

The new islamic revivalism

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The New Islamic Revivalism in Indonesia: Accommodationist and Confrontationist

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Abstract

Islamic politics has become an integral part of Indonesia's political history. Since the struggle for independence, the general assembly of the preparations for Indonesian independence, the basic discussion of the state, the 1945 Constitution, and even the debate on the development of the state and its policies have never escaped the color of Islam as the religion and belief of most Indonesian citizens. The desire to apply the Islam of the revivalists both essentially and symbolically arises from various circles which it fights through the state structure (accommodationist) as well as outside the state (confrontationist) structure. After the existence of various social organizations such as Muhammadiyah, NU, Persis and Islamic political parties such as Masyumi (Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia) and PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan) which focus more on the application of Islamic Shari'ah, two new movements of accommodationist revivalist (PKS) Prosperous Justice Party and Hizbut Tahrir (HT) confrontationist revivalist. PKS and HT can be regarded as two new Islamic movements in the 21st century that have ideology and transnational movement that became mainstream of the Revivalists who believe that the application of Islam will be a solution for modern human civilization. This study conducts studies on PKS and HT and compares them from resistance to Islam, the application of Islamic shari'a, methods of application, and how to fight for it. The research method was conducted by using references and interviews to PKS and HT officials in Indonesia.

Keywords: New Movement, Islamic Revivalist, Accommodationist, Confrontationist, PKS, HT, Shari'at Islam.

Introduction

In political life, Islam offers the widest horizon of thought in various formulations of ideas with regard to political life, ranging from social norms, legal thought, while on the other about new virtues and aspirations. Islam provides the most effective system of symbol for political mobilization which acts to encourage people to defend a regime or to fight a regime that is deemed to lack legitimacy. In order to understand the politics of Islam, it is necessary to understand the development and changes perceived and expressed in Islamic terms, we must seek to understand the language of political debate among Muslims, which words are used and understood, and the framework which work is usually used in all its communications. The

original Islamic political language concerning various aspects of Islam is shown in the Qur'an, the Sunnah of the Apostles, and the practice of the early Muslims¹.

Islamic politics in Indonesia has become part of the national political constellation. One agenda that appears either in discourse or in the form of a movement is how to realize a country compatible with Islam. Efforts in the form of movement are seen by the emergence of Islamic groups, both of which are included in the national political system such as Majelis Shura Muslimin Indonesia (Masyumi) as the representation of Islamic parties voicing Islamic politics during the Old Order (Orla)² and the Justice Party Prosperous (PKS) during the reform era, as well as groups fighting outside the system of government of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) proclaimed on August 17, 1945 such as Darul Islam (DI) and Hizbut Tahrir (HT).

After Masyumi failed to fight for the entry of Shari'ah Islam into the 1945 Constitution (UUD) through an effort to restore the Jakarta Charter as a constitution in the era of the Old Order (Orla), Islamic political activists hope the emergence of the New Order (Orba) can accommodate aspirations the Muslims in the form of the application of Islamic shari'ah as a whole. The political activists of Islam then hoped for a change of government policy under the New Order against the interests of Islam. These expectations include: First, the release of their leaders from detention. Second, the rehabilitation of the Masyumi party that Sukarno disbanded. Third, re-enter the seven words of the Jakarta Charter into the state constitution to implement Shari'ah Islam³.

But what is expected of the political activists of Islam is not obtained, because the leaders of the New Order who notes bene from the military will not rehabilitate Masyumi and its leaders because it was considered to have disturbed the integrity of the country with the effort to establish an Islamic state. Although the Masjumi actually oppose the Islamic revolution, some leaders of Masyumi are known as part of PRRI rebellion in Sumatra. In the eyes of military leaders, this is a sufficient reason not to give an opportunity to those who are perceived as endangering the stability of the state. While the seven words in the Jakarta Charter have been

¹ Bernard Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam*, (Chicago and London : The University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 75.

² Maswadi Rauf, *Konsensus Politik Sebuah Penjajagan Teoritis*, (Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2000), p. 126.

³ C.W. Watson, *Muslims and the State in Indonesia*, in book Hussin Mutalib & Taj ul-Islam Hashmi (Editor) in title *Islam, Muslims and the Modern State*, (Great Britain: Ipwich Book Co. Ltd., 1996), p. 174.

¹ raised as highly controversial issues in the 1966 People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), it only resulted in a never-ending fierce debate. The government further took the step by applying the carrot and stick approach to Muslim demands, which actively pursue various political initiatives that in the eyes of the government attack national stability, while at the same time encouraging development in the field of religious ritual education and practice. This is what is described as the relationship between the Muslims and the state in Indonesia since the mid-1960s⁴.

In the face of these conditions, Islamic political activists who demanded the enforcement of Shari'ah Islam responded by doing three things. First, they increase the political demands (application of Islamic values) within the state. Second, they increase self-awareness in the Muslim community (concerning the importance of an Islamic state). Third, when they get a chance, they gather extra parliamentary powers to protest and campaign against certain issues (regarding the enforcement of Islamic values)⁵.

To respond, the New Order government did the secularization technique once practiced by Snouck Hurgronje a Dutch colonial agent. The trick is to establish a separation between religion and politics, where Islam actually covers various aspects of life, from political affairs to government affairs. The goal is first, to make the lame leadership (Muslim) that has appeared in a few years. Second, to keep the Muslim commitment from the political world.

