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Implementasi Falsafah *Tawassuth* dan *I'tidal* Nahdlatul Ulama dalam Wacana Kontra Fundamentalisme di Bandar Lampung

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A B S T R A K

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui implementasi falsafah dasar NU oleh Pengurus Cabang NU Kota Bandar Lampung dalam melakukan kontra fundamentalisme agama sebagai bentuk partisipasi menjaga stabilitas negara bersama pemerintah dan elemen masyarakat lainnya. Teori yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah prinsip moderat NU (Greg Fealy, 2003) yang dijelaskan melalui sikap tawassuth dan i'tidal, sikap tasamuh, dan sikap tawazun. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deksriptif kualitatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukan kontradiksi NU di Bandar Lampung terhadap gerakan fundamentalisme diimplementasikan melalui kegiatan-kegiatan yang bersifat penguatan dalam memegang teguh sikap moderat yang berdasarkan pada Ahlussunah wal Jamaah annahdliyyah, sikap toleransi antar umat beragama berlandaskan fii khidmatil ummah atau berdasar pada sikap mengabdi kepada umat, melakukan kegiatan-kegiatan bersama dengan kelompok antar agama dalam rangka kontra fundamentalisme agama, fleksibel terhadap budaya baru yang relevan, serta menerapkan sikap yang seimbang antara keumatan dan kebangsaan melalui dakwah-dakwah kebangsaan dan aktif dalam berafiliasi dengan pemerintah.

Kata kunci: Falsafah, Tawasuth dan I'tidal, Nahdlatul Ulama, Fundamentalisme,

A B S T R A C T

This study aims to determine the implementation of NU's basic philosophy by the Board of NU branch in Bandar Lampung City in countering religious fundamentalism as a form of participation in maintaining the stability of the country with the government and other elements of society. The theory used in this research is the moderate principles of NU (Greg Fealy, 2003) which are explained through the attitude of tawassuth and i'tidal, tasamuh attitude, and tawazun attitude. This study uses a qualitative descriptive method. The results of the study show that the contradictions of NU in Bandar Lampung towards the fundamentalist movement are implemented through strengthening activities in upholding a moderate attitude based on Ahlussunah wal Jamaah annahdliyyah, interfaith tolerance based on fii khidmatil ummah or based on an attitude of serving the people, doing joint activities with inter-religious groups in the framework of countering religious fundamentalism, being flexible towards relevant new cultures, and implementing a balanced attitude between the community and nationality through national preaching and active affiliation with the government.

Keywords: *Philosophy, Tawasuth and I'tidal, Nahdlatul Ulama, Fundamentalism,*

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INTRODUCTION

The strengthening of religious fundamentalism in Indonesia is evidenced by a survey conducted by the Alvara Research Center conducted in October 2017 regarding the strengthening of the fundamentalist movement in Indonesia. The fact that is quite risky from the survey is that the notion of fundamentalism has entered the world of education and the state civil apparatus (ASN). The figure of 19.4% is a large number for the number of ASNs who do not agree with Pancasila as the state ideology. 18.1% of private employees stated that they did not agree with Pancasila ideology, and 9.1% of BUMN employees did not agree with Pancasila ideology(Rikang, 2019).

The issue of the strengthening of religious fundamentalism in the world of education continues to surface. The survey was conducted by the Alvara Research Center and the Mata Air Foundation in October 2017 involving 1,800 students in Indonesia at 25 top universities throughout Indonesia and 2,400 top high school students in Java and major cities in Indonesia. The results of the survey show that: 23.5% of students and 16.3% of students support the ISIS movement. 23.3% of students and 23.4% of students are ready for jihad to establish a caliphate state.

The role of civil society in the form of community religious organizations is highly expected in countering religious fundamentalism and supporting government policies in countering religious fundamentalism. One form of the expected role is the provision of religious learning materials that prioritize tolerant religious ideas. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is a community religious organization in Indonesia which is massive in carrying out counter-fundamentalism.

This was reinforced by the case of the arrest of three suspected members of the Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) network and allegedly being sworn in as ISIS members by Densus 88 in Bandar Lampung City on Monday, October 14 2019. Previously, on March 9 2019 Densus 88 also has arrested “PS” who is suspected of having followed hard-line religious teachings and exposed to religious fundamentalism in Kedaton District, Bandar Lampung. The high potential for the development of understandings and cases regarding religious fundamentalism in Bandar Lampung City is a point of research consideration to examine the role of Nahdlatul Ulama, especially in the Board of Nahdlatul Ulama Branch (PCNU) of Bandar Lampung City in countering religious fundamentalism.

