Abstract
This article relates to political conceptions and responses of Sufism leader in Java. The purpose of this study is to discover views and practices of Sufism scholars in Java regarding Islamic law of engagement in politics. Sufism leaders who become subjects of data are representatives of three provinces. The data are obtained through intensive interview, aside from utilizing literary document data. To analyze the existing data, the author uses (istinbat) analysis of Islamic law. The result of analysis shows that Javanes views of Sufism leaders regarding Islamic law of engagement in politics are categorized into two natures of the law, namely: 1) Fardhu kifayah (obligatory), with reason that leadership must exist to organize muslims’ benefit; and 2) Mubah (allow), because the potency of benefit is more likely that the potency of deterioration. The differences of these views cause distinctions of response and behavior of Sufism scholars in practical politics in Indonesia. Those who say Fardhu Kifayah involve themselves in stewardship of political parties; while some who say Mubah involve themselves and some do not.

Keywords: Sufism; Thariqa, politics; Islam; Java.

Introduction
In early 1970s, when Indonesia started to reveal life modernization effort, Sufism appeared and revived as religion organization that gave solution to face materialism tendency and tensity of dominant foreign culture influence (Mufid, 2006). There are two explanations for Sufism. First, Sufism is defined as a strict obedience to Islamic sharia rules that must be practiced properly, either ritually or socially, such as by doing wirā’ī and practicing riyāḍah. Second, Sufism is explained as a whole ritual system for spiritual training (Hanun, 2002, 133-134).

Sufism can also be defined as a way to the God under preceptor’s guidance (al Irbili 1991, 467). For that reason, in Sufism, there is also genealogy concept development, which is a chain that strengthen preceptor’s authority. Through that term, transmission lines of authority and blessing is created. By this method, preceptor’s spiritual power can be transmitted to the next generation. Sufism, in Indonesia society tradition, can be divided into two forms, which are: first, Sufism that is practiced based on procedures done by Sufism organizations. Second, Sufism that is practiced in manners outside the Sufism organizations congregations (Dhofier, 1994).

In 90s, Martin van Bruinessen (1992) saw that Sufisms in Indonesia was growing rapidly, either in urban or rural area. According to him, one of factors caused it is social changing that happened, in which the modernization process is also accompanied by the fading of traditional social ties, had evoked social and emotional emptiness. Sufism and other materialisms could fulfilled the needs felt by those people. That informal organization offered social and emotional atmosphere that is harder to get in daily life. Besides that, depoliticization process of Islam in several decades encouraged people to not give attention anymore to Islamic politic goals but to the spiritual experience and individual moral. This development also rose Sufism popularity.

Reality of Indonesia society politic has characteristics that so honor to the Islamic teacher including Sufism leader, which is a figure that have a role as a teacher/murshid teaching the values of people spiritual. On the other side, Islam and politic is considered as two contradictory entities, where Islam is assumed as a sacred thought and have no relation to democratic politics, so it is appropriate that the Islamic circles, especially their’s elite is enough to handle things that relate to their people pray and to direct their people to worship that close themselves to their God, while the politic handle the people that understand about government, for there are factors of corruption, collusion and nepotism inside it, so Islamic teacher is not appropriate to enter and to get involved inside it.
The result of Baihaqi’s research (2011) showed illustration that Islamic elites which was Islamic teachers evidently did not guide their people only in religion aspect (rituality), but also guided them in political aspect. Horikishi (1987) was also has same viewpoint showed that Islamic teacher had a role as catalyst (a side that can influence a change to improvement) social change. In this context, Horikishi showed that Islamic teachers played their role creatively in social change (Wahid, 1987). It was not because the Islamic teachers tried to prevent the effect of social change that happened, but they pioneered social change by using their term instead.

That condition colored phenomenon of Sufism world that is identified more emphasizing to the afterlife centric, apparently in the real world, the leaders of Sufism and their people also contributed in the success of the political elite and became a very competitive power for other candidates. Mark R. Woodward (2008), an ethnologist from the United States who conducted Javanese Islamic research, said that Javanese Islam was unique, not because it preserved aspects of pre-Islamic culture and religion, but because of Sufi concepts of cultivation, mystical path, and perfection of human was applied in a cult of the kraton (imperial cult). Thus, State religion is a model of traditional Javanese conception of social rules, rituals, and other aspects of social life.

