Mission Sparks

Academic Journal of Asia Region

Acting together
in resisting violence and
extremism towards justice,
peace and reconciliation

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Cover concept: courtesy of Ms. Terri-Lynn Smith, Project officer in Asia region

An Editorial Note

Violence and extremism are the reality in our society. Recently, the most staggering incident is the violence done by police officers to George Floyd in Minneapolis. This violation of human rights triggered demonstrations around the world. In the social media is the protest done with hashtag #BlackLivesMatter. It aims to find justice and to protest against racial discrimination and violence to the African descent populations.

Violence and extremism, based on race, religion, and politics, contradicts to the principles of justice, peace, and reconciliation. Therefore, we should be in solidarity to one another and act together in resisting violence and extremism should be pursued. The UEM during its General Assembly in 2018 adopted the theme "Being Salt of the Earth - Acting Together in Resisting Violence and Extremism towards Justice, Peace, and Reconciliation". This theme becomes the foundation of all activities.

The Mission Spark 8th edition presents articles on the theme "Acting Together in Resisting Violence and Extremism towards Justice, Peace, and Reconciliation" as follows:

Marie-Anne Halim wrote about human rights and human dignity, history of modern human rights and their relation to theology. She underlined the theological model of reason described by Heinrich Bedford-Strohm as the most interesting in practice for several reasons. In her article Marie-Anne Halim encouraged churches to stand up for human dignity and human rights.

Johanes Mardimin described the history of Islam and the development of Political Islam in Java, especially fundamentalist, radicalism and extremist groups which was triggered by clash of civilizations and the imbalance of power between the opposing groups of civilizations. In order to be able to control the development of fundamentalism he suggested several concrete steps.

Dyah Ayu Krismawati argued that Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah are important actors in fighting against religious extremism and in building a good interfaith relation in Indonesia. However there are challenges faced by both organization on relation between them and with other faiths.

Juliet Solis Aguilar underlined the important role of the Church in every society to fulfill its calling as the "salt and light of the world" (Matthew 5:13) and to do the mandate to "provide justice for the needy and the fatherless; uphold the rights of the oppressed and the destitute" (Psalms 82:3). She elaborated the concept of peace based on justice which is deeply rooted in the UCCP's theological understanding of the Kingdom of God and articulated in the UCCP's statement of faith.

Purjatian Azhar argued that Islam should be a mediation to reduce the potential for conflict in the multicultural society of Indonesia. He offered the multicultural concept from Abdul Aziz Sachedina which should be mainstreamed into the context of the multicultural society of Indonesia.

Brahm Kharismatius explained the important role of the new media as a tool for peace dissemination in the society. The new media is important in building a culture of tolerance, proclaim the narratives of peace and rejecting the view of radicalism. He researched on the new media of GKJW.

Enjoy Reading!

Rev. Dr. Dyah Ayu Krismawati
Executive Secretary of UEM Asia Department and
Chief Editor

Human Dignity – Human Rights – Theology: Perspectives and Positions.

Rev. Marie-Anne Halim

1. Introduction

*"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.
They are endowed with reason and conscience and
should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."*[1]
Article 1 Universal Declaration of Human Rights

*"The State values the dignity of every human person and
guarantees full respect for human rights."*[2]
Article 2 (11) Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines

*"The Republic of South Africa is one,
sovereign, democratic state founded on the following values:
Human dignity, the achievement of equality and
the advancement of human rights and freedoms."*[3]
Article 1 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

*"Human dignity shall be inviolable.
To respect and protect it shall be the duty of all state authority."*[4]
Article 1 (1) Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany

Four examples of legal texts in which human dignity and human rights are postulated. The special: All – except the UDHR – are constitutions, i.e. the basic texts on which the respective states are founded. The UDHR, on the other hand, is a supranational programmatic text of the United Nations and thus finds recognition in most states.

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[1] UN (1948).
[2] Republic of the Philippines (1987).
[3] Republic of South Africa (1996).
[4] Bundesrepublik Deutschland (2019).

What unites the exemplary constitutions are inhumane experiences in the respective history of the country. The Philippines and South Africa, after centuries of oppression and a struggle against a colonial power full of deprivation, gained their independence and, when founding the state, under the influence of the abuse of power by foreign state power experienced over generations, adopted constitutions in which human dignity is used as the foundation of the legal system respectively as a standard for all state action.

After the experiences of the Second World War and the unspeakable suffering for which the criminal state under Adolf Hitler and the National Socialists was responsible, the fathers and mothers of the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany made a conscious decision to declare human dignity as inviolable in the very first sentence of the constitution and to oblige the state to protect it: "Never again!"

Also as a consequence of the period between 1933 and 1945, the United Nations, which was founded after the Second World War, passed a resolution on human rights in 1948 with the UDHR, which is not legally binding on the states and certainly does not have constitutional status. Nevertheless, its existence – as well as the pacts on human rights that were subsequently created – is evidence of the peace efforts of the international community.

The fact that human rights and their objectives – freedom, justice and peace – have lost none of their topicality and relevance even in the 72nd year since the declaration of the UDHR should hardly be denied. It is controversial, however, whether and how the concepts of human dignity and human rights, which are open to rationale, are to be interpreted concretely and filled with content, so that a consensus can be reached.

Within Christian theology there are voices that reject the preoccupation with the concepts of human rights and human dignity. That may be due on the one hand to the claim that one had to accept *western values* if one wanted to deal with the terms. On the other hand, it

is also repeatedly argued that these are legal concepts, which there-fore lie outside the theological sphere.

However, it is stated by others that since ethics – and thus also the study of morals – are disciplines of academic theology, it would be mistaken if theology did not deal with human dignity and human rights.

An interpretation of the concepts of human dignity and human rights – like any interpretation – depends on several factors, including the historical, socio-cultural, religious or philosophical background of the interpreter. In the interpretation of human rights and dignity, a tension between the claim to universal validity and particular morals is an additional complicating factor.[5]

In the following, there will first be a definition of the connection between the terms *human dignity* and *human rights* (2), followed by an overview of the history of modern human rights from a Western perspective (3). Then the relationship between theology and the two terms is presented (4.1) and a description of possible dangers in deal-ing with human dignity is given (4.2). Finally, a selection of theologi-cal models of rationale for human rights and human dignity is de-scribed (4.3).

One more thing on my own:
As indicated above, the respective context plays a role in the in-terpretation of human dignity and rights. The author is well aware that the following account was written from a certain perspective – Western, European, German, Protestant – which is evident, among other things, in the literature cited. However, it is by no means a question here of postulating one's own perspective as the only correct and true one under all circumstances. This would not only contradict the claim of this publication, but also everything that constitutes hu-man dignity and the imperative of tolerance that flows from it. It is rather the aim to offer a short extract about the state of research

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[5] Cf. SCHLIESSER (2019), p. 1.

within German theology and to place the arguments presented there up for discussion.

2. The relationship between human dignity and human rights

Human rights cannot be spoken of without also addressing human dignity. The close connection between the two concepts is exemplified in the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), when it states that the "*[...] recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world [...]*".[6] The UDHR was proclaimed on 10 December 1948 and came into being *"[...] unter dem Eindruck massenhafter Verstöße totalitärer Regimes gegen elementare Gebote der Humanität."*[7]

The fact of the inalienable and irrevocable human dignity is thus the starting point and basis, for the German theologian Jürgen MOLTMANN even *"die Wurzel aller Menschenrechte"*.[8] Human rights are rights of liberty of the individual vis-à-vis the state; they oblige the respective state power, which acknowledges these rights and implements them in its legal system, to protect and respect them. The relationship between human dignity and human rights is important for the understanding of the modern constitutional state on the one hand, and for the international legal community on the other.[9]

For the European view of human dignity, two intellectual-historical currents can be identified as formative: the ancient tradition (with special consideration of the Greek-Roman Stoa) and the Christian tradition.

Following the Stoic philosophy, CICERO is the first to mention the concept of *human dignity* and to refer to two different ways of understanding it: Either dignity is used in the sense of *honor*, i.e. honour,

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[6] UN (1948).
[7] SCHLIESSER (2019), p. 2; Translation: [...] *under the impression of mass violations of elementary commandments of humanity by totalitarian regimes.*
[8] MOLTMANN (1979), p.18; Translation: *the root of all human rights.*
[9] Cf. HUBER (1992), p. 578.

and thus describes the social position of a person, which distinguishes her from other persons (differentiating); or dignity describes what distinguishes a person from other living beings and establishes her special position in the cosmos (egalitarian).[10] For CICERO, dignity (*dignitas*) means primarily social status; but he also concedes dignity to human nature in that it participates in reason.[11]

The image of God forms the basis for the Christian understanding of human dignity. Starting from the biblical narrative of creation in Gen 1:26f, man as *imago Dei* is seen as being emphasized by other creatures and endowed with a special dignity. In addition, the Pauline idea formulated in Gal 3:26–28 often comes into play, that the differences between human beings become irrelevant because of the childhood in God. The idea of the image of God is taken up and developed within the theology and intellectual history in three intellectual currents: in Italian Renaissance humanism, in the Spanish high and late scholasticism, and in the German Reformation.[12]

The Italian humanists of the 15th century, in particular Pico della MIRANDOLA, took up the idea of the human being as imago Dei and thought it further. MIRANDOLA understands man as a microcosm, which corresponds to God and in which infinite possibilities are embedded. Man is destined to choose freely from the possibilities and, through free choice, to be able to strive for the highest happiness.

With the discovery of the American continent by Christopher Columbus in 1492 and the subsequent expansions by the European seafaring powers, one of the questions that arose was how to deal with non-European mankind. Francisco de VITORIA and later Francisco SUÁREZ took a stand against the thesis that the inhabitants of America were neither rational nor able to believe in the Christian God and therefore could hardly be regarded as real human beings, by setting up the *"These von der geselligen Natur des Menschen"*.[13] According to

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[10] Loc. cit.
[11] Cf. CICERO (2019), p. 106.
[12] Cf. HUBER (1992), pp. 579–581.
[13] Op. cit., p. 579; Translation: *Thesis of the sociable nature of man*.

this, the rational nature and sociality of man are inseparably linked, so that the inhabitants of the newly occupied territories also have a full share in both and consequently participate in all the rights to which every human being is entitled. This thesis is linked to the call to the Spanish Conquistadors not only not to violate the rights of others, but also to promote and protect them (which, of course, was not the case in practice).

The core of Reformation Lutheran theology is Martin LUTHER's doctrine of Justification: It is not one's own achievement that defines the human being as a person, but only his relation to God constitutes him as such. However, this is completely removed from human control. Through the process of justification, in which God turns to the sinner in grace, *"[…] erfährt der Mensch sich als das Wesen, das weder das bloße Resultat gegebener Bedingungen ist noch in irgendeiner Definition seiner selbst aufgeht, sondern sie alle transzendiert. Seine Würde kann deshalb auch nicht als etwas an ihm selbst Aufweisbares verstanden werden; vielmehr wird sie ihm durch Gottes rechtfertigende Gnade zugesprochen."*[14] The only possible answer to this event of grace can only be free faith, because through it man becomes aware of divine grace in general. Thus there is a correlation between justification *sola gratia* and freedom of faith and conscience. For HUBER, freedom of faith and religion are therefore the *"Kern der Menschenrechte"*[15], i.e. the core of human rights.

The contribution of Reformed theology in the context of the development of the idea of human dignity lies with CALVIN on the one hand in the sanctification that is added to the event of grace, the *"[…] praktischen Funktionieren christlicher Existenz und wahren Gottesdienstes."*[16]. On the other hand, with the development of presbytorial-synodal church orders, Calvinism laid the foundation for constitutional systems, which also applied to the state sphere.

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[14] HUBER (1992), S. 579; Translation: *[…] man experiences himself as the being that is neither the mere result of given conditions nor is it absorbed in any definition of himself but transcends them all. Therefore, his dignity cannot be understood as something that is evident in himself; rather, it is granted to him by God's justifying grace.*

[15] Loc. Cit.

The emergence of absolutist forms of government in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries favoured the development of a certain Christian humanism in England and the Netherlands, which increasingly placed the dignity of *every* human being in the foreground and thus sought to contain the claimed absolute power of the ruler/state. While Thomas HOBBES develops a *theory of social contract* that supports the sovereign ruler, John LOCKE concludes with a different understanding. In his state theory writing *Leviathan* (1651), HOBBES describes the natural state of man as a selfish *"[…] war as is of every man against every man"*[17] (bellum omnium contra omnes), which makes it necessary for the sake of peace to transfer individual rights by contract to a central power (the absolute ruler). In contrast to this LOCKE postulates in the second of his *Two Treatises of Civil Government* (1690) that all humans – who are equal as images of God – are entitled to elementary rights due to the state of nature. These rights encompass life, liberty and property and precede the concluded social contract[18]; they are fundamental and inalienable, so they cannot be transferred by treaty to a sovereign etc. Rather, the purpose of the social contract is to oblige the state power to protect and secure said rights. If it does not fulfil its obligation, it loses its legitimacy.

In the course of the *anthropological turn* during the Enlightenment the dignity of man is no longer bound back to the image of God, but rather justified by the gift of reason. An example of this is the French philosopher Blaise PASCAL, who states in the 17th century: "*L'homme est visiblement fait pour penser; c'est toute sa dignité et tout son mérite.*"[19]

With Immanuel KANT, one of the most important and influential German philosophers, the anthropological turn reaches its climax. He founded the dignity of all human beings as rational beings in their autonomy, i.e. in their free will. In his work *Grundlegung zu Metaphysik der Sitten* (Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals; 1785)

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[16] RITSCHL (1985), p. 311; Translation: *[…] practical functioning of Christian existence and true worship*.
[17] HOBBES (1651), Chapter XIII.
[18] Cf. LOCKE (2005), Chapter II.
[19] Quoted in HUBER (1992), p. 580; Translation: *Man is visibly made to think; that is his dignity and merit.*

KANT develops, among other things, for the first time his *Categorical Imperative* as a rule for action, but also as a measure of value, consisting of the idea of *Autonomy*, the relevance of the human person as an end *in itself* and the *community* of all rational beings in the *Kingdom of ends:* "*Im Reiche der Zwecke hat alles entweder einen Preis, oder eine Würde. Was einen Preis hat, an dessen Stelle kann auch etwas anderes, als Äquivalent, gesetzt werden; was dagegen über allen Preis erhaben ist, mithin kein Äquivalent verstattet, das hat eine Würde.*"[20] Since man has no equivalent in the world before him, he has no *price*, but *dignity*. This means that a human being can never be used merely as a *means* to foreign ends: It must be recognized as an *end in itself*. The *Autonomy* in freedom (i.e. morality) is the condition for this being as end-in-itself. Since reason, in turn, is now the condition for Autonomy in freedom, only those beings that are endowed with reason can be regarded as an end in themselves.[21] From this it follows that (in the known world) only man as a rational being possesses dignity.

In view of the briefly outlined lines of development and their different rationale for human dignity, the question suggests itself whether a mere recurrence of human dignity is sufficient as a basis for the human rights that claim universality. It is sometimes argued that the concepts of human dignity and human rights are vague and meaning-

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[20] KANT (2011), p. 68; Translation: *In the kingdom of ends, everything has either a price or a dignity. That which has a price can be replaced by something other than its equivalent; that which is above all price, and therefore has no equivalent, has dignity.*

[21] The associated anthropocentrism has subsequently served as legitimation for the use or misuse of nature to an end by man. It was only during the ecological crisis that the question of a dignity inherent in nature was raised. In 1979 the German-American philosopher Hans JONAS formulated in his book *Das Prinzip Verantwortung* the following Ecological Imperative: "'*Handle so, daß die Wirkungen deiner Handlung verträglich sind mit der Permanenz echten menschlichen Lebens auf Erden'; oder negativ ausgedrückt: 'Handle so, daß die Wirkungen deiner Handlung nicht zerstörerisch sind für die künftige Möglichkeit solchen Lebens'; oder einfach: 'Gefährde nicht die Bedingungen für den indefiniten Fortbestand der Menschheit auf Erden'; oder, wieder positiv gewendet: 'Schließe in deine gegenwärtige Wahl die zukünftige Integrität des Menschen als Mit-Gegenstand deines Wollens ein.'*" [JONAS (1979), p. 36]; Translation: *'Act in a way that the effects of your action are compatible with the permanence of real human life on earth'; or, expressed negatively: 'Act in a way that the effects of your action are not destructive to the future possibility of such life'; or simply: 'Do not endanger the conditions for the indefinite continued existence of humanity on earth'; or, expressed again positively: 'Include in your present choice the future integrity of man as a co-object of your will.'*

less, that is, they would be relativised. This is due on the one hand to the attempt to reach a consensus, and on the other hand to a formulation that is open to rationale. This is aggravated by the fact that *"[...] weder im Blick auf die innerstaatliche Ordnung noch im Blick auf das Völkerrecht eine bestimmte ‚weltanschauliche' Begründung der Menschenrechte mit verpflichtender Geltung ausgestattet werden kann. [...] [Die Begründugsoffenheit] verlangt die Religionsneutralität des Verfassungsstaats ebenso wie die Neutralität des Völkerrechts gegenüber den verschiedenen Traditionen, Religionen und Kulturen der Menschheit.*"[22]

From a theological perspective it is therefore occasionally doubted whether a theological rationale is at all necessary and whether theological ethics can make an enriching contribution to the discussion on rationale.

Since, however, openness of rationale should not be confused with vagueness, it is essential to strive for a definition of the concept of human dignity, also in order to prevent human rights from becoming obsolete. And since the concept of human dignity is also a moral concept, it would not only be a pity if theology did not take part in the effort to concretize and specify it, it would also be a missed opportunity to bring the issues important for Christian theology into the human rights discussion.

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[22] Huber (1992), p. 581; Translation: *[...] neither regarding the domestic order nor about international law a certain 'ideological' rationale of human rights can be given obligatory validity. [The formulation, which is open to rationale, is] demanded [by] the religious neutrality of the constitutional state as well as the neutrality of international law towards the different traditions, religions, and cultures of mankind.*

3. An overview of the history of modern human rights[23]

3.1. England

With regard to the codification process of human rights, the first approaches to asserting political freedoms and rights against the state can be found in England. In the *Magna Carta* of 1215, the nobility were granted freedoms vis-à-vis the king that were nevertheless denied to the other social classes. This was increasingly questioned in the course of the 17th century under the influence of the discovery of natural law. Revolutionary disputes between the Crown and Parliament during the era of absolutism gave rise to legal documents such as the *Habeas Corpus Act* (1679) and the *Bill of Rights* (1689), which, although not universally applicable human rights, at least contain basic rights vis-à-vis state power. While the former includes protection against arbitrary arrest and the right to be brought before a judge, the latter provides for the prohibition of detention without a court order and the right to petition.

3.2. United States of America

As already in England, revolutionary changes in North America lead to the enforcement of the human rights idea. While in some American states in the 17th century religious freedom was explicitly codified, the fight for independence from the British Crown and the urge for freedom were the driving forces for the declaration of far-reaching rights to state power. Here, reference is made to the natural freedom and independence of all people, which inevitably leads to a right to self-government. *The Virginia Declaration of Rights* of 12 June 1776 is considered a milestone. It is programmatically stated right at the beginning: "**Section 1.** *That all men are by nature equally free and independent and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.* **Section 2.** *That all*

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[23] V. Bogner (2016); Huber (1992), pp. 582–584.

power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants and at all times amenable to them."[24]

Thomas JEFFERSON used Virginia's Declaration of Rights for the draft of his *United States Declaration of Independence* (04 June 1776). It becomes clear that political rights of participation are being demanded in the first instance, following the desire for self-government, flanked by other rights such as basic judicial rights, freedom of the press and freedom of religion. In 1789, the *Constitution of the United States of America* (1787) was accompanied by the *Bill of Rights* (the first ten Amendments to the Constitution), which incorporated other inalienable fundamental rights.

HUBER makes clear with regard to the development in America: "*Die neuzeitliche Menschenrechtsidee verdankt sich einem Akt politischer Revolution und trägt von daher einen bleibenden revolutionären Impuls in sich. Sie ist keineswegs mit allen politischen Regimen vereinbar, sondern drängt auf politische Selbstbestimmung ebenso wie auf die Freiheit von staatlicher Bevormundung.*"[25]

3.3. France

While in July 1789 the *Bill of Rights* was passed in the USA as a late result of the struggle for independence, at the same time revolution was taking place in France. The most important document in this process is the French *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, which is promulgated by the National Constituent Assembly on 26 August 1789. It was created largely under the influence of events in America: The Marquis de La FAYETTE was in America at the time of the War of Independence; enthusiastic about the American idea of human rights, he became politically active in France on his return and, on 11 July 1789, submitted a draft of a *Declaration of the Rights of Man and*

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[24] MASON (1776).
[25] HUBER (1992), p. 582; Translation: *The modern idea of human rights owes itself to an act of political revolution and therefore carries a lasting revolutionary impulse within itself. It is by no means compatible with all political regimes but urges political self-determination as well as freedom from state paternalism.*

of the Citizen based on the American model. He had previously worked on this with the support of JEFFERSON, at the time American ambassador in Paris. It is stated in the preamble that "*les droits naturels, inaliénables et sacrés de l'homme*"[26], such as freedom, property, security and resistance to oppression, exist.[27] Religious freedom is not mentioned as a right, which gives the French declaration a secularistic character and made it suspect of hostility towards Christianity. The declaration is revised several times in the period up to 1795. For example, the right to resist state power is deleted in the Declaration of 1793, which falls in the period of *La Terreur*, the reign of terror; this period from the beginning of June 1793 to the end of July 1794 is characterized above all by the violent, state suppression of all persons suspected of being opponents of the revolution. This shows how rights can be instrumentalized and perverted: People have been executed in the name of human rights – the rights stated in the Declaration *of the Rights of Man and Citizen* are undermined and annulled by their systematic disregard by the state under the guise of supposed protection and *"[...] damit verfiel auch der Gedanke der Menschenrechte selbst [...] verbreiteter Kritik und Ablehnung.*"[28]

3.4. Germany

Despite the experiences of the neighboring country France, the idea of inalienable civil rights was also spread in the German states in the age of constitutionalism (in Germany from 1814 to 1918). Already on 27 December 1848 the *Frankfurter Nationalversammlung* (Frankfurt Parliament) enacted basic rights for the German people for the entire German Empire. These rights were incorporated almost un-

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[26] LA FAYETTE (1789); Translation: *natural, inalienable and sacred human rights.*

[27] Since the rights and duties mentioned in the Declaration of 1789 applied only to responsible citizens, i.e. men, women were not legally, politically or socially equal to men. This led Olympe de GOGUES (revolutionary, women's rights activist, writer and playwright) to write a *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne* in September 1791 – closely following the Declaration of 1789 – in which all rights and duties for all citizens (male and female) were declared. However, the declaration of de Gogues could not exert a lasting influence on the direction of the revolution. On the basis of these and other writings, during the Reign of Terror under Maximilien de ROBESPIERRE, de GOGUES was accused before the Revolutionary Tribunal and convicted of treason, which led to her immediate execution by the guillotine [v. PAUL (1989)].

[28] HUBER (1992), p.583; Translation: [...] *with that the idea of human rights itself fell victim to widespread criticism and rejection.*

changed into the *Frankfurter Reichsverfassung* (Frankfurt Constitution) of 1849, but were declared invalid in 1851, after failure of the German revolution. Fundamental rights named in the *Frankfurt Declaration* are, for example, freedom of the person and intellectual, religious and press freedom as well as the freedom of property and basic social rights. Nothing comparable can be found in the *Verfassung des Deutschen Reiches* (Constitution of the German Empire) of 1871. The *Weimarer Reichsverfassung* (Weimar Constitution; 1919) is limited only to civil rights and does not contain human rights. It was only with the *Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany) of 23 May 1949, which came into being under the impression of the years under the cruel and unjust regime of the National Socialists, that fundamental rights were prominently laid down in Articles 1 to 19. These include human rights on the one hand, and civil rights on the other, and thus guarantee every person or every citizen rights vis-à-vis the holders of state power.

3.5. International

In consternation at the National Socialist's crimes, the Allies' goal was to establish a peaceful world order that acknowledges human rights. The evidence and relevance of human rights once again became painfully clear through their explicit negation in the Third Reich. Thus on 6 January 1941, the President of the USA, Franklin D. ROOSEVELT, gave his so-called Four *Freedoms Speech* in which he named four elements which are necessary for a peaceful world development and which should apply to all people: 1. *Freedom of speech*, 2. *Freedom of worship*, 3. *Freedom of want*, 4. *Freedom of fear*.[29]

These were incorporated into the *Atlantic Charter*, which was proclaimed by British Prime Minister Winston CHURCHILL and ROOSEVELT in August 1941 and which was later joined by 22 other states. In the declaration founding the *United Nations* (UN), these war aims were proclaimed in January 1942; the war Alliance became the starting point for the world organization of the same name, founded on 26 June 1945. Its founding document, the *Charter of the United Nations*,

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[29] ROOSEVELT (1941).

states as one of its international cooperation objectives in Article 1 (3) *"[…] respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion […]"*[30], leaves it at this rather general recourse to human rights, without concretizing them further.

On 10 December 1948, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was adopted by the General Assembly of the *UN* in Paris. The *Four Freedoms* of ROOSEVELT are read in the preamble as follows: *"[…] Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people […]."*[31] They are thus part of the basis of the ideal of human rights.

The fact that the UDHR has no legally binding character, but is merely a kind of declaration of intent, proved to be problematic in the following time. However, its value should not be underestimated, since it *"[beinhaltet] eine Formulierung, die für die weitere Entwicklung Maßstäbe setzte […]. In ihrem Ansatz verbindet sie die Begründung der Menschenrechte aus der Menschenwürde mit dem Hinweis auf die Vernunftnatur des Menschen und dem Appell an die Geschwisterlichkeit (Brüderlichkeit) aller Menschen."*[32]

In order to make them legally binding, the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* and the International *Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* were therefore adopted by the General Assembly in 1966, but did not come into force until 1976, after the necessary number of states had ratified both covenants. The legal subjects of these two international legal texts are human individuals

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[30] UN (1945).

[31] UN (1948)

[32] HUBER (1992), p. 586; Translation: *[…] succeeded in creating a formulation which set standards for further development [...]. In its approach it combines the foundation of human rights from human dignity with the reference to the rational nature of man and the appeal to the fraternity of all people.*

and not, as was customary in international law into the 20th century, states. However, the experience of the first half of the 20th century makes it clear that the protection and promotion of human rights cannot be guaranteed by nation-states alone. There is therefore a need for appropriate, supranational security systems, above all an effective jurisdiction that opens the way for individual applications (e.g. the *UN Commission on Human Rights* in Geneva, the *International Criminal Court* based in The Hague or – for the area covered by the European Convention on Human Rights – the *European Court of Justice* in Strasbourg). The claim to the universality of human rights is particularly evident in this.

4. Theology and the concepts of human dignity and rights
4.1. Relationship between theology and human dignity and rights[33]

The short overview of the history of modern human rights shows on the one hand that the demand for human and fundamental rights was often made in the course of political emancipation, and on the other hand that, despite the occasional recourse to Christian roots, with the Enlightenment and the secularization thrust that went along with it the churches contributed little to the development, theology sometimes even reacted negatively and defensively to the idea of human rights.

But the relationship between theology and human rights was not only clouded since the Enlightenment. HUBER identifies three factors that have prevented the church from becoming a spearhead of human rights:[34] *Firstly*, the church's understanding of sin has impaired the development of a Christian theological draft of human dignity and rights. The doctrine of the Original Sin is based on the assumption that since the Fall of Man, since birth, man has been at the mercy of the power of evil and has been determined by it. Through this he forfeited his rights before God and thus also his dignity. *Secondly*, the

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[33] V. BEDFORD-STROHM (2011), pp. 10f.; SCHLIESSER (2019), pp. 3–6; VILLA-VICENCIO (1999), pp. 582–593.
[34] Cf. HUBER (1994), p. 152f.

idea of an inherent dignity of all human beings was displaced by the differentiation between Christians, heretics, and non-Christians (Jews and Gentiles). This distinction led to the fact that up to modern times dignity was understood as a privilege to which only Christians were entitled; furthermore, it often served as a basis of legitimation for the brutal procedures of inquisitions, persecutions of so-called witches, Jewish programs and the colonization of the newly discovered continents. *Thirdly*, an estates-based view of society and the hierarchical organized church have shaped Christian anthropology. As in ancient anthropology, a differentiating understanding of dignity emerged here; *dignitas* was understood in the sense of *honor* and thus made dependent on birth, virtuous behavior, performance, etc. In this context the theologians MIRANDOLA and VITORIA with their recourse to the image of God are an exception.

The existing skepticism of the church about the existence of human dignity is reflected in the mistrust of the idea of human rights that developed in the 18th century. This is deepened by the upheavals during the French Revolution, which meant an immense loss of power for the *Catholic Church*, and sometimes turned into enmity and condemnation.[35] The rejection of the Catholic Church was mainly based on secularisation: "*Eine Lehre, in der der Staat in der freien Übereinkunft der Menschen anstatt in Gott begründet wurde, eine Lehre, in der die Menschen als Träger unveräußerlicher und qua natura gegebener Freiheitsrechte gesehen wurden, anstatt als der göttlichen und damit auch kirchlichen Autorität untertan, eine solche Lehre erschien der Kirche als atheistisches Gedankengut, das mit aller Entschiedenheit zu bekämpfen war.*"[36]

The relationship of the Catholic Church to the idea of human rights therefore only begins to relax in the course of the Second

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[35] Cf. P. K. JUSTITIA ET PAX (1976), p. 8.
[36] BEDFORD-STROHM (2011), p. 11; Translation: *A doctrine in which the state was founded in the free agreement of people instead of in God, a doctrine in which people were seen as bearers of inalienable and qua natura given rights of freedom instead of being subject to divine and thus also church authority, such a doctrine appeared to the church as atheist ideas that were to be fought with all determination.*

World War. As milestone in this regard Pope John XXIII's encyclical letter *Pacem in terris* of 1963 is to be mentioned. Here for the first time the papal magisterium receives central rights of the UDHR and bases them on human nature as beings endowed with reason and freedom of will: "*Any well-regulated and productive association of men in society demands the acceptance of one fundamental principle: that each individual man is truly a person. His is a nature, that is, endowed with intelligence and free will. As such he has rights and duties, which together flow as a direct consequence from his nature. These rights and duties are universal and inviolable, and therefore altogether inalienable.*"[37] The later Pastoral *Constitution on the Church in the Modern World* (*Gaudium et Spes*) and the *Declaration on Religious Freedom* (*Dignitatis Humanae*), which were drawn up in the context of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), are based on it.

Just as for Catholicism, the concepts of human rights and dignity are negatively associated with *German Protestantism* of the 19th and early 20th centuries due to the experiences of the French *La Terreur* and the threat to Germany by Napoleon. KANT's vision of a *world civil right*, which he drafted in his book *Zum ewigen Frieden* (Perpetual Peace; 1795/96), therefore finds little resonance. The combination of the following factors has a lasting negative effect on the relationship between Protestant theology and human rights within the framework of the theological reception of the events of the revolution of 1848: on the one hand the acceptance of a God-given order, on the other hand the growing distrust of an optimism of progress and finally a distance to the political sphere.[38] From the point of view of Protestantism at that time, rights can only be derived from God-given instances such as the state or the people, but not from the individual, which leads to the fact that e.g. basic and civil rights of the Frankfurt Constitution of 1848 are recognized, but not human rights as natural rights. In Protestantism, too, the turning point came only under the impact of the Second World War: "*Konfrontiert mit den kirchenfeindlichen Regimen Hitlers und Stalins sah man nun die Notwendigkeit einer letzten Berufungsinstanz, die das jeweilige Recht eines Staates*

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[37] POPE JOHN XIII (1963).
[38] Cf. SCHLIESSER (2019), p. 4.

transzendiert und diesem auch Grenzen zu setzen vermag. In diesem Sinne mussten sich Menschenrechte auch von den Bürger- bzw. Grundrechten abheben, was sich nur durch eine Verankerung im transstaatlichen Völkerrecht erzielen lässt."[39]

Parallel to the emergence of the *UN*, the World *Council of Churches* (WCC) was founded in Amsterdam on 23 August 1948. It received the UDHR from the same year and stressed the importance of the churches' cooperation in the implementation of human rights.[40] The *WCC* General Assembly also proclaimed the social-ethical concept of *responsible society*, which includes tolerance, freedom of expression, and the demand for control of economic and political power. "*Die starke Präsenz angelsächsischer Perspektiven in der ökumenischen Arbeit erleichterte einerseits die Aufnahme der Menschenrechtsthematik; zugleich erschwerte sie jedoch anfänglich dem deutschen Protestantismus die vorbehaltlose theologische Unterstützung.*"[41]

The ecumenical movement, starting from Amsterdam, has continued to deal with human rights issues, which is reflected in the catalogue of *basic human rights standards* adopted by the WCC at its 1975 assembly in Nairobi, partly through the influence of the *Lutheran World Federation* (LWF) and the *World Alliance of Reformed Churches* (WARC). Such standards include the Right to life, cultural identity, participation in political decision-making processes, freedom of opinion, personal dignity and religious freedom.[42]

The call for a conciliar process on Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation at the 1983 Vancouver Assembly initiated a global reform

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[39] Opt. cit., p. 5; Translation: *Confronted with the anticlerical regimes of Hitler and Stalin, one now saw the necessity of a final appeal instance which transcends the respective law of a state and is also able to set limits to it. In this sense, human rights had also to stand out from civil or fundamental rights, which can only be achieved by anchoring them in transnational international law.*

[40] Cf. VILLA-VICENCIO (1999), p. 591.

[41] SCHLIESSER (2019), p. 5; Translation: *The strong presence of Anglo-Saxon perspectives in ecumenical work on the one hand made it easier to take up the topic of human rights; at the same time, however, it initially made it difficult for German Protestantism to give unconditional theological support.*

[42] Cf. SCHLIESSER (2019), p. 5.

movement, which specifically aims at climate protection, justice and peace. Thus the churches of the WCC *"[...] express their commitment to diakonia in serving human need, breaking down barriers between people, promoting one human family in justice and peace, and upholding the integrity of creation, so that all may experience the fullness of life."*[43]

4.2. Dangers in a theological rationale of the concept of human dignity[44]

There are three dangers in dealing with the concept of human dignity, according to the German theologian and current Chairman of the EKD[45] Council, Heinrich BEDFORD-STROHM. These are to be presented shortly:

1. *Danger of contour-lessness*: "*Soll der Menschenrechtsbegriff nicht zu einer Leerformel verkommen, die man ideologisch beliebig auffüllen und instrumentalisieren kann, dann bedarf er näherer Bestimmung.*"[46] Due to its high capacity for consensus and ambiguity, the concept of human dignity runs the risk of being considered empty of content and thus eventually irrelevant. It is therefore questionable, whether, beyond certain intuitively accessible basic contents on which most people could agree (e.g. prohibition of torture), it can gain a profile that gives it an orienting meaning.[47]

2. *Danger of instrumentalisation*: This danger, according to BEDFORD-STROHM, exists in all terms that are highly morally charged, so that – e.g. in the case of a violation – particularly

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[43] WCC (2013, 10 30).

