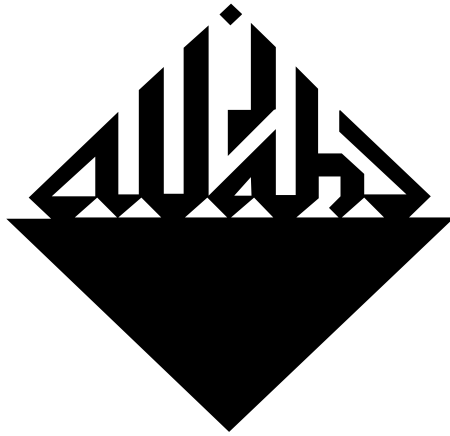


STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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WHEN ISLAMISM AND POP CULTURE MEET:
A POLITICAL FRAMING OF THE MOVIE
212: THE POWER OF LOVE

Wahyudi Akmaliah

ISLAMIC IDENTITY AND FOREIGN POLICY DISCOURSE:
INDONESIA'S RESPONSES TO THE US WAR
IN AFGHANISTAN (2001-2002)

Agus Salim

A HADHRAMI SCHOLAR AND ISLAMIC COURT IN ACEH:
THE POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF
'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-ZĀHIR (1864-1878)

Mehmet Özey

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Table of Contents

Articles

- 1 *Wahyudi Akmaliah*
When Islamism and Pop Culture Meet:
A Political Framing of the Movie
212: The Power of Love
- 35 *Agus Salim*
Islamic Identity and Foreign Policy Discourse:
Indonesia's Responses to the US War
in Afghanistan (2001-2002)
- 73 *Mehmet Özay*
A Hadhrami Scholar and Islamic Court in Aceh:
The Political Biography of
'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhir (1864-1878)
- 103 *Zainal Arifin Madzkur*
Al-Rasm al-'Uthmānī
fī al-Muṣḥaf al-mi'yārī al-Indūnīsī
'inda al-Dānī wa Abī Dāwud
- 145 *Muhammad Amin Nurdin, Herdi Sahrasad, & Smith Alhadar*
Al-Tawatturāt bayn al-Sunnah wa al-Shī'ah
fī Maluku al-Shamāliyah: Durūs min al-Māḍī

Book Review

- 177 *Dadi Darmadi*
Benang Merah dan Jalan Berbeda:
Pendidikan Agama Islam di Indonesia dan Malaysia

Document

- 195 *Endi Aulia Garadian*
In the Foot Step of Consolidating *Ummah*:
Highlights from the 7th Indonesian Muslim Congress

Document

In the Foot Step of Consolidating *Ummah*: Highlights from the 7th Indonesian Muslim Congress

Endi Aulia Garadian

The discussion session has not yet begun, but many participants just raised their hands to interrupt. They urged the chairperson of plenary session to be asked an opportunity to talk. Some of them even went directly to the nearest microphone, hoping to be able to express their opinions right away. The Fourth Plenary Session, as far as I can remember, and perhaps the majority of people who participate in this Congress from beginning to end, were the “fiercest” among all the plenary sessions.

It all started from the so-called young kyai (Islamic ecclesiastic) from Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU), Ahmad Ishomuddin. In place of Said Aqil Siradj (PBNU Chairperson 2010-2020), the man who is well-known as Gus Ishom conveyed several arguments about nationalism, tolerance, and religious moderatism. At first, everything went normal. Without ripples. But in the middle of his speech, almost all the emotion of the participants radically changed. Participants who were mostly religious figures, intellectuals, and bureaucrats looked so shocked, confused, disappointed, amazed, a few of them even smirked, and of course infuriated.

This was happened after Ishom said explicitly that “there is a small group of Indonesian Muslims who are vocal, persistent, consistent, and openly struggle for the upholding of the Islamic Caliphate (*Khalīfah Islāmīyah*) as a substitute for the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), as championed by the Indonesian Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Mujahideen Council of Indonesia (MMI), Khilafatul Muslimin, Islamic Sharia Enforcement Committee (KPPSI) in South Sulawesi, and Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), and the like.” He also specifically addressed HTI doctrines are still poisoning some Muslims so that they still need to be cleaned up, albeit the permit of it has been revoked by the Government after going through a series of trials.

Indeed, many people strongly refuse it. Especially those whose organizations were mentioned by Ishom as “destroyers” of the Republic. Many hard-hitting questions came up. A participant, after being given the opportunity to speak by chairperson, even examined the past of Ishom who had been an expert witness of the Ahok’s case. Not to mention the barrage of shouts who were not satisfied with the statement of the young kiai. Instantly, the Congress turn into a very scene for “accusation and judgment”. However, in spite of all those, people are perhaps temporarily forgot by why the Congress was carried out. As if remembered, there is no way the “rowdy” situation, which exacerbates the difference among participants, emerged in the forum.

