

# Nationality Policing Model for the Revival of Indonesian Hizbut Tahrir Transnationalism in the Legal Territory of the Bogor Police

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## Abstract

*The purpose of this study was to determine the National Police model for the revival of Indonesian Hizbut Tahrir (HTI) transnationalism as an asymmetric security threat in the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police, which is the task of the National Police in maintaining the existence of Pancasila as the Indonesian national ideology. The phenomena had implications for the stability of domestic security as a prerequisite for achieving the ideals of national development within the framework of a democratic rule of law. National policing is expected to be an effort by the police at the management and operational levels to achieve social order, which is achieved either with or without coercive efforts, through synergy with stakeholders and active community involvement. The next purpose was to achieve the goal of strengthening nationality based on love for the homeland and nation and overcoming security threats based on national ideology that can threaten the existence of the Pancasila as Indonesian people's national ideology.*

## Keywords

National policing model;  
Indonesian hizbut tahrir;  
asymmetric security threats



## I. Introduction

The balance between the role of the state and civil society requires superior public policies from the government as in concrete balancing the turbulence of democratic life. A necessity in the democratic process, strict demands for the fulfillment of human rights which are intertwined with the right to practice religious teachings, want to remain legitimized, even though it distorts and reduces human obligations as citizens who must obey the constitution and respect the diversity of the nation, so that the boundaries of the two human rights become biased and are formed as gray circumstances. A balanced role between the state and civil society which is concreted through superior public policies in a democratic legal state leads to the realization of good governance (principles of good governance) because the outputs of superior public policies are forms of good public service and balance the interests of the state and society.

Development is a systematic and continuous effort made to realize something that is aspired. Development is a change towards improvement. Changes towards improvement require the mobilization of all human resources and reason to realize what is aspired. In addition, development is also very dependent on the availability of natural resource wealth. The availability of natural resources is one of the keys to economic growth in an area. (Shah, M. et al. 2020)

One of the government executives who are responsible for maintaining the balance of democratic life in relation to domestic security is the police. The police, according to Suparlan (2008) is a government department that was established to maintain order and order in society, enforce the law, detect crime and prevent crime. Meanwhile, the function

of the police, according to Article 2 of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 2 of 2002 concerning the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia, is one of the functions of the state government in the field of maintaining security and public order, law enforcement, protection, protection and service to the community.

Policing, is the actualization of strategic police policies that are the core in the discussion of Police Science. Policing can be understood as all efforts or efforts of the police to realize and maintain social order, overcome social problems, important issues, law enforcement and justice, investigate and investigate criminal acts and various prevention efforts, at the management and operational levels, with or without coercion (STIK-PTIK, 2015).

Pancasila as the political commitment of the founders of the Indonesian nation, in the past, today and in the future will always be attached as a state ideology in the continuum of implementing the state government system adopted by the Indonesian people, namely democracy with the form of a unitary republic. Because Pancasila cannot be separated from the nature of the birth of the Indonesian state it which was imbued with the spirit of unity and integrity in fighting for independence based on the spirit of the Youth Pledge and Unity in Diversity with the principle of unity in diversity. Eliminating Pancasila means eliminating the existence of the Indonesian state itself.

There are three principles of National Policing. First, Nationality is a dynamic social bond, Nationality that is bound on behalf of the state is a Nationality that surrenders its autonomy to state authorities, as the *raison d'être* of the state to realize the ideals of its nation in achieving justice and prosperity through the realization of good governance. Second, nationality in the context of the nation-state is a reflection of the relationship between the state and civil society, the quality of nationality is determined by the reciprocal relationship between the state and civil society, the extent to which the state is able to reconcile its interests with the interests of civil society so that it is necessary to build a strong social consensus base. Third, National Anarchism which negates pluralism and nationalism must be returned to the operational duality of the National ideology which is "open to reconciliation, closed to contestation".

