Defence Strategic,
Faculty of Defense Strategic,
Indonesian Defense University.

ABSTRACT

The phenomenon movement of Moslems on early 21th century is shown high intensitily. This is indicated by Islamic political movements which are dominated by non-mainstream Islamic movements which have influence many maps of Islamic movements, include in Indonesia. On moderate side Islamic groups as mainstream still appear with their old patterns of displaying open harmonious variants of Islam, tolerant and modest locality of Islamic traditional and building Islamic civilization and humanity in Indonesia. As the majority of the world's most Moslem population in a pluralistic and pluralist community, existence of moderate Islam is very important in the national defense system. This article uses a qualitative approach with data sources from references and literature relating to Islamic moderation. The validity and reliability of the data is done by triangulation reference. The method on this study is a qualitative method. Data collection techniques are literature and documentation. From this study, the results are obtained that the presence of moderate Islam will be able toward off the dynamics of threats, which move from a national defense system.

Keywords: Islamic moderation, State Defence.

INTRODUCTION

The development of the geopolitical environment, both globally and in a rapidly developing and dynamic region, has made the world full of worry and anxiety. Post-cold war global liberalism cannot be separated from the presence and role of non-state actors. Their presence is increasingly clear and becomes a consideration for countries that have been dominant with state apparatus both to achieve prosperity (prosperity approach) and maintain the defense and security of their country (security approach). The use of physical or military violence by both state and non-state actors was an inseparable part of human civilization even before the concept of a state in Europe in the mid-17th century (Jemadu, 2014, p.106). This phenomenon is growing over time in line with the increasingly dynamic situation with various models and spectrum. At certain moments, it is not uncommon for this to escalate and potentially become a threat.

The world today has experienced a shift in threats (Threat) in human life from traditional (conventional) to non-traditional with various types and models. Post-cold war 1991 "the collapse of the Soviet Union" marked the end of the western ideological war of liberalism against Soviet communism. The defeat of communism resulted in the emergence of a counter threat to the west as a balance of power from the domination of democratization which has become the world political

paradigm initiated by the west. These movements include Fundamentalism in several Middle Eastern countries and Militarism in several developing countries. This has made the West begin to shift a new threat strategy to face high risks which they call the Green Peril. (Green is the color of Islam, while Peril is the symbol of Middle Eastern fundamentalist Muslims).

“Green Peril (green is the color of Islam) is symbolized by the Middle Eastern Moslem fundamentalist—the “Fundie,” to use a term coined by The Economist—a Khomeini-like creature, armed with a radical ideology, equipped with nuclear weapons, and intent on launching a violent jihad against Western civilization, (Hadar, 2020).

These Muslim fundamentalists are considered as an aggressive, militant and violent revolutionary movement like the Bolsheviks, Fascists and Nazis who are anti-democratic, anti-secular, authoritarian and all kinds of other bad stigma. It is even said that the chapter of the "New Cold War" (The New Cold War) is what Jurgensmeyer calls "The New Cold War: Religious Nationalism Confront the Secular State, (Juergensmeyer, 1993, p. 41) Islam has replaced Communism as a decisive strategic threat in the post-Cold War era: In this context, confrontationalists juxtapose the threat of Communism and Islam. Like Communism, the revival of Islam was not only a proselytizing movement but also a revisionist movement. This Islamic revival, according to Daniel Pipes, is “an atavistic and militant force driven by hatred of Western political thought, (Gerges, 1999, p. 29).

Since the momentum of the terrorism attack against the world trade center (WTC) in New York on September 11, 2001. The Islamic world was the accused party in this action and which was previously considered a threat to the lives of the world community, (Fransisca, 2018) Various stigmas were attached to Islam which synonymous with violence, terrorism, fundamentalism, radicalism, and so on. This stigmatization seems to be the legal justification for the views of some Western thinkers who view Islam as a threat after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Since then the issue of global terrorism has become a threat and attention to all world political actors, both state and non-state.

