

# Aswaja In Frames Political Ideology and Democracy (Interpretation Asjawa in Eyes Politicians NU)

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## Abstract

Interpret the concept of Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamaah (Aswaja) is not simple. Background and interests of the signifying (interpreter) is the cause of the emergence of complexity Aswaja meaning, including also when an elite organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Aswaja interpret concepts, and apply it to the practical politics. The aims of this study were to determine the interpretation of the frame Aswaja political ideology, democracy, and leadership. The research method used is qualitative interviews with politicians directly at NU various political parties in Indonesia. The results showed that according to the politicians there are three groups of elite NU in interpreting and applying for Aswaja; 1) the formalist who tends to interpret the concept of Aswaja as a certain formula, which can be referred to as a concrete shape to the historical past, 2) tend to understand the concept of functionalist Aswaja as a guide to live in a society, nation and state, and 3) contextualist which tends to limit Aswaja understanding the value's ness. All three variants of the above elite NU affiliated to the political parties who felt able to accommodate interpretive truth of each, such as PPP, PKNU, PKB, and PKS.

**Keywords:** aswaja, elite NU, formalist, functionalist, contextualist.

## 1. Introduction

The dialectic of religious politics, or commonly referred to as "political Islam" (Aziz, 2006), more prominent along with the passing of political freedom as one of the results of the 1998 reforms. This pattern, in fact has never happened in the history of Islam in Indonesian politics, namely in 1945-1965 during the reign of Sukarno (Rudianto, 2003) and the years from 1965 to 1973 during the reign of Suharto, but different scale and intensity.

In terms of religious political issues in the reform era, the opportunity to reestablish the Islamic mass-based political power (NU), used by the elite NU clerics in practical political life. NU clerics as rediscover "lost his world" due to the repressive politics of the new order that shut down almost all the political space for every citizen of the nation, especially the different views and at odds with the ruling authoritarian regimes. Admittedly, in the long history of traveling clerics and NU since its birth in 1926, almost never apart from practical political life, both in state politics, democracy and the rule Shafiq Hashim in Zada & Sjadzali (2010). Is the state political ideas and political attitudes of NU are built on the basis of religious thought Aswaja to the interests of the nation and the state. KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, one of the founders of NU when participating actively involved defending and maintaining the independence of Indonesia.

Support of young leaders who became vice NU NU on PPKI, namely Wahid Hasyim, Jakarta Charter not to include in the basic state is clear evidence NU contributing to the state elite. It shows that NU rejected formalization of religion in politics. This is the ideal political political achievement was the culmination of NU (Zada & Sjadzali, 2010). While the populist politics is a political conception of midlevel clerics and NU is directed to the achievement of the good and the public interest (mashlahah 'ammah). Two political model makes NU clerics and religious organizations assessed according to the line running Aswaja moderate.

One factor that is thought to be the cause of this is the absence of a strong base binder in politics, both personal and institutional. There is a possibility, the polarization in politics among NU also caused due to the derivation of meaning Aswaja about political life values. At least, the framework is built on values and principles Aswaja, yet can be elaborated and constructed into a political ideology that is systematic, structured and rooted. Aswaja which meant that it was a religious understanding into a system of thought and action, both with theological issues (aqidah), the practice of worship (fiqh), moral (morality) and social behavior (mu'amalah) (Musthofa, 1967).

The dynamics are present in at least two respects. First, a decrease in compliance (politics) traditional clerics put into "political priests". Secondly, there was a shift of political affiliation on the part of the NU elite. Those initially be "political priests" in the majority of political parties based NU (nahdliyin), especially PKB, become "political priests" in another Islamic party that religious ideas are considered different, even contrary to the religious understanding of NU, the PKS.

Affiliation most elite and community NU also shifted to other Islamic political parties, like the PPP where NU had been a main element. In fact, most of them affiliated to the secular nationalist parties, such as Golkar Party, the Democratic Party and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP). This phenomenon is not directly affected by the looseness among the party system, the absence of strong ideological political ties to NU, and unresolved internal conflicts in the party-based NU (PKB). The existence of NU elite nationalist party, not many causes internal reaction from NU. But the reality is different from the NU elite presence in the

PKS. Directly or indirectly, has and continues to occur the ideological clash between Aswaja NU with other philosophies that underlie the growth and development of PKS (Sunni Salafi Wahabi). In a circular issued by the Shariah Board of the PKS Center, this party is calling itself to also follow the familiar Aswaja (Hidayat, 2008). This phenomenon reinforces the assumption that religious ideology is no longer a basic and practical consideration in political life. This sort of thing could potentially be affected by the strong currents of transnational ideology that no longer know the limits of the nation-state, though in it laden with the political interests of a particular group (Baso, 2005).

Diversity attitudes, actions and behavior NU political elite, as described above, can be understood as a result of the diversity of meaning to Aswaja. As a religious text that includes theology, worship and ethics practices of other social, Aswaja open to interpretation by anyone who reads, including NU elite. The diversity of interpretation that shows how the cultural context and experience affect the understanding, interpretation and meaning of them.