[44] Cf. BEDFORD-STROHM (2011), p. 7–10.

[45] *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland*, i.e. *Evangelical Church in Germany*.

[46] BIELEFELDT (1992), p. 145; Translation: *If the concept of human rights is not to degenerate into an empty formula that can be filled up and instrumentalized ideologically at will, then it needs to be defined more precisely.*

[47] Cf. BEDFORD-STROHM (2011), pp. 7f.

intense feelings are evoked in people. So human dignity can easily be misused as a moral club.[48] He cites as an example the behaviour of the state powers during the Cold War: While the West accused the socialist countries of human rights violations due to the restriction of human freedom, the East pointed to violations of the human rights of the West, citing poverty and unemployment. Furthermore BEDFORD-STROHM states: "*Die nach dem Fehlschlag der Ergreifung Osama bin Ladens nachgeschobene Begründung für den Afghanistan-Krieg, man habe die Menschenrechtsverletzungen der Taliban beenden wollen, ist ein weiteres Beispiel. [...] ich bin davon überzeugt, dass die Gefahr der Instrumentalisierung des Menschenwürde-Begriffs zur Selbstrechtfertigung vielleicht das größte Problem beim Umgang mit diesem Begriff bedeutet.*"[49]

3. _Danger of clerical indoctrination_: As the above remarks on the history of human rights and the relationship between theology and the latter show, the church for a long time hardly stood up for human dignity respectively human rights, but was rather indifferent or even opponent. Not infrequently, through its theology, it has provided the perpetrators with a basis of legitimation for their human rights violating behaviour. "*Kirche und Theologie werden also sehr genau im Sinn behalten müssen, was sie im Hinblick auf ihre eigenen Lernprozesse den mehr oder weniger säkularen Strömungen zu verdanken haben, die allzu oft die christlichen Inhalte besser transportieren als die offiziellen Repräsentanten der christlichen Religion. [Daher] ist es umso wichtiger für Theologie und Kirche, sich selbst Rechenschaft abzulegen über ihr Verhältnis zur Mensch-*

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[48] Cf. opt. cit., p. 8.

[49] Opt. cit., p. 9; Translation: *The subsequent reasoning for the war in Afghanistan after the failure of the capture of Osama bin Laden, that they wanted to put an end to the Taliban's human rights violations, is another example. [...] I am convinced that the danger of instrumentalising the concept of human dignity for self-justification is perhaps the greatest problem in dealing with this concept.*

enwürde und nach Übereinstimmungen mit Menschen anderer Weltanschauungen zu suchen."[50]

4.3. A selection of rationale models[51]

In order to ward off the dangers mentioned above, it is important that theological ethics, too, endeavors to participate in the human rights discussion by introducing rationale for human dignity and rights from a specifically Christian perspective.

In the following, a brief overview of central models of rationale of the concepts of human dignity and human rights will be given. They are categorized according to their standpoint and goal: explicitly Christian theological approaches, explicitly non-theological approaches and finally approaches that propose a combination of the above.

It cannot be a claim here to deliver a conclusive catalogue of rationale models; this would also be presumptuous and inappropriate, as these are predominantly the models of German, Protestant theologians; thus only a small part of the rich theological insights and considerations is presented.

Each of these approaches attempts to find answers to four questions that are relevant in a theological discussion: To what extent is a theological rationale of human rights possible or necessary? What is the relationship of the universality of human rights to the universality of God's saving action in Christ? Does the former fundamentally exclude a particular rationale like a Christian theological one? And can from the latter, God's legal action with man, even specific human rights be deduced?[52]

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[50] BEDFORD-STROHM (2011), pp. 9f; Translation: *Church and theology will therefore have to keep very carefully in mind what they owe in terms of their own learning processes to the more or less secular currents that all too often convey Christian contents better than the official representatives of the Christian religion. [Therefore] it is all the more important for theology and the church to give account to themselves about their relationship to human dignity and to look for agreements with people of other world views.*

[51] V. BEDFORD-STROHM (2011), p. 11–16; HUBER (1992), pp. 591–594; SCHLIESSER (2019), pp. 6–13.

[52] Cf. SCHLIESSER (2019), p. 6.

4.3.1. Theological approaches

4.3.1.1. Orthodox tradition: Holiness of Life[53]

There is no uniform attitude towards human rights within the Greek Orthodox Church, as some see in them a danger to the Orthodox identity, as modern human rights are alien to Orthodox theology and an expression of modern secular fundamentalism.[54] PATRIARCH BARTHOLOMAIOS I – Ecumenical Patriarch and Archbishop of Constantinople – counters that the idea of human rights is by no means alien to the Orthodox tradition. The core concept of orthodox anthropology is the concept of the *person*, derived from the image of God. This personhood gives man the highest, inalienable dignity, nothing is more holy than the person.[55] "*Wenn die Orthodoxe Theologie von der Theosis, von der Vergöttlichung des Menschen, spricht und ihn als 'ζῷον θεούμενον', 'Wesen bestimmt, Gott zu werden', definiert, dann bestätigt sie ihm diesen höchsten Wert und benennt seine wahre Vermenschlichung durch die Gnade Gottes in der Gemeinschaft der Kirche. Nichts kann hier die Verwandlung des Menschen zum bloßen Mittel rechtfertigen.*"[56]

4.3.1.2. Jürgen MOLTMANN: Christological rationale, or: God's right and human right

Jürgen MOLTMANN – a Reformed theologian – follows a Christological approach. Through the event of the cross man has been reconciled with God, sin has been overcome and a new covenant of God with man has been made. From the covenant, which applies to all people, MOLTMANN derives the inalienable dignity of every human being, which demands political and social liberation; thus human rights are to be understood as a concretization of this inalienable dignity.[57]

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[53] Cf. HUBER (1992), p. 592; PATRIARCH BARHOLOMAIOS I (2017).

[54] Cf. PATRIARCH BARTHOLOMAIOS I (2017).

[55] Cf. loc. cit.

[56] Loc. cit.; Translation: *When Orthodox theology speaks of Theosis, of the divinisation of man, and defines him as 'ζῷον θεούμενον', 'Being destined to become God', it confirms his supreme value and names his true humanization by the grace of God in the community of the Church. Nothing here can justify the transformation of man into a mere means.*

[57] Cf. MOLTMANN (1979), pp. 19–35.

From the new covenant, however, God's right to man also arises. Three things follow from this divine right: *Firstly*, a commitment to all human life; *secondly*, a responsibility as human rights violations continue to occur; and *thirdly*, the reconciliation service of the churches. With a connection to God's covenant with mankind, this approach "from above", MOLTMANN substantiates the universal claim of human rights.

One criticism of this rationale model is among other things that this theological revelation approach does not pay enough attention to the factual, historical-secular development of human rights, which often took place against the resistance of church and theology, and does not sufficiently consider it. Furthermore, this argument works *"[...] mit einer Äquivokation, wenn sie die Erwählung des Menschen zum Bundesgenossen des freien Gottes, auf die gerade kein Anspruch besteht, sowie Gottes Gebot an den Menschen, das Gehorsam fordert, und die Stellung der Menschen im politischen Gemeinwesen, die durch einander wechselseitig begrenzende Ansprüche gekennzeichnet ist, mit dem gleichen Begriff des Rechts belegt.*"[58]

4.3.1.3. Konrad HILPERT: Recourse to the Christian roots

HILPERT'S thesis is that human rights have Christian roots and were created under the influence of Christianity. Starting point of his argumentation is thereby the category of *equivalence*, which however does not mean *congruence*. In his argumentation, HILPERT is very keen on *"[...] einerseits die theologische Begründbarkeit der einzelnen Menschenrechtsgehalte [zu bejahen], andererseits aber auch dem Umstand Rechnung [zu tragen], daß die Ausformulierung, Anerkennung und Durchsetzung der Menschenrechte historisch nicht unmittelbare Konsequenzen theologischer Reflexionen und kirchlichen Handelns waren.*"[59] For example, he sees correspondences between the UDHR

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[58] HUBER (1992), p.592; Translation*: [...] with an equivocation, if it gives the same concept of law to the election of man as a covenant of the free God, to which there is just no claim, as well as to God's commandment to man, which demands obedience, and to the position of man in the political community, which is characterized by mutually limiting claims.*

[59] HILPERT (1991), p. 189 (emph. in original); Translation: *[...] on the one hand [to affirm] the theological justifiability of the individual human right contents, but on the other hand also to take into account the fact that the formulation, recognition and implementation of human rights were historically not immediate consequences of theological reflections and church action.*

and the Decalogue (Ex 20:2–17, Deut 5:6–21): The commandments of the Decalogue name, as representative of all kinds, some elementary life situations in which the life and living together granted by God is particularly endangered. These – apart from the instructions concerning the relationship with God – are also found in the human rights catalogues, admittedly in the form of legal assurances to the individual as such, not in that of prohibitions that directly address the individual full citizen of the people of the federation.[60] HILPERT sees further correspondences e.g. between the biblical covenant and modern contract theories – the aim of both institutions is to guarantee fundamental, inalienable rights for the purpose of peaceful coexistence.

This approach succeeds in drawing substantive connections between the Christian tradition and human rights, without, however, unduly appropriating the latter. "*Bisweilen scheint er* [HILPERT] *dabei allerdings den historischen Einfluss der christlichen Tradition zu überschätzen.*"[61]

4.3.2. Non-theological approaches

4.3.2.1. Martin HONECKER: Renunciation of a Christian rationale

HONECKER completely renounces a Christian rationale, since only in this way the universality and secular character of the concept of human dignity and rights could be respected. In view of their historical development it is just about forbidden to want to give a subsequent theological rationale, because otherwise an inadmissible appropriation as well as making human rights dependent on a particular context of tradition would threaten.[62] Rather, human rights are based on a humane global ethic, whose basic condition is in turn human reason; therefore, the content and rationale of human rights and human dignity can only be determined within the framework of rational communication, i.e. in the disciplines of the human sciences.[63]

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[60] Cf. HILPERT (1991), p. 190.
[61] SCHLIESSER (2019), p. 7; Translation: *At times, however, he [Hilpert] seems to overestimate the historical influence of the Christian tradition.*
[62] Cf. HUBER (1992), p. 591.
[63] Cf. HONECKER (1978); SCHLIESSER (2019), p. 8.

The warning against unreflected and inadequate appropriation of the human right idea by theology is to be positively appreciated. However, HONECKER ignores the fact that disagreement can also exist about what is *reasonable*: Even *reasonable* people can come to different conclusions. Furthermore are *"[...] die Menschenrechte [...] in ihrer Interpretation auf unterschiedliche Perspektiven angewiesen."*[64] This results from their openness to and need for rationale.

4.3.2.2. Trutz RENDTORFF: A justification-theological approach

RENDTORFF is less interested in a theological rationale of human rights than in pointing out the structural correspondence between theology and human rights. To this end, he places the Reformation's doctrine of justification on the one hand and the unavailable human dignity and human rights on the other in parallel. Man is justified by grace alone, without his own action and performance; the same is true of human dignity. And just as the freedom inherent in the grace of God is inalienable and indispensable to every human being, so also the freedom and humanity of man is preceding every political order and not constituted by it. "*Das moderne säkulare Konzept der Menschenrechte anerkennt diese Rechte unabhängig von der empirischen Disposition des Individuums und seiner Fragilität. In dieser Hinsicht korrespondiert das säkulare Konzept der Menschenrechte mit dem religiösen Konzept der Freiheit als Unabhängigkeit von der empirischen Welt.*"[65]

This approach succeeds in locating the Christian faith in its functional content within the framework of the modern consciousness of freedom and truth. However, there is a danger of too much concentration on an individualistic concept of freedom, which is in contradiction to the Reformation concept of freedom with its focus on the at-

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[64] SCHLIESSER (2019), p. 8; Translation: *[...] human rights [...] dependent on different perspectives in their interpretation.*

[65] RENDTORFF (1987), p. 114; Translation: *The modern secular concept of human rights recognizes these rights regardless of the empirical disposition of the individual and its fragility. In this respect, the secular concept of human rights corresponds to the religious concept of freedom as independence from the empirical world.*

tachment of the individual to the community. Furthermore, as HUBER states, the critical potential of the Jewish-Christian tradition, which could be brought into the search for an appropriate understanding of human rights today, is not sufficiently brought to bear. Compared to a given political concept of human rights, the Christian faith appears to have an affirmative function alone, not a critical-constructive one.[66]

4.3.2.3. Heiner BIELEFELDT: Human rights – the core of an intercultural "overlapping consensus"

BIELEFELDT also speaks out against the appropriation of the idea of human rights by a certain tradition, culture, religion etc. He sees a threatening relativization of human rights if universalism were to be undermined. He therefore postulates three leitmotifs that shape the normative profile of human rights: 1. Universal claim of validity, 2. Content focus on freedom and participatory equality, 3. Political and legal intent to enforce. In referring to John RAWLS, human rights from BIELEFELDT'S perspective are at the core of an *intercultural overlapping consensus*.[67] This is shown by three aspects: *Firstly*, due to the critical dimension of human rights, *overlapping consensus* is a normative and not a descriptive concept, as it clarifies, for example, the limits of tolerance. *Secondly*, human rights as a political and legal concept would have only a limited normative scope: "*Menschenrechte wollen weder ein umfassendes Ethos noch eine globale Einheitskultur durchsetzen noch gar eine für die gesamte Menschheit verbindliche Weltanschauung oder 'Zivilreligion' zustandebringen.*"[68] *Thirdly*, BIELEFELDT points to a possible interpretation of human rights beyond the political-legal dimension.

With his postulate of overlapping consensus, BIELEFELDT avoids a culturalistic attachment to human rights by a particular religion, tradition, etc.; rather, he succeeds in demonstrating that in many cultures there are points of contact for human rights. In doing so, he counters

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[66] Cf. HUBER (1992), p. 592.
[67] Cf. RAWLS (1993), pp. 133f.
[68] BIELEFELDT (2003), p. 138; Translation: *Human rights do not seek to impose a comprehensive ethos or a global uniform culture, nor do they seek to establish a worldview or 'civil religion' that is binding on the whole of humanity.*

the misunderstanding found in non-Western countries that the idea of human rights is a purely Western concept whose recognition is dependent on the adoption of "Western values". SCHLIESSER says that BIELEFELDT'S rejection of the attempt to show the *roots* of human rights in particular cultures must be seen critically. For it is precisely this kind of anchoring in the content of one's own tradition that must be at stake if an *intercultural overlapping consensus* is to be demonstrated with human rights. Otherwise this consensus may remain on the formal level and thus be weakened. The human rights are not only open to rationale, but *in need of rationale*. In order to strengthen the idea of human rights, it is precisely the ability to connect with the content and the deep inner connection of a specific tradition with human rights that must be worked out, even if, of course, without claims to exclusivity.[69]

4.3.2.4. Wolfgang HUBER and Heinz Eduard TÖDT: Analogy and difference

Perceiving the historical development and the secular character of human rights and rejecting a derivation of human rights from reason alone, HUBER and TÖDT deliberately refrain from a theological rationale. Rather, in a first step they look for analogies between the secular human rights traditions and basic assumptions of the Christian faith. In a second step they then determine the differences between the two in order to show the limits of the respective sphere. One of the aims is to develop criteria for a theologically reflected contact with human rights. The starting point of their approach is the postulate that human rights should promote and safeguard the individual within the community. Therefore, the basic figure of human rights consists of the three elements *freedom, equality,* and *participation*: "*Dieser Grundfigur eignet auf der einen Seite säkulare Eigenständigkeit; doch sie steht zugleich in Entsprechung zu Grundinhalten des christlichen Glaubens. Die durch Gott in Christus geschenkte Freiheit, die in der Annahme aller Menschen durch Gott gegebene Gleichheit und die in der Teilhabe am Geist begründete Befähigung zur aktiven Mitwirkung am gemeinsamen Leben verleihen den drei Grundmomenten von Freiheit, Gleichheit und Teilhabe zugleich eine Zuspitzung, die*

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[69] Cf. SCHLIESSER (2019), p. 11.

über das in einer säkularen Rechtsordnung jeweils Realisierte hinaus-weist."[70] But as difference between some human rights interpretations and the Christian faith it was to be stated e.g. with regard to freedom that the understanding of freedom of the Christian faith always also includes a certain measure of sociality, which means a clear contradiction to a sole focus on individual freedom.

The strengths of this model are that it acknowledges the secular roots of human rights and at the same time enables theology to engage constructively and critically in the human rights debate. Furthermore, HUBER and TÖDT explicitly seek the exchange with other disciplines, since they are aware of their perspective. It is critically to question the thesis that from the historical genesis of human rights, which took place to a large extent without or against the Christian churches, the impossibility or inadequacy of a theological rationale for human rights follows. It is more plausible to subject the history of theology itself to a critical analysis and to point out where relevant biblical passages were not properly interpreted.[71]

4.3.3. Combination models
4.3.3.1. Catholic tradition: Double Rationale
In Catholic tradition human dignity is based in two respects: natural law and salvation history-Christology. Based on the doctrine of natural law it is postulated that the dignity of man is anchored in his God-given rational nature. From the perspective of salvation history and Christology it follows that the image of man as God-given in creation is not abolished by sin and that God in Jesus Christ has *united himself with every human being.*[72] In order to meet the fellow man, who also carries Christ in himself, appropriately, the commitment to human rights is both a natural obligation and a necessary element of the wit-

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[70] HUBER (1992), p. 593; Translation: *On the one hand this basic figure is entitled to secular independence; but at the same time, it corresponds to the basic contents of the Christian faith. The freedom given by God in Christ, the God-given equality in the acceptance of all human beings and the capacity for active participation in common life based on participation in the Spirit give the three basic moments of freedom, equality and participation a further point which goes beyond what is realized in a secular legal order.*
[71] Cf. SCHLIESSER (2019), p. 10.
[72] HUBER (1992), p. 592.

ness of the Gospel. Both rationales would not contradict each other but would *complement* each other.

It remains unclear in this approach what is meant by *complement*. Furthermore, from the Protestant point of view the substantial ontological premise of the Catholic perspective is problematic.[73] While Catholic theology assumes that despite sin in man there is an undestroyed core of the image of God and human reason has preserved its essential integrity, for Protestant theology the image of God has a relational dimension: Both the image of God in man as well as human reason are corrupted by sin and therefore need God's grace and faithfulness to restore.[74]

4.3.3.2. Heinrich BEDFORD-STROHM: The Biblical Option for the Weak as Rationale for Human Dignity – Human Rights from the Perspective of Public Theology[75]

BEDFORD-STROHM states first of all that there are above all two points in the Christian tradition that are important for the establishment of human dignity: On the one hand the image of God, on the other hand the justification of the sinner by God's grace. In his opinion a third one had to join in: The biblical *option for the weak*.[76]

In the Old and New Testament as well as in Christian and Jewish tradition the partisanship for the disadvantaged, the victims of poverty and abuse of power is prominent. According to BEDFORD-STROHM it is also not a moral accessory but rather the centre of faith. This is shown among other things in the self-revelation of God in the thorn bush and the promise to lead the people of Israel out of Egypt (Ex 3,7f) as well as in the close connection of the Decalogue with a reminder of God's act of liberation. Hence the human standing up for

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[73] Cf. SCHLIESSER (2019), p. 12.
[74] Cf. BONHOEFFER (1992), p. 179.
[75] V. opt. cit., pp. 14–20.
[76] Since poverty is not limited to material poverty, BEDFORD-STROHM uses the term *option for the weak* instead of the term *option for the poor*, which was coined by liberation theology.

justice is not a moral regulation, but inseparably connected with the knowledge of God himself.[77] From a Christian perspective, God's radical option for the weak finds its culmination in the death of Jesus on the cross.

"*Der tiefste Grund dafür, dass Christen die Idee der Menschenwürde und der damit verbundenen Menschenrechte heute nicht nur bejahen können, sondern sie als integrativen Bestandteil ihres Glaubens zu betrachten haben, liegt also in Gottes Mitleiden mit den Leidenden in dieser Welt. Der göttlichen Option für die Schwachen entspricht eine menschliche Option für die Schwachen, die in dem Einsatz für Menschenwürde und Menschenrechte ihren konkreten Ausdruck findet.*"[78]

In recourse to the biblical texts BEDFORD-STROHM states that the theological tradition can remind of human fallibility – theologically: sinfulness – which is why human dignity and rights from the perspective of theological ethics are a critical yardstick for every political and state action, but also for every individual and institutional church behavior.

Christian ethics need to fall back on biblical-theological resources for the interpretation and handling of the concepts of human dignity and human rights. But the dialogue with the other – religious and non-religious – traditions is just as important. This very bilingualism is one of the essential characteristics of *public theology*.[79]

Thus, this model is on the one hand characterized by the fact that it considers the need for rationale of human rights in so far as it takes

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[77] Cf. BEDFORD-STROHM (2011), p. 15.

[78] Opt. cit., p. 16; Translation: *The deepest reason why Christians today cannot only affirm the idea of human dignity and the human rights connected with it, but have to regard it as an integral part of their faith, therefore, lies in God's compassion with the suffering in this world. The divine option for the weak corresponds to a human option for the weak, which finds its concrete expression in the commitment to human dignity and human rights.*

[79] Cf. opt. cit., p. 18. *Public theology* seeks on the one hand to determine the public's relevance to theology, on the other hand to determine the public relevance of theology and to conduct theology from these two points of view [v. VÖGELE (1994), p. 421f.].

up their inner connection to the Christian tradition. On the other hand, it does not disregard the openness of human rights to rationale, since it self-reflectively acknowledges that it is not the only model for interpretation, but one of many. For human rights depend on this diversity of interpretation possibilities and approaches because of their claim to universality.

5. Summary

A goal of this compilation was to give an overview of different current attempts and possibilities within the German theological landscape for the approach to human dignity and the human rights resulting from it.

The theological models of rationale, which either completely renounce a Christian rationale, use just Christianity as main reference or try to link both positions with each other, offer a variety of arguments and each has its own legitimacy.

For practice, however, the author believes that the last model described by BEDFORD-STROHM is particularly attractive.

Firstly, the *danger of contour-lessness* can be avoided if the concept of human dignity – in recourse to the own biblical tradition – is interpreted in the sense of an *option for the weak*. The aim must be to work against social hardship, political oppression, for climate justice etc.

Secondly: The *danger of instrumentalisation* can be countered if the concept of human dignity is consistently understood as a critical principle, that first and foremost draws attention to one's own failings. The ecumenical community of churches, whose common ground is the membership of the in the body of Christ, breaks national boundaries and breaks loyalties which result from such limitations. The churches have therefore in a very special way the opportunity and the duty to demand human rights in their respective countries.[80]

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[80] Cf. BEDFORD-STROHM (2011), p. 18.

The special attractiveness of this model lies *thirdly* in the high readiness for dialogue with other, also non-theological disciplines. In the pluralistic, globalized world in which we live, an equal and appreciative dialogue is indispensable for peaceful coexistence. The *danger of clerical indoctrination* can be countered in so far as it is repeatedly made aware that the churches have not always been and are not always praiseworthy in dealing with human rights and human dignity. For this reason, dialogue and alliances with other non-church groups must be seriously sought in order to protect human dignity.

Finally, from a Christian perspective it should be mentioned that Christians live and act out of hope for the *Kingdom of God*, a kingdom in which neither laws nor justice will be necessary, because human dignity will be finally recognized. But laws and justice are still necessary, so that violence, injustice, oppression etc. do not gain the upper hand. It is therefore also essential for the churches, as witnesses of the Gospel and the hope contained therein, to stand up for human dignity and human rights; because the *Kingdom of God*, which began with Christ in the world, becomes visible where material resources are fairly shared, the climate is protected, and human dignity is respected without compromise.

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DIALOG ANTAR-PERADABAN: Acting Together in Resisting Violence and Extremism in In-

Dr. Johanes Mardimin[1]

ABSTRAK:

Artikel ini membahas sejarah Islam dan perkembangan Islam Politik di Jawa, terutama kelompok fundamentalis, radikalis, dan ekstremis; berikut upaya-upaya yang bisa dilakukan untuk membatasi, mengantisipasi, dan mengatasi dampak-dampaknya. Artikel ini disusun berdasarkan hasil studi literatur dan refleksi atas berbagai kegiatan yang selama ini dilakukan oleh berbagai piak untuk menyikapi perkembangan tersebut. Dari hasil studi ini diketahui: fundamentalisme yang melahirkan radikalisme dan ektremisme itu ibarat penyakit pandemik yang jika tidak ditangani dengan baik dapat terus meluas dan semakin sulit dikendalikan. Orang-orang yang terpapar sangat sulit dipulihkan; dan akan terus menularkan kepada siapapun yang rentan. Di banyak negara, fenomena ini direspon sebagai masalah besar; karena pada fase lanjutnya cenderung mewujud dalam berbagai gerakan yang meresahkan dan membahayakan. Karena itu, langkah-langkah kongkret untuk pengendaliannya harus dipikirkan dan dilakukan. Sejauh ini, dialog dan kerja sama antar-[umat ber-] agama dalam berbagai aksi-aksi sosial dianggap cara terbaik yang dapat dilakukan; setidaknya untuk membatasi ruang gerak dan mencegah meluasnya penyebatan "pandemik" tersebut. Supaya lebih efektif, gerakan itu perlu diperluas menjadi "dialog antar-peradaban".

Kata-kata Kunci: fundamentalisme, radikalisme, terorisme, dialog, dan peradaban.

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PENDAHULUAN

Sejak berakhirnya era Perang Dingin, ketegangan ideologis antar-kawasan—yang dulu diidentifikasi sebagai Blok Barat yang kapitalis-demokratis dan Blok Timur yang sosialis-komunis—bergeser ke ketegangan antar-peradaban. Peradaban Barat yang direpresentasikan Amerika Serikat dan sekutu-sekutunya, di satu pihak, berhadapan dengan "musuh-musuh barunya" yang lahir dari peradaban Cina (konfusianisme) dan Arab (Islamisme), di pihak lain. Pergeseran dari ketegangan ideologis ke bentuk-bentuk peradaban ini seolah mem-benarkan ramalan Samuel P. Huntington tentang *The clash of civiliza-tions* yang menjadi polemik sejak awal tahun 1990-an.[2]

Menurut ramalan Huntington, perang antar-peradaban akan meli-batkan negara-negara inti dari peradaban-peradaban besar dunia, yai-tu antara peradaban Barat berhadapan dengan peradaban Timur; dan yang paling sering antara kaum muslim dan non-muslim.[3] Masalahnya adalah: ketika ketegangan antar-peradaban tersebut bermetamorfose menjadi ketegangan politik—meski tidak pernah *pure* seratus persen politik, ketidak-seimbangan kekuatan antara kedua kelompok perada-ban yang bersitegang telah memicu tumbuh dan berkembangnya fun-damentalisme agama dengan gerakan-gerakannya yang meresahkan; bukan hanya bagi pihak-pihak yang berhadapan, melainkan juga bagi siapa pun dan di belahan dunia mana pun. Seperti tercatat dalam se-jarah, pihak-pihak yang lemah cenderung melakukan perlawanan da-lam bentuk *under-ground resistance* melalui teror, dan jika ada kes-empatan akan muncul ke permukaan seperti aksi-aksi pengeboman yang terjadi di berbagai belahan dunia sejak awal abad ke-21 ini. Ka-rena itu, tidak mengherankan jika ekstremisme, radikalisme, terorisme, serta konflik dan kekerasan bernuansa agama yang meru-pakan bentuk-bentuk gerakan fundamentalisme akan terus me-nyeruak dan meruyak ke mana-mana. Meskipun target sasaran gerakan itu adalah representasi-representasi peradaban Barat, tetapi

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[2] Sebagaimana dikemukakan Huntington dalam *The Clash of Civilizations and Remaking of World Or-der*, yang diterbitkan di New York pada 1996, sejak dipublikasikan pertama kali dalam bentuk artikel berjudul *"The Clash of Civilizations?"* oleh journal Foreign Affairs pada 1993, orakel Hanting-ton tersebut terus menjadi bahan diskusi hingga tiga tahun lamanya.

[3] *Ibid*. Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations ….,. Chapter 12.*

dalam realitanya, korbannya tidak pernah tebang pilih.[4] Siapa pun, simpatisan dan pengikut dari peradaban manapun, bahkan orang yang tidak pernah berpikir tentang perang antar-peradaban pun, bisa menjadi korban teror ketika mereka berada di tempat-tempat yang menjadi target pelaku teror. Peristiwa WTC 11 September 2001 di Amerika Serikat, Bom Bali 1 dan 2, Bom di Kedutaan Besar Australia di Jakarta, dan Bom di Hotel JW Marriot di Jakarta, dengan sangat jelas menunjukkan bahwa target teroris adalah tempat-tempat yang meru-pakan representasi dari peradaban Barat. Contoh-contoh kasus itu sekaligus membuktikan bahwa terorisme menyasar siapa saja, kapan saja, dan di mana saja; tidak peduli dari golongan mana, dan ber-pihak kepada siapa.

Kondisi seperti itu oleh banyak pihak masih terhitung relatif "normal". Menurut Huntington, yang lebih berbahaya jika kondisi itu terus berkembang dan terjadi *balance of power* di antara negera-negara inti. Meski demikian, perkembangan yang terjadi selama dua-dasawarsa pertama abad ke-21 ini memaksa negera-negara di berbagai belahan dunia untuk tidak menyepelekan aksi-aksi terorisme. Bahkan, negara-negara yang tidak didominasi oleh ke-lompok Islam fundamentalis pun tetap menyikapinya secara serius. Mereka sadar betul bahwa, sepanjang ketegangan antar-peradaban masih terjadi, fundamentalisme akan berkembang dan mewujud da-lam bentuk gerakan-gerakan yang meresahkan, seperti: konflik dan kekerasan bernuansa agama, radikalisme, ekstremisme, dan terorisme.

Artikel ini tidak akan membahas ramalan Huntington mengenai *The clash of civilizations*. Artikel ini akan membahas tentang perkem-bangan Islam di Jawa, khususnya tentang tumbuh dan berkem-bangnya kelompok-kelompok Islam Politik yang cenderung radikal dan ekstrem, berikut upaya-upaya yang dapat dilakukan untuk mem-batasi ruang gerak dan perkembangannya; serta untuk ngantisipasi dan menghadapi berbagai kemungkinan terjadinya kekerasan bernu-ansa agama dan gerakan-gerakan radikalisme-ekstremisme di

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[4] Lihat, Wendel Bell, *The Clash of Civilizations and Universal Human Values*, Jurnal of Futures Studies, February 2002, 6 (3), hlm. 2.

masyarakat. Hal ini sangatlah penting, terutama jika kita mengingat Indonesia sebagai negara berpenduduk muslim terbesar di dunia. Indonesia adalah lahan subur bagi tumbuh dan berkembangnya kelompok-kelompok fundamentalis tersebut; sehingga, dalam konteks perang antar-peradaban, objek-objek yang menjadi representasi peradaban Barat menjadi sangat rawan terhadap aksi-aksi terorisme. Dalam konteks semacam itu, langkah-langkah kongkret untuk mencegah dan mengatasinya harus terus dipikirkan dan dilakukan.

Sejauh ini, program-program yang dilakukan oleh Pemerintah, seperti deradikalisasi dan pembentukan Forum-forum Komunikasi antar-Umat Beragama (FKUB) di setiap Daerah terkesan belum ada hasilnya. Kesan tersebut muncul, karena kelompok-kelompok fundamentalis yang cenderung radikal, intoleran, dan ekstrem masih terus berkembang secara signifikan. Artikel ini disusun berdasarkan hasil studi literatur tentang historisitas ke_Islam-an di Jawa, dan refleksi atas kegiatan-kegiatan dialog antar-peradaban yang telah dilakukan. Harapannya, dari hasil penelitian ini dapat dirumuskan agenda-agenda kegiatan yang dapat dilakukan; setidaknya untuk membatasi ruang gerak dan perkembangan fundamentalisme yang radikal, intoleran, dan ekstrem tersebut.

ISLAM COMMUNITY IN NORTH COAST OF CENTRAL JAWA:
Cikal Bakal dan Watak Dasar Ke-Islam-an di Jawa

Sejarah Jawa mencatat bahwa, Islam masuk ke Pulau Jawa melalui pesisir utara sekitar abad ke-13 Masehi, atau sekitar tahun 1250 (Raffles, 1814). Dari Jawa Tengah Utara baru kemudian menyebar ke arah barat dan timur, dan meluas ke wilayah-wilayah pedalaman. Kesimpulan ini didukung oleh fakta yang tak terbantahkan bahwa, teknologi transportasi melalui jalur laut merupakan moda transportasi yang paling tua yang menandai pergerakan manusia antar-pulau dan antar-kontinental. Sementara itu, laut selatan Jawa tidak dapat dilayari. Ini adalah salah satu bukti bahwa masuknya Islam ke

Jawa melalui pantai utara Jawa[5]. Memang benar; ada pendapat lain yang menyatakan bahwa, Islam telah masuk Pulau Jawa dua abad sebelumnya. Pendapat ini didasarkan pada temuan inskripsi berwujud batu nisan makam seorang wanita bernama Fatimah binti Maimun bin Hibat Allah, di Leran, Gersik, Jawa Timur, bertahun 475 Hijriah (Azra, 1994: 25; Nur Syam, 2005: 62; dan Nengah Bawa Atmadja, 2010: 2-3) [6]. Menurut Kalender Masehi, angka tahun itu setara dengan tahun 1082 Masehi. Tetapi, temuan dan pendapat ini juga diragukan: apakah batu nisan itu benar-benar nisan kuburan di Leran, karena orang yang meninggal itu diduga orang muslim non-Jawa (non-Indonesia). Ada dugaan, batu nisan itu dibawa ke Jawa sebagai pem-berat kapal (Ricklefs, 1981).[7]

Kalau mengacu pendapat Woodward, kedatangan Islam di Jawa bersamaan dengan terjadinya goncangan kosmologis yang menghe-bohkan dunia kala itu.[8] Kemungkinan, yang dimaksud goncangan kosmologis Woodward adalah terjadinya black-death, wabah yang diberitakan membunuh dua-pertiga penduduk Eropa ketika itu. Ole J. Benedictow mencatat: *"….the Black Death killed 50 million people in the 14th century, or 60 per cent of Europe's entire population. The disastrous mortal disease known as the Black Death spread across Europe in the years 1346-1353."*[9] Kalau temuan Woodward benar, be-rarti, Islam masuk di Jawa pada pertengahan abad ke-14.

