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### Actions of the Islamic Defense Front that Threaten Indonesian Integration

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#### Abstract

Case studies of disturbing actions by the FPI (Front Pembela Islam/Islamic Defenders Front) threaten the Unity of Indonesia. This study aims to analyze the FPI intolerant actions from the third principle of the Pancasila viewpoint. This study uses a qualitative method with the third principle of Pancasila, which focuses on the background of intolerant actions. The main goal of FPI, a fundamentalist religious organization that uses religion as its ideology, is to restore the glory of Islam in social, economic, political and legal aspects. They carried out various controversial actions that threatened the integrity of the values of the three Pancasila principles, such as sweeping actions, monas incidents and sealing houses of worship in several areas. The

establishment of FPI raised many pros and cons in the community. Some pro-people believed that FPI could resolve religious issues and be more courageous in upholding Islamic law.

Meanwhile, those who oppose FPI believe that a violent and radical mass organization supports terrorism. Intolerant actions such as those carried out by the FPI also exist in various countries, such as the Ku Klux Klan case in the United States, the Rohingya ethnic persecution case in Myanmar, and the Uighur persecution case in Xinjiang, China. After 20 years of existence, FPI was disbanded by the government in 2020 because the actions taken were negative and could damage the Unity of Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Islamic Defenders Front, Radicalism, Violence, Indonesian Integration

#### Introduction

Indonesia is a pluralistic country and upholds the value of Unity and oneness as stipulated in the third principle of Pancasila, "Indonesian Unity". However, there are only a few people who have been able to apply these principles as they should in everyday life. The values they embody give rise to intolerance that divides Unity and integrity. One example is the emergence of organizations that encourage radicalism in society. This extreme fundamentalist organization wants to speak out about the state and Islamic law. The level of violence that is often carried out in the name of religion, jihad, fighting in the way of Allah, and amar ma'ruf nahi munkar are indicators of the formation of this group (Anshor, 2022, p. 230) <sup>[3]</sup>.

After the New Order government collapsed, political freedom and democracy were increasingly opened, making room for politics and allowing for radicalism growth that penetrated Indonesia (Supriadi *et al.*, 2019, p. 54). On the political stage, new parties emerged, which helped enliven the democratic party in Indonesia. Likewise, religious life is coloured by the emergence of various religious groups that carry potent symbols of religious militancy. These groups often show their existence through various radical and anarchic movements, such as raids on places of immorality which are not least accompanied by vandalism and violence in the name of religion and demonstrations demanding the imposition of Islamic law, which of course, can erode Indonesia's Unity considering that Indonesia is a pluralistic country.

As long as radicalism is still in the form of thoughts, it is not a problem. However, radicalism only becomes a problem when it moves from the ideological level to the realm of the movement (Turmudi, 2005, pp. 4-5). The thought stage and the action stage, which is often referred to as the radicalism action stage, can be separated. At the thought stage, radicalism is still in the form of an ideology and concept that is still being debated, which actively advocates using violence to achieve goals. While in the action stage, radicalism can occur in the socio-political and religious fields (Hifni, 2021).

The rise of radical Islamic movements seems inseparable from the face of Indonesian Islam today (Hidayat, 2019, p. 331) <sup>[16]</sup>. Many mass organizations are now free to express their goals and movements due to an increasingly open political environment and weak supervision by the state apparatus. One of the religious organizations that carried out a very controversial movement was the FPI (*Front Pembela Islam/Islamic Defenders Front*). In a political life that seeks justice, freedom and diversity, the Islamic mass organization led by Habib Rizieq Shihab often exhibits religious behaviour that shows radicalism and intolerance

(Anshor, 2022, pp. 231-232)<sup>[3]</sup>.

FPI endangers national Unity both from an ideological and practical perspective. The goal of the FPI movement is usually to carry out violence and radicalism in the Salaf community, namely the generation of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions (Husnul, 2015)<sup>[19]</sup>. They regard Salafi Islam as the purest form of Islam, free from various additions and mixtures (*bid'ah*), which are now considered to have tarnished Islam. Thus, in the socio-religious life of society, this group tends to present the image of an Islamic movement that is hard, rigid and radical.

According to Jahroni (2004: 244)<sup>[21]</sup>, there are at least two reasons why FPI is called a radical Islamic mass organization. The first reason is that the goal is to enforce *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* or defend what is right and prohibit what is wrong. The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) uses this sentence as the rationale for sweeping operations or raids in immoral locations, such as discotheques, casinos (gambling places), and prostitution. The phrase was also used as a decoy for FPI sympathizers to join forces against the evils in Indonesia. FPI is considered a radical movement that emerged as a response to the social conditions of society and the government's failure to improve the quality of life of the people.