KUII VII: Towards Finest Community (*Khayra Ummah*)

After being exposed to various focal events, especially the 2019 and 2014 presidential election race, the large map of Muslims in Indonesia has changed significantly. Crystal clear polarization appears, following the patronage of congregation groups to the presidential candidates who are contesting. While those who stand outside the teams are automatically considered to be hypocrite, or sometimes opportunists. Its socio-destructive effects are tremendous, not only related to politics, but also economic and socio-cultural aspects. Experts say, Indonesia is experiencing a strengthening of Islamic populism and political identity phenomena.

Still, Indonesia might be considered as “fortunate”. In fact every five years, and often to concur one year after the election took place, Indonesian Muslims have a routine assembly called the Indonesian Muslim Congress (Kongres Umat Islam Indonesia, KUII). The Congress has reached the seventh (KUII VII) in 2020, and one of the

its main goals is to consolidate Indonesian Muslims. On top of that, acting as a facilitator, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) through this congress also aspires that Muslims in Indonesia to become the finest community (*khayra ummah*), to realize the unity of the people (*tawhid al-ummah*), to achieve empowerment of the people (*taqwiyat al-ummah*), to mainstream *wasatīyah Islām* (center and moderate Islam) as well as Islam rahmatan lil alamin, and to install religious values as a spirit of devotion to the nation and state. All of these goals are covered under the grand theme of the congress entitled “Strategies for the Struggle of Indonesian Muslims to Achieve Advanced, Fair and Civilized of Indonesia”.

Pangkalpinang, Bangka Islands was willing to host the event. Many warm as well as heartfelt welcome banners, billboards, and other announcements for participants could be easily found in various parts of the city. To festive this event, no less than 1,000 participants invited and gathered to this congress, ranging from representatives of Islamic organizations, scholars, religious leaders, representatives of Islamic education (Islamic boarding schools and Islamic universities), and representatives of ambassadors of Islamic countries who are members of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Other elements who also involved were research institutions, activists as well as Islamic philanthropy institutions, and elements of Islamic youth organizations. Moreover, representatives from the Central along with Regional Governments were also present.

Vice President of Indonesia (2019-) Ma'ruf Amin, was present to open the event, while the Minister of Religious Affairs (2019-), Fachrul Razi was present to close it. In the midst of them, several national characters gave their speeches such as Din Syamsuddin (Chairman of the MUI Advisory Council), Mohammad Mahfud MD (Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law and Human Rights, 2019-), Hamdan Zoelva (Chair of the Constitutional Court, 2013-2015), Chairul Tanjung (Muslim Tycoon), Jusuf Kalla (Muslim Tycoon and Vice Presidents of Indonesia, 2004-2009 and 2014-2019), Mohammad Nuh (Minister of Education and Culture, 2009-2014), Azyumardi Azra (Muslim Scholars), and the others. The event took place from 26-29 February 2020 at the Novotel Bangka Hotel and Convention Center. Every day, the congress started at 08.00-08.30 (GMT/UTC +7) and finished almost midnight, between 22.30-23.15 (GMT/UTC +7). Sometimes the elders did not attend

the event until finished, due to their physical condition, but many were enthusiastic about following this event in full and solemnly.

Unlike KUII in previous years which only discussed three themes, considering the complexity of contemporary problems, KUII VII 2020 consisted of seven themes. Each theme—from politics, economics, law, education and culture, *wasatīyah Islām*, Islamic philanthropy, and the media—was directed to solve hindrances of the *ummah* in order to reaching the finest community. In addition, to prevent this event turns into the place for a “street argument”, again like the previous congress, the MUI prepared a draft of each themes. The drafts were compiled after passing through various stages, including the enrichment of concepts from experts, academics, and practitioners in various fields in the Focus Group Discussion session at the MUI office. The drafts were further strengthened in the *Uji Sahih* (Validity Test) forum which again invited experts, academics and practitioners. To make it even better, countless internal discussions were held by Committee to continuously improve the drafts before the Congress.

