

The Influenced of Middle East Ulemas towards Political Islamic Movement at Jogjakarta and Surakarta

Dr. Istadiyantha, M.S. – Universitas Sebelas Maret

Abstract

Political Islamic Movement is a movement that has an ideal/goal to establish Islamic Syariat and struggle for Islamic country. The struggling can be local, national and global/International scale. There are movements that their dakwah area only in local scale, such as: FPI (Front Pembela Islam)¹, FPIS (Front Pemuda Islam Surakarta), Lasykar Jundullah, and KPPSI (Komite Persiapan Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam). There are movements, that their dakwah area in national scale, such as: LJ (Laskar Jihad), HTI (Hizbui Tahrir Indonesia), MMI (Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia), and JAT (Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid), And movements that their dakwah area at global/international scale, such as: JI (Jamaah Islamiyah), Alqaedah, HT (Hizbut Tahrir), Syiah, and IM (Ikhwanul Muslimin). One movement and others have an ideal of establishing Islamic syariat until Islamic country/nation.

Political Islamic Movement at Yogyakarta and Surakarta has been investigated and it got influenced from Salafiyah or Wahabiyah, Hizbu Tahrir, and Ikhwanul Muslimin' movements. Al-Ikhwan at the beginning not as a new movement because it is as the result of improvement from other movements that have appeared at the Middle East before, such as: Wahabiyah, Sanusiyah, and Mahdiyah. Like Wahabiyah' movement, it is not suddenly appeared as new teaching, but it is as an effort for strengthen towards the existing ideology, mainly Salafiyah, this ideology pioneered by Imam Ahmad Bin Hanbal. And HTI as the separated of Al-Ikhwan that has ideology to the Islamic Government world) to lift up *khilafah Islamiyah* (Islamic Government world/pemerintahan Islam di dunia), this movement came from Palestina to Indonesia. Finally, HTI also developed up to internasional level, that is separated from Al-Ikhwan' organization.

Keywords: Political Islamic Movement; *Khilafah Islamiyah*.

1. Introduction

The situation of Political Islamic Movement thought at middle East has high influenced towards Political Islamic Movement all of the world at general and Indonesia especially. Among Middle East countries, there are five countries that has very high influenced for Islamic developing of the world, mainly for Political Islamic

¹ FPI has branches in many cities and provinces at Indonesia, but the movement is local.

Movement. Those are: Arab Saudi because of the center of Islamic culture; Egypt/Mesir because of a lot of students who studied Islamic science in overthere; Afganistan because of involving the real war, Palestina and a part of Arabic countries that involved the real war with Israel for centuries and Afganistan; involved the war with Russia and America; Iran that is succeed to make Islamic revolution in 1979. From five countries, there are two countries that very dominant for Political Islamic Movement in Indonesia, mainly: Arab Saudi and Egypt/Mesir. The next countries that have influenced towards the development for Political Islamic Movement are: Palestina, Afganistan, and Iran.

At 1980's period Indonesian' students who stayed at Egypt/Mesir got a lot of ideas from fundamentalism Islamic such as: *Ikhwanul Muslimin*, and Iranian' thinker like Imam Khomeini and Ali Syari'ati. Whereas, at period before, they absorbed a lot science and knowledge from western (Rahmat, 2002: xiii).

Indonesian' students also made intensive linked in 1980's with activists of *Ikhwanul Muslimin* at Egypt/Mesir and Arab Saudi (Rahmat, 2002: 88-95). Even before that period, there was relationship between Muhammad Rasyidi and Kahar Muzakkar (one of Jakarta charter signers) also had linked with Sayyid Quthub at Egypt/Mesir, he is as pioneer/leader of *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (Rahmat, 2002: 90). Muhammad Natsir also had relation with many Islamic countries at globally. (Rahmat, 2002: 86). Under the leadership of Natsir, Masyumi managed Indonesian students' sending to Egypt/Mesir

in 1957 around 90 students (Idem: 89). Indonesian'undergraduate and students who studied at Egypt is around 4044 students, (Sangidu, dkk.2009: 100).

Samuel P. Huntington said that, Islamic movement that happend at Middle East had a big influenced for the development of many countries at Islamic world (2000).There were a lot of ulemas thought of Middle East who colored political Islamic movement of the world. This movement at many part of the world grew up rapidly day by day. Therefore, political Islamic movement was viewed as a big treating for many countries, even often regarded as a big treating for western countries including USA.

