

Nationalism of Ethnic Arab in Semarang City in the 2010s

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Abstract — The people of a country usually share a common history, language, culture, ethnicity and religion. However, these factors do not necessarily make the unity of the country strong. Instead, the basis of state unity is psychological, namely nationalism. On the other hand, classical Islamic politics offers the issue of khilafah, which is now being discussed again in the Indonesian media. Some Muslims in Indonesia are Arab descent who live in the northern coastal cities of Java, and Semarang is one of them. This research answers the questions: 1. What are the factors that form the Arab ethnicity in Semarang and how they try to maintain their sustainability; 2. What is the direction of their nationalism. This research uses Anthropology approach and al-Jabiri's theory, al-aql al-siyasi al-araby, as an analytical tool. The conclusion: 1. The factor forming their ethnicity is the primordial character of ethnicity itself. The efforts they make: endogamy marriage, forming a haba'ib association, and compiling typical prayers and shalawat-shalawat; 2. Their nationalism is the same as the nationalism of the indigenous Indonesian population, only, it is not ethnicity that directs it, it is the economy and religion that support and determine the direction of their nationalism.

Keywords — nationalism, ethnicity, Arab, Semarang

I. INTRODUCTION

One of the important themes along with the emergence of third world countries is nationalism. This theme is not covered by classical fiqh siyasah studies. Yet nationalism is an important factor more than any other factor that shapes the state and unites it. Switzerland has four languages, India has sixteen official languages, whereas America and Britain have the same language but are two separate nations, and Indonesia has various ethnicities, customs and religions. It is nationalism that unites them. It is also nationalism that divides them.

If we are honest, the Indonesians who often come up against the concept of nationalism are actually Muslims. This is because Islam is assumed to be a comprehensive religion. Islam is universal. Its teachings are the same everywhere in the world. The similarity of norms will facilitate the unity of the ummah, without being limited by the boundaries of the state. Therefore, the spirit of the ummah is the spirit of Islam, not the national spirit. In other words, the ukhuwwah is islamiyyah, not wathaniyyah.

Among Indonesian Muslims, there are those of Arab descent, who happen not to be indigenous Indonesians and are often "accused" of having transnational networks that are politically related to the issue of the Islamic state, radical

Islam, Shiaism, the caliphate, and others. On the other hand, very few people are aware of the existence of Arab descendants whose role is actually also great for the support of the Indonesian government.

It means that what Philip K. Hitti once said is true that among all the lands whose size is comparable to the Arabian Peninsula, and among all the nations whose interests and historical significance are parallel or close to the Arabs, only the Arabs have escaped serious attention and study in modern times [7].¹

Yet as is known, almost all figures or leaders of Islamic organizations that are said to have genealogy with the salafi movement in the Middle East, or which are said to have a transnational character are ethnic Arabs. Habieb Rizieq Syihab, for example, leads the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Ja'far Umar Talib leads Laskar Jihad, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir leads Majlis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) Habib Husein al-Habsyi leads Ikhawul Muslimin and Hafidz Abdurrahman leads Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). Many people are left asking how nationalistic they really are. Therefore, ethnicity and nationalism, according to researchers, are two sides of a coin that cannot be separated. To understand Arab nationalism, it is also important to discuss ethnicity.

Yasmine Zaki Shahab in her research, Endogamy and Multiculturalism: The Case of Hadrami in Indonesia, reports that the Haba'ib of the Hadrami community (both ba-Alwi and Irsyadin) socialize, animate and revitalize their identity exclusively in the private sphere, but do not construct their group to be exclusive in the public sphere. The only public sphere where ba-Alwi emerges as a professional elite is the religious world. They position their elites as a respectable group so that there is no chance for them to be positioned as outsiders. This shows that eliminating exclusivity in the public sphere, in addition to perpetuating identity in the private sphere, actually confirms one of the meanings of their ethnic existence to survive without conflict. Thus, says Yasmine, endogamy does not hinder the process of multiculturalism as long as the respected community does not position itself as an exclusive community in all matters related to the public sphere.

