

# Islamic Shari'a Movement Reproduction of Salafism in Indonesia

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## Islamic Shari'a Movement Reproduction of Salafism in Indonesia

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**Abstract:** The study revealed the movements striving upon the implementation of formal Islamic Shari'a in the life of the people and of the nation in Indonesia. Among them were the movements of Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia as well as several Shari'a practices in South Sulawesi, West Java and Aceh. The main concern of this study was to investigate why these movements showed off powerful militancy despite lacking of support from Islamic mainstream movements and even reproduced their ideology, how the Islamic Shari'a movement was within the religious dynamic and community development in Indonesia. This study applied sociological approach with the perspective of social movement. Methodologically, it was a synthesis of literature and field study in which documentation, in-depth interview and field observation were used as the methods for data collection. The finding of the study showed that the high militancy in Islamic Shari'a movement was the result of integral and ideological Islamic law perspective toward life. Islamic Shari'a emphasized on the legal and ethical aspects that should be practiced in Muslims' formal life, including Muslims' role as citizens. Islamic sharia movement is an endeavor to represent the "authentic" and "kafaah" (the implementation of Shari'a thoroughly) Islam in accordance to rampart and conservative orthodox Islam; thus, it exposes the phenomenon of salafi movement reproduction. This movement was established and subsequently developed as a part of Muslims' life in Indonesia that was indicated by the propensity of the cycle of crisis, the rise of religious revivalism, conflict phenomenon, sectarianism and social marginalization.

**Key words:** Islamic Shari'a, movement's dynamic, salafism reproduction, sectarianism, Indonesia

### INTRODUCTION

Despite the existence of numerous Islamic movements, the movement striving upon formal implementation of Shari'a Law within the state or government regulations is relatively extensive phenomenon. It appears that this movement opposes non-formal mainstream Islamic organizations represented by Muhammadiyah and Nahdhatul Ulama. It is called "Islamic Shari'a movement". It attempts to set up the realization of Islamic Law in the life of people and of the nation in Indonesia that emerged explicitly in the reformation era. It was commenced by an endeavor of an Islamic group to re-include Jakarta Charter in the amendments of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia UUD 1945 at the annual session of the People's Consultative Assembly in 2000. Initially, the aim of the movement was the inclusion of the following statement in the Jakarta Charter: "with the obligation to implement Islamic Law among Muslims" into the preamble of UUD 1945 which failed at that time (Jakarta Charter, Piagam Jakarta) is manuscript of the preamble to the UUD 1945 as the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. It was arranged by a teamwork led by Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta, Maramis, Abi Kusno Tjokrosujoso, Abdul Kahar

Muzakkir, Agus Salim, Achmad Subardjo, Wachid Hasjim and Muhammad Yamin as the members. It states, "obligation to enforce Shari'a Law for Muslims" which is excluded from the preamble of the 1945 Constitution. Endang Saifudin Anshari, Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945 (Jakarta Rajawali, 1986), p. 177).

Among the Islamic movements which are perpetually active, persistent, consistent and palpable for the enforcement of Islamic Shari'a in Indonesia after Jakarta Charter are Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syariat Islam (KPPSI) in South Sulawesi. They constantly predispose Muslim community to strive for the enforcement of Islamic Shari'a through opinions in the media, mass organizations and student movements. In other areas, this movement emerges through Local Government and regional representatives council/DPRD such as in Cianjur, Tasikmalaya, Indramayu, Pamekasan and the province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam.

As a matter of fact, it is compelling that the attempt to formalize Islamic Shari'a in the reformation era was unendorsed by Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah central executive officially issued an edict/circular that affirms its disagreement on the efforts to revive of Jakarta Charter, neither for reasons of substance nor strategy in the

context of Indonesian Muslim life. Muhammadiyah presumes that the implementation of Islamic Shari'a through da'wah and community development in the public sphere is considered more effective. See Circular of Muhammadiyah Central Executive, No. 10/EDRA/2002, 6 August 2002) and Nahdhatul Ulama (On 11 August 2000, Nahdhatul Ulama renounced the Amendment of Article 29 and the preamble of the 1945 Constitution which include seven-words of Jakarta Charter) as the dominant Islamic organizations in Indonesia. These prominent Islamic organizations have preferred to engage on cultural da'wah within the society through education, culture and social for the implementation of Islamic Shari'a in Indonesia. Likewise, the major political parties of Golongan Karya (Golkar) and Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P) refused to support the formalization of particular religion into the constitution.

