

## Distinction: Islam and Islamic Fundamentalism

Djamiatul Islamiyah

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Salatiga, Indonesia

D2017islamiyah@gmail.com

### Abstract

*Fundamentalism, although many associate it with Islam, in reality this concept is a global phenomenon. So that it can happen to every other religion and civilization. Then why is it associated with Islam? In fact, whenever there is violence that threatens the stability of security, the assumption is that the subject is the Islamic movement. This is because some people perceive Islam as a religion with Islamic fundamentalism as a political ideology. Huntington, for example, in his writing Clash civilization, is seen by Tibi as having ignored the crucial difference between Islam as a religion and fundamentalism as political Islam. It must be admitted that there are distortions in understanding the verses of the Al-Qur'an as well as the political orientation and violence which are the main characteristics of almost all movements known as Islamic fundamentalism, causing them to sometimes be trapped in violence. But making generalizations that violence or terrorism is always synonymous with Islamic fundamentalism is a simplistic and unwise conclusion. Violent fundamentalism can also occur in other religions such as the Serbian orthodox, and Hindu fundamentalism which wants to realize India as Hindustan. To avoid prolonged conflict, it is time to revive peace by improving the political, economic and social conditions that triggered the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism rather than taking violent action against them. The time to revive peace is not through jihad or military force as revenge.*

**Keywords:** Distinction, Islam, Islamic Fundamentalism.

### Abstrak

Fundamentalisme, meski banyak yang mengaitkan dengan Islam namun pada realitasnya konsep tersebut merupakan fenomena global. Hingga bisa saja dapat terjadi pada setiap agama dan peradaban lain. Lalu mengapa dikaitkan dengan Islam? Bahkan pada setiap terjadi kekerasan yang mengancam stabilitas keamanan muncul anggapan bahwa subjeknya adalah gerakan Islam. Hal ini dikarenakan sebagian orang menganggap sama antara Islam sebagai agama dengan fundamentalisme Islam sebagai ideologi politik. Huntington misalnya dalam tulisannya *Clash civilization* dipandang Tibi telah mengabaikan perbedaan yang krusial antara Islam sebagai agama dengan fundamentalisme sebagai Islam politik. Harus diakui adanya distorsi dalam memahami ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an juga orientasi politik dan kekerasan yang menjadi ciri pokok dari hampir keseluruhan gerakan yang disebut sebagai fundamentalisme Islam, menyebabkan mereka terkadang terjebak melakukan kekerasan. Tetapi membuat generalisasi bahwa kekerasan atau terorisme selalu identik dengan fundamentalisme Islam adalah kesimpulan yang simplisit dan kurang bijaksana. Kekerasan fundamentalisme dapat juga terjadi pada agama yang lain seperti ortodox Serbia, dan fundamentalisme Hindu yang ingin mewujudkan India sebagai Hindustan. Untuk menghindari konflik berkepanjangan saatnya menghidupkan kembali perdamaian dengan lebih memperbaiki kondisi politik, ekonomi, dan sosial yang menjadi pemicu munculnya fundamentalisme Islam ketimbang mengambil tindakan kekerasan terhadap mereka. Saatnya menghidupkan perdamaian bukan lewat jihad atau kekuatan militer sebagai balas dendam.

**Kata Kunci:** Distingsi, Islam, Fundamentalisme Islam.

## INTRODUCTION

The term fundamentalism has been interpreted in various ways. Sometimes seen as a threat, sometimes it is also called a new challenge to the modern world. Freedinan's writing "some believe that after the collapse of community and the fall of the Berlin Wall, religious fundamentalism came the new challenge confronting the modern world".<sup>1</sup> Fundamentalism is also referred to as The Malady / The sickness, as written by Abdel Wahab Meddeb in his book *The Malady of Islam*. In that book he wrote "if fanaticism was the sickness in catholicism, if Nazism was the sickness in Germany, the surely fundamentalism is the sickness in Islam".<sup>2</sup> While in other writings fundamentalism is also paralleled with the religious revival movement (Revivalism).<sup>3</sup> This concept is not limited to Islam, nor is it limited to religious aspects but can be related to political issues.<sup>4</sup> Even so, western writers refer to fundamentalism in Islam "in the popular mind, notably in the west, the concept of fundamentalism has negative connotations and is almost exclusively applied to Islam".<sup>5</sup> Therefore the assumption appears "in the west that view Islam as a "threat".<sup>6</sup> Tibi wrote about the Western accusation that always linking threats, violence or disruption of security stability to the Islamic movement. "It is true that when

existing threats to violence and instability are related to Islamic movement".<sup>7</sup>