Husain Haikal in his article, *Indonesian-Arabs in the Indonesian Independence Movement (1900-1942)*, reports on the role of Haba'ib in the Indonesian independence struggle. Almost all Arabs were involved in the fight against

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¹ See Philip K. Hitti, *History of Arabs*, terj. oleh R. Cecep Lukman Yasin dan Dedi Slamet RIyadi (Jakarta: Serambi, 2006), 3.

the Dutch. The first modern Haba'ib movement, Jami'at Khair, paid intensive attention to Indonesian children in the field of education. The same can be seen in other Arab organizations, such as al-Irsyad and al-Khairat. Although they claimed that Indonesia was their mother country and united with Indonesians against the Dutch colonialists, virtually all non-Muslim organizations, except Gerindo, refused to accept them as members. However, after Indonesia's independence, they became Indonesian citizens. They jointly defended the Republic of Indonesia against subsequent wars. Most Haba'ib not only became members but also leaders of both Islamic and non-Islamic organizations, such as the Indonesian Socialist Party and the Indonesian National Party.

This research is different from the two studies above in terms of: First, the locus. There has been no research conducted in Semarang City. Second, the research problem. Although similar, this research focuses on the theme of ethnicity and nationalism of the current Arab descendants. Third, the approach. This research uses anthropology as an approach and al-Jabiri's theory as an analysis, while others do not.

The characteristics of research with an anthropological approach, especially ethnography, are holistic integrative, thick description, and qualitative analysis in order to get a "native's point of view". If sociology's service to Muslim political development is assumed to provide an analysis of social life in general and as a whole, then anthropology contributes understanding and theory about the position and role of various smaller and simpler socio-cultural units. The results of this research are definitely different from previous studies. This research gets to the roots of the factors that form ethnicity and the determining factors, why the Arab descendants of Semarang City still have nationalism.

Al-Jabiri's Theory of al-Aql al-Siyasi al-Arabi

Ethnicity and nationalism are two sides of inseparable currency. To know Arab nationalism, its ethnicity is also important factor to be examined. Moslem society competent to pride having Muhammad Abid al-Jabiri, a Marocco thinker, wich capable to arrange existing *turath* (intellectual heritage) and interpreting it rationally and empirically so that can open awareness and express sides which during the time is closed over by intellectual stagnation [11].² Al-Jabiri said that *qabilah* (ethnicity) is one of three determinant factors to form Arab political history.³

As known, al-Jabiri have conducted study which its result said that reality of Arab political logical reasoning in this time is, in fact, was born from Arab political logical reasoning process in length history. Hence, to comprehend political reality of Arab in this time, it is needed to read political logical reasoning of rational Arab, non which is limited by religious importance justification [3].⁴

In reading political logical reasoning of Arab, al-Jabiri marries theories of contemporary psychology and political sociology with own Arab Islam tradition concept. He confes that there are three conceptual peripheral (al-jihaz al-mafahim) which is used: first, conception of political unconsciousness (al-la syu'ur al-siyasi) borrowing from French philosopher, Regris Debray; second, social imagination concept (al-mikhyal al-ijtima'i, social dream), and third, al-majal al-siyasi (politics domain), what also borrowing from contemporary sociology, including Arab Semarang.⁵

These above three al-Jabiri's theory are used to unload what is hidden from three determinant factors or three political history keys of Arab. Those are what mentioned by al-Jabiri with term: *qabilah*, *aqidah* dan *ghanimah*⁶ in transendental meaning. These three factors determined political logical reasoning of Arab. That is which later will be used by researcher as a tool of analysis in this research.

Arab Ethnic in Semarang City

Semarang is a town broadly 37 hectares. Around 34% of its plain is lowland, while the rest is in the form of countryside in hilly. Height of its downtown is 0-3.49m from sea water, spread over between five kilometer in coastline and five kilometer in hinterland. High level officer in Semarang live in villas with wide front page. While rich Chineman life in luxuriant housing. This is very contrast with: resident majority which life in river periphery (bantaran) and can to be unlouded or condemned for right of way or public use any time by government; and resident majority (read: Java, Chinese, and Arab ethnic) which life in Semarang downtown, in solid settlement, with ugly water supply and drainage, and almost under sea water. Even, pauper over there finish their night in public building, market, bus terminal, or almost fall out shack (gubug reot) in river periphery.

