

ISLAM WASATHIYYAH AND THE CHALLENGE OF RADICALISM IN INDONESIA

M. Amin Abdullah

¹(*UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesian Academy of Science (APII), Indonesia*)

ABSTRACT: *The international community has witnessed the phenomenon of socio-political-religious life which is absolutely in contradictory situation between the world view and the socio-political-religious Muslim communities in the Middle East and the world view and the Muslims' socio-political-religious life in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia. The changing of socio-political leadership in Indonesia from the New Order to Reformation Order (1998) is relatively smooth, it is then followed by the legislative election and the Presidential Election (2004; 2009) and the 2014 presidential election was the most peaceful election without violence, while the changing of socio-political leadership in the Middle East countries (the Arab Spring) are always overshadowed and followed by socio-political-religious violence causing a lot of casualties. Even now, the political crisis in Iraq and Syria, have caused the emergence of a hard-line Islamic factions declaring the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Earlier, the political crisis in Iraq and Afghanistan led to the emergence of al-Qaeda. Not only had both caused many civilian casualties in the country, but also had an external impact, bringing international anxiety and worry. Socio-political life of the Muslim communities of Southeast Asia took a different path from the Middle Eastern societies. And over the leadership transition in the country of Indonesia, as a representative symbol of socio-political expression of Southeast Asian local religion, which is Islam as the majority, can be run peacefully and successfully, without violence and casualties. How was the role of clerics, scholars and intellectuals in Muslim Indonesia in guarding the constitution, democracy in the modern nation-state and its implications in building regional Asian and mondial-international relationship? What is the role of the civil society and religious colleges, universities in this case the Islamic, in treating democracy, plurality of culture, race, ethnicity, religion and belief and human rights which are the important pillars of the life of nation-state, Asian regional relations and international community relations in general? This paper will refresh back the Indonesian Muslims' intellectual contribution to the development of Southeast Asian Islamic thought and its contribution in caring for diversity, inclusion, openness and peace in the context of the merging of the Asian economic community (AFTA).*

KEYWORDS – *Islam thought, Muslim communities, Politics, Radicalism, Wasathiyah,*

Contextualization of Islamic thought.

Discussing Islamic thought, mainly Islamic political thought in Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia, to my knowledge, inevitably has indeed to involve any contexts such as cultural context, social context even the context of the development of existing human consciousness. Islamic political thought, anywhere, has always existed strongly and sticky with conditions where the Islamic thought is understood, grows, spread and grow along with the level of development of science. Islamic thought cannot be separated and out away from the context of space and time (*al-zamkany*) and the level of development of consciousness of humanity and science

(*nadzariyyatu al-ma'rifah*) where it is conceived and studied, grows and develops.¹ The Islamic political thought growing and developing in the Middle East regions will be very different from its design patterns of epistemology, face and socio-cultural display as it grows and develops in the regions of Central Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. Similarly, when he now began to sprout and it will grow and develop in the western region such as Europe, America, Australia and so on, which in time will become an integral part of the intellectual discourse of Muslims wherever they are.² Furthermore, when we talk of how the thought processes and develops fast in the wide African region from the vast North, Central to South Africa.

How do we understand in a variety of areas and regions of the world are very different according to the context of each of these? It is not easy to understand if we just use the old style approach, textual approach. The path taken is not other way, except we had to venture out of the theology-textual format to format-contextual theology. In the case study and examine contextual theology, required inputs and contributions from other scientific perspectives such as social sciences and humanities.³ To take an example, how a historian Marshall GS Hodgson in his *The Venture of Islam*⁴, sees and reads the Islamic civilization by, will be able to help explain how the Islamic civilization developed in the long sweep of history in the region and at the same time could also be used to read how a community effort, scholars and Muslim intellectuals develop Islamic thought in general and Indonesian Islamic political thought, in particular.

Marshall Hodgson distinguishes three forms of the phenomenon of the spread and development of Islamic civilization, namely: firstly, the phenomenon of Islam as a doctrine (Islamic), secondly, the phenomenon when the doctrine was entered, pervasive, struggled in the intense and complex encounters with local culture

¹ Muhammad Shahrur, *Nahw Ushulin Jadidah li al-Fiqh al-Islamiy: Fiqh al-Mar'ah (al-Wasiyyah-al-Irth-al-Qawwamah-al-Ta'addudiyah-al-Libas)*, Damascus, Syria: *al-Ahali tiba'ah li al-wa wa al-nasyr al-tauzi* ', 2000, p. 116

² I refer to the new realities of the Islamic world map in the second half of the 20th century, where Muslim immigrants continue to grow and evolve in Western countries. Among them are the intellectuals and scholars who wrote the books of Islamic religious literature on academic level with a new perspective, which is different from the perspective of Islamic thought used before. Books such as Omit Safi's (Ed.), *Progressive Muslim Muslims*, or Abdullah Saeed's *Interpreting the Qur'an: Towards a contemporary approach*, for examples, at present and in the future will color dynamics of Islamic thought wherever.