This perception does not only have implications for the emergence of an understanding that fundamentalism is always only related to Islam but also (in certain cases) can create the image of "Islam as a source of teachings of violence". Though Islam is an open minded religion, wrote Tibi, it is not an intolerant political ideology nor is it a concept of world order as is believed by Islamic fundamentalists and some people in the West.<sup>8</sup> Islam is not a threat, but Islam as a political ideology is a threat to the existing order.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, it requires an integral understanding and not a partial understanding by making generalizations from the per-case case.

It must be admitted that the character of fundamentalism is a strong belief not only in the correctness of existing religious teachings, but also in its superiority to man-made systems. Every theme in their ideology is related to the dichotomy of "God's order" vs "Human (secular) order". Claims like these often make fundamentalists tend to be tough and radical. The bombing cases are examples that can strengthen this impression, especially since they always claim their actions in the name of religion. But that fundamentalism as its reality is global, it means that fundamentalism is not always related to Islam. As a global phenomenon, it can be found in other civilizations.<sup>10</sup> The same statement was put forward by Douglass Pratt "That the term religious fundamentalism denotes a world-view type that can be found across different religions".<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Razaghi dkk, *Religious Fundamentalism Individuality and Collective Identity: A case Study of two student organizations in Iran, Journals a Critical Research on Religion*, Sage Pub, (2020): p.1-22

<sup>2</sup> Abdel Wahab Maddeb, *The Malady of Islam*, Pierre Joris & Ann Reid (Penerjemah), (New York: Basic Books, 2002), p.6

<sup>3</sup> Muhammad Razaghi dkk, "Religious Fundamentalism....", p.3, mentioned that some authors "describe Islamic fundamentalism as Islamic revivalists"

<sup>4</sup> RM. Burrel, *Fundamentalisme Islam*, Yudian dan Riyadi (penerjemah), (Yogya: Pustaka Pelajar, 1995), p.2

<sup>5</sup> Gerrieter Haar and James J. Bussuttil (ed, *The Freedom to do God's Will*, (London: Routledge, 2003), p.3

<sup>6</sup> Bassam Tibi, *Between Islam and Islamism: A Dialogue With Islam as a Pattern of Conflict Resolution and Security Approach Vis-a Vis Islamism*, dalam buku "Redefining security in the Middle East, Tami Amanda Jaoby & Brent E. Sasley (ed), Manchester University Press (2002), p.62

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<sup>7</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Between Islam....", p.62

<sup>8</sup> Bassam Tibi, *Ancaman Fundamentalisme*, Imran Rasyidi dkk (Penerjemah). (Jogja: Tiara wacana, 2000), p. 64

<sup>9</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Between Islam...", p. 64

<sup>10</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Ancaman Fundamentalisme....", p. 25

Tibi also wrote that fundamentalism can be observed in all major world religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Konfusianism, Christianity as well as Judaism, p. 36

<sup>11</sup> Douglas Pratt, *Religious Fundamentalism: A Paradigm for Terrorism?* Dalam buku *International Terrorism New Zealand Perspectives*, James Veitch (Ed), (New Zealand: Institute of Policy Studies, 2005), p. 32

To distinguish religion as teaching and religion as a political movement or ideology, some writers make distinctions, for example Islamic and Fundamentalism beliefs,<sup>12</sup> Islam and Islamism<sup>13</sup> or in other books Tibi calls Islam and Islamic Fundamentalism (Political Islam) in other words, these distinctions can be interpreted as an attempt to clarify the assumption that views Islam as a threat. Islam must be distinguished from certain types of Islamic movements as political ideology.<sup>14</sup>

### Islamic Fundamentalism: Several Formulas

Historically, the term fundamentalism was first used in the United States to describe the revival movement of protestant fundamentalism at the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>15</sup> W. Montgomery Watt added that the term fundamentalism refers to the Anglo Saxon Protestants shown by those who assume that the Bible should be accepted and understood literally.<sup>16</sup> The term then became a big issue and much debated in the west, especially since the revolution in Iran in 1979 as well as the events of 11 September in America. Therefore “for many people today the world ‘Fundamentalism is automatically Associated with Islamic Fundamentalism.’<sup>17</sup>