The logical consequence of the global conflict from the repressive response carried out by the West to the Islamic world has actually generated partial resistance and developed simultaneously in various parts of the world, including in Indonesia. The development over time that occurred until the rolling of the 1998 reform which was marked by a new era in extraordinary political liberalization had occurred, (Ali, 2012, p. Viii), namely the democratic social and political life due to the opening of the widening taps of freedom which has boosted the strengthening of identity groups in society with ethnic or religious platforms. There are even political movements that want to replace the ideology, constitution and state form with other ideologies, for example the Khilafah ideology. Anticipation of this phenomenon becomes a job for the state to defend the country from cultural and social infiltration in identity politics with the dimension of religious ideology.

National leadership to keep and lead the nation on its platform is a total mandatory to bring the country on track. According to Abdurachman Wahid (Gus Dur, the third president of the Republic of Indonesia), Indonesian leaders must be people who understand the traditions and culture of the nation, have a deep understanding of religion and obey in practicing it spiritually. The former will encourage true loyalty to the traditions and culture of the nation, while spirituality will promote loyalty to the people and strive to realize noble messages Pancasila, (Wahid, 2009, p. 176). Spiritual obedience that breathes local wisdom is carried out in accordance with the Shari'a taught and

exemplified guidance (Qothiyah) has the value of reward vertically and horizontally civilized. The nobility of adab which refers to prophetic morals (Uswatun Hasanah) should be preserved in order to strengthen unity and maintain national defense. Therefore it is necessary to implement religious moderation in supporting State Defense, strengthening national consensus, namely Pancasila, UUD 1945, NKRI and Bhineka Tunggal Ika. Religious moderation is important in the context of religious life in Indonesia in particular, and how is the correlation between State Defense in the implementation of religious moderation, so that the threat of communal conflict (potential for disintegration) can be prevented. As the biggest element of the Indonesian nation, even the largest Muslim community in the world, Indonesian Muslims have a huge moral obligation and responsibility to save not only the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila from various threats, but also the obligation to save the substance of Islam and the distortion of the noble values of the nation. Islamic

POLITICAL ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

Political movements that spread throughout the Muslim world including Indonesia as a result of external factors (outside of religious symptoms) such as the Palestinian liberation intifada movement, the fall of Kabul to the Taliban and global socio-political symptoms, (Hasan, 2012, p. 11). Meanwhile, internal factors are caused by authoritarianism, corruption, injustice, socio-economic and political causes. These rhetorical movements with an Islamic agenda cry out for a totalitarian world order by holding discourses and religious activities aimed at generating hatred and even violence or other forms of radicalism. As proof, there have been bombings and terror in various places such as Bali, Jakarta and others (Nainggolan, 2018, p. 123).

The aforementioned disturbances in the security threat make it difficult for the Indonesian government to maintain and create a sense of security for the Indonesian people and immigrants to Indonesia and especially in order to maintain good relations with the international world. They think that the spirit of Jihad is the mission of the Islamic ummah in Indonesia as a resistance to an authoritarian government. Portraits and discourses on the dynamics of Islam in various parts of the world seem to reveal two sides: Exclusivity and Radicalism (Rubaidi, 2010, p. 104).

In the past few years, Islamic civilization has changed to display a face that is "fierce", sadistic and various other negative symbols. No exception in Indonesia, the face of Indonesian Islam cannot be separated from the portraits of names such as Imam Samudra, Muchlas, Imam Samudra, Hambali to Abu Bakar Ba'asyir who are already worldwide. Meanwhile, moderate Islam with a friendly, tolerant, inclusive appearance full of compassion has disappeared and has lost its shine with "haraqoh al Islamiyah" which has begun to exert an intense influence on various sides of people's lives. Whereas according to his teachings, the essence of the presence of religion, especially Islam as the majority, is to maintain human dignity as a noble creature created by God (Tebuireng, 2015).