Development transmission of renewal ideas in Indonesia, according to Azra (2007, xviii-xix), was through a network of scholars involving very complex processes. This network produced works of their scientific processes, especially the field of Hadith and Sufism. Their work would reveal much about how the idea of Islamic renewal is transmitted from a center network to different parts of the Muslim World.

According to Martin van Bruinessen, the most influential Sufism in East Java among Javanese ethnic is the Qadiriah wa Naqsyabandiyah congregation centered at Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, Rejoso, Jombang. In 1975, Islamic teacher, Musta'in Romly from Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, Rejoso, the most charismatic and the most ambitious Sufism sheikh, has been chosen as leader of Jam’iyah Ahl al-Thariqah al-Mu’tabarah (van Bruinessen, 1992, 171). In the lead up to the 1977 general election, Islamic teacher, Musta’in Romly publicly supported the Golongan Karya which was the government’s political organization at the time. His decision was received criticism from some Sufism figures and agreed to remove from his position as leader of Jam’iyah. Since Musta’in Romly did not want to retire from his position, then Sufism leader formed new organization which is Jam’iyah al-Thariqah al-Mutabararah al-Nahdhiyah in Nahdatul Ulama Congress at Magelan 1979. Meanwhile, Kiai Musta’in Romly remained as leader of the previous organization until his death in 1984 (van Bruinessen, 1992, 172).

Moreover, the mursyid of Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiah tribe in the al-Inabah Islamic Boarding School, Suryalaya, Tasikmalaya, K.H. Shafibul Wafa Tajul Arifin, popularly known as Abah Anom, supported the Golongan Karya (Golkar) Group in the 1971 election (Sunarjo, 199540).

The involvement of Sufism leaders in politics in Java has been widely prevalent. ’Abdul Karim, the mursyid of Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah Sufism in Banten, consolidated communication and coordination when the greatest peasant rebellion occurred at Banten in 1888. Although he lived in Mecca, Hajj Marjuki was one of his caliphs suspected by the Dutch as one of the instigators behind that rebellion (van Bruinessen, 1992, 92; Tohir, 2002, 32-33). The rebellion by another ’Abdul Karim caliph was conducted by Islamic teacher Kasan Tafsir from Krapyak who was involved in the Sukoharjo Events. Other Sufism leaders who also carried out the rebellion in Lombok were Teacher Bangkol, a follower of Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah Sufism that received thought about Sufism from his brother Abdurrahman and his cousin Thayib who studied the Sufism in Mecca. (van Bruinessen, 1992, 93).

Furthermore, there was Islamic teacher Rifai Kalisalak as the murshid of the Rifai’iyah Sufism who performed resistance to the Dutch colonialists in the nineteenth century that were arrested, prosecuted, exiled to Ambon and died around 1876, although his grave has not been found (Djamil, 2001, 176, 187, and 189).

In 17th Century, a number of scholars Sufism were fighting against the Dutch colonialists, such as Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassari (1627-1699). Sheikh Yusuf took the fight against the invaders in Banten with the Sultan of Banten, so that he was exiled to Srilanka and to Cape Town. Wherever he was, Sheikh
Yusuf (Azr, 2007, 271-287) always engaged in socio-political activities, including in terms of waging war with invaders.

Sharia and mysticism or especially shari’a and Sufism is always attractive to be discussed. In relation to the background above, then the focus of this study is to see how the Sufism leaders view of politics in terms of fiqh siyasah; and how is the form of political participation of Sufism leaders in the political stage and power?

What Sufism leader is intended in this article is murshid who has right to receive people inauguration to become member of his Sufism organization. Because of the large number of Sufism leaders in Java and the extent of the area to be studied, the researcher makes the following boundaries: (1) Sufism leaders affiliated with certain political parties, (2) anti-Sufism leaders in political parties, and (3) Sufism leaders who are neutral or not affiliated with a particular political party.