Of course, the fact as mentioned above makes Arab Indonesia (Semarang specially) progressively draw to be examined. Above movements which are assumed as fundamental, which be meant as "desire become dominant" or "less of esteeming others", also become separate fascination to conducting research. This is because there is trade-offs among interests concerning formal regulation base on syari'ah even on Arab culture or which is recognized as Arabisme⁷ [2][6] etcetera, which often times trigger stress from resisten group which feel non becoming the part of them.

Semarang Arab ethnic consist of many clans, among others: as-Segaf, al-Jufri, al-Munawar, Makhrus, and others.

² See Tholhatul Choir dan Ahwan Fanani, (ed.), Islam dalam Berbagai Pembacaan Kontemporer (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009), 215.

³ See as complete as in Muhammad Abid al-Jabiri, *al-'Aql al-Siyasy al-Araby: Muhaddidatuh wa Tajalliyyatuh* (al-Dar al-Baydla': al-Markaz al-Thaqafy al-Araby, 1991)

⁴ Muhammad Abid al-Jabiri, *al-'Aql al-Siyasy al-Araby*, 46.

⁵ Ibid., 8-20

⁶ Many writers say that use of that term indicates that al-Jabiri was influenced by Ibn Khaldun, social philosopher he admired, who later become his study in postgraduate and doctoral research. Ibn Khaldun in his 'ilm al-umran talks many about social solidarity (ashabiyyah al-qabiliyyah) and religion (aqidah) as determinant forming of social cohesion. This is what to inspire al-Jabiri make Arab natural existence (muhaddidat). Though about ghanimah, Ibn Khaldun does not exmine more, but here and there in his study, he does not forget economics problem, what is by al-Jabiri categorized as ghanimah content. See Ibn Khaldun, al-Muqaddimah (The Muqaddimah an Introduction to History), terj. Franz Rozental (London and Henley: Routledge dan Keagan Paul, 1978), 123-141. According to al-Jabiri, Ibn Khaldun in checking Western civilization growth, in fact, uses three key also, even in other term, namely: al-iqtisha al-ri'iy; al-suluk al-ashaby al-'asya'iry; dan al-tatharruf al-diny. Muhammad Abid al-Jabiri, al-'Aql al-Siyasy al-Araby, 47.

⁷ See Ismail Raqi al-Faruqi and Lamya al-Faruqi, *Atlas Dunia Islam* (Bandung: Mizan, 2004), 80-101, as cited by Nur Syam in *Madzhab-Madhzab Antropologi* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2007), 205.

Their majority is religion figure and merchant. A little one who concern in governance. Politically, they more regular affiliate to PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, Development Unification Party). They always conduct endogami except economically unlucky small minority. Everyday even have Javanese and very rare have Arab Ianguage, their Arab cultur is living, more when marriage ceremony. In social life, some of them active in al-Irsyad, a founded institute because disharmony of its figure with Jamiat Khair figure in Jakarta, what according to them still have perception of social status difference. But that way, there is no article reporting the existence of ethnical conflict. This is proven from inexistence of one chapter even also in so many masterpieces which studying, or at least simply indication, existence of conflict entangling Arab ethnic [4],8 including in Semarang, or in fact is actual, but in small scale and have not been displayed.

What is mentioned above is correspond with effort conducted by Raffles [12], saying that most Arab ethnic in Java is merchant clan and the prominent Moslem scholar. Their special port is in Gresik, place of Islam teaching step first time into Java. They seldom still pure Arab blood, but most have mixed with original citizen.⁹

There is no sure answer and data from informan how many Arab ethnic in Semarang now. Raffles [12] reported the tables of statistic from population in some canton and provincy under management and head from English government in Java year 1815, that Arab ethnic and Moor in Semarang is nothing, in around Batavia 23 people, in Town Batavia 403, in Cirebon 19 people, in Ulujami Pekalongan 168 people, and Jawana Pati 8 people. 10 Pursuant to citizen data of year 2008, the amount of Arab ethnic resident in Sub-District of Dadapsari, District of Semarang North amount to 312 people. However, this did not mean that is Arab ethnic there's only in Sub-District of Dadapsari, by parsial Arab ethnic reside in some region in Semarang town, as in Kauman, Pekojan and Petolongan. Ethnical community of The Arab since long time have joined forces with some other ethnic, like Banjar Bugis, Malay in a countrified known as Malay kampong.