In the past, religious radicalism (regardless of religion) was only part of local politics in a certain country. However, the latest phenomenon, this political power has become a global problem and an international problem. The dynamism of identity politics in the formalization of religion gave birth to new terms of radicalism, terrorism, fundamentalism, Islamic law, the Islamic caliphate Islamic state and many others. In substance, the idea of a movement that is carried out by this movement is essentially the same, namely the spirit of puritanism and shrinking to Islamic law. The end goal of all this is the "Islamic State". In a moderate view, he considers that the formalization of religion is a

dangerous thing for religion and its adherents. This is because the formalization of religion will reduce religion to a symbol and political ideological frame. The formalization of religion is also seen as releasing the social and cultural context of the Islamic religion itself.

So automatically the discourse on the Islamic religious movement epistemologically gives birth to many new disciplines, namely Islam as an ideology vis-a-vis the ideological system of democracy, capitalism, socialism and others. For a sovereign state, it becomes the field of analysis in a defense perspective that is continuously preventive in anticipating facing security risks. Hence a comprehensive defense strategy takes full account of the direct or indirect threat areas to the nation and state in allocating the resources it uses appropriately

FRAMEWORK

Moderate or moderation comes from the Latin moderatio, which means moderation (not having excess and not lacking). The word also means self-control (from an attitude of very strengths and weaknesses). The Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) provides two meanings of the word moderation, namely: 1. n reduction of violence, and 2. n avoidance of extremes. If it is said, "the person is moderate", that sentence means that the person is being fair, casual, and not extreme, (KBBI, 2020).

In English, the word moderation is often used in the sense of average (average), core, standard, or non-aligned. In general, moderate means promoting balance in terms of beliefs, morals, and character, both when treating others as individuals, and when dealing with state institutions (Dictionary, 2020). While in Arabic, moderation is known as the word wasath or wasathiyah, which has the equivalent meaning of the words tawassuth (middle), i'tidal (fair), and tawazun (balanced). The basic principle in religious moderation is to always maintain a balance and fairness between two things, for example the balance between reason and revelation, between physical and spiritual, between rights and obligations, between individual interests and communal benefit, between necessity and voluntarism, between religious texts and the ijthad of religious figures, between ideal ideas and reality, and the balance between the past and the future, (RI, 2019, p. 15)

The second principle, balance, is a term to describe perspectives, attitudes, and a commitment to always side with justice, humanity and equality. The tendency to be balanced does not mean disagreements. Those who have a balanced attitude are assertive, but not stern because they always side with justice, it's just that their siding does not take the rights of others to a loss. Balance can be considered as a form of perspective to do something sufficiently, neither excessive nor less, neither conservative nor illiberal.

The style of Islam in Indonesia (archipelago) is very distinctive, moderate in character that is full of tolerance, Islam that can live in diversity, Islam that upholds women's rights, human rights, so that Nusantara Islam can be a model for other nations to adopt values. positive in their respective regions, (Saifuddin, 2016).

State Defense based on Law No. 3 of 2002 is all efforts to defend the sovereignty of the state, the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state. Defense is extracted from the values of the nation's struggle and past experiences to be used as lessons in developing the

concept of national defense in accordance with the demands of the state defense task, faced with various dynamics of change, and packaged in a frame of national interest (RI K., 2015).

The threat that arises as a result of the development of an understanding / identity that develops in society is contrary to the ideology of the state. This condition occurs in line with the strengthening of global phenomena in the midst of the development of information technology that has entered the joints of people's lives. If it is not anticipated and prevented from an early age, it will damage and destroy its own people. This attack is very dangerous because it seizes and affects people's hearts and minds. Meanwhile, human hearts and minds are the last stronghold of the nation in maintaining the country's existence.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research methods using qualitative research methods with social ethnographic approach and non-military defense theory. The data collected through related documents is processed and correlated the perspective threat of state defense by non-military dimension. Trends that occur in religious life and the issues are growing in society to be focus for research. This type of research is library research. The data obtained from the news in the mass media, books and journals are processed based on qualitative methods with a religious identity approach, especially Islam, then creatively developed by the author, then read and analyzed based on theory of non-military state defense.