From the academic and public outlook, the phenomenon of Islamic Shari'a movement is perceived as a sign or fact of the revival of fundamentalist Islam, political Islam, Islamism, scripturalist, revivalist and other negative assessments. It comes from the assumption that it fails to keep pace with the complex dynamics of the era and the system of the state as well as the plurality of Indonesia (Lawrence, 2010). However, instead of slowing down its pace, the movement is extensively increasing its influence in striving the enforcement of Islamic Shari'a in state institutions formally (Abegebriel and Abeveiro, 2004).

Based on the previous concern, it raises problematic issues related to Islamic Shari'a movement in Indonesia. First, why does Islamic Shari'a movement perform high militancy despite the failure of Jakarta Charter and the refusal of major Islamic organizations and socio-political forces to assist this movement? Is there any particular ideology or philosophy aside from socio-political aspects that encourages this movement's militancy? Second is there any particular reason behind the reproduction of the movement striving for the formalization of Islamic Shari'a in the state institutions? In what socio-political circumstances are Islamic Shari'a movement tends to expand? Third, how is the presence of Islamic Shari'a movement in the socio-religious dynamics and community development in Indonesia?

#### MATERIALS AND METHODS

The recognition of Islamic Shari'a movement phenomenon in Indonesia requires a number of point of views since religious movement is always associated with other aspects such as social, politics and economy. This study applied simultaneous multi-perspective of

Sociological approach, namely integralism, deconstructionism and social movements. The use of those three perspectives was based on the consideration that Islamic Shari'a movement, in Sociology, can be categorized as collective movement as it embodies the identity of beliefs, values and alternative life style in facing contemporary era.

The perspective of Islamic integralism was used as it becomes a preference for the "Islamist" including Hasan al-Bana, Sayyid Kuthb, Abu 'Ala Maududi and other Shari'a activists. It believes and perceives Islam as an integral teaching which should be practiced into all aspects of life including in the political and state sphere. Subsequently, this study also used deconstructionism (external criticism) which was developed by Abdullah Ahmed An-Na'im (Abdullah Ahmed An-Naim, Muhammad Abid Al-Jabiri, Fazlur Rahman and other neo-modernist figures, emphasizing on the necessity of Islamic teaching re-formulation, particularly Shari'a in contemporary era. The perspective of social movements is developed in the sociology tradition of religious movement which situates Muslims into complex and interrelated social relations among the aspects of beliefs, knowledge, organization and religious practices as well as their correlations with structural and conflict tension, political leeway, cultural atmosphere and dynamic actual responses (Diani, 2000).

Methodologically, the study combined two types of research, namely literature and field research. The data were obtained from literatures and the field research. It also consisted of the statement and opinion of the activists as the key informants and the experts of Islamic Shari'a movement. The methods for data collection were documentation, in-depth interviews and observations. The analysis used was interpretation method which was commenced after the data were retrieved. With the analytical method of interpretation, this research attempted to explain and interpret the empirical facts about the religious movements. The interpretation was able to capture the diversity among Islamic Shari'a movements from their typology or religious characteristics, process and dynamics of its development as well as context and propensities.

This study was preoccupied on the most persistent actions of Islamic Shari'a movements in striving for the formalization of Islamic Shari'a within the Indonesian government, namely Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). In addition, it also focused on the movements for the implementation of Islamic Shari'a in regional level, particularly Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syariat Islam (KPPSI) in South Sulawesi, West Java and Nangroe Aceh Darussalam.

**Islamic Shari'a movements:** Conceptually, the movement of Islamic movement is depicted as the typology of a group of Muslim's collective action that attempts to enforce the formalization of Islamic Shari'a in the State Institution of Indonesia. In the treasures of classical Islam, Shari'a is distinguished into the category of Islamic *aqidah* and Islamic congregations (Meijer, 2009). This movement with salafi ideology that struggles for the inclusion of Islamic Law in state institutions, is also distinguished from the application of Shari'a laws in economics or banking which has increased recently in Indonesia and is called Shari'a economics or Shari'a banking.