The evidence of the secularization step can be seen from the preparation of Pancasila understanding formulated in the Pancasila Moral Education (PMP) and the Guidance of Practice and the Pancasila (P4) Practice independently separated from Religious education. Excessive interpretation of the motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" which leads to generalization of all religions is the same, with the reason to keep the unity of the nation. In addition, although the First Precepts of Pancasila and Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution have guaranteed freedom of religion, but in practice not all religious teachings, especially the teachings of Islam, may be exercised by their people. The policy to establish the Single Principle (Astung) for all civil society organizations and political parties is enforced, and the government often presents a repressive attitude towards Islamic activists when conveying their aspirations. While some things that can be exercised by the ummah only matters concerning personal affairs such as marriage affairs, inheritance and guardianship.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

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Furthermore, the struggle of the implementation of Islamic Shari'ah in the state in Indonesia is done by the Muslims in different ways. The efforts taken are through government channels and participate in implementing the agreed development agenda, some are doing the movement with a number of actions and protests outside the prevailing government system. The condition continued until the 1998 reforms, presenting a different relationship between the government (state) and the diverse elements of Islamic society. These different relationships depend on the issue that developed in the Islamic community, which led to a different attitude from the government at that time. For example, when the idea that developed is the establishment of a country that ideology of Islam, the government provides an antagonistic attitude. On the contrary, when ideas developed in accordance with existing systems, the government's attitude softened and accommodative⁶.

The political reforms that took place in Indonesia began after the fall of Soeharto from the presidency, and were marked by a momentum open to democratization and change in every field concerning the problems of the nation and state. Reform is the momentum of change for the life of the nation and the state, which includes the re-arrangement of the constitution and various aspects related to economics, politics, and culture that seek to correct mistakes in the past.

The establishment of an Islamic state at the time of the reform in 1998 is no longer the focus of the conversation, but has shifted to the application of Islamic law in the life of the nation and the state. Implementation of Islamic Shari'ah later became the discourse of Indonesian society, although in the discussion space that is still limited among some intellectuals. The discussion is also limited around the law of inheritance, marriage, divorce, and reconciliation. The discourse of Islamic law enforcement (SI) reappears in various regions after the coming era of reform. Nangroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) has long demanded its enforcement, then some areas such as Banten, Cianjur, Garut, Tasikmalaya and other areas followed to voice the SI. After the long struggle, finally came the Local Regulation (Perda) of Aceh Number 5 of 2000 on the Implementation of Islamic Shari'ah, and then strengthened by Law No. 18 of 2001 which stipulates Aceh as NAD having special autonomy status, followed by Presidential Decree (Kepres) Number 11 Year 2003 regarding the Shariah Court in Aceh. Other regions are still struggling to get provisions to implement the SI and are further defined as Perda through various

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⁶ Abdul Aziz Thaba, *Islam dan Negara*, (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press-Jakarta, 1996), p. 29.

¹ movements. Movement in question is an action of some people to change a condition, both to play a role in providing solutions or to oppose the system and conditions that are underway.

Efforts to apply Islamic shari'ah in government continue to roll through various movements⁷ of the Muslims, the movement is further referred to as the Islamic movement. The form of the movement is in the form of a party, and there is also in the form of mass movement. The Islamic Movement is through political parties that participate in the General Election such as the Justice Party (PK) which later renamed and established the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the Crescent Star Party (PBB), the PKB (Awakening Party) New Masyumi Party. There are also organizations like the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Lasykar Jihad, the Mujahidin Council of Indonesia (MMI) and Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) which means the Liberation Party.

The Islamic movement was generally dissatisfied with the ongoing conditions and wanted to make radical changes in the system of government and society⁸. According to Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin, the demands of a number of activists who voiced (shari'at) Islam actually concerns the upholding of justice⁹.

Efforts towards the implementation of Islamic Shari'ah is demonstrated by a number of Islamic parties namely United Development Party (PPP), Crescent Star Party (PBB), Justice Party (PK) and Masyumi, PKB (PKU), The Partai Nahdlatul Ulama (PNU), the Islamic Party (PUI), and the Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia (PSII) of 1905 which agreed to amend the special constitution concerning the position of religion (syari'at Islam) in the constitution. In addition, there is also an organization that is not in the form of a political party, but actively voicing it. They proposed to the Annual Session (ST) of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) in August 2000, to include the Jakarta Charter (PJ) (that "the state is based on the One Supreme Godship with the obligation to observe the Islamic Shari'ah for its adherents") to in Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution¹⁰.

¹ However, these efforts again failed in the trial. In addition to secular parties' opposition, it also faces challenges from several Islamic based parties and the two largest Islamic organizations, namely NU and Muhammadiyah, with the excuse that they do not disagree with

⁷ Yusuf Qardhawi, *Awlawiyyat al-Harakat al-Islamiyyah fi al-Marhalah al-Qadimah* (terjemahan berjudul *Prioritas Gerakan Islam*), (Jakarta: Al-Ishlahy Press, 1990), p. 11-35.

⁸ Arief B. Iskandar, *Dilema Penerapan Syari'at Islam di Negara Sekuler*, in *al-Wa'ie Magazine*, No. 11, Tahun I. (Jakarta: Syabab Hizbut Tahrir-Indonesia, Juli 2001), p. 6-7.

⁹ Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin, *Dinamika Sistem Politik Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1993), p. 137.

¹⁰ WWW.PK-Sejahtera.or.id., *Partai-Partai Islam Minta Piagam Jakarta Masuk Amandemen UUD 1945*. Thursday 03 August 2000.

¹ their Islamic shari'ah, but it is society that must apply them¹¹. In the session, as in the Constituent Assembly in 1955, ultimately failed to include the PJ in the 1945 Constitution¹².

Reforms that took place in Indonesia led to the transition conditions, both in terms of leadership and the system to be run. This transition is an appropriate momentum to provide fundamental input for the establishment of an ideal system of government to support political, economic and social systems¹³. It is at this moment that many Muslims hope to be able to transform Islamic values into the system of government and society.