National Defense

National Defense Actualization of the implementation of guarding the state and nation in Law No. 3 of 2002 mandates that the State Defense all efforts to defend the sovereignty of the country, the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the entire nation from threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state. By adhering to a universal national defense system involving all citizens, territories and other national resources, as well as being prepared early by the government and being carried out in a total, integrated, directed, and continuous manner to uphold state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the safety of all nation from all threats, (RI, 2002). The dynamics of the development of the global and regional strategic environment today indicate that there are major challenges to national defense. These physical and non-physical challenges point to potential threats to the country's sovereignty, the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, and the safety of the nation.

The national defense policy is determined by managing defense resources in order to achieve national goals and interests with the Indonesian state defense system which is a comprehensive defense system between the people, territory and other Indonesian national resources, (23/2019, 2019). The urgency of this problem becomes actual when faced with the security dynamics of social clashes that often occur. The enactment of the National Resource Management regulation for defense in September 2019 is a measure of the success and sympathy of the state for social problems in facing threats with the dimension of identity politics. Its form is a product of defense components (Main, Reserve, and Support Components). In its relation to the context of religious moderation, the Reserve Component has a role. This is due to the fact that Komcad has the potential to guard social security and is, moreover, the dependent variable in looking at national defense and religious moderation, particularly religious moderation (attitude).

The diversity of the Indonesian nation with a very broad multidimensional spectrum, apart from being the nation's wealth and excellence, is also a source of threats. Mismanaging this plurality can lead to disaster, and can drag the Indonesian nation into conflict, further disintegrating the nation. In fact, religious moderation is significant not only in creating constructive relations between religions externally, but also internally important for creating harmony among various denominations within one religion. Internal religious conflict is nothing less than external conflict. Therefore, internal religious moderation is also important to be developed through strategic steps by involving and maximizing the role of all parties. This strategic step is part of maintaining the integrity and safety of the nation (National Defense).

Communal Conflict (Social Conflict)

Communal conflicts between community groups still frequently occur in several areas with various triggers. Such as regional boundaries, social inequality, crime, racial violence and others (RI D. K., 2018). In a religious background conflict, it can happen to various groups or schools of thought within the same religion (sectarian or intra-religious), or it can occur in various groups in different religions (communal or between religions). Usually the beginning of this religious conflict is triggered by an attitude of blaming each other on religious interpretations and understandings, feeling self-righteous, and not opening up to other people's religious interpretations and views. Learn from the bitter experience of some countries where people's lives are messy and even their countries are threatened with dissolution due to prolonged socio-political conflicts because of the background of different interpretations or opinions in religion. Diversity, in any field, indeed necessitates differences, and differences always create potential conflicts. If not managed properly and addressed wisely, this potential conflict can lead to extreme attitudes.

The destruction of the conflict with the background of different claims of ideological interpretation is very devastating, considering the nature of religion which touches the furthest emotional recesses in every human soul. In fact, not infrequently the contested differences are actually limited to the truth of religious interpretation produced by limited humans, not the ultimate truth which is the single most correct interpretation and only belongs to God the Most True. To manage a very diverse religious situation as described above, we need a vision and solution that can create harmony and peace in practicing religious life, namely by promoting religious moderation, respecting diversity of interpretations, and not being trapped in extremism, intolerance and acts of violence.

The spirit of moderation in religion is to seek a meeting point for the two extremes of religion. On the one hand, there are followers of extreme religions who believe in the absolute truth of one interpretation of a religious text, while considering other interpreters as heretical. This group is usually called the ultra-conservative. On the other hand, there are also extremist religious people who deify reason to ignore the sanctity of religion, or sacrifice their basic beliefs for the sake of inappropriate tolerance for adherents of other religions. They are called liberal extremes. Both of these require the presence of the state through moderation education, both formal and non-formal.

Therefore, to make religious moderation a solution, we need to have a correct understanding of the meaning of the word. Knowledge of Islamic moderation from the government to emphasize that the state is present in an effort to internalize religious values on the one hand, and an effort to respect religious diversity and interpretations of religious truth on the other. The internalization of religious values is intended so that religion will always be a spiritual, moral and ethical foundation

in the life of the individual, society, nation and state, while respect for the diversity of religious beliefs and practices is intended to encourage moderate religious life, for the creation of a state defense system through strengthening commitment. our nationality, (RI IK, 2019, p. 8).