Based on the conception of Cohen and Arato(1992:173) that civil society can interact with the state in forming opinion movements or influencing policies through democratic discussions or processes in achieving the common good in the focus on political and state affairs. NU as a community religious organization can participate in interactions with state policies in counter-fundamentalism with a spirit of tolerance. The researcher focuses on the actualization of NU's basic social philosophy in terms of the moderate principles of NU from Greg Fealy (2003) which are based on the attitude of tawassuth and i'tidal..

LITERATURE REVIEW

Discourse and Counter-Fundamentalism

The terms fundamentalism and radicalism are terms that are often used interchangeably to describe a phenomenon of a religious movement that has a certain vision. In social theory, radicalism is a movement that is related to or caused by other facts. In the view of social factists that there are three assumptions that underlie the whole way of thinking, namely there is constancy or there is social order, there are changes from time to time and there are no facts that stand alone unless there are facts that cause them (Ummah, 2012:118).

According to Hasani (dalam Imansari, 2019:20), radicalism is defined as a view that makes fundamental changes according to its interpretation of social reality or the ideology it adheres to. If viewed from a religious perspective, radicalism can be interpreted as a very high fanaticism towards religion which results in the attitude of its adherents who use violence in inviting people who have different understandings to be in line with the beliefs they profess.

The emergence of the notion of religious fundamentalism needs to be taken seriously by the state along with all elements of society. Decision making in choosing a mature strategy must be an

important step in efforts to counter religious fundamentalism. The state together with the people need to look at preventive measures but by not forgetting to consider repressive efforts. Not without reason, the emergence of religious fundamentalism is a real danger to the stability of a country.

Aswar (2015:5) states that counter-fundamentalism in the sense of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF), the United Nations refers to policies and programs that aim to deal with various conditions that can lead individuals to become terrorists. More broadly, counter-fundamentalism is understood as a package of social, political, legal, educational and economic policies or programs specifically designed to prevent any individual who has the potential to become a fundamentalist to stay away from it.

In developing countries, the community plays an important role in various projects such as campaigns against fundamentalism and strengthening the resilience of civil society in collaboration with the state military (Hikam, 2016:3). In the Indonesian context, society can also become a synergistic partner with the government, without exception in relation to the issue of religious fundamentalism which has become a common problem.

The strengthening and role of society in counter-fundamentalism can be carried out by synergizing with the state as a participatory development facilitator, empowering the community and strengthening the democratic process. By involving the community, the spread of ideas of religious fundamentalism can be kept to a minimum. It is undeniable that the embryo of the birth of fundamentalism which is an attitude desiring total change but by way of violence begins with the doctrine at the level of society.

NU and Religious Moderation

In the book "Ulama Political Ijtihad History of NU 1952-1967 (Greg Fealy, 2003) summarizes the principles that form the basis of Nahdlatul Ulama in behaving and making decisions, namely wisdom, flexibility, and moderation. Wisdom, namely taking actions conducive to efforts to obtain benefits and avoid losses. This attitude of wisdom is influenced by Dar' al-mafasid muqaddam ala jalb al-mashalih (avoiding harm is prioritized over doing good), Idza ta'aradha mafsadatani ru'iya a'dzahuma bi irtikabi akhafihima (if two things conflict, choose the one that is harmful the smallest), and Al-dharar la yuzalu bi dharar (harms cannot be eliminated with other disadvantages).

Flexibility, namely NU's attitude is more open and able to adjust to the time and events that are happening. This attitude is influenced by Al-dharurah tubihu ma'dzurat (in an emergency, allowing things that were previously forbidden), Ma la yudraku kulluhu la yudraku ba'duhu. What is not achieved 100% then do not leave everything. Moderationism is the attitude of avoiding extreme actions and being careful, tending to take the middle way, not leaning to the left or to the right. This attitude is influenced by the attitudes of tawassuth and i'tidal (moderate and upright), tasamuh (tolerance), and tawazun (balanced) .

Rohman (2008:40-42) states that NU's attitude of moderation means that NU has a clear and firm attitude in dealing with religion, society, and nationality. This comes from the foundations of the establishment of his religious understanding. This moderate attitude has the following characteristics: tawassuth and i'tidal, tasamuh, tawazun.

Tawassuth means a middle or moderate attitude that tries to mediate between two camps, thoughts or actions that are extremely contradictory in the social life of society. Through this attitude of tawassuth and i'tidal, NU intends to become a role model group that behaves and acts in a straight line and is always constructive and avoids all approaches that are extreme (tatharruf). NU can accommodate the various interests and thoughts of people with heterogeneous backgrounds, be it social, political, or cultural, as well as being the glue to strengthen the existence of a united, harmonious, peaceful society that is supported by a shared awareness.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses qualitative research methods to describe the problems that occur. The term qualitative research is intended as a type of research whose findings are not obtained through statistical procedures or other forms of calculation (Basrowi dan Suwandi, 2008:21). According to Bogdan and Taylor (dalam Basrowi dan Suwandi, 2008:1) states that qualitative research is a

research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of speech or writing and the behavior of the people observed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Implementation of the Basic Philosophy of Tawassuth and I'tidal in the Contrast of Islamic Religious Fundamentalism

An upright attitude in the middle and not leaning to one side of a particular group is interpreted by the NU Branch Managers of Bandar Lampung City as the attitude of tawassuth and i'tidal being an absolute requirement in counter agenda against religious fundamentalism. This sub-chapter presents the results of research regarding the actualization of tawassuth and i'tidal attitudes as one of the societal attitudes enshrined in NU's basic philosophy as a foundation in efforts to counter Islamic religious fundamentalism.