Social reality Aswaja meaning as diverse as it would be understood in the perspective of Gadamer's hermeneutics. Gadamer considered approach can be applied to understand the meaning of a text diversify, because he gives room for the reader's participation in the meaning of the text. In the process of reading, there will be a dialogue between the reader. Meaning does not depend on the text alone, but arises from the dialogue between text and reader.

Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics formulated by starting with the four key hermeneutics. First, awareness of the "hermeneutic situation". The reader needs to realize that this situation limits the ability to look someone in the reading text. Secondly, this hermeneutic situation then form a "pre-understanding" to the reader which of course affects the reader in the text articulates the context. Third, after the reader must combine between the two horizons, horizon horizon reader and text. Fourth, the next step is to apply the "meaning of meaning" of the text, not the objective meaning of the text. The researcher believes that Gadamer hermeneutic theories can reinforce the concepts that had been methodical in Aswaja interpretation method (Grondin, 2002).

## **2. Aswaja**

Aswaja conceptual understanding, in essence, very simple. However, the interpretation of many classes and groups of diverse interpretations tend out contrast. Background and interests of the interpreter or reader is what causing the conceptual simplicity of understanding Aswaja become increasingly complex.

### *2.1. Definition Aswaja*

Aswaja is an abbreviation of the term Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah. There are three words that form this term, namely: 1) Ahl, meaning family, group, or followers, 2) al-Sunnah, derived from the word "Sanna" meaning explained. Named "Sunnah" because it serves to explain the Qur'an. In terms of law (fiqh), the word means "something that is recommended to be done, but not mandatory." Meanwhile, according to the scholars of Usul Fiqh, the word "Sunnah" means "nothing is done, said, or set by the Prophet, who can be argued as in setting a legal Shar'ie (Mun'im al-Hafni, 2009). In a rather broad limit, also included actions, edicts and traditions construct by the Companions (al-Shahabi atsar).

Sunnah within the limits of theologians (theologian) is the belief (i'tiqad) which is based on the proposition naql (al-Qur'an, hadith, and qawl or greeting Shahabi), instead of merely relying on understanding reason (ratio). In terms of political experts, the sunnah is the trail left by the Messenger of God and the first four caliphs. Is the Jama'ah of the Muslims forerunner of the companions, tabi'in and those who follow in the footsteps of their goodness until the Day of Judgment. They gathered based on al-Qur'an and Sunnah and run according to that has been pursued by the Apostle of Allah SAW both physically and spiritually (Musa, 1975).

Considering the hadith of Allah's Apostle, is the Jama'ah is what has been agreed upon by the companions of Rasul SAW during the first four caliphs, Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali. The term "Jama'ah" is also based on the hadith of the prophet when answering questions about the companions (to be) the result of the destruction of the human race split into 71 or 72 groups, and the only survivor of the group, namely al-Jama'ah (Abdusshamad, 2004).

### *2.2. Wide Interpretation*

Thus, Aswaja is a group of loyal followers of the Prophet and his companions. From this sense, appears different interpretations of who they are called as followers Aswaja. In the al-Kawakib al-Lamma'ah given would therefore, stated, "The so-called Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah are the ones who always guided by the Sunnah of the Prophet and his companions in the matter of religious creed, lahiriyah deeds and moral heart "(Abdusshamad, 2004).

Wahhabi Salafi circles refer to the term Aswaja the Salaf. In Wajiz fi al-Aqidah al-Salaf al-Salih stated that Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah is a group that has been promised the Apostle of Allah SAW would survive among others. Their foundation rests on the doctrine of following the Sunnah (ittiba al-Sunnah), and follow what

Prophet Muhammad brought by both the problems of belief, worship, guidance, behavior, morals and always accompanies the congregation of the Muslims. Thus, the definition of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah is not out of the definition of the Salaf (al-Atsari, 2007). In development do occur differences in interpretation of the meaning of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah. The term Sunnah itself, for example, has two meanings: first, "the way". It is said ahl al-Sunnah, then the question is those who follow the path of the companions and tabi'in receive mutashabihat verses (multiple interpretations) and gave meaning to God. Secondly, the Sunnah which means "hadith". That is, those who believe in the truth of the hadith of the Prophet (Umam, 2009).

The difference in this view, in addition to bring Aswaja groups, also gave birth to other terminology used to refer to Aswaja. The followers of Imam Ibn Hanbal schools, for example, calls this Aswaja with Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah wa al-Atsar. They added the word "al-Atsar", to indicate that they cling to the text, not on reason. This designation is intended to distinguish himself with a group that is considered to glorify philosophical reason was religious. This rationalist group they called the ahl al-Ra'yi, al-Kalam, and the Ahl al-Bid'ah (Ya'la, 1952).