Furthermore, according to Zada (2002), FPI is a radical Islamic movement because it fights for Islam as a whole, bases its religious practices on Salafi history, is anti-Western, and opposes the flow of Islamic liberalism among Indonesian Muslims. This radical movement carried out by FPI led to the Unity and integrity of the Indonesian nation, which intersects with the third principle of Pancasila. The Monas incident is an example. According to Mochamad Ainul (2014), FPI often issues statements that lead to acts of inciting hatred against certain racial and religious groups. It shows that FPI does not understand that, in essence, all people are equal before God, which will lead to division in the nation.

Various series of FPI actions have become proof of how this mass organization ignores the principles of Pancasila. One of the FPI's actions that openly illustrates the desecration of the third principle of Pancasila is the Monas incident on 1 June 2008. area in Indonesia. Not only that but FPI was also involved in closing seven houses of worship in Bandung. It is undoubtedly a threat to the Unity and integrity of the nation. Not to mention, the sweeping action that should not have been within the authority of the FPI became one of its most conspicuous actions. Another controversial FPI action that triggered divisions in the nation was asking that Islamic law be included in Article 29 of the Constitution 1945, which was discussed in the MPR in 2002 at the commemoration of FPI's anniversary. The government confirmed that as many as thirty-five FPI administrators and members were involved in acts of terrorism. A terrorist attack will pose a severe danger to the stability and integrity of the country.

Based on the review above, this article will explain more deeply the disturbing actions of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), which threaten the Unity of Indonesia. Are the actions taken by FPI able to break the Unity and integrity of the nation, and is it the right decision to dissolve them? Because there is a relationship between the Unity and Unity of the Indonesian nation, this paper will discuss the three principles of Pancasila. This essay will also discuss the

relationship between FPI and the daily implementation of the three Pancasila principles.

The author of this research uses news articles about FPI as the source material. The author wants to see, know, and get credible evidence (such as previous research with the same focus) on whether the actions committed by FPI are contrary to the third principle of Pancasila. In this study, the authors used secondary data such as news documents, research in the form of journals, and writing as research material. The researcher wanted to find out whether FPI indeed opposed the third principle of Pancasila because of this. This study is significant for future research because it allows anyone interested in the discrepancies between FPI's actions and the third principle to contribute information and pursue further study in a more focused field.

## Methodology

The method is an integral part of all scientific activities. The scientific method is generally a process of gaining scientific understanding or knowledge. Almack explained the scientific method as a strategy for using logical ideas to find, confirm, and explain the truth. From this understanding, research methodology has an essential purpose and serves as a guide for researching to produce the most written output.

Qualitative research methods are used in writing this essay. According to Bogdan and Taylor, a qualitative approach is a research strategy that generates data from written or spoken words of people or observable behaviour. They claim that the qualitative methodology approach focuses on the background and background of the individual as a whole. The fact that this study aims to explain phenomena related to FPI's intolerant behaviour is one factor contributing to using a qualitative research methodology. Qualitative methods can provide complex plans about phenomena that challenge quantitative approaches to a description.

Facts or information analyzed during research operations can be interpreted as data. Depending on the data source, research data can be divided into two categories: primary data and secondary data. Primary data are facts collected directly from research participants. Secondary data is information obtained from third parties. The data collection strategy is a way of collecting data to carry out research activities, according to Arikunto in his book Hardiansyah. Herdiansyah claims that several data collection methods are often used in qualitative research. Some of these methods include interviews, observations, documentation studies, and focus group discussions. However, the interview approach, documentation study, and participant observation were used in this study.

The methods mentioned above are ideal for research to get a complete picture. They are being able to understand the context of data across all domains and circumstances. Researchers will find information through observation techniques that informants will not provide in interviews because it is true. The desire to hide anything would damage the reputation of the institution. Furthermore, the method to collect data and information through interviews is used. Interviews allow researchers to learn what research subjects know and experience. The primary data sources of the research come from participant observation and in-depth interviews, as well as supporting information materials using documentation study techniques.

Data analysis was carried out qualitatively, which refers to data presented as sentences or statements and must be

analyzed to determine its meaning and how it relates to the problem under study. In qualitative research, data analysis is carried out before going into the field, during the field research, and after completion. Nasution claims in his book Sugiyono that the analysis begins with formulating and clarifying the problem before going into the field and continues until the study findings are written.

