THE POLITICS OF TRANSFORMATIVE NATIONALITY: AN EXPERIENCE OF MOSLEM THEOLOGIAN (ULAMA) AT INDONESIAN ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOLS

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Abstract

The communities of Islamic boarding schools as institutions that are born from the basis and doctrine of Islam are meticulously and courageously successful in dialectics with the facts of life. In the colonial era, the communities of Islamic boarding schools did not only fight because of the reasons which the colonialism exploited and treated the people in a non-human way, but also more than the religious doctrine was the most basic foundation so that resistance occurred continuously. The communities of Islamic boarding school is also able to provide a theological solution to critical issues related to the basic foundation of nation and state, such as the basic state debate in the Jakarta charter, and the single principle of Pancasila. As the result, the communities of Islamic boarding schools have made a final decision known the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), Bhinneka Tunggal Eka (unity in diversity), Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution is the final and complete for Indonesian nation.

Keywords: moslem theologian/ulama, islamic boarding schools/ pesantren, politics nationality, nationality transformative

A. INTRODUCTION BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Islamic boarding school is an educational institution and the best educational system; it is not according to pedagogic books but by pedagogic pedagogical living. Their children always feel as children of the common people, continue to be understand for humanity, because they always live in the world of humanity (Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 1962, Karya Bagian Pertama: Pendidikan (Work of Part One: Education), Majelis Luhur Persatuan Taman Siswa: Yogyakarta, p. 370.

The Islamic boarding school (pesantren) is the most genuine, authentic, unique and phenomenal system and educational institution in the history of education in the archipelago. The Islamic boarding school is not only able to survive until today, but also changes and develops into an extraordinary great. According to Van Den Berg (1886) in the 19th century by the Dutch colonial government’s official statistics, in Java and Madura there were 15,000 schools with 230,000 students’ number (Burhanuddin & Baedowi, 2003: 13). Statistics Ministry of Religious Affairs of the
Republic of Indonesia in 2008/2009 noted there are 24,206 Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia with the number of students as many as 3,647,719, with details of 1,953,992 men and 1,693,727 female students.

The illegality of Islamic boarding school as an educational institution in Indonesia proves that this institution is able to adapt and accommodate the demands of change. The Islamic boarding school’s category is now much more developed and viewed in terms of cultural diversity and educational system. The Islamic boarding school which initially only know the category of salafiyah Islamic boarding schools (traditional), now has a lot of Islamic boarding school khalafiyah or ashriyah (modern) category, mixed salafiyah-khalafiyah category, to salafi-haraki category (Basri, 2012: 6-9) This fact reaffirms that the Islamic boarding school is a native Indonesian educational institution deeply rooted in society.

Ki Hadjar Dewantara in 1928, in Wasita magazine Chapter 1 No. 2 November also recognizes that Islamic boarding schools are a national system, and for that reason the Taman Siswa College adopts the Islamic boarding school education system (Dewantara, 1962: 370-371). In addition, the uniqueness of the educational system that brings together both the dwellings and the life of the teacher-students so that the teaching and education process is well developed. Of course we must understand the context of the era, in those years the resistance movement against the colonial into a new era after the momentum of the Youth Pledge October 28, 1928. The oath of youth 1928 with the national song Indonesia Raya in 1928 was symbolic and mental Indonesia's independence. The term East Indies was deconstructed and reconstructed into Indonesia (Adam, 2006: 277). Ki Hadjar, who has been active for many years in the national political movement, is turning his way through the liberation of educational path.

History records that the students who were in the Islamic boarding schools were never negligent against the invaders in the fight for independence. Those who study at the Islamic boarding schools are according to Nancy K Florida's findings (1996) not only from the general public, but also from the nobility, and palace intellectuals, including the writers of the XVII-XIX century chronicles of the Surakarta Kingdom (Mas’ud, 2004: 24). Prince Diponegoro was one of the nobles who studied at the Islamic boarding school and received a mujahidin degree against
the Dutch, known as the Diponegoro War (Carey, 1989). The students have inherited their souls and bodies against the invaders for freedom in various ways; political, economic, social, cultural, educational, including physical warfare. Ki Hadjar Dewantara by witnessing the revolutionary face of the Islamic boarding school in the fight against the colonial government is the most basic reason why the Islamic boarding school’s system is applied in Taman Siswa.

