



ULAMA'S POLITICAL STRUGGLING IN STRENGTHENING WASATHIYAH ISLAM IN THE PALACE

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Abstract. *The magnitude of the ulama's obsession to color power in Indonesia is reflected in the fierceness of their battle in the 2019 presidential election. The direct involvement of the ulama made this political event special and different from the previous presidential elections throughout Indonesian history. What's special about this event is that it started from the views of scholars; "We must participate in determining the direction of this nation's journey, so that it is guaranteed that the Islamic perspective of wasathiyah is implemented in it, to be able to realize this effectively, we must color Indonesia from within, by appearing as a policy maker". To implement this, the ulama have been divided into two types of religious understanding which incubated into a political movement and were affiliated with the two presidential candidate pairs. Each of them struggles in their own way, including; The 212 mass movement which was very monumental and fantastic by the Ulama, while on the other hand, had advanced to become a candidate for Vice President from the top leadership of the Ulama in Indonesia, both in terms of the MUI Ormas (as a forum for the gathering of ulama and zu'ama). also from the NU mass organization (as the largest religious mass organization in Indonesia), namely KH. Ma`ruf Amin who is the chairman. Finally, it is reflected that the presidential election battle this time is not only a battle for the presidential seat in the palace, but also as a political battle with the religious style of the ulama to color the throne of power in Indonesia, namely, Wasathiyah Islam and Exclusive Islam. It turns out that the religious style of Wasathiyah Islam as the original inhabitants of this nation can still be victorious in this battle, as well as strengthen the existence of the state in a form that is nationalist Pancasila so that the citizens of the state live in peace in diversity and plurality.*

Keywords: *Ulama, Wasathiyah Islam, Struggling of Islam*

INTRODUCTION

To ensure that Wasathiyah Islam remained firm in the palace, the political drums of the ulama had to be beaten repeatedly. Ulama are actually not only talking about fiqh claims, but are also responsible for candidates for imam in their country. On that basis, the

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presidential election this time became fierce. In the end, the presidential election battle was not only a rivalry between two pairs of candidates, but also a rivalry between two groups of clerical organizations with different religious beliefs. On the one hand, NU clerics are affiliated to pair number 1 which tends to carry wasathiyah Islam (moderate), and other mass organizations clerics, such as; Muhammadiyah (There was ustad Bahtiar Nashir, and Amin Rais who spoke loudly, FPI (Habib Rizik Sihab even instructed his cadres at the PBB (Bintang Bulan Party)) to resign from their candidacy for the legislature, because the United Nations turned cloudy number 1, former HTI (Hizbut Tarir Indonesia) Ustad Ismail Yusanto, etc.), Wahhabis (Ustad Haikal Hassan, and Mahaer), Tablighi Jamaat, Persis, and others, are affiliated with pair number 2 which tends to have an exclusive Islamic religious style. , coupled with the style and color of religious understanding, it seems as if two clerics have formed in Indonesia, namely the right and left scholars (Writing of Syukron, Student of UIN Syahid Jakarta, Kompasiana.com, February 2, 2019).

The political struggle of the ulama is increasingly unstoppable because of their capacity as role models for the people. Evan this presidential election requires the voice of the people, while the knot of the people lies with the ulama. This is in line with the survey report of the LSI (Indonesian Survey Institute) Denny JA about the high loyalty of the people to follow the ulama as seen in the following professional entities.

Table 1:

The most followed profession by society

NO	PROFESSION	FOLLOWED
1	Islamic scholars	51,7 %
2	Politicians	11,6 %
3	Observers	4,5 %
4	Businessman	3,5 %
5	Academicians	1,8 %
6	Social community foundation	1,7 %
7	Celebrities	1,1 %
8	Unknown (did not answer)	24,7 %

Source: kompas.com, 14 November 2018

In line with this, there were 5 of the most influential clerics in Indonesia during the 2019 presidential election procession.