## Results

The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) was founded in Jakarta, the nation's capital. It is called "Front" because the activities established by FPI are more focused on concrete steps to uphold good and forbid evil. The Al-Umm Islamic Boarding School in Kampung Utan, Ciputat, South Jakarta, is where the Islamic Defenders Front was founded on 17 August 1998 by Muhammad Rizieq Shihab, who chose the word "Defender" intending to be able to help others in his journey. The establishment of FPI occurred three months after Suharto resigned as President of the Republic of Indonesia because President Soeharto did not allow extremist movements during the New Order regime (Nursofya, 2019, p. 34).

The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) has the Islamic Defenders Front (LPI) a paramilitary group of the controversial FPI organization. It is controversial because it often takes firm action against immoral acts or violates Islamic law, especially during Ramadan, and often leads to violence (Syaeudin, 2014, p. 260) <sup>[40]</sup>. The FPI movement has jargon that revolves around the doctrine of upholding the word of God, more specifically, the application of Islamic law and rejection of Western culture (Nursofya, 2019, p. 34).

The basis for the establishment of FPI is based on three things. First, the prolonged suffering experienced by Muslims in Indonesia because civil and military authorities do not have effective social control due to the many human rights violations committed by those in power. Second, the rampant evil and disobedience in all areas of life. Third, uphold and maintain the dignity of Muslims. From this viewpoint, the FPI resulted from the Muslims who were dissatisfied with the socio-political problems after the New Order.

FPI was founded to be a forum for collaboration between scientific scholars throughout Indonesia in upholding Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar in all walks of life (Nor, 2015: 1). According to FPI, there are four categories of good (ma'ruf) and bad (munkar) actions. First, social ills (immorality) include drinking, gambling, prostitution, thuggery, drugs, and pornography. Second, other forms of religious deviation include discrimination against Muslims and other religions, apostasy, doctrinal misguidance, shamanic practices, secularism, pluralism, and indifference to religion. The third is tyranny and injustice, which includes slander and the kidnapping of FPI activists. Fourth, types of non-Islamic systems such as nation-states and socialist or capitalist economies (Jamhari and Jamroni, 2004: 129).

FPI's theory of struggle aims to immunize and vaccinate its members so they can carry out, live and practice their struggle effectively. There are five guiding principles or doctrines of the FPI's struggle: (1) Ignoring motives or sincerity. (2) Starting from yourself. (3) The truth must be upheld. (4) Everyone must die. (5) Mujahid is nobler than his enemy (Huda, 2019: 6). Eliminating social issues, including prostitution, gambling, alcoholism, and drug

trafficking, is another goal of FPI. FPI was established to maintain Islamic law in Indonesia's secular state.

FPI's philosophy or ideology is *ahlussunnah wal jamaah* (Aswaja) by adhering to the *Asy'ari* creed. FPI adheres to the *al-Shafi'i* school in *fiqh*, according to the document "Historical Treatise and FPI's Line of Struggle". The FPI corporate elite emphasized that their understanding of *Aswaja* differed from that of *Nahdlatul Ulama* and *Muhammadiyah*. FPI's *Aswaja* interpretation is similar to the Yogyakarta Salafi group under Ustadz Ja'far Umar Thalib (Rahman, 2017, p. 306) <sup>[34]</sup>.

*Aswaja*, according to FPI, is the only way or path revealed by Allah and His Messenger. Therefore, everyone is prohibited from choosing their path when worshipping or drawing closer to Allah. Anyone who pursues religion without following the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad is disapproved of and has committed *bid'ah* (Hamdan & Abdullah, 1997, p. 59) <sup>[15]</sup>. One must emulate the Prophet Muhammad's companions to avoid deviations and mistakes in worship. This is because the Prophet Muhammad and Allah SWT praised their companions for maintaining the sanctity of their worship. From this point of view, it is clear that FPI encourages people to follow the beliefs of the Prophet's companions, both in terms of *aqidah* and *sharia*, and by modelling their daily behaviour. Therefore, FPI is more symbol-oriented and prefers objects that have symbolic meanings. At first glance, it is clear that these are the characteristics that distinguish FPI from NU. In addition, FPI needs to have the attitude of *tawazun*, *tasamuh*, *tawasuth*, and *ta'adul*, like NU's general attitude. So it is natural for FPI to appear anarchist and violate legal authority in every action. With *tawassuth* and *ta'adul*, FPI should approach all social issues more reasonably. FPI should also look at *tawazun*, *tasamuh*, *tawasuth*, and *ta'adul* in identifying the immoral acts of society so that they can find the best solution without injustice, let alone violating human rights (Rahman, 2017, pp. 308-310) <sup>[34]</sup>.