Ichwan Adji Wibowo, Chairman of PCNU in Bandar Lampung City. The first attitude from NU's basic philosophy is tawassuth and i'tidal, which means moderate and upright (fair and opinionated). Ichwan interprets that moderation is moderation or the principle in the middle that is adhered to by NU. The principle in the middle is interpreted that NU has a standpoint, not joining extreme groups whose goal is a one-sided doctrine of truth or undermining the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Ichwan also said that the moderate concept echoed by NU is a form of accommodating all class, ethnic and religious interests within the framework of pluralism in Indonesia.

The actualization of the attitude of tawassuth and i'tidal in the form of the foundation of NU's understanding found in the study forum in bahtsul masail is the foundation of NU's existence. More than that, bahtsul masail is a hallmark of NU. The documentation above is the moment PCNU Bandar Lampung participated in bahtsul masail at the Darul Ulum Margoyoso Islamic Boarding School, Tanggamus. Then what Nahdlatul Ulama did for the ummah in strengthening tawassuth and I'tidal was the orientation of da'wah based on Jami'atul harokatul ulama fi himayah which means an organization of clergy that aims to protect and care for Ahlussunah wal Jamaah annahdliyyah understanding, in addition to strengthening IPNU and IPPNU.

One of the agendas of IPNU and IPPNU Bandar Lampung is to carry out Young Cadre Training (LAKMUD) activities at the Mahmudah Islamic Boarding School, Kemiling. Apart from being an actualization of strengthening the attitude of tawassuth and i'tidal, the Lakmud of IPNU also strengthens the understanding of Ahlussunah wal Jamaah annahdliyah. Ichwan also gave a statement regarding the characteristics of NU officials at the branch level, that branch level officials have the power to have direct contact with the grassroots bases of Nahdliyyin members and offshoot groups with extremist views. These characteristics were later understood by NU to be aggressive in carrying out discourses on anti-religious fundamentalism and strengthening the Ahlussunah wal Jamaah creed.

Based on the results of the substance of the interview, the Board of NU branch in Bandar Lampung City interprets the attitude of tawassuth and i'tidal as the attitude of the founding of the NU organization which is in the middle and does not lean towards either the right or the left (Laysa Liberaliyan wa la Conservatiyan). Tawassuth and i'tidal are forms of the fikrah Jamiayatul Harokatul Ulama Fii Himayah or safeguarding the Islamic teachings of Ahlussunah wal Jamaah.

Tawassuth and i'tidal can be actualized through activities such as Bahtsul Masail studies, recitations, taalim assemblies, and cadre training through Islamic boarding schools. Tawassuth and i'tidal contain values of faith and national values (Ulzikri, 2021). Tawassuth and i'tidal are implemented by strengthening cadres such as MKNU and PKPNU as well as disseminating Ahlussunah wal Jamaah teachings by banom NU, IPNU and IPPNU in formal education.

FKPT sees NU's role in touching the grassroots in religious moderation, and the spread of NU Islamic boarding schools is a form of counter-religious cadre formation. However, even though the actualization of tawassuth and i'tidal has lived in society through a neutral attitude and is not divided into different sects, from the findings in the field it turns out that the role of the Bandar Lampung City PCNU in responding to cases relating to religious fundamentalism is still lacking.

good. This is based on the absence of the role of NU in Bandar Lampung in taking part in protecting the community after the two cases of terrorism arrests in Bandar Lampung city (Muklis et al, 2021).

CONCLUSION

NU as Jami'atul harokatul ulama fi himayah or a clerical organization that aims to protect and care for the Ahlussunah wal Jamaah an Nahdliyyah ideology.

Actualizing the attitude of tawassuth or moderation by NU in Bandar Lampung City is supported by Islamic boarding schools and formal educational institutions owned by PCNU in Bandar Lampung City. Apart from that, it also strengthens the community through the concept of mabadi khairu ummah or the concept of the best people through social and economic strengthening. The application of NU's moderate stance can become a stronghold of fundamentalism in terms of the economic weaknesses of society, because so far there have been many assumptions that economic inequality is one of the "wombs" that give birth to religious fundamentalism.

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