³ This has been a long need felt by Indonesian Muslims. The establishment of the State Islamic Institute (IAIN), 1951 is an important part of the history of the development of Islamic religious education in the country. This is reinforced by the institutional and scientific transformation of IAIN to the State Islamic University (UIN) in the 2000s. Now we can find faculties at IAIN and UIN called the Faculty of Islamic Theology and Humanities, Faculty of Adab and Humanities, Da'wa and Communication and so on.

⁴ Marshall GS Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, Vol. 1, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974.

(Islamicate) and manifest in a particular social and historical context. And thirdly, when Islam becomes a phenomenon of "Islamic world" that is political in governmental institutions (Islamdom) departing from the concept of "*dar al-Islam*", as what has happened in the Christian world, called Christendom, where the legal provisions are applied as al-Qur'an or gospel do. So, there are 3 keywords which are important to understand the history and civilization of Islam, those are **Islamic**, **Islamicate** and **Islamdom**.⁵

One of the principal characteristics of Indonesian Islamic political thought developed by the Indonesia founding fathers and forwarded by Muslim scholars and intellectuals is the sense of necessary involvement of social and cultural context in understanding the realities and dynamics of Islamic political thought.⁶ It is no longer just stuck, complacent and stopped on classical Islamic political thought, or popularly called now *Turath* (here, I understand it in a very limited sense, namely Textual Islam) alone. It has been able to penetrate and see the reality of the history of Islamic civilization in the concrete socio-cultural-political reality surrounding the text, both the classical era, middle and modern. Indonesian Muslim intellectuals refer to it as a process of indigenization and also some call modernity (*al-Hadatsah*), to the context of people's lives now, when a Muslim man agreed to establish a nation-state. It is the Socio-intellectual struggles that are then transferred into the mind of the spirit of Indonesian Muslims (Islam in Context). To borrow Tariq Ramadan's phrase, how Islam (in the text) proceeds, manifests, dialectic, met and blended deeply with the local culture and then morphed, transformed into Indonesian Muslims, not the Islam that is distant from both local cultural dynamics of social, economic, the culture and mainly culturally (Islam in Indonesia) mainly which is doubtful and, Islam which is still nervous and hesitant to blend with the local culture. Both are then woven in such a way in his book *Islam: Doktrin dan Peradaban*.⁷ Since the beginning of the emergence of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals, such as Nurcholish Madjid, in the discourse of development stage in Indonesian Islamic thought, Ibn Taymiyyah's ideas of Kalam and *aqidah*, al-Ghazali's and Ibn Arabi's *tasawwuf*, Ibn Rusdh's *fiqh*, and other classical Muslim thinkers, have been illustrated clearly in his *Khazanah Intelektual Islam*.⁸ Everything was then mated with a dialogue and thoughts of historians, such as Marshall Hodgson, a sociologist of religion, such as Robert N. Bellah and such others, are then fused and blended in the thinking and analytical framework intact. In the public speaking, in seminars, lectures and speeches, marriage and the interweaving of Muslim intellectual treasures of

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 56-62.

⁶ The context of the existence of Christian communities in eastern Indonesia, for examples, inspired the founding fathers of Indonesia who are willing and want to delete the phrase 'obligations to run Islamic law' for the Muslims from the Jakarta Charter.

⁷ Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam: Doktrin dan Peradaban. Sebuah Telaah Kritis tentang Masalah Keimanan, Kemanusiaan dan Kemoderenan*, Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1992. Even in 1995, his other book, explicitly called 'history'. The book is *Islam Agama Peradaban: Membangun Makna dan Relevansi Doktrin Islam dalam Sejarah* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995). In the Middle East and North Africa, such books are also found. Mohammed Abed al-Jabri wrote *al-Turats wa al-Hadastah: Dirasat wa Munaqasat* (Morocco: Dar al-Baidha', 1991).

⁸ Nurcholish Madjid, *Khazanah Intelektual Islam*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984.

classical and modern social sciences always appear there. That is one of the characteristics of many other traits, which distinguish the Indonesian local Islamic political thought from patterns of local Islamic political thought in other areas.