This paper will describe three main things; First, about the resistance movement against the invaders by the Islamic boarding school’s community. Secondly, the attitude of nationalism at Islamic boarding school’s community in Indonesia happened in the critical period after independence. Third, the genealogy and nationalism’s concept that became the doctrine of the Islamic boarding school’s community.

B. RESISTANCE MOVEMENT FROM ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL

A thick note that should not be forgotten is the fact that village and religious teachers (Islamic boarding schools’ community) have always been fighting against the invaders since the Dutch arrived. The strategy against the new colonizers changed after the end of three important events in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Padri War (1821-1837) led by Tuanku Imam Bonjol, the Java War (1825-1830) led by Prince Diponegoro and the Aceh War (1873-1904) The three major wars ended in defeat. The regions such as, Mingkabau, Java, and Aceh were controlled by the Dutch. As a result of this long war, the Dutch imposed very cruel politic and control’s policies to gain wealth after spending a lot of money in the war. The most notorious cruel policy which is suffering and miserable with Indonesian people is forced cultivation.

The harsh policies of the Netherlands caused the people (especially Muslims) to be marginalized into the interior of the village. In this situation, since the people are not likely to access Dutch education, an Islamic boarding school is the only place for people's education. Another impact of this situation is the change in the strategy of resistance to invaders, from the pattern of military warfare to peaceful and organized resistance through education and culture (Khuluq, 2000: 5). So, there were many Islamic boarding schools led by former war troops, and there were also various
organizations aimed at improving the economic, educational and social conditions of the community. The Islamic boarding schools and organizations are used as a means of strengthening the resistance to the invaders and avoid-reject western culture. The Islamic boarding schools’ figures established various institutions that showed their love for the nation and the country such as *Nahdlatul Wathon* (Awakening of the Motherland), *Syubbanul Wathon* (Youth of the Homeland). Meanwhile, The Islamic boarding schools’ figures were involved in various movements such as the Sarekat Islam led by HOS Cokroaminoto and the Indonesian Club Study led by nationalist figure Dr. Sutomo.

The Islamic boarding schools’ figures are very aware of the importance of Muslim unity, so that when the conflict between the majority adherents of the schools of schools affiliated to Islamic boarding schools with modernist groups (such as Sarekat Islam, Muhammadiyah, and Islamic Unity) tapered, KH. Hasyim Asy'ari invited to end the conflict over matters of *furu* in Islam so that they could jointly oppose the Dutch colonizers. As a result, a federation body was established for Islamic organizations which were attended by 13 traditional and modernist Islamic organizations, named MIAI (Majlis Al-Islam A'la Indonesia) in 1937. In addition, to being a unifying tie between Muslims, MIAI also became a means against non-cooperative invaders. To get closer to the ideals of independence, MIAI joined the federation of the nationalist GAPI (Indonesian Political Association).

On the other hand, it must also be noted that not all movements against invaders carried out by the Islamic boarding schools’ community (and also other Islamic groups) are carried out non-cooperatively. During the Japanese period through the Masyumi (Indonesian Muslim Syuro Council) the Islamic boarding school’s community to Japan was very cooperative. At that time, strategic positions were handed over to Muslim figures such as KH. Hasyim Asy'ari. The cooperative politics was criticized as a decline in the Islamic boarding school’s community against invaders’ resistance, but KH. A. Wahid Hasyim argued that the cooperative intended as a way to fight and prepare Indonesia's achievement of independence faster. It must be deceived in our way to independent Indonesia because Japan has deceived (Zuhri, 1999). This is a way of establishing a more strategic and tactical power relation in the pursuit of a larger national aspiration, an independent Indonesia.
C. THE ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOLS’ COMMUNITIES MAINTAIN THE INTEGRITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