The policy of the President of the Republic of Indonesia regarding the "presence of the state" and "strengthening the state" has been followed up by the National Police within the scope of police duties as stated in the 11 priority actions of the National Police Chief General H. M. Tito Karnavian with the slogan "Professional, Modern and Trusted". One of the priority actions of the National Police Chief includes the implementation of the National Police Quick Wins, where the first item of the 8 items of the National Police Quick Wins is controlling and enforcing the law on radical and anti-Pancasila organizations whose activities are carried out through the formation of a monitoring and supervisory team for radical and anti-Pancasila organizations with the person in charge. The Kabaharkam of the National Police, which is supported by the Criminal Investigation Unit, Baintelkam, Densus 88/Anti-Terrorism Units to Regional Units. However, the initial indications that the author observes at the implementation level, especially in the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police, have not been effective and efficient in relation to the existence of Indonesian Hizbut Tahrir (HTI). The existence of organizations such as HTI which is essentially anti-Pancasila and implicitly wants to replace the Pancasila ideology is growing rapidly in the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police.

Based on the background description that the author has previously stated, the problem in this research is that the National Police Model in the Bogor Police's jurisdiction has not been fully applied to the revival of HTI transnationalism as an Asymmetric Security Threat in the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police. The focus of the problem in this

study is the National Policing model against the revival of HTI transnationalism in the Bogor Police jurisdiction as an Asymmetric Security Threat. This research will answer: 1) What is the configuration of the HTI movement related to the Asymmetric Security Threat in the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police?; 2) Why did HTI's transnationalism ideology spread widely in the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police?; 3) How is the National Police model developed by the Bogor Police on the revival of HTI transnationalism as an Asymmetric Security Threat?

## **II. Research Method**

### **2.1 Research Approach**

This dissertation research uses qualitative research methods, adapted to the nature of the problem to be studied, where the author wants to explore inductively the National Police Policing Model conducted by the Bogor Police regarding the revival of HTI transnationalism in the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police through literature studies and field research.

### **2.2 Research Paradigm**

The paradigm in this research is the Critical Paradigm. The relevance of the Critical Paradigm in this study is related to the objectives of this study to: 1) dismantle foreign (British) hegemony which has a link in sponsoring the HTI movement in Indonesia; 2) provide understanding for the Indonesian people, especially those who are Muslim as the majority of people in Indonesia to have vigilance and an introspective attitude by opening up perspectives on nationality and real security threats, while the understanding of Indonesian people's nationality based on Pancasila is distorted by the emergence of ideological contestations on the surface; 3) showing several operational paradigms of the Indonesian National Police that are not appropriate in viewing the revival of HTI transnationalism, which on a larger scale has the potential to create threats of terrorism and ideological crimes.

### **2.3 Data Collecting Technique**

The data source will be determined by purposive and snowball techniques. Purposive techniques to obtain data on the configuration of HTI movements and the causes of HTI movements are increasingly widespread in the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police, starting with the Head of Bogor City HTI and the senior members who have been with HTI the longest, which can then snowball until the HTI members have recently joined. Potential sources of data were also extracted from former members of HTI and Indonesian Police Intelligence who infiltrated HTI as well as intelligence parties outside the Indonesian Police institution who could provide information. Meanwhile, from the external environment of HTI, Bogor City government officials, both executive and legislative, who also have a big role in responding to the HTI movement within the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police, such as the Mayor, Deputy Mayor of Bogor, Secretary of Regional Secretary, Head of Police Headquarters of the City Government of Bogor City, Chair of the Bogor City DPRD and Also MUI figures and figures / leaders of mass organizations outside HTI. The data source that has the most potential to provide the most accurate and complete data can be explored further as a key informant. In the context of HTI, the snowball technique can also develop vertically upwards at the higher level of HTI patrons at the national level. Meanwhile, in the context of policy makers at the government level in responding to the development of HTI in Bogor City, it can also develop at the level of the

Ministry (Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of Law and Human Rights). Data collection techniques will be used four kinds of data collection techniques, namely observation, interviews, documentation, and combination / triangulation (Sugiyono, 2012)