In subsequent developments, the term Islamic fundamentalism that appears in the movement is often referred to as the Islamic revival (Islamic Revival). According to Azyumardi Azra, Islamic fundamentalism can be said to be an extreme form of revivalism symptoms. If revivalism in the form of Islamic intensification is more inward-oriented and therefore individual in

nature, then the intensification of fundamentalism is also outward-oriented.<sup>18</sup> The same thing was stated by Hassan Hanafi who said that fundamentalist Muslims are a term that refers to the Islamic revival movement, Islamic revivalism.<sup>19</sup> Mansoor Moaddel formulated Islamic fundamentalism as an ideological revolutionary movement aimed at total reorganization of society according to Islamic teachings in all aspects of social life.<sup>20</sup> In line with this opinion, according to Jonathan Sack, “a religious fundamentalist is simply someone who accepts religion in its full form as a foundation of knowledge about reality, without attempting to ‘bend’ or relativize, compromise or mitigate.”<sup>21</sup> Sack does not explicitly mention Islamic fundamentalism, but that Islamic fundamentalism is a form of religious fundamentalism. “Islamic Fundamentalism is one of forms of religious fundamentalism”.<sup>22</sup>

Bassam Tibi explicitly related to Islamic fundamentalism calls him a world view that seeks to build its own order and thereby separate the people of Islamic civilization from the side of humanity while claiming their view as something that applies universally.<sup>23</sup>

The various formulations mentioned above, indicate the various qualifications of what people call fundamentalism. In this regard, Garaudy mentions the main features of fundamentalism: absolutism (intellectual conceit), exclusivity (social class arrogance),

<sup>12</sup> Syed Manzar Abbas Saidi, The fundamentalist Distortion of the Islamic Message, *Athena Intelligence Journal* Vol 3 No 4 (2008), p. 59

<sup>13</sup> Bassam Tibi, “Between Islam....”, p. 64

<sup>14</sup> Bassam Tibi, “Between Islam....”, p. 64

<sup>15</sup> Gerrieter Haar and James J. Bussuttil (ed), “The Freedom....”, p. 28

<sup>16</sup> M. Abdul Wahid. Fundamentalisme dan Radikalisme Islam (Telaah Kritis eksistensinya masa kini), *Jurnal Sulesana* Vol 12 No 1 (2018), p. 63

<sup>17</sup> Gerrieter Haar and James J. Bussuttil (ed), “The Freedom....”, p. 2

<sup>18</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Pergolakan Politik Islam*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996), p. 107

<sup>19</sup> Dwi Ratnasari, Fundamentalisme Islam, *Jurnal Komunika*, vol 4 No 1 (2010), p. 43. The same thing can be read in the writings of Muhammad Razaghi et al p. 3

<sup>20</sup> Mansoor Moaddel, The Social Aspects and Discursive Context of the Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism, *Sociological Inquiry*, Vol 66 No 3 (Agustus 1996), The University of Texas Press, p. 331

<sup>21</sup> Michal Gierycz, Religion a Source of Fundamentalism or a Safeguard Against It?, *Journal Religions*, (2020), p.2

<sup>22</sup> Muhammad Razaghi dkk, “Religious Fundamentalism.....”, p. 3

<sup>23</sup> Bassam Tibi, “Between Islam....”, p. 12

fanaticism (emotional arrogance), extremism (outrageous mental attitude), aggression (excessive physical action).<sup>24</sup>

In line with Garaudy's opinion, Douglas Pratt put forward six perspectives of fundamentalism, namely perspective absolutism, immediate inerrancy, ideological exclusivity, polity iclusivism, santioned imposition, legistemated extremism.<sup>25</sup> Meanwhile Dwi Ratnasari mentioned several characteristics: first, they tend to be literal or textual and reject contextual approaches; the second rejects pluralism and relativism; the third is the monopoly on all religious interpretations; the fourth is exclusive, fanatical, intolerant, radical and militant.<sup>26</sup>

Different from the aforementioned characteristics Asep Muhamad Iqbal and Zulkifli, quoting Katib's opinion<sup>27</sup>, concluded the characteristics of fundamentalism from various aspects: first, Islamic fundamentalism views itself as not merely a religious movement but also a political movement, secondly it believes in the authenticity and inherence of Islam as an alternative. In facing Western hegemony, the third view jihad as a necessity to protect and expand the Islamic community even though the interpretation and application of jihad can be differentiated among Islamic fundamentalism groups themselves.