One of the most important sacrifices of the Islamic boarding school’s community occurred in the first days after the Proclamation of Independence on August 17, 1945, when the debate over the form of the Indonesian state, between groups supporting Islamic states and secular states (neutral towards religion). Nationalist groups such as Soekarno, Hatta, Supomo, Ki Hadjar Dewantara were more concerned with togetherness, collectivity, kinship, mutual cooperation, rather than individualism, intellectualism, materialism, Western model parliamentary democracy. The nationalists also believed that Indonesia's experience and wisdom could be used as a way for a better future. In contrast, for supporters of the Islamic state to analogize the Islamic state of Indonesia is an incarnation of Majapahit, the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom (Feillard, 1999: 30-31). As recorded in the history document, when the two power conflicts culminated Moh. Hatta performs a lobby to Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Kasman Singodimejo, Teuku M. Hasan and KH. A. Wahid Hasyim. To maintain the integrity of the nation, they agree the abolition of Islamic references in the Preamble of the Constitution. According to this agreement, Indonesia became a monotheist state, which consequently did not mention the terms of the president's requirement to be of particular religion (Feillard, 1999: 39).

The Islamic boarding school’s community was also actively involved in the formulation of Pancasila along with nationalist figures such as Soekarno, Muhammad Yamin, who were represented by several key figures such as Kahar Mudzakir, KH. A. Wahid Hasyim, and KH. Masykur. The success of formulating the Pancasila as the basis of this country shows precisely that Islamic leaders of that time prioritized a substantiality approach rather than the spiritual and literal approach. It is more concerned with Islamic values, not the external form (Feillard, 1999: 35).

Another important momentum of the Islamic boarding school’s community against the invaders came two months after the independence of 17 August 945, the jihad resolution issued by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari. This jihad resolution is actually a form of collaboration-cooperation between some teachers of Islamic boarding school and secular nationalists against the invaders. In the jihad’s resolution KH. Hasyim...
Asy'ari stated that Indonesian independence proclaimed on August 17, 1945 must be maintained. The Republic of Indonesia as the only legitimate government must be guarded and assisted. Muslims, especially NU members must take up arms against the Dutch and their allies. This obligation is a holy war and an obligation for every Muslim who lives within 94 kilometers, while those who live outside the radius are obliged to help materially for those who struggle (Khuluq, 2000: 110). It was this fatwa that fought the greatest battle in modern Indonesian history in Surabaya on November 10, 1945. This is a battle involving almost all components of the nation together, ranging from politicians, peasants, youth, hizbullah forces, and sabillullah.

The attitude of love of the motherland and nationality of Indonesia is shown by the Islamic boarding school’s community joined in Nahdlatul Ulama which is a fundamental belief. During the 11th Conference in Banjarmas in 1935, NU gave the legal status of the Indonesian state which was still colonized by the Dutch as darus sulkh (a peaceful state) which must be fought for its independence. For the long involvement in seizing independence through war, education, diplomacy, and legitimacy of religion (fiqh), NU is always faithful and guarding the sovereignty of the Indonesian nation. The Islamic boarding school’s community firmly rejects the idea and presence of the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) established by Kartosuwiryo in the Old Order era. The Islamic boarding school’s community gives a religious decision to Kartosuwiryo as bughat actor (rebellion to the legitimate state) due to his thinking and movement. When the country is in crisis and the threat of insurgency Islamic boarding school in 1954, decided that the position of the Head of State of the Republic of Indonesia (Ir. Soekarno) as waliy al-amri al-dlarûri bi al-shawka (government authorities in urgent situation because of his power, or the holder of the interim administration (de facto) with full power) (Wahid & Ghazali, 2005: 163). This decision was made consciously to fortify the rebels who intended to replace Pancasila as the basis of the state.