FPI is one of the radical Islamic movement organizations. Islam was developed as a political system, and Islamic law as state law. FPI aims to stop the movement of Islamic liberalism, which is currently developing among Indonesian Muslims (Syaeudin, 2014, p. 266) <sup>[40]</sup>. As a result, Islamic groups such as FPI can be categorized as Islamic extremists. Since 1998, the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) has been known for its controversial actions, especially those carried out by its army, the LPI. Some of the faces of FPI that are most often seen in the media include a series of controversial actions such as closing nightclubs and locations suspected of being places of immorality, threatening certain citizens to arrest certain nationals, and conflicts with other mass organizations (Huda, 2019, p. 11).

On the anniversary in 2002, FPI demanded that Islamic law be added to article 29 of the Constitution 1945, which states that "The State is based on Belief in the One and Only God" by adding "The obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents", as in point one of the Jakarta Charter 22 June 1945. The amendment to the Constitution 1945, which is still being discussed at the People's Consultative Assembly, carries a banner that reads "Islamic Shari'a or Disintegration of the Nation" (Adiwilaga, 2017, p. 134) <sup>[1]</sup>. Member of the Board of Trustees of the Indonesian Political Science Association (AIPI), J. Soedjati Djiwandono, is worried that the inclusion of the seven words of the Jakarta Charter in the amendments to the Constitution 1945 will undermine the

integrity of the nation and state because Indonesia is a multicultural nation.

The Monas incident led to constant demonstrations and widespread criticism. DPR chairman Agung Laksono considered the violence immoral, while Din Syamsuddin, chairman of PP Muhammadiyah, described the incident as an actual crime. Meanwhile, actions against the FPI took place throughout Indonesia. If the government does not respond, the FPI opposition in large numbers begins to threaten to act alone (Mustari, 2013: 371) <sup>[25]</sup>.

In 2010, seven houses of worship in Rancaekek, Bandung and West Java were sealed by FPI. According to Detiknews, the Islamic Defenders Front is part of the 200 members of various Islamic organizations that swept out the places of worship prior to the sealing. They visited the houses to stop the ongoing worship (sweeping). The congregation was evacuated while heavily guarded by the police and Satpol PP. In fact, according to CNN Indonesia, it was recorded that 35 FPI officials and members participated in acts of terrorism.

The above phenomenon shows how FPI's actions reflect a disregard for the Pancasila principles, especially the third principle. Even though Indonesia is a multicultural nation, they vigorously defend Islamic law. Several acts of violence by the FPI have injured the heroic struggle of the Indonesian people. Of course, this increasingly threatens the integrity of the nation.

After the permit period expired in June 2019, the Ministry of Home Affairs stated that FPI was no longer registered as a mass organization. As is also known, the Ministry of Home Affairs is reluctant to renew the FPI Registration Certificate (SKT) because it is considered that this organization has views that are outside Pancasila. Tito Karnavian, who served as Minister of Home Affairs from 2014 to 2019, emphasized that FPI's interpretation of Islam is Islam, that is, kaffah. This follows the vision and objectives of FPI, which adhere to the Islamic caliphate. One form of implementing Islam by FPI is the enforcement of hisbah, namely by taking the law into their own hands in the field (Arbi, 2020) <sup>[4]</sup>.

Furthermore, Mahfud MD claimed that FPI had been officially disbanded because it no longer met the criteria of being a mass organization, and its permit ended on 21 June 2019 (Anggraeni, 2020) <sup>[2]</sup>. The government is also aware of the negative actions taken by FPI. Even the integrity and Unity of Indonesia are threatened because of this organization.