Table 2:

The most influential cleric in Indonesia during the 2019 presidential election

NO	ULAMA'S CRITERIA	FOLLOWED THEIR SAYING	EVER LISTEN TO THEM	LIKE THEM
1	Abdul Somad	30,2 %	59,3 %	82,5 %
2	Arifin Ilham	25,9 %	41,2 %	84,4 %
3	Yusuf Mansyur	24,9 %	57,2 %	84,9 %
4	AA Gym	23,5 %	69,3 %	79,7 %
5	Rizik Syihab	17,0 %	53,4 %	52,9 %

Source: pitarpolitik.com, 16 November 2018

The study of ulama in Indonesia is becoming even more interesting, because the majority of the population is Muslim, who is fanatical. The world has witnessed the diversity of the Indonesian population, with Muslim dominance reaching 85%. There are already provinces that have been given the freedom to apply Islamic law as widely as possible, namely Aceh. Even Indonesia is inhabited by many large international caliber scholars, it does not become penetration and tyranny for minorities. But still able to make a positive contribution to the people as a whole, as well as to the nation and state in a religiously neutral NKRI.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A. About Ulama

According to Ahdi Makmur, the word ulama is the plural form of the word 'âlim (Arabic), meaning someone who has knowledge, 'Ulama means people who are knowledgeable. In the Malay world ulama are called by words such as guru, tok guru and Tuan guru. The names of ulama in Indonesia are also different, namely teungku (Aceh), Tuanku or buya (West Sumatra), ajengan (West Java), kyai (Central Java and East Java), Tuan Guru (West Nusa Tenggara). In South Kalimantan, ulama are called guru, mu'allim (informal), and Tuan Guru for formal designations. (Rosehan Anwar and Andi Bahrudin Malik, 2003: 15 Miqot, 2012: 176).

According to M. Khoiril Anwar and Muhammad Afdillah in a study entitled The Role of Ulama in the Archipelago in Achieving Harmonization of Religious People, citing Azra (Azra, 2002, p. xxvii) defines ulama as servants of God who are special,

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namely knowing God in essence, heirs of the prophet, lamps of the people with his knowledge and guidance, leaders and role models who are *uswah hasanah* in piety and *istiqomah* (the foundation of worship and good deeds), be true and fair and are not afraid of reproach, do not follow lust, actively uphold goodness, and prevent evil, unite the people, stand firm fighting for and exalting Islam, fighting in the way of Allah, and continuing the struggle of the Prophet Muhammad in achieving the pleasure of Allah SWT. (Badruddin Subky, 1995: 45)

According to Azra (2002) in Isnatin Ulfah, the definition of ulema in the Indonesian context is generally limited, still narrow and still dominant, expertise in the field of *fiqh* alone is not enough for someone to be recognized as a scholar. There are some people in Indonesia who are experts in this field, but they are not seen by the wider community as scholars but as intellectuals or more popularly Muslim scholars (Isnatin Ulfah, 2012: 3).

B. About Wasathiyah

The word "wasatiyyah" is Arabic *وسطية*. From the study of root words, wasatiyyah comes from the word (*wasatha*), which consists of *fi`il tsulasi* (three-letter verb) namely *waw*, *sin* and *tha* which means to mediate. In Arabic, the word *wasatha* has the same root as the words "wasthun and wasith", and it has several meanings. Al-Zuhaili said that Muslims are *ummatan wasatha*, meaning the people who have the best justice (*`udulun khiyar*), this implies not being excessive and not exceeding the limit or not exaggerating (Al-Zuhaili, 1422: 64).

This is in line with what was stated by Khalid ibn Abdullah, namely "not having a tendency to exaggeration / exceeding limits, and also not having a tendency to shorten or reduce, as well as waste (*la yamiluna ila ghulu, wala yamiluna ila taqshiri wa tafrith*).(Khalid ibn Abdullah, Ttp. : 13). Ulama Azhar said; *Istiqomah* in the method of truth "*istiqamat `ala manhaj al-haq*" (Azhar Scholars, Ttp.: 1116).

When abstracted, Islamic wasathiyah contains seven main values, namely.

- a. Tawassut, namely the position in the middle and straight path
- b. I'tidal, namely proportional, fair, and responsible behavior

- c. Tasamuh, which is recognizing and respecting differences in all aspects of life
- d. Shura, namely prioritizing consultation and resolving problems through deliberation to reach consensus
- e. Islah, which is engaging in reformative and constructive actions for the common good
- f. Qudwah, which is pioneering noble initiatives and leading the people for human welfare
- g. Muwatanah, namely recognizing the nation state and respecting citizenship.

Din Syamsuddin said, wasathiyah has a broader meaning than just "moderate". Wasathiyah has implications for the values of tolerance, middle ground, resolving problems through deliberation, recognizing pluralism, pluralism, intermediary and intermediary in problem solving. Therefore, the implementation of wasathiyah Islam is a solution for Muslims around the world who are facing; global chaos, uncertainty and the accumulation of universal devastation, poverty, illiteracy, injustice, discrimination, and various forms of violence.