Among the many movements involved in the Islamic political constellation in Indonesia, there are two interesting moves to be investigated, namely the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) or the Liberation Party. Both are political Islam organizations that voice Islam in the practice of society and state, with a network of da'wah and different methods.

Both differ in state ideas and methods of implementation, namely that the PKS does not mention the struggle to establish an Islamic state, while HT championed it. In addition, the two movements are getting a place in various circles in Indonesia, especially among the intellectual and economic middle. For example, the PK which in the 1999 Election received only 1.4 million votes (1.7% of voters) with 7 seats in the DPR, jumped to 8.3 million votes in the 2004 elections (7.34% of voters) with 45 seats in the DPR. While HT which at the beginning of the reform of 1998 only get support among students at several universities on the island of Java, now has recruited various circles in the country.

The view that Islam and the state are a coherent of *dien* (*dunya*), *dunya* (world), *wa daulah* (state)¹⁴, led to a political orientation that emphasizes the implementation of Islamic shari'ah as the foundation of government and state. Meanwhile, there is another view, that although Islam is not only about the issue of ritual, but Islam also does not put a standard pattern on the theory of the country. In addition there is also developing the idea that Islam is separate from state affairs¹⁵. Such a division can also be derived from the thought of Munawir Sadjali¹⁶.

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¹¹ Deliar Noer, *Islam & Politik*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Risalah, 2003), p. 14.

¹² Din M. Syamsuddin, *Islam dan Politik Era Orde Baru*, (Ciputat: Logos, 2001), p. 47.

⁹ Juan J. Linz, dkk., *Menjauhi Demokrasi Kaum Penjahat*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2001), p. 28.

¹⁴ Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*, hal. 241 in book written by Effendy, Bahtiar, *Islam dan Negara Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2008), p. 332-334.

¹⁵ ⁴ i Abdul Raziq, *al-Islam wa Ushul al-Hukm*, (Bandung: Pustaka, 1985), p. 15-25.

¹⁶ Munawir Sadjali, *Islam dan Tata Negara Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran*, (Jakarta: UI Press, 1993), p. 1-2.

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Table 1
The Flow of Islamic Thought

Flow	Thought
Fundamentalist	Islam concerns all aspects of life including political and state issues
Modernist	Islam provides principles in the field of life, but does not cover the subject of detail in terms of government or state
Seculerist	Islam regulate ritual matters and do not regulate political and state affairs

Those with an Islamic political orientation, positioned by Bahtiar Effendy on two different spectra. One who thinks that Islam should be the basis of the state; that shari'ah should be accepted as a state constitution; that political sovereignty is in the hands of God; that the idea of a nation state contradicts the concept of the ummah (Islamic community) that knows no political or regional boundaries; and that the application of the concept of shura (musyawarah) is different from the idea of democracy. On the other hand, the view that Islam does not put a standard pattern on the state theory (political system) that must be run by the ummah¹⁷.

Table 2
Political Islam

Spectrum	Political Thought
Formalist	Islam has the concept of the state, for that Islam should be the basis of the state
Substantialist	Islam do not define the concept of the state by default but only provide the main principles of political and state issues, for which the principles must be implemented

The idea of the state in modern-day Islam in the 20th century started from a drastically changing world condition, mainly due to the Western invasion that necessitated the rise of Muslims. According to Nikki R. Keddie "The rise of modern Islam has actually been born since the nineteenth century, through a campaign echoed by the Young Ottomans concerning the importance of reformist Pan-Islamists. In addition, it is assumed by many that the idea was born of a prominent reformer Jamaluddin Al-Afghani (1838 / 9-1897) who received Shiite education in Iran"¹⁸.

¹⁷ Op. Cit., Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam dan Negara*, p. 12-13.

¹⁸ Nikki E. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamaluddin Al-Afghani*, in book of Ali Rahnama (ed.) *Pioneers of Islamic revival*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), p. 17-31.

¹⁹ The ideas developed by Afghani, was inseparable from his life experience at the time, so he did some movements that essentially advocated against Islam from the western invasion¹⁹.

Then his ideas according to Hamid Enayat continued by his students namely Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) and Muhammad Rashid Ridha (1865-1935). Both Egyptians are later known to develop theories of the state according to Islam. Abduh combines humanism and modern rationalism with the early life of Islam (salafiah), while Rida increasingly develops state theories that become the doctrine for the fundamentalists in the future. Furthermore Rasyid Rida's thoughts are believed to have had a major influence on the formation of the ideology of Muslim Brotherhood activists (founded by Hasan Al-Banna 1928) in Egypt and other activists in the Sunni Muslim world²⁰.

Furthermore, the spirit of Islamic renewal has spread to all other Islamic movements in the world. As to Jama'ati Islami founded by Abul A'la Al-Maududi in India (1947), then developed in Pakistan. Similarly, to other movements such as Hizb ut-Tahrir in Palestine (1953) and other movements such as Syarikat Islam (1905), Muhammadiyah (1912), Islamic Unity (1922) and Nahdlatul Ulama (1926) in Indonesia which has been the driving force of independence RI in 1945. The fundamentalist Islamic movement criticized the secular government, and its various injustices. Also demanded the enactment of Islamic shari'ah, which Oliver Roy referred to as fundamentalist Islam. Like the Muslim Brotherhood, Hizbut Tahrir, Jama'ati Islami, and Islamic Salvation Front (FIS)²¹.

In Indonesia ideological movements reappear at the momentum of reform and never disappear in the political arena. The rising Islamic movement after the New Order according to Khamami Zada is characterized by two typical, structural and cultural ones.