## Islam and Islamic Fundamentalism

Since the events of September 11, the world's fear of Islam as a threat has intensified. The accusation against Islam as a source of threat has created Islamic phobia from several countries, especially in the West.

Unfortunately they equate Islamic fundamentalism with Islam as a religion.<sup>28</sup>

The terms Islam and Islamic fundamentalism are actually synonymous with interfaith studies and fundamentalism. The long question is how exactly the role of religion in the emergence of the phenomenon of fundamentalism? In the Islamic context, is Islam as the source of fundamentalism or Islam protects against fundamentalism. This question arises along with the assumption that Islam is a threat.<sup>29</sup> In addressing the question of whether Islam poses a threat, Esposito argued that the question itself is misplaced because there is no monolity that we can find from what we call "Islam".<sup>30</sup> Hence Islam must be distinguished from various types of Islamism as a political ideology. Islam is not a threat.<sup>31</sup> In other words, Islam is not a source of teachings of violence but rather Islam is a protector of violence. That religion in its original nature forms a potential protection against fundamentalism.<sup>32</sup> Islam as a pattern of conflict resolution and security approach confronts Islamism.<sup>33</sup> As a teaching, Islam is a tolerant religion as stated in Surah Al-Baqarah verse 256:

لَا إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ ۗ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ ۗ  
فَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِالطَّاغُوتِ وَيُؤْمِنْ بِاللَّهِ فَقَدِ  
أَسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَىٰ لَا انفِصَامَ لَهَا ۗ

<sup>28</sup> For example, Huntington's writings in his book *Clash of Civilization* correctly point to the differences in the worldviews of people who come from different cultures and civilizations. But it's a shame to ignore the crucial difference between Islam as a teaching and Islamic fundamentalism as an ideology. For details, read Bassam Tibi, "Threats of Fundamentalism ...", p. 211

<sup>29</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Between Islam....", p. 62. In several of his writings, Tibi calls Islamic fundamentalism Islamism or political Islam read Bassam Tibi, *Why the can be Democratic*, *Journal of democracy* Vol 19 No 3 (2008), p. 43

<sup>30</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Between Islam....", p. 64

<sup>31</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Between Islam....", p. 64

<sup>32</sup> Michal Gierycz, "Religion a Source....", p. 1

<sup>33</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Between Islam....", p. 62

<sup>24</sup> R. Garaudy, *Islam Fundamentalis dan Fundamentalis Lainnya*, Afif Muhammad (Penerjemah), (Bandung: Pustaka, 1993), p. 3

<sup>25</sup> Douglas Pratt, "Religious Fundamentalism.....", p. 45-48

<sup>26</sup> Douglas Pratt, "Religious Fundamentalism.....", p. 45-48

<sup>27</sup> Asep Muhamad Iqbal dan Zulkifli, *Islamic Fundamentalism, Nation-state and Global citizenship: The case of Hizb ut-Tahrir*, *Indonesian Journal Of Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol 6 No 1 (2016), p. 39

وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ ﴿٢٥٦﴾

“there is no compulsion to (enter) religion (Islam); Surely the right path is clear from the wrong path. therefore whoever disbelieves in Thaghut and believes in Allah, then indeed he has clung to a rope that is very strong that will not break. and Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing.”

That Islam itself is fundamentally a belief, cultural and ethical system - and therefore not political in nature. But Islamism (political Islam or Islamic fundamentalism, they all mean the same thing) is a political ideology even though it is based on religion. Islam and Islamism are not just different words but they are something different.<sup>34</sup>

According to Michal Gierycz, fundamentalism is not a religious phenomenon precisely but rather a way of thinking and behaving specifically that is secular in nature, only framed in religious language.<sup>35</sup> The difference between Islam as belief and Islamism as an ideology is the difference between peaceful and violent Islamist.<sup>36</sup> According to Tibi, Islamic fundamentalism does not show religious beliefs but rather is a socio-political view, namely broad issues about the nature of the state, society and world politics. However, this problem can be articulated with religious symbols.<sup>37</sup>