Moderation and State Defence

Moderate Islam faces challenges and threats from ideological, radical, and extreme Islamic political movements that have the characteristics of feeling right, *syar'i* and *shalih* themselves. People outside their group are considered heretical people, wrong and have pinned some Islamic terminology on them. The communal mystical atmosphere which later became a personal character nevertheless had an impact on national security. The White Paper on defense raises the movement of radical groups as a real threat.

The motive behind these movements can be religion or ethnicity on behalf of the people. At present there are radical elements using religious attributes to replace the state with other ideologies, such as Islamic fundamentalist groups, (All, 2016, pp. 39-40). They look at other people as *mad'u* (*da'wah* object) with a view full of lust, trying to dominate the minds of others, bind his heart and master his body to follow their group. This kind of preaching approach is far from feeling compassion and mercy in the context of the safety of the world hereafter. This situation opens the door for vigilante action resulting from the act of playing "interpretations" of all facts and realities, (Heriansyah, 2020).

The spread of Islamophobia in its various forms in the Western world is a form of reaction to acts of terror, violence and calamity caused by a group of people acting in the name of religion. The acts of terror carried out by ISIS and other fundamentalist group networks have claimed many victims and reduced human values to a very concerning level. The irony is that their propaganda has influenced and motivated others. The case of ex-ISIS combatants is currently a government ambiguity, a state dilemma in decision making. The role of multidimensional religion is used as justification for those who are involved in acts of radicalism or global terrorism, including in Indonesia. Facing this kind of radicalism requires an attitude of religious moderation.

Often religious moderation only focuses on placing the moderation movement as a solution to dealing with the problem of religious conservatism, or what is often referred to as the extreme right (Imarah, 1999). This illustrates an incomplete understanding of religious moderation, because actually religious moderation is not only aimed at mediating those who tend to have ultra-conservative religious understandings, but also groups that have liberal religious perspectives, attitudes and behaviors, or what is often called. as the extreme left. Both the extreme left and right are like centrifugal motion from the center axis to one of the most extreme sides. Some of the criteria can be described as follows: Intellect is made a judge, that is, it only relies on the nature of thought, does not deny reason to be able to understand the law of the text. Being harsh and stiff to an order but taking something *ushul* (Fundamental). Sanctify the treasures of old thought in religion, but when there is a lack of understanding, it ignores the beauty of guidance. Be idealistic and pragmatic without taking the middle road.

Stopping from a liberal perspective, attitude, and religious behavior will tend to extreme deify one's reason in interpreting religious teachings. on the other hand, in an extreme and rigid way, understand religious texts without considering the context. Religious moderation aims to mediate

between these two extremes, by emphasizing the importance of substantially internalizing religious teachings on the one hand, and contextualizing religious texts on the other.

In the context of religion, such extreme views, attitudes, and behaviors will encourage adherents to refuse to accept the views of others, and persist in their own interpretation of the truth. From this comes the term "hardline", extreme or extremism, which is associated with religious practices that reject the opinions of others. More than simply refusing, an ultra-conservative person will even go so far as to criticize and try to obliterate the presence of other people's differing views. Despite being a minority, an extreme ultra-conservative is generally more "loud" in expressing opinions and does not rule out the possibility of crossing social boundaries.

The social culture of the nation is based on a national personality through a selection process that accepts cultural elements from the outside so that it becomes something new, which is harmonious without leaving its distinctive characteristics. This is the case with the cultural personality from within which does not also ignore the values of human civilization in the global scope. In the religion of Islam, civilization is built not only paying attention to material aspects, human nature and instincts or other world pleasures. However, the civilization promoted by Islam is a civilization that connects humans with their God or fosters a relationship between the earth and the sky. Therefore, in the concept of National Defense, there is a universal defense system in the interconnection of the people, territory and national resources to face various threats.