Plurality, inclusiveness and *al-hanifah al-samha*⁹

Local expressions of Indonesian Islamic political thought have been blended and dangled in terms of plurality, tolerance, inclusiveness, *al-hanifah al-samha* and dialogue. It was like a lightning striking in broad daylight when Nurcholish Madjid, in the 90s, with a loud and firm talked about Islamic thought patterned in *al-hanifah al-samha* (tolerance, solidarity, and openness), plurality (*al-ta'addudiyah*) and inclusiveness (*al-tadhamuniyyah*). He snatched in broad daylight because of the general Islamic thought that developed in Islamic boarding schools, Islamic colleges, especially in public colleges, not to mention the various types of *majlis taklims* and *Halaqah-Halaqah Tarbiyah*, and also developed in various Islamic organizations in the country are not such types. Generally, the patterns are still exclusive, closed, sectarianism, primordial, parochialism, *mazhabiyyah*, *hizbiyyah*, *ta'ifiyyah*. The situation and socio-political psychology in the country at that time-even to a certain extent until now and again – there are still ones who want any sort of Islamdom (political Islam, caliphate, *al-daulah al-Islamiyya*) because the majority of Indonesia's population is Muslim (87 %). It is then natural, if there is some interest groups who want the establishment of a kind of religious state or an Islamic state here, but unfortunately with the exclusion of a deal to pull off the Founding Fathers, the founder of the republic, the nation-state, Indonesia.

The dictum Nurcholish Madjid proclaimed was "Islam, **Yes**, Islamic party, **No**?" that is, Islam which is patterned *al-hanifah al-samha*, tolerant, open, airy, and which can receive and cooperate with people and other groups in building the welfare of the citizens of the nation-state of Indonesia together is Yes. Not Islam which is not exclusive pattern, sectarianism, primordial, *mazhabiyyah*, *hizbiyyah* and *ta'ifiyyah*, which is only concerned with the internal interests of their own group, but cannot accept, let alone cooperate with people, organizations and groups, religions, tribes, other races. Although it was felt bitterly at that time, but sweetness can be perceived at the present time, especially when we all, as a big family and the citizens of the Indonesian nation today in comparison with the looking, observing and following the development of socio-political-religious in the Middle East (Arab Spring).

Basically, local expression of Southeast Asian Islam is moderate. The Southeast Asian's Islamic cultures are to be polite and friendly to the dissenting interpretation and understanding of different religious perspective. *Pancasila* as the ideological foundation of the modern era and the nation, which is extracted from the roots of the culture of Indonesia, also reflects the Weltanschauung of Indonesian society in general. The 5 pillars of *Pancasila*, namely, Belief in One God, just and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, the democracy guided by the Consultative Representative Policy Lessons, and social justice for all Indonesian

⁹ *al-Hanifa al-samha* is defined as "the true and tolerant religion". See Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English)*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1976, p. 500. It is also commonly called *hanifiyyatu al-samhah*.

people, on one hand, is the culmination of national compromise, meeting point agreement noble values obtained from the various local cultures, cultures that spread across the nation (Islam in the context of culture), while on the other hand it is a meeting point and central points of Islamic teachings contained in the holy book al-Qur'ans and the books of *fiqh siyasah* / classical political (Islam in Text). With a philosophical foundation solid-state constitutional as it is, the Indonesian Muslim community has been completed with itself and has also completed his struggle with the idea of the modern nation and state. It is the completion that constitutes the core and the Indonesian Muslim community's identity, which represents the largest Muslim communities in Southeast Asia. It is also the capital that will be used for facing and into the common life of the Asian economic community, AFTA, beginning in 2015.

The failure to care for and strengthen the joints of the life and governance of the modern era of the nation-state in most countries in the Middle East and other parts of the Muslim world is caused by the strength of ideology, doctrine, or a socio-political understanding of Islamic principles, known as *al-walla 'wa al-barra'*¹⁰ (only loyal to the person, group, organization, sect, party of the same religion, religious trend, and purpose and disloyal or reject any leader who does not come from their own religious groups, school, organization or sects). This doctrine is quite powerful instilled by social and political groups fighting each other for socio-political power, in the Middle East region. Theological-political strives and disputes between Sunnis and Shi'i are not finished, even deepened, in the various regions in the Middle East, and tend to venture into South Asia in Pakistan, rooted in the doctrine of *fiqh al-siyasah* pattern in the such classic text. Ideology *takfir* or *takfiriyyah* spread out in society and in social media networks, i.e. considering other group of different religious understanding and interpretations as infidel and unbelievers and their groups are also based on the doctrine of *al-walla 'wa al-barra'*.