The next problem is why did Islamic fundamentalism emerge? Asep's writing states that fundamentalism emerged as a reactionary movement towards certain political and economic environments, especially the West, changes and political culture and the global economic power of the West. Because the world is shrinking, society becomes interconnected and interdependent, so that religious and cultural traditions

are under threat from the forces of globalization. In this context, fundamentalism leads to violence and terrorism to stop the erosion of their (Western) traditions and culture.<sup>38</sup> The same thing was written by Michal Gierycz that fundamentalism in both Islam and Christianity is described as a reaction to the modern world and the processes of modernization and secularization.<sup>39</sup> Therefore Islamic fundamentalism is more of a representation of political Islam than a further elaboration of the term Al-Ussuliyah.<sup>40</sup>

To understand the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism, it is interesting to look at the frame of reference proposed by Marty regarding some of the principles of fundamentalism.<sup>41</sup> The first principle of fundamentalism is “Oppositionalism” or understanding resistance. Fundamentalism in any religion takes the form of resistance (which is often radical in nature) against threats that are seen as endangering the existence of their religion. The second principle is the rejection of hermetics, in other words, the fundamentalists reject a critical attitude towards the text and its interpretation, the text of the Koran must be viewed literally. The third principle is the rejection of pluralism and relativism. The fourth principle is the rejection of historical and sociological developments for Islamic fundamentalists, society must clearly adjust the scriptures and not the other way around.

Regarding Oppositionalism (ideology against fundamentalism) Syed Manzar wrote that confrontation

<sup>38</sup> Asep Muhamad Iqbal dan Zulkifli, “Islamic Fundamentalism....”, p. 36

<sup>39</sup> Michal Gierycz, “Religion a Source....”, p. 1

<sup>40</sup> Islamic fundamentalism is also called the term Al-Ussuliyah, which implies a return to the fundamentals of the faith, upholding the political power of the ummah and affirming the foundations of valid authority (syar'iyah al-hukm). This formulation seems to emphasize the political dimension of the Islamic movement rather than its diversity. Read Azzumardi Azra, “Pergolakan Politik...”, p. 109

<sup>41</sup> Azzumardi Azra, “Pergolakan Politik...”, p. 109-110

<sup>34</sup> Bassam Tibi, Why the can be Democratic, *Journal of democracy*, Vol 19 No 3 (2008), p. 43-44

<sup>35</sup> Michal Gierycz, “Religion a Source....”, p. 1

<sup>36</sup> Bassam Tibi, “Why the can....”, p. 44

<sup>37</sup> Bassam Tibi, “Ancaman Fundamentalisme....”, p. 22



is an important part of the Islamic fundamentalist view.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, regarding the rejection of fundamentalism towards hermeneutics, namely a critical attitude to the text and its interpretation. Abdul Karim Soroush explained the logic of the rejection “the prophet in Islam is the last prophet and Islam is the last religion, therefore the prophet is a jurist (faqih) and an interpreter. lastly, there is no faqih and interpreter anymore”.<sup>43</sup>

Based on the aforementioned principles and characteristics, many authors conclude that Islamic fundamentalism is not completely standardized, and reject the notion that “Western fundamentalism is the first cause while other fundamentalism is a reaction to western fundamentalism”.<sup>44</sup> The principles and characteristics as mentioned by Marty are also found in the history of Muslims.

Abdel Wahab Meddeb<sup>45</sup> saw that fundamentalist characteristics in Islam have existed since the 9th century which was shown by the attitude of Ibn Hambal (780-855) who opposed the Mu’tazilah’s opinion about the khudus of Al-Qu’an which was implemented through al-mihna’s policy in the government of the Caliph Al Ma ‘ mun (786-833). Meddeb in this case says “The genealogy of fundamentalism must include this ninth-century personage, who was subjected to the worst tortures because in the name of his leteralism, he refused to accept the thesis of the Mu’tazilities. His resistance found resonance and support among people anxious for the return of Qur’anic ortodoxy “.