## **2.4 Analysis Data Technique**

The data analysis technique in this study used CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) / AWK (Critical Discourse Analysis) which was adapted from the Norman Fairclough method. The reason the author chose to use CDA from Norman Fairclough's model compared to other CDA models is that Norman Fairclough's AWK model has a rigid level of analysis at the micro, meso and macro levels. Compared to AWK Roger Fowler, Robert Hedge, Gunther Kress, Tony Trew, Theo Van Leuween and Sara Mils who only use two levels of analysis, namely Micro and Macro where there is a big gap between very micro and narrow texts with wide and large audiences. AWK Fairclough's model which has three levels of analysis is only matched by AWK Teun Van Dijk, the difference is that Van Dijk pays more attention to the structure and mental awareness of news makers, Fairclough is more interested in structural factors and work practices of the media, which includes economic and political interests (Eriyanto, 2001). In addition, Fairclough's CDA is not purely post-structuralist but is at an intermediate point in the continuum line of the dialectical relationship between discourse that is constitutive and discourse is powerful. In addition, Fairclough's analytical framework is open to merging with other AWK elements in a dual perspective that is interdisciplinary in nature which is needed to obtain details of the phenomena being analyzed, and it is not necessary to translate social theories at the macro level of analysis into the language of discourse analysis (Jorgensen, 2007).

## **III. Result and Discussion**

### **3.1 Development of Ideology, Socio-political, Economic, Socio-Cultural and Security of the City of Bogor**

The Basic Intelligence of the Bogor Police (2016) describes the latest condition in the field of ideology, namely that with freedom and several kinds of changes to the law, including the 1945 Constitution, there will be several changes, so Pancasila as the basis of the state and the way of life of the nation is starting to be undermined by other ideologies. such as Communism in the new style, while groups from Islamic organizations raised the agenda of implementing Islamic Sharia and even wanted to enforce Islamic law in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia such as from the HTI group.

The Bogor Kpta Government, in accordance with PP No. 41 of 2007 concerning Regional Government Organizations, has had Bogor City Regional Regulation No. 13 of 2008, concerning Bogor City Regional Apparatus Organizations. Based on the regional regulation, the current regional government organization consists of 2 secretariats, 1 inspectorate, 11 services, 4 agencies, 4 offices, 1 unit, 6 sub-districts and 68 sub-districts.

The number of local political activities or national and international scales in the city of Bogor, one of which is carried out at the Bogor Palace, is because the location of the city of Bogor is very close to the capital city of Jakarta, where state / government officials often carry out political activities / agendas choosing locations in the city of Bogor. President of the Republic of Indonesia Ir. H. Joko Widodo and his family who have made the Bogor Palace their residence since being appointed as President-elect in the 2014 Presidential Election, so that the Bogor palace is often the location of state activities both on a national and international scale.

In the 2017 Economic census data, from 2010 to 2014 the rate of economic growth continued to climb. This positive trend also has an impact in almost all sectors. of 17 sectors in the Gross Regional Domestic Product (GDP) of Bogor City on the basis of prevailing prices according to business fields in 2010 – 2014 which reached Rp.17,775,588.6. Then the GRDP rose in 2011 to Rp. 20,766.181.8. The city of Bogor is experiencing growth which has succeeded in attracting investors to invest in the city of Bogor with the absorption of a large number of workers. According to data from the Central Bureau of Statistics of the City of Bogor, there are no less than 45 hotels, inns, guesthouses and guest houses in the city of Bogor. This is not to mention the types of derivative businesses, such as restaurants, cafes to tourist destination locations which certainly attract many people to come.

From a cultural perspective, the most prominent polemic in Bogor City regarding religious harmony in Bogor City is the Yasmin GKI Development plan which was opposed by residents around the building site and Islamic organizations. Residents/organizations assessed that the process of applying for an IMB by GKI was legally flawed because it had falsified the signatures of members of the community so that the Mayor of Bogor revoked the IMB of GKI by Decree Number: 645.45-137 dated March 11, 2011 regarding the revocation of Decree of the Mayor of Bogor Number: 645.8-372 of 2006 concerning Permit to construct a building in the name of GKI Bogor Court.

In addition to religious polemics, in the socio-cultural field there are also other polemics related to the Revitalization of Baranangsiang Terminal. Some community groups led by KPTB (Community of Baranangsiang Terminal Management) led by Br. Tedi Irawan still refuses to build other facilities besides the terminal, while the Bogor City Government has collaborated with the private sector to repair the Baranangsiang terminal equipped with Mall and Hotel facilities with the Hak Guna Build (HGB) system for the next 30 years.