### 2.3. Interpretation NU

NU translates in political life according to the principle of understanding Aswaja, as outlined in the Basic Principles of Social Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), namely; First, the principle of perpendicular (i'tidal), put everything in place proportionally. Secondly, the principle of moderate (tawassuth), with this basic attitude will always be a group of peers who behave and act straight and always be constructive and avoid any kind of approach that is extreme. Third, the principle of balance (tawazun) is a principle that is emphasized by the teachings of Islam in order structuring society and a good social life. Fourth, the principle of tolerance (tasamuh) as a gesture of giving a chance or opportunity to the other party, according to basic human rights in general. There must be a guarantee that the strong parties, both the leader and the majority party, willing to make sacrifices to support the welfare and rights of poor people or minorities. Fifth, the principle of the general welfare (mashlahah 'ammah) internalized by NU requires the guarantee, the 5 (five) main points, namely, 1) freedom of religion, 2) guarantee the safety of life, 3) guarantee of freedom of thought and opinion, 4) guarantees the continuity heredity (family), and 5) a guarantee of assets / property (Muzadi *et al.*, 2007).

Organizationally, the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah has experienced institutionalization among Muslim archipelago since the presence of KH. Hasyim Asy'ari of his time and generation. Together with his colleagues. KH. Hasyim successfully pioneered the establishment of the Islamic organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) which legally claim based on Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah. In the statuta on the results of the third conference in 1928, is expressly stated that the presence of NU aims to fortify the articulation of the four schools of jurisprudence in the country. As stated in Article 2 Qanun Asasi li Jam'iyat Nahdhat al-'Ulama (NU Statutes), namely: firm hold on one of the four schools (ie Imam Muhammad ibn madzhab Idris al-Syafi'i, Imam Malik ibn Anas, Imam Abu Hanifah an-Nu'man, and Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal) and organize what makes the benefit of Islam.

## 3. Methodology

This study used qualitative methods to conduct in-depth interviews on several NU politicians in the various political parties in Indonesia.

## 4. Results and Discussion

### 4.1. Aswaja and Political Ideology

NU elite in the various political parties (PPP, PKB, PKNU, PKS) Aswaja understand and translate into and / or as a political ideology in a different way with each other. Their point of view at least be polarized into three types, as follows:

#### 1. Formalist-Methodical

Perspective is formalist-methodically assess the understanding of concepts Aswaja as well as building the specific rationale methodological steps in understanding birth. Because it is formalist Aswaja the concept can be framed in a certain formula, and because it is methodical, it is possible to think methodically according Aswaja values. Concretely, one of the PPP politicians understands Aswaja as a goal or purpose of a struggle, and politics itself is a struggle effort. Assembly Member Sharia PPP Jazuli Zainuddin said that politics is essentially a part of the fight for truth efforts (as-siyasah juz'un hiya min al-jihad al-li-haqqah amr). Political parties we make the ladder may fight the Ahl al-Sunnah through political channels.

Illustrate the notion Aswaja formalist, another character, the Chairman of the Council of Islamic PPP KH. Maimun Zubair menganatomi Aswaja from a historical perspective. He said, "Essentially, the guidelines are written after the Qur'an, then 100 the second year when traditions were codified, 100 third year when developing ijihad. Ijtihad is necessary, since the expansion (region) and the development of Islam that is not enough simply to rely on the Qur'an and hadith textual, that is why there is ijma' (consensus of the scholars) and qiyas (analogy). After that, all matched with the Qur'an and hadith, so there is the argument of naqli (normative text), namely the

Qur'an and the Hadith, and the argument of 'aqli (sense-based), the ijma' (consensus of the scholars) and qiyas (analogy). Aswaja preserve the Sunnah and the Sunnah companions, as well as Islamic congregation. It must be maintained until whenever, in any field, including politics.

To complete the formalist way of thinking, the concept of Aswaja was then understood with methodology. PPP General Secretary DPC Pamekasan Wazirul describe Aswaja Jihad as a method for thinking (manhaj al-Fikr). With the method that people can understand and pass on Islam as taught by the Prophet. As a method of thinking, then surely thought Aswaja products will always be dynamic, anytime and anywhere, while still adhering to the principles tawassuth (moderate), Tasamuh (tolerant), and i'tidal (perpendicular). Hence, the way of thinking and being someone who Ahl al-Sunnah was flexible and moderate.