2. Methodology and Teory Framework

The choosing of district at Yogyakarta and Surakarta as research study object was very important because by performing two cities samples hopefully can represent towards Islamic movement in Indonesia. It was caused by many movements such as: MMI, JAT, HTI, and GSM (Gerakan Salafy Militan) at Yogyakarta and Surakarta as national and international level movement. Pioneered by MMI and JAT were suspected have wide relation at southern Asia and Middle East; HTI has relation with Palestina and Yordania; GSM has relation with Saudi Arabia (Roy: 1996; Abas: 2005; Dekmejian: 1997; Nursalim: 2001; Dreyfuss: 2007; *Al-Mujtama'* :2008).

Teory that was used for investigating this research is diffusion teory. Diffusion is spreading out cultures elements from one place to another on the earth that was

brought by a group of people who lived moved from one place to another. Data Analysis was conducted deductively and inductively together as in line with data situation and need of analysis. In this case will be used many analysis that can present the most accurate study with the reality, therefore, analysis technique was based on triangulation data, mainly written data; oral (interview result); and observation at field will be prepared as analysis instrument as a placed.

On this research was used term political Islamic movement as similar with Islamic term Fundamentalism. In taking literatures as reference of this dissertation, the writer is still mentioning origin term that is written by references writers, in order that the quote still in line with of origin writer' thought. Therefore, term of political Islamic movement, Islamic Fundamentalist, Islamic Militan, and Islamic Radical are still used in this dissertation, Only political Islamic movement is more often used dominantly, and as term that is chosen by writer because this term has agreed by the experts in Indonesia as the rights term from Indonesian, for changing fundamentalism Islamic term.

Border of "the influence of Middle East ulemas' thought towards international world", that is known as "Trans-national Islamic movement". By limitation meaning can be hoped that study area at the beginning so wide, mainly; the are of Middle East ulemas and are of "political Islamic movement", Middle East will be restricted to be political Islamic movement, or fundamentalist Trans-national, because only Trans-national Islamic movement which have influenced to the world. The examples of

political Islamic movement Trans-nasional, such as: Wahabiyah or Salafiyah at Saudi Arabia, Al-Ikhwan and Jamaah Islamiyah at Egypt/Mesir, Al-Qaeda at Afganistan, and Hizbut Tahrir at Yordania. Those movements as the embrio of political Islamic movement and those are spreaded out at Indonesia in general, Yogyakarta and Surakarta especially.

3. Literature Review

3.1 The relationship of Middle East Ulemaswith Indonesia

According to Azra in *“The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Disertasi (1992), New York: Columbia University, then published to be book entitled *Ulemas Link/Jaringan Ulama* (1994 dan 2004) said that, at the beginning relationship between Middle East and Nusantarabased on Chinese resources and Arab. Azra said that the relationship has happend for a long time, mainly since the period of Sriwijaya (293 – 904 M.), Chinese sources said that Sriwijaya Kingdom as Budha science center that was very important in Nusantara (1994: 36-40).

The coming of Arabian from Hadhramaut to Indonesia brought new ideology that had changed Islamic constellation in Indonesia. At the beginning, Ideologi that came through Asia Tenggara was mazhab Syafii that more tolerant, but then, there was harder ‘ism’ and intolerant that was influenced by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab from Wahabi, it is now to be the ideology of Saudi Arabia’ government (Shihab, 2004: 63).

The other side, it was said that the relationship between Nusantara and Middle East since 17 century, mostly about religion and science. Though, it can not be denied that political relation also is conducted mainly with Dinasti Utsmani (Idem: 16-17). Relationship between muslimin Melayu-Indonesia with Middle East had been linked at the beginning of Islam. The Muslim sellers/traders who came from Arab, Persia, and India' continent that came to Nusantara islands not only for trading but also spreading out the Islam religion to the citizens/society (Azra, 1994: 17). The prosperity of mosleem kingdom in Nusantara, mainly as the result of international trading, has been giving opportunity to certain elements in mosleem society Melayu-Indonesia to conducted journey to the center of science and at Middle East. The effort of Dynasti Utsmani to saved Hajj journey road also made better hajj journey from Nusantara. When economics relationship, politics, social-religion, inter mosleem countries in Nusantara with Middle East more increased since 14 and 15 century (Azra, 1994: 17). Therefore, there were more students and hajj from the world Melayu-Indonesia who has opportunity to visit the center of Islamic science all the way long to hajj journey. It is pushed for rising "Nusantara community" which Arabian called *Ashhābul Jāwiyyīn* (Our *Javanese brothersn*), this community stayed at Mekah and Madinah (Haramayn). Their life and experiences were performing very interesting description about variant intelectual-religion between Melayu-Indonesia with Middle East (Azra, 1994: 17). People who stayed at Haramayn as immigrant and internasional ulemas can be explained here by J.O. Voll called as: 1) *little immigrants* (People who stayed in Arab because after doing hajj, then they wanted to dedicate at the holy place or ran out of