From the Edge to the Center

From the early beginning, the Congress was often declared that Indonesian Muslims ought to shift from the edge to the center. Not only in the aspects of religious life, but six other aspects that were discussed in this Congress. From the aspect of religiosity, people are invited to become a middle (moderate) people. Not leaning to the left (liberal) or right (radical-extreme). This was expressed, for instance, by Din Syamsuddin. According to him the struggle of Muslims for an advanced, just, prosperous, sovereign and dignified needs to take the “middle path” following to the principles of *wasatīyah Islām*.

Likewise with the political aspects. Despite being a country with a majority Muslim population, in the history of Indonesia the Islamic political party has never won even a single election. Their position was always on the edge, only becoming the sweetener of national political contestation. Din Syamsuddin then offered an idea to bring Islamic political parties to the center by initiating a single Islamic political party. The name “Masjumi Reborn” was carried by him so that consolidation among Muslims can be established. But this idea seemed less attractive in the eyes of Islamic political parties.

That was seen in the next session, where political parties expressed their ideas in the Congress. At least five parties accepted KUII’s

invitation, namely: PKS, PPP, PKB, PAN, and Golkar. Only Golkar can be called a nationalist party. While the rest, have strong incisions with the Muslim community and two of them, namely PKS and PPP, explicitly claim as Islamic political parties. Although there were those who asked about the formation of Islamic political parties initiated by Din Syamsuddin to representatives of political parties, it was very clear that no one responded decisively. Instead, they explained their respective agendas in “defending” Muslims in the battlefield of constitution, starting with the issue of Islamic banks, the Islamic Boarding School Law, the Hajj Law, the Pornography Law, and so on and so forth.

Though the *ummah* must go to the middle, it does not mean that the caliphate system which was once implemented by, for example, the Ottoman Empire must be applied in Indonesia. In fact, Mohammad Mahfud MD encouraged the Congress participants to absorb the values of the caliphate, not the administrative system. According to him, Indonesia has already implemented the values of caliphate. Everything is contained in the points of the Pancasila. The fourth principle, for example, democracy led by wisdom in the deliberation of justice, is concrete proof that Indonesia has applied the values of caliphate. So, if there are groups that try to replace the current Indonesian state system with the caliphate system, then they do not understand the core essence of the caliphate, said Mahfud MD fiery. Moreover, still according to him, these people certainly do not understand the history of Indonesia, because after all Indonesia is a state of agreement (*dār al-mīthāq*) and state of consensus (*dār al-‘ahd wa al-shahādah*) among all people in Indonesia, including Muslims.

As the ideology of the Indonesia, Pancasila as the basis for establishing law was also discussed. Shared a portion with religion, specific to Islamic law (sharia), the relationship of Pancasila with religion as a part of constitution was also debated. Several speakers such as Hamdan Zoelva, Aidul Fitrijadi Azhari (Chair of the Judicial Commission, 2016), and Chusnul Mar’iyah (Central Leadership of A’isyiyah) highlighted these issues as well. When drawn a common thread, they said that the Pancasila law is a law that originates from religious teachings and values that are Godly-oriented but at the same time humane-oriented that is civilized and socially just. These principles are in line with the values of Islamic law, according to them. Furthermore, participants were told to imagine what would become of Indonesia without Pancasila? Could among religious

people in Indonesia live in harmony? Of course, no one can answer with certainty these questions. Yet, it is important to underline that the idea of *wasatīyah Islām* is able to reduce innumerable kinds of conflicts, both from a juridical and social framework, Zoelva said.

Even so, the shortcomings of Indonesian Muslims are experiencing a “blindness” to the law. A number of Islamic scholars and experts who attended the Congress could not agree more with this. The blindness will surely have an impact on other aspects, especially politics. Islamic political parties and Islamic organizations which should be able to channel aspirations of *ummah* are being dulled. Coordination is not established among the *ummah*, the executive, and the legislature. Thus, it is not surprising if the *ummah* aspire their voices in the form of movements on the streets. The power of the masses is used by certain interest groups as a tool to influence public policy. Not to mention the social pressure they cause in the community. 411 and 212 Movements, for example, became a real excess of communication and collaboration that has not been established yet. Regarding law and politics themes, these were roughly the majority of the voices raised in the plenary session.

In the economic aspects, Chairul Tanjung was one of the speakers. According to him, the current economy of the *ummah* is so poorly weak and marginal. Of the 10 richest people in Indonesia, only 1 person is Muslim. Not to mention the piercing facts that most of the poor people in Indonesia consisted of muslims. Therefore, Khairul Tanjung encourages Muslims to compete to become entrepreneurs, or even tycoons, and increase the portion of the Muslim middle class in Indonesia. Thus, the economic pyramid in Indonesia can transform from pyramid-shaped into a diamond-shaped. He also mentioned to start thinking about Islamic philanthropy as a solution to the economic problems of the *ummah*. Given, the potential for Islamic philanthropy is enormous in Indonesia, but its utilization is still very minimal.