Six high-ranking FPI officials, including the Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of Law and Human Rights, Communication and Informatics, the Attorney General, and the National Police Chief, signed a Joint Decree (SKB) ordering the disbandment and halt of all activities. According to the SKB, the government should consider six factors when disbanding and ending FPI activities. First, Law Number 16 of 2017 concerning Community Organizations (Ormas) was enacted to uphold the basic principles of the state, including Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. In addition, FPI's articles of association were determined to violate Article 2 of the Ormas Law. Then, FPI's Registration Certificate (SKT) as an Ormas is valid until 20 June 2019. According to Minister of Home Affairs Decree Number 01-00-00/010/D, it has not fulfilled the SKT extension requirements.III.4/VI/ 2014

dated 20 June 2014. Fourth, mass organizations may not violate Article 5 letter g, Article 6 letter f, Article 21 letter b and d, Article 59 paragraph (3) letter a, c, and d, Article 59 paragraph (4) letter c, and Article 82A of the Ormas Law. Fifth, data shows that up to 35 FPI administrators and members, as well as other members of the organization, are involved in criminal acts of terrorism. Sixth, FPI administrators and members often carry out raids or sweeping in their environment. Law enforcement officials have the mandate and authority to carry out these actions (Farisa, 2020) <sup>[13]</sup>.

## Discussion

Many people support FPI because they think FPI can be empowered to help the security of the Republic of Indonesia. According to the community, this is because FPI is the one who dares to carry out movements, especially amid a pandemic. This is in line with what was said by Timur Pradopo, the Former Head of the Indonesian National Police, in his interview which was published on national.tempo.co who said: "I think, as members of the National Police, let alone leaders, (need to establish relationships with) all community leaders who can help to maintain security."

Another thing was proven in an interview on hidayatullah.com, which said that FPI was working with various parties, including the military and police, to check all places considered vulnerable. "We (FPI) once deployed 200 paramilitary members because there were several points that were vulnerable to movements such as Molotov cocktails by irresponsible persons, as well as the extraordinary level of immorality in 2012" (Hidayatullah.com, 2017) <sup>[17]</sup>.

The people who support FPI argue that because Indonesia is a democratic country with the freedom to voice ideas/ideas and suggestions to the government, there should be a neutral and courageous mass group that is trusted to correct and criticize the government appropriately. "When the DPR is barren, there is no strong and aspirational opposition, and then the people have their way of joining the ranks of HRS" (Putri, 2020) <sup>[33]</sup>.

According to people who are pro-FPI, they support it because FPI deals with religious issues and issues, including the government's anti-Muslim bias and the criminalization of religious experts, mainly after rumours circulated that the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which FPI also believes, has resurrected and discriminates against Muslims, this is where the community supports FPI in eradicating this. Rizieq, according to political observer Ujang Komarudin, is a representation of people's resistance who dare to oppose the government. Apart from daring to challenge the government, the public also believes in FPI's ability to fight liberal and misguided ideas. FPI is also firm in opposing the ideas of individuals identified as Muslims but with liberal or wrong views about religion.

On 21 May 2006, FPI sealed the office of the Cirebon Fahmina Institute, which published some heretical ideas about Islam. It did not end there. At the end of April 2007, they attended the inauguration of the management of the Sukoharjo Papernas, which has a communist wing, and also, on 12 September 2007, they went to the house of a gathering place for Wahidiyah sects who spread heretical teachings. The National Alliance for Freedom of Religion and Belief (AKK-BB), which consists mainly of liberal activists,



homosexuals and several other deviant organizations in the Monas area, clashed with FPI masses on 1 June 2008. At that time, the Ahmadiyah SKB was the target of AKK-BB mass protests. AKKBB also carried out provocations before the conflict occurred. FPI raided the Ahmadiyah congregation in Cikeusik, Banten, in February 2011. At the Jakarta Hotel Indonesia roundabout, hundreds of FPI and FUI members staged an anti-Ahmadiyya demonstration. In this movement, FPI and FUI criticized Ahmadiyya as a deviant sect acting in the name of Islam and called for its downfall. FPI closed the Ahmadiyya headquarters in Bengkulu and Makassar.

The community that supports FPI believes that it is necessary to have a group that dares to enforce Islamic law, such as raids on places of immorality, gambling, drinking and other illegal activities. FPI often destroys these locations. The community feels that FPI is needed because the police are considered incapable and firm. The following are concrete actions taken by FPI:

1. FPI often holds protests to voice concerns about pornographic media, gambling, harassment and persecution of Muslims by related institutions. The Miss World 2013 contest was moved to Bali due to the FPI's and other mass groups' strong opposition to the events held in Jakarta and Bogor. Every anniversary, they parade downtown to campaign for adherence to Islamic law and condemn disobedience.
2. The closure of immoral (immoral) places is the FPI's most routine action in Jakarta and other locations in Indonesia. For example, in September 1999, the FPI closed several gambling establishments in the North Petojo area, Gambir District, Central Jakarta, and the Ciputat prostitution shop. FPI attempted to break into the Bumi Wiyata Hotel, Depok, to break up a shemale seminar on 30 April 2010 and stop the Miss Transgender Asusila Contest at the Sarinah Building, Jakarta, on 27 June 2005. On 12 April 2006, FPI visited the Playboy Magazine office, which endangered the morality of young people. The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) visited four screening venues for lesbian, homosexual, bisexual and transgender-themed films towards the end of September 2010.