No special character differentiating between them and Arab ethnic in other towns. Same as in others, Arab ethnic in Semarang can be differentiated to become two group: Alawiyyin; and Masyayikh. Alawiyyin is Arab which their ancestry or lineage or blood is jointed or related to Muhammad Rasulullah himself. Meanwhile Masvavikh is not. In Alawiyvin, it is also found two formed group pursuant to clan, that is: al-Hasani; and al-Husaini. It is more found al-Husaini in Semarang rather than other one. Meanwhile, clans like: al-Jufri, al-Munawwar, al-Attas, al-Segaf and others are groups which its names are taken away from name of one of their grandfathers which assumed as figure or most having an effect on in its lineage. They intend to lean theirself to one of such grandfathers. During there is no new generation which is calibre with him, the clan will not be replaced or broken and remain to be weared.

Actually, Arab ethnic have melted with local society in Semarang. There is no distinction in the case of public service and also something else. Majority of dying Semarang Arab ethnic was buried in common funeral complex. That is Bergota complex. In this mausoleum complex, it did not look the existence of exclusivities to Arab ethnic, though there are some arranged mausoleums by teaming. However that is within one family. Even in the case of giving sign at grave, there is no difference between them and others. It shows that there is effort form Arab ethnic to mix with local society.

Semarang Arab ethnic even also do not form a Arab *kampong* as in other towns. In the year when this research is conducted, some of Arab ethnic starts to leave old *kampong*. They shall no longer living in Dadapsari and Purwosari (district of Semarang North), and also Kauman and Pandansari (district of Center Semarang). Some of them have moved to Tembalang, Ketileng, Wologito, Gunungpati, Telogosari, and others.

They disseminate in various area and form majlis ta'lim (studying and ritual community). For example, there is Sunday morning mailis ta'lim at home of Syarifah Sakinah at Petek Street, there is Monday night majlis ta'lim in residency of Sayyid Abdurrahman (Yi' Mang) behind Pasaraya Sri Ratu at Pemuda Street, there is Friday Kliwon majlis ta'lim by Habib Abdurrahman Smith in Masjid Agung Semarang, and others. Don't hope in their majlis ta'lim, which discovered is Arab ethnic. Exactly majority which attend in the majlis ta'lim come from indigenous circle. No feeling in Arab ethnic to prid upon their ethnical identity. Even some habits of Arab ethnic in this time also have become tradition of local society, like usage of surban (cloth sheet which is sometime used to close head). Reality of clothes as last referred, of course, strengthen Federick M. Deny thesis that there are very variative ways of dressing to Moslems in various world cleft. The Dressy variation can be saw from way of dressing Arab people, Egypt, Iran, Pakistan, Malaysia, as well as Indonesia. This indicates that dressy variation is problem of culture from each region, nonproblem of religion [5][8].11

In everyday reeling, habib is only dedicated to pious Arab ethnic and have cognation with Muhammad Rasulullah. Despitefully, there are other reeling, namely sayyid which is dedicated to them owning blood relation to Muhammad Rasulullah, but not pious people or can be told do not have majlis ta'lim. Meanwhile syaikh, is dedicated to Arab ethnic that have no blood relation to Muhammad Rasulullah.

According to many researchers, Arab people are one who most understanding their own ancestry. Compared with people from wherever nation, Arab people most memorize their ancestors, even mount threety eighth. Majority of them have name which only consist of one word, like: Ali, Hasan, Husain, Zain, Ja'far, Umar, Mundzir, Fatimah, Sakinah, Nadia, Sheikh, Anis, Thoha, Salim, etc. To differentiate one with other, which oftentimes have same name, they is called along with name of his father and his clan, like: Hasan bin Abdurrahman al-Jufri, Hasan bin Thoha al-Munawwar, etc.

Reality, compiler factors of Arab ethnic in Semarang are ethnicity primordial character itself. Ethnicity in its

⁸ Lihat selengkapnya Jacques Bertrand, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 35-39.