Methods

The data of this paper are the result of research conducted in 2015 and representing Sufi’s leader of 4 of 6 provinces in Java i.e: Banten, West Java, and Middle Java. There are seven Sufi’s leaders as the subject of research, i.e. 1) Tuangku Syekh Muhammad Ali Hanafiah (born in 1976), murshid and founder of Tariqa Qadiriyyah Hanafiyah in South Tangerang, Banten; 2) Abuya Muhtadi Dimyathi (born in 1953), murshid thariqa Syazdiliyah in Pandeglang, Banten, 3) Suprapto Kadis (1929-2011), murshid and founder of Tariqa Kadisiyah in Bandung, West Java; 4) KH. Maimun Zubair (born in 1928), murshid Tariqa Idrisiyah Syazdiliyah in Sarang-Rembang, Middle Java; 5) KH. Muhammad Munif Zuhri (born in 1962), murshid Tariqa Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah in Giri Kusuma, Mranggen-Demak, Middle Java, 6) KH. Kankan Zulkarnaen (born in 1952), murshid Tariqa Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah in Suryalaya-Tasikmalaya, West Java; dan 7) Syekh Muhammad Fathurrahman (born in 1973), murshid Tariqa Idrisiyah in Pegendingan-Tasikmalaya, West Java. To choose those, using proportional sampling based on their involving or not in political practices. The primary sources of this paper are got through interview of the subjects, aside from utilizing literary document data. The approach used in this paper was Islamic jurisprudence or usul al-fiqh in political manner. This approach used to find their arguments based on the Quran and Sunnah that leads their political thoughts and actions. To support this approach, Author used sociology to analyze the relation of social live to the political conception of Sufi’s leaders in Java.

Result and Discussion

1. The Basis of Political Law

The basis of law referred here is the basis of law in Islam. Explicitly, the Sufism leaders do not mention about their basis and foothold in doing political interpretation, either in istimbaţ form or taţbiq form.1 The fundamental of law istimbaţ used by them is understood from the way of giving argumentation in issuing opinion and taking political attitude. Basically, they are not out of the applicable source and postulate of law in Ahlusunnah wal Jamaah circle, both one that agreed and disputed. Postulates that are agreed are Al-Qur’an, sunnah, ijmā, dan qiyyās, while the disputed are istihsān, sadd zal zarī‘ah, istislah, syar’ man qabanā, qaul saḥābī, istislah, dan ‘urf. (Abū Zahrah., 1958: 90-92)

KH. Maimun Zubair, KH. Muhammad Munif Zuhri, and Abuya Muhtadi Dimyathi are practically involved in political party management. When they are asked, their reasons are that every Muslim is obliged to do amar makruf and nahi munkar. The quoted verse is the commandment of God: “And from among you there should be a party who invite to good and enjoin what is right and forbid the wrong, and these it is that shall be successful” (Quran: 3/104)

Based on the verse above, there must be a person among the Muslim who positions himself as missionary to persuade into goodness and prevent from deterioration.

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1 Inauguration is divided into istimbaţ and taţbiq. Istimbaţ is an attempt to exert every ability to discover the practical law based on postulates of law in detail, while taţbiq is an attempt to apply the law which has been instituted in the form of practical action.
While engaging in politics, every action and behavior must imitate Rasulullah SAW, KH. Maimun Zubair (4/10/2015) quoted commandment of God: “and whatever the Messenger gives you, accept it, and from whatever he forbids you, keep back, and be careful of (your duty to) Allah;” (Quran: 59/7). The quotation of this verse also shows that Sufism leaders became Sunnah of the Holy Prophet as the basis of his political inauguration.

The rules of fiqih related to politics are also always applied by the Sufism leaders. The fiqh rules that serve as a pattern for determining various political policies are (al Nawawi, 1994, 65): lā yunkaru taghayyur al ahkām bi taghayyur al zamān (It was not denied the change of provisions by the change of time).

The change of governmental system after Reformation Era by Sufism leaders is considered as part of social interest and necessity. Therefore, they do not question the type and form of existing governance, as long as it aims to keep the people’s benefit. In the New Order Era, there were only three political parties, after no longer considered relevant, Indonesian Legislative Assembly changed it with multiparty system. Some of Sufism leaders took part within this change of system. KH. Maimun Zubair (5/10/2015) himself had enjoyed the system of political system in the New Order Era and the following multiparty system in Reformation Era.