Ideology and Islamic socio-political practices declared by the founders of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syrian (ISIS), who declared a unilaterally *khilafah*-based Islamic state is an antidote or antithesis of a democratic system of republic and constitutional government they consider failed¹¹ in Iraq and Syria. The practice of Islamic caliphate (*khilafah Islamiyyah*) doctrine adopted by ISIS is really based on doctrine of *al-walla 'wa al-barra'* (loyalty and disavowal). Even the doctrine of loyalty and disavowal is not only limited to the selection of future leaders, but also extends to the areas of history and culture. The destruction of places of worship belonging to other religions, the destruction of cultural sites and religions, such as temples,¹² statues and other historic objects

¹⁰ Roel Meijer, 'Introduction', in Roel Meijer (Ed.), *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement*, London: Hurst & Company, 2009, pp. 9-13.

¹¹ It is not easy to explain how the geopolitics of countries in the Middle East. Ibrahim M. Abu Rabi ', a Palestinian, who lived and taught in Western universities, wrote the foreword of the book he edited, which is enough to explain helping with the hassle. See Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi '(Ed.), *The Contemporary Arab Reader on Political Islam*, London and New York: Pluto Press, 2010.

¹² When I was writing this paper, I listened to the news and read the Metro TV's running text, dated 22-23-24 August 2014, which proclaimed the destruction of the temple of Borobudur threat, because it is considered as shirk and is regarded as scattering money for the maintenance of cultural

considered as a symbol of *shirk*, and contrary to the subjective understanding of *Aqeedah* and *Shari'ah* of Islam they understand.¹³ The climax is a clot and fertility of sectarianism, parochialism, primordial or *mazhabiyyah*, *hizbiyyah* and *ta'ifiyyah* in the Muslim community that weaken the joints of social life-social and socio-political life of the nation.

Here is the shortcomings and weaknesses of Islamic thought in the Middle East in particular and in the Muslim countries in general, which is suspected by Ibrahim M. Abu Rabi 'as Islamic thought which does not recognize and is lack of touch of social sciences and the valuable input of critical-philosophical-academic thinking commonly studied in the contemporary humanities. Here I quote the view of Ibrahim M. Abu Rabi ' as follows:

"The core of the field revolves around the *Shari'ah* and *Fiqh* studies that have been, very often, emptied of any critical or political content, or relevance to the present situation. A clear-cut distinction has been made between the "Theological" and the "political" or the "Theological" and the "social," with the former being Understood as rites, symbols, and historical text only. Furthermore, the perspective of the social sciences or critical philosophy is regrettably absent. The modern field of *Shari'ah* studies in the Muslim world has remained closed off to the most advanced human contributions in critical philosophy and social sciences ".¹⁴

Great ideas on Islamic political thought written by the Indonesian Muslim scholars in their books are then seeded, captured and disseminated either directly or indirectly by networks of Islamic colleges in the country. There are other networks participating in caring for and developing new ideas and inclusiveness, plurality, *al-hanifah al-samha'*, tolerance and dialogue, but those who applied systematically, academically and in an institutionally structured is through a network of Religious Higher Education in the country. The big ideas are included in books and other written works, through bulletins, magazines, journals, which in turn are then included into the core curriculum and syllabus of teaching and giving religious lectures in college for lecturers.

heritage. Stories like this have also emerged during the late 1970s and I think it will continue whenever because the ideology is implanted and disseminated through books, bulletins, flyers, social media, electronic media and any media they own.

¹³ A description on the relationship between religion, politics and ideology, particularly with regard to the relationship and lack of continuity between heresy and shirk understanding and sensitivity and cultural history can be read in Mirza Tirta Kusuma, (Ed .), *Ketika Makkah Menjadi Seperti Las Vegas: Agama, Politik dan Ideologi: Agama, Politik dan Ideologi*, (when Mecca Looks Like Las Vegas: Religion, Politics and Ideology), Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2014, pp.1-69.

¹⁴ Ibrahim M. Abu Rabi ', "A Post-September 11 Critical Assessment of Modern Islamic History", in Ian Markham and Ibrahim M. Abu Rabi', *11 September: Religious Perspectives on the Causes and Consequences*, Oxford: Oneworld, Publications, 2002 , pp. 33-34. Even in page 36 it is mentioned that "the discipline of the sociology of religion is looked upon as a heretic, or innovation, that does not convey the real essence of Islam".