The concept of non-military defense is urgent to be developed, especially in facing the threat of conflict with the dimensions of identity politics and religious ideology through the implementation of moderate values for adherents of each religion. This is not an exaggeration because in a moderate view according to M. Imam Aziz in "Humanizing Humans" is an attitude in the middle of religion (tawassuth), neither extreme left nor extreme right, tolerance (tasamuh), balanced attitude (tawazzun) in using reason and text book and straight in faith (I'tidal), (Yahya, 2018, p. 246). Thus maintaining national defense with moderation as a form of national action to maintain the sovereignty, integrity and safety of the nation without violence (nonviolent action).

Gene Sharp, an expert on nonviolent action, explained that the meaning of nonviolent defense is moral action not to do certain things or to be expected by regulations or customs, (Sharp, 1973). The meaning in the concept of defense is not always military action. However, through non-military without violence. This is in line with religious moderation by using the civilization approach to building a civilized society (Civil Society), (all P. D., 2012, pp. 225-231). This pattern can form the basis for building a civilized social defense characterized by

1. Rabbani Society (Society of Gods) is a society that has two personalities, namely as a being of God and a social being so that it not only gives but also accepts other opinions.
2. The Religious Society is a society that upholds transcendental values that come from God Almighty.
3. The Intellectual Society (Knowledge Society) is a society that understands the teachings with a comprehensive basic concept of Deity in order to uphold human dignity.
4. The Peace Oriented Society is a society that can maintain brotherhood (ukhuwah) and spread blessings for all nature.
5. Just Society is a society that is able to do justice in the midst of other communities and is able to put something in its place.

Conditions to be Achieved

The plurality of religious life in Indonesian society which is very plural and plural, has implications for the emergence of complex religious phenomena. On the one hand there are liberal extremes, on the other hand there are conservative extremes in religious practice. If there is no mainstreaming of counter-moderation narratives, then conservatism, extremism and liberalism in religion can develop into excessive radicalism. In fact, the essence of various religious teachings is moderate and strongly emphasizes efforts to maintain human dignity. Religious moderation has a mission to create peace for all humanity. The emergence of a liberal attitude in religion often triggers extreme conservative reactions. Likewise, ultra-conservative attitudes often result in the birth of speech of hatred, hostility, intolerance, extremism, violence and even terrorism in the name of religion. This has clearly threatened the defense of the country by disrupting safety and mutual integrity.

Religious moderation is expected to be a solution to the extreme religious problems in the two camps that we face. It is not enough that the strengthening of religious moderation be carried out personally by individuals, but must be carried out systematically and planned by state institutions. The state must be present to facilitate the creation of healthy public spaces to create community interaction between religions and beliefs. Do not be the other way around, give birth to regulations and regulations with certain religious sentiments that are applied and enforced in the public space.

Indonesia is proven to have the best empirical experience (best practices) in managing the diversity and diversity of its people. Apart from the friction and conflicts that often occur, harmony and tolerance in Indonesia are far more maintained than other countries that face similar religious complexities. Religious values that are acculturated and adapt to local culture, the rich diversity of local wisdom, the tradition of deliberation, and the culture of mutual cooperation inherited from the Indonesian people from generation to generation are very conducive to creating diverse community cohesion in terms of culture, ethnicity and religion. Indonesia should be the inspiration for the world in practicing religious moderation.

In the future, the development of moderation in Indonesia is not only about consensus tolerance, but mutual understanding, so that moderation is put forward not in a rigid level, a moderate form of Islam alone, but a holistic understanding of balance in justice for the whole nation. Moderation in a nation must conform to the identity contained in the values of Pancasila.

CONCLUSION

The development of strategic environmental trends in global geopolitics has resulted in the threat of experiencing a paradigm shift after the cold war. No more threats is at the conventional level, but non-traditional. This shift has resulted in different threat patterns. In the globalization era which is full of non-traditional threats with a broad spectrum, the threat pattern also targets the disintegration of the nation at the level of perception and mindset. One of them is the threat of identity politics dimension. In anticipating the need for the concept of a state defense system in a form of moderation on diversity attitudes.