Azyumardi Azra<sup>46</sup> even said that the Khawarij movement, which was known to be extreme and radical, could be viewed as classical Islamic fundamentalism

which in turn influenced many Islamic fundamentalism movements throughout history. In addition, Azra also called the Wahabi movement pioneered by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab (1703-1792) as the prototype for many Islamic fundamentalist movements. Wahhabi fundamentalism operates in the field of tauhid purification by waging jihad against Muslims who are considered to have deviated from the pure teachings which according to him have practiced many bid’ah, khurofat, superstition etc.<sup>47</sup>

The Wahhabi movement was not limited to the efforts of monotheistic purification, but in practice the Wahhabis also carried out acts of violence by destroying the monuments, shrines and heirlooms of Islamic intellectual traditions and others. therefore Abdul Wahab is considered “has shaken the pendulum of Islamic reformism to the extreme point; radical Islamic fundamentalism”.<sup>48</sup>

Islamic fundamentalism movements that are more recent in their orientation are no longer aiming to return to “true teaching” but rather try to apply teachings that have not been realized so far. Their movement is more of a political movement aimed at gaining power. They assume that only by holding power can Islamic law be fully implemented such as the concepts of Islamic Nizam, Khilafah, Jihad and Hakimiyat Allah.<sup>49</sup>

Hasan Al Bana formulated the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood by emphasizing the ability of Islam as a total and comprehensive ideology. The Muslim Brotherhood program is then based on three basic views. First, Islam is a comprehensive system capable of developing on its own, it is an absolute way of life in all its aspects. Second, Islam emanates from two fundamental sources Al-Qu’an and Hadith. Third, Islam applies to all times and places.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Syed Manzar Abbas Saidi, “The fundamentalis...”, p. 68

<sup>43</sup> Syed Manzar Abbas Saidi, “The fundamentalis...”, p. 61

On page 60 this author also says “*They decry intellectual processes like independent reasoning (ijtihad), which wash a coveted tool for islmic schools of law since antiquity*”

<sup>44</sup> Roger Garaudy, *Islam Fundamentalis dan Fundamentalis Liannya*, Afif Mummad (Penerjemah), (Bandung: Pustaka, 1992), p. 3

<sup>45</sup> Abdel Wahab Meddeb, “The Malady...”, p. 17

<sup>46</sup> Azyumardi Azra, “Pergolakan Politik...”, p. 111

<sup>47</sup> Azyumardi Azra, “Pergolakan Politik...”, p. 112

<sup>48</sup> Azyumardi Azra, “Pergolakan Politik...”, p. 111

<sup>49</sup> Bassam Tibi, “Ancaman Fundamentalisme...”, p. 62 & 102

<sup>50</sup> Azyumardi Azra, “Pergolakan Politik...”, p. 116

## Hakimiyat Allah, Jihad and Democracy

In their belief that God's power is the only political religious truth that can be accepted as the basis for the world order, so the concept of Islamic Nizam (Islamic order) is opposed to the secular order. Islamic law is contrasted with man-made positive law and above all lies the idea of hakimayan Allah (God's power).<sup>51</sup> This concept is what characterizes the ideology of Islamic fundamentalism.<sup>52</sup>

The concept of Nizam Islam puts forward a claim for global Islamic supremacy that is based on da'wah as a universal Islamic mission.<sup>53</sup> Their aim in doing so is to establish an Islamic state or Islamic order. The terms dawla (country) as well as nizam (system or order) are both not found in the Al-Quran. Islamism is a modern political ideology which has a project to make the world conform to the traditions it proposes.<sup>54</sup> Hence political orientation and power become the main features of almost the entire movement known as contemporary Islamic fundamentalism.

Since the beginning, Islamic political ideology has focused on the view that the institutions of the nation state reject the claim of Islam as a universal Islamic order constructed along the lines of Islamic law (sharia). Thus Islamic fundamentalism challenges the pervasive nation-state in the Islamic world and claims to replace God's universal order based on Islamic law (sharia). This order is considered to be the essence of Allah (God's power).<sup>55</sup>

Furthermore, in their beliefs about jihad, Sayyid Qutub saw it as an expression of the revolution in the Islamic world.<sup>56</sup> Violence is the main formula for correct change in ways, which illustrates what is wrong with their world view so that the violent struggle against the state embodies the concept of umma. Militancy is therefore

the modus operandi chosen to overthrow a "corrupt" and "apostate" state. Therefore, jihad is allowed by God to be the last protection to restore the glory of an Islamic state that once existed.<sup>57</sup> In fact, Islamic jihad was never aggression but rather an attempt to spread Islam as the true teaching through the improvement of Islamic civilization.