"The first is characterized by the rise of the establishment of Islamic parties, such as the PBB (Crescent Star Party), PK (Justice Party), PKU (Partai Kebangkitan Umat), PNU (Partai Nahdlatul Ummat), PUI (Partai Umat Islam), Masyumi Baru, PSII, PSII 1905, Masyumi (Masyumi Islamic Political Party), and PP (Partai Persatuan). Previous PPP (United Development Party) first existed in the New Order era. The second type is characterized by the proliferation of a number of Islamic mass organizations, such as the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), the Indonesian Muslim Workers' Union (PPMI), Lasykar Jihad-Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah

¹⁹ 10.1.

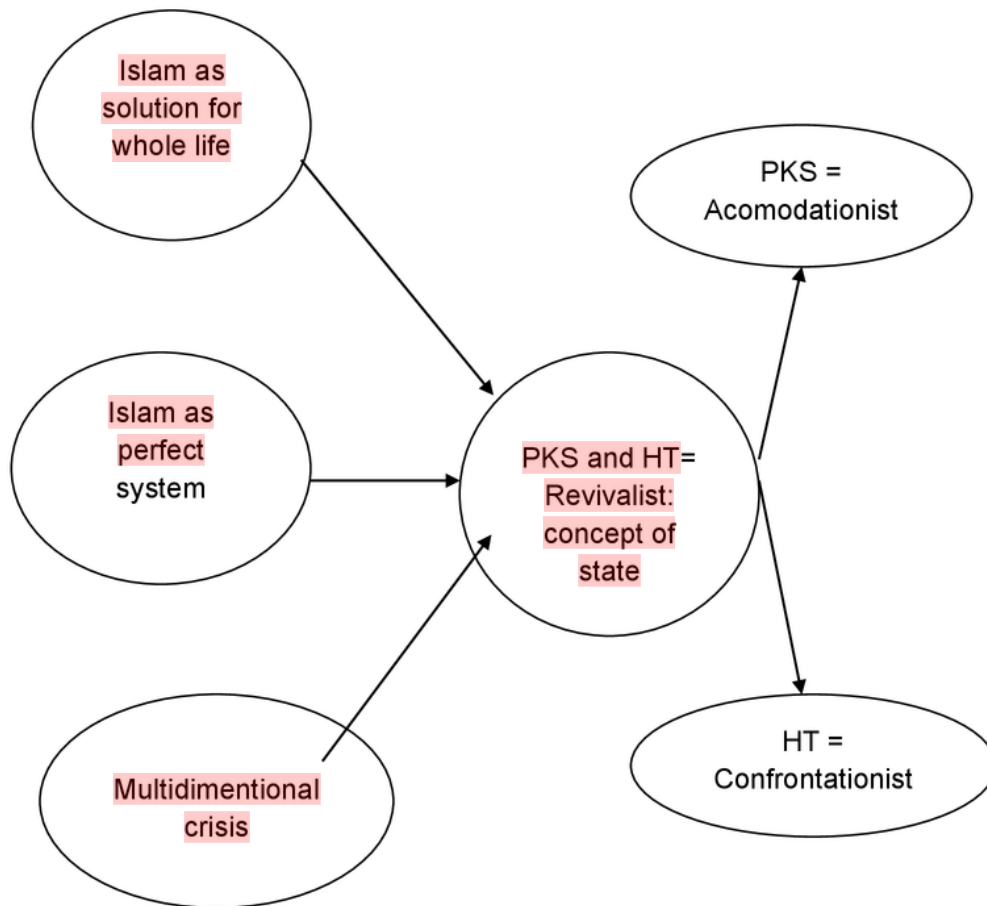
²⁰ 3. Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought*, (London: Macmillan Press, 1982), p. 69.

²¹ Oliver Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam*, (London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1994), p. 2-4.

¹ (LJ-ASWAJA) pupoler Lasykar Jihad, Ikhwanul Muslimin, Hizbut Tahrir, HAMMAS, and Majelis Mujahidin following other movements already established in the New Order era, such as the Indonesian Committee for the Solidarity of the Islamic World (KISDI) and the Indonesian Muslim Workers Union (PPMI). The rise of Islamic (mass organizations) movement is colored by its formalistic, militant, and radical character"²².

Specifically this study explains the thinking of the state and the movement of realizing the thinking of the Prosperous Justice Party and Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia.

Analysis Model Scheme



²² Khamami Zada, *Islam Radikal*, (Jakarta: Teraju, 2002), p. 3-4.

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Significance of Study

Theoretically, this study is expected to provide academic implications for the development of political science in the future, especially in the study of Islamic politics, especially on the concept of the state according to Islam and methods of realization. This study is expected to provide a reference and comparison for future researchers.

Empirically, the results of this study are expected to provide practical implications for political actors, that Islam provides the basic concepts of state and government system that can be practiced in national political life in general and especially on people who want a perfect implementation of shari'ah. In practice the results of this study are expected to have implications for the practice of running a state, government, and democracy that are not contrary to Islamic political principles.

Research Methods

The exposure in this research is using descriptive method, by doing illustration to the research object. Some of the things that will be illustrated are: First, this research will explain the background of thinking and the birth of PKS and HT. Second, it will explain the concept of state according to Islam perspective of PKS and HT. Thirdly, in its presentation it will make comparisons on some of the concepts of the state. Fourth, explaining some things that are considered crucial in a country that is the issue of justice and human rights. Fifth, explain how PKS and HT realize their ideas.

This study was conducted through the study of Static Comparative Analysis²³ on primary and secondary data concerning the concept of PKS and HT perspectives country, and the method of realization. A static comparative analysis is performed on a number of authenticated data. A static comparative analysis was performed on the data obtained using qualitative analysis²⁴.

This study is case study, which is specifically analyze the concept of Islamic state of PKS and HT perspectives and methods of realization. Case studies are selected to obtain the authenticity of a reality that occurs through an in-depth and substantial study. Robert K. Yin gives consideration to the use of case studies. First, the type of research. Second, the area of

²³ 8edi Nur Hidayat, *Bahan Kuliah Metodologi Penelitian for Doctoral Programme*, 2006.