Later, around the 90s, the idea even grows more along with the establishment of study centres inside and outside the religious colleges, training and trainings carried out by social activists through youth organizations, womanhood, and the general and religious court, and health organized by civil society. The themes developed into broader areas, such as intercultural dialogue, inter-religious dialogue, dialogue of cultures and religions, religion and gender, religion and human rights, religion and disaster mitigation, religion and the environment, religion and demography, religion and multiculturalism, religion and science, and so on. What are effects to the life of the nation? Indeed, it turns out that Islamic understanding and thinking of this contextual model has immense influence in the long, continuous, and relentless process of nation and character building in the Indonesian Muslim community.

The influence and impact can only be felt when the public and international observers compare the life of the nation Indonesian Muslims with a life of the nation in the various regions of the world, especially in a part of the Middle East region. Without reducing the role of other universities, it is worth noting that if there is no Islamic higher educational institutions (PTA) in the country, which has now 53 Islamic religious higher education, which consists of 8 State Islamic University (UIN), 18 State Islamic Institute (IAIN) and 27 colleges of Islamic Studies (STAIN), not to mention 569 private colleges (PTAs), consisting of the Islamic Institute (STAI), Islamic Institute (IAI), and the Faculty of Islamic Studies (FAI) on Public Higher Education, we cannot imagine what will happen to this nation and how this nation, from Sabang to Merauke, can maintain social-political-religious stability and still stand at the present time.

In fact, in many Muslim-majority countries in the world, no or not all can accept the governance model of the modern state wholeheartedly with a system of nation-state as we have done in Indonesia, namely the governance of the nation-state, which is based on the constitution, democracy, plurality, equity and protection of human rights. One of the important points in the Constitution in the nation-state is a democracy, namely the implementation of honest and fair elections in to elect the people's representatives through legislative elections and elect a presidential candidate through the presidential election. Not most populous Muslim nation, to take an example of Pakistan and Egypt, did well in preserving the Constitution of holding elections and presidential elections. In carrying out elections, in Pakistan, for example, there have been almost some riots with their casualties. The victims can be from among the participants/contestants and presidential elections or even among the candidates of leaders of the state (prime minister).

In Egypt, too. When President Hosni Mubarak had ruled for too long terms (30 years), - and it was actually unconstitutional-, then there was a movement of people (people power) to drop him from the presidency. Something like what happened in Indonesia in 1998. Looking for his substitution was not an easy thing. There were some victims. Once, after the election of a new president, it turned out that some people and supporters of the elected president also could not understand and run the Constitution well. Then, the elected president was dropped again. Now, what happened in Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq and various other places such as in Libya? Again, the situation was not conducive. Arab Spring has not successfully completed or resolved their constitutional problems. The UN noted that the political crisis in Syria since 2011 took the lives of no less than 191,000 people. The unsuccessful managing the nation-state is sharpened and exacerbated by the declaration of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in 2013.

Indonesian Muslims' intellectual contribution

By such a comparison, we are all then reminded by what the scholars, intellectuals and thinkers of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals and others called about the importance of being tolerant, inclusive, and non-discriminatory, non-violence in facing various disagreement, belief, religion, sect, ethnicity, race, gender, class and so on. The call was echoed continually, tirelessly, and led to expletive risk from other community, so it can lead the Indonesian nation to run a 5-year state constitution, namely selecting candidate of state leader / president very well, successfully, and with no casualties. Although the process of attracting voters, among a part of campaigners, preachers, sympathizers and volunteers often use religious issues, beliefs, and race pretty hard-fierce (black campaign), but at the grassroots level there is no significant friction and dispute. Without ignoring the role of other religious communities, the role of Muslims who constitute the majority of Indonesia's population became the backbone of the success of understanding the idea of "nation-state" and "democracy" as stipulated in the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. They are not easily boxed, mangled and torn apart by the issue of difference of religion, belief, race, ethnicity and class despite the temptation, pull, incitement, solicitation, appeal to a political sectarianism and primordial's and sometimes by any intimidation and the threat at every moment and occasion.

There are at least three important things that the clergy, scholars and Muslim intellectuals in Indonesia have conditioned in various layers noteworthy as their **legacy** in an attempt to enforce the Constitution in the modern nation-state and the continuity of life care for democracy, and the state policy of non-discrimination in the country. That is a **legacy** which is then distributed by many people, religious universities, non-governmental organizations, clubs and discussion of social activists and civil society in general. A legacy that will contribute to facilitate the inclusion of Indonesia in the Asian community without major obstacles.