At that time, the New Command (a term for former President Soeharto's new order regime from 1966 to 1998) pressed itself on the sole principle of Pancasila. Again the Islamic boarding school’s community (NU) became the first Islamic organization to accept easily. When other Islamic organizations still fiercely resisted, NU in the 27th Congress in Situbondo in 1984 explicitly declared the final concept
of Pancasila relations with Islam. The declaration essentially states that: Pancasila as the basis and philosophy of the state of the Republic of Indonesia is not religion, and cannot replace religion and cannot be used to replace the position of religion. The Godhead of Godhead as the basis of the Republic of Indonesia according to Article 29 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution, which animates other precepts, reflects monotheism in the sense of faith in Islam. Acceptance and practice of Pancasila is a manifestation of the efforts of Indonesian Muslims to practice their religious shari'ah. As a consequence of the above attitude, Nahdlatul Ulama is obliged to secure a correct understanding of Pancasila and its practice that is pure and consistent by all parties.

In short, those are some important momentums of how the Islamic boarding school’s community is always loyal to the Unitary Republic of Indonesia and supports the state's leadership which is undermined and its threats. The Islamic boarding school’s community has used its political authority based on religious arguments to continue and sustain the Indonesian people.

D. GENEALOGY POLITICS NATIONALITY ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL’S COMMUNITY

The consistency of the Islamic boarding school’s community in fighting for the maintenance of independence and maintaining the unitary state of Indonesian Republic traced and understood from the Sunni political doctrine developed by Al-Ghazali and al-Mawardi. Even though in the Sunni political doctrine as mentioned by Ibn Taymiyyah in al-Siyayah al-Syar'iyyah that political riots in one hour are worse than the tyranny of a century (Khuluq, 2000: 85). This is a fundamental argument why the Islamic boarding school’s community is very accommodating, which critics call opportunism. This relatively uniform attitude of nationality among the Islamic boarding school’s community is due to the strong ties between teachers and students in the Islamic boarding school’s educational system. It could be said that perhaps only people who have been studying to the headmaster or chief of Islamic boarding school, how the bonds born inner strongly knotted between the leader and the students even down to the descendants.
The key of simple concepts inherited from generation to generation in the Islamic boarding school’s community are referred to in the Sunni political doctrine and are used as community guides, including; Firstly, the attitude of Tawasuth and I’tidal, a middle attitude that is based on the principle of life that upholds the necessity of being fair and right in the midst of shared life. There are no concepts, approaches and ways of tatharrufiyah (extremity). Secondly, Tasamuh’s attitude, tolerance and respect for differences in views, both in religious matters, especially those of a furu’ nature or a matter of khilafiyyah as well as in social and cultural issues. Third, the attitude of Tawazun, a balanced attitude in being committed, respects to Allah SWT, respects to fellow human beings and to the environment, and harmonizing the interests of the past, the present, and the future. Fourth, Amar Ma’ruf Nahi Munkar, attitude always has a sensitivity to encourage good deeds, useful, and useful for life together, and reject and prevent all things that can plunge and degrade the values of life.

NU (as an independent organization and not tied to an organization let alone any political party known as khitah 1926) who became an affiliate of the Islamic boarding school’s community has also established basic principles of political ethics for its citizens as follows: Firstly, Political for NU implies citizen involvement in the life of the nation and the state as a whole in accordance with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Secondly, Politics for NU is a politics with national insight and towards the integration of the nation with the steps that always uphold unity and unity to achieve the ideals together, namely the realization of a just and prosperous society is born inward, and performed as a charity of worship to happiness in and after the world.

Third, politics for NU is the development of essential and democratic values of independence, educating the nation’s maturity to realize the rights, obligations and responsibilities to achieve mutual benefit. Fourth, Politics for NU must be done with morals, ethics, and cultures of Godhead, just and civilized humanity, upholding the unity of Indonesia, a spirit of wisdom led by the wisdom of deliberation in deliberation, representation, and justice.