The large number of TNI/Polri Units in the Bogor City area and around the Bogor City area, viewed from a positive point of view is very profitable and strategic, but the existence of certain troop units creates negative potential that can be carried out by elements of the apparatus. such as the potential for physical clashes between TNI and Polri, TNI/Polri and the community based on excessive sectoral arrogance (Hutabarat et.al, 2022).

Demonstrations in the Bogor city area were predominantly carried out by student groups such as the Papuan Student Alliance (AMP), BEM, KAMMI, HMI, PMII, GMKI, GMNI and mass organizations such as the Indigenous Front and religious organizations such as FPI, KMB. , PUI, FUI and Forkami. Most of the rallies were carried out in strategic places such as the Bogor Palace, Tugu Kujang, DPRD Building, City Hall, the Prosecutor's Office as well as certain locations that were targeted or related to the issues raised. Every time there is a problem, government policies at the central level directly enter the Bogor city area, and the impact of this causes reactions in the form of demonstrations by raising national issues, demonstration activities carried out mostly not in accordance with the applicable rules, namely in Law no. 9 of 1998, where every time they were about to stage a demonstration they were late and did not even report it to the local Police and even though it was only done verbally and the day before the action.

### 3.2 Configuration of the HTI Movement as an Asymmetrical Security Threat in Bogor City

Revival is a movement to restore the rise of the Caliphate as a way to liberate Palestine and achieve the glory of Islam again. The dissemination of HTI to Indonesia occurred during the era of Abdul Qadeem Zallum, the leader of the 2nd Hizb after replacing Taqiudeen Al Nabhani. Where has it spread and its orientation to establish a Caliphate is no longer only focused on the Arabian peninsula and non-Arab priority countries such as Turkey and Pakistan. HTI began to spread its ideology globally, both in Europe, Africa, Australia to Southeast Asian countries including Indonesia, the management of which was handed over to each Regional Amir.

The ideology of HTI into Indonesia was brought by Abdul Rahman Baghdadi. Where based on Immigration documents obtained by the author on March 20 2018, Abdul Rahman Baghdadi is an Australian citizen who was born in Tripoli, Lebanon on May 21, 1953. The last name “Baghdadi” as explained by Baghdadi to the author (2017) is a surname family, does not indicate regional origin as is the custom of writing the last names of scholars who often include their country of origin or city of origin.

In Abdul Rahman Baghdadi’s explanation to the author, it shows that Abdul Rahman Baghdadi uses a sentence that does not directly answer his understanding of Pancasila, namely with the sentence “I only convey that ruling other than Allah’s law is polytheism”, even though it is clear that the question is related to Pancasila. So indirectly, if Pancasila is used as the basis for making laws, it is considered mushrik. Pancasila which does not conflict with Islam only mentions “Godhead” and “Justice”, does not mention the 3rd, 4th, and 5th precepts, which according to the author is because the 3rd and 5th precepts contain the words “Indonesian Unity” and “For All The people of Indonesia” which of course represents the understanding of “Nationalism” of the Indonesian Nation which is opposed in the HTI Ideology. Likewise, the 4th precept is often identified with “Democracy” which is also opposed in the Hizbut Tahrir ideology.

Based on this information, the role of Abdul Rahman Baghdadi at the beginning of the entry of HTI ideology in the city of Bogor did not only act as a disseminator of HTI teachings as ordinary Islamic preachers who simply convey messages of Islamic teachings to the public freely. However, in the process of spreading HTI ideology, it has also been followed by taking qasam (oath of allegiance) for HTI teaching recipients who officially become syabab (members) which become the benchmark for the formation of the initial HTI organization in Indonesia, even though it is still underground (guerrillas under the ground) with the system a cell where every 10-20 HTI members are controlled by a Musyrif, where at that time the cells did not know each other, even the Amir for the territory of Indonesia was also hidden at that time. In addition, Abdul Rahman Baghdadi already has a tactical and technical concept on how to realize the Khilafah is by boycotting.