Firstly, the convergence of religious faith (distinctive values) and the benefit of the nation-state (shared values).

Indonesian Muslims - as well as other religious communities¹⁵ to a certain degree, have been able to be mature, intelligent, and autonomous, to independently consider, articulate, to meet/join critically and proportionally leading to the point of convergence between faith, religious beliefs and rituals of Islam (distinctive values) on the one hand and welfare and common interests (shared values), for the achievement of national unity-community-humanity and world peace in the format of a nation-state on the other. Not less than 133 574 277 valid votes, {(Candidates No. 1: 62,576,444 / 46.85%) and Candidates no.2: 70,997,833 / 53.15%)} that go into the voting booth. They are with full sovereignty vote according to their impulses and rational choice

¹⁵ Other Religious followers are not passive either in anticipating any religious and national issues. One of the advocates of interfaith dialogue in a Christian environment that is still active is *Interfidei* (Inter Faith Dialogue) in Yogyakarta. How difficult they were in facing Christian plurality as reflected in Th. Sumartana's 1971 thesis to be published by *Interfidei* by the end of 2014, entitled *Soal-soal Teologis dalam Pertemuan Antar Agama* (Theological Problems in Interfaith Meeting).

respectively. They are not tempted or provoked by negative issues that exploit racial sentiments, tribal, ethnic and religious to choose candidates for president and vice president. Religious life, nation and state in this country will be always tested his durability once every 5 years of parliamentary and presidential elections, not to ignore dozens of elections, of governors, regents, the elections in the entire country.

Obviously, the Indonesian Muslim community, on this point, has a qualitative advantage and comparative advantage compared with other nations with a Muslim majority in the world. Other nations are not, or have not been able to do positive-constructive dialogue between religious faith and the state of the nation as practiced and experienced by the people of Indonesia. Other nations in the world that still puts one above the others even smashed it. Indonesian nations can articulate and use the autonomous-rational choice in determining the nation's future leaders, without being influenced by black campaign that precedes and accompanies it before entering the voting booth. The experience of building harmonious relationships and peace in this country will be a strong capital base to build harmonious relationships and peace in the international environment and the Asian economic community.

The quality level of civility and dignity of a nation and the state is largely determined on how the types of relation between "faith in faith" and "diversity of social life within the nation-state" were. Encounter and dialogue between the two that fail to reach the culminating point of convergence, not the truth and the common good to be obtained, but on the contrary, deficit of truth and socio-economic-political misery and woes.

Secondly, plurality, democracy, inclusiveness as an integral part of the new *maslahah* theory.

Indonesia is an archipelagic country in the forms of archipelagos. There are not less than 15,000 islands in this country. All the time, before Indonesia gained its independence and became a nation-state in 1945, the people of the archipelago have been in diversity. Plurality and diversity is woven of knit of social community archipelago since a long time ago, since the imperial era, some centuries ago and the former Dutch colonial era. Because of the complexity of diversity/plurality of the archipelago then the founding fathers of the Republic of Indonesia chose the state governance system in the form of the nation-state (nation states), not in the form of Islamic theocracy, although according to the count of population statistics Muslim communities occupy a high percentage, more than 90 percent. In addition to race, ethnicity, race, language, religion and beliefs of diverse, diversity if it also can be viewed in terms of geography, territory and even in terms of time (East, Central, and West).

The Indonesian human collective memory of the diversity and plurality in various aspects of life is very strongly attached and deeply embedded in the sub-consciousness of religious Indonesian society, whatever their religions are. Unconscious collective memory of the diversity and plurality becomes extraordinary power enormity to be tolerant, inclusive, open-minded, open, and so easily lead to resolve complex problems and complex socio-religious and socio-nationality. Nurcholish Madjid, call it *fitrah majbulah*, the nature which is firmly rooted in man, namely conscience. The power of the subconscious is fresh in his conscience about varieties, diversity and inclusiveness of this, when necessary, may transform into a positive spiritual energy, which can reduce the seeds of discord that sometimes come to the surface.