The movement is rooted from the Islamic integralism worldview propounded by eminent scholars that inspired the Middle East Islamic movements such as the concept of *Islamiyyah* from Hasanah-Bana which is similar to Islamism in contemporary reference. According to Hasanah-Bana, Islam is a comprehensive value system covering the entire dimensions of life. Moreover, Islam provides solution to various problems of mankind. In Indonesia, Islamic Shari'a movement can be considered as a new and typical phenomenon as it promotes "the implementation of Islamic Shari'a" and establishes "Islamic political accommodation;" even, it is eager to realize an Islamic state in the form of Islamic caliphate or Caliphate State. This movement is considered new because the icon of "Shari'a" turns out to be the primary issue with the orientation of formal legislation. Thus, this movement reflects its rigid identity. Shari'a is displayed as the main feature of Islam with political ideology as its principal aim.

The efforts of Islamic Shari'a movements do not necessarily receive positive responses from the majority of Muslims in this country, yet it is not an impendent for them as their struggles are more persistent and militant. Even at certain points, their militancy is higher than other movements. It is presumed to be the consequence of their Shari'a belief system or worldview; hence, they accentuate Shari'a as the principle implemented within formal state institutions to the construction of the Islamic State, in addition to the individual recruitment.

Islamic Shari'a movements are organized religious movements with their characteristic of synergic top-down and bottom-up organization system. Despite their small-scale range, their movements perform lofty militancy in which they gain a remarkable place within the Muslim's life in Indonesia. However, any given lavish political leeway in critical situation, either structural or cultural, will advance these movements to achieve their evolving and volatile dynamics. Militancy is gained allegedly due to the worldviews integrated with situational aspect that

facilitate and provoke the militancy of Islamic Shari'a movements. In fact, the actualization of these movements is miscellaneous, both from the aspect of strategy, orientation and the ultimate goal of movement.

**Islamic Shari'a movements in regions: underground-level Islamization (cultural Islamization):**

Islamic Shari'a movement grows and develops in numbers of region in Indonesia. However, the most prominent regions comprise South Sulawesi, West Java and Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD). In the past, these three areas were known as the basis of Islamic State of Indonesia. The movements striving for the implementation of Islamic Law can be considered as "subversive" Islamization since, practically, instead of proposing Shari'a constitutionally by demanding special autonomy on the enforcement of Islamic Shari'a, they focus on propaganda and advice within the community to implement the Islamic teachings in the aspects of worship and moral.

In South Sulawesi, the formalization of Islamic Shari'a was initiated by Konggres Umat Islam in 2000 that yielded the establishment of Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syariat Islam (KPPSI). The KPPSI is a committee whose members are Islamic leading figures representing all components of the Muslims in the region. Its vision is to serve as an independent alliance by unifying the potential of the Muslims of South Sulawesi to implement Islamic Shari'a. Its mission is the formal-legalized implementation of Islamic Shari'a through constitutional and democratic political struggle within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The efforts in legislation process regarding with the implementation of Islamic Shari'a have been performed through various channels including Regional People's Representative Council and Local Government of South Sulawesi as well as special autonomy, mainly on the on-going implementation of Islamic Shari'a in the regions even though the legalization of Islamic Shari'a is unsuccessful. Its main obstacle is the absence of special autonomy from the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia.

In contrast to the movement of Islamic Shari'a in South Sulawesi, Aceh, in fact, has started the formal implementation of Islamic Shari'a in its government institutions. However, the implementation of Islamic Shari'a in Aceh is characterized by its advancement as compared to other regions. Aceh is also well-known as the basis of heroic Islamic movement and as the porch of Mecca to illustrate the local community's strong attachment to Islam. The implementation of Islamic Shari'a in Aceh is even extensive with various aspects of its carrying capacity of regulations and institutional devices. In this way, Islamic Shari'a is embodied in government

while coexisting within the framework of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. The basic reason of the special autonomy on the implementation of Islamic Shari'a in Aceh is due to the culture and the fact that the people of Aceh have long been associated with Islam itself.