After the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998, HTI, which had previously carried out its organizational movements underground and secretly, became an open movement in the public sphere. When HTI appeared to the public, the role of Amir Wilaya Indonesia was Gatot Saptono who was given a laqab (aka alias) by Abdul Rahman Baghdadi under the name Muhammad Al Khaththath. Abdul Rahman Baghdadi (2018) explained that there were two candidates proposed by him to the Central Amir of HTI to become the Amir of Wilaya Indonesia, namely Achmad Saifullah alias Abu Fuad and Gatot Saptono alias Muhammad Al Khaththath. The choice to become Abdul Rahman Baghdadi’s successor was Abu Fuad then replaced by Al Khaththath. The figure of Abu Fuad among HTI members is a figure who was hidden as the Amir of Wilaya Indonesia at that time and has never been published in HTI itself, so that HTI members themselves recognize the Amir more since

the time of Al Khaththath because it coincided with the opening of HTI to appear in the public. Abdul Rahman explained that Al Khaththath had the character of wanting to be a character and wanting to be popular. In addition, Al Khaththath also has a strong and imperative character.

The pattern of recruitment of HTI syabab (members) was explained by the former HTI Musyrif of Bogor City with the initials HB to the author (2019) that recruitment begins with making Islamic studies either on campuses or in taklim assemblies. HB himself initially before being sworn in to become a syabab or HTI member attended HTI studies on his campus at Pakuan University, Bogor City when he was a new student, where he attended studies held at that time in 1996 where HTI was still operating underground. The study presented general Islamic studies in the initial session and then continued to focus on the discussion of the government system.

### **3.3 National Police Working Hypothesis Model**

This National Police Working Hypothesis Model is used as an operational basis regarding how the National Police implements National Policing which elaborates on several theories and thoughts that have been described previously in this sub-chapter. Where the paradigmatic theories and thoughts get their elaboration process through the Theoretization of National Policing, the principles of National Policing and its operational procedures.

In the framework of the operationalization of National Police, the author departs from the development of the Iceberg Theory proposed by Dahniel, from what was originally escalative to an escalative-cyclical procedure, as a comprehensive police action to intervene in deviant behavior from pre-emptive, preventive, repressive to rehabilitative and back to the preemptive as a continuous cycle.

The author can describe the cycle as follows: First, Fundamental Level – Potential Disturbances – Early Detection and Preemptive Strategy. 1) In preemptive action, the author develops it by prioritizing reflective and contemplative actions from the ranks of the National Police as agents of nationality to prioritize its function as a catalyst for the realization of justice and welfare in the living conditions of civil society. What certainly gets its implementation is reciprocal, namely fixing the behavior and implementation of Polri's duties which are counterproductive to the realization of justice and community welfare while at the same time initiating stakeholders to jointly realize justice and community welfare as fundamental to achieving community unity and integrity in the context of the Indonesian nation, 2) Conducting national education for the internal police and the community both at an early and adult age, by placing the Pancasila Ideology as a Superiority Discourse as a discourse based on state authority that is used to sublimate particular discourse conflicts based on civil society power, 3) Consolidating the strength of civil society that has a national platform that refers to the ideology of Pancasila, 4) Early detection can be done by conducting "Ideological Forensics" in which the Polri ranks must be active in following the perk the development of new ideologies in society that have the potential to affect the security and social order and conduct genealogical searches as reference material for the ranks of the Indonesian National Police in the field, 5) Sublimation of Ideology by creating deliberation arenas for intersubjective communication so that an understanding of pluralism can be realized. 6) Conducting Disclosure regarding the praxis of Utopian notions that are contrary to Pancasila which has occurred in other countries by utilizing public space as a form of information and awareness to the public.

Second, the Instrumental Level - Disturbance Threshold - Preventive Strategy, can be done with the core strengthening of the Pancasila ideology, by: 1) Developing regulatory,

guarding and patrolling procedures at the level of “traffic” discourse / discourse in the community in order to get the right channels , 2) Blocking if an ideological discourse is not used in its proper place to incite, slander and raise hate speech related to national ideology. In this action, Polri ranks can directly use manual methods or through media or information technology facilities.