money so that they did not go home to Nusantara); 2) *grand immigrants* (People who stayed in Arab and have good intellectual ability, as ulemas for attracting the whole Islamic world; 3) Ulemas and usual students, he as a drifter to seek science and doing hajj, they met and studied to many teachers, and after that they came back to their own countries (Azra, 1994: 74). At that time intellectual link-religion that very clear was harmonisasi between syariat and tasawuf (Azra, 1994: 17).

Though almost can be established that most of ulemas in linked have commitment to Islamic modern, there was no similarity among them in method and approach for reaching up the goal. Most of them prefer the peace way/*jalan damai and evolusiner*; but a small part, the most popular among them was Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab at Arabia and Utsman bin Fudi at West Africa, prefer to use radical approach, and conducted a part of ulemas at last or Nusantara modern movement, such as: Padri movement at Minangkabau (Azra, 1994: 18). Thus, *Political Islamic movement* model at that time also can be found at Sumatera. Padri war happened on 1821-1837.

Abdul Munip stated the different opinion with what had been investigated by Azyumardi Azra and Van Bruinessen (Munip, 2007: 6; Azra, 2000: 143-157), that transmission science from Middle East to Indonesia since many centuries ago through Ulemas contact, there was other phenomena that transformation books in Arabic from Middle East to be translation books to be something interesting to study. According to Munip the wandering of the translation books from Arabic to Indonesian had

positive and negative impacts. The positive impact was to add providing literature that is easy to access by Muslims, but there was also negative impact, mainly: a. Books that were translated can not be released from time *setting*, and social condition, cultural, also of Middle East the origin writer's place; b. There was often mistakes and unaccurate in translating so that the translating book can not transformed the content of the origin book. The impact of all that can be possibly transfer not in lined with socio-historical culture, by then it was worried that science transfer from Middle East can be changed to be Arabication. Up to know, there is no legal government institution that looked over the quality of Arabic translation to Indonesia (Munip: 2007: 6-7). Abdul Munip also throw light on about the current situation, that is appear the strengthen of fundamentalism spirit of Muslims' indicator in Indonesia, for examples: the appearing of social-political movement openly, with perspective and their own way that rather radical, to scream out to hold religion whole/ *kaaffah* and applied Islamic syariat formally in this country. This Ideology similar with ideology that developed at Middle East before (Munip, 2007: 7-8).

M. Syafi'i Anwar in *Genealogi Islam Radikal in Indonesia: movement, thought, and Democration prospect* (Mubarak:2007), said that "Militant movements in Indonesia had *intellectual roots* at Middle East". However, for its developing strategy and struggling, it could not be separated from history context and political life of Muslims in Indonesia" (hal. xxxvi).

Organization that were often mentioned “Gerakan Islam Baru” (New Islamic Movement) can be traced the origin thought from variant Islamic organizations movement at Middle East (Rahmat, 2002: 72). Then it was said that, the movements that import thought from Middle East were Tarbiyah, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, and Salafy groups including Lasykar Jihad *Ahlussunnah wal Jama’ah*. Tarbiyah movement thought was much closed to *Ikhwanul Muslimun* (IM), even called itself “ideologis child” IM Egypt/Mesir. Indonesian Hizbut Tahrir is legally as branch of International Hizbut Tahrir that centered at Yordania². And Dakwah Salafy including Lasykar Jihad is collecting of Dakwah Salafy, which had linked with Salafy movement at Middle East, especially Arab Saudi and Middle East at general (Rahmat: 72). At the beginning, Salafy agenda is seeking otentisity (Islamic purify/pemurnian Islam, pen.), then that agenda is translated into many concepts: Islamic personality/akhlak Islam, Islamic society/masyarakat Islam, Islamic way of life/pandangan hidup Islam, Islamic country/Negara Islam, and Islamic leader/Khilafah Islam, those ideas that are lifted up by Salafy (Jahroni, 2004: VIII). It was said that salafy is “ism” that tought Islamic teaching by following Prophet Muhammad Saw. And the buddies/sahabat (Jahroni, 2004: VI). The root of salafism can be traced from wahabi’ movement that first developed at Hejaz in the end of 19 century (Jahroni, 2004: VI).