Improvements in the field of Education are also a necessity. Mohammad Nuh gave his view that the education paradigm in Indonesia is still focused on rote learning, rather than critical thinking. Full attention to the pillars of Islamic education, such as Islamic boarding schools and *madrasahs*, must continue to be encouraged. Azyumardi Azra stressed that traditional Islamic educational institutions have immense potential to support the progress of the *ummah*. He gave an example of how a boarding school was built from the strength of civil

society, from the power of philanthropy, which put forward the aspects of service and volunteerism.

But the question is, how are all these beautiful dreams in Plenary Sessions conducted? How do encourage Muslims who are currently on the edge to be present in the center? Become *wasatīyah Islām* in various aspects of life. To answer this, KUII VII prepared a forum for Commission Sessions to follow up on all inputs in the Plenary Session. The results at the Commission Session were deliberated thoroughly at the Recommendation Commission. So, KUII could prepare various strategies to target the problems in the midst of the *ummah*.

Strategies to Deliver

There are a number of strategies recommended by KUII VII. Specifically, recommendations are directed at three elements of policy makers, namely: government, legislature, and political parties. There are at least 39 points of recommendations that have been generated by this Congress (<https://www.wasathiyah.com/berita/berita-nasional/29/02/2020/butir-butir-rekomendasi-bangka-belitung-kongres-umat-islam-indonesia-kuii-vii-tahun-2020/>), and 9 points of declaration with the name Bangka Belitung Declaration (<https://mui.or.id/berita/27615/ini-9-butir-deklarasi-bangka-belitung/>). Not all recommendations will be discussed in here, but for those who want to know what the recommendations are, please check the links above.

However, at least, there are four strategies that need to be underlined. *First*, KUII wants to resolve religious disputes that are later worrying. The issues of religious intolerance, extremism, and the rejection of national ideology are some examples that can be mentioned here. By mainstreaming the concept of “*wasatīyah Islām*”, it is hoped that the *ummah* will have a moderate religious understanding. This concept is then operationalized through several indicators namely: *tawāsuṭ* (taking the middle way), *tawāzun* (balance), *tasāmuh* (tolerant), *i’tidal* (straight and firm), *musāwah* (egalitarian and non-discriminative), *shūrā* (deliberation), *awlawīyah* (prioritizing the priority), *islāh* (reformative), *taḥaddur* (civilized), and *taṭawwur wa ibtikār* (dynamic, creative, and innovative), and *muwāṭanah* (civic and national education). Islamic educational institutions are specifically asked by the Congress to socialize this concept intensively.

The *second* strategy, KUII reminds policy makers to create fair, just, and impartial regulations. The aspirations that emerged in this forum assumed that so far Indonesia only belonged to an elite group called the “oligarch”. Almost all types of laws are considered to benefit only to them, and are detrimental to most of the people, especially people who are on the periphery. Lack of harmonization, synchronization, monitoring, and not paying too much attention to academic texts as well as involving the participation of the people in the formation of laws are considered to be one of the causes.

Third, the congress participants are actually very aware of the relationship between fake news (hoax) and the “backwardness” of the people in digesting correct information, not to mention the segregation among *ummah*. The consequences are varied, for instance, causing a long-standing debate in the public space about returning the first principles of the Pancasila contained in the Jakarta Charter to Indonesia constitution: “Belief in the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents”. Therefore, it is very important to re-implement Pancasila in the joints of the lives of the *ummah*. To deter this situation, one of the recommendations of KUII VII is to restore the authority of the interpretation of the Pancasila to the MPR as mandated by the fourth principle of the Pancasila. Consequently, the existence of the Agency for Pancasila Ideology Education (BPIP) is not necessary, and this Congress urges the President to dissolve it.

Strengthening economy aspects become the *fourth* strategy. Performing the ideal conception of Islamic philanthropy is one of the main options. The potential of the *ummah* social funds (zakat, infaq, alms, waqf) whose numbers range at IDR 287 trillion (approximately USD 16,8 billion) per year is the primary reason. In addition, in line with the mission of Ma'ruf Amin, Indonesia needs to become the center for world halal industry. There is a point that it is important to “halalization” the economic industry, especially in tourism and other halal products such as medicine and fashion. However, normatively, the embodiment of the people's economic acceleration must be based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which is based on the mechanism of economic movement that is just and civilized, prioritizing collaboration over competition, environmentally sound and sustainable and taking into account the benefit of the people.