M. Basir Syam said Wasathiyah Islam is Islam rahmatan lil Alamin which is moderate, balanced, fair and tolerant as exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad SAW in all aspects of life, both worship and muamalah. Especially in da'wah where the Prophet did it wisely, with good advice to beautiful and polite debates. (M. Basir Syam, 2018 : 221).

C. The Peace Character of Islam

Islam came with a mission of peace. In the midst of Arab culture that is rude, warlike, selfish and easily offended, Muhammad Saw. came with a mission of peace because the religion he brought was a blessing to all the worlds. Islam is a sower of peace not only in terms of symbols and words but also in its application. Islam has never mandated adornment with ansikh symbols and slogans, but puts real evidence or deeds first. If Muhammad saw. has called for being patient so he is the most patient person, he looks very insulted, hurt and even mistreated by others, but he remains patient. If Muhammad saw. has invited to worship a lot then he is the most greedy person to worship, even though he is guaranteed to go to heaven but he is still diligent in worshipping. If

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Muhammad had motivated people to do a lot of istighfar, then he was the one who asked Allah for forgiveness the most, even though he was an impertinent person but he was the most sincere in istighfar. In fact, if he has invited people to like peace then he is the most serious person to make peace even though the content of peace is made unbalanced or unfair. This is clearly part of the character of Islam which has been mandated by Allah in the Qur'an; "Woe to them in the sight of Allah, those who only say but do not do" (Q.S al-Saf verse 3).

Peace as the character of Islam is not only towards fellow Muslims but all mankind. History has shown about the "Hudaibiyah Agreement", Muhammad Saw. carried out the agreement with the Meccan kuffar, although initially many Muslims rejected the peace, such as Umar Ibn Khattab, but Muhammad saw. insist and insist on committing to peace. Taking into account its contents, peace does not reflect justice or is detrimental to Muslims, especially on two points, namely; 1. Muslims are not allowed to perform Hajj in that year even though they have to give up their modest intentions for Hajj and they have arrived at the outskirts of Mecca, 2. Kuffar of Mecca who secretly entered Medina as a Muslim territory must not be detained or imprisoned but must be given the freedom to return to their villages, while Muslims who enter the city of Mecca as an area of infidelity must be detained and are not allowed to return to their villages at all.

Islam brings peace not only when he is weak, while when he is strong will overshadow the fears of others. A patient person is not a person who remains patient with the persecution of others when he is unable to resist, but a person who is able and very strong to avenge the wrongdoing of people to him but he does not do it because he controls himself to be a patient person. It is not called a stingy person, when he is in a state of faqir or poor then he does not want to give charity, but a stingy person becomes real when he has abundant wealth but he is reluctant to share with other hungry people. Islam is declared a religion of peace not because it remains peaceful and does not fight because it is weak, for example the situation at the beginning of its arrival, in quantity Muslims are a minority, but Islam as a religion of peace because it still brings peace even though he is strong, for example being in power. This can be seen; 1). When the Islamic

state of Medina was established, and Muhammad became the Head of Religion, as well as the Head of State. In this case, he continues to uphold justice while at the same time guaranteeing peace for all parties, including non-Muslims, such as Jews and Christians who are under his control. 2). During the Fathu of Makkah (the 10th of Ramadan in the year 8 H. coincided with the year 630 AD), after Muhammad and his companions had been violently expelled from their own homeland, then the passage of time had turned the situation upside down, Muhammad entered Mecca with the army. which was large (10,000 soldiers complete with weapons) so that this had become a show of force (show of force), finally Mecca was conquered easily and without resistance. At this time Muhammad still brought peace, there was no persecution or bloodshed, instead Muhammad called the kuffar of Mecca who were moving away towards the mountain with a call to brotherhood. At this time Muhammad was able to commit violence against them, but he did not do it, he should embrace and protect them (Nurul Faiqah, Toni Pransiska, 2018: 49).