² The branch from Hizbut Tahrir is Hizbul Khilafah (HK), the activity movement is secret and more militant from Hizbur Tahrir. Hk ideology is to build up khilafah Islamiyah by jihad method, because demonstration method that had done by HTI regarded no guiding in syariah.

A. Maftuh Abegebrilsaid in “Jihad, G-WOT³, dan Humanisme” (2007) that Usamah colleague ”Arab-Afghans” that came from Asia Tenggara almost all through the recommendation and disposition of Abdullah Sungkar (Indonesia, pen.) that has special relationship with Abdurrasul Sayyaf at Pakistan. Mujahidins who came from Indonesia in discussing their ideology at Peshawar (Pakistan) lifted up ideas DI/TII (Darul Islam/ Tentara Islam Indonesia) Sekarmaji Marijan Kartosuwiryo, that is popular as the father of Islamic Indonesian country/ proklamator Negara Islam Indonesia. The relationship between Abdullah Sungkar with DI/TII through Ajengan Masduki, finally on 1993 they divorced ideologically.

At Peshawar, Indonesian contingent discussed about Kanun Asasi (Undang-undang Dasar) NII that contain of XV chapters and 34 pasal, besides discussed KUHP NII that contain of 10 chapters and 27 pasal (Abegebril, 2007: xix). All contingent tried to study and interact ideology each other for more sure in stepping the umbrella life of God country/ “Negara Tuhan”. Present in that meeting were the leaders of political Islamic movement of the world, from *Ikhwanul Muslimun*; *Jama'ah Al-Jihad*; *Al-Jama'ah Al-Islamiyyah* both from Egypt/Mesir, Maroko, Tunisia, and Pakistan; Hamas and Hizbut Tahrir from Palestina; *At-Takwir wal-Hijra* or *Jama'at Muslimin*; MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front) Abu Sayyaf from Filipina, and DI/TII from Indonesia, etc (Abegebril, 2007: xix).

³ G-WOT = *Global War on Terror*.

The immigration history or hijrah Arabian Hadhramaut on 18 century (Yaman Selatan) to Indonesia suspected as trading motive. Alwi Shihab denied the opinion history expert Van den Berg that their motive/Hadhramaut people came to Indonesia only to find out treasure, Shihab regarded that suspicion of Berg including made a bad name for Arabian (Shihab, 2004: 62) Shihab' Denying has enough reason because since the born of Islam, Arabian can't be released from conspiracy by outside people who wanted to discredit Islam. In Indonesia, the effort of Dutch' colonialism for stopping the influence of Islam from Saudi Arabia is not secret anymore. For Dutch, Islam is treating for their existention in Indonesia (Shihab, 2004: 62-63).

On book of God Country/*Negara Tuhan: The Thematic Encylopaedia* (Abegebril dkk., 2004) stated the view of *The Indonesian Moslem Scholars Community* (IMS.Com), that: a) Radicalism international link that is called *Alqaidah* and *Al-Jama'ah Al-Islamiah* were the result of skripturalistik verbalis' thought from religion texts that is forced to legitimate *violence actions* with jihad spread out terror in the name of God/"atas nama Tuhan" and prophet agenda/"agenda Rasul". *Alqaidah* has statement *killling Americans civilian and military any where and any time*; b) The understanding towards religion texts Islam literaturely skripturalistik not should adopt like that without considering corelation of historis/ *asbābun nuzūl* and social; c) based on the research result from *Siyasa Research Institute* (SR-Ins: this book' publisher is an institution of study and research

international Islamic Political) showed that *Al-Jama'ah Al-Islamiyah* international link that unbordered by areaterritorial of a country, this organization had prepared *Nidhom AsasiorUndang-undang Dasar*; d) The understanding of religion with literalist scripturalistoften trapped in ideologis space that is subjective, normative, andclosed; e) in social-political area, pemahaman literalis' understanding towards Alquran and Assunnah texts gave impact to simplication of *Islam*, as the result will end to fundamentalism and often to be political'commodity: Islamic-doktrinesoften used for getting or even against a rezim. (Abegebril dkk.2004: ix-xiv).