In West Java, instead of taking place in the capital city of Bandung, the movement of Islamic Shari'a occurs in the district level such as Cianjur, Tasikmalaya, Garut, Indramayu and Banten (before it becomes a province). The movement is the meeting point between the aspirations of the local Muslims and the campaigned Regent on the implementation of Islamic Shari'a during the election. Compared to South Sulawesi and Aceh, the dynamics of the Islamic Shari'a implementation in West Java is less intensive due to the absence of major community support. Consequently, they fail to obtain the legislation from central government. There is no local regulation for the implementation of Islamic Shari'a in West Java. This illustration shows the variation of map, process and actualization of Islamic Shari'a movements which are quite diverse in Indonesia.

The movement to formalize Islamic Shari'a in West Java widely develops in Cianjur, Garut, Tasikmalaya, Indramayu and Banten. The implementation of Islamic Shari'a which is partial as in other regions is limited to the aspects of Islam teachings such as the obligation to recite Al-Quran, to pray in congregation and to dress up like a Muslim for the government officials, to eradicate gambling and liquor and to implement particular Islamic morality in public without any obvious or specific aspects except of being the symbol associated with Islam.

**Hizbut Tahrir and Majelis Mujahidin: Surface-level Islamization (Political Islamization):** Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) was established and declared in Yogyakarta on 7 August 2000 at the Congress of Mujahidin I. Its leading figures were Abu Bakar Ba'asyir (as Amir Mujahidin) and Irfan Sularyadi as the chief executive (Lajnah Tanfidhiyah). MMI is extremely firm in struggling for the implementation of Islamic Shari'a among Muslims in every region. It is stated in Yogyakarta Charter (Shahifah Yogyakarta) that "It is an obligation to implement Islamic Law for Muslims in Indonesia in particular and in the world in general. Reject all ideologies that oppose Islam and lead to shirk and nifaq, as well as the violation of human rights".

In political sphere, MMI has its own agenda of assertions. First, it urges the implementation of Shari'a thoroughly (kafaah) in the political and state life. Second, it constructs Islamic political force by exhorting Islamic parties and organizations to unite for the implementation of Shari'a. Third, it forms a government that assures the Shari'a implementation for the Muslim and the freedom for

other religious communities to practice their religion. Fourth, it establishes mass media to disseminate its programs.

In addition, MMI also made constitutional effort regarding to its proposition to the House of Representative of the Republic of Indonesia about the amendment of the 1945 Constitution which should be adjusted with Islamic Shari'a by returning to Jakarta Charter and advocating the articles so that the highest authority lays down the law in the hands of God Almighty.

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is an Islamic movement as a part of Hizbut Tahrir growing in a number of Arab countries and a transnational Islamic movement based in Jerusalem and Jordan. The establishment of HTI is obscure, although the movement's ideology and embryo are allegedly related to the arrival of Taqiyudin An-Nabhani in 1972. Two central issues brought by HTI is the Islamic caliphate, the Daulah Islamiyah and Islamic Shari'a as the manifestation of Islamic system which should be believed, understood and practiced in life.

HTI perceives that Islam has determined the form of power and the governmental affairs must be in accordance with the law of God which is the Islamic and Shari'a government and the most suitable form of government is the Caliphate or Khilafah Islamiyyah. Therefore, HTI rejects the system of kingdom, republic and democracy since the highest power in democracy is held by the people. Furthermore, HTI emphasizes the implementation of Islamic Shari'a as an obligation for every Muslim, individual or groups such as the obligations to perform prayers, fasting, charity and so on, even more the obligation to implement Islamic Shari'a should be applied in the sphere of the state. Basically, according to HTI, the establishment of a state with its entire structures and authorities is essential for the implementation of Islamic Shari'a.

MMI and HTI struggle for the implementation of Islamic Shari'a through the "surface-level" movement, namely by disseminating their aspirations and concerns of Shari'a implementation in public, into a variety of Muslim communities and groups at the national level. Both possess institutional structures in several regions in Indonesia. Their mobilizations are done directly by joining in the events held with other Islamic organizations such as the Muslim congress, demonstrations, meetings, seminars, discussions and publications.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The orthodoxy of Islamic Shari'a movement in Indonesia embodies the accent of Salafism particularly, since it insists on the formalization of Shari'a in the state.