Third, Practical Level – Real Disturbance – Repressive/Investigative Strategy, can be done by: 1) Firmly and indiscriminately enforce the law against criminal acts that can directly or indirectly disrupt the credibility of the state and have an impact on the disintegration of the nation, 2) Actively cooperate with other agencies that have administrative authority through investigative police synergies so that threats to the unity and integrity of the Indonesian nation can be resolved.

Fourth, Pre-Fundamental Level – Post Real Disturbance – Rehabilitation Strategy. 1) Assuming that the convict serving a sentence in the Correctional Institution has received the first stage of rehabilitation followed by the second stage of rehabilitation when his status becomes a recidivist and must return to life in the midst of society, where the recidivist must start his life concept from scratch again which is the task of the police. to carry out the second stage of rehabilitation to map the extent to which the success of the first stage of rehabilitation has been received in the Correctional Institution. If deviant or asocial behavior still exists, then this second stage of rehabilitation can be carried out by members of the National Police by helping carry out flashbacks, self-evaluations, and in the context of national policing, reinterpreting the understandings of national ideology which so far have not been fully understood. ordinary people are involved in crime not purely as intellectual actors but as ideology’s victims or victims of ideologicalization, 2) After reinterpretation is carried out, recidivists can be assisted in fusion in the midst of society to get their social bonds back (social bond) in order to avoid alienation from the general public in the community. surroundings that can cause the person concerned to choose to rejoin fundamentalist or radical groups who are at risk of deindividuation.

In issue 1, the configuration of the HTI movement that will be examined in the micro and meso aspects includes 1) the process of entering HTI in the city of Bogor, 2) the structure, mobilization and production of HTI ideological discourse within the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police, 3) the relation of HTI with the community and organizations. other communities, both proponents and opponents, 4) HTI infiltration in seizing the territory of Mainstream Islamists, HTI infiltration into the educational environment, HTI infiltration into the Government Bureaucracy, HTI infiltration into MUI, HTI infiltration into TNI and Polri institutions, and Infiltration of HTI HTI into the political environment which is entirely within the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police.

In problem 2, the causes of HTI’s transnationalism ideology are increasingly widespread and will be investigated in relation to macro aspects, namely 1) related to political, economic, social and cultural aspects, whether related to political support, financial, social facilitation and cultural values, 2) related to with the response of the Bogor City government and all elements of the Bogor City community towards the HTI movement within the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police. The analysis of problem 2 will be drawn from the local level (the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police as the main research location) to the national level, considering the nature of the HTI movement in Indonesia is trans location, that is, there is always a link between the spread of HTI movements at the national level and the local level. Where the HTI movement at the national level also has a relationship with the international HT movement which is carried by foreign political scenarios for hegemonial interests.



In question 3, namely “How is the National Police Policing model developed by the Bogor City Police on the revival of HTI transnationalism as an Asymmetric Security Threat?” The counter discourses carried out by the Bogor Police, both micro, meso and macro, will be analyzed as follows: Micro and meso are how the National Police Working Hypothesis Model is carried out by the ranks of the Bogor Police, 2) macro is how the actualization of the National Police is in relation to the political, economic, social and cultural constellations in the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police. It should also be noted that the actualization of National Police within the jurisdiction of the Bogor Police is an interpretation of policies at the national level, namely the policy of the National Police in interpreting the policies taken by the President of the Republic of Indonesia which of course is also influenced by the political, economic, social and cultural constellations at the national level.

#### IV. Conclusion

The orientation of the National Police to become the shaper of the community paradigm directs the National Police organization as the center of community life so that its existence is always needed by the community and cannot be easily replaced by others, as the embodiment of the contemporary Polri organization as a “learning organization”. The potential threat to domestic security over the revival of the HTI transnationalism ideology that contests the Pancasila ideology is the responsibility of the National Police. The security conditions, which are often marked by ideological violence, as described earlier, must make us aware that this model of security threat is currently the main responsibility of the National Police. As the spearhead of domestic security, the National Police is required to expand its role to reach the management of ideology as the basis for realizing domestic security through its policing strategy as the actualization of strategic police policies.

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