To simplify this theory of Wazirul Jihad, Chief Counsel Branch PPP Sampang Fanan Hasib said, "Aswaja it is society that is taught to follow the guidance of the Prophet, or the people who do the sunnah of the Prophet and the example has taught the Prophet's companions." Exposure practically comes from other PPP elite, KH. Mas Subadar, which states, "Aswaja is the main religion in Islam (usul al-din) or monotheism follow Abu Musa al-Ash'ari and Abu Mansur al-Maturidi. In the field of Islamic law (fiqh) must follow one of the 4 (four) priests, namely Malik, al-Syafi'i, Abu Hanifa, and Ahmad ibn Hanbal. While in terms of spirituality (tashawwuf) follow Imam Ghazali. "

## 2. Functionalist-Methodical

Meanwhile, NU political elite who are more functionalist PKB in understanding Aswaja. Understanding of the more impressive Aswaja presence photographing angles Aswaja functions. The function in question is how Aswaja become the motor act or behave in a life guide. Chairman of the advisory board of the DPP PKB KH. Aziz Mansour, for example, said, Ahl al-Sunnah are used by NU (nahdhiyyin) in PKB, a party of the establishment of NU, is related to 'aqidah (theology),' amaliyah (religious practice), and mu'amalah (relationship and social transactions). In the life of the community, adherents Aswaja wear like what the Apostle of Allah, the law emphasizes those run in the middle of the community. In the matter of government, muslims have to follow what was done by the Prophet Muhammad.

Some, elite PKB understand Aswaja methodically. When translating the concept of 'amaliyah, member of the House of Representatives of PKB Ali Maschan Moesa has a point Aswaja the same understanding of the PPP politicians, namely Aswaja as Manhaj al-Fikr (thought method). Ali Maschan Moesa said, "yes it Amaliyah, amaliah NU style". Yes thinking method methods practiced NU schools. So that means, if you ask people who take charge of NU and never participated in formulating the PKB, the NU Aswaja yes. Methods of thought, with theology (aqidah), followed al-Ash'ari and al-Maturidi, with following Sufism and the Imam Junaid al-Ghazali. Basically that's all faith, islam, ihsan. In other languages there are monotheism (theology), fiqh (law), morality (Sufis) ".

The NU elite Another of Amin Said Husni PKB is asserted the fungsionalism side, namely by understanding Aswaja as a set of principles that can guide a person's behavior. In principle it works Aswaja directing someone to think and act according to the principles of Aswaja. One of the principles Aswaja, according to Husni S. Amin, is the principle of shura (consultation), 'is a (fairness), mashlahah' ammah (public interest). If mashlahah 'this ammah itemized again it will be a 3 ring: mashlahah' ammah al-nahdliyyah, which is benefiting for the nahdliyyin. Ring 2 is mashlahah 'ammah al-islamiyya, which is benefiting for the Islamic community in general. While the ring 3 is mashlahah 'ammah al-basyariyyah, which is benefiting for all mankind. In fact, another principle Aswaja is committed to maintaining the integrity of the Republic.

In a more theological statement, NU elite in PKB KH. Fathul Huda, Aswaja expressed about the concept as ideology. Because of the ideological nature of Aswaja very functionalist related actions. No wonder if Fathul Huda, who was called Kyai Huda because of its position as a murshid (teacher) Syadziliyyah Thoriqoh this, saying that the ideology was almost the same as the belief (aqidah) that must be maintained. Confidence is rooted in the heart is the motor that drives the body and mind. Not only in the PKB. Functionalist perspective on Aswaja is also owned by the political elite NU in PKNU. PKNU a party founded by politicians who had previously been on the board and the NU elite PKB. Therefore, insight and understanding in the party elite NU in PKNU has some similarities with the NU elite in the PKB, but then given sharpening, either in formal concept and implementation. Chairman of East Java PKNU Arif Junaidi said that the meaning of the terminology Aswaja, he argues, in brief are the ones who follow the teachings of the prophet and the companions. In politics PKNU not easy to justify the unlawful. Aswaja in social life are helping the movement in his favor as part of piety to Allah SWT, who in the Qur'an called *ta'awanu ala al-birri wa al-taqwa*. Aswaja also enjoining evil movement, its form, among others, the anti-corruption movement, the movement of the defense of the people's land, and so on. In essence, Aswaja is movement towards the goodness

According Choirul Anam, birth PKNU intended for practicing the teachings of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah consistently. PKNU born and run by clerics, which is expected to guide the political behavior according to the teachings of Islam, in order to build this state and nation. He said, "This is important, considering that Indonesia was the state religion, not a liberal state, is also not a secular state. The state of our country to the

divinity, or religious state, not the state of liberal, capitalist, secularists, and even communists. Country was built by a first principle of Pancasila ideology that begins with the word "divinity", because it is built of the ideology is the ideology that is clearly derived from the teachings of religion".

### 3. Contextualist-Pancasilaist

Strikingly different perspective in understanding the concept of Aswaja can be found at the NU elite at PKS. Aswaja not simply be understood in formalist and functionalist but also must be interpreted contextually in order to comply with the state ideology, Pancasila. Former President PKS (now PKS) Nur Mahmudi Ismail said the precepts of Pancasila, actually can be described for the sake of Islam. For example, the first principle, supreme God, this leads to the principle of the doctrine of Tauhid. While the doctrine was tantamount to Islamic monotheism. Likewise, the next precepts. According to him, Aswaja understood and interpreted in the context of these two basic things.