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[5] Menurut sejarahnya, teknologi pesawat terbang baru ditemukan pada awal abad ke-20. Pesawat terbang pertama diterbangkan oleh Wright Bersaudara—Orville Wright dan Wilbur Wright—pada tahun 1903. Wright menerbangkan pesawat rancangan sendiri yang dinamakan Flyer di sekitar Amerika Serikat. Lihat: https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pesawat_terbang.

[6] Lihat: Azyumardi Azra (1994), *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*, Penerbit Mizan, Bandung, hlm. 25; Nur Syam (2005), *Islam Pesisir*, Penerbit Lembaga Kajian isalm dan Sosial-kemasyarakatan (LkiS), Yogyakarta, hlm. 62; Nengah Bawa Atmadja (2010), *Genealogi Keruntuhan Majapahit: Islamisasi, toleransi, dan Pemertahanan Agama Hindu di Bali,* Penerbit Pustaka Pelajar Yogyakarta.

[7] M.C. Ricklefs (1981), *A History of Modern Indonesia*, Published by Mcmillan Education Ltd. Houndmills, Bashingstoke, Hampshire, RG21 2XS and London Companies and representatives throughout the world.

[8] *Op.Cit* Mark R. Woodward, 2012 [1999], *Islam Jawa ….* Halaman xvii.

[9] https://www.google.com/search? client=firefox-b-d&q=black+death diakses pada 06 April 2020.

Uraian ini tidak akan mempersoalkan dan membahas berbagai pendapat tentang kapan Islam masuk Jawa. Selain hanya akan membuang banyak waktu, berkutat pada perdebatan waktu kedatangan Islam di Jawa juga tidak banyak manfaatnya. Sebab, internalisasi nilai-nilai ideologis (termasuk keyakinan Islam) tidak mungkin berjalan dalam waktu yang singkat dan dalam skala yang massif. Seperti infiltrasi-ideologis pada umumnya, Islamisasi di Jawa pasti berlangsung secara perlahan-lahan, mulai dari individu-individu, kemudian berkembang menjadi kelompok-kelompok yang ditandai oleh berkembangnya komunitas-komunitas Islam di sekitarnya. Kalau pun dapat berjalan relatif progresif karena kesamaan-kesamaan unsur mistik di dalamnya, infiltrasi ideologis tetap saja tidak semudah membalik telapak tangan; butuh proses dan waktu yang tidak singkat. Dalam konteks percakapan ini, yang sangat relevan dan penting untuk dikemukakan adalah bahwa, Islam berkembang di Pulau Jawa, pertama-tama, dibawa oleh orang-orang dari kalangan syi'ah, kalangan Islam mistik (sufistik); dan bukan dari kalangan Islam politik. Corak ke-Islam-an seperti itu, ada yang menyebutnya sebagai Islam Sufi atau Islam kultural; yaitu Islam yang mewujud secara substantif dalam lembaga-lembaga kebudayaan dan peradaban Islam lainnya, seperti: pendidikan, seni, dan lain sebagainya (Azra, 2000).

Menurut Woodward, salah satu bukti bahwa Islam yang masuk di Jawa adalah Islam mistik adalah model khotbah-khotbahnya yang cenderung berbau mistik.[10] Pendapat ini akan menemukan logika kebenarannya ketika dikonfrontasikan dengan orientasi keagamaan orang Jawa saat itu, yang sebagian beragama Hindu atau Budda; dan sebagian lainnya percaya pada animisme dan dinamisme yang bersifat mistis. Logikanya, Islam tidak mungkin akan begitu mudah diterima oleh orang Jawa, jika Islam yang "ditawarkan" tidak memiliki kesamaan unsur atau beririsan dengan keyakinan mereka. Hal ini, membenarkan pendapat S.Q. Fatimi—seorang sejarawan Asia—yang menyatakan bahwa, Islam yang sampai di Jawa adalah Islam yang

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[10] Lihat Mark R. Woodward (1989), Islam in Java: *Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*, University of Arizona Press, Tuscon; Association for Asian Studies Monograph, 45. Edisi Indonesia buku ini diterbitkan oleh *LkiS*, Yogyakarta denga judul *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normatif Versus Kebatinan,* 1999. Lihat Edisi Indonesia hlm. xviii.

disebarkan oleh kaum pendakwah sufi dari wilayah Bengal.[11] Seperti yang dikemukakan Woodward, Fatimi juga menunjukkan bukti: corak Islam yang bersifat mistik yang bersesuai dengan sikap mistik masyarakat Jawa sebelumnya. Jika demikian, Islam yang masuk ke Pulau Jawa bukanlah Islam tus (asli, *taken for granted*) Arab; melainkan Islam yang sudah mengalami akulturasi dengan budaya lokal di Bengal, wilayah bagian timur India, tempat di mana para pendakwah sufi yang menyebarkan Islam ke Jawa berasal.[12] Meminjam istilah yang dipakai Azra (1994) dan Syam (2005), Islam yang datang di Jawa bukan lagi Islam yang bertradisi besar (bertradisi Arab), melainkan Islam yang telah memperoleh sentuhan tradisi lokal.[13]

Menurut temuan Woodward (1999, 2012), kelompok *Ahlul al-sunnah wa al-jamaah* yang kemudian berkembang menjadi kelompok Islam Tradisionalis yang sekarang kita kenal sebagai Islam Nahdlatoel Oelama baru datang kemudian. Saya kira, tidak sulit diduga bahwa, Islam yang dibawa oleh kelompok ini juga memiliki kesamaan dengan pendahulunya, kelompok Syi'ah yang membawa Islam yang "berbau" mistik. Logikanya, kemungkinannya juga sangat kecil akan diterima oleh kalangan masyarakat Jawa, jika Islam yang mereka bawa tidak memiliki kesamaan unsur dengan budaya orang Jawa yang kuat mistiknya. Dengan demikian, dapat dikatakan bahwa corak keislaman di wilayah pesisir utara Pulau Jawa bersifat fleksibel, kompromis, moderat, dan bijaksana. Seperti dikemukakan Fealy (2003), fleksibilitas kelompok Islam tradisionalis tersebut mengacu kaidah *fiqh* tentang cara meminimalkan risiko. *Idza ta'âradha mafsadâtani ru'iya 'azhamuhâ dhararan biirtikâbi akhaffahima* (jika dihadapkan pada dua masalah yang sama-sama mengandung bahaya, maka pilihlah salah satu dari keduanya yang risikonya lebih kecil atau lebih sedikit. Artinya: jika

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[11] GWJ Drewes, *Pemahaman Baru tentang Kedatangan Islam di indonesia, dalam Ahmad Ibrahim*, dkk. (1989), Islam di Asia Tenggara: *Perspektif Sejarah, Penerbit LP3ES*, Jakarta, hlm. 35-6.

[12] Abdurrahman Wahid (1982), *Bunga Rampai Pesantren*, Penerbit Darma Bhakti, Jakarta, hlm. 41; Azumardi Azra (1994), *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara abad XVII dan XVIII*, Penerbit Mizan, Bandung, hlm. 33. Lihat, Nur Syam (2005), *Islam Pesisir*, Penerbit LkiS, Yogyakarta, hlm. 64.

[13] Sebagaimana dikemukakan Azra, ada beberapa pendapat tentang Islam yang sampai di Jawa, baik yang berteori tentang "Islam Arab" maupun "Islam Non-Arab". Tetapi, kebenaran masing-masing pendapat, mana yang paling benar, tidak ada bukti yang meyakinkan. Yang jelas, menurut Azra, Islam yang sampai di Jawa tentu tidak terlepas dari interpretasi para pembawanya.

dihadapkan pada dua masalah yang sama-sama mengandung risiko, maka pilihlah salah satu dari keduanya yang risikonya lebih kecil). Setiap pengambilan keputusan harus memperhitungkan untung dan ruginya, antara manfaat dan *mudharat-nya*. Dari sini, terlepas dari latar belakang para pesiar Islam yang datang pertama di Jawa, saya yakin mereka adalah para pesiar Islam yang mengedepankan fleksibilitas dan kebijaksanaan. Dalam melakukan syiar Islam di Jawa, mereka melakukan kompromi-kompromi dengan keyakinan masyarakat Jawa. Jika tidak, saya yakin mereka pasti ditolak. Corak keislaman seperti ini, hingga saat ini, masih cukup kuat mewarnai corak keislaman orang-orang di kawasan pesisir utara Jawa. Saya pikir, corak Islam seperti inilah yang sebenarnya merupakan cikal bakal keislaman di Jawa.

Sampai di sini menjadi cukup jelas, mengapa masyarakat Islam tradisionalis yang berkembang di pesisir utara Jawa, umumnya, cenderung moderat, tidak radikal, dan bersifat kompromis, sehingga terkesan datar-datar saja. Mereka menggunakan *tawasshuth* (sintesis) sebagai rumusan jalan tengah; yang secara substansial, *tawasshuth* (moderat) mengandung unsur-unsur: *tasamuh* (toleran), *tawazzun* (keseimbangan dan keselarasan), *i'tidâl* (keadilan, keteguhan hati), dan *iqtishâd* (tidak berlebihan).[14] Di luar ketiga unsur *tawasshuth* tersebut ada yang menambahkan *tasamuh* (toleran) sebagai nilai dasar untuk bersikap, baik dalam tindakan maupun dalam perkataan. Hal ini nampak dari sikap tokoh-tokoh Nahdlatoel Oelama ketika terlibat dalam proses penyusunan Pancasila, serta memelopori penerimaan Pancasila sebagai ideologi Negara Republik Indonesia. Mereka tidak mengidealkan Negara Islam atau Negara Khalifah. Mereka tetap mengedepankan *tawasshuth*, dengan kesadaran penuh bahwa masyarakat Indonesia adalah masyarakat yang plural, hiterogen, sehingga tidak mungkin dijadikan sebagai Negara Islam.[15] Sedangkan sikap bijaksana yang menjadi ciri kelompok Islam yang berkembang

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[14] Lihat Greg Fealy, *Ijtihad Politik Ulama*, hlm. 77-78; Khamami Zada dan Ahmad Fawaid Sjadzilli dalam *Nahdlatul Ulama, Dinamuka Ideologi dan Politik Kenegaraan*, Penerbit KOMPAS, 2010, hlm. xi; dan lihat juga Andrée Fiellard, NU vis-à-vis Negara, Penerbit Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial-Kemasyarakatan (LKiS), Jogjakarta, 1999—Cetakan Ketiga 2009, hlm. 28-31.

[15] *Ibid*. Khamami Zada dan Ahmad Fawaid Sjadzilli ....Penerbit KOMPAS, 2010, hlm. xi; dan Andrée Fiellard, LKiS, Yogjakarta, 1999—Cetakan Ketiga 2009, hlm. 28-31.

di pesisir utara Jawa nampak dalam setiap pengambilan keputusan yang selalu mengedepankan kemaslahatan. Artinya: dalam menghadapi berbagai persoalan, mereka cenderung memilih tindakan yang mendatangkan kemanfaatan, dan menghindari kerugian. Karena itu, mereka selalu memegang prinsip "menghindari bahaya [harus] diutamakan daripada melaksanakan kebaikan" (*Dar'ul mafâsid muqaddamun 'ala jalbi al-mashâlih*); "bila dihadapkan pada pilihan-pilihan yang sama-sama berisiko, maka dipilih salah satu yang risikonya paling kecil" (*Idza ta'âradha mafsadâtani ru'iya 'azhamuhâ dhararan biirtikâbi akhaffahima*); dan "keadaan bahaya tidak boleh diatasi dengan tindakan-tindakan yang membahayakan" (*Ad-darâru la yuzalu bi ad-dirâr*). Dengan demikian, tindakan yang didasari maksud baik sekalipun, jika pada akhirnya dapat mengakibatkan kerusakan dan membahayakan harus dihindari. Itu semua adalah gambaran umumnya. Kasus-kasus khusus pasti ada.

Selain nilai-nilai di atas, kalangan Islam Tradisionalis umumnya juga memegang dua prinsip yang saling bertautan: *mashlahat* dan *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*—asas "kebaikan dan kemanfaatan" serta "menganjurkan kebaikan dan mencegah kemunkaran [kejahatan]". Prinsip *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* merupakan perintah Allah yang ter- surat dalam al-Qur'an, Surat 3: 104, yang dalam Bahasa Indonesia diterjemahkan: "*dan hendaklah ada di antara kamu segolongan umat yang menyeru pada kebajikan (ma'ruf), menyuruh kepada yang ma'ruf dan mencegah dari kemunkaran; merekalah orang-orang yang beruntung.*"[16]

Dari uraian yang cukup panjang lebar di atas, saya hanya ingin mengatakan dan menegaskan bahwa, corak dan watak dasar keis- laman yang menjadi cikal-bakal masyarakat Islam di Jawa, sebenar- ya, adalah Islam kultural, Islam Mistik atau Islam Sufi yang moderat, fleksibel, dan bijaksana. Karena itu, kalau di Jawa kemudian berkem- bang kelompok Islam Politik fundamentalis: radikal dan ekstremis, tentu, itu adalah varian Islam lain yang datang kemudian. Pertan- yaannya adalah: Kapan Islam Politik masuk di Pulau Jawa?

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[16] Lihat: Hafish Dasuki, dkk.: *Al-Qur'an dan Terjemahan*, Juz 1-Juz 30, Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia, 1994, halaman 93.

ISLAM POLITIK DAN BERKEMBANGNYA FUNDAMENTALISME, RADIKALISME-EKSTREMISME ISLAM DI JAWA

Sebelum menjawab pertanyaan "Kapan Islam Politik masuk Pulau Jawa?", yang harus ditegaskan terlebih dahulu adalah batasan mengenai apa yang dimaksud dengan "Islam Politik", "Islam Kultural", "Fundamentalisme", dan "Radikalisme-ekstremisme". Untuk terminologi yang pertama, pandangan umum cenderung sepaham bahwa yang dimaksud Islam Politik adalah Islam yang tampil sebagai kerangka atau sebagai basis ideologi politik; Islam yang mengejawantah dalam bentuk kekuatan politik, entah dalam format partai politik ataupun organisasi-organisasi lain yang bervisi dan berjuang untuk mewujudkan tatanan politik sesuai Islam. Meminjam pengertian Azra (2000), Islam politik adalah Islam yang berusaha diwujudkan dan diaktualisasikan dalam kekuasaan atau kelembagaan politik resmi, khususnya dalam bidang ekskutif dan legislatif. Singkat kata, yang dimaksud Islam Politik adalah Islam yang mengejawantah dalam kekuasaan politik; atau Islam yang diwujudkan dan diaktualisasikan dalam kekuasaan politik. Sedangkan, yang dimaksud "Islam kultural" adalah Islam ritual, Islam yang tidak memiliki sangkut paut dengan urusan politik. Azra (2000) mendefinisikan Islam kultural sebagai Islam ibadah; Islam yang mewujud secara substantif dalam lembaga-lembaga kebudayaan dan bentuk-bentuk peradaban lainnya, seperti: pendidikan, kesenian, dan lain-lain.[17]

Pertanyaan selanjutnya: apa yang dimaksud fundamentalisme? Apa hubungannya dengan Islam Politik?; dan Mengapa kelompok Fundamentalis cenderung bersikap radikal dan terkadang ekstrem? Sebelum menjawab pertanyaan tersebut, agar dapat merumuskan jawaban yang tepat, saya kira akan sangat menolong jika terlebih dahulu dikemukakan mengenai asal-muasal fundamentalisme berikut ciri-ciri yang menandainya.

Istilah fundamentalisme menjadi sangat populer setelah digunakan untuk menunjuk gerakan kaum revolusioner Kristen di

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[17] *Op.Cit.*: Azra (2000), *Islam di Tengah Arus Transisi Menuju Demokrasi*, Pengantar buku *Islam di Tengah Arus Transisi,* Penerbit KOMPAS, halaman xxviii.

Amerika Serikat sejak tahun 1870. Menurut sejarahnya, mereka menjadi fundamentalis karena merasa terancam oleh ajaran-ajaran teologi liberal dan [teori] evolusi, sehingga menganggap perlu untuk kembali ke asas fundamen ajaran agamanya. Kaum fundamentalis bertitik-tolak pada keyakinan bahwa "Alkitab adalah firman Tuhan yang tidak mungkin salah". Karena itu, kalimat-kalimat suci dalam Alkitab tidak memerlukan penafsiran; dan apalagi harus diubah bahasa dan maknanya sesuai konteks-kekinian. Mereka memahami ajaran kitab suci secara tekstual, skriptural, dan apa adanya. Namun, dalam perkembangan selanjutnya, fundamentalisme bukan lagi monopoli kelompok Kristen. Fundamentalisme juga berkembang di kalangan umat agama lain, termasuk Islam; bahkan yang disebut terakhir kecenderungannya lebih radikal ketimbang kelompok Kristen fundamentalis. Gerakan mereka pun bukan sekedar untuk memurnikan (membersihkan) Islam dari muatan-muatan kultural non-Arab; dan bukan pula sekedar untuk menampilkan busana *a la* Arab, seperti: berhijab dan berbaju gamis bagi kaum perempuan; berbaju koko, bertopi santri, berjanggut, bercelana jigrang/cingkrang, dan kalau perlu: berjubah *a la* Taliban, bagi kaum lelaki. Mereka akan melenyapkan apa yang dianggap *bid'ah*, dan siapa yang dianggap kafir. Bahkan, di era "Perang Antar-Peradaban" *a la* Huntington, fundamentalisme Islam berkembang bukan hanya sebagai gerakan pemurnian Islam, melainkan juga sebagai bentuk perlawanan terhadap hegemoni peradaban Barat.

Secara teologis dan sosiologis, ciri-ciri fundamentalisme, umumnya, sebagai berikut: *Pertama*: secara teologis, fundamentalisme ditandai oleh kehidupan spiritual yang eksklusif, tertutup, dan mau benar sendiri. Mereka menganggap hanya mereka sendiri yang benar dan orang lain keliru (Sumartana, 2002; Fuller, 2010; 2014: 59; Effendy, 2016: vii). Mereka merasa sebagai pemegang monopoli kebenaran dan pemegang otoritas interpretasi atas kebenaran, seolah surga dalam genggamannya. *Kedua*: karena merasa benar sendiri, mereka cenderung tidak respek terhadap keyakinan yang berbeda; apalagi mengakui kebenaran agama lain.[18] *Ketiga*: kelompok funda-

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[18] Di kalangan Katholik, melalui Konsili Vatikan kedua pada tahun 1965, pandangan yang eksklusif seperti ini telah dikoreksi. Salah satu hasil dari Konsili Vatikan kedua tersebut adalah pengakuan bahwa di luar Gereja juga ada keselamatan.

mentalis umumnya bersikap negatif terhadap segala hal yang berbau sekuler. Bagi mereka, segala sesuatu yang berbau sekuler dianggapnya sebagai *bid'ah*, bertentangan secara diametral dengan agama, dan anti Tuhan. *Keempat*: secara sosiologis, orientasi teologis seperti itu membuat kelompok ini tidak merasa perlu untuk membangun komunikasi dengan kelompok lain. Sebaliknya, mereka hidup dengan penuh kecurigaan kepada kelompok lain, dan tidak percaya itikad baik dari kelompok manapun yang berbeda keyakinan. *Kelima*, kelompok fundamentalis cenderung acuh-tak-acuh terhadap berbagai persoalan sosial kemasyarakatan, seperti: ketidak-adilan, kemiskinan, kesamaan hak bagi sesama manusia, dan berbagai persoalan kemasyarakatan lain dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Mereka, umumnya, cenderung tidak memikirkan hal-hal yang duniawi. Seluruh perhatian mereka ditujukan pada akhir dunia yang menjanjikan surga dengan segala kenikmatannya. *Keenam*: dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara, secara radikal, mereka berusaha untuk mengganti sistem sosial-politik yang ada, persis seperti yang tertulis dalam kitab agama yang diyakininya. Meninjam istilah Sumartana (2002), mereka selalu "ingin menciptakan sepotong surga di dunia". *Ketujuh*, kelompok fundamentalis umumnya juga menolak kemajuan berpikir manusia, baik yang termanivestasi dalam kemajuan ilmu pengetahuan—seperti teori evolusi—maupun dalam penafsiran-penafsiran baru terhadap kitab suci. Sebagaimana dikemukakan di atas, umumnya, mereka memahami ajaran agama secara skripturalistik, atau tekstual, karena meyakini apa yang tertulis dalam kitab suci adalah "kata-kata Allah" yang tak mungkin salah, dan mengandung kebenaran mutlak; sehingga tidak membutuhkan penafsiran lagi. Sedangkan yang dimaksud radikalisme-ekstremisme adalah aliran politik keagamaan yang menginginkan dan menuntut perubahan sosial-politik secara drastis, dan tak jarang melalui jalan kekerasan yang melampaui kebiasaan atau kenormalan. Untuk mewujudkan keinginan dan tuntutannya, mereka tak segan-segan membunuh siapapun yang dianggap sebagai penghalang, meski dengan mengorbankan nyawanya sendiri; seperti pada kasus bom bunuh diri.

Berangkat dari batasan dan ciri-cirinya sebagaimana dikemukakan di atas, sampailah kita pada pertanyaan: kapan Islam Politik dan fundamentalisme yang radikal dan ektremis masuk di Jawa? Menurut

temuan Woodward (1999, 2012: xviii), Islam Politik sebagaimana yang pahami dan didefinisikan seperti di atas baru masuk ke Jawa setelah masuknya Islam kultural (Islam mistik atau Islam Sufistik) yang dibawa oleh kaum Syiah dan para Sufi penganut *ahlul al-sunnah wal al-jamaah*. Sebagaimana diteorikan, kehadiran Islam Politik diindikasikan oleh tumbuhnya kelembagaan politik Islam. Menurut sejarah, lembaga politik Islam pertama di Jawa adalah Kerajaan Demak. Jika demikian, maka masuknya Islam Politik di Jawa dapat diperkirakan berhimpitan dengan berdirinya Kerajaan Demak. Masalahnya adalah: sejauh ini, tidak ada, atau setidaknya belum ada, informasi yang meyakinkan yang dapat dijadikan rujukan mengenai waku kejadiannya. Yang jelas, infiltrasi ideologis selalu membutuhkan waktu yang tidak singkat dan tidak mungkin bersifat massif. Para penulis sejarah Jawa umumnya hanya menyatakan bahwa berdirinya Kerajaan Demak berhimpitan dengan surutnya kejayaan Kerajaan Majapahit, sepeninggal Raja Hayam Wuruk. Para penulis sejarah memperkirakan waktu itu terjadi pada perempat terakhir abad ke-15, sekitar tahun 1400 Çaka, yang ditandai *candrasengkala: "sirna ilang kertaning bhumi"* (Kartodirdjo, 1999: 31; Ricklefs, 1981; 1991: 54).[19] Kalau diperhitungkan dengan Kalender Masehi, angka tahun 1400 Çaka sama dengan tahun 1478 Masehi, karena perhitungan tahun 1 Çaka dimulai pada tahun 78 Masehi.

Mengenai perkembangannya, penting untuk dikemukakan di sini bahwa, pada masa kejayaannya, Kerajaan Demak melakukan ekspansi ke arah Barat, Timur, dan selatan—ke pedalaman Jawa Tengah. Sebagaimana dikemukakan sejarawan Sartono Kartodirdjo (1999: 30-31), ekspansi Demak ke arah Barat diawali dengan ekspedisi Syeh Nurullah—kemudian dikenal sebagai Sunan Gunung Jati—ke daerah Cirebon dan Banten, dan berhasil melakukan Islamisasi hingga berhasil mendirikan Kerajaan Islam di daerah-daerah tersebut. Diceritakan,

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[19] *Candrasengkala* adalah susunan kata-kata (kalimat) yang menunjukkan angka tahun; atau angka tahun yang dirahasiakan dalam susunan kata-kata (kalimat). Kata *sirna* (musnah-menjadi tidak ada) menandai angka 0; *ilang* (hilang—menjadi tidak ada) juga menandai angka 0, *kerta* (makmur) menandai angka 4, dan *bumi* (hanya ada satu) menandai angka 1. Dalam literatur Jawa, cara memaknai atau menerjemahkan *sengkalan* dibaca dari belakang. Dengan demikian, *sengkalan* "*sirna ilang kertaning bumi*" menunjukkan angka tahun 1400 Çaka; karena penulisan sejarah Indonesia pra-kemerdekaan, umumnya, menggunakan Kalender Tahun Çaka.

dari dua pusat kekuasaan inilah Islam menyebar ke pedalaman Jawa Barat. Konon, sepeninggal Hasanudin—raja Banten setelah Syeh Nurullah, sekitar 1570, Maulana Yusuf yang menggantikan tampuk kekuasaan Kerajaan Banten meneruskan politik ekspansinya ke Pajajaran dan berhasil menguasainya. Dikisahkan, setelah Kraton Pajajaran jatuh ke tangan pasukan Banten, Raja Pajajaran beserta seluruh keluarganya menghilang. Sayangnya, setelah itu, perkembangan Islam politik di Jawa Barat juga tidak terlalu jelas; setidaknya sangat sulit untuk menemukan data yang dapat dijadikan rujukan tentang hal ini. Yang jelas, di Jawa Barat pada masa-masa menjelang dan pascakemerdekaan berkembang kelompok Islam Politik militan pimpinan Sukarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwirjo (1905-1962)—seorang Jawa penganut aliran tasawuf—yang sejak masih belajar di Sekolah Kedokteran, ideologi politiknya sudah kelihatan ke arah Islam radikal. Karena pemikiran-pemikiran politiknya yang radikal itullah, pada tahun 1927, Kartosuwirjo dikeluarkan dari Sekolah Kedokteran. Menurut Ricklefs (1981), setelah dikeluarkan dari Sekolah Kedokteran, pada awal 1930-an hingga 1939, ia aktif di Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia. Karier politik Kartosuwirjo di partai ini pun dinilai sangat bagus; hingga dipercaya sebagai Ketua Muda PSII. Tetapi, pada Konggres ke-25 PSII di Palembang, Januari 1940, ia dipecat dari partai. Salah satu alasannya, ia kekeuh memperjuangkan gagasan politiknya yang radikal: *hijrah menuju Darul* Islam.

Setelah dipecat dari PSII, pada tahun 1940, bertempat di Garut, Jawa Barat, ia mendirikan Institut *Suffah* untuk memperjuangkan cita-citanya mendirikan Negara Islam Indonesia. Kartosuwirjo mulai pendidikan *suffah*-nya dengan mendirikan Madrasah Modern untuk mendidik para pemuda yang militan dengan pendidikan agama, pelajaran umum, dan latihan kemiliteran. Tetapi, ketika Hindia Belanda dikuasai oleh Pemerintah Pendudukan Jepang, Institut *Suffah* yang didirikan Kartosuwirjo ditutup. Ia pun kemudian melanjutkan perjuangannya degan memimpin gerilyawan Hizbullah di daerah Garut dan sekitarnya. Pada awal revolusi, selain terus memperbesar pasukannya, ia aktif dalam Masjumi. Konon, di partai ini, ia tidak lagi menyukai ide-ide yang "kekiri-kirian" dan tidak lagi mempercayai pemimpin-pemimpin Republik.

Pada tahun 1948, setelah Divisi Siliwangi ditarik ke Jawa Tengah, Kartosuwirjo mengadakan konferensi bersama tokoh-tokoh Masjumi Jawa Barat, GPII, Hizbullah, dan Sabilillah, bertempat di Pangwekusan, Tasikmalaya. Konferensi tersebut memutuskan: membekukan Masjumi Jawa Barat dan membentuk Majelis Islam (MI); Tentara Islam Indonesia (TII); Badan Keamanan Negara (BKN); Barisan Rakyat Indonesia (Baris); dan Pahlawan Darul Islam (PADI)—yang kemudian digabung TII. Hasil konferensi tersebut disahkan pada Maret 1948 bertempat di Cipeundeuy. Pada 1 Mei 1948, mereka mengadakan konferensi lagi di Cijoho yang menghasilkan keputusan: membentuk Dewan Imamah (Dewan Menteri) yang diketuai Kartosuwirjo; Dewan Fatuz (Dewan Pertimbangan Agung); dan Mempersiapkan Qanun Azasi (UUD). Hasil konferensi tersebut disahkan pada 7 Agustus 1948 bertempat di desa Cisampak, Cilugagar, Tasikmalaya; sekaligus memproklamasikan Negara Islam Indonesia. Dalam konsepnya, NII berbentuk *Jumhuziyah* (Republik), diketuai oleh seorang Imam dengan Al-Qur'an dan Hadits Sahih sebagai hukum tertinggi (Shadily, dkk., 1987: 754-755). Untuk membiayai operasionalnya, pasukan Kartosuwirjo melakukan perampokan, penjarahan, pemerasan, dan teoror. Konon, gerakan Darul Islam berhasil menguasai sebagian besar wilayah pedalaman Jawa Barat, sampai Kartosuwirjo ditangkap dan dihukum mati pada tahun 1962. Rupanya, pendukung Kartosuwirjo memang benar-benar militan. Buktinya, meski Kartosuwirjo telah dihukum mati, gerakan DI/TII tetap berlanjut, meski lebih banyak bergerak di bawah tanah (Ricklefs, 1991 [1981]: 241-343).

Sedangkan, ekspansi Demak ke timur dimulai dengan penaklukan Majapahit (1527), dan secara berturut-turut diikuti: Wirasari (1528), Gegelang (Madiun, 1529), Medangkung (Medang Kamulan Blora, 1530), Surabaya (1531), Pasuruhan (1535), Lamongan, Blitar, Wirasaba (1541), Sengguruh (Malang, 1545), Mamenang atau Kediri (1549), dan terakhir Panarukan dan Blambangan. Untuk yang disebut terakhir tidak terlalu jelas waktu persisnya. Dalam artikel ini, karena keterbatasan data yang dapat dijadikan referensi, proses ekspansi Demak Timur tidak akan diuraikan secara detail. Yang penting untuk dikemukakan di sini adalah bahwa, kawasan Jawa Tengah bagian Bar-

at—Bagelen dan Banyumas—telah masuk dalam lingkungan pengaruh Demak setelah Senopati Mangkubumi masuk Islam. Mengenai perkembangan selanjutnya, masih belum banyak diketahui, karena data-data yang menceritakan tentang perkembangan Islam Politik di Jawa sangatlah langka. Menurut Bachtiar Effendy (2009: 22), diskursus teoretis mengenai hubungan Islam dan Politik di Indonesia baru berkembang sejak tahun 1970-an, sehingga banyak peristiwa bersejarah yang terlewatkan.

Pada masa selanjutnya, pasca-surutnya kejayaan Kerajaan Demak, Islam Politik yang masuk di Jawa bagian Tengah terus meluas hingga zaman Kerajaan Mataram Islam. Salah satu bukti sejarah yang dapat dipercaya mengenai hal ini adalah penggunaan sebutan "*Senapati ing ngalaga Sayidin Panatagama Khalifatullah*" (Panglima Perang, Penata Agama berdasarkan mandat dari Allah) yang selalu mengikuti di belakang nama raja-raja Mataram.[20] Pada sajian berikut, yang akan dibahas secara relatif mendalam adalah perkembangan Islam Politik dari Demak ke daerah pedalaman Jawa Tengah. Salah satu alasannya: selain Jawa Barat, dalam perkembangan selanjutnya, jalur inilah yang melahirkan kelompok-kelompok Islam Politik yang fundamentalis, radikal, dan ekstrem.

Menurut catatan sejarah, pada masa Kerajaan Mataram, Islam mendapat perhatian besar sejak diperintah oleh Susuhunan Paku Buwono II (1726-1749). Paku Buwono II, yang mulai memegang tampuk kekuasaan pada usia 16 tahun, memulai menjalin hubungan baik dengan ulama-ulama; antara lain Kiai Kasan Besari dari Pesantren Gebangtinatar, Tegalsari, Ponorogo. Menurut sejarahnya, hubungan Paku Buwono II dengan Kiai Kasan Besari berawal dari penyelamatan dirinya ketika terjadi pemberontakan. Hubungan baik itu terus berlanjut, dan ditindaklanjuti, dengan pengiriman putra-putra keluarga raja Kasunanan untuk belajar Islam ke Pesantren Kiai Besari di Ponorogo. Dalam sejarah juga diberitakan bahwa, selain ke Ponorogo, sejumlah keluarga kerajaan juga mengirim putra-putranya untuk belajar Islam kepada Kiai Hanggamaya di Kedu Bagelen. Karena itu, tidak

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[20] Lihat Moedjanto, G. (1987), *Konsep Kekuasaan Jawa, Penerapannya oleh Raja-raja Mataram*, Penerbit Kanisius Yogyakarta, halaman 81.

mengherankan jika karya-karya sastra para pujangga Kraton Surakarta sangat kental keislamannya.[21] Para pujangga Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta—Yasadipoero I (Bagus Banjar, 1729-1803), Yasadipoero II (Bagus Wasista, 1760-1845), dan Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsita (Bagus Burhan, 1802-1873)—adalah alumni-alumni Pesantren (Wildan, 2014). Diduga, sejak saat itu pula lah, kebudayaan Jawa yang bernafaskan Islam mulai berkembang pesat di lingkungan Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta. Tahun Baru Islam (1 Muharam) dirayakan secara besar-besaran; begitu juga peringatan hari kelahiran Nabi Muhammad Saw. Setiap bulan Maulud, dan hanya pada bulan Maulud, tahun Hijriah, gamelan Sekaten milik Kraton dibunyikan di halaman Masjid Agung Kraton; dan pasar tumpah digelar memenuhi Alun-alun Utara Kraton.