METHODOLOGY

This research is descriptive analytical using a case phenomenological approach. The data is taken from phenomena that occur related to the role of ulama in the national political stage, especially ahead of the 2019 presidential election. How did the ulama play a role in the event, as well as what the contribution of the ulama to the presidential election process, especially on the influence of people's attitude taking to choose pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Struggling of Ulama to Establish Islamic Wasathiyah in the Palace

Long before the 2019 presidential election, the ulema's struggle to establish Islamic wasathiyah at the Palace had already begun. Prof. DR. HA. Hafiz Anshary, AZ., MA. said: Once at an MUI event in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan (Kalsel.), as the capacity of the general chairman of the Indonesian MUI, K.H. Ma`ruf Amin gave directions to the MUI Management in South Kalimantan. In his briefing, he conveyed that so that the MUI Management could play an active role in coloring the power in Indonesia, in addition to

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maintaining Indonesia's existence (fixed price) in the Nationalist Pancasila state system, we also had to frame it in the corridor of peaceful Islam (wasathiyah). the most competent to do so are scholars. To be able to implement it, the scholars must enter the government, meaning that the ulama become the determining element in the government. Thus the ulema can improve Indonesia from within.

In line with this, the statement of the Secretary General of MUI RI DR. H. Anwar Abbas, MM., M.Ag. Precisely on Thursday 19 July 2018 Anwar said; Ulama are not allowed to be spectators in the dynamics of politics in Indonesia, Ulama must participate in coloring political activities, this is part of the duties of Ulama. In line with this, in the upcoming presidential election (even though the presidential election is still far away) we will encourage K.H. Ma`ruf Amin (General Chairperson of MUI) can run in pairs with Joko Widodo as his deputy for the second term. In this case, the Central MUI already has a strong stance that ulama must be directly involved in practical political activities to establish Wasathiyah Islam in Indonesia from its upstream, namely the palace. (Results of direct interviews with Anwar Abbas and DR. Amirsyah Tambunan in his office).

It is extraordinary, the hopes of Ma'ruf Amin (Chairman of MUI) and Anwar Abbas (Secretary General of MUI) to color power are not mere figments, but have actually come true. Right on Thursday, August 9 2018, Jokowi also announced in front of the press with the general chairman (ketum) and secretary general (secretary general) of the supporting political parties at Plataran Restaurant, Jalan HOS Tjokroaminoto, Menteng, Central Jakarta, namely Prof. Kiai H. Ma`ruf Amin is his representative for the 2019 presidential election. He said; "I have decided on this, and have received approval from the coalition parties that are members of the Indonesian Working Coalition that the candidate for vice president will be accompanied by Professor Kiai Haji Ma'ruf Amin," he said. (Kompas.com. August 9, 2018). The next day, Friday, August 10, 2018 at around 10.00 WIB. Paslon Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin have also officially registered at the KPU, about 15 minutes later the KPU has examined the completeness of the files, and stated that this pair has officially registered themselves. Coinciding with Tuesday, May 21, 2019, the KPU has announced the victory of the Jokowi Ma`ruf Amin pair, with a

vote of 55.50% of the vote. Finally, on Sunday, October 20, 2019, Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Ma'ruf Amin were officially inaugurated by the MPR at the MPR building as President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia. the 2019-2024 period. Thus, the obsession with K.H. Ma`ruf Amin, K.H. Anwar Abbas, and the ranks of scholars who agree with them have become a reality, K.H. Ma`ruf Amin is the number 2 person in the government ranks in Indonesia.

It turned out that this was not the beginning of his obsession with politics to color power in Indonesia. Previously, K.H. Ma`ruf Amin already has a number of political experiences in Indonesia, starting from his political work in PKB as Chairman of the Shura Council, and in the legislature, which started from being a member of the DPRD, DPR, to MPR members, even he has become a member of the Presidential Advisory Council (DPR). Wantimpres). In relation to strengthening the 4 (four) pillars of fixed prices, K.H. Ma`ruf Amin serves as a member of the Steering Committee of the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency.

Gait K.H. Ma`ruf Amin is waiting for the people. The big idea of ulama in Indonesia to participate in managing the government kitchen to be able to present a special menu of wasathiyah Islam for all Indonesian people has been successfully achieved, the role of KH Ma'ruf Amin as a cleric who has a great obsession for the welfare of all religious Indonesian people, especially Islamists, is a challenge. separately, while waiting for the people. The presence of K.H. Ma`ruf Amin at the Palace as well as being the first evan of the sarong (conventional) ulama to appear at the top of Indonesia's leadership as vice president. Taking into account this reality, the role of the ulama to color the government with wasathiyah Islam becomes very large. The presence of K.H. Ma`ruf Amin became the vice president as well as a symbol of the entry of wasathiyah Islam at the Palace.