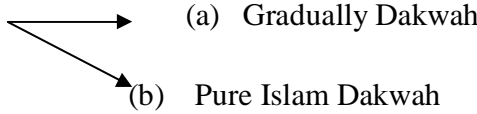
At the beginning of XXI century, there is spirit and motivation mosleem about the faith of Islamic rising up all over the world. Even, there is prediction from a group of people, that internasional political map will change in the future. Seorang wakil ketua parlemen Russia Michael Buriyev said that somedaythere will be 5 big new countries, those are: Amerika, Rusia, Cina, *Khilafah Islam*, and India (*Al-Wa'ie*, 2010: 67). Written by*Al-Wa'ie*then, that maybe India can be one of the 5 biggest countries if India can overcomethe problems surround it, those are: Pakistan, Afganistan, Kashmir, and Bangladesh (*Al-Wa'ie*, 2010: 67). The other side, since 1952 at Al-Quds Palestina has established Islamic movement called *Hizbut Tahrir*by Syeh Taqiyud-din An-Nabhani (now centered at Yordania) that is screamed out the establishing of *Khilafah Islamiyah* (Internasional Islamic government, pen.) (Azra, 2001: 45-46). It was said by Abdurrahman Wahid, Islamic movement transnational expsantionin Indonesia is conducted by Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), Hizbu

Tahrir Indoneia (HTI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), and FPI (Front Pembela Islam Indoneia (*The Jakarta Post*, 2009: 8). Then, Hassan Hanafi (1989:7), in his book *Al-Ushūliyah al-Islāmiyah* said that Islamic fundamentalism is 'prototipe' from Salafiyah movement that is commanded by Ahmad bin Hanbal for the first time and then continued by Ibnu Taimiyah, Ibnul Qayyim, and Jamaludin al-Afghani (1989:7). At the current time, the important role from Islamic fundamentalist is done by Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), JI conducted their activities toughly at Asia Tenggara especially, and international, at general.

3.2. The way to reach up Political Movement Goal

The discussion of Islamic syareat application for managing government and country in Islam, can't release from guiding that is showed by Nabi Muhammad Saw. In *Madinah charter (Shahifah Madinah)*, in that time Madinah charter as regulation that is used for ummah unity (Sukardja, 1995: 44). Piagam Madinah charter was born on first Hijriah (622-623 M), there was no regulation about inter-countries relationship and no international law in that time. There was often war/conflict among the tribes, and there were a lot of kemusyrikan/God betrayal. At that time the Prophet/Nabi Muhammad Saw, appeared as pioneer of ummah unity which is pluralis (Sukardja, 1995: 41-44). In Sukardja writtendid not touch about the link of Madinah charter with ideologi of political Islamic movement, because only to link with UUD 1945.

Dekmejian (1995: 58-60) said that Islamic movement can be grouped to be 4 those are: (1) Pragmatik bertahap (Gradualist-Pragmatic), for example: Ikhwanul Muslimin Eygpt/Mesir, Lebanon, Irak, and area teluk countries, *Harakat al-Ittijah al-Islamiat* Tunisia, Salafy at Saudi Arabia; (2) Syiah revolusioner (revolutionary Shi'ite), for examples: *Hizbullah* Lebanon, *Hizbud-Da'wah al-Islamiyyah* Irak and area Teluk countries, *Al-Islamiyyah fi Shubuh al-Jazirah al-'Arabiyyah* Arab Saudi; (3) Sunni revolusioner (revolutionary sunni), for examples: Hizbut Tahrir Al-Islami Eygpt/Mesir, Ikhwanul Muslimun Suriah; (4) Dakwah pemurnian Islam (Messianic-Puritannical), *Jama'at al-Muslimun lit-Takfir Eygpt/ Mesir*, Al-Ikhwan Saudi Arabia. The other side Oliver Roy said that Islamic movement thought is confusing on two poles, revolusioner' pole, mainly society Islamitation through country' authority/power, and reformis' pole, social action and politics mainly that has target to re- society Islamitation masyarakat from bottom to up, on which to establish/create Islamic country (1996: 29). Based on Dekmejian' and Roy' opinion can be unite that in establishing Islamic syareat, mosleems covered the way as:

- a. Reformation: 
- b. Revolution

Reformis movement and pure Islam internationally is conducted by Islamic movement *At-Takwir wal Hijrah* Eygpt/Mesir and *Al-Ikhwan* Saudi Arabia (Dekmejian, 1995: 58-59) and there are also Islamic movements that is going on in

Indonesia, Mulkan investigated about pure Islam murni dakwah at villages area, this is written in his dissertation that is published as a book entitled "*Islam Murni*"/*Pure Islam: in farmers' society* (Mulkan, 2000: 87-98). Mulkan's writings especially throw light on dakwah that is conducted by Muhammadiyah. So that political Islamic movement only a slightly touched.