Closing Remarks

Disbandment of BPIP is one of the recommendations issued in Congress. The effect is long tailed and gave birth to various speculations. Some thought that KUII was the vehicle for a handful of groups in undermining the ideology of the nation. Meanwhile, some responded by saying that this recommendation was only a momentary reaction from the controversial statement of the chairman of BPIP, Yudian Wahyudi, who said religion was the greatest enemy of Pancasila. But whatever it is, the actual footage and nuance that gave birth to this recommendation is to strengthen the role of the MPR which has tended to become extras in the state constitution, besides of course efficiency considerations where BPIP has not worked optimally in mainstreaming Pancasila values in the community, especially in amid Indonesian Muslims.

However, apart from the polemic, other recommendations are rather satisfactory, and should be considered by societies. The content is also significant in consolidating the *ummah*, especially emphasizing the aspect of collaboration so that the *ummah* have a great common goal. In addition, with the invitation of diverse groups in Indonesia, this congress contributed to influencing policy-making and programs at the level of government and civil society groups. It can be said that this congress also aims to raise the face of Muslims in Indonesia better and more dignified, both at national, regional and international levels.

All in all, the congress is trivial if measured from the number of participants that were not as vibrant as the Muhammadiyah or NU Congress, the two largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia. However, what made this forum special was because it invited almost all the representatives of Muslims at the central level throughout Indonesia. Thus, hopefully, the messages generated by KUII VII can be channelled to micro levels of its organizations. After all, there are two eminent individuals that should mention in this closing remarks, namely the Chairperson of the Steering Committee, Anwar Abbas and the Chairperson of the Organizing Committee, Muhammad Zaitun Rasmin. Without their hard work, this congress might never have been carried out.

Endi Aulia Garadian, *Member of Steering Committee of the 7th Indonesian Muslim Congress, Indonesia; Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta, Indonesia.* Email: endi.garadian@uinjkt.ac.id.

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2. Booth, Anne. 1988. "Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia: A Review of the Evidence." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19(2): 310–34.
3. Feener, Michael R., and Mark E. Cammack, eds. 2007. *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*. Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program.
4. Wahid, Din. 2014. *Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

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قيمة الاشتراك السنوي خارج إندونيسيا:
للمؤسسات: ٧٥ دولار أمريكي، ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٥ دولار أمريكي.
للأفراد: ٥٠ دولار أمريكي، ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٠ دولار أمريكي.
والقيمة لا تشمل نفقة الإرسال بالبريد الجوي.

رقم الحساب:

خارج إندونيسيا (دولار أمريكي):
PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia
account No. 101-00-0514550-1 (USD).

داخل إندونيسيا (روبية):

PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia
No Rek: 128-00-0105080-3 (Rp).

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي داخل إندونيسيا:
لسنة واحدة ١٥٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للمؤسسة) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٥٠,٠٠٠ روبية،
روبية، ١٠٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للفرد) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٤٠,٠٠٠ روبية.
والقيمة لا تشمل على النفقة للإرسال بالبريد الجوي.



ستوديا إسلاميكا

مجلة إندونيسيا للدراسات الإسلامية
السنة السابعة والعشرون، العدد ١، ٢٠٢٠

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سيف الأهم

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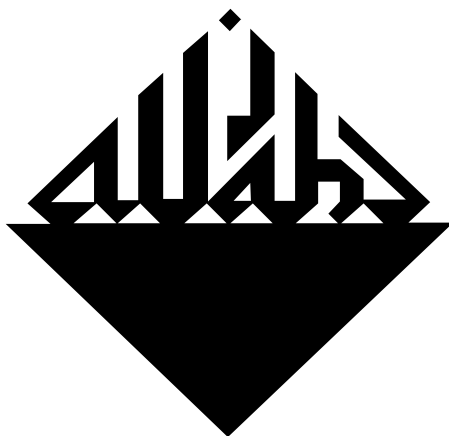
س. برنكا

ستوديا اسلاميا

سثوديا اسراميا

مجلة إنءونيسية للءراساء الإسلامية

السنة السابعة والعشرون، العءء ١، ٢٠٢٠



الرسم العثماني
ففي المصحف المعيارى الإنءونيسى
مءءءءانى وأبى ءاوء
زىن العارفىن مءءور

التوءراءء بىن السنة والشىعة
ففى مالوكو الشمالية: ءروس من الماضى
مءء أمىن نور الءىن وهىرءى شاه رشاء وسمىءءء الحضر