The role of Ulama to color power in Indonesia has become even stronger with the birth of the results of the MUI V National Working Meeting (Rakernas) in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB). Although K.H. Ma`ruf Amin had relinquished his position as General Chair of the Central MUI on August 10 2018, when he was running for Vice President, but at the V MUI National Working Meeting in NTB, the National Working Meeting agreed that K.H. Ma`ruf Amin remains as the General Chair of the Central MUI until the

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end of his term of office in 2020, which is when the MUI National Conference has been held. (<https://www.wartaekonomi.co.id>) Since now, K.H. Ma`ruf Amin officially holds two national strategic positions, namely as the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, as well as the General Chair of the Central MUI.

Double function (as Vice President as well as General Chairperson of the Central MUI) held by K.H. Ma`ruf Amin at this time must have made the obsession of ulama to color power with wasathiyah Islam in Indonesia easier. The owner of the idea and the policy makers as well as the executors are in the hands of one person, namely K.H. Ma`ruf Amin himself. In this case, K.H. Ma`ruf Amin expects; in order to improve the function and role of the MUI, so that the ranks of the MUI at every level, from the center to the regions, maintain a close relationship with the government, so that the ulama really become partners with the government (shadiq al-ummah).

Before officially closing the MUI National Working Meeting in NTB, K. H. Ma`ruf Amin as the General Chair of MUI, as well as the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, reminded again about the mission of Islam wasathiyah in Indonesia. Among other things, he asked the ulema to keep the religion in the nuances of moderate Islam, to protect the people from deviant beliefs, to care about the economic aspect, to protect Hankan from handling the radicalism of the people, to defend the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and law enforcement, to reject the caliphate system, to act wisely in the post-truth era. (a political culture in which the debate prioritizes emotions, and the debate gets out of the substance of the problem). (<https://mui.or.id/berita/27307>).

2. The Obstacles

The difficulty of bringing wasathiyah Islam to the istama because there are several obstacles, at least the following:

a. The emergence of exclusive Islamic groups

By not naming the perpetrators, the stigma against Islamic wasathiyah (moderate Islam) stakeholders continues to flow. They denounce, shirk, and justify the blood of others. We can sometimes hear this in their speeches. As a splinter organization of course they

are very wary of their safety, but their mission must continue. (Tengku Syamaun Risyad/Leader of Ponpes Ulumuddin Lhokseumawe).

Not just sowing their ideas and ideas in the community, more than that, the Stakeholders of this extreme group want to color the power in Indonesia. One of their efforts is to ride on the nation's leaders, with the hope that the future leaders will succeed, then he has a great opportunity to express and implement his ideas in this country through the power that the leader has. It's no wonder that the political even in Indonesia is getting hotter and the battle is getting fiercer (Tengku Syamaun Risyad, the leader of the Ulumuddin Islamic Boarding School and the former chairman of the MPU North Aceh and Lhocseumawe).

b. ISIS influence

Kompas TV morning, Friday 29 March 2019, was present to review the program about the existence of ISIS in Indonesia, concluding that many Indonesians have been influenced by ISIS. Those who went to Iraq and Syria, were guerrillas there in the past, have now returned to their homeland. Ahead of the 2019 general election and presidential election, of course, Indonesia must be more careful with them, starting from their political choices, to the security of the election. (Angga Teguh Prastyo, 2015: 1).

c. Many people do not understand

Nur Khamid said, unfortunately, many of our current generation do not understand the struggle of the founding fathers of the nation, and they are not satisfied with the existing conditions, so they make a wrong move. Many ordinary people today feel that their ideas are accommodated by exclusive Islamic groups who wrap their struggles with religion so that they are more attractive. Departing from their marginalized status, coupled with their dissatisfaction with the management of the state, then they were presented with new opportunist ideas, and wanted to change the basis of the state, they agreed and supported it.

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CONCLUSION

The political struggle of the ulama to carry Wasathiyah Islam to the palace has been started for a long time, but the peak of the struggle was felt in the 2019 presidential election. KH. Ma`ruf Amin has been playing the discourse of bringing Islam wasathiyah to the palace for a long time, as have other scholars who are in line with him, but the peak of the struggle to face the most thrilling obstacles to this idea was felt in the 2019 presidential election procession. It turns out that Wasathiyah's Islamic insight got a breath of fresh air to have the potential to strengthen its existence and channel its magnetic influence through the throne of power.

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