Salafism is similar with the concept of political salafi suggested by Yusuf Qaradhawi. Hence, this movement can be considered as the reproduction of previous Islamic movement for its comprehensive Islamic Law and the aspiration of "Shari'a state". It is the reproduction of Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia, Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwanul Muslimin) in Egypt and Taliban in Afghanistan. The reproduction process of Islamic Shari'a reinforces the powerful Islamic orthodoxy as an ideology in Indonesia. They tend to oppose the re-formulation of Islam in facing the era and to have negative perception toward any form of reformation which is assumed to be identical with secularization and liberalization of Islam. The orientation of Salafism with its radical system emphasizes the incapability of its activists in understanding the socio-cultural conditions in Indonesia.

Dealing with the organization system, Islamic Shari'a movements have a propensity toward modern law indicated by the establishment of official institution which organizes their strategies in carrying out their role and function. The strategy of the movement is divided into surface-level in national level and underground-level in regional level. The action is commenced with the motive to revive Jakarta Charter and followed by the legislation of Islamic Shari'a in several areas such as Aceh with its special autonomy. Another motive is the struggle to uphold the Islamic caliphate as conducted by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia.

Islamic Shari'a movements, contextually, emerge and develop as an element of the dynamic of Indonesian Muslim and people in the reformation era which explicitly adduces five sociological predispositions. First, the cycle of crisis, such as the time when the Muslim is in the critical situations mainly due to the life system of "kafir" which should be enlightened, the state of the world which endures its crisis in the midst of Westerners' intimidation and hostility and multidimensional crisis occurs in Indonesia. In these circumstances, Islamic movements emerge and provide solution of the implementation of Islamic Shari'a.

Second, the revitalization of religion; Muslims should arise because the global conditions increasingly weakening Islam, the situation of national power transition and the multidimensional crisis. They emerge with the main objective to replace the corrupted system with a new Shari'a-based system. With regard to this objective, Islamic Shari'a movements resemble the religious movements of Millienari or Messiah which is characterized by the enforcement of Islamic Law instead of in the form of Sufism or tarskat as general movement of religion revitalization in the era of social crisis.

Third, the conflict phenomena; the establishment of this movement is highly influenced by sociological condition with its "structural tension" which is the opposite form of ideology toward the state and the world

which resists and opposes Islam. In addition, the national structural tension is frequently incited by political and ideological conflicts in filling the reformation new space as the antithesis of Islam marginalization in the new order era. It is also driven by the conflict spirit in the cultural realm in encountering the ideology of atheism, capitalism, communism and others. Thus, this movement emerged as the result of the ideological conflict to overflow the disappointment on the uncontrollable condition by promoting Shari'a implementation in life.

Fourth, the sectarian responses; coercions suffered by the Muslims encourage ideological and theological legitimacy to salvage the situation. The "identity politics" is built up to show a determined sectarian stance against the ideological pressure from the internal and external. Islamic Shari'a movements have fanatical and militant religious beliefs for dealing with other religious movements which are considered to be the menace in faith and muamalah. These movements claim to represent a thorough (kafaah) Islam.

Fifth, the phenomenon of social marginalization; the establishment of Islamic Shari'a movement is an expression of marginality compared to other groups, in addition to the failure of Jakarta Charter which is assumed to be a betrayal from the nationalists. Throughout the history of the regime, it is assumed that Islamic groups are treated unfairly and discriminated in every aspect of life, thus they have to seize the power by advocating the ideology of Islamic Shari'a. This movement develops as the accumulation of disappointment and even frustration to change the social system into a new Shari'a order as the alternative.

Now a days, in the context of the life of Indonesian Muslims, the existence of Islamic Shari'a movements has reinforced the distinction between these movements with the mainstream organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama as the representation of moderate Islam. Actually, the social gap between Islamic Shari'a movements and mainstream Islamic groups in accordance to the history of Islam is not a fundamental issue as the understanding and perception of the text and history of Islam as well as Islamic teachings have a different starting point. Islamic Shari'a movements believe that Islam at the time of the Prophet and the Salaf generation is the ideal type which should be reproduced without any re-formulation. Meanwhile, the mainstream Islamic organizations emphasize the importance of accommodating stance associated to the dynamic of the era by the re-formulation of Islam without losing its authenticity as a religion of Revelation.