Revolutioner's struggling in Indonesia, had been struggled by DI/ TII movement at Sulawesi Selatan, under the leadership of Abdul Qahhar Muzakkar, but this movement had slayed down in (1965) by RI government under the leadership of A.M. Yusuf (Ramly dkk., 2006: 131-136). But the spirit of Qahhar Muzakkar movement never died, at Sulawesi Selatan there was another community that struggling for the same goal, mainly Islamic syariat establishing under organization of KPPSI (Komite Persiapan Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam). This KPPSI is local movement that is oriented to global (Ramly dkk., 2006: 137-138), lead by the son of Qahhar Muzakkar, that is Abdul Azis Qahhar Muzakkar, he was born on December 15, 1964, at Palopo Sulawesi Selatan (Ramly dkk., 2006: 20). Based on that had mentioned above can be known that Arabian ulemashad strong influenced towards the appearing of political Islamic movement in Indonesia. Cornelis van Dijk also wrote a book completely about the struggling of DI/TII entitled *Rebellion Under the Banner of Islam (The Darul Islam in Indonesia)*, translated by Grafiti Press entitled *Darul Islam: A Rebellion/ Sebuah Pemberontakan* (Dijk: 1983).

3.3 Political Islamic Movement in Indonesia, especially at Yogyakarta and Surakarta

This Political Islamic movement has an ideological thought and movement strategy that is different with others Islamic' organization. They are regarded follow puritanism, that has characters militan, radical, skripturalis, konservative, dan eksklusive. Many new organization have variant *platform*, but generally have similar vision, that is syariat Islamic syareat for all life aspects, including how to make country (Rahmat: 2002). Spektrum of this movement is so wide and complex, but ideologically, this group followed "salafisme radikal" at general, that is oriented to "recreating salaf generation as the period of Prophet/Nabi Muhammad Saw and his buddies/sahabatnya.

Jamhari Jajang Jahroni' book(2002) *Salafy Radikal movement in Indonesi* discussed about profile, sosio-historis root of Islamic militant movement in Indonesia, and prediction about Islamic colored in Indonesia in the future. This is explained fenomena gerakan Islamic movement in frame of kehidupan sosial-politics life of mosleem society in Indonesia that is for long time known as moderat and tolerant. The writer succeed to mapp four groups of radikal groups in Indonesia, those are: Front Pembela Islam, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia, Lasykar Jihad, and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia.

On Haidar Nashir dissertation entitled *Gerakan Islam Syariat Reproduksi Salafiyah Ideologis di Indonesia* (2006) said that: Actually Islam is one "Al-Islamu kullun laa yatajaza" means that, 'Islam is one and can't be separeted'. But, the reality, among mosleems showed different and variant exspresion and actualization. In Islamic recent development, Islamic variant was showed by dynamical and exspresion

of Islamic contemporary is (the faith existence) the rising of Islam. Another side, there is new phenomena from the variant of Islam that no appear widely in Indonesia, that is the application of Islamic syariat formally in the life of country.

The struggling to relift up Jakarta Charter for entering in Amendment UUD 1945 on annual meeting MPR in 2000, finally, fail again. This failure caused by there is no supporting from most members of parliaments. A group movement of Islamic people at several districts like: South Sulawesi, West Java, Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD), also others districts that have got special Otonomi status for applying Islamic syariat in all of life aspects. This movement is wide enough and for several things has resulted Perda (District' regulation/Peraturan Daerah) and Surat Keputusan Bupati for applying Islamic syariat, like in Bulukumba, Cianjur, Tasikmalaya, (Gresik), etc. This movement in south Sulawesi until now spread out to other districts, including to struggle for special Otonomi status like in NAD. Kelompok Islamic group that is struggling for applying Islamic syariat toughly and radical are *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* (MMI), *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* (HTI), *Komite Persiapan Penerapan Syariat Islam Indonesia* (KPPSI). While from group of Islamic political party is Bulan Bintang party (PBB). Haidar Nashir' writing to throw light on many variant Fundamentalist movement that came from salafy ideologis reproduction, so that has not represented Political Islamic movement in Indonesia, because this movement not special from salafy reproduction. And need to add that there are other political Islamic movements, those are: MTA (Majelis Tafsir Alquran), HTI, and JAT that have not

discussed yet. It was said that MTA is puritan group, and it was also said from fundamentalism Islamic group.

M. Syafi'i Anwar said that on Presiden Habibie' era (1998 dst.) many Islamic movement that want to take momentum for struggling Islamic politics, under this government, politics Islamic movements have good opportunity and it is impossible happened on the era of Presiden Soeharto (Anwar, 2007: xii-xiii). Ideologi after Soeharto is Islamic movement with GSM frame (Gerakan Salafy Militan). Istilah GSM term is ever used by M. Syafi'i Anwar, in his article entitled "Breaking Teologi Politics and Anatomi Militant Salafy Movement at Indonesia (Anwar, 2007: xii-xxxvii).