Aswaja aspects as party ideology, according Mahmudi, returned to the principles of the Pancasila ideology. According to him, the first principle doctrine teaches *akidah* (theology) and *syari'ah* (Islamic law collection). Sila second teaches the principle of respecting the basic human rights, fair and civilized. Similarly, the principle of deliberation (democracy), justice and well-being, there is in principle a third, fourth and fifth. Nur Mahmudi reiterated, "In essence, the principle of Islamic teachings has been embodied in the Pancasila. Thus people will easily understand Aswaja, starting from the study of the Qur'an, Sunnah refers to the applicability of the Pancasila".

Contextualization in understanding Aswaja until aligned with the values of Pancasila mark this perspective differences with the previous two perspectives, which tend to terminological meaning. While at NU elite in PKS tend to ignore the terminological distinction is often merely academic-scientific. DPP PKS members of Syariah Council Ahzami Samiun Jazuli stated, the first thing to understand is the terminology (*musthalah*) Aswaja. Every muslim organization (*munazhzhamah islamiyah*) in the Islamic world, has a different definition of Aswaja. He explains: "We are in NU with his Aswaja, or Muhammadiyah, has its own definition, Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia (DDII) has its own definition, as well as other Islamic organizations. While in other organizations are not restricted or limited to it. So that needs to be agreed upon is "follow the sunnah of the messenger and the congregation of the Muslims". In the academic world, it is the opposite Aswaja Syi'ah. Hence the existence of the term Sunny-Syi'i (Aswaja followers and followers of Syi'ah)".

The way the contextualist-Pancasilaist meaning of this, on the other hand, opening the space for pluralism of meaning. So that each organization has a different meaning on Aswaja still be joined in a single container, PKS. Moreover, AD/ART Aswaja PKS does not list as a principle but as a principle of Islam. With so PKS into an open party. Chairman of PKS East Java M. Siraj, Former Chairman of the NU Student are still active Lamongan care boarding states, PKS is a political party that carries the new jargon as party propaganda and now open. Siraj said, "The party is heavily influenced by the thinking people of diverse backgrounds. Variations on this background are normative and amaliyahnya using Islamic values, such as NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis, HTI, and so on. That is, it is an Islamic party PKS, who played for the sake of the nation, not the class. So it does not directly carry the values of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah in the party".

## 4.2. Aswaja, Democracy, and Leadership

### 1. Formalist-Methodical

Formalist perspective saw from the view-methodical NU elite in PPP. As it is known that the formalist thinking more idealizes a past era as a reference life. There is a kind of "historical romance", which envisions "ideal age" such as the time of the prophet and his companions. This is characteristic of the formalist-methodical in thinking and in the spirit of the romantic-historical.

When talking about leadership, for example, PPP reject the non-muslim leader. In fact, PPP requires the party officials of the Islamic religion. According Fanan Hasib, "because the PPP put Islam as a principle in the PPP, the party is clearly not allowed people from outside Islam take charge of the party." Further Fanan Hasib make comparisons between the PPP and other parties who have a pattern of thought and spirit different from the PPP. Hasib said, "This is proofing that the Islamic party PPP, in contrast to the other party (PKB and PKS) which still gives room for non-Muslims to take charge of the party and the leader". Judging from the "glasses" formalism and romance of the opinion of Fanan Hasib very rational and logical, given the PKB and PKS are in a different pattern, namely functionalist (PKB) and contextualist-Pancasilaist (PKS).

Spirit "historical romance" which is strongly attached to the PPP elite way of thinking is also a rational reason for the elite NU in PPP for various models of leadership labeled criticizes Islam, but they are still subject to the effects of non-Muslims. In other words, not a masked leader of Islam, but they are in control of the interests of the non-Muslims. Such criticisms are seen in some comments NU-PPP elite, one only guest was KH. Maimun Zubair.

According to KH. Maimun Zubair, "the leaders of the Islamic state, which despite wearing the label of Islam, but in fact subject to the foreign party, in this case the United States (USA). Therefore, the only way in

terms of leadership and democracy is a return to the teachings of Islam. KH. Maimun give a reason, "Islam will not be broken, because God already guarantees and protects. Islam is superior and nothing will be outmaneuvered (al-Islamu ya'lu wa la yu'la 'alaihi). So, it damaged the people, leaders, country. Well, because it should be no attempt of Islamic parties in parliament to speak, through the constitution. This necessitates that Muslims must be willing to follow the leader and the election, to reorganize the state and this nation". Of course, non's favorite on the elements of a non-muslim be a logical and rational. Therefore, it is thought that upholds the spirit sourced romance-historical and stems in a formalist way of thinking. That's why, among the people the way he thinks romantic-historical-formalist, not the only non-Muslim leadership opposed, women's leadership even more difficult to accept.