Dalam perkembangan selanjutnya, perhatian terhadap Islam di lingkungan Kraton Surakarta menjadi lebih kuat lagi sejak Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta diperintah Susuhunan Paku Buwono IV (1788-1820). Sebagaimana dikemukakan Wildan (2014), Paku Buwono IV-lah yang mengundang ulama dari berbagai tempat untuk tinggal dan mengajarkan Islam di lingkungan Kraton. Kiai Djamsari dari Banyumas adalah salah satunya. Ia ditempatkan di sebuah kampung di sebelah barat-daya Kraton Kasunanan. Di tempat itu, Kiai Djamsari tidak hanya mengajarkan Islam kepada warga masyarakat di sekitarnya; tetapi juga mengajarkan Islam kepada para Bangsawan dan para Punggawa (Birokrat) Kraton. Yang menarik dari Pesantren Djamsaren, sekalipun didirikan oleh Kraton, Pesantren ini tidak sepenuhnya di bawah kendali Kraton. Keterlibatan para santri selama Perang Diponegoro yang berbuntut dihancurkannya Pondok Djamsaren oleh tentara kolonial Belanda,[22] dengan sangat jelas menunjukkan bahwa Pesantren tersebut tidak berada di bawah kendali Kraton. Saya kira sudah menjadi pengetahuan umum bahwa, kala itu, Kraton Kasunanan Surakarta berpihak kepada pemerintah Kolonial Belanda. Dengan demikian, keterlibatan para santri Djamsari dalam Perang Diponegoro melawan tentara

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[21] Baca karya-karya satra para Pujangga Kraton Kasunana Surakarta, seperti: *Serat Centhini, Serat Cebolek, Serat Kalatidha, Serat Sabdatama, Serat Sabdajati, dan Serat Pustakaradja.* Buku-buku tersebut napas Islamnya sangat kuat.

[22] Setelah dihancurkan oleh tentara Kolonial Belanda, baru pada tahun 1878, Kiai Muhammad Idris dari Klaten membangun dan menghidupkan kembali Pesantren tersebut.

Kolonial Belanda sekaligus menunjukkan adanya perlawanan para santri terhadap Kraton.

Meski santri-santri Pondok Djamsaren melakukan perlawanan terhadap Kraton yang berpihak kepada Kolonial, sepertinya, Kraton tidak memberi sanksi yang berat terhadapnya. Bahkan, Pondok inilah yang kemudian menginspirasi dua Abdi Dalem Kraton—Adipati Sosrodiningrat dan Penghulu Tafsir Anom Kraton—untuk mendirikan lembaga pendidikan formal Islam guna menyiapkan dan memenuhi kebutuhan tenaga penghulu. Pada tahun 1905, atas dukungan Susuhunan Paku Buwono X, dua orang Abdi Dalem Kraton tersebut berhasil mewujudkan impiannya mendirikan Sekolah Islam Modern yang diberi nama Madrasah Manba'ul Ulum. Untuk pertama kalinya, Kiai Muhammad Idris—Kiai asal Klaten yang membangun dan menghidupkan kembali Pesantren Djamsaren pasca-dihancurkan tentara Kolonial Belanda—ditunjuk sebagai pemimpinnya. Nama Kiai Djamsari pun jadi melegenda. Kampung tempat Kiai Djamsari tinggal, mendirikan Pondok Pesantren, dan mengajarkan Islam, hingga sekarang disebut "Kampung Djamsaren".

Hal menarik lain yang dapat dicatat dari perkembangan Islam Politik di Surakarta adalah kenyataan bahwa, sekalipun Islam Politik berkembang cukup pesat di lingkungan Kraton, tetapi pekembangan itu tidak berpengaruh signifikan terhadap proses Islamisasi di kalangan warga masyarakat Surakarta pada umumnya. Terbukti, hingga saat ini, masyarakat Surakarta masih didominasi oleh kelompok Abangan—yaitu mereka yang beridentitas Islam; tetapi tidak menjalankan ajaran Islam secara ketat. Pengakuan yang demikian dimaksudkan hanya untuk menyiasati peraturan pemerintah yang mengharuskan setiap warga negara Indonesia untuk memilih satu di antara lima agama yang diakui negara (Islam, Kristen Katholik, Kristen Protestan, Hindu, dan Budda) untuk dicantumkan dalam Kartu Tanda Penduduknya. *Kejawen* yang dianut kebanyakan orang Jawa di Surakarta ketika itu tidak termasuk keyakinan yang diakui sebagai agama. Kelompok Islam taat di Surakarta hanya berkembang di kantong-kantong Islam yang dibentuk oleh Kerajaan dan Pemerintah Kolonial Belanda untuk kepentingan tertentu, seperti: Kauman, Pasar Kliwon, dan Laweyan.

Kondisi semacam itu, terus berlangsung hingga masa-masa awal kemerdekaan. Baru setelah Kraton tidak eksis lagi, gerakan Islam Politik di Surakarta bergeser ke ranah politik partai, dan mulai menggeliat lagi. Para aktivis Islam Politik di Surakarta bergabung dengan partai Masjumi. Pada Pemilu 1955, dengan perolehan suara 20,9 per sen, Masjumi di Kota Surakarta menjadi pemenang kedua setelah Partai Nasionalis Indonesia (PNI). Tetapi, setelah Masyumi yang menjadi rumah politik mereka dibubarkan oleh Soekarno pada tahun 1960, gerakan Islam [Politik] di Kota Surakarta mengalami masa surut; dan bergeser lagi ke kehidupan sosial-kemasyarakatan. Mulai penghujuang tahun 1960-an, mereka bergabung dengan Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII) yang didirikan oleh mantan-mantan pemimpin Masjumi, Muhammad Nasir dan kawan-kawan, pada tahun 1967 dengan membuka Cabang DDII di Solo. Konon, DDII menjalin hubungan dengan Liga Muslim Dunia (*Rabithah al-Alam al-Islami*); dan melalui DDII yang seolah bertindak sebagai wakilnya di Indonesia, *Rabithah al-Alam al-Islami* menyediakan dana yang luar biasa besar untuk gerakan-gerakan radikal di Indonesia. Lembaga Dakwah Kampus yang mengembangkan gerakan Tarbiyah di berbagai kampus Negeri di Indonesia disebut-sebut sebagai salah satu lembaga yang ikut menikmati dana Arab Saudi tersebut (Wahid, 2009: 37).

Pada awalnya, program DDII adalah memberikan dukungan terhadap program-program pemerintah dalam memberantas sisa-sisa komunisme. Namun, dalam perkembangan selanjutnya, Muhammad Natsir meminta kader-kader eks-Masjumi di Solo untuk mendirikan pesantren-pesantren dan rumah-rumah sakit guna melawan Kristenisasi yang dinilainya cukup massif pasca-peristiwa G30S. Sebagaimana dikemukakan Wildan (2014),[23] menurut Ahmad Chusnan, mantan pimpinan DDII Cabang Surakarta, pendirian Pondok Ngruki, Rumah Sakit Islam Kustati, dan Yayasan Rumah Sakit Islam (Yarsi) merupakan respons dari saran dan permintaan Muhammad Natsir tersebut. Menurut sejarahnya, pendirian pondok tersebut berawal dari per-

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[23] Lihat: Muhammad Wildan (2009), *Memetakan Islam Radikal: Studi Atas Suburnya Gerakan Islam Radikal di Solo, Jawa Tengah*, dalam Muhammad Nur Ichwan, dkk.: *Islam Indonesia dalam Ancaman Fundamentalisme*, Penerbit Mizan, Bandung, halaman 275.

temuan para ulama Solo di Masjid Agung Kraton Surakarta. Pertemuan tersebut kemudian ditindak-lanjuti dengan mengadakan kegiatan pengajaran Islam yang lebih intensif (mulai 1969) dengan mendirikan Madrasah Diniyah di Gading Kidul, serta mendirikan stasiun Radio Dakwah Islam Surakarta (RADIS) untuk memperluas cakupan dakwahnya. Pada 1972, sekolah Islam yang telah mereka dirikan dikembangkan menjadi Pondok Pesantren; yang beberapa tahun kemudian dipindahkan ke desa Ngruki, bergabung dengan Yayasan Pendidikan Islam al-Mukmin (Wildan, 2014). Saya kira, sejak saat itulah bibit-bibit radikalisme di Solo mulai disemai.

Di sini, penting untuk dikemukakan bahwa, pembedaan antara "Islam Kultural" dan "Islam Politik" itu sebenarnya hanya dalam pikiran. Dalam kenyataannya, keduanya tidak dapat dipilahkan dan dipisahkan secara hitam-putih. Pengejawantahan Islam dalam bentuk-bentuk peradaban, seperti pendidikan, perekonomian, hukum, dan lain-lain, sama sekali tidak dapat dilepaskan dari urusan politik. Perbedaannya yang menyolok antara "Islam Kultural" dengan "Islam Politik" hanyalah interesnya pada urusan kenegaraan, baik terkait dengan bentuk negara maupun posisi-posisi dalam kekuasaan politik. "Islam Kultural" dipersepsikan sebagai Islam yang tidak terlalu peduli dengan urusan-urusan politik. Sebagai contoh: pada perdebatan mengenai ideologi negara, kelompok Islam Kultural tidak bersikeras untuk membentuk negara Islam (khilafah); dan juga tidak terlalu menginginkan posisi-posisi politik dalam pemerintahan, baik dalam jajaran ekskutif maupun legislatif, meski dalam realitanya juga tidak selalu konsisten. Tetapi, dalam realitanya, kelompok Islam Tradisionalis juga melibatkan diri dalam politik kekuasaan. Secara teologis, memang, tidaklah mudah untuk menjauhkan Islam dengan politik; karena secara doktrinal Islam tidak memisahkan antara agama (*din*) dan politik (*siyasah*). dalam Islam, politik dipandang sebagai bagian yang tak terpisahkan dari agama. Di sinilah, pembedaan secara dikotomis antara "Islam Kultural" dan "Islam Politik" nampak ambigu. Kalau demikian, apa beda di antara keduanya? Dan untuk apa membedakannya?

Di atas telah dikemukakan: Islam Tradisionalis di Indonesia lebih bersifat fleksibel, moderat, dan bijaksana. Mereka tidak kaku terhadap bentuk dan sistem politik, serta tidak menempatkan sistem politik Islam (khilafah) sebagai harga mati. Mereka lebih bersikap realistis, luwes, dan biaksana dengan tetap mempertimbangkan hak-hak sipil dan hak-hak politik non-muslim. Dalam konteks masyarakat Indonesia yang sangat plural, mereka tidak menghendaki Indonesia menjadi negara Islam dengan menerapkan sistem khilafah, meskipun modal sosial yang mereka miliki untuk memperjuangkannya sangat memadai. Sebagaimana dikemukakan di atas, ketika kelompok Islam Politik bersikeras untuk menjadikan Indonesia sebagai negara Islam, kelompok Islam Kultural justru mengambil posisi berseberangan dengan alasan yang sangat rasional bahwa Indonesia adalah masyarakat plural yang tidak mungkin diwadahi dalam bentuk negara Islam. Bahkan, ketika kelompok Islam Politik kembali memperjuangkan diberlakukannya hukum Islam pada Sidang MPRS (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara) tahun 1968, para tokoh Islam Kultural tetap teguh mempertahankan Indonesia sebagai negara sekuler berdasarkan Pancasila. Perdebatan itu muncul kembali, karena kelompok Islam Politik menganggap perdebatan mengenai Ideologi negara pada 1945 yang pada akhirnya menyepakati Pancasila sebagai Dasar Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia belumlah final. Sementara itu, bagi kelompok Islam Kultural, keputusan mengenai Pancasila sebagai Dasar Negara Indonesia sudahlah final. Masalahnya kemudian adalah: pasca-Sidang MPRS tahun 1968, beberapa Daerah menerbitkan Peraturan Daerah-Peraturan Daerah Syariah. Tetapi, persoalan ini tidak berlangsung lama; karena, Soeharto segera memerintahkan kepada Daerah-daerah untuk cepat-cepat menarik Perda-perda syariah tersebut (Mudjiburahman, 2006; 2014).

Dalam perkembangan selanjutnya, meskipun kekuasaan Orde Baru Soeharto sangat represif, gerakan Islam Politik di Indonesia tidak pernah punah. Bahkan, di beberapa tempat seperti di Solo, gerakan Islam politik masih relatif kuat. Sejak masa-masa awal kekuasaan Orde Baru, dua ulama Pondok Ngruki, Sukoharjo—Abdullah Sungkar dan Abubakar Ba'asyir—terus menentang pemberlakuan ideologi Pancasila sebagai azas tunggal negara Indonesia. Mereka beranggapan, pemberlakuan Pancasila sebagai azas tunggal tersebut ditujukan un-

tuk memberangus kelompok Islam Politik. Karena itu, pemberlakuan Pancasila sebagai asas tunggal harus dilawan. Untuk itu, pada tahun 1970-an, Sungkar dan Ba'asyir bergabung dengan NII-TII dan membangun jaringan bawah tanah untuk para pemuda militan. Mereka mengorganisasi para pengikutnya dengan sistem sel yang disebut *Usrah*—berasal dari Bahasa Arab yang berarti "keluarga inti". Para pemuda tersebut diindoktrinasi dengan ideologi Islamisme dan dilatih militer untuk memperjuangkan berdirinya negara Islam (Bruinessen, 2014). *Ending*-nya, pada akhir 1978, dua ulama tersebut ditahan oleh penguasa Orde Baru atas keterlibatannya dalam jaringan bawah tanah Darul Islam yang dihidupkan kembali oleh H. Ismail Pranoto (Hispran) (Bruinessen 2014; Wildan, 2014).

Di samping NII-TII yang masih eksis sebagai gerakan bawah tanah, kasus Solo sepertinya merupakan gerakan Islam Politik yang paling menonjol di Jawa pada masa-masa awal Orde Baru, setidaknya hingga akhir tahun 1970-an atau awal 1980-an. Selebihnya, gerakan-gerakan Islam Politik di Indonesia lebih banyak berupa gerakan bawah tanah yang bersifat semi rahasia. Untuk kategori ini bisa disebut di antaranya gerakan Tarbiyah yang beroperasi melalui masjid-masjid di kampus-kampus. Gerakan yang muncul di Indonesia pada tahun 1980-an ini mendapat pengaruh kuat dari Ikhwanul Muslimin di Mesir. Di Indonesia, gerakan ini menyasar generasi muda terdidik untuk menjadi anggota dan simpatisannya, dengan melaksanakan diskusi-diskusi keagamaan dan pelatihan mental. Ketika kekuatan politik Orde Baru mulai goyah akibat krisis multidimensi sejak Maret 1998, gerakan Tarbiyah mendirikan Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI). Konon, berdirinya organisasi ini juga diilhami Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia (DDII) yang didirikan oleh Mohammad Natsir; setelah sebelumnya berhasil menginisiasi berdirinya Komite Indonesia untuk Solidaritas Dunia Islam (KISDI). Pada tahun 1990-an, di bawah pimpinan Ahmad Sumargono, lembaga ini sempat mencuri perhatian publik karena gencarnya aksi-aksi demontrasi yang dilakukan, terutama untuk membela Palestina dan Bosnia, serta untuk menyerang media dan lembaga-lembaga di dalam negeri yang dituduh menghina Islam dan tidak peka terhadap sudut pandang Islam (Bruinessen, 2014).

Memasuki era baru pasca-reformasi 1998, kelompok-kelompok Islam fundamentalis-radikal yang selama Soeharto berkuasa tiarap memperoleh ruang dan daya hidup kembali untuk bangkit; dan gerakan untuk memasukkan Piagam Jakarta ke dalam konstitusi negara pun digulirkan kembali. Pada Sidang MPR pada tahun 2001 dan 2002, Majelis memutuskan tetap menolak gagasan itu. Masalahnya kemudian adalah: pada tahun-tahun berikutnya, beberapa provinsi dan Kabupaten/Kota mengeluarkan dan memberlakukan Peraturan Daerah Syariah. Pola ini persis seperti yang terjadi pada masa Sidang MPRS tahun 1968. Bedanya, pada era baru ini, karena sistem politik demokrasi yang dianutnya, Pemerintah "tidak bisa" menggunakan kekuasaannya untuk melarangnya begitu saja. Itulah demokrasi. Dalam situasi semacam ini, saya kira, kelompok Islam Kultural lah satu-satunya kekuatan yang dapat diharapkan dapat menjaga Indonesia yang plural tetap ber-Bhineka Tunggal Ika berdasarkan Pancasila. Saya kira, di sinilah relevansi pembedaan "Islam Kultural" dan "Islam Politik" dalam percakapan ini.

Terkait dengan sistem politik demokrasi yang dianut Indonesia pasca-reformasi 1998, kepulangan Abubakar Ba'asyir ke Indonesia, saya kira, juga tidak terlepas dari iklim politik yang demokratis. Masalahnya adalah: kembalinya Abubakar Ba'asyir ke Indonesia memberi nyawa baru bagi jaringan Islam radikal yang pernah dirintisnya. Maka, tidak mengherankan jika gerakan-gerakan radikal yang selama masa Orde Baru berkuasa bergerak di bawah tanah mengubah gerakannya menjadi terbuka. Mereka mulai meninggalkan pola gerakan bawah tanah, dan kembali ke pola gerakan yang legal-formal. Sebagai contoh: gerakan Tarbiyah. Setelah rezim Soeharto tumbang, para mantan aktivis Tarbiyah mendirikan Partai Keadilan (PK)—yang kemudian berubah menjadi Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS); dan kelompok lainnya ada yang mendirikan lembaga baru bernama Front Pembela Islam (FPI)—yang mempunyai cabang di beberapa daerah. Sementara itu, di daerah-daerah juga muncul banyak kelompok-kelompok Islam Politik yang fundamentalis, seperti: Laskar Umat Islam Surakarta (LUIS), Forum Komunikasi Aktivis Masjid (FKAM) Surakarta, Front Pemuda Islam Surakarta (FPIS), Front Umat Islam (FUI) Klaten, Front Jihad Islam (FJI) Yogyakarta, Front Perlawanan Penculikan (FPP) Sura-

karta, dan lain-lain.[24] Begitu juga, gerakan Islam Politik Abubakar Ba'asyir. Untuk melanjutkan perjuangannya mewujudkan negara Islam Indonesia, pada Muktamar di Yogyakarta Agustus 2000, Abubakar Ba'asyir beserta para pengikut setia dan jaringannya mendirikan organisasi resmi bernama Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI).

Gejala lain yang penting untuk dicatat di sini adalah munculnya gerakan kelompok-kelompok Islam Transnasional, seperti Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). Pada awalnya, HTI muncul di kampus-kampus, seperti: IPB, ITB, UI, UGM, dan di kampus-kampus negeri lainnya yang ada di Jawa. HTI sebenarnya sudah masuk di Indonesia sejak tahun 1980-an; tetapi, selama Orde Baru berkuasa, mereka bergerak di bawah tanah. Pasca-reformasi 1998, gerakan mereka semakin terbuka, dan berebut pengaruh dalam dua organisasi Islam mainstream di Indonesia—NU dan Muhammadiyah. Mereka berharap kedua organisasi Islam tersebut menyetujui perdebatan publik yang mengarah kepada berdirinya kekhalifahan baru yang menyatukan muslim di seluruh dunia. Menurut Bruinessen (2014), gerakan Islam Transnasional yang paling menonjol di antara kelompok-kelompok tersebut adalah Partai Keadilan Sejahtera dan jaringannya—yang merupakan versi Indonesia dari Ikhwanul Muslimin, Hisbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), dan kelompok-kelompok non-politik seperti Jama'ah Tabligh, serta 'Kelompok-kelompok Islam Jihadis' lainnya, seperti: Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) dan Jemaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT).

Selain menguatnya gerakan Islam Politik fundamentalis-radikal yang menginginkan pemberlakuan syariat Islam, ekses dari sistem politik demokrasi di Indonesia pasca-reformasi 1998 adalah terjadinya konflik antar-agama di berbagai wilayah, seperti: Poso dan Maluku. Tragisnya, gerakan jihad yang membawa panji-panji Islam—yang didukung oleh faksi meiliter dan kelompok-kelompok kepentingan di daerah-daerah tersebut—telah mengubah wilayah-wilayah yang dilanda konflik tersebut menjadi medan peperangan antar-agama yang melibatkan sesama Anak Bangsa.

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[24] Setara Institute, *'Dari Radikalisme menuju Terorisme: Relasi dan Transformasi Organisasi Islam Radikal di Jawa Tengah dan D.I. Yogyakarta'* (2012).

Yang lebih mengerikan dari semua itu adalah perkembangan kelompok fundamentalis radikal yang ekstrem dan intoleran akhir-akhir ini. Berdasarkan hasil jajak pendapat yang dilakukan oleh lembaga penelitian Alvara terhadap 4.200 kaum muda muslim pada awal tahun 2000-an menunjukkan bahwa, 18,6 persen mahasiswa dan 16,8 persen pelajar menyatakan mendukung sistem kekhalifahan Islam sebagai dasar negara Republik Indonesia. Bahkan, 23,4 persen mahasiswa dan 23,3 persen pelajar menyatakan siap berjihad untuk menegakkan khilafah Islamiyah. Dalam konteks Indonesia, angka itu tidaklah kecil. Berdasarkan data Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan pada tahun yang sama, jumlah pelajar SMA dan SMK di seluruh Indonesia berjumlah 9,6 juta—yang terdiri atas 4,78 juta pelajar SMA dan 4,9 juta pelajar SMK.[25] Sedangkan berdasarkan data Kementerian Riset, Teknologi, dan Perguruan Tinggi (Kemenristekdikti) tahun 2018, total jumlah mahasiswa di Indonesia sebesar 7,5 juta.[26] Dengan komposisi jumlah pelajar dan mahasiswa seperti itu, jika diperhitungkan berdasarkan presentase di atas, ada 3.991.800 pelajar dan mahasiswa—yang terdiri atas 2.236.800 pelajar dan 1.755.000 mahasiswa—yang siap berjihad untuk menegakkan khilafah di Indonesia. Dengan demikian, sungguh sulit dibayangkan akan seperti apa jadinya kalau sejumlah pelajar dan mahasiswa yang menyatakan siap berjihad untuk menegakkan khilafah di Indonesia melakukan aksi jihadnya. Padahal, selama ini, satu orang yang melakukan bom bunuh diri atas nama jihad saja sudah menyusahkan banyak orang; apalagi, 3.991.800 pelajar dan mahasiswa. Jumlah itu, tentu, belum terhitung jihadis yang bukan pelajar dan bukan mahasiswa.

Yang juga menarik, dalam jajak pendapat tersebut juga ditanyakan mengenai persepsi pelajar dan mahasiswa muslim tentang pemimpin non-muslim dan penerapan Syariah Islam di Daerah-daerah di Indonesia. Hasilnya: 29,7 persen pelajar dan 29,5 persen mahasiswa tidak mendukung pemimpin non-muslim; dan sebesar 21,9 persen pelajar dan 19,6 persen mahasiswa mendukung penerapan

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[25] https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2019/06/24/berapa-jumlah-sma-dan-smk-di-indonesia.
[26] https://www.republika.co.id/berita/pendidikan/dunia-kampus/18/11/12/pi2o7r366-jumlah-mahasiswa-indone-sia-masih-sedikit.

hukum Islam dalam tata pemerintahan di Daerah-daerah.[27] Hasil survei yang dilakukan Saiful Muzani Research and Consulting (SMRC) pada 14-20 Mei 2017 juga tidak jauh berbeda. Meski mayoritas penduduk Indonesia menolak ISIS, tetapi hasil survei menunjukkan 9,2 persen responden setuju mengganti NKRI menjadi sistem kekhilafahan.[28] Saya pribadi sependapat dengan Saiful Mujani bahwa, dalam konteks Indonesia, jumlah 9,2 persen warga yang menginginkan NKRI menjadi negara khilafah bukan jumlah yang kecil. Kalau penduduk Indonesia saat ini diperhitungkan sebesar 270 juta jiwa, berarti, 9,2 persennya berjumlah 24.84 juta jiwa. Pertanyaannya sekarang adalah: apa yang dapat dan harus kita lakukan agar Indonesia tetap berdasarkan Pancasila? Bagaimana caranya? Dan siapa yang harus melakukannya? Beberapa alternatif jawaban atas pertanyaan-pertanyaan tersebut dapat dilihat pada uriain berikut.

KESIMPULAN DAN SARAN

Dari uraian di atas, dapat disimpulkan bahwa: *Pertama*, Islam yang menjadi cikal bakal komunitas Islam di Jawa, pada dasarnya, adalah Islam yang bercorak sufistik—Islam yang cukup kuat dimensi mistiknya—yang dibawa oleh kaum Syi'ah dan para Sufi penganut *ahlul al-sunnah wa al-jamaah*. Karena itu, Islam yang berkembang di Jawa pada umumnya adalah Islam yang berwatak fleksibel, moderat, akomodatif terhadap budaya lokal, dan bijaksana dalam menghadapi berbagai perbedaan. Corak Islam seperti ini disebut "Islam Kultural". *Kedua*, Islam Politik yang ada dan berkembang di Jawa baru datang belakangan—setelah kedatangan kaum Syi'ah dan para Sufi penganut *ahlul al-sunnah wa al-jamaah*. Kehadiran Islam Politik di Jawa ditandai oleh berdirinya Kerajaan Islam Demak, sekitar perempat terakhir abad ke-14. *Ketiga*, sejak 1930-an, Islam Politik di Jawa mulai mengeras menjadi fundamentalis-radikal; dan pertengahan abad ke-20 menjadi ekstrem. Salah satu cirinya: dalam memperjuangkan cita-citanya

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[27] Andy Martin, *Seperlima Mahasiswa Indonesia Dukung Kekhalifahan Islam,* https://satuislam.org/seperlima-mahasiswa-indonesia-setuju-pancasila-diganti-khilafah/ dan lihat juga https://www.dw.com/id/seperlima-mahasiswa-indonesia-dukung-kekhalifahan-islam/a-41204141, diakses 25 April 2020.

[28] Ihsanuddin, https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/06/04/18440061/survei.smrc.hanya.9.2.persen.wni.setuju. indonesia.jadi.negara.khilafah; dan Aqwam Fiazmi Hanifan, https://tirto.id/smrc-ideologi-khilafah-ala-hti-lebih-laku-ketimbang-isis-cp2h, diakses 25 April 2020.

mendirikan negara Islam, mereka mulai menggunakan cara-cara kekerasan; dan memasuki abad ke-21, dengan kedok melawan hegemoni Barat, mereka menjadi lebih ekstrem lagi. Memang harus diakui bahwa, perkembangan ekstremisme di Jawa mutakhir ini tidak terlepas dari pengaruh Islam Trans-nasional. Tetapi, harus diakui juga bahwa, fundamentalisme, radikalisme, dan ekstremisme di Jawa su-dah ada sebelun Islam Trans-nasional masuk. *Keempat*, otoritarian-isme yang represif tidak mampu mematikan spirit fundamentalisme, radikalisme, dan ekstremisme. Kekuasaan Orde Baru Soeharto adalah salah satu buktinya. *Kelima*, dengan dalih memperjuangkan dan membela Islam, mereka berusaha keras menolak budaya dan tradisi yang selama ini telah menjadi bagian integral dari kehidupan bangsa Indonesia. Dengan melolosi budaya-tradisinya, bangunan suatu masyarakat akan runtuh. Kalau sudah demikian, mereka akan dengan mudah menggantinya dengan budaya dan tradisi asing dari Timur Tengah, terutama dari kebiasaan Wahabi dan Ikhwanul Muslimin. Saya kira, selain karena mereka tidak bisa membedakan agama dari kultur di mana Islam diwahyukan sebagaimana dikemukakan Abdurrahman Wahid (2014), penghancuran tradisi adalah strategi kebudayaan yang mereka kembangkan. *Keenam*, dalam beberapa tahun terakhir sejak kemunculannya, Kelompok-kelompok Islam garis keras termasuk par-tai politiknya telah berhasil mengubah wajah Islam Indonesia dari Is-lam yang lembut, toleran, dan penuh kedamaian menjadi Islam yang agresif, beringas, intoleran, dan penuh kebencian. Sepertinya, yang ada dalam benak mereka hanyalah paksaan dan kekerasan. Besarnya jumlah pelajar dan mahasiswa—pada kisaran usia 17-25 tahun—yang menjadi radikal dan ekstrem sebagaimana dikemukakan di atas ada-lah bukti yang tak bisa diingkari; dan *Ketujuh*, semua hal di atas seolah membenarkan teori political-*opportunity-structure* yang menyatakan bahwa, ketika *political-opportunity-structure* suatu nega-ra merenggang, dan kondisi sosial-politiknya menjadi terbuka dan demokratis, maka kelompok-kelompok gerakan akan bermunculan.

Pertanyaannya sekarang adalah: apakah demi demokrasi dan te-gaknya hak-hak asasi manusia yang kita perjuangkan, kita harus membiarkan kelompok-kelompok gerakan yang bermunculan— termasuk gerakan-gerakan fundamentalis, radikalis, dan ekstremis tumbuh dan berkembang bebas? Jawabnya tentu "tidak"! Sebab, ke-

lompok-kelompok tersebut, secara genetik, politik mereka menolak sistem demokrasi dan hak-hak asasi manusia. Jika demikian, apa yang harus kita lakukan? Bagaimana caranya? Menurut saya, ada banyak cara yang dapat dilakukan. Yang jelas, untuk memerangi fundamentalisme, radikalisme, dan ekstremisme tidak cukup hanya dengan menghujat dan mengutuk; tetapi harus menghilangkan penyebab munculnya. Beberapa hal yang dapat dilakukan untuk itu, antara lain, adalah: *Pertama*, kegiatan dialog antar-peradaban—bukan saja antar-agama—harus dilakukan. Bentuk-bentuk kegiatan seperti dialog aksi [sosial] antar-umat beragama, kegiatan-kegiatan expo budaya lokal atau festifal budaya tradisi, dan lain-lain yang serupa. Kegiatan-kegiatan tersebut, saya kira, sangat relevan; mengingat pengalaman selama ini, mereka sangat keras menolak budaya dan tradisi yang selama ini telah menjadi bagian integral dari, dan sekaligus menjadi penyangga bagi, kelangsungan kehidupan bangsa Indonesia. sebagaimana dikemukakan di atas, mereka ingin menggantinya dengan budaya dan tradisi asing dari Timur Tengah, terutama dari kebiasaan Wahabi dan Ikhwanul Muslimin. *Kedua*, untuk mengendalikan lajunya jumlah pelajar dan mahasiswa yang terpengaruh ideologi Islam radikal dan ekstrem, kegiatan-kegiatan seperti: pembenahan konten kurikulum pendidikan agama, dialog agamawan muda, dan kegiatan-kegiatan kebersamaan lintas peradaban (lintas etnis, agama, dan lain sebagainya)—bagi generasi muda, seperti: Kemah Pemuda Antar-etnis dan antar-agama, atau kegiatan bhakti sosial lintas etnik dan lintas-agama—juga relevan untuk dilakukan. Itulah beberapa hal yang dapat saya sampaikan melalui artikel ini. Semoga bermanfaat.

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INTER-CULTURAL DIALOGUE:

Acting Together in Resisting Violence and Extremism in Indonesian Perspective

Dr. Johanes Mardimin[1]

ABSTRACT

This article discusses the history of Islam and the development of Political Islam in Java, especially fundamentalism, radicalism and extremist groups; the following are efforts that can be made to limit, anticipate, and overcome their impacts. This article is compiled based on the results of literature studies and reflections on various activities that have been carried out by various pockets to address this development. From the results of this study note: fundamentalism that gave birth to radicalism and extremism is like a pandemic disease which if not handled properly can continue to expand and become increasingly difficult to control. People who are exposed are difficult to recover; and will continue to infect anyone who is vulnerable. In many countries, this phenomenon has been responded to as a major problem; because in the advanced phase it tends to manifest in various movements that are disturbing and dangerous. Therefore, concrete steps for its control must be considered and taken. So far, dialogue and cooperation between religious communities in various social actions is considered the best way that can be done; at least to limit the range of motion and prevent the spread of the "pandemic" propagation. To

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be more effective, the movement needs to be expanded into "dialogue between civilizations".

Key Words: fundamentalism, radicalism, terrorism, dialogue, and civilization.

INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the Cold War era, ideological tensions between regions – once identified as the capitalist-democratic West Block and socialist-communist Eastern Bloc – have shifted to inter-civilizational tensions. Western civilization represented by the United States and its allies, on the one hand, faces "new enemies" born of Chinese (Confucianism) and Arabic (Islamism) civilization, on the other. This shift from ideological tension to forms of civilization seemed to justify Samuel P. Huntington's prediction of "The clash of civilizations" which had been polemic since the early 1990s.[2]

According to Huntington's prediction, war between civilizations will involve the core states of the great civilizations of the world, namely between Western civilization and Eastern civilization; and most often between Muslims and non-Muslims.[3] The problem is: when the tensions between civilizations metamorphose into political tensions – even though they have never been one hundred percent pure politics, the imbalance of power between the two opposing groups of civilizations has triggered the growth and development of religious fundamentalism with its troubling movements; not only for the parties involved, but also for anyone and anywhere in the world. As recorded in history, the weak parties tend to fight in the form of underground resistance through terror, and if there is an opportunity it will surface like bombings that have taken place in various parts of the world since the beginning of the 21st century. Therefore, it is not surprising that extremism, radicalism, terrorism, as well as religious con-

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[2] As Huntington stated in *The Clash of Civilizations and Remaking of the World Order,* published in New York in 1996, since it was first published in the form of an article entitled *"The Clash of Civilizations?"* by the journal *Foreign Affairs* in 1993, the Huntington oracle continued to be a subject of discussion for up to three years.

[3] *Ibid.* Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations ....,.* C*hapter 12.*

flict and violence which are forms of fundamentalism movement will continue to burst and spread everywhere. Although the targets of the movement are representations of Western civilization, in reality, the victims have never been selective.[4] Anyone, sympathizers and followers of any civilization, even people who have never thought of an inter -civilization war, can become victims of terror when they are in places targeted by terrorists. The events of the WTC 11 September 2001 in the United States, Bali Bombs 1 and 2, Bombs at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, and Bombs at the JW Marriot Hotel in Jakarta, clearly show that terrorist targets are places that are representatives of Western civilization. Examples of cases at the same time prove that terrorism is targeting anyone, anytime, and anywhere, no matter which group, and whose side on.

Such conditions by many parties are still relatively "normal". According to Huntington, it is more dangerous if the conditions continue to develop and there is a balance of power between the core countries. However, this development that occurred during the first two decades of the 21st century forced countries in various parts of the world not to underestimate acts of terrorism. Even countries that are not dominated by Islamic fundamentalist groups still take it seriously. They understand, as long as inter-civilizational tensions still occur, fundamentalism will develop and manifest in the form of troubling movements, such as: religious nuances of conflict and violence, radicalism, extremism, and terrorism.