²⁴ Lexy J. Moleong, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, (Bandung: Remaja Karya, 1989), p. 4.

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control that the researcher has for the behavior of the research. Third, the degree of focus on contemporary events as opposed to historical events²⁵.

Discovery and Research Results

Countries according to Islam both conceptually and operationally found in the treasury of Islamic science and civilization. The country has a basic concept of state based on Islamic norms, which in practice has been manifested by several generations during the Islamic Caliphate and in the practice of contemporary Islamic countries. The concept of the state in the repertoire of Muslim political thought, the theological foundations of the idea of an Islamic state, the factual foundation of the Islamic state, the theories of the Islamic state from classical to modern times, the idea of an Islamic state in the practice and problematics of Islamic state ideas in debate and practice.

The emergence of the concept of the real state originated from the agreement between various circles in society to seek the achievement of various interests and ideals with them through a media that is considered to represent all circles. The agreement is called bai'at (consensus), and the media is the state. The country is run by people who are elected to contribute all their superiority to their thoughts, deeds and all their skills to the aspirations of society. The ideals of that society are the happiness of the born and the soul, even the world and the hereafter.

The Muslims recognize the state term from the text of the Qur'an and As-Sunnah as the most important source of Islamic ideology and practice of the Prophet's government in Medina.

First, the terminology derived from the Qur'an and As-Sunnah namely al-khilafah which denotes a particular system of government, istikhlaf means power or power, and al-kholifah meaning ruler (Surat An Nur: 55). In addition to the terminology of the caliphate, there are many other terminology that became the inspiration for the formation of the concept of leadership, power and the state for the Muslims. Among these are dar as in terms of dar al-Islam and dar al-kuffar (Islamic state and pagan state); sulthan like Sultan Hasan al-Bolkiah in the Sultanate of Brunei; Imamat as used by the leadership system in Iran; imarah as used by the United Arab Emirates; mulkiyah as used by al-Mulkiyah al-Arabiyyah As-Su'udiyah.

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²⁵ Robert K. Yin, *Studi Kasus: Desain dan Metode*, (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1996), p. 7-8.

¹ Secondly, the Islamic government has been practiced in 622 AD by Rasulullah SAW. in Medina and continued by the khulafa 'al-Rosyidin. This government stands on a consensus between the Muslims, the Jews and the idolaters in a madina or shahifah madina of the Islamic State's Basic Law in Madinah²⁶. For the Muslims the charter is intended to uphold the Shari'ah of Islam (Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah)²⁷, while for other communities in Madinah to fill the leadership vacuum and stop the ever-fought battle between them²⁸.

Third, from the aspect of the state's goal, namely: "To promote the common prosperity, to educate the life of the nation, and to carry out the world order based on freedom, eternal peace and social justice", as stipulated by the preamble of the 1945 Constitution, the government of Medina community goals. From the aspect of state function defined by Mohammad Kusnardi and Bintan Saragih that the state functions to organize the government, establish the rules and conduct the judiciary²⁹, the government in Madinah has also fulfilled those requirements. Even universal values such as peace and world order have been implemented and propagated through diplomacy by the government of Medina.

Revivalism of the Islamic Movement

The spirit of Islamic awakening has become an ideology for Islamic movements around the world, especially in Muslim countries. In addition to wanting socio-moral improvement, the return of muslimin muscle in the form of khilafah, also wants independence from the colonial and various forms of intervention. As soon as the spirit of Pan Islamism has spread, the spirit has been transformed into a movement whose foundation is religious da'wah movement using political strategy (siyasah). A number of movements emerged and became a fire of struggle for other movements in the Islamic world in the 20th century AD. Noted in Indonesia a number of emerging movements are Syarikat Islam in 1905, Muhammadiyah in 1912, Islamic Union of 1922, Al-Irsyad 1924, Nahdlatul Ulama in 1926, and other Islamic organizations which later after independence had united in the Masyumi Party. While in the Middle East region itself appears the movement of Muslim Brotherhood da'wah in 1928 in Egypt and Hizb ut-Tahrir in 1953 in Palestine.

²⁶ ² ad Muhammad Fachrudin, *Pemikiran Politik Islam*, (Jakarta Pusat: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya, 1988), p. 15-45.

²⁷ Khalid Ibrahim Jindan, *The Islamic Theory of Government According to Ibn Taymiyah*, (Surabaya: Risalah Gusti, 1995), p. 5.

²⁸ M. Iqbal & Abu Abdul Fattah Ali Ben Haj, *Negara Ideal Menurut Islam*, (Jakarta: Ladang Pustaka & Inti Media, 2002), p. 27-33.

²⁹ Mohammad Kusnardi and Bintan Saragih, *Ilmu Negara*, (Jakarta: Gaya Media Pratama, 2000), p. 105.

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When viewed from time to time, Indonesia is a major driver in the history of the Islamic struggle which has transferred Islamic ideology into a real and touching movement from social, economic and political affairs of government. It is no exaggeration that many circles predict and expect that the revival of 20th century Islam M, will come from Southeast Asia especially Indonesia let alone he is the largest Muslim country in the world. But in the context of this research, the movements to be examined in addition to those that appear in Indonesia but will focus more on the two movements that were born in the Middle East, the Muslim Brotherhood, which influenced the organization of the Prosperous Justice Party and Hizb ut-Tahrir who spread their influence and movement to Indonesia.

The Emergence of Prosperous Justice Party and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia

PKS and HT Indonesia can be present in the political arena of Indonesia is a blessing of reforms conducted by the public at large. Both organizations are a representation of two major groups of Indonesians who want an application of Islamic shari'a and the practice of Islamic government, which translates their ideas differently. If observed its presence brings new constants in the political and social terms of Indonesian society.