The rejection of women leaders, one of which, can be seen to from the statement of KH. Ahmad Subadar. He said, "For example, in determining the policy of the law of a woman president, return it to the priest or leader-wing school of Aswaja. According to Imam Shafi'i, the woman should not be president. The first reason related mental. Psychiatric men and women are different. For example, excuse me, that man there could have strong lightning, but no thunder that women can "*kepayoh*" (wetting) because of panic. How about this, so the president easy to panic? While president of the priest, the priest plays an important role. Second, related to the physical. In the Qur'an has to explain *wa laisa al-dzakarun ka al-untan*, the man does not like women. That is the type of man is more perfect and more powerful than the women. "

Furthermore, formalist thinking and passionate romance of the elite NU-PPP can also be seen in their understanding of democracy, which incidentally is the product and the formulation of the American West. Basically, Islam has a doctrine of democracy. However, because of the American West can not be separated from democracy itself then things that smell in the body of democratic America is denied by the formalists-romanticist. The romantic-formalist is deliberately keeping the "distance" of American-style democracy is considered to be non-muslims.

KH. Jazuli Zainudin said, "We were already liberal democracy. While we are not experts democracy. "*Ibarat pitik cilik metu teko kurungan, wuhh..., enek sing nabrak pager, nabrak macem-macem mergo durung ahli, soale gak biasae*" (Proverbial chicks, removed out of the cage, then there is a hit a fence, crashing into anything, because we have not expert in democracy). So do not be equated with the United States, "*wong masih belajar demokrasi kok gayane Amerika, pikirane Amerika, panganane Amerika, kentucky-lah. Suwe-suwe kenthuk*" (people still learn democracy, quasi-American style, mind America, American food, Kentucky, after a long time "*kenthuk*" stress). This we have been fed everything American". Up to here can map that democracy leadership and affirmed by the formalist-methodical leadership and democracy is in harmony with the teachings of their version of Islam. While they understand that Islam is some formal Islam that can be referred to the past. There is a rather historical romance that little ignore substantial understanding of Islam, as it is owned by another NU elite in different political parties.

## 2. Functionalist-Methodical

In contrast to the formalist-methodical romance that gave birth methodical. Functionalist perspective-more methodical understanding of Islam implies substantially when Aswaja translate concepts into leadership and democratic discourse. In other words, the model of leadership and democracy can be affirmed when in line with the universal principles of Islam. This substantive interest often encourages the functionalist-methodical providing conceptual boundaries or substantive principles when faced with leadership and democratic discourse.

For example, elite NU in PKB will accept the concept of leadership and democracy over the line with some basic principles that should be used as a reference. According to Amin Said Husni, the basic principles are the consultation (*shura*), justice (*'is*), and the benefit (*mashlahah*). These basic principles should inspire all the laws and policies of existing products. For Amin Said Husni, these principles can guide democracy and leadership in line with the teachings of Islamic substantive.

Amin Said explains further that when a leader speaks neighbor of social protection, the concept of justice (*'adalah*) and public interest (*mashlahah*' *ammah*) became his inspiration to implement social protection. Thus, it is equally given to those who are entitled, in proportion, not equally the same sense. Amin Said said, "When I make a policy of environmental arrangement, when I do the planning policy's vendors, when I impose scholarships for the underprivileged, and so on, that's where the concept '*adalah* I apply concurrently with *mashlahah*. That is, the position of policy makers to be very strategic in applying Aswaja leadership style. "

The above reflects the mindset of a more substantive form of understanding about Islam and its application Aswaja style in the daily life. Every action, especially related to public policy, can be said to have been in line with Islamic teaching style Aswaja when grounded in the substance of Islamic teachings. For contexts of leadership and democracy, both can be said to be in line with Islamic teachings, if based on the principle of *shura*, '*adalah*, and *mashlahah*' *ammah*. Thus the functionalist-methodical thinking style that carries the spirit of substantialism.

NU elite support democracy in PKB existing and well established in this country. Including support for the procession which marked the election of democratic practice. With different arguments and not on behalf of

Islam, Ali Maschan Moesa support democratic elections as a marker. According to him, "based *Khittah*, 1926, NU should actively participate in the success of the elections. Basically, 1926 *Khittah* not anti politics, in fact it is mandated *khittah* citizens to politics, with some conditions, namely: First, do not make religion as a political instrument and more pointedly do not manipulate religion for political purposes. Secondly, the political meaning for NU is improving the quality of politicians. That is, if a lot of people who had the opportunity to be a politician, either in the legislative or executive, or elsewhere, they must position itself as a statesman and not even go down in rank became a political worker, let alone become a political broker. Third, the political meaning for NU is the increased quality of HR people in various aspects of life, ie the fulfillment of clothing, food, shelter, education and health. Improving the quality of human resources is expected to be able to participate and complete the natural degradation problem has reached an alarming stage. Specifically, the election in the Islamic view are an instrument to uphold the leadership (nashbu al-imamah) (Moesa, 2010).