The socio-cultural capital transforming into a diversity of political morality is a matter of basic social life of the Indonesian nation, which at the needed time will provide immunity strength of the pull of group egoism (*ta'assubiyah; mazhabiyyah, hizbiyyah, ta'ifiyyah*). The strength and cultural and social capital in its journey can be combined with the understanding and development of socio-political thinking of Indonesia Islam having typical characteristics in interpreting the verses of the Koran, 18 verses in the *surah* 49 of *al Hujurat*, especially verse 13:

"O mankind, We created you from a single (pair) of a male and female and made you into nations and tribes that ye may know each other. (Not that ye may despise (each other). Verily, the most honourable of you in the sight of God is (he who is) the most righteous of you. And God has full knowledge and is well acquainted (with all things).

(*The Holy Qur'an*: meanings translated by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Beirut Lebanon: Dar al Arabia, n.d., p.1407)

The understanding of the doctrine of Islamic *Tawhid* through socio-religious commentary having patterns of *al-Hanifah al-samha* '(tolerant), pluralist and inclusive is an integrated part of the development *maslahah* theory in the study of contemporary *usul al-fiqh*.¹⁶ This *Maslahah* theory development in *usul al-fiqh* got the right momentum to be applied and implemented in the country, in the Pancasila-based nation-state format. This is what might be called by Marshall Hodgson as the Islamicate which is unique and highly complex in the archipelago, which is very different from the mode of development of the other Islamic local communities in the international level, which is then transformed into a republic of Indonesia (1945), long after the approval of the Youth Pledge, in 1928. Interpretation (*Tafsir*), another understanding of Islam, which has conservative and fundamentalist pattern (not sensitive to the profound and fundamental historical and cultural development and the development of human life in accordance with the pace of progressive ideas), primordial and sectarianism, past-oriented then, not creative, no sympathy and strong support from the large public in Indonesia.

This problem is not completely correct, because Indonesia has very broad territorial region, also cannot be simply separated from religious conservatism and fundamentalism having sources from the country of overseas. Attraction and temptation are not only from abroad, as in the country there is a lot of things that can be a potential source for the development of life-fundamentalist religious interpretations of exclusive rights as citizens (Rights), a genuine recognition of the existence of each individual and diverse groups (Recognitions) and justice and economic distribution (Redistributions) in the administration of the nation-state governance cannot be conveyed to the community as well.

Thirdly, social cohesion (fitrah majbullah) as the social and cultural capital of Indonesia.

It has been very long time that sociologists of religion found one social function of religion in society of adherents is to maintain cohesion and social unity. When the theory was developed, it could be that the first

¹⁶ Jasser Auda, *Maqasid al-Syari'ah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach*, London and Washington: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2008, pp. 5-9; and 21-25.

pioneer (Emile Durkheim) might conceivably imagined social cohesion or unity which is only limited in the scope of the internal circle of a particular religious community itself. In the Indonesian Muslim community, all the time and more after the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, the theory of social cohesion is not only interpreted as unity, harmony, peace, solidity and solidarity in the internal environment of adherents of a particular religion, but more than that. The meaning has been expanded into the unity of Indonesia. Here, once again, for the case of Indonesia, **faith in religion has dialecticism and has been fused with the idea of nationality and universal humanity. That is to say, religious solidarity often having religious-sectarian character of primordial (*ta'ifiyyah; hizbiyyah*) has changed, and morphed into national solidarity-humanity (*al-wataniyyah; al-insaniyyah*)** Again, this is a unique case in the religious experience and local Indonesian nationality. However, it is difficult to achieve, if it was not previously covered only by the social and cultural capital that has been powerfully imprinted, neatly interwoven, and deeply-internalized in the structure and nature of Indonesian society's subconscious thought, any ethnicity, race, ethnicity, language and religion he follows.

It was the meetings and encounters between the great variety of ethnicity, races, language, religion and belief in the mother land that has been the strength of the subconscious and animates the daily life of Indonesian society. Again, it was the positive-constructive meetings and counters that deliver great meritorious Indonesian people to be able to get out of the very complex crisis before, in the midst of and after the presidential election recently. At this point, we are reminded to Nurcholish Madjid's dictum: "Islam Yes, Islamic Party, No". All of this is a gift, God's incomparable grace and mercy to thank together.

It seems that Indonesian grassroots social order is something like what the Qur'an has described in *surah* Al 'Imran, verse 159 as follows:

"It is part of the Mercy of Allah that thou dost deal gently with them. Wert thou serve or harsh-hearted, they would have broken away from about thee: so pass over (Their faults), and ask for God's forgiveness for them; and consult them in affairs (of moment). The when thou hast taken a decision, put thy trust in God.