First, from the point of view of the state even though both want a Khilafah but both differ fundamentally. PKS develops a state concept within the national territorial sphere, whereas HT wants a world state state³⁰.

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Secondly, from the point of view of the realization of the idea, the PKS is taking an accommodative path with a system that is considered non-Islamic (democracy), while HT is opposed to existing government practices while still cooperating with Indonesian government people in realizing their ideas.

Third, from the point of the Islamic movement both organizations represent a structural and cultural movement, activism and thought movement, and accommodative and confrontational movement, but in their da'wah field united in campaigning and rolling the principles of Islamic teachings. This can be seen from the various actions carried out in congregation by the Muslims from various streams and organizations, in which there are activists of PKS and HT.

The Emergence of the Revivalist Da'wah Movement in Indonesia

³⁰ Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani, *Nidhamul Hukmi fil Islam*, (Bangil: Al-Izzah, 1997), p. 17.

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In the Reform Era In the era of reform in Indonesia emerged a number of community organizations oriented to the implementation of Islamic teachings. These organizations differ in shape and pattern of movement. Starting from the form of political parties, community organizations (mass organizations), and there is also a form of communication forums that are temporary. All of them voiced their desire to implement the Shari'ah of Islam even an Islamic state. The phenomenon is of course interesting to study, considering in the past the issue of application of Islamic Shari'ah only appeared in certain circles that are limited in certain areas and in Aceh. The emergence of revivalist da'wah movement in Indonesia in mid-1998 was based on several things.

First, the ideas of Islam that have been buried get the opportunity to be presented more freely. Second, the reformasi era government is more tolerant of the ideas of the public regarding its Islamic aspirations. Third, reformation is a transitional period for the implementation of a democracy that provides an opportunity for changes in the system of government and state structure, including the entry of Islamic values into it. Fourth, the leadership crisis that occurred and the previous policies that are considered not accommodative to the aspirations of Muslims. Fifth, the moral crisis that occurs at the level of the leaders and the community due to secularization in all areas to the economic crisis that makes people fall from normal conditions.

Unlike the others, PKS and HT make their demands by using more structured concepts, methods and strategies. The PKS, born from a da'wah Tarbiyah movement mostly done on campuses, schools and offices, chose to fight through political parties and become contestants in the election. PKS chose the way by defining that Islam is syumul or perfect, and in it there are two things namely Tsawabit and Mutaghayyirat.

Tsawabit is the standard things that will not and should not change when and wherever and for any reason. It is the binding of wala or loyalty, love, and defense, also a demarcation boundary between faith and kufr. Mutaghayyirat are matters whose legal determination lies within the area of ijtihad. This is because it is not explained in sharih or explicit by the Qur'an or Sunnah texts, or indeed there are no specific propositions and there is no ijma 'in the matter. PKS stipulates that the application of Islamic Shari'ah is Tsawabit, while the steps of its realization are including the things that Mutaghayyira³¹.

³¹ Tate Qamaruddin, *Beginilah Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Menegakkan Syari'at Islam*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiyatuna, 2003), p. 11-21.

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According to the PKS, the practice of Islam is inseparable from political life, so someone who does not want to get involved in political affairs needs to reflect on his Islam. According to Tate Qamaruddin, PKS was first established as PK on July 20, 1998 (changed to PKS in 2000) from the beginning has set Islam as its principle. Because the PKS aims to uphold Islam rather than enforce the party. As a da'wah chain that aspires to be a propagator of propagation of Rasulullah SAW, PKS seeks to apply Shari'ah of Islam in all levels of life, whether private life, family life, organizational life, social life, state life. While HT that emerged in Indonesia around the year 1984-an establish the struggle to enforce Islamic Shari'ah within a state of the Caliphate, and assume that it is impossible Shari'ah Islam embodied in addition to the system and form of the country. The struggle in order to uphold the Khilafah state is required by Allah SWT. in the Qur'an (Surah Ali Imran (3): 104) through the establishment of a political party³².

In carrying out its mission HT rejects various methods of applying the shari'a which he deems erroneous i.e. tadarruj or gradually, fighting rulers, fatalism who assume that one day the khilafah will return, and individualism. The correct method is the method executed by Rasulullah SAW, namely establishing an Islamic State. The first stage, is to build cadres. Second, interact with people. Third, gain power³³.

HT assumes that in addition to Islamic methods (including socialism, communism and democracy) haram to be taken, applied and disseminated. No wonder they refuse to engage in an Indonesian government that uses the democratic system, and fights within it. In addition to democracy as a mistaken man-made, democracy according to the leadership of HT (Abdul Qadim Zallum) has brought humans mired in degrees of dirty animals in the idea of freedom of conduct. The Western invaders with their democracy have evidently created various crises, calamities, and exploitation of the colonized and underdeveloped peoples. Democracy in the true sense never materializes, because the rulers are ultimately in power. The democratic defect has been evident in the aspects relating to power and rulers, oddly enough the West is able to realize the market for democratic ideas in Islamic countries³⁴.

The Influence of International Movement Against PKS and HT Indonesia

Table 7

The Influence of the International Movement

³² Hizbut Tahrir, *Manhaj Hizbut Tahrir fit Taghyir*, (Bogor: Pustaka Thariqul Izzah, 2001), p. 47-52.

³³ 171.

³⁴ Abdul Qadim Zallum, *Nidzomi Hukmil Islam*, (Bogor: Pustaka Thariqul Izzah, 2001), p. 2.