The community considers that FPI does not conflict with Pancasila because they also help with humanitarian processes, such as when a disaster occurs, which is included in the second principle practice. They also provide social assistance, which is the fifth principle practice. The following are concrete actions taken by FPI:

1. FPI also assisted earthquake victims in Ambon in 2019. A group of volunteers from the Indonesian Red Crescent area of the Islamic Defenders Front (HILMI-FPI) in Central Sulawesi built a water pipeline to supply water to 3,000 houses and 17,000 people in evacuation sites. (CNN Indonesia, 2020).
2. Then, during the Covid outbreak, FPI Poso tried to spray disinfectant into residents' homes (Darmawan, 2020) <sup>[10]</sup>.
3. To protect the poor, the DPP-FPI issued a fatwa in January 2002, which criticized the government in this case. However, corruption is still rife. The government still collects taxes from all levels of society, including the poor, increases the cost of gasoline (BBM), the introductory rate of electricity (TDL), and telephone credit, and cuts funds for other community services (Al-

Jabbar, 2013) <sup>[5]</sup>.

4. During the tsunami that occurred in Aceh on 26 December 2004, FPI immediately dispatched volunteers as part of the Care Action for cases and national disasters (KumparanNEWS, 2020). FPI's reputation in Aceh is getting more potent as volunteers who are the most patient and willing to be sent to the worst-affected places, including guarding the holy places of Muslims in Aceh, namely the Baiturrahman Great Mosque in Aceh. Along with the Aceh earthquake, FPI also participated in the earthquakes that hit Yogyakarta in 2006, Tasikmalaya and Padang in 2009, and the Situ Gintung embankment in South Tangerang in 2009. In addition, in December 2011, FPI accompanied the victim Mesuji to Jakarta to ask for compensation from a policy adviser. He went to Central Kalimantan in February 2012 at the request of residents, namely the local Dayak tribe, who wanted FPI's assistance to overcome some of the injustices that occurred there. However, provocations by Teras Narang prevented FPI from attending. In Jakarta, the nation's capital city, which is frequently hit by floods due to natural disasters, FPI has also built flood posts in its city. In addition, FPI managed to stop the riots triggered by the Mbah Priok agricultural issue in April 2010.
5. FPI urges LDF management and members to accompany or provide compensation to mustahik in their environment so that they feel happy during the holidays, especially during the holidays (Utama, 2018) <sup>[43]</sup>.

The reason for the contra to FPI is mainly its acts of violence which, if allowed to continue, will damage the perception of Muslims (S, Rahmadi, 2016). Many people reject FPI because it is seen as a violent and radical mass organization that supports terrorism as a way for them to achieve their goals. This is evidenced by the FPI management, members, and those who had joined the FPI all participating in acts of terrorism, with data that as many as 35 FPI members were involved in these crimes. Of these, 29 have been found guilty. In addition, 206 people were charged with additional public offences, and 100 were found guilty (CNN Indonesia, 2020).

Another reason many people oppose FPI is that they also support Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, also known as HTI, which is a banned organization at the world/international level, and Indonesia is no exception. The reason is that HTI is considered disloyal to the government because it rejects Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, which shows a lack of sense of nationalism in the hearts of its members. Movements of radical mass organizations are also often driven by political economy, not just religion, ethnicity or ideology, because they are a component of efforts to support certain political elites or gain recognition. Based on the results of an intolerance and radicalism survey conducted by LIPI with 1,800 respondents in 9 provinces, more than 50% of respondents were against radical mass groups for interrelated reasons because they were considered to disturb order and security (Novita, 2019) <sup>[28]</sup>.

FPI is seen as a divisive mass organization because it commits acts against the law, disrupts security, and violates the law, such as acts of violence and sweeping that have been carried out, for example, what happened during the month of Ramadan at a restaurant that is open during the day, which cannot be done arbitrarily. Considering that

other people do not fast because they are non-Muslims or those who are menstruating (DetikNews, 2011) <sup>[11]</sup>.