Another difference is the actualization of Islamic values within the society. Islamic Shari'a movement preoccupies on Islamic Shari'a as the central theme of the teachings with formalization as the state political struggle (Hilmy, 2010). While, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul

Ulama devote their endeavors on comprehensive Islamic teachings with the emphasis on propaganda in the community, the implementation or institutionalization of Shari'a is firstly practiced into the culture of Muslims and secondly practiced in the realm of structural states; those can be achieved through the objectification of Islamic Shari'a into the system of positive law, democratically and constitutionally.

The Islamization model of Islamic Shari'a movement is ideological and far from domestication and appreciation on the culture of the society as the consequence, it ideologically opposes the nationalist and the mainstream Islamic organization. However, this movement is persistent in its belief that the struggle to implement Islamic Shari'a as a political struggle for a solution and the only alternative to the crisis of life. Hence, the rise of Islamic Shari'a endures and may preserve the "ideological tension" in the political and religious struggle in Indonesia.

Islamic Shari'a movements characterized by Salafism as well as political Islam movements. Furthermore, they actually have their agenda to carry out the theological reinterpretation and reconstruction on belief system and religious understanding of orthodox Islamic integralism. The main agenda is the re-actualization of Shari'a based on the totality of Islamic teachings to cope with the reality of modern life and complex plurality of society which is more than merely returning to "fanatic" and "salafiyah" Islam. The complicated modern world requires the re-actualization of multi-aspects and multi-perspectives Islamic teachings to present Islam as rahmatan lil 'alamin.

#### CONCLUSION

Religious movement attempting to advocate the formalization of Islamic Shari'a in government institutions is a new current in contemporary Islamic developments in Indonesia, since it displays a comprehensive Islamic Shari'a with its formalistic and ideological orientation. This movement seems to be conservative, radical and unlikely compared to the mainstream Islamic movements in Indonesia which tends to be supple and flexible in their propaganda such as Muhammadiyah and NU. This movement is carried out by Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Hizbut Tahrir (HTI), Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syariat Islam (KPPSI) South Sulawesi and other groups.

With the outlook of Islamic Shari'a, these Islamic movements appear to be doctrinaire and completely rigid. The complex world is constructed normatively and strictly in the frame systems of medieval jurists. This outlook reinforces militancy as it is pertained with Islamic integralism which convinces Islam as one total and inviolable claim. It indicates the sustainability of Islamic orthodox movement dealing with the Muslim perspective

and practices of Islam. The image of Islamic orthodoxy is ideologically integrated with Islamic ideology that unites the Islamic teachings with political or state authority.

Given the fact that Islamic Shari'a movements have strengthened their conservatism, militancy and fanaticism, it turns out that it will be another challenge for the mainstream Islamic organizations to present the moderate side of Islam. At the same time, the absence of moderation will eventually aggravate the ideological conflicts in pluralistic nation. In addition, it is possible to evoke another problem for the Muslims as it will requires more inclusive, tolerant and substantive religious orientation. It is presumed that the theological and ideological dialectics will be increasingly complicated for the future of Islam in Indonesia.

Contextually, Islamic Shari'a movements with their salafiyah ideology are likely to survive and demonstrate higher militancy since Indonesia with Pancasila as its principle develops as a "secular state". This dialectic employs the pendulum theory between Islamization and secularization which frequently involves the nationality dynamics. The analysis of conflict theory indicates that the presence of Islamic Shari'a movements will obtain people's supports, at the same time, the religious movements or the nationalists radically demonstrate their secular and liberal orientations as suggested in the thesis "the clash fundamentalism".

In severe ideological dialectic, the insight and wisdom of mainstream Islamic organizations, as represented by Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, in presenting Islamic actualization as the alternative among various extreme ideologies are required. Both of these moderate Islamic organizations have to provide well-off perspectives, alternative and capacity for the development of contemporary Islam in Indonesia.

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