Support for democratic elections and comes from the elite in PKB another NU, KH. Abdul Aziz. In this case, KH. Abdul Aziz over the bases of democracy in Islamic teachings. According to him, "PKB decided to go in a democracy, because for him there is no contradiction between democracy and religion. Admittedly, there are some scholar in the early formation of CLA do not agree with democracy, by making books and leaflets. Contents stated, it is a secular democracy, from communist and so on. "While the eyes of KH. Abdul Aziz Mansyur it self, the democratic law specified (tafshil). He explains, "I was not directly forbid, also indirectly receive. If you look at the benefit side and that God's law was not voted on in the democracy, then the (democratic) yes it should".

Certainly a very rational way of looking delivered KH. Abdul Aziz above. Therefore, with an outlook that substansialis and not fixated on understanding the democratic formalism will be accepted and considered in line with Islamic teachings when fulfilling certain basic principles, such as the law of God was not voted on, and so on. Of course the opinion that this sort tends substansialis contrast to some scholars he criticizes, the scholars who think democracy is a product of secular, communist, and the like. Therefore, the rejection of the idea that democracy is not substansialiing products.

KH. Abdul Aziz explained that the five kinds of principles that must be met in order to achieve a desired form of government Aswaja. First, the science scholars (bi-'ilmi al-'ulama). The world can be a wonderful and beautiful when decorated by science scholars. In other words, the scholars in managing this earth shall be according to the sciences according to the command of God. So it does not take only knowledge how to manage it, but like the blessed God, so that from each other it does not fight each other, fight each other, and each colonizes. Secondly, with the justice of the ruler (bi 'adli al-umara). The world can be beautiful and gorgeous when decorated with justice authorities. Third, the nature of the mandate of the traders or investors (wa al-tujjar mandate). Abdul Aziz Mansyur give an example, the government appointed merchant partners to import, but finally only for its own needs, not for the benefit of others. Fourth, the sincerity of the worshiper (al-wa ikhlasi'ubbad), which serve to gain ridla and the help of God. With a view to the KH. Abdul Aziz Mansyur, worship many forms. "Being a leader is also worshipped, depending on the intention", he explained. Fifth, employee loyalty to the leader (wa nashihati al-muhtarifin). KH. Abdul Aziz said for example, "If asked to do something it should be done properly. Do not get corrupted and taken by myself. "

Five of the ideal, said Chairman of the Shura Council of the DPP PKB, are the principle and our efforts to achieve the desired rule Aswaja NU in problem structuring social life. "How did it happen, that's what we fought through the PKB," he said. Five ideal principle is above none other than conceptual formulations are substantive to fence so that a model of leadership and democracy is not out of the Islamic pathways and functions that pave the way to prosperity and welfare of the people.

As explained at the beginning, PKNU is the party founded by politicians who had previously been on the board and the NU elite at PKB. Therefore, PKNU also has a patterned functionalist understanding methodical in understanding Aswaja and contextualism in leadership discourse and democracy. There is no many differences between the thinking elite NU-PKB and NU-PKNU. It's just that, in certain parts there-sharpening sharpening analysis.

PKNU political elite looked at leadership and democracy is closely related to a country's system of government. According to DPW Chairman Arif Junaidi PKNU East Java, "The government must take intervention on aspects of the lives of its citizens as the economical, political, and religious." Arif who also Caregiver's PP Raudlah al-Qoidi Cangaan, Bangil, Pasuruan it states, "Supposed state intervention significantly, which provides business opportunities, by providing the consumer be the guarded capital. Second, the state prohibits foreign companies resulting in poorer communities. Injustice is also practiced through outsourcing system and so on".

In the context of religion and state, and the democratic leadership is essentially understood as a "rope linking". The concept of leadership and democracy in the NU elite perspective in PKNU of course, has a close understanding of the NU elite in PKB. As an elite wing-substansif functionalist, they use the paradigm of "symbiotic" in the relationship between religion and the state. Symbiotic paradigm is meant here is that the

existence of the state is not co-opt religion, and vice versa. Religion and state need each other so do not cancel each other out, as happened in the state of religion and the secular state. In the state religion, the religion really adoption state. Meanwhile, the democratic leadership and the media just how religion and the state can walk synergistic. Thus, the leadership and democracy have been run according to the teachings of Islam exemplified by the Prophet and his companions.

According to the Chairman of the Shura Council PKNU Pasuruan KH. Hasan Ma'ruf, "Indonesian state is not the state religion, but the state religion". So, religion and state are symbiotic complementary. No need to build a state religion for religious teachings can be run. This is the substantive-functionalist view in the context of leadership and democracy.

### 3. Contextualist-Pancasilaist

At the beginning it has been said that the contextualist-pancasialis is accommodated by the PKS party to the spirit of pluralism thoughts. Many PKS figures from different backgrounds but remained above the same principle as the basis of their footing, namely the principles of Islam. With this Islamic principle of PKS into a party open to all muslims of various backgrounds. Of course this reflects the pluralist spirit, and coupled with the reality of diverse Indonesian nation. No wonder if the elite NU in PKS understands more contextualist Aswaja-Pancasila.