Characteristic from GSM (Laskar Jihad, MMI, FPI, Ikhwanul Muslimin, Hamas, Jundullah, HTI, etc. are: a) To promote Islamic textual civilization; b) Loyal to *Syariah Minded*; c) Believe to conspiracy theory, that ummah Islam is the victim; d) To develop anti pluralism agenda (Anwar, 2007: xvii-xx).

If RI government fail to build up justice society, demokratis, and prosperous, so GSM and other similar movements will live and grow rapidly with demanding on syariah' conducting. The history showed that social injustice, uncertain politics, society without law, is weak and dangerous for appearing eksklusifism, fanaticism, and religion militant (Anwar, 2007: xxxvi).

4. Research findings

On this research can be known that there are many Islamic' organization at Middle East, like: Wahabi and Salafy at Saudi Arabia, Al-Ikhwan at Egypt/Mesir, and Hizbut Tahrir at Yordania or Palestina, that influenced towards political Islamic movement at Yogyakarta and Surakarta. For examples: MMI, JAT, MTA, HTI at Yogyakarta and Surakarta that have similarity and uniqueness with the existing movement before. Though these movements can be said as a similar but not same, but it is still interesting to be studied, because these organizations are very interesting for the world. Australian Prime Minister John Howard said towards one of the leader of these movements, that Ustaz Ba'asyir involved one of terrorist made up by Security Board/Dewan Keamanan PBB, Howard asked Presiden RI SBY to look over Ba'asyir' activities.

Political Islamic Movement at Yogyakarta and Surakarta had been investigated to get influenced from Gerakan Salafiyah and Wahabiyah, also Al-Ikhwan. Al-Ikhwan, at the beginning is not the new movement, because Al-Ikhwan movement is as the result of completing from the movements before that appeared at Middle East like Wahabiyah, Sanusiyah, and Mahdiyah. Also Wahabiyah movement, it is not appear suddenly as the new teaching but this is as effort to strength towards ideology that is existing before, that is Salafiyah and also the strengthen from madzab Hanbaliyah. The influence of Middle East ulemas towards political Islamic movement is caused by many cases, as the following:

1) Relationship between Indonesia with Middle East that has been going on for a long time, since Sriwijaya' period (293 –904 M), Chinese sources said that when Sriwijaya kingdom as the center of Budha' sciencethat is very important at Nusantara. The relation between Nusantara with Middle East since 17 century was closed to religion and science. Though can't be denied that political relation also conducted mainly with Dinasty Utsmani. The prosperity of Islamic/Mosleem kingdoms at Nusantara, mainly as the result of international trading, gave opportunity to certain segments in mosleem society at Melayu-Indonesia for doing journey to the center of science and religion at Middle East. The effort of Utsmani dynasty to secure journey road for hajj also made hajj journey from Nusantara to be better. When the relation of economics, politcs, social-religgion, among mosleem countries at Nusantara with Middle East more increased, so more students and hajj jamaah from the world of Melayu-Indonesia that visited to Saudi Arabia.

2) The presentation of Hadhramaut Arabian to Indonesia brought new ideologythat has changed the constelation Islamic ummah in Indonesia. At the beginning ideology that came through Asia Tenggara is mazhab Syafii that is more tolerant, but then there is ism harder and intolerant, that is much influenced by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab' teaching from Wahabi' group, for this time being to be ideology of Saudi Arabia government, which have model dakwah model tend to be hard and intolerant. Then, this ideology influenced new Nusantara movement, like Padri movement at Minangkabau that is also hard on the beginning 19 century.

3) Transmission of Middle East science to Indonesia since many centuries ago through ulemas' contact, there is another phenomenon that books' transformation in Arabic from Middle East to be translation books can be seen as media for giving influenced Middle East thought to ke Indonesia.