1 Organization	Organization-Thought	Reference used
PKS	Ikhwanul Muslimin and Tarbiyah	The leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood, Tarbiyah figures in Indonesia, also from other figures
HT	Hizbut Tahrir	The Hizbut Tahrir figures only

Criticism Of The Secular State Practices

All the revivalists include criticisms for the secular state of Indonesia, as well as awareness of the people as well as the fire of struggle in the hal'dah. PKS considers that Indonesia has been suffering for a long time. The country that was once abundant with the various gifts of Allah SWT, has turned into a field of suffering and misery. This bitter reality is a form of adzab that God attributes to the people of the land, for having forgotten the great pleasures of the Creator. As for the source of all this damage is the unjust ruler who must be destroyed immediately. Because they are destructive human beings called God as "the greatest criminals" (akabira mujrimin) who are good at deceiving people for their own greed³⁵.

Response to Democracy

Table 8

PKS-HT Response Against Democracy

Organization	Response to Democracy
PKS	Democracy is a community place to choose someone to take care of and mangatur their affairs. They are also entitled to dismiss him if they misbehave, nor should they be brought to an economic, social, cultural or political system that they do not know and dislike. Anyone who wants to contemplate the essence of democracy will surely find similarity with the Islamic principle, except for the democratic qualities that are incompatible with Islam, namely: 1. Popular democracy in the West the definition of nation or ummah is bounded by region, climate, blood, ethnicity, language and crystallized customs. 2. The goals of modern western democracy or the democracy that exists in every age are worldly and material objectives. 3. The sovereignty of the people according to western democracy is a people's absoluteness as the supreme power holder regardless of ignorance, tyranny, or immorality.
HT	Democracy that has been sold to the pagan western countries of Islam, they are actually kufr system. Democracy is at odds with

³⁵ PKS, *Taujihat Ri'ayah Ma'nawiyah Kader PK Sejahtera*, (Jakarta: Robbani Press, 2003), p. 23-24.

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	Islamic laws, both globally and in particular (in detail). Democracy was born in the presence of the rulers of Europe who claimed that a ruler was God's representative on earth and entitled to govern the people according to His power. They assume that God has given them the absolute authority to rule the people by their own rules, for their power rests on God-sourced power, not from the people. As a result they freely oppressed and controlled the people as well as slavery, then the conflict arose between the European rulers and their people, who awakened the philosophers and thinkers to develop the concept of the people's government system, the democratic system.
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The Revivalist Perspectives of Accommodationist and Confrontationist Revivalists

The concept of an Islamic state as described above is identical with that of the revivalists who want to arouse the values of Islam and realize it into the system of society and statehood. In realizing the idea of the revivalists in this case is the people who want implementation of Islamic Shari'ah in Indonesia, polarized into the position of accommodationist revivalists and confrontational revivalists.

The accommodationist's revivalists are those who consider that any concept or doctrine that develops in society as long as it does not conflict with the values of Islamic teachings need not be rejected or tends to be allowed to be adopted or practiced. Confrontationist revivalists are the antites of the internal revivalists.

Confrontationist revivalists assume that any system derived not from Islam is considered the cause of all forms of crisis, especially the moral and political crisis, and causes Muslims away from the implementation of Islamic teachings.

Table 9
New Models of Islamic Movement

Organization	Islamic Understanding	Type of Movement	Nature of Movement
PKS	Islam is a perfect teaching that covers things that are tsawabit and mutaghayyirat. - Tsawabit is the standard Islamic law (Syariat Islam). - Mutaghayyirat is the method of implementation	Revivalist	Accommodationist

	of Islamic Shari'a that can change according to the situation and condition of the		
HT	Islam is a perfect teaching that has governed all the problems of the rule or the law as well as the way it is realized.	Revivalist	Confrontationist

PKS and HT are revivalist circles that actually complement each other in concept and movement. The concept and idea of re-establishment of the Islamic caliphate proposed by HT, has actually been initiated by the MCC in building public confidence in Islamic activists and the return of the authority of the Muslims in the social, economic and political world in Indonesia. The following will present their concepts around the understanding of Islam, the state and its various mechanisms.

Table 10

Relations between Islam and the State According to PKS-HT

Organization	Islam and Politics Relations	Realization
PKS	Islam does not standardize the concept of the state, but only gives its basic principles, nevertheless between Islam and politics can not be separated because Islam includes political affairs and the State.	Cooperatif
HT	Islam is a perfect teaching therefore Islam organizes all issues in life, including political and state issues	Non Cooperatif

Table 11

Actualization of State Concept According to Islam Perspective PKS-HT

Organization	Actualization Stages of Concept	Tactical Steps
PKS	1. Reinforce the spiritual value 2. Make total and radical changes to various fundamental aspects of life. 3. Maintaining the potential of the good of	1. Introduce the Islamic thought to the community well - Explain thinking right to people - Introduce in detail the nature of jama'ah - Revitalization of the role of ulama in politics. - Placing politics as

	society	controlling activities. 2. Establish and choose effective institutions as a means of struggle. 3. Attempt to enter parliament, mobilize the masses and increase demands.
	1. Developing cadres 2. Interact with the ummah to gain support 3. Gain power by peaceful means and avoid violence.	1. Fostering individuals in halaqah-halaqah (pengajian-pengajian). 2. Fostering the ummah with Islamic thoughts and laws conveyed through public studies, lectures, and discussions. 3. Fighting thoughts to oppose belief / ideology, rules and thoughts of kufr. 4. The political struggle undertaken by opposing pagan countries by exposing their evil, advising, criticizing it and trying to change their behavior. 5. Adopt the masses of the people and serve all the people's interests in accordance with the syara 'laws

When the people around the bearers of dukwah are old-fashioned, when the persecution against them becomes increasingly so, then Thalabun Nushrah is part of the tariqah (da'wah method) that should be emulated. Therefore Hizb ut-Tahrir, has combined Thalabun Nushrah with other da'wah activities. Hizb asks for such help to those who have the ability (strength). The purpose is there are two kinds, namely: first, to get the protection (himayah) so that it can still do da'wah activities in a safe and protected. Secondly, to reach the level of government / power in order to establish the Khilafah Daula and reapply the laws based on what Allah has revealed. in the life of the state and society³⁶.