Another reason is that the FPI often conducts unilateral raids where it is convenient to hold demonstrations ahead of religious holidays for people with other beliefs. This act is disrespectful, and he wants to remove all Santa Claus statues, red hats, and green tree ornaments decorated with green and red ribbons. This behaviour shows their indifference to pluralism and ignores cultural diversity in Indonesia (Prasetya, 2021) <sup>[31]</sup>. It did not stop there. FPI carried out provocative actions such as using WA and Telegram to spread hoax news, thus creating a narrative that exalted FPI and belittled the government because this mass group dared to defend the people. FPI members use social media to carry out provocations to win people's hearts (attract public sympathy). They use Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, where most Indonesians are connected, to promote provocative and hoax content. Therefore, other parties support their actions and then criticize the government.

As a result of various past incidents, FPI was deemed not to uphold the value of tolerance between religious communities. The result of this was done by them with several acts of discrimination. The following is a track record regarding the atrocities and discrimination that FPI has committed:

1. Ahmadiyah: FPI's discriminatory practices a few years ago seem to have left a deep impression on the minds of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation. The presence of Ahmadiyah in Indonesia is rejected and opposed, as well as the congregation's way of life. Ustad Sobri Lubis (FPI leader) has repeatedly advocated executing Ahmadiyah members because they were considered followers of a heretical sect in a video which later went viral. According to a casual conversation with a member of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation (JAI), whose name was deliberately hidden to protect his privacy, his village was safe, peaceful and quiet before the arrival of the FPI. However, the atmosphere turned rowdy around the village when the FPI arrived. In addition, the Ahmadiyya Community makes up the majority of the village where we live, which we call Mawar. So, when the attack on the Ahmadiyya village occurred, said Mawar, her village was one of the victims. According to Mawar, people's houses and schools connected to Ahmadiyya were stoned, and the mosque was blocked. One of the victims who has experienced the heaviest discrimination-which is still ongoing today-is Ahmadiyah (Febriani, 2020) <sup>[14]</sup>.
2. Christianity and Catholicism have almost the same: the rejection of religious practices and the construction of places of worship. One of them was against the establishment of the Santa Clara Church in Bekasi five years ago (2017). One of the mass organizations most adamant in demanding the rejection of the Catholic Church in North Bekasi is FPI (Renaldi, 2017) <sup>[36]</sup>. Some mass groups affiliated with the Bekasi Islamic Community Consultative Council (MSUIB) stated that the construction of the Church was not according to their request (illegal). This differs from the mandate of Rahmat Effendi, Mayor of Bekasi, who emphasized that the Santa Clara Church was established under the law. His party also underlined that Bekasi is a pluralistic and tolerant city, so there is no need to worry about building

houses of worship there. Apart from that, the local government only carefully issues permits for houses of worship from various sources. As is known, FPI also participated in protests against the establishment of the Church by joining the masses. In the "2008 Monas Incident", when the organization tried to prevent the Filadelfia Batak Protestant Huria Christian Church (HKBP) from attending services, FPI was also involved in the fighting. In a previous interview with CNN, Pastor Palti Panjaitan admitted that congregants often see rotten eggs and excrement on their way to Church. FPI groups protested with loudspeakers even during services to disturb the masses while praying (Pratiwi, 2017) <sup>[32]</sup>.

3. The third principle of Pancasila, Indonesian Unity, demands that all Indonesian people maintain Unity and oneness amidst existing diversity, such as religion, ethnicity, language, and culture, in which case the author, as part of Indonesian society, feels that FPI is an organization which is contrary to these values. FPI has taken some actions that endanger the integrity and Unity of the nation. In addition, FPI repeatedly violates the law, which seriously disturbs the peace and harms others. One was when FPI violated health standards and even seemed to challenge the government and its legal limits during this covid outbreak. This happened repeatedly, and its members exacerbated it to the public's discomfort. Violations of this health protocol cause harm to other people and can endanger the lives of others (kumparanNEWS, 2020).

Intolerance is a social disease that is not only faced by the Indonesian nation. Intolerant behaviour similar to FPI also occurs in different ways in other parts of the world. Quoted from Detiknews, "Groups that are anti-plural and tend to regard different groups as enemies are more flexible because the acts of violence and intolerance that they commit often go untouched by the law." (Nurrochman, 2020) <sup>[30]</sup>. The previous quote is a reality that is not limited to the Indonesian nation. For example, in America, a white supremacist organization is very intolerant and carries out various extreme actions against the black race and other minorities. Another example is the militant and terrorist organizations based in Nigeria and Cameroon.