4) At Peshawar' meeting (Pakistan) between Abdullah Sungkar and Osamah Bin Ladin for aiding war at Afganistan. Abdullah Sungkar have had special relation with Abdurrasul Sayyaf at Pakistan. Mujahidins came from Indonesia in their ideology' discussion at Peshawar to lift up DI/TII idea under the leader of Sekarmaji Marijan Kartosuwiryo. At Peshawar, kontingen Indonesian' contingent discussed about *Kanun Asasi* (Undang-undang Dasar) NII. All contingents try to lear each other and interact ideology for sure. Coming for the meeting are the leaders of political Islamic movements from all ovwer the world, from *Ikhwanul Muslimun*; *Jamaa'ah Al-Jihad*; *Al-Jama'ah Al-Islamiyyah* both from Mesir, Maroko, Tunisia, and Pakistan; Hamas and Hizbut Tahrir from Palestina; *At-Takwir wal-Hijra* or *Jama'at Muslimin*; MILF Abu Sayyaf from Filipina, and DI/TII from Indonesia, and etc.

5) Spreading out of Salafi ideology to Indonesia happened because LIPIA alumni Jakarta on 1980-an have very important role, because this institution as the brach of Islamic university of Muhammad Ibnu Sa'ud Riyadh Arab Saudi, it is meant for spreading out Salafy (Wahabi)' thought at Asia Tenggara especially Indonesia. Education curriculum that is applicated has adopted from the main university that is based on Wahabi. The teachers came from Middle East, especially from Saudi

Arabia. Therefore, unwondering if the majority of alumni to be the followers and advisors of *Wahabiyah-Salafiyah*.

6)Eygpt/Mesir alumni also lifted up ideology that is developed at Eygpt/Mesir to be brought to Indonesia by students Indonesian' students who studied at Eygpt/Mesir, since 1980-an until now this ideology is dominant that is Al-Ikhwan.Except that, there is contact of Indonesian' students with Hizbu Tahrir' leaders at Yordania made this relation as media for developing HT from Middle East to Indonesia.

6. Conclusion and Closing

Based on study above, it can be concluded that GIP Yogyakarta and Surakarta that has not influenced Middle East ulemas in their activities are FPIS and LUIS, other movement that has the same level with GSM for example: Laskar Jundullah. Whereas MMI, JAT, and Laskar Jihad have got influenced from Middle East ulemas. MMI and JAT thought system that was adopted from Middle East is Al-Ikhwan, JI, and Salafy. Laskar Jihad adopted ulemasthought Salafy Yamani and Saudi, mainly is Yamani. Then FPIS and LUIS, as local Islamic movement origin from Solo, they did not use Arabic' attributetoo many like jubah, eventhough aqidah and syariat thought was dominated by *Manhaj Salafy*.

However, the researcher recognized that proverb said "There is nothing perfect in the world/Tidak ada gading yang tak retak", therefore, in this opportunity the writer wanted to apologize to all of the readers if this research is far from being

perfect, so that he need more advice and suggestion for the betterment of this research. Thank you very much.

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RIWAYAT HIDUP PENULIS

Drs. Istadiyantha, M.S., lahir di Boyolali, 1954. Lulus Sarjana Jurusan Sastra Arab, Fakultas Sastra dan Kebudayaan UGM; Sarjana (Drs.) 1980 pada lembaga yang sama; lulus S2 (M.S.) bid. Filologi UGM 1989; sejak 2008 menempuh studi S3 Kajian Timur Tengah UGM; Jabatan yang pernah dilaksanakan: 1) Sekretaris Jurusan Sastra Indonesia, Fak. Sastra UNS (1990 – 1996); 2) Ketua Jurusan Sastra Indonesia 1997 – 99; 3) Pembantu Dekan III Fakultas Sastra dan Seni Rupa UNS 1999 – 2003; 4) Pembantu Dekan II FSSR UNS 2003 – 07; 5) Anggota Senat Universitas Sebelas Maret 2007-2008; 6) Anggota Tim Binap Universitas Sebelas Maret 2009-11; Penghargaan: 1) 1991: Dosen Teladan I Fakultas Sastra dan Seni Rupa UNS; 2) 1991: Dosen Teladan I Fakultas Sastra dan Seni Rupa UNS; 3).1992 sebagai Dosen Teladan II di tingkat UNS, SK Rektor nomor 5249/PT.40.KI/92; 4) 2005 Penerima Bintang Satya Lancana Karya Satya untuk pengabdian 20 tahun SK nomor 2229/2005, tanggal 2 Agustus 2005 Keppres RI nomor 050/TK 2005. Ketua Pusat Studi Timur Tengah FSSR UNS 2009-11; Pemimpin Redaksi Jurnal Cmes (Center of Middle Eastern Studies) FSSR UNS. 26 April 2006 Pemakalah di Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (Sastra Sufi); 14-17 Sept. 2009 Penatar di Puskin KBRI Kairo, 22-9-2009 Ceramah (Islam Fundamentalis) di Home Staff KBRI Kairo.