³⁶ Ibid.

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Table 12

Work Program of PKS-HT

PKS	HT
1. Healthy life of the legislative body. 2. Fight for the enactment and the realization of direct elections by the people. 3. Realizing exemplary role of the institution of party and party, especially in eradicating KKN. 4. Establish a consistent government towards the ideals of reform. 5. Conducting systematic and continuous systematic bureaucracy reform. 6. Realizing regional autonomy seriously by streamlining local government.	1. Serving da'wah in order to meet the call of Allah SWT. 2. Make the laws of syara 'as a principle for all its activities. 3. Struggling to apply Islam perfectly to worship, muamalah, akhlaq and legislation. 4. Uphold the daulah (state) and turn Darul Kufur into Darul Islam, and convert the ignorant society into an Islamic society. 5. Doing Thalabun Nushrah (asking for help) when getting persecution.

Mastery of Bureaucracy

Table 13

Bureaucracy Problems and Solutions

PKS	HT
Problems: 1. Destruction in all sectors. 2. Be a nest of KKN. 3. Not professional in running the wheels of government. Solutions: 1. Enter into the bureaucracy and occupy a strategic position with morals karimah (noble). 2. Establish an independent forum for government employees. 3. Combating Corruption, upholding honesty, fairness, simplicity and professional in serving the community.	Problems: 1. The state becomes capitalist. 2. The position of the state as producer and the people as consumers. 3. Corruption is everywhere. Solutions: 1. Every parish must be involved in politics and must be a statesman. Statesman is a person who thinks about the interests of the ummah is not selfish or his group, although he is a laborer, ordinary employee or farmer. 2. Fighting the fate and welfare of the people according to the guidance of Islamic Shari'ah.

4. Controls actively.	¹ 3. take over the leadership of the people by forming influential groups or powers so as to be able to oppose the government and ultimately seize control of the government.
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That's how HT has his da'wah strategy in applying his concepts, and mastering the leadership of people and government. Although they are not in government, they assume that in this way they are able to influence the policies of a country. In addition to dialogue and seminars that are often done both with the general public and with government officials, HT is known to perform diligent demonstrations as an attempt to realize his ideas, suggestions and criticism. In contrast to the PKS which directly plunge into the government and take strategic positions as a means to realize the concepts of Islam.

Conclusion

Based on the discussion in the previous chapters, some conclusions can be drawn about the concept of the state, the reasons for the emergence of revivalist movements such as PKS and HT, various criticisms of the practice of secularism within the state, the demands of implementing Islamic law in the life of nation and state, and the concept of state as well as the method of its realization in response to a number of issues presented in the Introduction.

Accommodationist movements that enter into secular systems are in fact viewed by the public as legitimizing policies that are inconsistent with Shari'ah values, simply because they are involved in the current government. Moreover, they are identified with the current executive governing government, where PKS is part of the supporters of the SBY-JK government, as an implementation of its coalition with the existing government. In self-government, accommodationists must face a coalition of secular parties in terms of greater quantity. Its existence within the system is often a trap in realizing the idea of the state according to Islam, and is considered by society at large as if supporting and enlarging a paradoxical system.

Therefore, PKS must take responsibility. While the confrontationists who choose their da'wah activity outside the existing system of government, must be satisfied with the results of his work today. They are considered clean of any crises caused by inappropriate government policies, but they can not directly determine a policy to avoid counter-productive efforts to

enforce Islamic Shari'ah. In addition they have limitations in stepping, as they do not obtain access to utilize state facilities and governmental muscularity.

In addition, they prefer the movement of ideas and understanding of Islam, while many of the people who actually wait for a real work that is needed today, especially by people who are economically and the other side is still relatively low. In addition to the problems faced by the accomodationist revivalists and confrontationist revivalists, there are also a number of opportunities for both (PKS and HT).

The accommodationists get the facility for law and legality that legitimize their movement, so they no longer have to worry about being suspected as a separatist group let alone as a group that will undermine the unity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Unlike the case with the confrontationists, they gain a special image in Indonesian society because they are regarded as having no burden of negative judgment resulting from wrong or incorrect policies or even incompatible with the Islamic values of the current government.

The study also succeeded in collecting the following:

first, the analysis of the views of scholars on Islamic thought and movement which they categorize in traditionalist and modernist groups seems not always appropriate to all Muslim groups. Existence of thought and movement of PKS and HT turns out more to the combination or "melting pot" between traditionalist and modernist, considering the background of activist and his style which represent both circles.

Secondly, the analysis of Islamic thought and movement from scholars who divide Muslims into formalist and essentialist groups seems not to be precisely addressed to PKS and HT. Both are more appropriately categorized into accommodationist and confrontationist groups.

Third, the thesis which says that the decline in Islamic political activity does not seem to apply in Indonesia, since especially since the reform of 1998 the political activity of Islam has increased and the involvement of the Revivalists in government has become more prevalent.

Fourth, the involvement of the revivalists in politics and government affairs is increasing, visible from various messages, voice and their involvement in political activity. This affirms the view that between Islam and politics and the state is inseparable.

Fifth, Islamic political activity in Indonesia is challenged to provide a real solution for the life of the nation and the state, and in response is the activists of Islam more actively involved in

the affairs of state and government, in addition they do various awareness through da'wah and build institutions which can absorb people's aspirations and empower communities such as zakat management institutions, Shariah financial institutions, educational institutions, and others. It shows that Islam will be the solution precisely when Islam is translated in all spheres of national and state life, rather than distancing it like a secular concept.

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