The following is a discussion of foreign organizations that commit acts of intolerance. One of them is the Ku Klux Klan. They have the belief that the white race is the superior race. Apart from that, they also believe that other races are inferior and deserve to be eradicated. These two beliefs took many intolerant and extreme actions to uphold these beliefs (Irwandi, 2020) <sup>[20]</sup>. This first organization attempted to overthrow state governments in the southern United States by intimidating voters and committing violence against African-American leaders. However, this first organization was terminated by the United States government by exerting various pressures on its branches.

Acts of violence also occurred in the oppression of ethnic Rohingya in Myanmar. The Rohingya people asked for the promised autonomous zone after Myanmar gained independence, but the government refused. With the excuse that they were foreigners, the government refused to grant them citizenship. This hostility continued to spread and was strengthened by the issue that British colonialism benefited the Rohingya (Abdelkader, 2017). The nationalist movement and the popularity of Buddhism fostered growing

animosity. Threatened by Buddhism and nationalism, some Rohingya groups rebelled against the policies of the Myanmar government in 1950. They asked about citizenship. They also demanded the land that had previously been promised to them. More than ten years later, in 1962, a military coup turned Myanmar into a one-party military state that did not practice democratic government. The position of the Rohingya has worsened during 60 years of military rule. The authorities see this minority group as a danger to national identity.

More than ten years later, in 1962, a military coup turned Myanmar into a one-party military state that did not practice democratic government. According to theconversation.com, during 60 years of military rule, the position of the Rohingya has only worsened. The authorities see this minority group as a danger to national identity (Abdelkader, 2017). The Rohingya community has also suffered physical attacks, detention, and forced labour. More than 250,000 people attempted to migrate to Bangladesh in 1991 and 1992.

The Rohingya were considered non-citizens until the army initiated a national citizenship registration drive in 1977. Due to ongoing atrocities at the time, more than 200,000 people fled to Bangladesh. Their escape is used as proof of their illegal status by the authorities. The Rohingya were officially denied citizenship rights under the 1982 Myanmar Citizenship Act. According to the law, a person had to belong to a racial group present in Myanmar before British colonization to be eligible for citizenship.

The Rohingya still have no identity documents accepted by the British colonialists. Human Rights Watch points out that their presence in Myanmar dates back to the 12th century. According to theconversation.com, "Rohingya are the largest community in the world without a state" (Hossain, 2017). Because of their status, they are less protected by law and more vulnerable. Stateless, they are deprived of fundamental rights, including employment, access to health care, and education. For example, the Rohingya population has a very high illiteracy rate of 80%. In addition, their religious freedom was trampled on. Because of their religious and ethnic identity, they also face limitations in their ability to marry, move freely, and own land and property.

## Conclusion

The Islamic Defenders Front has become a controversial religious mass organization because it is considered too often to exhibit religious behaviour that shows radicalism and intolerance. The mass action demanding that Islamic law be added to article 29 of the Constitution 1945 to the amendments to the 1945 Constitution, the Monas Incident, the sealing of seven houses of worship in Bandung, and even 35 FPI administrators and members being involved in acts of terrorism is proof that FPI has reflected neglect against the Pancasila principles. Even though Indonesia is a multicultural nation, the FPI has shown a vigorous defence of Islamic law, not least of which has committed violence. However, radicalism and intolerance do not only occur in Indonesia. Radical and intolerant actions similar to FPI have occurred differently in many other parts of the world. For example, a white supremacist organization in America is very intolerant and carries out various extreme actions against the black race and other minorities.

Another example is the militant and terrorist organizations based in Nigeria, Cameroon and Niger. Their growth to radicalism and intolerance have penetrated the souls of all religious communities worldwide. Radicalism and intolerance are real threats that can divide a nation.

The mass organization served as a basis for the community in achieving national goals and policies within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which is based on Pancasila and is subject to applicable laws and regulations, but this is the opposite in the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) organization. It is because FPI, founded from the beginning, used various acts of violence to achieve goals and was intolerant of other religions, which could threaten the Unity and integrity of the Indonesian nation as a plural country. This was supported by Soekarno's statement in his introductory speech, which said that the existence of Pancasila was an effort to fight against the idea of establishing a religious state and as a bridge when there were differences of opinion between nationalists and religions. For this reason, the government took the initiative to disband FPI to uphold Pancasila values and national integrity. According to our group, the dissolution of FPI by the government was the right decision because the dissolution of FPI made it possible to minimize acts of provocation and intolerance that sparked a split in Indonesian Unity, which is a form of realizing the third principle of Pancasila in everyday life.

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