Pluralism of thought in body PKS itself, one of which, can be seen to from a leader of islamic discourse. Regarding Islamic leader, Nur Mahmudi Ismail argues, "with the requirements of a leader, does not need to be the leader of islamic terms, because automatically it will be fulfilled, because of the majority of muslims". For Nur Mahmudi, there should be no propaganda or excessive striving to achieve leadership. He said, "It is the people who determine. I was only natural, does not need to be made about the rules (terms to be Islamic leader). In addition, women should be leaders and public officials or politicians, origin chosen in advance by the people. Regional secretary (secretary position) my girls. The leader is a public servant, then he should be close to and know the needs of the community ". While at the same time about the same issue, there is a different view of Ernanto Djoko Purnomo. He said, "(Muslim leader) mandatory. Because of our country's population is majority muslim. And we often pray, "Rabbanaa hablana min azwajina wa dzurriyatina qurrata a'yun waj'alnaa li al-muttaqina imama" (Our God, the gift of our wives and offspring soothing and make us leaders for those who fear Allah). We have to be consistent with our prayers to be a leader for the people".

Pluralism of thought leaders who are born of the spirit PKS contextualization and pancasilaisasi Aswaja values become more colorful when one of the elite NU at PKS, PKS Chairman DPC Bangkalan KH. Muhammad Thoha Cholil, who is the grandson of the charismatic cleric Madura (late) Syaichona Cholil, said, "Islamic parties did not prohibit people other than Islam to follow. At the very least they are competent in it (structure and managers) is a person who has insight into Islam. If by chance there is that the people in wilyah minority or equal Islam absolutely no islamic community, such as in Nabire, PKS led by those non-muslims".

This line of thought figures diverse PKS can be understood when referred to their understanding of his ways of Aswaja that is contextualist-Pancasila. PKS as an organization is like a container that holds a variety of members from various backgrounds. This is in tune with the reality of the Indonesian nation plural society. Anyone may conduct during the competent and professional. There is no gender discrimination. In particular, there is no discrimination of membership. Respects the right of all people without distinction are characteristic of the nation's diverse and plural. This is the nation of Indonesia; the nation that stretches from Sabang to Merauke. PKS is a party that is contextual with this reality. Therefore, anyone has the right to be a leader. As for democracy, Nur Mahmudi Ismail said that democracy is the most appropriate system to use for the Indonesian context, which makes the Pancasila as the state. Even compared with the Islamic, democratic system is far different. However, islam expects islamic values, such as honesty, for example, in a democracy. Nur Mahmudi said, "In principle, that democracy as such than with islam, there is a difference. But islam is the presence of the expected elements of truth and honesty in a democracy. Although in practice in the field, the elements of democracy that there are "naughtiness". Nur Mahmudi said, "What is still emphasized in islam is not naughty, but educate honesty in democracy. Democracy is a system of choice in state life".

Nur Mahmudi actually acknowledge the sides lack the democratic system. But he did not reject democracy but offers solutions to cure "ulcers" democracy. He realizes that there is a weakness in the democratic side. One disadvantage is that the sound equalization, that all sound the same (one man one vote). "For people who do not understand, the sound of scholars and other sound was the same. In principle what they say like that? In fact, the actual differ, scholars choose to science, while others may not be, "said Nur Mahmudi. Although one man one vote until the current debate in a democracy, but said it is a matter of *ijtihad* in politics. Nur Mahmudi explained, "That is a lot going on, those interests are easy to buy, and this is not a representation of the inner voice, but the voice of capital. The weakness of this democracy may be deductible if the other preconditions are met in the community and society. Educated society will not be easily bought. Prerequisite for realizing that, as good to increase education and information as transparent as possible to the public. In essence, a prerequisite to reduce the weaknesses of democracy should be pursued and fulfilled much, in the community-the community

level".

This way of thinking is quite rational with a view to the PKS including party contextualist-pancasilaist in understanding islam Aswaja version. In other words, what has become a complete cohesion between democracy, Pancasila, and NKRI, which has been established in Indonesia needs to be maintained. Therefore, he has been according to Islam. Although the practice of democracy in Indonesia still include fraud, but PKS envisions a serious effort to improve the democratic ulcers. In addition, PKS minded contextualist-pancasilaist agrees with pancasila democracy as a philosophy and foundations of the nation, and the Republic of Indonesia as a nation home.

## 5. Conclusion

NU affiliate elite to some political parties, in essence, driven by the subjective consciousness. Socio-cultural backgrounds and political elite that can be mapped into three simple variants (formal, functional, contextual). Indeed, this kind of mapping will only depart from primordial to deliver the difference to unity. And even then will only occur if accompanied by the subjective will of the individual; NU politicians, to unite. Differences in political party, ideology, and socio-cultural background can be "diminished" for the sake of nation building and state cooperation.

Suggestion for further research are to conduct in-depth study of the socio-cultural paradigm in NU politicians in different political parties in Indonesia in realizing progress of the nation and the state.

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