¹¹ Periksa John Corrigan, Federick M. Deny, Carlos M.N., Eire dan Martin S. Jaffe dalam *Jews, Christian, Muslim, A Comparative Introduction to Monothestic Religions* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, inc., 1998), 409-411.

character is lineage or blood relation or *aabilah* which is not owned another ethnicity in Semarang and also Indonesia. Borrowing al-Jabiri term, ethnical primordiality is "political unconsciousness" (al-la svu'ur al-sivasi). As known, there are two deeds of human being: conscious; and which repeatedly without awareness. The Second is we conceive as "subconscious", which comprise motive and dream, hidden since human being born. There is role of "subconscious" in someone live. Al-Jabiri said that Arab subconscious nature determined their politics logical reasoning as long as history. He follows Prancis philosopher, Regis Debray, having a notion that political reality was determined by politics subconscious which comprising collective relation structure, both materials, tribal, or other relations which ever linger as activator even if form and its society pattern have changed. That way was also found in Semarang Arab ethnic. Blood relation which is not realized by them is most determinant factor to unifying them under one ethnical big umbrella.

Maintaining ethnical exclusivity is likely only in certain certain circle to Arab ethnic in Semarang that is them which still have cognation, owning ancestry to Muhammad Rasulullah. A Habib which merried with laity or local woman, his ancestry from Muhammad Rasulullah will not be broken, meanwhile a Syarifah which merried with laity or local man, her ancestry from Muhammad Rasulullah will be broken. This is of course to maintain ethnical purity. At the time of this research is conducted, bevy of all habib in Semarang will be reanimated, which its chief has been agreed on, that is: Abdurrahman Smith, but its meetings not yet have time to be carried out. To researcher, this is conducted of course to maintain ethnicity.

Other way of how they maintain their ethnicity is by compiling typical *shalawat* reading, where father, grandfather, their *buyut*, and so on, mentioned over and over in it. Such *shalawat* is then bounced together with all *jama'ah* (audiences) in early their *majlis ta'lim* event. From above fact, it can be known that primordial ethnicity in the reality have to be permanent by them through various means which is, according to researcher, social construction, what is not stiff, easy to be made as medium, and can be processed to form a social network, relation, or association in so many experiences coat.

It cannot be denied that reaching of Indonesia independence is not only by the just one faction cooperation. Independent of Indonesia has been reached by the cooperation of subjective nasionlisme from various factions of original citizen and also outside country. One of the ethnics which have assisted reaching of this independence is Arab ethnic. Some of nationalist figures from Arab ethnic are A.R Baswedan¹² and Husein Mutahar [1][9][10].

Muhammad Husein Mutahar was born in Semarang, Central Java, on 5 August 1916. He is someone which have saved red white flag by the comand from direct President Soekarno. Husein Mutahar run and also finish this duty excellently. He also composes hundreds of Indonesia struggle song, like *Hari Merdeka* (Independence Day), *Hymne Syukur* (Hymne Thanks), *Hymne Pramuka, Dirgayahu Indonesiaku*, also children song like *Gembira* (Happy), *Tepuk Tangan Silang-SIlang* (Crossed Applause), *Mari Tepuk* (Come on Clap) and many more. Song *Hari*

Merdeka and *Hymne Syukur* is two of the fenomenal song composed by Habib Muhammad Husein Muthahar.

Nationalism of Ethnic Arab in Semarang City in the 2010s

Nasionalism of Arab ethnic in past Indonesia still inspire Arab ethnic in Semarang when this research is conducted. Researcher has time to hold an interview with brother of Husein Muthahar, Abdullah Muthahar several times. At his old home in *Petek* Street Semarang, what one day thrice hitted by *rob* (floods), Abdullah Muthahar life stand apart without child and wife. Weeping and tear frequently interrupt answer of the man with 80s-year-old. Answer about ethnicity and nationalism of Semarang Arab often times sliver with Islam teaching about equation domicile of all human being in front of God, about *qana'ah* (attitude accept) and humility, and about fatherland love.

Nationalism of Semarang Arab ethnic admit of to be pledged as nation unifier defeat themselves ethnicity. Their nationalism within as same as original Indonesian people's nationalism in general. Even in some cases, their nationalism differs from nationalism of Arab ethnic in other town, Solo for example. As known, recently, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir which is also Arab ethnic, is assumed by media as related to international network, which perhaps create new field of research. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir nationalism of course differs from Semarang Arab nationalism.