From earlier description, it is explained that the involvement of Sufism leaders in political parties was in order of the framework of da’wah for the sake of achieving the benefit of humankind. This part was an implementation of the rule of law (al Nawawi, 1994, 257): al taṣarruf ʿalā al raʿīyyah manūt bi al mašlahah (The policies of the government must be based on people’s benefit). It means that no matter what the rules made or polices decided by government and legislators are, they must refer to the benefits of people. This norm contains the meaning that every government’s policy must consider people’s aspiration. The reason of this norm is that government’s decision will not be effectively applied if people’s aspiration is not taken into account. In this case, government may not create a legislation that is disadvantageous to people. Thus, governmental policies must be in accordance to public importance and not for itself interest.

Another norm that also seems to be applied by Sufism leaders in observing reality and behaving towards politics is that proper tradition is part of law itself. (al Nawawi, 1994, 27): al ʿādah muhakkamah (the tradition of people can be a law). For so long, Indonesia has possessed a proper tradition as local wisdom that is later affirmed as part of positive law that its application is effective nationally. Beside tradition, new habits are formed after getting touched with international world. For Sufism leaders, as long as those traditions do not contradict Islamic fundamental principle, then it is a part of law that one must obey. Pancasila, especially 1945 Constitution has experienced several amendments. Those amendments are a new tradition in our constitutional system.

This norm shows that a law that will be applied by government must be in accordance to local tradition. This is intended so that people who will carry out the law or governmental regulations will not have any objection because the law contradicts their traditions. However, traditions that can be used as fundamental law here must not contradict the Islamic Sharia’s spirit for in the norm is said (al Nawawi, 1994, 207): darʾ al ma�āsid awlā min jaib al mašālih (avoiding evil is more priority than taking interests). Based on this norm, government must create political policies and legislations that agree with priority scale. If there are two cases that contradicts each other in some trouble, one is advantageous while it is dangerous on the other side, then the one that is prioritized is the principle that avoids danger. In this case, permission of gambling, prostitution and liquors may result in profitable foreign exchange but the danger that they cause in damaging young generation is much bigger.

The norms above are part of using ijtihad method based on istislah or mašlahah mursalah, sadd zariyah, and urf.

2. Purposes and Functions of Political Institute
Based on previous description, Sufism leaders almost agreed to state that the purpose of political institutes, whether in trias-politica; executive, legislative, and judicative, or supportive institutes outside trias-politica, are to create benefits for humankind. The difference lies on their demeanor towards those political institutes. For those who joined the political institutes wish that political parties can be used as vehicles to achieve that glorious goals, while those who are not involved in it assume that the existing political institutes are not reliable to develop society, especially in spiritual aspect. This purpose has the same purpose with religious purpose, that is “And We have not sent you but as a mercy to the worlds” (Quran: 21/107).

This purpose is universal. Moreover, Tuangku Syekh Muhammad Ali Hanafiah (28/11/2015) interpreted rahmah in this context as affection. That means people are obligated to spread affection to the entire universe including the matter of state regulator that must be based on affection to each other and nature.

As for functions of political institutes according to Sufism leaders who joined political parties, is to be a vessel of da’wah in a broader meaning. Sufism leaders outside the parties agree that da’wah needs a vessel and organization, but not necessarily in the form of political parties. The reason is the political parties are always accompanied by pragmatic goals that can change the good relationship of muslim fraternity. Aside from that, political parties can also shrink themselves in order to be able to perform da’wah to every group of society.

3. Position of Political System and Government of Indonesia

As mentioned above, many leaders do not question the system and Indonesian governmental form. In fact, Syekh Muhammad Fathurrahman (Yusuf, 14/10/2015) considered that Negara Kesatuhan Republik Indonesia (NKRI) is an idea that is final. The same statement is also stated by Abuya Muhtadi Dimyathi (21/10/2015) that an attempt to replace Pancasila and 1945 Constitution as state ideology and foundation is an act of treason.

For Sufism leaders, it is not the form nor the system that is important but how they can be used as ways to achieve goals. Surely, the government must exist because without it, then the purpose of da’wah will be impossible to achieve. This matter is based on one of norms (al Qarâfi, 1948, 166): mā lā yatimmu al wājib illā bihī fa huwa wājib (If the obligatory cannot be done without something, that something is the obligatory too).