(The Holy Qur'an: meanings translated by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Beirut Lebanon: Dar al Arabia, n.d., p.164)

Conclusion

16 years in the post-Reformation era some significant events occur. National and international geopolitics are constantly changing and turbulent dynamically and was a big influence on the mental resilience of religion and politics of the people and nation of Indonesia. Before and after the formation of order reform (1998) occurred a series of conflicts between Christians and Muslims in Ambon, then spread to Poso; then was followed by the destruction and bombing some places of worship and ethnic and racial conflict in the region such as West Kalimantan and Papua. In 2001, the case of destruction and collapse of the World Trade Centre (WTC) New York, followed by the 2002 Bali bombings in Indonesia and bombing in other countries, including Australian embassy in Jakarta, so now the world is imagined eclipsed by the movement of al-Qaeda and later followed by the declaration of the establishment of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) that some supporters are also citizens of Indonesia.

All events indicate that the socio-political thinking of Indonesian Islam was initiated by the Indonesian Muslim intellectuals, such as the other intellectual work, far away from the final and unfinished. It is unfinished project. There are still many hurdles, obstacles and stumbling stone test continuing to block at any time in the course of a long life of the nation in the Republic of Indonesia. If mapped, areas of thought and praxis in the field fall into three layers, namely, first, the level of discourse (*al-khitab*); second, normative-regulative level, and the third is an applicative-implementation level in real people's lives on the ground, then the contribution of Muslim intellectual Indonesia already succeeded in raising the issue of the level of plurality, inclusiveness and tolerance (*al-hanifah al-samha'*) in religious life and nation-state at the level of public discourse. This was an outstanding and significant intellectual contribution because there are not many nations in the Muslim majority world who can receive such discourse. We know many books were banned to enter into a particular country - let alone get read - because they address the question of plurality or *al-ta'addudiyyah*.

In fact, not all levels and layers must be resolved by the intellectuals themselves. At the level of normative-regulative there are still many stumbling stones in the wider community, in a variety of ministries, both religious ministry of religious affairs, ministry of home affairs and the ministry of law and human rights. If not mistaken, the law #1, on PNPS of the 1965, which is related to the religious blasphemy issue to which no one has dared to touch, even though the Constitutional Court. There are more on the application and implementation levels. When some is elected to the leadership of religious organizations, legislative candidates, governors, regent, village heads and so on, the situation is very situational at all. Some are successful and some are not, depending on the style and depth of his religious literacy, the mastery of the three initial thought.

Can these all be referred to as the paradox of plurality? I don't think so. Since the completion of the three-layer problems is not a kind of once for all religious and national technical-technological work, but this is a humanistic work that requires more detailed and sustainable work, and must run continuously in evolution and continuous improvement. There are still a lot of household work left by Indonesian Muslim thinkers and do not settle yourself for the challenges in normative-regulative level and applicative-implementer one are still waiting in front of the eyes. And this domain is much more difficult and complex. Generation of Muslim intellectuals' in the era of Asian Economic Community (AEC) should continue their earlier Muslim intellectuals' struggles in developing the socio-political thought of Indonesian Islam.

We do not have to lose our optimism in looking forward to the nation's journey. Indonesian people are nations having strong cultural and social capital. It is the socio-cultural capital that in the present time has been able to bring into the dignified and civilized life of the nation-state if the provisional measure is the success of the recently performed election. There are many problems to face by this nation. Free trade Asian society in 2015, a greater inter-faith interaction in a more increasingly cosmopolite world, with a high rate of social violence, hatred and exclusively religious understanding, social violence and religious differences, school, stream, the subjective interpretation of religious text, religious conservatism and fundamentalism, hatred and violence on religious grounds, - *takfir-takfiriyyah* ideology, improving the quality of education, especially of women, the development and improving the welfare of lower income/grass-root community, social reconciliation, politics and culture, internal religious harmony of Muslims, religious harmony, social medias which are literate on issues of religious plurality, eradication and prevention of corruption and many others again.

Actually, there are still open windows to welcome for new hope for prosperity, unity and the unity of Indonesia, especially after the integrity of Asian economic community. The elites and leaders are strongly to start what is commonly referred to by the media as a social reconciliation. Indonesian people at the grassroots level seem to be more mature than the elites in understanding, analyse and resolving any differences. So it is the elites - with a variety of personal interests- who need to give a priority to promote and establish the ideological-political relation much closer to make the Indonesian people to maintain the unity of Indonesia, concentrating their mental and spiritual energies to the development of the human welfare of the Indonesian people and the people in the wider universe. *Wallahu a'lam bi al-sawab*.

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