This article will not discuss Huntington's predictions about the clash of civilizations. This article will discuss the development of Islam in Java, specifically about the growth and development of political Islam groups that tend to be radical and extreme, along with the efforts that can be made to limit the space for movement and its development; and to anticipate and face various possibilities of religious violence and radicalism-extremism movements in society. This is important, especially if we remember Indonesia as the largest Muslim population in the world. Indonesia is fertile ground for the growth

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[4] See, Wendel Bell, *The Clash of Civilizations and Universal Human Values,* Journal of Futures Studies, February 2002, 6 (3), p. 2

and development of these fundamentalist groups; thus, in the context of inter-civilizational warfare, objects which represent Western civilization are very vulnerable to acts of terrorism. In such a context, concrete steps to prevent and overcome them must be continuously thought and done.

So far, the programs carried out by the Government, such as the de-radicalization and formation of Interfaith Communication Forums (FKUB) in each region, seem to have no results. This impression arises, because fundamentalist groups that tend to be radical, intolerant, and extreme continue to develop significantly. This article is based on the results of a literature study on the historicity of Islam in Java, and a reflection on the activities of inter-civilizational dialogue that have been carried out. The hope is, that from the results of this study agendas of activities can be formulated, which can be carried out; at least to limit the space and development of radical, intolerant, and extreme fundamentalism.

ISLAM COMMUNITY IN NORTH COAST OF CENTRAL JAVA:
The forerunner to the Basic Islamic Character in Java

Javanese history records that Islam entered Java via the north coast around the 13th century AD, or around 1250 (Raffles, 1814). From North Central Java then spread to the west and east and expanded into rural areas. This conclusion is supported by the indisputable fact that, transportation technology by sea is the oldest mode of transportation that marks the movement of people between islands and between continents. Meanwhile, the southern sea of Java is non-navigable. This is one proof for the entry of Islam into Java through the north coast of Java.[5] It is true; there is another opinion which states that, Islam had entered Java two centuries before. This opinion is based on the discovery of the grave inscription of the grave of a woman named Fatimah bin Maimun bin Hibat Allah, in Leran, Gresik, East Java, 475 years of Hijri (Azra, 1994: 25; Nur Syam, 2005: 62; and

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[5] Historically, aircraft technology was only discovered in the early 20th century. An aeroplane was first flown by the Wright Brothers – Orville Wright and Wilbur Wright – in 1903. Wright flew his own design aircraft called the Flyer around the United States. See: https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pesawat_terbang.

Nengah Bawa Atmadja, 2010: 2–3).[6] According to the AD calendar, the year number is equivalent to the year 1082 AD. However, these findings and opinions are also doubtful: whether the tombstone is really a gravestone in Leran because the person who died was thought to be a non-Javanese (non-Indonesian) Muslim. It is suspected that the gravestone was brought to Java as a ballast (Ricklefs, 1981).[7]

When referring to Woodward's opinion, the arrival of Islam in Java coincided with a cosmological shock that shocked the world at that time.[8] Chances are, what Woodward's cosmological shock meant was black-death, a plague reportedly killing two-thirds of Europeans at the time. Ole J. Benedictow notes: "[...] the Black Death killed 50 million people in the 14th century, or 60 per cent of Europe's entire population. The disastrous mortal disease known as the Black Death spread across Europe in the years 1346–1353."[9] If Woodward's findings are true, it means that Islam entered Java in the middle of the 14th century.

This description will not question and discuss various opinions about when Islam entered Java. Aside from just wasting a lot of time, struggling with the debate over the arrival of Islam on Java is also of little use. Because, internalization of ideological values , including Islamic beliefs, is not possible to run in a short time and on a massive scale. Like ideological infiltration in general, Islamization in Java must take place slowly, starting from individuals, then developing into groups marked by the development of the surrounding Islamic communities. Even if it can proceed relatively progressively because of the similarities in its mystical elements, ideological infiltration is still not

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[6] See: Azyumardi Azra (1994), *Middle East Ulama Network and Archipelago Archipelago XVII and XVIII,* Mizan Publishers, Bandung, p. 25; Nur Syam (2005), *Coastal Islam,* Publisher of Islamic and Social-Society Studies Institute (*LkiS)* , Yogyakarta, p. 62; Nengah Bring Atmadja (2010), *Genealogy of the Majapahit Collapse: Islamization, tolerance and Retention of Hinduism in Bali,* Publisher of Yogyakarta Student Library.

[7] MC Ricklefs (1981), *A History of Modern Indonesia,* Published by Mcmillan Education Ltd. Houndmills, Bashingstoke, Hampshire, RG21 2XS and London Companies and representatives throughout the world.

[8] *Op.Cit* Mark R. Woodward, 2012 [1999], *Javanese Islam* ... P. xvii.

[9] https://www.google.com/search? client = firefox-bd & q = black + death accessed on 06 April 2020.

as easy as turning the palm of the hand; it needs a process and time that is not short. In the context of this conversation, what is very relevant and important to point out is that, Islam developed in Java, first of all, brought by people from the Shi'ites, mystical Muslims (*Sufistic*); and not from political Islam. The style of Islam as it is, some call it Sufi Islam or cultural Islam; namely Islam which manifests substantively in cultural institutions and other Islamic civilizations, such as: education, art, and so on (Azra, 2000).

According to Woodward, one proof that Islam entered Java was mystical Islam was a model of his sermons which tended to be mystical.[10] This opinion will find the logic of the truth when confronted with the Javanese religious orientation at that time, which is partly Hindu or Buddhist; and some believe in mystic animism and dynamism. Logically, Islam might not be so easily accepted by Javanese if the Islam "offered" did not have the same element or intersect with their beliefs. This, justifies the opinion of S.Q. Fatimi – an Asian historian – stating that Islam that arrived in Java was Islam spread by Sufi preachers from the Bengal region.[11] As Woodward pointed out, Fatimi also showed evidence: a mystical style of Islam that was consistent with the mystical attitude of the previous Javanese community. If so, Islam that enters Java is not Islamic (original, taken for granted) Arabic; but Islam which has experienced acculturation with local culture in Bengal, the eastern part of India, where the Sufi preachers who spread Islam to Java originated.[12] Borrowing the terms used by Azra (1994) and Syam (2005), Islam that came on Java is no longer a large-traded Islam

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[10] See Mark R. Woodward (1989), *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta,* University of Arizona Press, Tuscon; Association for Asian Studies Monograph, 45. The Indonesian edition of this book is published by *LkiS,* Yogyakarta under the title *Javanese Islam: Normative Devotional Versus Kebatinan,* 1999. See Indonesian Edition p. xviii.

[11] GWJ Drewes, *New Understanding of the Arrival of Islam in Indonesia,* in Ahmad Ibrahim, et al. (1989), *Islam in Southeast Asia: Historical Perspectives,* LP3ES Publisher, Jakarta, p. 35-6.

[12] Abdurrahman Wahid (1982), *Bunga Rampai Pesantren,* Publisher Darma Bhakti, Jakarta, p. 41; Azumardi Azra (1994), *Middle East Ulama Network and Archipelago Archipelago XVII and XVIII,* Mizan Publishers, Bandung, p. 33. See, Nur Syam (2005), *Coastal Islam,* LkiS Publisher, Yogyakarta, p. 64.

(Arabic-traded), but an Islam that has gained a touch of local traditions.[13]

According to Woodward's findings (1999, 2012), the *Ahlul al-sunnah wa al-jamaah* group which later developed into the Traditionalist Islamic group that we now know as Nahdlatoel Oelama Islam came later. I think, it is not difficult to predict that, the Islam brought by this group also has similarities with its predecessor, the Shi'a group which brought about a mystical "Islam". Logically, it is also very unlikely that Javanese people will accept it if the Islam they carry does not have a common element with a mystical Javanese culture. Thus, it can be said that the Islamic style in the north coast of Java is flexible, compromise, moderate and wise. As Fealy (2003) points out, the flexibility of traditionalist Islamic groups refers to *fiqh* rules on how to minimize risk. *Idza ta'âradha mafsadâtani ru'iya 'azhamuhâ dhararan biirtikâbi akhaffahima* (if faced with two problems that are equally dangerous, then choose one of the two with smaller or lesser risks. Meaning: if faced with two problems that are equally hazardous, then choose one of the two that has smaller or fewer risks. The same contains risks, then choose one of the two whose risks are smaller). Every decision making must consider the profit and loss, between the benefits and harms. From here, regardless of the background of Islamic cruises who came first in Java, I am sure they are Islamic cruisers who prioritize flexibility and wisdom. In carrying out Islamic symbols on Java, they made compromises with the beliefs of the Javanese people. If not, I am sure they will be rejected. Islamic style like this, until now, is still strong enough to color the Islamic style of people in the north coast of Java. I think that this style of Islam is the forerunner of Islam in Java.

At this point, it becomes quite clear why traditionalist Islamic societies that have developed on the north coast of Java, in general, tend

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[13] As Azra put it, there are a number of opinions about Islam that reached Java, both theorizing about "Arab Islam" and "Non-Arab Islam". However, the truth of each opinion, which is the most correct, there is no conclusive evidence. What is clear, according to Azra, is that Islam that reaches Java is inseparable from the interpretations of its carriers.

to be moderate, not radical, and compromise, so that it seems flat. They use *tawasshuth* (synthesis) as a middle ground formula; which substantially, *tawasshuth* (moderate) contains elements: *tasamuh* (tolerant), *tawazzun* (balance and harmony), *i'tidâl* (justice, determination), and *iqtishâd* (not excessive).[14] Beyond the three elements of *tawasshuth*, some add *tasamuh* (tolerant) as a basic value for attitude, both in action and in speech. This is evident from the attitude of Nahdlatoel Oelama's figures when involved in the process of drafting the Pancasila, as well as pioneering the acceptance of Pancasila as the ideology of the Republic of Indonesia. They did not idealize the Islamic State or the Khalifah State. They continue to prioritize *tawasshuth*, with full awareness that Indonesian society is a pluralistic, heterogeneous society, so that it cannot be used as an Islamic State.[15] While the wise attitude that characterizes the Islamic group that develops on the north coast of Java is evident in every decision making that always puts priority. Meaning: in dealing with various problems, they tend to choose actions that bring benefits, and avoid losses. Therefore, they always hold the principle of "avoiding danger [must] take precedence over doing good" (*Dar'ul mafâsid muqaddamun 'ala jalbi al-mashâlih*); "When faced with choices that are equally risky, the one with the smallest risk is chosen" (*Idza ta'âradha mafsadâtani ru'iya 'azhamuhâ dhararan biirtikâbi akhaffahima*); and "The state of danger must not be overcome by harmful actions" (*Ad-darâru la yuzalu bi ad-dirar*). Thus, actions that are based on good intentions, if in the end can cause damage and harm must be avoided. That is all the general picture. Special cases must be there.

In addition to the above values, Traditionalist Islam generally also holds two interlocking principles: *mashlahat* and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* – the principle of "goodness and usefulness" and "advocating goodness and preventing evil [evil]". The principle of *amar ma'ruf na-*

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[14] See Greg Fealy, *Ijtihad Political Ulema,* p. 77-78; Khamami Zada and Ahmad Fawaid Sjadzilli in *Nahdlatul Ulama, Dinamuka Ideology and State Politics, KOMPAS* Publisher , 2010, p. xi; and also see Andrée Fiellard, *NU vis-à-vis the State,* Publisher of the Institute for Islamic and Social-Community Studies (*LKiS*), Jogjakarta, 1999 — Third Matter 2009, p. 28-31.

[15] *Ibid.* Khamami Zada and Ahmad Fawaid Sjadzilli .... Publisher *KOMPAS,* 2010, p. xi; and Andrée Fiellard, *LKiS* , Yogjakarta, 1999 — Third Matter 2009, p. 28-31.

hi munkar is God's command which is explicit in the Koran, Chapter 3: 104, which is translated in Indonesian: "and let there be among you a group of people who call for virtue (*ma'ruf*), to order to those who are sorry and prevent them from becoming evil; they are the lucky ones."[16]

From the description above, I just want to say and emphasize that, the basic Islamic character and character that became the forerunner of the Islamic community in Java, in fact, are cultural Islam, Mystical Islam or Sufi Islam which is moderate, flexible, and wise. Therefore, if in Java Islamic fundamentalist political groups develop radicals and extremists, of course, that is another variant of Islam that came later. The question is: When did Political Islam enter Java?

POLITICAL ISLAM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF FUNDAMENTALISM, RADICALISM-ISLAMIC EXTREMISM IN JAVA

Before answering the question "When did Political Islam enter Java?", what must be stressed first are the boundaries of what is meant by "Political Islam", "Cultural Islam", "Fundamentalism", and "Radicalism-extremism". For the first terminology, the general view tends to agree that what is meant by Political Islam is Islam which appears as a framework or as a basis for political ideology; Islam that manifests in the form of political power, whether in the format of political parties or other organizations that have vision and struggle to realize the political order in accordance with Islam. Borrowing the understanding of Azra (2000), political Islam is Islam that seeks to be realized and actualized in official political power or institutions, especially in the executive and legislative fields. In short, what is meant by Political Islam is Islam that manifests in political power; or Islam which is realized and actualized in political power. Meanwhile, what is meant by "cultural Islam" is ritual Islam, Islam that has nothing to do

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[16] See: Hafish Dasuki, et al.: *Al-Qur'an and Translations,* Juz 1-Juz 30, Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 1994, p. 93.

with political affairs. Azra (2000) defines cultural Islam as an Islamic religion; Islam which manifests substantively in cultural institutions and other forms of civilization, such as education, arts, etc.[17]

Next questions: What is meant by "Fundamentalism"? What does this have to do with "Political Islam" and why do Fundamentalists tend to be radical and sometimes extreme? Before answering these questions, to formulate an appropriate answer, I think it would be helpful if it were first stated about the origins of fundamentalism and the characteristics that mark it.

The term fundamentalism became exceedingly popular after being used to refer to the movement of Christian revolutionaries in the United States since 1870. Historically, they became fundamentalists because they felt threatened by the teachings of liberal theology and evolutionary [theory], so it was deemed necessary to return to the fundamental principles of the teachings his religion. Fundamentalists point to the belief that "the Bible is the infallible word of God". Therefore, the holy sentences in the Bible do not require interpretation; and moreover, the language and meaning must be changed according to the current context. They understand the teachings of the scriptures textually, scripturally, and as is. However, in subsequent developments, fundamentalism is no longer the monopoly of Christian groups. Fundamentalism has also developed among people of other religions, including Islam; even the latter is more radical than the fundamentalist Christian groups. Their movement was not just to purify (cleanse) Islam of non-Arab cultural content; nor is it merely for displaying Arabic-style clothing, such as: veiled and dressed in robe for women; wearing a *koko* shirt, wearing a *santri* hat, wearing a beard, wearing *jigrang / cingkrang* pants, and if necessary, robe à la the Taliban, for men. They will eliminate what is considered heresy, and who are considered infidels. In fact, in the era of "Inter-Civilization War" à la Huntington, Islamic fundamentalism developed not only as an Islamic purification movement, but also as a form of resistance to the hegemony of Western civilization.

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[17] *Op.Cit .:* Azra (2000), *Islam in the Transition to Democracy,* Introduction to the book *Islam in the Transition, KOMPAS* Publisher , p. xxviii.

Theologically and sociologically, the characteristics of fundamentalism are generally as follows: First: Theologically, fundamentalism is characterized by an exclusive, closed, and self-righteous spiritual life. They assume that only they themselves are right and others are wrong (Sumartana, 2002; Fuller, 2010; 2014: 59; Effendy, 2016: vii). They feel as the holder of the monopoly of truth and the authority of the interpretation of the truth, as if heaven is in their grasp. Second: because they feel self-righteous, they tend not to respect different beliefs; let alone recognize the truth of other religions.[18] Third: fundamentalists are generally negative about everything that is secular in nature. For them, everything that is secular is considered heresy, diametrically opposed to religion, and anti-God. Fourth: sociologically, theological orientation as it makes this group does not feel the need to establish communication with other groups. Instead, they live with suspicion of other groups, and do not believe in good faith from any group with different beliefs. Fifth: fundamentalist groups tend to be indifferent to various social problems, such as: injustice, poverty, equal rights for fellow human beings, and various other social problems in daily life. They, in general, tend not to think about worldly things. All their attention is directed to the end of the world which promises heaven with all its pleasures. Sixth: in the life of the nation and state, radically, they try to replace the existing socio-political system, exactly as it is written in the religious book which it believes. Borrowing the term from Sumartana (2002), they always "want to create a piece of heaven on earth". Seventh: fundamentalists generally also reject the progress of human thought, both manifested in the advancement of science – such as the theory of evolution – and in new interpretations of the scriptures. As stated above, in general, they understand religious teachings in a scriptural, or textual way, because they believe that what is written in the scriptures is "the words of God" which cannot be wrong, and contain absolute truth; so it does not need interpretation anymore.

Whereas what is meant by "Radicalism-Extremism" is the flow of religious politics that wants and demands drastic socio-political

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[18] Among Catholics, through the second Vatican Council in 1965, an exclusive view like this was corrected. One of the results of the second Vatican Council was the recognition that outside the Church there is also salvation.

changes, and not infrequently through violence that goes beyond custom or normality. To realize their desires and demands, they do not hesitate to kill anyone who is considered a barrier, even at the expense of their own lives, as in the case of a suicide bombing.

Departing from the limitations and characteristics as stated above, we come to the question: when did political Islam and radical and extremist fundamentalism enter Java? According to Woodward's findings (1999, 2012: xviii), Political Islam as understood and defined as above only entered Java after the entry of cultural Islam (mystical Islam or Sufistic Islam) brought by Shiites and Sufis adherents of *ahlul al-sunnah wal al-jamaah*. As theorized, the presence of Political Islam is indicated by the growth of Islamic political institutions. Historically, the first Islamic political institution in Java was the Demak Kingdom. If so, then the entry of Political Islam in Java can be expected to coincide with the establishment of the Demak Kingdom. The problem is: so far, there is no, or at least not yet, convincing information that can be used as a reference regarding the time of the incident. What is clear, ideological infiltration always requiring time that is not short and may not be massive. The Javanese historians generally only state that the establishment of the Demak Kingdom coincided with the receding of the glory of the Majapahit Kingdom, after the death of King Hayam Wuruk. History writers estimate that time occurred in the last quarter of the 15th century, around 1400 Caka, which was marked by *candrasengkala*: "*sirna ilang kertaning bhumi*" (Kartodirdjo, 1999: 31; Ricklefs, 1981; 1991: 54).[19] If calculated with the Christian calendar, the number 1400 *Caka* is the same as the year 1478 AD, because the calculation of the year 1 *Caka* begins in 78 AD.

Regarding its development, it is important to point out here that, during its heyday, the Demak Kingdom expanded west, east, and

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[19] *Candrasengkala* are arrangement of words (sentences) that indicate year numbers; or number of years which is kept secret in the arrangement of words (sentences). The word *vanishing* (annihilated to nothing) marks the number 0; *ilang* (lost - being absent) also marks the number 0, *kerta* (prosperous) marks the number 4, and the *earth* (there is only one) marks the number 1 . In Javanese literature, the way to interpret or translate *trump* reads from the back. Thus, the *passage "vanquished lost kertaning earth"* shows the number 1400 Çaka; because the writing of pre-independence Indonesian history, in general, uses the Çaka Year Calendar.

south – into the interior of Central Java. As historian Sartono Kartodirdjo (1999: 30-31) pointed out, the expansion of Demak to the west began with the Syeh Nurullah expedition – later known as Sunan Gunung Jati – to the regions of Cirebon and Banten, and succeeded in Islamization until it succeeded in establishing the Islamic Kingdom in areas the. It is told, from these two centers of power that Islam spread to the interior of West Java. It is said that after the death of Hasanudin – the king of Banten after Syeh Nurullah – around 1570, Maulana Yusuf, who succeeded the kingdom of Banten, continued his political expansion into Pajajaran and succeeded in mastering it. It is said, after the Palace of Pajajaran fell into the hands of the Banten troops, Raja Pajajaran and his entire family disappeared. Unfortunately, after that, the development of political Islam in West Java was also not clear; at least it is difficult to find data that can be used as a reference about this. What is clear is that in West Java in the period leading up to and post-independence, the growing militant Islamic political group led by Sukarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwirjo (1905-1962) – a Javanese follower of Sufism – who since studying at the Medical School, political ideology has been seen towards Radical Islam. Because of his radical political thoughts, in 1927 Kartosuwirjo was expelled from the Medical School. According to Ricklefs (1981), after being expelled from the Medical School, in the early 1930s to 1939, he was active in the Indonesian Islamic Union Party. Kartosuwirjo's political career in this party was very good; to be trusted as PSII Junior Chairperson. However, at the 25th Congress of the PSII in Palembang, January 1940, he was fired from the party. For one thing, he was stubbornly fighting for his radical political ideas: moving to Darul Islam.

After being fired from PSII, in 1940, located in Garut, West Java, he founded the Suffah Institute to fight for his ideals of establishing the Islamic State of Indonesia. Kartosuwirjo began his Suffah education by establishing a Modern Madrasah to educate militant youth with religious education, general lessons, and military training. However, when the Dutch East Indies were controlled by the Japanese Occupation Government, the Suffah Institute founded by Kartosuwirjo was closed. He then continued his struggle by leading Hezbollah guerrillas in the Garut and surrounding areas. At the beginning of the revolution, besides continuing to enlarge his army, he was active in

Masjumi. It is said that in this party, he no longer liked "left-left" ideas and no longer trusted Republican leaders.

In 1948, after the Siliwangi Division was withdrawn to Central Java, Kartosuwirjo held a conference with Masjumi figures from West Java, GPII, Hezbollah, and Sabilillah, located in Pangwekusan, Tasikmalaya. The conference decided: freeze Masjumi West Java and form the Islamic Council (MI); Indonesian Islamic Army (TII); State Security Agency (BKN); Barisan Rakyat Indonesia (Row); and Pahlawan Darul Islam (PADI) – which was later merged with TII. The results of the conference were ratified in March 1948 at Cipeundeuy. On May 1, 1948, they held another conference at Cijoho which resulted in a decision: to establish the Imamate Council (Council of Ministers) chaired by Kartosuwirjo; The Fatuz Council (Supreme Advisory Council); and Preparing the Azan Qanun (Constitution). The results of the conference were ratified on August 7, 1948 in the village of Cisampak, Cilugagar, Tasikmalaya; as well as proclaiming the Islamic State of Indonesia. In its concept, NII is in the form of Jumhuziyah (Republic), chaired by an Imam with the Qur'an and the Sahih Hadith as the highest law (Shadily, et al., 1987: 754-755). To finance its operations, Kartosuwirjo's forces carried out robberies, looting, extortion, and terrorist attacks. It is said that the Darul Islam movement managed to control most of the interior of West Java, until Kartosuwirjo was arrested and sentenced to death in 1962. Apparently, Kartosuwirjo's supporters were truly militant. The proof is that even though Kartosuwirjo was sentenced to death, the DI / TII movement continued, even though it moved more underground (Ricklefs, 1991 [1981]: 241-343).

Meanwhile, Demak's expansion to the east began with the conquest of Majapahit (1527), and successively followed: Wirasari (1528), Gegelang (Madiun, 1529), Medangkung (Medang Kamulan Blora, 1530), Surabaya (1531), Pasuruhan (1535), Lamongan, Blitar, Wirasaba (1541), Sengguruh (Malang, 1545), Mamenang or Kediri (1549), and finally Panarukan and Blambangan. For the latter, the exact time is not clear. In this article, due to limited data that can be used as a reference, the East Demak expansion process will not be described in detail. What is important to point out here is that, the West Central

Java region – Bagelen and Banyumas – has entered the environment of Demak influence after Senopati Mangkubumi converted to Islam. Regarding further developments, it is still not widely known, because the data that tells about the development of Political Islam in Java is very scarce. According to Bachtiar Effendy (2009: 22), theoretical discourse about the relationship between Islam and politics in Indonesia has only been developing since the 1970s, so many historical events have been missed.

In the next period, after the ebb and flow of the glory of Demak Kingdom, Political Islam that entered Central Java continued to expand until the era of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom. One reliable historical evidence of this is the use of the term *Senapati ing ngalaga Sayidin Panatagama Khalifatullah* (War Commander, Religious Stylist based on the mandate of God) who always follows behind the names of the kings of Mataram.[20] In the following presentation, which will be discussed in relative depth is the development of Political Islam from Demak to the interior areas of Central Java. One reason is this: in addition to West Java, in subsequent developments, this pathway gave birth to fundamentalist, radical and extreme political Islam groups.

According to historical records, during the Mataram Kingdom, Islam received great attention since it was ruled by Susuhunan Paku Buwono II (1726-1749). Paku Buwono II, who began to take office at the age of 16, began a good relationship with the ulemas; including Kiai Kasan Besari from Gebangtinatar Islamic Boarding School, Tegalsari, Ponorogo. Historically, Paku Buwono II's relationship with Kiai Kasan Besari began with his rescue when the rebellion broke out. These good relations continued, and were followed up, by sending sons of the Kasunanan king's family to study Islam to the Kiai Besari Islamic Boarding School in Ponorogo. In history also reported that, in addition to Ponorogo, a number of royal families also sent their sons to study Islam to Kiai Hanggamaya in Kedu Bagelen. Therefore, it is not surprising that the literary works of Surakarta Kraton poets are

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[20] See Moedjanto, G. (1987), *Konsep Kekuasaan Jawa, Penerapannya oleh Raja-raja Mataram,* Canisius Publisher in Yogyakarta, p. 81.

very Islamic.[21] The Surakarta Sunanate Palace poets – Yasadipoero I (Bagus Banjar, 1729-1803), Yasadipoero II (Bagus Wasista, 1760-1845), and Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsita (Bagus Burhan, 1802-1873) – are Pesantren alumni (Wildan, 2014)). Allegedly, from then on too, Javanese culture that breathes Islam began to develop rapidly in the Surakarta Sultanate Palace environment. The Islamic New Year (1 Muharam) is celebrated on a large scale; so is the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. Every month of Maulud, and only in the month of Maulud, Hijri year, the Sultan's Sekaten gamelan is sounded in the courtyard of the Great Mosque of the Palace; and the spilled market was held to meet the North Palace Square.

In subsequent developments, attention to Islam within the Surakarta Palace became even stronger since the Surakarta Sunanate was ruled by Susuhunan Paku Buwono IV (1788-1820). As Wildan (2014) stated, it was Paku Buwono IV who invited scholars from various places to live and teach Islam in the Kingdom. Kiai Djamsari from Banyumas is one of them. He was placed in a village to the southwest of the Kasunanan Palace. In that place, Kiai Djamsari not only taught Islam to the surrounding community; but also taught Islam to the Royal Nobles and Courtiers (Bureaucrats) of the Palace. What is interesting about Djamsaren Islamic Boarding School, even though it was founded by the Kraton, this Islamic Boarding School is not entirely under the control of the Kraton. The involvement of the students during the Diponegoro War which led to the destruction of Pondok Djamsaren by the Dutch colonial army,[22] clearly shows that the pesantren is not under the control of the Palace. I think it was common knowledge that, at that time, the Surakarta Sunanate Palace sided with the Dutch Colonial government. Thus, the involvement of Djamsari students in the Diponegoro War against the Dutch Colonial army at the same time showed the resistance of the students against the Palace.

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[21] Read the works of the poet Satra Kasunana Kraton Surakarta, such as: *Serat Centhini, Serat Cebolek, Serat Kalatidha, Serat Sabdatama, Serat Sabdajati, dan Serat Pustakaradja.* The books are very strong Islamic breath.

[22] After being destroyed by the Dutch Colonial army, it was only in 1878 that Kiai Muhammad Idris of Klaten built and revived the pesantren.

Although the students of Pondok Djamsaren resisted the Kraton who sided with the Colonial Government, apparently, the Kraton did not impose severe sanctions on him. In fact, it was this Pondok which later inspired two Abdi Dalem Kraton – Duke of Sosrodiningrat and the Chief commentator Anom Kraton – to establish a formal Islamic educational institution to prepare and meet the needs of the head-man. In 1905, with the support of Susuhunan Paku Buwono X, the two Abdi Dalem Kraton people succeeded in realizing their dream of establishing a Modern Islamic School named Madrasah Manba'ul Ulum. For the first time, Kiai Muhammad Idris – a Kiai from Klaten who built and revived the Djamsaren Islamic Boarding School after the Dutch colonial army destroyed it – was appointed its leader. Kiai Djamsari's name was legendary. The village where Kiai Djamsari lived, established Islamic boarding schools, and taught Islam, until now it was called "*Kampung Djamsaren*".

Another interesting thing that can be noted from the development of Political Islam in Surakarta is the fact that, even though Political Islam is developing quite rapidly in the Kraton environment, the development does not significantly influence the Islamization process among the citizens of Surakarta society in general. Evidently, until now, Surakarta society is still dominated by Abangan groups – those who have Islamic identity; but do not strictly adhere to the teachings of Islam. Such recognition is intended only to circumvent government regulations that require every Indonesian citizen to choose one of five state-recognized religions (Islam, Catholic Christianity, Protestant Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism) to be included on their Identity Card. Kejawen which was adopted by most Javanese people in Surakarta at that time did not include beliefs recognized as religion. Devout Islamic groups in Surakarta only developed in Islamic enclaves formed by the Kingdom and the Dutch Colonial Government for certain interests, such as: Kauman, Kliwon Market, and Laweyan.

Such conditions continued until the early days of independence. Only after the Kraton no longer existed did the Political Islam movement in Surakarta shift into the political realm of the party and began to stretch again. Political Islam activists in Surakarta joined the Masju-

mi party. In the 1955 election, with 20.9 per cent, Masjumi in Surakarta was the second winner after the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI). However, after Masjumi, which became their political home, was dissolved by Sukarno in 1960, the Islamic [Political] movement in Surakarta experienced a receding period; and shifted again to social life. Beginning in the 1960s, they joined the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council (DDII), founded by former Masjumi leaders, Muhammad Nasir, and friends, in 1967 by opening a DDII Branch in Solo. That said, DDII established relations with the World Muslim League (Rabithah al-Alam al-Islami); and through DDII acting as its representative in Indonesia, Rabithah al-Alam al-Islami provided enormous funds for radical movements in Indonesia. Campus Da'wah Institutions that developed the Tarbiyah movement in various State campuses in Indonesia were said to be one of the institutions that participated in the funding of Saudi Arabia (Wahid, 2009: 37).

Initially, the DDII program was to provide support to government programs in eradicating the remnants of communism. However, in further developments, Muhammad Natsir asked ex-Masjumi cadres in Solo to establish boarding schools and hospitals to fight Christianization which was considered massive enough after the G30S incident. As Wildan (2014) noted,[23] according to Ahmad Chusnan, former leader of the Surakarta Branch DDII, the establishment of Pondok Ngruki, the Kustati Islamic Hospital, and the Islamic Hospital Foundation (Yarsi) was a response to Muhammad Natsir's suggestions and requests. Historically, the establishment of the lodge began with a meeting of Solo clerics at the Great Mosque of the Surakarta Palace. The meeting was then followed up by holding more intensive Islamic teaching activities (starting in 1969) by establishing Madrasah Diniyah in Gading Kidul and establishing the Surakarta Islamic Da'wah Radio station (RADIS) to expand the scope of his da'wah. In 1972, the Islamic school they had established was developed into a Islamic boarding school; which a few years later was transferred to the village of Ngruki, joining the al-Mukmin Islamic Education Foundation (Wildan,

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[23] See: Muhammad Wildan (2009), *Memetakan Islam Radikal: Studi Atas Suburnya Gerakan Islam Radikal di Solo, Jawa Tengah*, in Muhammad Nur Ichwan, et al.: *Indonesia dalam Ancaman Fundamentalisme,* Mizan Publisher, Bandung, p. 275.

2014). I think since that time the seeds of radicalism in Solo began to be sown.

Here, it is important to point out that the distinction between "Cultural Islam" and "Political Islam" is only in the mind. The two cannot be separated and separated in black and white. The embodiment of Islam in the forms of civilization, such as education, economy, law, etc., cannot be separated from political affairs at all. The striking difference between "Cultural Islam" and "Political Islam" is only its interest in the affairs of state, both in relation to the form of the state and positions in political power. "Cultural Islam" is perceived as Islam which is not too concerned with political matters. For example: in the debate on state ideology, the Cultural Islamic group did not insist on forming an Islamic state (*khilafah*); and also did not really want political positions in government, both in executive and legislative ranks, although in reality they are not always consistent. However, traditionalist Islamic groups also involved themselves in power politics. Theologically, indeed, it is not easy to distance Islam from politics, because doctrinally Islam does not separate religion (*din*) and politics (*siyasah*). In Islam, politics is seen as an inseparable part of religion. Here, the dichotomous distinction between "Cultural Islam" and "Political Islam" seems ambiguous. If so, what is the difference between the two?

The above has been stated: Traditionalist Islam in Indonesia is more flexible, moderate, and wise. They are not rigid about the form and political system, and do not place the Islamic political system (*khilafah*) as a fixed price. They are more realistic, flexible, and wise while still considering civil and non-Muslim political rights. In the context of a very pluralistic Indonesian society, they do not want Indonesia to become an Islamic state by implementing a khilafah system, even though the social capital they must fight for it is very adequate. As stated above, when the Political Islam group insisted on making Indonesia an Islamic state, the Cultural Islamic group actually took the opposite position on the very rational grounds that Indonesia was a plural society that could not be contained in the form of an Islamic state. In fact, when the Political Islam group again fought for the en-

actment of Islamic law in the MPRS Session (Provisional People's Consultative Assembly) in 1968, Cultural Islamic leaders remained firm in defending Indonesia as a secular state based on Pancasila. The debate was reopened because the Political Islam group considered the debate on the Ideology of the state in 1945 which finally agreed to Pancasila as the Basis for a unified country in the Republic of Indonesia was not final. Meanwhile, for the Cultural Islamic group, the decision regarding Pancasila as the Foundation of the Indonesian State was final. The problem then is after the MPRS session in 1968, several Regions issued Sharia Regional Regulations. However, this problem did not last long; because, Suharto immediately ordered the Regions to quickly withdraw the Sharia regulations (Mudjiburahman, 2006; 2014).