Fifth, politics for NU must be done with honesty of religious conscience and morality, constitutional, fair, in accordance with agreed rules and norms, and can
develop mechanisms of deliberation in solving common problems. Sixth, Politics for NU is carried out to strengthen national consensus, and is carried out in accordance with the morality of the nobility as the practice of the teachings of Islam Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah.

Seventh, politics for NU, under any pretext, should not be done at the expense of mutual interests and dividing unity. Eighth, the differences of opinion among the political aspirants of the NU people must continue to run in an atmosphere of brotherhood, loyal ‘tawadlu’, and mutual respect for each other, so that in politics it is maintained unity and unity within the NU.

Ninth, Politics for NU requires reciprocal community communication in national development to create a climate that enables the development of more independent community organizations capable of performing their functions as a means of community to unionize, channel aspirations, and participate in development (Wahid & Ghazali, 2005: 167-168).

By understanding the political doctrine above, it is illustrated why the Islamic boarding school’s community is so nationalistic and persistent in defending Indonesian nationality. The religious doctrine turned out to have been able to build a strong spirit of nationalism. The community has been proven until this moment as the vanguard of maintaining Indonesian nationality. Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah are two examples of an accurate Islamic boarding school’s community in proving their national commitment to Indonesia. As mentioned by KH.A. Wahid Hasyim: Starting from religion, nationalism arose, and nationalism was part of religion.

Doctrine Hubbul wathon minal this faith on continue continuously believed, followed, and developed in Islamic boarding school’s community from generation to the next generation. Then for community of Islamic boarding school today, whoever is assessed for trying to break the dreams of the founders’ Indonesian nation, they are ready to be in the front row to guard.
E. CONCLUSION

From the description in the previous section, it can be concluded that as an institution born from the basis and doctrine of Islam, Islamic boarding school’s community carefully and courageously has succeeded in dialectic with facts of life. At the time of the colonization of the Islamic boarding school’s community to fight against the Dutch, not only because of social facts that the colonists have exploited and treated the people inhuman, but more than that religious doctrine is the most basic foundation so that the resistance happens continuously.

The Islamic boarding school’s community is also able to provide a theological solution to critical issues related to the basic foundation of nation and state, such as the basic state debate in the Jakarta charter, and the single principle of Pancasila. In addition, the resolution of jihad is an important example of how the Islamic boarding school’s community is so radical in the face of the invaders when the war is democratized as a holy war struggle (jihad fi sabilillah). Therefore, actually related to the basics of statehood, the Islamic boarding school’s community has explicitly determined that the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, Unity in Diversity, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution are final. Because of this provision KH. Abdurrahman Wahid asserted; "It is possible to criticize the government but not against the state".

The persistent attitude of the Islamic boarding school’s community to the defense of the Indonesian nation can be traced from the theological base that they believe. Sunni political doctrine summarized in key terms such as tawasuth, i’tidal, tasamuh, tawazun, and amar ma’ruf nahi munkar that is pumping the spirit extraordinary love of the homeland. Since the Islamic boarding school’s community has been convinced that the Indonesian people are the dar as-sulh (peace country) that must be defended and defended, it seems that this doctrine is not easy to change in the future. And because of that it can be believed that every effort from anywhere and by anyone to change the basics of the Republic of Indonesia, the Islamic boarding school’s community will be on the front line facing it. The resolution of jihad and the Fatwa of Bughat (rebels) that have been issued by the Islamic boarding school’s community shows how radical and revolutionary this community is facing anyone who is hostile to the Republic of Indonesia. These days when ISIS was churning out in the international world to involve many Indonesian citizens, the Islamic boarding
school’s community was ahead of rejection and resistance. When HTI is done real
against the ideology of the Indonesia, NU is in the front row for keeping all Indonesia.
This fact is undeniable that the Islamic boarding school’s community in defending
the Indonesian people who is plenary and faithful.
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