If analysed using al-Jabiri theory, nasionalime of Arab ethnic in Indonesia, in everywhere town, will be very influenced even be determined by three factors, that is: ethnicity, economic, and religion. But researcher realize that ethnical factor, if compared to two other determinants, less so have a meaning along with nationalism issue which is not many conversed by people. Differ from early days forming of Indonesia state. That Moment, ethnical issue come up as determinant to status, existence, and future of Arab ethnic in Indonesia. Now, religion factor and economics still determine Arab nationalism direction, including Arab ethnic in Semarang.

This research is conducted at a few moments after *Johar* Semarang market "burned", biggest market in that town, where majority of Arab ethnic in Semarang "draping its life". It is true that "the burning of" *Johar* market is not the prime cause, but finishing economic problem on behalf of nationalism, this time, remain to be more important and more confiscating mind rather than limiting theirself in tight ethnical frame. Economics and religion still make them have nationalism which energetic enough.

Arab ethnic in Semarang do not agree with *Islam Nusantara* discourse, even if is not oppose against Islam teaching. According to them, Islam is just Islam that is coming from Makkah, that is belong to Muhammad Rasulullah, original ancestors of them. Discourse of *Islam Nusantara*, that unique, will only abolish service all walisongo (nine saints). *Islam Nusantara* by degrees exactly will generate dissolution between people. For them, there is Islam that is still ideal and original. Islam anywhere has to oriented to it. As additional data, many is Arab ethnic in Indonesia in general *nyantri* (studied) in Tarim Yaman town and admired moslem scholar from there. Attitude of Arab ethnic to *Islam Nusantara* issue remind researcher to second determinant factor of Arab political history, result of al-

¹²Suratman dan Kwartanada, Didi, Biografi A.R Baswedan, 4.

Jabiri analysis, that is: *imaginaire social (al-mikhyal al-ijtima'i)*. This concept is meant as "a group of picture, social event and image becoming psychological driver of Arab society to conduct something". Heroic or tragic behavioral figure, event all day long, becoming social imagination surely will become especial impeller born collective behavioral. In this case, researcher see *aqidah* or beliefe norm or value will be certain (read: religion, Rasulullah, Tarim Yaman moslem scholar) as ethnical social imagination of Arab in Semarang determining ther political logical reasoning to *Islam Nusantara* issue.

Arab ethnic in Semarang which notabene is new comer to Indonesia confess that the nationalism and loving Indonesia as fatherland in theirself fully grow. They confess that, at the same time, the challenge of globalization is one of their responsibilities to protect Unity State Republic of Indonesia from all kinds of its danger form.

II. CONCLUSION

Compiler factors of Arab ethnic in Semarang are ethnicity primordial character itself. Ethnicity in its character is lineage or relation blood or *qabilah* which is not owned another ethnicity in Semarang and also Indonesia. Meanwhile efforts of Arab in maintaining ethnicity in changing Semarang social situation are by conducting ways as follows: conducting endogamy merry, forming bevy of *habaib*, and compiling typical *shalawat*, where their father, grandfather, *buyut*, and so on, mentioned over and over in it.

Their nationalism is same with original Indonesian people's nationalism in general. But the ethnical factor, if compared to two other determinants, less so have a meaning. Religion and economics factor still determine Arab nationalism direction, including Arab ethnic in Semarang. Arab ethnic in Semarang does not agree with *Islam Nusantara* discourse. There is Islam that is still ideal and original. Islam anywhere has to orient to it. Attitude of Arab ethnic to *Islam Nusantara* issue is determined by *imaginaire social* (al-mikhyal al-ijtima'i). They confess that the challenge of globalization is one of their responsibilities to protect unity of Indonesia from all kinds of its danger form.

Further research still has to be conducted because there is no more clearly attitude from Arab ethnic in Semarang to

globalization effect. Many possibilities may happen. The Arab political history determinant factor might possibly function maximally as that happened at Prophet epoch. It can also on the contrary. Researcher predict that they will very smart read epoch opportunity. Otherwise, that way, they will as same as with its predecessor, Ali bin Abi Thalib choosing idealist in have politics, what in al-Jabiri language is *mumarasat al-laa siyasah fi al-siyasah* (do not want to be political at political business). At that moment, he deals with pragmatic political style of Mu'wiyah and have to confess political excellence of Mu'awiyah.

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