In subsequent developments, although Suharto's New Order power was very repressive, the political Islam movement in Indonesia was never extinct. In fact, in some places like Solo, the political Islam movement is still relatively strong. Since the early days of the New Order regime, two Pondok Ngruki ulemas, Sukoharjo – Abdullah Sungkar and Abubakar Ba'asyir – continued to oppose the application of the Pancasila ideology as the sole principle of the Indonesian state. They assume, the application of Pancasila as the sole principle is intended to suppress political Islam groups. Therefore, the application of Pancasila as a single principle must be resisted. For this reason, in the 1970s, Sungkar and Ba'asyir joined NII-TII and built an underground network for militant youth. They organized their followers with a cell system called Usrah – derived from Arabic which means "*nuclear family*". The young men were indoctrinated with the ideology of Islamism and trained by the military to fight for the establishment of an Islamic state (Bruinessen, 2014). Eventually, at the end of 1978, the two ulama were arrested by the New Order authorities for their involvement in the underground network of Darul Islam that was revived by H. Ismail Pranoto (Hispran) (Bruinessen 2014; Wildan, 2014).

Besides the NII-TII which still existed as an underground movement, the Solo case seemed to be the most prominent political Islam movement in Java in the early days of the New Order, at least until the late 1970s or early 1980s. The rest of the political Islam movements

in Indonesia are mostly in the form of semi-secret underground movements. For this category, it can be said that the Tarbiyah movement operates through mosques on campuses. This movement that emerged in Indonesia in the 1980s was strongly influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. In Indonesia, this movement targets educated young people to become members and sympathizers, by carrying out religious discussions and mental training. When the political power of the New Order began to falter due to the multidimensional crisis since March 1998, the Tarbiyah movement established the Indonesian Muslim Student Action Unit (KAMMI). That said, the establishment of this organization was also inspired by the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council (DDII), which was founded by Mohammad Natsir; having previously succeeded in initiating the establishment of the Indonesian Committee for Islamic World Solidarity (KISDI). In the 1990s, under the leadership of Ahmad Sumargono, this institution stole public attention because of the intense demonstrations carried out, especially to defend Palestine and Bosnia, as well as to attack the media and institutions in the country accused of insulting Islam and not being sensitive to the Islamic point of view (Bruinessen, 2014).

Entering the new post-reformation era in 1998, fundamentalist-radical Islamic groups that during Soeharto's rule lay down to regain space and life force to rise again; and the movement to include the Jakarta Charter in the country's constitution was rolled back. At the MPR session in 2001 and 2002, the Assembly decided to reject the idea. The problem then is in the following years that several provinces and districts / cities issue and implement Sharia Regional Regulations. This pattern is exactly like what happened during the 1968 MPRS Session. The difference is, in this new era, because of the democratic political system it adopts, the Government "cannot" use its power to ban it just like that. That is democracy. In such a situation, I think, the Cultural Islamic group is the only force that can be expected to keep a pluralistic Indonesia unified in diversity based on Pancasila. I think, here is the relevance of the distinction of "Cultural Islam" and "Political Islam" in this conversation.

Regarding the democratic political system adopted by Indonesia after the 1998 reforms, Abubakar Ba'asyir's return to Indonesia, I think, is also inseparable from a democratic political climate. The problem is: the return of Abubakar Ba'asyir to Indonesia gives a new life to the radical Islamic network he once pioneered. So, it is not surprising that the radical movements that during the New Order era went underground to change their movements to be open. They began to abandon the pattern of underground movements and return to legal-formal patterns of movement. For example: the Tarbiyah movement. After the Soeharto regime collapsed, former Tarbiyah activists founded the Justice Party (PK) – which later turned into the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS); and other groups have established a new institution called the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) – which has branches in several areas. Meanwhile, in the regions there were also many fundamentalist Islamic political groups, such as: Laskar Umat Islam Surakarta (LUIS), Surakarta Activist Communication Forum (FKAM), Surakarta Islamic Youth Front (FPIS), Islamic People's Front (FUI) Klaten, Islamic Jihad Front (FJI) Yogyakarta, Surakarta Kidnapping Resistance (FPP), and others.[24] Likewise, the Islamic Political Abubakar Ba'asyir movement. To continue his struggle to realize the Islamic state of Indonesia, at the Congress in Yogyakarta in August 2000, Abubakar Ba'asyir and his loyal followers and network established an official organization called the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI).

Another important symptom to note here is the emergence of movements of Transnational Islamic groups, such as the Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). Initially, HTI appeared on campuses, such as: IPB, ITB, UI, UGM, and on other public campuses in Java. HTI has been in Indonesia since the 1980s; however, during the New Order era they were underground. After the 1998 reformation, their movement became more open, and fought for influence in two mainstream Islamic organizations in Indonesia – NU and Muhammadiyah. They hoped the two Islamic organizations would agree to a public debate that led to the establishment of a new caliphate that united Muslims around the world. According to Bruinessen (2014), the most prominent Trans-

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[24] Setara Institute, *'Dari Radikalisme menuju Terorisme: Relasi dan Transformasi Organisasi Islam Radikal di Jawa Tengah dan D.I. Yogyakarta'* (2012).

national Islamic movements among these groups are the Prosperous Justice Party and its network – which is the Indonesian version of the Muslim Brotherhood – Hisbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), and non-political groups such as Tablighi Jama'ah, and other "Jihadist Islamic Groups", such as: Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and Jemaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT).

In addition to the strengthening of the Islamic fundamentalist-radical political movement that wants the implementation of Islamic law, the excesses of the democratic political system in Indonesia after the 1998 reformation are inter-religious conflicts in various regions, such as: Poso and Maluku. Tragically, the jihad movement which carried the banner of Islam – supported by military factions and interest groups in these areas – has transformed the conflict-stricken areas into battlefields between religions involving fellow Children of the Nation.

Even more terrible than all that is the development of extreme radical and intolerant fundamentalist groups lately. Based on the results of a poll conducted by the Alvara research institute of 4,200 Muslim young people in the early 2000s, it shows that, 18.6 percent of students and 16.8 percent of students stated that they supported the Islamic caliphate system as the basis of the Republic of Indonesia. In fact, 23.4 percent of students and 23.3 percent of students said they were ready to wage jihad to establish the Islamic caliphate. In the Indonesian context, that number is not small. Based on data from the Ministry of Education and Culture in the same year, the number of high school and vocational students throughout Indonesia totaled 9.6 million – consisting of 4.78 million high school students and 4.9 million vocational students.[25] Meanwhile, based on data from the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (*Kemenristekdikti*) in 2018, the total number of students in Indonesia is 7.5 million.[26] With the composition of the number of students and students like that, if calculated based on the percentage above, there are 3,991,800 students and students – consisting of 2,236,800 students and 1,755,000

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[25] https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2019/06/24/berapa-jumer-sma-dan-smk-di-indonesia .

[26] https://www.republika.co.id/berita/pend Pendidikan / dunia-kampus /18/11/12/ pi2o7r366- jum- mahasiswa- indone- sia- masih- sikit .

students – who are ready to wage jihad to enforce the *Khilafah* in Indonesia. Thus, it is difficult to imagine what it would be like if several students who declared themselves ready to wage jihad to uphold the *Khilafah* in Indonesia carried out their jihad. In fact, so far, one person committing suicide bombings in the name of jihad alone has troubled many people: moreover, 3,991,800 students. That number, of course, has not yet counted jihadis who are not students.

What is further interesting, in the poll was also asked about the perceptions of Muslim students about non-Muslim leaders and the application of Islamic Sharia in regions in Indonesia. The result: 29.7 percent of students and 29.5 percent of students do not support non-Muslim leaders; and 21.9 percent of students and 19.6 percent of students support the application of Islamic law in governance in the Regions.[27] The results of a survey conducted by Saiful Muzani Research and Consulting (SMRC) on May 14-20 2017 are also not much different. Although the majority of Indonesians reject ISIS, survey results show 9.2 percent of respondents agree to replace the Unitary Republic of Indonesia into a caliphate system.[28] personally agree with Saiful Mujani that, in the context of Indonesia, the number of 9.2 percent of citizens who want NKRI to be a *khilafah* state is not a small amount. If the current population of Indonesia is estimated at 270 million people, that means, 9.2 percent is 24.84 million people. The question now is: what can, and should we do so that Indonesia remains based on Pancasila? How to? And who should do it? Some alternative answers to these questions can be seen in the following description.

[27] Andy Martin, *Seperlima Mahasiswa Indonesia Dukung Kekhalifahan Islam,* https://satuislam.org/seperlima-mahasiswa-indonesia-setuju-pancasila-diganti-khilafah/ and see also https://www.dw.com/id/seperlima-mahasiswa-indonesia-dukung-kekhalifahan-islam/a-41204141, accessed April 25, 2020.

[28] Ihsanuddin,https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/06/04/18440061/survei.smrc.hanya.9.2.persen.wni.agree.indonesia.jadi.negara.khilafah; and Aqwam Fiazmi Hanifan, https://tirto.id/smrc-ideologi-khilafah-ala-hti-lebih-laku-imbang-isis-cp2h, accessed 25 April 2020.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

From the description above, it can be concluded that: *First*, Islam which became the forerunner of the Islamic community in Java, basically, is a Sufi-style Islam – Islam with a strong mystical dimension – brought by the Shiites and Sufi followers of *Ahlul al-sunnah wa al-jamaah*. Therefore, Islam that developed in Java in general is Islam that is flexible, moderate, accommodating to local culture, and wise in dealing with differences. This style of Islam is called "Cultural Islam". *Second*, the political Islam that existed and developed in Java only came later – after the arrival of Shiites and Sufis adherents of *Ahlul al-sunnah wa al-jamaah*. The presence of "Political Islam" in Java was marked by the establishment of the Islamic Kingdom of Demak, around the last quarter of the 14th century. *Third,* since the 1930s, Political Islam in Java began to harden to become radical fundamentalist; and by the middle of the 20th century to extremes. One of the characteristics: in fighting for its ideals of establishing an Islamic state, they began to use violent means; and entering the 21st century, under the guise of fighting against Western hegemony, they became even more extreme. It must be admitted that the development of extremism in Java today is inseparable from the influence of Transnational Islam. However, it must also be recognized that fundamentalism, radicalism, and extremism in Java already existed before Transnational Islam entered. *Fourth*, repressive authoritarianism cannot kill the spirit of fundamentalism, radicalism, and extremism. Suharto's New Order authority was one of the proofs. *Fifth*, under the pretext of fighting for and defending Islam, they try hard to reject the culture and traditions that have become an integral part of the life of the Indonesian people. By diluting its culture, the building of a society will collapse. If this were the case, they would easily replace it with foreign cultures and traditions from the Middle East, especially from the Wahabi and Muslim Brotherhood habits. I think, in addition to being unable to distinguish religion from culture in which Islam was revealed as stated by Abdurrahman Wahid (2014), the destruction of tradition was a cultural strategy that they developed. *Sixth*, in the last few years since its emergence, hardline Islamic groups including political parties have succeeded in changing the face of Indonesian Islam from a gentle, tolerant, and peaceful Islam to an aggressive, violent, intolerant, and hateful Islam. It seems that all they have in mind is

coercion and violence. The large number of students– in the range of 17-25 years old – who become radical and extreme as stated above is undeniable evidence; and *seventh*, all of the above seem to justify the theory of *political-opportunity-structure* which states that, when the *political-opportunity-structure* of a country is stretched, and the socio -political conditions become open and democratic, movement groups will emerge.

The question now is: is it for the sake of democracy and the up-holding of the human rights that we are fighting for, we must allow groups of movements to emerge – including fundamentalist, radicalist and extremist movements to grow and develop freely? The answer is of course "no"! Because, these groups, genetically, politically reject the democratic system and human rights. If so, what should we do? How to? In my opinion, there are many ways that can be done. What is clear, to combat fundamentalism, radicalism and extremism it is not enough just to blaspheme and condemn; but a must to eliminate the cause of its emergence. Some things that can be done for that, among others, are: *First*, inter-civilizational dialogue activities – not just between religions – must be carried out. Forms of activity such as [social] dialogue between religious communities, local cultural expo activities or traditional cultural festivals, etc. These activities, I think, are very relevant; given their experience so far, they have strongly rejected cultural and traditional traditions that have become an inte-gral part of, and at the same time become a buffer for, the survival of the Indonesian people. As stated above, they want to replace it with foreign cultures and traditions from the Middle East, especially from the Wahhabi and Muslim Brotherhood habits. *Second*, to control the speed of the number of students who are affected by radical and ex-treme Islamic ideology, are activities such as: improvement of curricu-lum content in religious education, youth religious dialogue, and cross-civilizational togetherness activities (cross ethnic, religious, etc.) – for young people, such as: Inter-ethnic and inter-religious Youth Camps, or cross-ethnic and cross-religious social service activi-ties – also relevant. Those are some things that I can convey through this article. May they be useful.

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Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah:
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Pengantar

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) dan Muhammadiyah merupakan dua organisasi Islam terbesar di Indonesia bahkan di dunia. Dua organisasi ini merupakan mitra umat Kristiani dan umat beragama lain dalam menjalin dan menjaga hubungan antar umat beragama di Indonesia. Kerjasama umat Kristiani dengan keduanya dilakukan baik secara formal dengan organisasi maupun dengan orang-orang yang berlatar belakang NU dan Muhammadiyah.

Meskipun sudah melakukan banyak kerja sama dengan NU dan Muhammadiyah baik dengan pengurus organisasi maupun dengan orang-orang yang berlatar belakang dua organisasi tersebut masih banyak umat Kristiani yang belum mengenal NU dan Muhammadiyah lebih dalam.

Tulisan singkat ini bertujuan untuk memperkenalkan NU dan Muhammadiyah lebih jauh kepada khalayak yang belum terlalu mengenal kedua organisasi Islam tersebut dan ingin sedikit memberikan gambaran tentang komitmen keduanya dalam hubungan antar umat beragama serta tantangan yang muncul dalam hubungan NU dengan Muhammadiyah dan umat beragama lain di masa mendatang.

Oleh karena itu tulisan ini disusun sebagai berikut: pertama-tama akan dijabarkan sejarah singkat berdirinya Muhammadiyah dan NU serta perkembangannya hingga saat ini. Selanjutnya akan dipaparkan

pandangan NU dan Muhammadiyah dalam hal hidup bersama dalam masyarakat majemuk Indonesia. Terakhir akan sedikit dikemukakan tantangan-tantangan yang mungkin dihadapi dalam hubungan NU dengan Muhammadiyah dan hubungan keduanya dengan umat beragama lain.

Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah: Dulu dan Kini

Sumber tertulis tentang sejarah NU dan Muhammadiyah dan pemikiran para intelektual yang berlatar belakang NU dan Muhammadiyah tentang berbagai tema sangat melimpah.[1] Tulisan singkat ini hanya memuat sumber tertulis yang sangat terbatas tentang NU dan Muhammadiyah.

Jika dirunut dari tanggal kelahiran organisasi formalnya, Muhammadiyah lahir terlebih dahulu dibanding Nahdlatul Ulama. Muhammadiyah lahir sebagai organisasi formal pada tanggal 18 November 1912 di Yogyakarta, sedangkan NU tanggal 31 Januari 1926 di Surabaya. Meskipun demikian keberadaan komunitas muslim yang mempraktekkan tradisi Islam yang merupakan cikal bakal berdirinya Nahdlatul Ulama telah ada jauh sebelum kedua organisasi ini berdiri.

Dalam bidang akademis, ada label klasik untuk kedua organisasi tersebut. Muhammadiyah disebut modernis atau reformis[2], sedangkan Nahdlatul Ulama disebut traditionalis. Muhammadiyah disebut modernis atau reformis karena kelahirannya ditujukan untuk mengkritik praktek-praktek keagamaan tradisional yang dianggap tidak sesuai dengan ajaran Islam seperti wiridan (*membaca kutipan-kutipan Qur'an yang ditetapkan dengan tata cara tertentu untuk*

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[1] Misalnya: Mitsuo Nakamura, The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town, c.1910s-2010, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012; Ahmad Baso, NU Studies: Pergolakan Pemikiran antara fundametalisme Islam & fundamentalisme neo-liberal, Erlangga, 2006. Untuk khalayak berbahasa Jerman lihat Dyah Ayu Krismawati: *Reformdenken indonesischer Muslime in der era Reformasi: Religionswechsel und Religionsfreiheit im Denken von Gelehrten der Muhammadiyah und Nahdlatul ULama*, Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2018.

[2] Lihat Deliar Noer, The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942, Oxford University Press, 1973.

sebuah maksud), tahlilan (*pembacaan ayat-ayat suci Alquran untuk memohonkan rahmat dan ampunan bagi arwah orang yang meninggal*), ziyarah kubur, slametan, dsb. Tradisi-tradisi tersebut dianggap bidah yakni perbuatan atau cara yang tidak pernah dikatakan atau dicontohkan Rasulullah atau sahabatnya, kemudian dilakukan seolah-olah menjadi ajaran Islam. Bagi muslim modernis, Qur'an dan hadis nabi merupakan satu-satunya sumber hukum otoritatif dalam Islam.

Sedang muslim tradisional adalah kalangan muslim yang masih mempraktekkan sunnah atau hal-hal yang dianggap merupakan tradisi Islam di masa lalu meskipun tidak tertulis secara langsung dalam Qur'an maupun Hadis. Nahdlatul Ulama disebut tradisional karena mempraktekkan tradisi-tradisi yang diyakini merupakan Sunnah nabi yang diikuti oleh para Sahabat nabi dan dipraktekkan oleh komunitas muslim sejak lama meskipun tidak eksplisit disebut dalam Qur'an dan hadis.

Apakah label modernis atau reformis untuk Muhammadiyah dan tradisionalis untuk Nahdlatul Ulama masih relevan hingga saat ini? Banyak pendapat mengatakan bahwa label tersebut tidak lagi relevan untuk menggambarkan NU dan Muhammadiyah saat ini.[3]

Untuk lebih lanjut mendalami hal itu, akan dibahas secara singkat sejarah berdirinya kedua organisasi dan perkembangannya kemudian.

Tokoh yang sangat penting sebagai pendiri Muhammadiyah adalah Ahmad Dahlan (1868-1923). Ahmad Dahlan merupakan putra seorang Imam di masjid besar Yogyakarta milik kesultanan Yogyakarta. Ia telah mengunjungi Mekkah beberapa kali untuk naik haji maupun urusan yang lain. Bahkan Ahmad Dahlan pernah tinggal di Mekkah beberapa tahun.

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[3] Lihat Najib Burhani, Between Social Services and Tolerance: Explaining Religious Dynamics in Muhammadiyah, dalam Trends in South East Asia, No. 11, (Singapore: ISEAS, 2019) and about Nahdlatul Ulama see Rumadi, Islamic Post-Traditionalism in Indonesia, (Singapore: ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2017) (versi online)

Di Mekkah Ahmad Dahlan banyak bertemu dengan ulama-ulama dari Timur Tengah dan ulama dari Hindia Belanda yang banyak memberinya inspirasi pemikiran. Salah satu yang sangat mempengaruhi Ahmad Dahlan adalah pemikiran Muhammad Abduh, tokoh kunci terkemuka modernisme Islam dari Mesir.[4]

Pemikiran-pemikiran tokoh Islam tersebut banyak memberikan pengaruh pada Ahmad Dahlan. Pengaruh pemikiran tersebut terwujud dalam tindakan-tindakan termasuk ketika melanjutkan tugas ayahnya yang telah meninggal di masjid besar kraton Yogyakar. Di sana Ahmad Dahlan melakukan banyak pembaharuan. Misalnya: membetulkan arah kiblat dan mengubah waktu puasa. Ia menolak banyak aspek ajaran dan praktek Sufi meskipun sebenarnya Ahmad Dahlan juga mengambil beberapa aspek ajaran Sufi.[5] Pembaharuan yang dilakukan Ahmad Dahlan dan pemikirannya tak jarang menimbulkan ketegangan dengan ulama-ulama lain kala itu.

Ahmad Dahlan tidak hanya aktif di bidang keagamaan, tetapi juga dalam gerakan sosial. Ia bergabung dengan banyak organisasi yang menginspirasinya untuk mendirikan Muhammadiyah, juga pesantren dan sekolah-sekolah. Ia memiliki dua tujuan: pertama, menyebarkan ajaran nabi Muhammad kepada seluruh umat di Yogyakarta dan kedua, memajukan hal agama Islam kepada anggota-anggota.[6]

Untuk itu Muhammadiyah melakukan hal-hal sbb: (1) Mendirikan lembaga-lembaga pendidikan tempat ilmu-ilmu sekuler dan agama diberikan (2) mengadakan pertemuan-pertemuan mengenai masalah-masalah agama dan ajaran-ajaran agama akan dibahas (3) membangun dan memelihara masjid-masjid, membantu rumah-rumah ibadah dan yayasan wakaf tempat pelayanan ibadah dapat dilangsungkan (4) menerbitkan dan memberikan bantuan dalam penerbitan

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[4] Zuly Qodir, Muhammadiyah Studies: Reorientasi Gerakan dan Pemikiran Abad Kedua (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2010), 48.

[5] Charles Kurzman, Modernist Islam, 1840-1940: A sourcebook (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 344.

[6] Lihat Pengurus Pusat Muhammadiyah, Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga, Yogyakarta, 1985

kekalifahan tersebut mendorong banyak penguasa muslim untuk membangun kembali pan-Islamisme. Namun demikian sulit menemukan kalifah pengganti yang disetujui dan diterima oleh semua pihak.

Pada tahun 1926, ulama-ulama Kairo ingin mengadakan kongres untuk mendukung Raja Fuad. Dalam kongres tersebut Sarekat Islam dan Muhammadiyah akan diundang. Sementara itu, Ibnu Saud yang telah menguasai Mekkah dan Madinah pada tahun 1924 berinisiatif untuk membuat kongres tandingan. Kongres ini akan dilakukan di Mekkah dan dimaksudkan untuk melegitimasi kekuasaan Ibnu Saud.

Di Hindia Belanda sebenarnya sudah ada kongres umat Islam di tahun 1922 yang disebut kongres Al-Islam. Dalam kongres tersebut sudah muncul ketegangan antara kelompok muslim modernis dan kelompok muslim tradisional. Undangan kongres oleh Ibnu Saud ini menambah ketegangan karena ditengarai akan didominasi oleh kelompok muslim modernis dan tidak memberi ruang bagi kelompok muslim tradisional.

Hal tersebut tentu tidak bisa diterima oleh ulama-ulama tradisional. Agar bisa memiliki delegasi sendiri ke kongress tersebut dan mampu membawa aspirasi sendiri didirikanlah Nahdlatul Ulama pada 31 Januari 1926.Sejak itu, Nahdlatul Ulama aktif tidak hanya dalam bidang keagamaan namun juga dalam politik. Ketertarikan Nahdlatul Ulama pada politik masih bisa dilihat hingga sekarang.

Saat ini, Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama tumbuh menjadi organisasi Islam terbesar di Indonesia bahkan mungkin di dunia. NU mengklaim jumlah pengikut sebesar 91,2 juta jiwa[10] sedangkan Muhammadiyah tidak pernah mengklaim jumlah pengikutnya. Namun diperkirakan jumlah pengikut Muhammadiyah sekitar 22,46 juta.[11]

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[10] Klaim tersebut dapat dilihat dalam Twitter resmi NU yang didasarkan aad survey Lembaga Survey Indonesia di tahun 2013: https://twitter.com/nahdlatululama/status/1081824464461914117, diakses pada 30 Maret 2020.

[11] https://wpmadani.files.wordpress.com/2017/10/potretkeberagamaanmuslimindonesia-alvara.pdf diakses pada 30 Maret 2020.

buku-buku, brosur-brosur, risalah-risalah surat-surat kabar dan sejenisnya yang berhubungan dengan masalah-masalah agama.[7]

Selain tujuan-tujuan tersebut, Alwi Shihab memiliki pendapat soal tujuan didirikannya Muhammdiyah. Setidaknya ada 3: (1) menyebarkan pemikiran-pemikiran Islam modern dari Timur tengah (2) memurnikan praktek-praktek keagamaan Islam dimana ada begitu banyak praktek kegamaan Islam yang dianggap terlalu terpengaruh oleh ideologi lain: Hinduisme (3) membendung berkembangnya kekristenan. Untuk itu Muhammadiyah membangun sekolah-sekolah, rumah-rumah yatim, klinik-klinik seperti aktivitas misi kristen pada masa itu.[8]

Berdirinya Muhammadiyah yang mentransfer ajaran-ajaran Islam dari timur tengah dan mengkritisi praktek-praktek keagamaan tradisional yang telah dilakukan oleh banyak muslim di Nusantara pada waktu itu menggelisahkan para ulama yang meyakini dan mempraktekkan tradisi-tradisi Islam.

Oleh karena itu kyai-kyai ternama dari Jawa Timur, Jawa Tengah dan Jawa Barat menggagas suatu pertemuan di Surabaya. Pertemuan dimaksudkan untuk mempertahankan eksistensi Islam tradisional. Maka didirikanlah Nahdlatul Ulama (Kebangkitan para Ulama). Tokoh-tokoh pendiri Nahdlatul Ulama ada banyak. Namun tiga yang terpenting adalah Hasyim Asy'ari (1975-1947), Bisri Syansuri (1886-1980) dan Abdullah Wahab Chasbullah (1888-1971).

Selain alasan yang sudah disebutkan di atas, ada pula alasan lain pendirian NU.[9] Alasan tersebut terkait dengan situasi timur tengah pasca runtuhnya kekalifahan Kemal Atatürk tahun 1924. Keruntuhan

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[7] Alfian, Muhammadiyah: The Political Behaviour of a Muslim Modernist Organization under Dutch Colonialism (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1989), 154.

[8] Alwi Shihab, Membendung Arus: Respons Gerakan Muhammadiyah terhadap Penetrasi Misi Kristen di Indonesia (Bandung: Mizan, 1998), 125-146.

[9] Martin van Bruinessen, NU: Tradisi, Relasi-relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1994), 24-25.

berbagai pemikiran yang mendukung pluralisme, liberalisme dan berbagai pemikiran progresif dan kritik terhadap upaya membawa organisasi masuk ke ranah politik praktis. Selain itu pada beberapa kesempatan, juga muncul kubu-kubu dalam tubuh Muhammadiyah yang memunculkan ketegangan antara mereka yang konservatif (menolak wacana Pluralisme) dan yang progresif (mendukung wacana Pluralisme).[14] Selain dinamika dalam hal pemikiran, pada ranah praxis para pengikut Muhammadiyah terutama di desa juga tidak melakukan purifikasi tetapi melakukan praktek-praktek Islam tradisional seperti yang dilakukan pengikut NU.

Melihat perkembangan kedua organisasi tersebut maka sebutan Muhammadiyah sebagai modernis dan NU sebagai tradisionalis sudah tidak lagi relevan di masa kini meskipun jejak-jejaknya masih bisa terlihat hingga kini.

Saat ini secara umum dapat dikatakan bahwa keduanya merupakan potret Islam indonesia yang moderat, tidak ekstrem. Namun mereka juga bukanlah entitas seragam. Di dalam tubuh NU dan Muhammadiyah terdapat berbagai macam orang dengan berbagai perbedaan pandangan. Kadangkala memunculkan kebingungan bagi mereka yang tidak mengenal kedua organisasi tersebut dengan baik ketika ada orang yang mengaku berlatar belakang NU atau Muhammadiyah tetapi diskriminatif dan intoleran di publik dan dalam hubungan sosialnya.

Tantangan dalam Hubungan NU dan Muhammadiyah dan dengan Umat Beragama Lain

Apapun citra yang ditampilkan oleh pribadi-pribadi yang berlatar belakang NU dan Muhammadadiyah, harus diakui bahwa Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama telah berperan penting dalam menjaga keutuhan bangsa dan melawan ekstremisme agama di Indonesia.

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[14] Pradhana Boy Z.T.F, Para Pembela Islam : Pertarungan Konservatif dan Progresif di tubuh Muham-madiyah, (Depok : Gramata, 2009).

Sebagai organisasi muslim tradisionalis, NU dianggap kolot dan konservatif karena mempraktikkan taqlid (mengikuti pendapat seseorang mujtahid atau ulama tertentu tanpa mengetahui sumber dan cara pengambilan pendapat tersebut). Dengan demikian pemikiran teologis dianggap tidak berkembang di NU. Namun pada kenyataannya tidaklah demikian.

Pemikiran teologis Intelektual muda NU berkembang pesat karena munculnya kesempatan mengenyam pendidikan tinggi dan belajar di berbagai negara di seluruh dunia, tidak hanya di Timur Tengah. Berbasiskan pemahaman NU, mereka sangat sadar akan perkembangan zaman dan banyak melakukan otokritik terhadap organisasinya sejak tahun 90-an hingga makin pesat setelah 1998[12] Pada tahun-tahun sebelumnya bahkan telah ada kritik yang mendorong NU untuk kembali ke khittah NU 1926. Kritik muncul karena NU dianggap telah melenceng dari garis yang ditetapkan pada awal pendiriannya ketika para pemimpinnya mulai tertarik pada politik praktis di masa Orde Baru dan mengabaikan kewajiban-kewajiban sosialnya.[13]

Para intelektual muda berlatar belakang NU banyak mengembangkan pemikiran-pemikiran baru dengan mendirikan satu kelompok yang mereka beri nama Jaringan Islam Liberal sekitar tahun 2001. Jaringan tersebut merupakan sebuah forum untuk mendiskusikan dan menanamkan konsep pemikiran Islam liberal sebagai perlawanan terhadap tumbuhnya ektrimisme di Indonesia. Pemikiran-pemikiran para intelektual muda berlatarbelakang NU ini tak jarang memunculkan polemik dan kritik dari publik dan dari dalam tubuh NU sendiri.

Sementara itu di tubuh Muhammadiyah juga ada dinamika. Intelektual muda Muhammadiyah yang memiliki pergaulan baik dengan intelektual muda NU juga berusaha untuk mengembangkan

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[12] Djohan Effendi, A Renewal Without Breaking Tradition: The Emergence of a New Discourse in Indonesia's Nahdlatul Ulama During the Abdurrahman Wahid Era (Yogyakarta: Interfidei, 2008), 95-106.

[13] Robin Bush, Nahdlatul Ulama and The Struggle for Power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia, (Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, 2009), 123-124.

NU dan Muhammadiyah mengembangkan berbagai wawasan dan tindakan yang mendukung toleransi dalam masyarakat majemuk Indonesia.

Dalam sektor pendidikan Muhammadiyah menunjukkan interaksi keagamaan yang toleran dengan umat Kristen. Muhammadiyah memiliki banyak sekolah di Indonesia Timur misalnya di Ende, Nusa Tenggara Timur, Putussibau, Kalimantan Barat dan Waropen Papua. Sekolah-sekolah tersebut ada di daerah mayoritas Kristen dan Katolik. Untuk sekolah-sekolah tersebut Muhammadiyah menyediakan guru agama Katolik dan Kristen secara tersendiri atau bekerjasama dengan institusi keagamaan Kristen dan Katolik untuk kepentingan pelajaran agama murid-muridnya yang kristen dan katolik. Para murid yang kristen atau katolik juga tidak diwajibkan memakai jilbab. Hal ini merupakan salah satu wujud toleransi yang dikembangkan oleh Muhammadiyah. Di daerah tersebut orang-orang Kristen atau Katolik juga tidak segan menyekolahkan anaknya di sekolah-sekolah Islam milik Muhammadiyah. Oleh karena itu, diperkenalkan juga terma Krismuha (Kristen Muhammadiyah) yakni orang Kristen atau Katolik yang sangat memahami, menjiwai dan mendukung Muhammadiyah.[15]

Sementara itu NU juga mengembangkan dan selalu mensosialisasikan pandangan yang sangat terbuka soal persaudaraan (ukhuwah). Menurut mereka, pandangan soal persaudaraan (ukhuwah) ini penting untuk dipahami dalam kehidupan bersama. Mereka menyebut adanya persaudaraan sesama muslim (ukhuwah Islamiah), persaudaraan sebangsa (ukhuwah wathoniyah) dan persaudaraan sesama umat manusia (ukhuwah basyariah). Hal ini memberikan ruang/tempat bagi manusia lain dan menjadi bukti keterbukaan NU.

Dengan pandangan dan tindakan semacam itu, NU dan Muhammadiyah dan orang-orang progresif/terbuka di dalamnya menjadi mudah didekati dan mudah bekerjasama serta menjadi

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[15] Lihat Abdul Mu'ti dan Fajar Riza Ul Haq: Kristen Muhammadiyah: Konvergensi Muslim dan Kristen di Alam Pendidikan (Jakarta: Al Wasat Pub House, 2009).

partner yang terbuka bagi umat beragama lain, sesama warga bangsa dan sesama umat manusia dalam membangun kehidupan bersama yang damai di Indonesia.

Tantangan yang muncul dalam hubungan antara NU dan Muhammadiyah dengan umat beragama lain adalah menjaga kesadaran bahwa hubungan yang dijalin bukan hubungan mayoritas dan minoritas (jika terma ini terpaksa dipakai) tetapi hubungan antara sesama anak bangsa untuk mewujudkan kehidupan bersama yang saling menghargai dan menerima. Dalam hal ini tidak ada mayoritas mengasihani minoritas atau minoritas mencari perlindungan diri kepada mayoritas, tetapi sebagai saudara sebangsa sama-sama berkewajiban menjaga kehidupan bersama di tanah airnya. Saudara selalu harus saling menjaga.

Sementara itu, jika perbedaan ajaran tidak lagi menjadi persoalan, tantangan dalam hubungan NU dan Muhammadiyah kemungkinan besar adalah dalam hal politik. Politik bisa masih menjadi ganjalan dalam hubungan yang lebih erat dan terbuka antara dua organisasi ini. Kompetisi di banyak bidang diantara keduanya dan konflik di akar rumput masih kadang terjadi. Hal ini bisa dimanfaatkan atau bahkan sengaja diciptakan oleh pihak lain yang memang menginginkan adanya benturan antara NU dan Muhammadiyah. Benturan dan konflik antara NU dan Muhammadiyah menjadi hal yang mungkin saja diinginkan pihak-pihak yang ingin mengambil keuntungan bagi kelompok dan agenda politiknya ketika NU dan Muhammadiyah berseteru.

Terlepas dari itu semua, komitmen organisasi maupun orang-orang yang berlatar belakang NU dan Muhammadiyah untuk mendukung dan menciptakan kehidupan masyarakat plural Indonesia yang rukun dan damai masih akan terus kuat di masa mendatang.

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Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah:
Short History, Commitment in the pluralistic Society

Dr. Dyah Ayu Krismawati

Introduction

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah are two biggest Islamic organizations in Indonesia and worldwide. These two organizations are close partners of Christian and other faiths in taking care of peaceful interfaith relations in Indonesia. The cooperation has been doing with the organization formally and with people who affiliate with both organizations.

Although many cooperation with the organization and people who affiliate in both organizations has been done so far, there are still many Christians who need to get to know more about NU and Muhammadiyah to understand deeper both organizations.