The urgency of religious moderation is not only aimed at mediating for those who tend to have ultra-conservative religious understandings, but also for groups that have liberal religious perspectives, attitudes, and behaviors, or what are often referred to as the extreme left. Both the extreme left and right have the potential to threaten national stability. Therefore, the concept of non-military state

defense (non-violence) by involving all elements of society in justice, absolute balance is implemented.

Striving to strengthen religious moderation is to find the right momentum to reduce extreme religious attitudes with the presence of state institutions and all society. Moderation in this case refers to the fundamental attitudes and values of the substance of religion, not to human intellectual understanding. In short, the discourse on moderation leads to its attitude and its relation to the ethical philosophy of Pancasila, which becomes tolerance as its reference. More deeply, this consequence also leads to preventive efforts against fundamentalists who have the potential to spread extreme and intolerant views. As a result, efforts to defend the country are carried out with a moderate attitude in religion towards moderation in justice for the entire nation to realize national ideals.

Reference

Books

- Ali, A. S. (2012). *Ideologi Gerakan Pasca Reformasi., Gerakan-gerakan Sosial Politik Dalam Tinjauan Ideologis*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- all, P. D. (2012). *Islam Moderat - Menebar Islam Rahmatan Lil alamin (Vol. 2)*. Jakarta: Pustaka Ikadi.
- all, S. S. (2016). *Konsep Pertahanan Non Militer (Vol. 1)*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Gerges, F. A. (1999). *American dan Islamic Political: Class of Civilization or Class of Interest*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Hasan, N. (2012). *Islam Politik di Dunia Kontemporer, mengutip Gilles Kepel, dalam bukunya Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*. Yogyakarta: Suka Press.
- Imarah, M. (1999). *Fundamentalisme Dalam Prespektif Barat dan Islam*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press.
- Jemadu, A. (2014). *Politik Global*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.
- Juergensmeyer, M. (1993). *The New Cold War: Religius Natioalism Confront the Secular State*. California: California University Press.
- Rubaidi. (2010). *Radikalisme Islam, NU Masa Depan Moderatisme Islam di Indonesia*. Surabaya: PWNNU Jatim.
- Saifuddin, L. H. (2016). *Masterpiece Islam Nusantara: Jejaring dan Sanad Ulama-Santri (1830-1945)*. Jakarta: Pustaka Kompas.
- Sharp, G. (1973). *Correcting Common Mincopseptions About Non Violent Action*. Boston: Albert Einstein Institute.
- Tebuireng, M. (2015). *Menjaga Martabat Islam*. Jombang: Pustaka Tebu ireng.
- Wahid, A. (2009). *Ilusi Negara Islam*. Jakarta: PT. Desantara Utama Media.
- Yahya, I. D. (2018). *NU Penjaga NKRI*. Yogyakarta: PT. Kanisius .
- Nainggolan, P. P. (2018). *Ancaman ISIS di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor.

Journal

Fransisca, N. F. (2018, Januari-Juni 1). *Radikalisme Islam vs Moderasi Islam: Upaya Membangun Wajah Islam Indonesia Yang Damai*. *Al Fiqra: Jurnal Imiah Keislaman*, 17.

Website

- Dictionary, C. (2020, Juni 19). Retrieved from <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/moderate>
- KBBI. (2020, Juni 19). Retrieved from <http://kbbi.web.id/moderasi>

Hadar. (2020, Agustus 25). Green Peril. Retrieved from <https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/green-peril-creating-islamic-fundamentalist-threat>,

Heriansyah. (2020, Juni 19). Pecihitam. Retrieved from <https://pecihitam.org/goncangan-hizbut-tahrir-di-tengah-memanasnya-kawasan-arab/>

Regulation

RI, D. K. (2018). Penguatan Unsur Utama dan Unsur Lain Kekuatan Bangsa dalam Menghadapi Ancaman Nonmiliter Guna Menjamin Stabilitas Nasional. Jakarta: Kemenhan RI.

23/2019, U. R. (2019). Pengelolaan SDN untuk Pertahanan. Jakarta.

RI, K. (2015). Doktrin Pertahanan Negara. Jakarta.

RI, K. A. (2019). Moderasi Beragama. Jakarta: Balitdiklat Kemenag RI.