If democratic system that is followed by Indonesia requires the existence of political parties, then they must exist. These parties are the vessel to convey people’s aspiration that will be processed into rules and legislations. Even though, Tuangku Syekh Muhammad Ali Hanafiah (28/11/2015) considered that democratic system is product of Dajjal that is extremely harmful for Muslims. However, he does not deny democracy as system that is already followed by the people of Indonesia.

Conclusions

The Islamic views of politic manner of Suf’s leader in Java, especially of the seven subjects of this research are commonly similar that basically possible or permitted, it is just difference in their behaviour and actions. Their politic of views are based on Islamic law that are ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama’ah. They make the both agreed Islamic sources, i.e. Quran, Sunnah, Ijma’, and Qiyas and disagreed Islamic sources i.e. istishlah, sadd al-dzari’ah, and ‘urf as the argument of views. The Javanese views of Sufism leaders regarding law of engagement in politics are categorized into two natures of the law, namely: 1) Fardhu kifayah (obligatory), with reason that leadership must exist to organize muslims’ benefit; and 2) Mubah (allow), because the potency of benefit is more likely that the potency of deterioration. The differences of these views cause distinctions of demeanor and behavior of Sufism scholars in practical politics in Indonesia. Those who say Fardhu Kifayah involve themselves in stewardship of political parties as
member and official board of the parties namely KH. Maimun Zubair, KH. Muhammad Munif Zuhri, and Abu Muhtadi Dimyathi; and secondly who did not involve are Tuanku Syekh Muhammad Ali Hanafiah, Suprapto Kadis, KH. Kankan Zulkarnaen, and Syekh Muhammad Fathurrahman.

In one side, the arguments of who involved are regarding that parties are as the institution of Islamic mission. They want to colour the parties’ decision by Islamic values and bring it to implement that values in the rules of the state. And, to advice spiritually the members of parties and government. Even thought, they acknowledge that this are a difficult thing to do. Those phenomena and situations were perceived by Abuya Muhtadi Dimyathi in PKB (Party of National Awakening) lead him to establish Majelis Mudzakarah Muhtadi Cidahu Banten (M3CB), the Islamic dakwa institution. KH. Maimun Zubair, member of Advisory Board of PPP (Party of Unity and Development) was perceiving those, as well as KH. Muhammad Munif Zuhri was. Although those situations, they still on the duty to promotion of virtue and prevention of vice.

In the other side, those who say Mubah involve themselves and some do not. They did not involve in politic practice argues that politic is place for everybody how want to obtain power and influence. For this proposes, somebody usually be a pragmatic and permissive personality. Therefore, they priority to build the institution of dakwa without political power and influence intention of the members of parties, and freely to spread Islamic teaching for all. Tuanku Syekh Muhammad Ali Hanafiah had built several Islamic institution i.e. Pondok Pesantren Tasawuf Rabbani in Solok, TICI (Tasawuf Islamic Centre Indonesia) in Jakarta, DUTI (The Council of Ulama Thareqa of Indonesia) dan (The Council of Thariqa Ulama of ASEAN) etc. Suprapto Kadis had YPP (Paramartha Foundation for Education) atau YIP (Islamic Paramartha Foundation), PPIK (Unity of Islam Paramartha-Kadisiyah in Bandung, SGAH (Sanggar Gusti Al-Hujurat Foundation) in Bandung, Kadiisyah Universal Group in Cilegon, and Tarekat Nur Islamiyah Group in Bekasi. Both KH. Kankan Zulkarnaen and Syekh Muhammad Fathurrahman stay on lead their Islamic Boarding Schools.

References


**Interviews**

1. Abuya Muhtadi Dimyathi in Banten, 21st October 2015
2. Sandra Yusuf in Tasikmalaya, 14th October 2015
3. Tuangku Syekh Muhammad Ali Hanafiah in Tangerang, 28th November 2015
4. KH. Maimun Zubair in Sarang, 4-5th October 2015.
5. KH. Munif Muhammad Zuhri in Demak, 5th October 2015
7. KH. Kankan Zulkarnaen in Suryalaya, 14th October 2015
8. Habib Aswin in Suryalaya, 14th October 2015