The aim of this short paper is to introduce NU and Muhammadiyah to those who would like to get to know more about both organizations and to give a picture about their commitment on interfaith relations and challenges of the relation between NU and Muhammadiyah and between both organizations with other faiths in the future.

This paper is organized as follows, first it will shortly explain the history of the establishment of NU and Muhammadiyah and their development. Then follows the point of view of NU and Muhammadiyah on living together in a pluralistic society of Indonesia. At last chal-

lenges of the relations between Muhammadiyah and NU and between both organizations with other faiths will be shortly shown.

Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah: Then and Now

There are abundance written sources about the history of NU and Muhammadiyah and thoughts of intellectuals who affiliate in both organizations on many themes.[1] This paper uses only limited books about NU and Muhammadiyah.

If we trace the establishment of both organizations, Muhammadiyah is older than Nahdlatul Ulama. Muhammadiyah was formally established on 18 November 1912 and Nahdlatul Ulama on 31 January 1926. However, the existence of Muslim community that practiced Islamic tradition as the pioneer of the Nahdlatul Ulama was long before these both organizations were officially founded.

There are classical labels for both organizations used by researchers. Muhammadiyah is named as modernist or reformist and Nahdlatul Ulama as traditionalist. Muhammadiyah is named as modernist or reformist[2] because at the beginning of its establishment, Muhammadiyah had criticized the Islamic tradition and many traditional practices such as *wirid* (litany or a set of after prayer invocation), *tahlil* (praying together for the dead/uttering sentence no deity but God), *ziarah kubur* (visiting graves), *slametan* (ritual meal which acts out one's relationship with the Sacred and with one another) which were understood as local syncretic practices. These all Islamic traditions and practices were understood as deviant practices since they are not based on the Qur'an and hadith (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, revered and received as a major source of religious law and

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[1] For example: Mitsuo Nakamura, The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town, c.1910s-2010, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012; Ahmad Baso, NU studies: pergolakan *pemikiran antara fundametalisme Islam & fundamentalisme neo-liberal,* Erlangga, 2006; for German speaking readers see Dyah Ayu Krismawati: Reformdenken indonesischer Muslime in der era *Reformasi: Religionswechsel und Religionsfreiheit im Denken von Gelehrten der Muhammadiyah und Nahdlatul Ulama*, Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2018.

[2] See Deliar Noer, The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

moral guidance). For the modernist the only and the most important authoritative legal sources are Qur'an and hadith.

On the other side traditionalist is an Islamic circle that is doing Islamic tradition practices that mostly are not written in Qur'an or hadith. Nahdlatul Ulama is considered as traditionalist because they advocate this Islamic tradition practices which they believe were done by Prophet Muhammad and followed by his companions and accepted as normative and practiced by the entire Islamic community through the ages although neither written explicitly in the Qur'an nor authoritative hadith.

Is the single label modernist or reformist for Muhammadiyah and traditionalist for Nahdlatul Ulama still relevant? There are some notions against this single label for both organizations.[3]

To go further, the short history of both organizations and their development will be elaborated.

The most important prominence of the establishing of Muhammadiyah is Ahmad Dahlan (1868–1923). Ahmad Dahlan was the son of an Imam (leader of the mosque) who belonged to *Kraton Yogyakarta* (Yogyakarta palace). Ahmad Dahlan visited Mecca several times and even lived there for several years.

In Mecca he had met many Muslim scholars from Middle East and Muslims scholars from Dutch East Indies who gave strong influence on his thoughts. One of the Muslim scholars who gave influence on the thoughts of Ahmad Dahlan significantly was Muhammad Abduh, a reformist Muslim scholar, the key founding figure of Islamic modernism from Egypt.[4]

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[3] See Ahmad Najib Burhani, Between Social Services and Tolerance: Explaining Religious Dynamics in Muhammadiyah, Trends in South East Asia, No. 11, (Singapore: ISEAS, 2019) and about Nahdlatul Ulama see Rumadi, Islamic Post-Traditionalism in Indonesia, (Singapore: ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2017) (online version)

[4] Zuly Qodir, Muhammadiyah Studies: Reorientasi Gerakan dan Pemikiran Abad Kedua (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2010), 48.

The thoughts of these Muslim scholars inspired Ahmad Dahlan to do a reformation. For example, when he continued the task of his father in the mosque of Kraton Yogyakarta, he renewed the direction of Muslim prayer, changed the fasting time, etc. He rejected many aspects of the Sufi's teachings and practices although he took some elements of the Sufi's teachings.[5] This reformation made by Ahmad Dahlan and his thoughts caused tension with many Muslim religious leaders of that time.

Ahmad Dahlan was not only active in the religious movement but also in the social movement. He joined many organizations which encouraged him to establish Muhammadiyah, many Islamic boarding schools and schools. He had two goals: (1) spreading the teaching of Muhammad to people in Yogyakarta and (2) promote Islamic religious matters to its members.[6]

Therefore Muhammadiyah did several things such as: (1) establishing educational institution where secular and religious education were given; (2) conducting meetings where religious matters and teachings were discussed; (3) building and taking care of mosques, helping houses of worship and foundations where worship services could take place; (4) publishing and giving support in publishing books, brochures, messages, newspapers which were related to the religious matters.[7]

Besides those aims, there are several other aims on the establishment of Muhammadiyah according to Alwi Shihab: (1) spreading the modernist Islamic thoughts from Middle East; (2) purify Islamic religious practices because there were many Islamic religious practices affected by other ideologies like Hinduism; (3) to stem the development of Christianity. Therefore, Muhammadiyah established many

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[5] Charles Kurzman, Modernist Islam, 1840-1940: A sourcebook (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 344.

[6] See Pengurus Pusat Muhammadiyah, Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga, Yogyakarta, 1985.

[7] Alfian, Muhammadiyah: The Political Behaviour of a Muslim Modernist Organization under Dutch Colonialism (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1989), 154.

schools, orphanages and clinics like the activities of Christian missions that time.[8]

The establishment of Muhammadiyah which tried to transfer Islamic religious teaching from Middle East and criticized the Islamic traditional practices alarmed the religious scholars and Muslims who practiced Islamic traditional teaching.

Therefore, many kyai (Javanese Islamic cleric or expert on Islam) from East Java, Middle Java and West Java had a meeting in Surabaya to discuss how to keep the existence of the Islamic traditionalism. The Nahdlatul Ulama (revival of the Ulama) was established. There are many who could be mentioned as founding fathers of NU. Three of them are Hasyim Asy'ari (1975–1947), Bisri Syansuri (1886–1980) and Abdullah Wahab Chasbullah (1888–1971).

Besides that reason, there was another reason for the establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama.[9] This reason related to the situation in Middle East after the collapse of the Caliphate of Kemal Atatürk in 1924. The collapse of the Caliphate encouraged many Islamic leaders to rebuild pan-Islamism. Unfortunately, it was difficult to find a new caliph who was agreed and accepted by all parties.

In 1926 Islamic scholars in Cairo would like to make a congress to support King Fuad to become Caliph. Sarekat Islam and Muhammadiyah would be invited to this congress. Meanwhile Ibn Saud who had conquered Mecca and Medina in 1924 initiated another congress to head off the congress made by the Islamic scholars in Egypt. This congress was done in Mecca to legitimate his power.

Actually, in Dutch East Indies there was already a Muslim congress in 1922. In this congress the rivalry and tension between modernist

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[8] Alwi Shihab, Membendung Arus: Respons Gerakan Muhammadiyah terhadap Penetrasi Misi Kristen di Indonesia (Bandung: Mizan,1998), 125–146.

[9] Martin van Bruinessen, NU: Tradisi, Relasi-relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1994), 24–25.

Muslims and traditionalist Muslims had already appeared. The invitation of Ibn Saud caused more tensions since the planned delegation was dominated by modernist Muslims and ignored the traditionalist.

That could not be accepted by the traditionalist Muslims leaders. To be able to send their own delegates to the congress to bring their own agenda Nahdlatul Ulama was founded on 31 January 1926. Since then, Nahdlatul Ulama is active not only in religious matters but also in politics. Their interest in politics could be seen until today.

Nowadays NU and Muhammadiyah are the biggest Islamic organizations in Indonesia and worldwide. NU has 91,2 Million followers.[10] Muhammadiyah has never claimed their number, but it could be around 22,46 Million.[11]

As the traditionalist, NU was an old fashioned and conservative organization since they advocate *taqlid* (the acceptance of the traditional interpretations propounded by the ulama). By advocating *taqlid* it is assumed that the theological thinking in NU is not well-developed. But this is not true.

The theological thoughts of young intellectual of NU develop rapidly because there were and are chances to learn in the university in many countries around the world, not only in Middle East. Based on their understanding of NU, young intellectuals of NU realized the development of the era and did self-criticism to their own organization since 90s and rapidly after 1998.[12] Several years back there was encouragement to go back to its ideal goals of the beginning of the establishment of NU in 1926. It produced the movement "*kembali ke*

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[10] This claim could be seen on their official twitter based on the Survey of Lembaga Survey Indonesia in 2013: https://twitter.com/nahdlatululama/status/1081824464461914117, accessed on 30 march 2020.

[11] https://wpmadani.files.wordpress.com/2017/10/potretkeberagamaanmuslimindonesia-alvara.pdf accessed on 30 March 2020.

[12] Johan Effendi, A Renewal Without Breaking Tradition: The Emergence of a New Discourse in Indonesia's Nahdlatul Ulama During the Abdurrahman Wahid Era (Yogyakarta: Interfidei, 2008), 95–106.

khittah 1926" (back to the line 1926) since NU was seen leaving its line when some of its prominence showed interest on the practical politics at the New Order era and ignored its social duties.[13]

Young intellectuals who identified with NU background developed new thoughts by establishing *Jaringan* Islam Liberal (Liberal Islam Network) in 2001. It is a forum discussing and disseminating the concept of Islamic liberalism as counter of the growing extremism in Indonesia. The theological thoughts of these young intellectuals of NU created polemic and critics in the public and within NU itself.

Meanwhile in the Muhammadiyah there is also dynamic. Young intellectuals of Muhammadiyah who have good relationship with young intellectuals of NU tried also to develop many kinds of thoughts to support Pluralism, Liberalism and many kinds of progressive thinking and critics to the effort of some prominence to bring Muhammadiyah to the practical politics. In many occasions appeared factions within Muhammadiyah and it caused tension between progressive (supporting pluralism) and conservative (against pluralism) within the organization.[14] Besides dynamic in the thoughts, in the practical area there are followers of Muhammadiyah in villages who have no idea of purification but doing traditional Islamic practices in their villages like followers of Nahdlatul Ulama's doing.

Observing the development of these two organizations nowadays the single label modernist or reformist for Muhammadiyah and traditionalist for Nahdlatul Ulama are no more relevant although some traces of these labels still can be seen until today.

In general, can be said nowadays that both organizations are portrait of the moderate Islam, not extreme. But of course they are not a single entity. Within NU and Muhammadiyah there are many different kinds of people and thoughts. Sometimes it creates confusion for

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[13] Robin Bush, Nahdlatul Ulama and The Struggle for Power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia, (Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, 2009), 123–124.

[14] See Pradhana Boy Z.T.F, Para Pembela Islam: Pertarungan Konservatif dan Progresif di tubuh Muhammadiyah (Depok : Gramata, 2009).

those who do not know deeply NU and Muhammadiyah when they hear and see someone identified with NU or Muhammadiyah background but is discriminative and intolerant in the public opinion or in the social relation.

Challenges on Relation between NU and Muhammadiyah and other faiths

Whatever image of the persons identified with NU and Muhammadiyah background and their act or thought in the public, it should be admitted that both organizations play a particularly important role to keep the unity and against religious extremism in Indonesia.

NU and Muhammadiyah develop insights and do many things to support tolerance in the pluralistic society of Indonesia.

Muhammadiyah in education sector shows tolerance and religious interaction between Muslims and Christians. Muhammadiyah has many schools in east Indonesia such as Ende, East Nusa Tenggara, Putussibau, West Kalimantan and Waropen, Papua. These schools are founded in the majority Christian/Catholic area. Therefore, Muhammadiyah's schools in these areas provide Christian teachers to teach the Christian students or working together with Christian or Catholic institutions to give religious lessons to the student. In these schools, the Christian students are not obliged to wear hijab (Muslim woman's veil). It proves the strong commitment of Muhammadiyah to keep the tolerance in the education sector. The Christian or Catholic let their children go to the Islamic school which belongs to Muhammadiyah. For the Christian or Catholic who understand and support Muhammadiyah there is a term called *Krismuha* (Kristen Muhammadiyah – Muhammadiyah Christian).[15]

Meanwhile NU also develops its interesting brotherhood/sisterhood understanding called *ukhuwah* (brotherhood/sisterhood). There are three kinds of *ukhuwah* which are important to maintain such as *ukhuwah Islamiyah* (brotherhood/sisterhood between Mus-

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[15] See Abdul Mu'ti dan Fajar Riza Ul Haq: Kristen Muhammadiyah: Konvergensi Muslim dan Kristen di Alam Pendidikan (Jakarta: Al Wasat Pub house, 2009)

lims), *ukhuwah wathoniyah* (brotherhood/sisterhood among citizen of the nation), *ukhuwah bashariyah* (brotherhood/sisterhood as human being). It gives place for the relation with others and should be appreciated as the comprehensive understanding and commitment of Nahdlatul Ulama to be open for other human beings.

With this kind of practices and insight NU and Muhammadiyah and progressive people with NU and Muhammadiyah background are easy to reach and easy to cooperate with others and become the best partner for other faiths and other citizens to build a peaceful life in the Indonesian society.

A challenge on the relation between NU and Muhammadiyah with other faiths is how to keep the awareness that all relations build are not between majority and minority (if this term unfortunately has to be used) but the relation between citizens to accept each other and to create a living together in equality. It means there is no majority which tried to have a pity to minority or there is no minority which tried to find protection from majority but as brothers and sisters from the same homeland all have an obligation to keep peaceful togetherness in Indonesia. Brothers and sisters keep one another.

If some differences of religious teachings is no more a problem for NU and Muhammadiyah, a challenge for the relation between NU and Muhammadiyah is in the field of politics. The field of politics seems sometimes become obstacle for the open and close relationship of both organizations. The competition between both in many areas and small conflicts in the grassroots level still can be seen. This could be used or even created by other parties which are targeting NU and Muhammadiyah. Conflicts between NU and Muhammadiyah could be wanted by some parties so that they could take benefit to realize the agenda of their groups in Indonesia.

However, the commitment of NU and Muhammadiyah and people with both backgrounds to keep and fight for peace and harmony in the life of pluralistic Indonesian society will remain strong in the future.

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UCCP Acting Together in Resisting Violence and Extremism towards Justice, Peace and Reconciliation

Rev. Juliet Solis-Aguilar

INTRODUCTION

The UCCP strongly believes that peacemaking is an essential element of the church's mission in the Philippine society. In the church's document, "*Peacemaking: Our Ministry*" dated August 21, 1986, UCCP emphasized the concept of "peace based on justice" that aims towards the *establishment of a meaningful and just social order. It calls all the church's stakeholders to actively* participate in building of structures and programs that promote human development and uphold human dignity and more importantly, addressing the root cause of the social unrest. If these are not properly addressed there will be no peace. UCCP affirms that peacemaking ministry is the imperative of the Christian faith that we profess, thus, demands the community of faith to end their apathy and silence and commit to the unwavering and challenging task of peace-building based on justice.[1]

This concept of *peace based on justice* is deeply rooted to the UCCP's theological understanding of the Kingdom of God and articulated in the church's statement of faith that says; "*that God is at work to make each person a new being in Christ and the whole world God's Kingdom in which love, justice and peace prevail. That the Kingdom of God is present where faith in Jesus Christ is shared, where healing is given to the sick, where food is given to the hungry, where light is given to the blind, and where liberty is given to the captive and oppressed*". *(UCCP's Statement of Faith)*

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[1] Council of Bishops. "Peacemaking: Our Ministry." In: *UCCP Statements and Resolutions (1948-1990)*. Quezon City, Philippines: Education and Nurture Desk, UCCP, 1990.

CONTEXT OF MISSION

According to Credit Suisse in its annual global wealth report, the Philippines has one of the worst cases of income inequality in the world. The country is popular of having the greatest number of billionaires in Southeast Asia but, it has also one of the largest number of people who are living and experiencing deep poverty.[2] According to the Social Weather Stations (SWS), around 13.1 million Filipino families experienced poverty in the 4th quarter of 2019.[3] The situation even got worse during this time of COVID-19 pandemic. And with the latest survey conducted by SWS, they found out that the number of Filipinos who were hungry due to lack of availability of food and daily means of survival nearly doubled while most areas were under the COVID-19 lockdowns.[4]

Aside from the socio-economic problem, the political situation is also getting worse especially during this time of COVID 19 pandemic. The way that the Duterte administration resolves the COVID 19 pandemic with the "whole of nation approach", a counter-insurgency program of the government, unmask the real socio-economic and political situation of the country and a clear indication of the Duterte's style of governance by using a militaristic approach on a health problem. According to the Philippines National Police, nearly 30,000 individuals were arrested in violation to the community quarantine (lockdown) protocols that the government imposed.[5] Many of those were arrested simply because of not wearing mask in public, violating the curfews, not having a quarantine pass, for doing feeding program

[2] "Gini Index: Philippines has the world's 9th worst gap between rich and poor", CNN Philippines, Published Jan 23, 2020. https://cnnphilippines.com/news/2020/1/23/sws-self-rated-poverty-december-2019.html. Accessed May 22, 2020. and https://bilyonaryo.com.ph/2019/10/28/gini-index-philippines-has-the-worlds-9th-worst-gap-between-rich-and-poor/. Accessed May 22, 2020.

[3] "Highest in 5 years: 13.1 million families considered themselves poor in Q4" https://cnnphilippines.com/news/2020/1/23/sws-self-rated-poverty-december-2019.html. Accessed May 21, 2020.

[4] "Number of hungry Filipinos almost doubles as pandemic rages." Inquirer.net, May 21, 2020, https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1279086/number-of-hungry-filipinos-almost-doubles-covid-19-pandemic-rages. Accessed May 22, 2020.

[5] Santos, Elmor, "Nearly 30,000 quarantine violators arrested nationwide in a month", CNN Philippines, April 21, 2020. https://www.cnnphilippines.com/news/2020/4/18/quarantine-violators-arrested-coronavirus-lockdowns.

or organizing a community kitchen, for doing relief operation in the communities, for posting anti-Duterte statements in the social media and others. These arrests happen without due process and mostly warrantless. Human rights violations are increasing like extra-judicial killings wherein the latest victim was Jose Reynaldo "Jory" Porquia, a well-known activist and coordinator of the progressive organization Bayan Muna in Iloilo City, who was killed by unidentified men wearing facemask inside his home.

With this, to a greater extent the church's prophetic witness and solidarity must be felt in the life and struggles of the communities towards attaining lasting peace-based justice.

UCCP'S COLLECTIVE RESPONSE

The UCCP through its Laity and Local Church Development Ministries (LLCDM) undertake several inter-related programs of activities through the Christian Education and Nurture (CEN) Ministries, Integral Evangelism, Community Ministries and the Justice, Peace and Human Right (JPHR) that promotes collective response of the church at all levels in resisting violence, un-peaceful situations and extremism towards peace based on justice.

AWARENESS AND CAPACITY BUILDING PROCESSES

UCCP acknowledge the importance of awareness and building capacity to its constituents at all levels to effectively contribute to the peace-building initiatives in the country. Central to the life and work of the UCCP in general is the strengthening of the community of faith and besides, it is on top priority of its institutional goal.[6]

Through its CEN program, the UCCP integrates the basic concept of peace and justice in various church educational materials and publications like Sunday school, bible studies and other church publications and statements. UCCP has intentionally produced Sunday school

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[6] UCCP. "United Church of Christ in the Philippines." 1948. https://uccpchurch.com/about-us/, accessed May 20, 2020.

lessons on UCCP Statement of Faith and the church's Vision, Mission and Goals for the general membership to fully understand the life, ministry, and basic faith statement of the Church. Moreover, through its JPHR Program, UCCP published a yearly guide for the commemoration of the International Human Rights Week. The church also conducted several Orientation and training programs on peacemaking, human rights, paralegal and psycho-social intervention/community-based trauma healing among pastors and lay leaders.

UCCP is also planning to produce a customize curricula and training materials for introductory and advanced seminars for the church wide range of membership and peacebuilding agents, peace workshops and academic courses that will be practically implemented for UCCP's institutions like seminaries, schools and training institutes. With this initiative, UCCP aims to develop necessary skills and competencies especially for those major key players in the UCCP peace building programs with a strong emphasis on the analytical competencies, conflict transformation and context knowledge.

Research and data gathering. UCCP conducted gathering of a factual and substantial data and documentary evidences of human rights violations through various means of fact-finding activities and data gathering that will eventually help to facilitate filling of legal charges in court. In the "war on drugs" program of the government and other human rights violations, the role of UCCP Peacemaking Program is to provide technical skills for the victim's family to gather documentary and testimonial evidences that will help them in finding justice in different avenues. This is being done by trained paralegal personnel in the local churches and the conference level assisted by a legal practitioner.

Thus, the aim of the research and monitoring cases of human rights is to help the UCCP to come up with a concrete, relevant and objective analysis of human rights situation in the country that will strengthen and make the human rights advocacy work of the church credible and relevant at all levels of its engagement.

Strengthening grassroots capacity. Strengthening grassroots capacity intend to equip and empower local churches to create significant impact in building a culture of peace in the communities where the local churches are situated, as well as to strengthen the church's participation and engagement in the life and struggle of the communities. It seeks to achieve the UCCP second goal "to enrich the life-work of communities where Local Churches are located and where the particularity of issues and concerns are more effectively and meaningfully addressed."[7] Peace building in the grassroots level must be transformative in the process that seeks to establish sustainable peace by addressing the root causes of violent conflict in the communities.

ADVOCACY AND PROPHETIC WITNESS

In our effort to attain a just and lasting peace, the church's advocacy and prophetic witness are essential components that promote towards exposing the reign of terror and violence in the society that needs to be addressed by collectively upholding and protecting the fundamental rights of the vulnerable sectors of the society and influencing the policy for a more tangible and sustainable social change. The UCCP based on its mission statements and historical records has been consistent in its advocacy and prophetic witness. As early as 1960s and up to the present, UCCP consistently published statements on social concerns and resolutions on various issues confronting the Philippine society like human rights, peace talks, socio-economic justice, good governance, reproductive health, environment concerns, and gender issues, among others.[8]

UCCP also provide significant contribution in the *Policy or legislative advocacy* in the country. This area of work aims to influence decision-makers to improve on existing policies and challenge policies that impact negatively on particular individuals or groups, and to establish new policies that will really benefit the Filipino people towards attaining social justice.

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[7] Ibid

[8] A Statement of Social Concern." In *UCCP Statement and Resolution (1948 - 1990).* Quezon City, Philippines: Education and Nurture Desk, UCCP, 1990.

Network Building and Partnership. UCCP recognizes building of network and strategic partnership as an important component of its peacebuilding initiatives to create a greater impact in achieving genuine and lasting peace. Effective peacebuilding requires greater cooperation and partnership between various peace actors, may it be among the Civil Societies and Organizations and Government Organizations, working for peace in addressing conflict and violence in the communities. UCCP continues to strengthen and widen its partnership network and engagement as well among churches, ecumenical bodies, NGOs and government agencies in advancing the agenda for peace and justice in the country.

Transforming relationships. One of the essential components of peacebuilding is reducing the effects of war-related hostility by means of repairing and transforming damaged relationships. The relational element of peacebuilding focuses on reconciliation, forgiveness, trust building, restitution, and future envisioning. It seeks to minimize poorly functioning communication and maximize mutual understanding and respect. UCCP's contribution to this ministry is through its programs on Inter-Religious Dialogue and Tri-Peoples' Dialogue between Muslim, Christian and indigenous people in Mindanao. The church also conducted several dialogues with government agencies like the military, police and with local government units to put an end to issues of human rights violations in the communities.

Campaign for the resumption of peace talk. UCCP is ever consistent in its campaign for the resumption of peace talk between the GPH and the NDFP to end the long-standing conflict and social unrest in the country. The church supports the four significant agendas on the negotiating table particularly on the respect for human rights, social and economic reforms, political and constitutional reforms, and end of hostilities and disposition of forces. The UCCP has already been releasing statements especially in the *Council of Bishops* level calling both parties to return to the negotiating table to address the root causes of the armed conflict by signing of a peace agreement.[9]

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[9] Northern Dispatch Weekly, "Statements: Release Bishop Carlo Morales and other peace advocates," 2017, accessed October 2017.

DIAKONIA AND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

While we are working on the tangible program to end violence and conflict situation in the communities, it is also important to address the economic and well-being of the people in the communities by providing diaconic and development assistance to alleviate poverty and misery of the people in conflict areas. This traditional program constitutes an important contribution to peace, as they help in promoting poverty reduction, addressing economic inequality, reintegrating, and developing communities, or reuniting families. These activities can be carried out by the local churches and church's institutions like hospitals and schools through their community services program.

Trauma healing/Psycho-social Intervention. An individual or community in traumatic situations needs a support mechanism, opportunity and space to express to and with one another the trauma of loss and their grief at that loss, and the anger that accompanies the pain and the memory of injustices experienced. UCCP peacebuilding initiative gives priority on providing appropriate interventions for mental or psycho-social health problems in the community and this is very much integrated to the church's peace-making program. UCCP provides psycho-social support especially to victims of torture, harassment, and families of extra-judicial killing victims.

At the community level, a strong family unit that can rebuild community structures and moral environments are particularly important. At the individual level, one-on-one counseling is usually highly effective but when large numbers of people have been traumatized, there should be sufficient and skilled resource persons to address their needs. And with this, UCCP has conducted several trainings to provide adequate skills on trauma healing and psycho-social intervention. The church is also looking for any possibility to maximize the church's program on Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE) and chaplaincy program in the church owned hospitals and schools as training centers for pastors and members in this kind of program.

Sanctuaries for Peace Program. In 1990, during the height of the armed conflict between the NPA rebels and government soldiers that

resulted in the massive displacement of people, the Executive Committee issued two statements: *A Statement of Concern for Internal Refugees and a Declaration of UCCP Churches as Sanctuaries and Zones of Peace.* In these statements, the church declares its church buildings, parsonages and lands, hospitals and schools, and other church-owned institutions and their premises as sanctuaries of peace.[10]

One of the prominent sanctuary centers that UCCP have now is the UCCP Haran Sanctuary Center in Davao City for it caters to a huge number of indigenous people (*lumad*) and farmer's communities in Mindanao who were internally displaced due to the massive militarization and armed conflict in the rural areas. Bishop Hamuel Tequiz, the UCCP Bishop assigned to the Southeast Mindanao Jurisdiction (SEMJUR), emphasized the need for the church to support this kind of initiative in order to provide an adequate, temporary and safe shelter for individuals and communities affected by the conflict. He recognized as well the significant roles of the various institutions [church partners (local & international), NGOs, People's Organizations (POs), schools, local government] for extending their various supports in terms of providing relief and humanitarian services to the internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the center.[11] There were attempts from the government to close this sanctuary center but the church defended that there is nothing wrong with this program for it is the role of the church to help and give shelter to those people who need help in distress without discrimination. By doing so, the church and the sanctuary staff encountered several forms of harassments and intimidations for standing for the rights of the *Lumad*.

Legal and Paralegal Services. On June 16, 2011, the UCCP through its General Secretary Reuel Norman O. Marigza along with five families representing victims of extra-judicial killing and surviving victim of abduction, torture and illegal detention, Pastor Berlin Guerrero filed

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[10] "A Declaration of UCCP Churches as Sanctuaries and Zone for Peace." In: *UCCP Statements and Resolutions (1948-1990).* Quezon City, Philippines: UCCP, 1990.

[11] Tequiz, Hamuel Bishop, *The Role of the Church in the Peacebuilding process in the Philippines, On the UCCP Sanctuary of Peace Program*, interview by Rev. Juliet Aguilar, Quezon City, Philippines, October 02, 2017.

a legal suit against former President Gloria Arroyo for her responsibility in human rights violations. UCCP filed this case in pursuit for attaining justice for the families of human rights violations.[12] Aside from this, UCCP has been providing legal and paralegal services to its members who faced trumped-up charges in courts like Pastor Edwin Egar, Dennis Rodinas, Dr. Alex Montes and among others. I was the Program coordinator for the Justice, Peace and Human Rights during that time and one of the problems that UCCP has encountered in doing this program is the lack of monetary resources for the filling fees, sustaining the court hearings, and catering to the victim's family needs and how to sustain the sanctuary program for the families and witnesses while the case is still under court litigation.

With the increasing number of human rights violations, it is necessary for the UCCP to intentionally organize and mobilize a pool of *pro bono* lawyers among its members in the conference level to help the church in providing legal support to victims of human rights violations. The church needs to continually equip pastors and members to do paralegal support by intensifying the church's paralegal training programs.

CONCLUSION

The role of the church in every society is significant and should not be taken for granted.

We need to be true to our calling as the "salt and light of the world" (Matthew 5:13) and do what the Bible mandated us to do to, "provide justice for the needy and the fatherless; uphold the rights of the oppressed and the destitute" (Psalms 82:3) no matter what it takes. We should not keep our eyes closed and play deaf ears for all the ills of the society that needs to be transformed.

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[12] "*Motion to Dismiss Denied: Court Orders Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo to Answer United Church of Christ in the Philippines (UCCP) on Extra-Judicial Killings and Human Rights Violations.*" United Church of Christ in the Philippines. Press Release. Quezon City, Philippines, February 28, 2011, accessed May 20, 2020.

With our peacemaking ministry, let us unite together in resisting evil, violence and curtailment of human rights in our society by amplifying the voice to the voiceless, advocating for their rights and providing solidarity in the struggles of the people to attain full humanity of those who are afflicted and victimized by the structural and systemic power and at the same time, addressing and challenging the public authorities to do their task for the well-being and sustainable development of the people and their communities.

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ISLAM DI TENGAH MASYARAKAT MULTIKULTURAL INDONESIA: Studi Konsep Multikultural Abdul Aziz Sachedina

Purjatian Azhar[1]

PENDAHULUAN

Agama Islam masuk ke dalam masyarakat Indonesia, masyarakatnya tidak dalam kekosongan budaya; melainkan begitu sangat kaya akan budaya-budaya nenek moyang yang sudah mendarah daging sebagai warna dasar negara Indonesia. Agama kemudian datang menjadi warna lain di Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia. Oleh karena itulah Negara Republik Indonesia adalah negara yang kaya akan agama dan budaya asli umat manusia. Berbeda dengan negara-negara lain, agama sudah begitu jauh berkembang pesat seiring dengan hitungan abad yang dilalui oleh agama-agama besar awal di seluruh dunia.

Berdasarkan problematika relasi antara agama, budaya, dan negara; tulisan ini akan mengulas posisi-posisi dari ketiga elemen kehidupan masyarakat tersebut. Kapan dan dimana agama khususnya agama Islam, yang akan dibahas dalam tulisan ini, menjadi *the way of human life*[2]? Kapan dan dimana budaya bertemu dengan agama? Kemudian bagaimana respon masyarakat yang multikultural menyikapi pertemuan tersebut? Bagaimana peran negara sebagai mediasi dari pertemuan antara agama dan budaya? Pertanyaan yang terakhir adalah dimana posisi negara yang sebenarnya?

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[1] Penulis adalah Pegiat kajian lintas Iman di Sumatera Utara
[2] Masykuri Abdillah islam dan humanism, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2007), hlm.127

Berangkat dari keresahan hubungan itulah maka tulisan ini akan mengangkat problem: peran agama Islam didalam masyarakat multikultural Indonesia sehingga melahirkan pilihan yang cukup sangat berat yaitu menjadikan Indonesia sekuler atau menjadikan Indonesia sebagai negara Syari'at Islam; berdasarkan landasan problem yang ditargetkan yaitu menjawab *The Role Of Islam In the Public Square : Guidance or Governance*? Ketika Islam memilih sebagai Guidance maka disini akan diarahkan bahwa seharusnya Islam bekerjasama dengan humanism. Akan tetapi, ketika Islam memilih sebagai Governance; maka Islam harus mau diklaim sebagai *egois religious*.

Di Indonesia, masihlah bergulir pertanyaan: apakah Islam hendak sebagai *Guidance* atau *Governance*. Ketika Islam sebagai *Guidance* maka seharusnya Islam bekerja sama dengan humanisme, pluralisme dan multikulturalisme; seperti esai yang dikemukakan oleh Hasan Hanafi dalam buku Islam *dan Humanisme-Aktualisasi Humanisme Islam Ditengah Krisis Humanisme Universal*. Sedangkan ketika dia sebagai *Governance* maka Indonesia akan dipaksa menjadi negara kesatuan Syari'at Islam layaknya mimpi beberapa kelompok yang berkembang di negara Indonesia, seperti gerakan keagamaan Syi'ah, Jama'ah Tabligh, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Salafi, Ikhwanul Muslimin.

Menyorot munculnya gerakan-gerakan yang akan menyeret agama Islam untuk memilih *Governance*, maka didalam tulisan ini akan melihat potensi Indonesia, apakah lebih baik menjadi sebuah negara sekuler supaya gerakan tersebut tidak menggangu stabilitas nasional yang plural dan multi-kultural; karena mereka yang tergabung dalam gerakan tersebut adalah mereka yang kontra dengan pluralisme dan multikulturalisme; mereka tidak menyadari bahwa mereka berada di negara yang plural dan multikultural. Tulisan ini juga hendak menguraikan tawaran model resolusi terhadap konflik-konflik keagamaan yang pernah terjadi selama beberapa tahun terakhir ini.

Dinamika Pertemuan Agama Islam dan Budaya

1. Pertemuan Agama Islam dan Bangsa Arab

Islam turun pertama kali di tengah Bangsa Arab, dimana menurut ajaran Islam, Allah mengutus seorang Rasulullah Muhammad SAW untuk memperbaiki akhlak umat. Rasulullah berfirman : *"Sesungguhnya aku diutus untuk menyempurnakan akhlak"* (Bukhari dan Muslim). Ketika agama Islam turun, kultur masyarakat Arab sangatlah rusak sehingga disebut masyrakat "*jahiliyah*" yang artinya "rusak" "bodoh"[3]. Oleh karena itulah agama Islam diturunkan kedunia dan Allah mengutus Nabi Muhammad sebagai pembawa agama Islam untuk mengajarkan nilai-nilai luhur akhlak baik yang diajarkan oleh agama Islam

Ketika itu keadaan sosial-budaya bangsa Arab pra-Islam sangat menggemari hal-hal sebagai berikut ini:

1) Syair, dengan syair, orang bisa dipuji/mulia dan dihina. Dari syair ini akan tergambar kehidupan sosial bangsa Arab.[4] Sementara mereka yang pandai membaca saat itu hanyalah sebanyak 17 orang.