The long process taken by each fundamentalism movement is of course different in their efforts to achieve their goals, and it is undeniable that they are trapped in violent actions, the September 11 WTC tragedy, the Legian tragedy are concrete examples of this fact. requires a separate explanation. Maybe this is as explained by Manzar Abbas because of the distortion in the message of Islam. For example, relating to the partial use of verses,<sup>58</sup> also in terms of the attitude of those who take hadith selectively in the context of their militant paradigm.<sup>59</sup>

Manzar cites an example of distortion in the chapter of Muhammad verse 4:

فَإِذَا لَقِيتُمْ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا فَضَرْبَ الرِّقَابِ  
حَتَّىٰ إِذَا أَثَخْتُمُوهُمْ فَشُدُّوا الْوَتَاقَ فَمَا مَنَّا  
بَعْدُ وَإِنَّمَا فِدَاءٌ حَتَّىٰ تَضَعَ الْحَرْبُ أَوْزَارَهَا  
ذَٰلِكَ ۗ وَلَوْ يَشَاءُ اللَّهُ لَآتَتْصَرَّ مِنْهُمْ وَلَٰكِن  
لِّيَبْلُوَ بَعْضَكُمْ بِبَعْضٍ ۗ وَالَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي  
سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَلَن يُضِلَّ أَعْمَالَهُمْ ﴿٤﴾

"When you meet the disbelievers (on the battlefield) then behead their necks. until when you have defeated them then take them captive and after that you can free them or accept the ransom until the war is over. Thus, when Allah wills, He will destroy them, but He will try some of you with others. and those

<sup>51</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Ancaman Fundamentalisme....", p. 62

<sup>52</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Ancaman Fundamentalisme....", p. 51

<sup>53</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Ancaman Fundamentalisme....", p. 77

<sup>54</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Why the can't....", p. 45

<sup>55</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Ancaman Fundamentalisme....", p. 69

<sup>56</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Ancaman Fundamentalisme....", p. 100

<sup>57</sup> Syed Manzar Abbas Saidi, "The fundamentalis...", p. 68

<sup>58</sup> Syed Manzar Abbas Saidi, "The fundamentalis...", p. 66-67

<sup>59</sup> Syed Manzar Abbas Saidi, "The fundamentalis...", p. 63

who are martyred in the way of Allah, Allah will not waste their deeds.”

Bin Ladden understood the verse “and if you meet an unbeliever, cut his neck”. According to Manzar, the verse is quoted partially so that it obscures its original epistemological meaning. Because actually what is meant by an infidel in the above verse is an infidel in the context of war and not “all disbelievers”.<sup>60</sup>

But making generalizations that Islamic fundamentalism is always synonymous with terrorism and violence is also a simplistic and unwise conclusion. Historical records prove that violence in fundamentalism can also occur in other religions and civilizations. For example, Serbian Orthodox fundamentalism is the politicization of the Eastern Orthodox who dreamed of the creation of “a Greater Serbia”. The beautiful dream of Serbia has become a nightmare for Bosnian Muslims who are the target of their extermination.<sup>61</sup> Likewise, the Hindu-Muslim conflict in India was basically an attempt by Hindu fundamentalists to manifest India as Hindustan.

Besides that, Islamic fundamentalism is not always synonymous with radicalism. In a certain sense he might be called radical (in his thinking for example), but far from being violent. The Hizbutahrir movement, for example, as a whole, their ideology is almost the same as that of other Islamic fundamentalism movements. In the Indonesian context (HTI), this movement recognizes the importance of the role of the state or the caliphate as a means of implementing Islamic law. Sharia in the view of this group must be supported by state power. Therefore this organization carries the idea of the need to re-establish the Islamic caliphate. In this case da’wah is the only way to achieve success in establishing the caliphate.

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<sup>60</sup> Syed Manzar Abbas Saidi, “The fundamentalis...”, p. 66

<sup>61</sup> Woltigang G. Lerch called the events in Serbia the “Serbian Crusade” that will affect Muslim-Western relations for the next century. He filled the fiery Rhetoric of Islamic Fundamentalism and unwittingly unified and strengthened “Resistance to the West”, read Bassam Tibi, “Ancaman Fundamentalisme...”, p. 144

Da’wah is carried out as a process of awareness so that people want to follow God’s law. Even so HTI does not accept violent means. This nonviolent struggle needs to be underlined because HTI imitated these methods from the steps used by the prophet Muhammad.

In another article, Tibi wrote that every advocate for the idea of an Islamic state or the Islamic world order is clearly a religious fundamentalism, therefore in a broader sense. all political groups linked to this ideology are a threat to the existing stability. At the same time not every fundamentalist is committed to terrorists, there are many individuals and fundamentalist groups who do not subscribe to terror in the name of God.<sup>62</sup>

If understood in accordance with the context, the original epistemological meaning will be found in the verses of the Al-Qur’an or hadith. But on the contrary, if it is understood partially it will lead to a partial understanding as well. Michal’s written religion essentially forms a strong protection against fundamentalism.<sup>63</sup> “Religion as claimed by its adherents is a solution to the crisis”<sup>64</sup> does not cause a crisis.

For every Muslim to believe in Islam as a belief and see all of his teachings as a source of ethics and behavior. But this view is different from the perception of fundamentalism towards Islam. Fundamentalism whatever the form of the line of struggle is not a manifestation of the departure movement but rather a politicization of religion. Distinguishing between Islam as a belief and Islamic fundamentalists as religious fundamentalism is an important means of refuting their claim that fundamentalism is a representation of Islam as a teaching. At the same time it provides an understanding that the phenomenon of fundamentalism is a global phenomenon that can occur in all religions and civilizations.

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<sup>62</sup> Bassam Tibi, “Between Islam....”, p. 65

<sup>63</sup> Michal Gierycz, “Religion a Source....”, p. 1

<sup>64</sup> Bassam Tibi, “Ancaman Fundamentalisme...”, p. 197



Furthermore, regarding the idea of democracy which is rejected by Islamic fundamentalism, Abu Al A'la Al Maududi said that Islam and democracy are very contradictory and in fact cannot be reconciled. Meanwhile, Sayid Qutub accused all humans of being heresy who believe that they can rule themselves (without the intervention of God). according to Qutub, the idea of human power (democracy) is megalomania, because humans are created by God and can only be ruled by God in the realm of Allah's Hakimiyat.<sup>65</sup>

Ibn Taymiyyah rejected human power because it meant "ta'til" or negated God's power.<sup>66</sup> It seems that the two quotes above are the answer to the question "why Islamic fundamentalism rejects democracy?".

For them democracy is an imported solution which can therefore be rejected,<sup>67</sup> they view democracy as kufr.<sup>68</sup> Besides, they see themselves as the "chosen group" as God's avant-garde meaning that fundamentalism believes that it is important for religious integrity, that they distance themselves from those who are considered. has strayed from the true form of Islam. Therefore fundamentalist groups do not respect their religious traditions, tend to form exclusive communities in which only people who follow their faith and lifestyle are accepted.<sup>69</sup> Taking a distance from other people of different beliefs, disrespecting other people's religious beliefs, being exclusive to others is against the principles of democracy.

For Tibi, the confrontation between Islam and the West will continue, the outcome will depend on two factors: first, the ability of Muslims to make a "cultural accommodation" of Islamic religious concepts and their ethical pillars to the changing international environment

and second, their ability to accept equality and mutual respect between fellow Muslims and also non-Muslims.<sup>70</sup> Therefore a genuine pluralist world order is needed, not the sole source of the "new world order". Different civilizations need to agree on common terms for living in peace with one another. in this position Tibi rejects at the same time the persistence of Western hegemony and aspirations for Islamic domination.

Taking a crackdown on fundamentalism in oppressive circumstances is definitely not the solution. It would be better if peace were to be turned on, if the political, economic and social conditions underlying the emergence of fundamentalism were more improved than exacerbated.<sup>71</sup> In another article, Tibi wrote "it is time to teach politicians that post bipolar security is base on a search for peace, not on jihad nor on the military and its capabilities for retaliation".<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Ancaman Fundamentalisme....", p. 50

Megalomania is a lunatic disease that delights itself like a great and noble person

<sup>66</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Ancaman Fundamentalisme....", p. 69

<sup>67</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Ancaman Fundamentalisme....", p. 46

<sup>68</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Ancaman Fundamentalisme....", p. 45

<sup>69</sup> Michal Gierycz, "Religion a Source....", p. 5

<sup>70</sup> Bassam Tibi, *Perang dan Perdamaian dalam Islam*, in book *Etika Politik Islam* Sohail H Hashmi (ed), Abu Bakar Eby Hara (Penerjemah, Jakarta: ICIP, 2005)

<sup>71</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Ancaman Fundamentalisme....", p. 108-109

<sup>72</sup> Bassam Tibi, "Between Islam....", p. 78

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