2) Minum khamar, kendati di antara mereka ada pula yang mengharamkan hal ini.

3) Ada pula adat (tradisi) pada saat itu kebiasaan "mengawini isteri bapa"yang telah meninggal dunia.

4) Menganggap hina kaum perempuan.

5) Menguburkan anak perempuan, namun hal ini menurut Sallabi, ini hanya dilakukan oleh Bani Asad dan Tamim.

6) Sementara mereka yang pandai membaca saat itu hanyalah sebanyak 17 orang.

7) Perbudakan suatu hal yang biasa terjadi pada masa Arab pra-Islam. Mereka ini memelihara dan mempertahankan perbudakan.

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[3] Bernard Lewis, Bangsa Arab Dalam Lintasan Sejarah: Dari Segi Geografi Sosial, Budaya Dan Peranan Islam (Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya, 1988), hlm. 27

[4] Philip K. Hitti. Terj. Usuludin Hutagalung dan O.D.P. Sihombing. Dunia Arab-Sejarah Ringkas (Bandung: Sumur Bandung. 1970), hlm. 30-32

Kebiasaan masyarakat Arab yaitu sering mabuk-mabukan, menjual belikan wanita/memperlakukan wanita seperti barang dagangan, saling menindas. Begitulah keadaan masyarakat Arab ketika Islam diturunkan ke dunia melalui seorang utusan yaitu Nabi Muhammad SAW.

Sebenarnya yang terbaca dari kedatangan Agama Islam adalah untuk menunjukkan perkara-perkara yang baik dan bermanfaat untuk manusia; bukan malah menjadi senjata untuk saling bertikai apalagi sampai menumpahkan darah masing-masing sesama manusia. Menurut perkembangan teori sosial agama, semua agama itu sama-sama mengajarkan kebaikan dan kebenaran. Jadi tidak satupun agama mengajarkan tentang kekerasan ataupun kejahatan. Ada benarnya juga, seperti halnya ajaran agama Islam yang mengajarkan kebaikan, keharmonisan, kenyamanan, saling memberi, saling mengasihi; bukan justru menjadikan ajaran Islam sebagai alat untuk membakar amarah massa, mengumpulkan massa untuk saling membunuh, saling membantai dan saling menyakiti.

Agama Islam melarang minum minuman keras karena mudarat atau akibat buruk yang ditimbulkan setelah seorang minum minuman beralkohol. Kerapkali mereka yang minum minuman beralkohol hilang kesadaran kemudian melakukan kejahatan, seperti: memukul orang, melakukan penganiayaan, jika berkendara dapat menyebabkan kecelakaan, melakukan penyiksaan atau kekerasan rumah tangga terhadap istrinya dari suami pemabuk. Fahmi Idris menyatakan kepada *muslimdaily.net* bahwa: "Korban miras di Indonesia, berdasarkan survei internal yang telah dilakukan adalah 50 orang per hari atau sekitar 18.000 per tahun..."; korban akibat konsumsi minuman keras yang berakibat secara langsung maupun tidak langsung, seperti pembunuhan, perkosaan, kecelakaan lalu lintas, dan KDRT.[5] Mudarat atau efek yang diakibatkan sangatlah banyak, yang telah disebutkan merupakan mudarat sosial bagi diri si pelaku dan juga mudarat bagi biologisnya akan jauh lebih besar. Orang yang minum alkohol akan terganggu kesehatannya, baik laki-laki maupun perempuan, khususnya

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[5] Muslimdaily.net dalam laporan www.voa-islam.com yang di poting tanggal Selasa, 02-07-2013 | 12:01:57 WIB dan diakses pada 5 januari 2014 jam 20.30 WIB

bagi perempuan yang sedang hamil efeknya akan lebih besar. Itulah sebabnya mengapa agama Islam mengeluarkan larangan keras ter- hadap suatu kebiasan atau budaya yang hidup, tumbuh dan berkem- bang di kalangan masyarakat yang berakibat buruk bagi sisi biologis dan sosial, seperti salah satunya adalah minum minuman beralkohol itu.

Pada bangsa Arab, sebelum agama Islam datang dan melarang minuman beralkohol tersebut, sumber daya manusianya tidak ubah seperti binatang yang mengadu kekerasan, melecehkan perempuan dan menjarah jabatan dan harta orang lain. Seperti tidak ada kata har- moni dalam kehidupan masing-masing orang.[6] Hubungan yang mere- ka jalin dan bina adalah hubungan kompetisi bukan sebuah hub- ungan kerukunan. Inilah yang ingin agama coba bimbing supaya manusia menjadi benar-benar manusia yang rukun, harmoni, saling mengasihi, menyayangi dan selayaknya hanya berbuah kebaikan- kebaikan yang bertebar di seluruh lapisan dunia ini. Seperti dalam sebuah ungkapan *"dengan pendidikan dapat memanusiakan manu- sia"*,[7] namun dalam hal ini, *"agama akan menjadikan manusia se- layaknya manusia"*.[8]

Jadi agama hadir sebenarnya untuk menciptakan masyarakat yang religious ketika mereka melakukan hubungan sosial dengan sesama maupun makhluk ciptaan Allah yang lainnya. Seperti didalam ajaran agama Islam sendiri terdapat ajaran tentang *habl min Allah* (hubungan manusia dengan Tuhan) dan juga *habl min al-nas* (hubungan antara manusia dengan manusia). Berangkat dari hub- ungan inilah Islam ingin membimbing bangsa Arab melakukan kebia- saan-kebiasaan atau adat dan budaya saat itu menjadi sebuah hub- ungan yang baik dan harmonis lagi.

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[6] Lihat pada suku asal bangsa Arab yaitu suku Baduwi. Dimana sistem kehidupan mereka menggunakan sistem rimba. Dan sifat-sifat suku Baduwi masih melekat didalam masyarakat sebelum islam da- tang. Bernard Lewis dalam buku Bangsa Arab Dalam Lintasan Sejarah: Dari Segi Geografi Sosial, Budaya Dan Peranan Islam.

[7] Pendidikan pada hakikatnya adalah memanusiakan manusia. oleh Emha Ainun Najib dalam Markesot Bertutue Lagi, (Mizan, 2013)

[8] Faisal Ismail, Republik Bhinneka Tunggal Ika: Mengurai Isu-Isu Konflik, Multikulturalisme, Agama dan Budaya, (Jakarta: Puslitbang Kehidupan Keagamaan-Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Aga- ma RI, 2012), hlm.225.

Pertanyaan kecil yang timbul, untuk apakah agama diturunkan kepada manusia? Yang pasti bukan hanya untuk dibaca, dipelajari, dihafalkan atau bahkan sampai diukir; melainkan lebih dari itu; setidaknya orang yang mempelajari agama adalah orang-orang yang bisa membuat dirinya bersikap religius. Apakah makna religious? Bukankah religious adalah hubungan yang baik, hubungan yang harmonis? Apakah orang yang dikatakan religious adalah orang yang mampu menghafalkan aturan-aturan agama secara baik dan detail? Seorang Rasul utusan Allah, adalah suri tauladan yang diutus supaya manusia belajar terhadapnya bagaimana beliau bersosial, bagaimana beliau berhubungan dengan masyarakat disekitarnya. Seharusnya, Rasulullah itu diteliti dari sisi sosiologisnya bukan hanya dari dari sisi teologisnya saja. Dua bagian itulah yang seharusnya dipelajari dan diamalkan oleh orang Islam. Bukan hanya dari kitab-kitab yang menceritakan apa saja yang Rasulullah penah katakana kepada orang lain (umat).

Rasulullah adalah seorang manusia biasa yang struktur biologisnya sama dengan manusia pada umumnya. Namun, Beliau diberikan kelebihan dan faktor x yang membedakannya dengan manusia biasa. Rasulullah menjalin hubungan seperti halnya manusia biasa yaitu habl min Allah dan habl min al-nas. Manakala Rasulullah diutus, seharusnya yang dibaca adalah bagaimana Rasulullah menyampaikan dan mengajarkan agama Islam kepada umat terdahulu. Apakah pernah Rasulullah memerintahkan bahwa orang Islam yang membunuh orang kafir adalah Islam yang benar? Ketika Rasulullah menyatakan bahwa orang kafir halal darahnya untuk dibunuh, tidak ada yang BISA melihat kafir seperti APAKAH yang halal darahnya tersebut, juga tidak ada yang BISA melihat kafir yang BAGAIMANA yang halal darahnya tersebut.

Jika dilihat dari sejarah dinamika perjalanan agama Islam, seperti itulah realitas yang sebenarnya terjadi dipermukaan. Dari sisi lain ada benarnya juga ada salahnya. Agama seharusnya juga menjadi sebuah budaya, tradisi dan adat istiadat yang harus terus dipertahankan dan dilestarikan. Seperti halnya kehidupan nenek moyang sebelum agama datang untuk memberikan mereka pengetahuan yang baru. Mereka

yang menyembah batu, hewan, matahari dan berhala menjadikan ke-biasaan itu sebagai sebuah agama dan kepercayaan. Mengapa justru menjaga keharmonisan, keamanan, toleransi dan perdamaian tidak diinterpretasikan menjadi agama, menjadi sebuah keyakinan, menjadi sebuah keimanan yang akan senantiasa mereka jaga baik dihadapan umum maupun pribadi. Islam mengajarkan, "bertakwalah dimanapun engkau berada". "*Takwa*" bahasa Arab yang artinya takut, akan tetapi justru direpresentasikan hanya takut kepada Allah, takut akan azab Allah, takut juga akan kemurkaan Allah. Tidak ada yang berfikir bah-wa takwa itu juga seharusnya takut kalau melukai sesama manusia, menyakiti hati orang lain dan mengganggu ketertiban umum.

Agama yang hadir di tengah masyarakat adalah agama yang menuntun dan membimbing manusia menempuh harmonisasi ke-hidupan dunia maupun akhirat bagi yang mempercayainya. Akan teta-pi dalam perjalanan, dinamika agama menjadi tergeser fungsi dengan munculnya yang disebut sebagai ahli-ahli agama, tokoh-tokoh agama, ulama'ulama' masyhur yang mahir dalam ilmu agama. Mereka adalah kategori orang-orang yang membaca banyak literatur agama yang kemudian mengajarkannya. Jika pada masa Rasulullah agama Islam disebarluaskan oleh Beliau dengan program-program "pengislaman" dimana seharusnya "pengislaman" pada masa Rasulullah berbeda dengan "pengislaman" pada masa sekarang ini.

Pada masa Rasulullah misi Islamisasi adalah fokus misi; maka seharusnya kita tidak boleh salah dalam memahami bahwa misi Islam-isasi adalah misi paten agama Islam, karena itu sudah jauh dari tujuan diturunkannya agama Islam. Misi Islamisasi adalah upaya politis Rasululullah untuk membuka jalan harmoni dan kerukunan an-tar umat manusia. Misi Islamisasi bukan sebagai jalan utama Rasulullah diutus membawa agama Islam. Tidak diketahui bagaimana cita-cita Rasulullah yang sebenarnya; apakah Rasulullah ingin melihat semua umat manusia "beragama Islam" atau Rasulullah ingin melihat umat manusia "Islam" (selamat). Dua kata ini memang sangat seder-hana dan tidak bernilai unik apapun sedikitpun tidak mempunyai nilai keunikan, bagi mereka yang hanya membaca suku katanya saja. Pa-dahal didalam kata tersebut mengandung makna hubungan interaksi sosial yang sangat luar biasa harmonisnya.

Apakah Rasulullah ingin melihat bahwa seluruh manusia beragama Islam? Artinya, semua manusia memang beragama Islam, hafal al-Qur'an, hafal hadits-hadits Nabi, membaca kitab-kitab klasik karangan ulama'-ulama' terdahulu namun pribadi mereka masing-masing masih bersifat individu, seolah-olah Allah tidak menciptakan makhluk lain selain dirinya. Seolah-olah Allah tidak pernah menciptakan manusia lain yang imannya berbeda dan mereka tidak seharusnya ada dimuka bumi ini, mereka harus dibunuh dan dilenyapkan dari muka bumi ini. Mereka senantiasa membaca al-Qur'an, hafal sampai huruf perhuruf al-Qur'an cekatan dan cerdas ketika akan diuji dari bagian manapun al-Qur'an akan mulai dibacakan, namun hubungan sosialnya dengan orang lain, dengan sahabat, kerabat bahkan saudara menjadikannya jauh dari hubungan sosial itu. Seperti al-Qur'an itu adalah sebuah mahkota, sebuah piala keberhasilan yang harus diraih dengan segala cara, daya dan upaya. Padahal bukan itu yang sebenarnya diinginkan oleh Allah SWT, menurut penulis.

Ada juga golongan yang begitu sangat bangga bahwa dia sudah membaca beribu-ribu kitab klasik, bahkan menimbun berlemari-lemari kitab klasik untuk dibaca oleh dirinya. Namun dia tidak sempat melihat anak dan istrinya menangis kelaparan diluar sana, atau bahkan dia tidak dapat melihat orang tuanya bekerja keras di sawah dibawah panas matahari dan kehujanan yang hasilnya untuk dimakan oleh keluarga dan orang itu juga: Sedangkan orang itu hanya duduk di rumah yang beliau menyebut dirinya sedang mempelajari agama, membaca kitab klasik dengan rasa nyaman dan santai. Apakah hal seperti ini yang diinginkan oleh Rasulullah?

Rasulullah menginginkan umatnya Islam. Istilah Islam adalah sebuah istilah yang arti harfiahnya selamat. Kemudian di sini saya berfikir bahwa selamat itu selamat dari dosa, selamat dari kekerasan, selamat dari perbuatan aniaya, selamat dari perbuatan-perbuatan keji baik hati maupun aksi: Seperti itu seharusnya agama Islam dimaknai, sebagai agama yang tidak saja menyelamatkan diri mereka/group sendiri tapi juga orang lain. Bukan justru agama yang menyelamatkan orang/kelompok mereka sendiri tetapi membunuh orang/pihak lain. Jika bisa hidup bersama dan berdampingan dengan aman, nyaman

dan damai mengapa tidak diwujudkan suasana seperti demikian, bukan malah melindungi diri sendiri kemudian membolehkan untuk menyakiti yang lain (*outsider*). Saya rasa bukan itu yang diinginkan oleh Rasulullah. Coba kita lihat misi Islamisasi Rasulullah, beliau berhijrah kesana kemari untuk menyebarkan nilai-nilai harmoni agama Islam bukan menyebarkan agama Islam sendiri. Beliau ingin manusia bersujud kepada Allah yang Maha memberikan kebaikan, yang Maha Mengasihi dan Menyayangi manusia bukan mengajarkan bahwa manusia harus menyembah Allah kemudian yang tidak menyembah Allah harus dibunuh.

Menurut bahasa Arab, kata Islam berarti tunduk, patuh, berserah diri dan damai. Jadi karakteristik dan watak dasar Islam sebenarnya adalah gagasan komprehensif tentang perlunya perdamaian dalam hidup dan kehidupan manusia. Islam, sebagai agama, diturunkan untuk tujuan mewujudkan salam (keselamatan), kedamaian dan perdamaian.[9] Artinya agama Islam adalah agama yang menyelamatkan umat manusia; tidak hanya orang-orang Islam akan tetapi juga orang-orang yang tidak mau mengakuinya sebagai agama. Keselamatan tersebut tidak datang dari agama itu sendiri; melainkan dari diri masing-masing pemeluknya. Mereka yang percaya agama Islam, adalah agama penyelamat, maka mereka juga seharusnya menyelamatkan orang lain. Menyelamatkan yaitu "mengislamkannya" dalam arti tidak memaksanya untuk mengakui agama Islam. Kembali kepada kebebasan hati nurani dan keyakinan, prinsip ini harus benar-benar dipegang teguh. Mengislamkan atau menyelamatkan artinya membuat orang lain juga merasa selamat, bukan justru mencelakai fisik mereka. "Mengislamkan" atau menyelamatkan yaitu menjaga kemanan dan kenyamanan orang lain seperti menjaga keamanan dan kenyamanan diri sendiri. Dengan begitu Islam *rahmah li al-'alamien* dan *Islam li kulli zaman wa al-makan* akan benar-benar sebagai identitas agama Islam.

Ketika zaman Rasulullah, Rasul memerangi orang kafir dikarenakan orang-orang kafir mengangu dan mengancam keselamatan

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[9] Faisal Ismail, Republik Bhinneka Tunggal Ika: Mengurai Isu-Isu Konflik, Multikulturalisme, Agama dan Budaya, hlm. 3.

orang-orang beriman. Rasulullah mengangkat senjata bukan semata-mata ingin melenyapkan makhluk ciptaan Allah tersebut. Serangan Rasulullah juga supaya memberikan pelajaran bagi mereka bahwa motif Rasul ingin menyebarkan kebaikan, bukan menyebarkan spirit pembantaian.

2. Dinamika Pertemuan Agama Islam Dan Budaya Di Masyarakat Indonesia

Indonesia adalah bangsa yang sangat kaya bahasa, budaya, suku, ras dan agama. Sebuah negara dengan kekayaan kultur baik impor maupun asli (*indigenous*) . Pluralitas ini memiliki potensi konflik sangat tinggi. Semakin tinggi tingkat multikultural suatu bangsa, akan semakin besar pula potensi konflik yang ditimbulkan. Acapkali saat suatu konflik terjadi, dapat dapat terlihat multikultural tersebut. Eksistensi agama Islam di suatu masyarakat Islam bersentuhan dengan beberapa elemen kehidupan masyarakat. Pertama, Islam dengan pemahaman atau interpretasi yang berbeda, maka akan muncul mayoritas dan minoritas. Setelah munculnya mayoritas dan minoritas potensi konflik dari mayoritas sangat besar. Kedua, Islam dengan budaya masyarakat yang sudah ada sebelum kedatangan agama Islam.

Pertemuan antara agama dan budaya sebagian besar diwarnai dengan konflik. Konflik menjadi warna-warni jika terjadi pertemuan antar agama. Namun, tidaklah selalu terjadi konflik saat terjadi perjumpaan antara agama dengan budaya lokal. Kerapkali terjadi sintesa atas pertemuan tersebut, yaitu terbentuknya *local wisdom* atau kearifan lokal. Adapun kearifan lokal dimaksud adalah kerukunan, gotong royong, toleransi. Masyarakat pedesaan pada umumnya masih kuat memiliki kearifan local seperti gotong royong; menjadi tradisi dan budaya yang terus dilestarikan; contohnya: gotong royong membersihkan sampah di jalanan desa, membersihkan dan merapikan kuburan dari rumput-rumput liar. Gotong-royong juga terjadi antar individu masyarakat seperti membantu tetanggi yang menyelenggarakan pesta. Dalam dimensi keagamaan Islam, adanya tradisi dzikiran keliling dari rumah kerumah, hiziban keliling dari rumah kerumah, kelompok layatan dan lain sebagainya.[10]

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[10] Zuli Qodir, Sosiologi Agama: Esai-Esai Agama Di Ruang Publik, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2011) www.voa-islam.com

Wujud tradisi atau kearifan lokal di masyarakat kota yang sering diidentikan sebagai masyarakat modern; masih sering terjadi dalam kelompok masyarakat pendatanng di suatu komplek perumahan. Jika konteksnya majemuk keagamaannya, mereka membuat program gotong royong dalam membangun rumah ibadah untuk pemeluk agama lain. Hal ini terjadi karena masih kuatnya kesadaran nilai kerukunan dan toleransi yang harus dikedepankan.

Kearifan local dapat dikategorikan sebagai kearifan lokal natural dan kearian lokal impor. Bentuk-bentuk gotong royong di atas, merupakan kearifan lokal natural. Sedangkan kearifan impor yaitu pluralisme dan multikulturalisme; meskipun ada yang menyatakan bahwa pluralisme dan multikulturisme adalah bentuk kearian lokal. Keduanya sebenarnya realitas natural yang belum disadari oleh masyarakat setempat, namun setelah masuk ke Indonesia dengan teori-teori sosial Barat barulah istilah itu muncul.

Diskursus multikultural adalah pemahaman yang baru bukan merupakan teori asal yang natural dari orang Indonesia. Menurut Suparlan, secara konseptual diskursus masyarakat multikultural sebenarnya relatif baru. Sekitar tahun 1970-an, gerakan multikultural muncul pertamakali di Kanada; kemudian menyebar ke Australia, Amerika Serikat, Inggris, Jerman, dan negara-negara lain termasuk Indonesia. Kanada pada waktu itu didera konflik berkepanjangan, disebabkan oleh masalah hubungan antar warga negara. Masalah itu meliputi hubungan antar suku bangsa, agama, ras dan aliran politik yang terkungkung dalam dominasi dan hegemoni. Berakhirnya konflik seiring dengan digagasnya konsep masyarakat multikultural yang mengusung kesetaraan, menghargai hak budaya komunitas dan demokrasi. Gagasan ini ternyata efektif dan bahkan menjadi produk global.[11]

Begitu juga dengan Indonesia yang memiliki kemajemukan suku, ras, bahasa, agama dan budaya; maka seharusnya konsep masyarakat

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[11] Dikutip dari Andy Dermawan, Dialektika Islam dan Multikulturalisme di Indonesia :Ikhtiar Mengurai Akar Konflik, (Yogyakarta: PT. Kurnia Kalam Semesta, 2009), hlm. 68

multikultural juga mampu meredam potensi konflik di Indonesia. Menurut *Laporan Tahuanan Kehidupan Beragama 2012* oleh CRCS UGM tercatat sebanyak 22 kasus konflik terkait dengan perbedaan pemahaman atau praktik keagamaan yang didalam UU disebut penodaan agama. Mereka dianggap sebagai umat beragama yang sesat dikarenakan praktik-praktik keagamaan yang dilakukan berbeda dengan praktik keagamaan mayoritas umat agama tersebut. Praktik keagamaan mayoritas sudah diklaim menjadi identitas publik agama, maka ketika ada yang berbeda dua kemungkinan yang muncul yaitu masyarakat langsung mengadili atau menempuh jalur hukum dengan mengikut sertakan negara ikut andil dalam urusan tersebut.

3. Realitas Peran Agama Islam dalam Masyarakat Multikultural Di Indonesia

Agama pada dasarnya adalah mediasi utama untuk meredam konflik, bukan justru menjadi pemicu konflik. Agama pada umumnya mengajarkan kebaikan dan perdamaian. Semua doktrin agama mengajarkan tentang kebaikan. Untuk itu, semakin dikatakan mahir dalam agama atau menjadi tokoh agama seharusnya akan semakin membuat orang tersebut berjiwa damai. Begitu juga dengan agama Islam, dari namanya saja adalah agama yang "menyelamatkan", agama yang selamat. Untuk itu, penulis akan mengekstraksi agama Islam sebagai sebuah mediasi diantara mediasi-mediasi yang ditawarkan oleh tokoh-tokoh konflik. Sebenarnya jiwa-jiwa mediasi perdamaian sudah ada dalam masing-masing agama. Namun, dalam buku *Islam dan Humanisme* mencoba menggunakan bidang keilmuan humanis sebagai alat bantu untuk membongkar bibit-bibit jiwa perdamaian.

Jika terjadi suatu konflik, termasuk konflik keagamaan, pasti ada pelaku atau aktornya. Uraian berikut adalah analisis berbagai konflik agama menurut pelaku konflik, yakni:

1. Konflik atas nama individual
2. Konflik atas nama kelompok agama
3. Konflik lintas agama atau atas nama agama.

Beberapa tawaran untuk memposisikan agama Islam sebagai mediasi untuk meredam potensi konflik yang begitu sangat tinggi; salah satunya adalah **Konsep Multikultural Abdul Aziz Sachedina.**

Menurut Abdul Aziz Sachedina, agama Islam adalah agama publik, agama yang tidak terbatas oleh tempat, ruang, dan waktu. Yang menjadi problem keberagamaan umat menurut Abdul Aziz adalah menafikan komunitas diluar dirinya; sebagai "mereka" (*outsider*) dan klaim mempunayai otoritas yang sama tentang *self-governing existence*.

Nabi Muhammad SAW yang diutus oleh Allah SWT adalah seorang yang menyampaikan hukum dan menuntun masyarakat agar menjadi warga yang baik dan taat dalam menjaga hubungan interpersonal. Pada hakikatnya agama Islam sudah mempunyai bibit visi untuk membentuk umatnya sebagai umat yang suka bersosial dan menjaga nilai-nilai humanis. Seperti inilah identitas muslim yang diinginkan oleh agama Islam yang sebenarnya.

Dengan maraknya konflik-konflik yang berkembang atas nama agama, hal tersebut sudah menyimpang jauh dari visi perdamaian dan kebaikan yang diinginkan seperti telah dijelaskan sebelumnya. Abdul Aziz Sachedina menawarkan konsep untuk menegakkan agama Islam sebagai mediator untuk mencegah semua realitas konlflik dengan mendemokratisasi nilai-nilai agama yang mengandung doktrin perdamaian. Sebagian kelompok muslim garis keras menggangap bahwa suatu negara selayaknya berbentuk "Negara Kesatuan Syari'at Islam". Apakah hal demikian bisa diterapkan di Indonesia? Apakah semua elemen kehidupan masyarakat akan baik-baik saja? Apakah gagasan "Negara Kesatuan Syari'at Islam" lebih baik untuk menjaga perdamaian diantara masyarakat? Pertanyaan-pertanyaan seperti inilah yang kemudian muncul dikarenakan fakta-fakta publik memperlihatkan justru aktor konflik mayoritas adalah orang Islam.

Pemeluk agama yang benar-benar dikatakan religious adalah mereka yang tidak menggap dirinya yang paling benar kemudian yang lain salah; menghargai agama dan keprcayaan orang lain; tidak mengganggu atau menggugat apalagi memaksakan agamanya kepa-

da orang lain. Biarkan mereka beribadah sesuai dengan agama dan kepercayaannya masing-msing dan silahkan masing-masing beribadah sekhusyuk mungkin terhadap kepercayaannya. Ketikapun bertemu dalam lingkup sosial maka bersikaplah selayaknya seorang warga negara atau teman, sahabat, saudara yang baik; bersedia membantu, memberikan pertolongan, menghidupkan harmonisasi yang menjadi tujuan bersama.

Sikap eksklusivisme[12] pemeluk agama juga merupakan faktor pemicu meningkatnya potensi konflik. Bahan bacaan agama yang hanya berisi tentang *monoreligious* (hubungan sesama pemeluk agama) yang tidak dapat melintasi hubungan lintas agama; seperti bahan-bahan bacaan fikih yang hanya mengajarkan tentang Thaharah, Zakat, Haji, nikah. Tidak ada dalam kitab fiqih yang menjelaskan khusus bab *habl min al-nas* lintas agama dan budaya. Tidak ada juga pelajaran aqidah dan akhlak tasawuf lintas agama dan budaya. Kurangnya pemahaman wacana universal al-Qur'an[13] juga menjadi pemicu potensi konflik. Mungkin dengan menjadikan iman adalah sebuah alat keadilan[14] dimana iman tidak hanya dalam dataran teologi, namun juga menjadi dataran bidang sosio-cultural. Ada juga umat yang sudah menyadari bahwa inklusivisme itu penting akan tetapi mereka takut untuk mengungkapkannya karena mereka takut diklaim sebagai murtadin.

Resolusi konflik yang ditawarkan oleh golongan liberal sekular adalah peran serta negara untuk menyatukan masyarakat dalam prinsip pluralisme agama dengan sistem pemerintahan. Hal ini akan membuat agama harus terpisah dari ruang publik sebagaimana misi sekularisasi. Semua masyarakat terikat secara hukum untuk menjaga hubungan sosial yang damai. Resolusi bukan lagi mainstream harus ada penegakkan keyakinan tertentu melainkan visi komunitas masa

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[12] Abdul Aziz Sachedina, The Role Of Islam In Public Square: Guidance or Governance, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press),hlm.7 alenia ke 2

[13] Tawaran praktis Abdul Aziz Sachedina dalam The Role Of Islam In Public Square: Guidance or Governance,hlm.7 alenia 4.

[14] Abdul Aziz Sachedina, The Role Of Islam In Public Square: Guidance or Governance,hlm. 8 alenia pertama

depan, keyakinan yang dapat melampaui hubungan lintas beragama.[15] Tidak ada klaim agama apapun yang paling benar dan akan digunakan sebagai resolusi ketika munculnya konflik.

Tawaran lain yang diajukan oleh seorang Abdul Aziz Sachedina yaitu kebebasan untuk memilih keyakinan dan memilih agama yang akan menjadi identitas publik bagi dirinya. Terlepas dari masalah aga-ma sebagai identitas publik, al-Qur'an menyatakan bahwa manusia dibimbing oleh wahyu Allah dengan dua bentuk yaitu bimbingan mor-al spiritual universal yang menyentuh semua manusia dan bimbingan wahyu yang diberikan kepada komunitas agama tertentu.[16] Artinya bahwa Islam memberikan kebebasan untuk meyakini atau untuk mengikuti hati nurani masing-masing individu. Masalah keamanan adalah masalah hati yang tidak dapat dipaksakan. Berdasarkan sifat manusia sendiri terdapat sifat berontak ketika ada sesuatu yang tidak sesuai dengan hati nurani.[17]

Jadi sebenarnya dengan perangkat-perangkat positif yang ter-dapat dalam tubuh agama Islam, maka agama Islam sebenarnya ada-lah sebagai *guidance* bukan sebagai *governance*. Agama khususnya Islam membimbing pemeluknya untuk menjalani kehidupan yang lebih bermakna, lebih memiliki manfaat bagi yang lainnya. Silahkan anda menjadi seorang fanatisan terhadap iman anda masing-masing selama iman tersebut membimbing anda dalam kesadaran moral dan spiritual yang mengarah kepada perilaku yang bertanggung jawab dan menciptakan rasa hormat terhadap semua manusia serta dapat berbagi martabat.

Jika Abdul Aziz Sachedina menggunakan kata martabat dan ke-hormatan, maka penulis menggunakan kata harmoni. Agama membimbing masing-masing pemeluknya untuk dapat memegang teguh nilai-nilai humanisme. Nilai-nilai humanisme dijadikan sebagai

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[15] Abdul Aziz Sachedina, The Role Of Islam In Public Square: Guidance or Governance,hlm. 8 alenia ke 3
[16] Abdul Aziz Sachedina, The Role Of Islam In Public Square: Guidance or Governance,hlm. 14 alenia ke 2
[17] Pengalaman psikologi

alat bantu untuk mencapai harmoni bersama agama. Dengan prinsip-prinsip harmoni bersama agama, umat manusia dapat mencapai level perdamaian dan harmoni diantara hubungan sesama manusia. Adapun prinsip-prinsip humanis yang ditawarkan oleh Hasan Hanafi yaitu, saling menghargai hak-hak dan kewajiban masing-masing individu, menghilangkan *religious egoism*, tetap menghargai semua manusia adalah ciptaan Allah baik yang percaya ataupun tidak percaya kepada Allah sendiri.[18] Hasan Hanafi juga menyebut humanis atau pembimbingan agama terhadap umat supaya umat menjaga hubungan baik antar sesama dan mengakui martabat kita sebagai sesama dengan sebutan etika global. Ketika Hasan Hanafi menyebutnya sebagai etika global; Abdul Aziz Sachedina justru menyebutnya sebagai rasa hormat terhadap manusia sebagai sesama yang mempunyai kesamaan martabat dan kehormatan.

Banyak sekali konflik atas nama agama, seperti yang baru-baru ini terjadi perusakan dan pembunuhan serta pengeboman atas nama agama; sehingga agama tidak lagi menjadi pembimbing justru menjadi *governance*. Sebenarnya teori di atas merupakan penyangkalan terhadap image jelek atas nama agama tersebut. Sebagaimana dengan pemaparan teori perdamaian bahwa tindak-tindak pelanggaran ketertiban umum atas nama agama yang terjadi dalam realitas manusia dapat diminimalisir, jika konteksnya sama dengan konsep yang ditawarkan oleh Abdul Aziz Sachedina.

PENUTUP

Indonesia sebagai negara yang majemuk dengan segala macam bentuk keragamannya seharusnya dapat menjadi contoh bagi negara lain tentang bagaiamana mengolah keragaman baik suku, agama, dan ras. Tawaran-tawaran mediasi perdamaian yang diberikan oleh Abdul Aziz Sachedina layak diarusutamakan ke dalam konteks masyarakat multikultural Indonesia.

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ISLAM IN THE MIDDLE OF INDONESIAN MULTICULTURAL COMMUNITIES: Study of Multicultural Concepts of Abdul Aziz Sachedina (English transla-

Purjatian Azhar[1]

PRELIMINARY

Islam entered in Indonesian society, that the people were not in condition of having no culture (cultural emptiness), but rich in culture rooted as the basic color of the country of Indonesia. Religion then came into another color in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, the Republic of Indonesia is a country that is rich in native religion and culture. Unlike other countries, religion has so far developed rapidly along with the count of centuries passed by the early major religions throughout the world.

Based on the problematic relations between religion, culture, and the state; this paper will review the positions of the three elements of community life. When and where is religion, especially Islam, which will be discussed in this paper, becoming the way of life human?[2] When and where does culture meet religion? Then how is the multicultural community response to the meeting of those three elements? What is the role of the state as a mediation of the meeting between religion and culture? The last question is, where is the actual State position?

Based on that relationship restlessness, then this paper will address the problem: the role of Islam in Indonesia's multicultural socie-

ty so that raises a choice that is quite very heavy namely making Indonesia secular or making Indonesia as the Islamic Shariah state; based on foundation of the problem targeted that is to answer The Role Of Islam In the Public Square: Guidance or Governance? When Islam chooses as a Guidance then here it will be directed that Islam should cooperate with humanism. However, when Islam chooses as Governance; then Islam must want to be claimed as an *egois religious.*

In Indonesia, the question still revolves whether Islam wants to be Guidance or Governance. When Islam is Guidance, Islam should cooperate with humanism, pluralism and multiculturalism; like the essay stated by Hasan Hanafi in the book "*Islam dan Humanisme-Aktualisasi Humanisme Islam Ditengah Krisis Humanisme Universal" (*Islam and Humanism-Actualization of Islamic Humanism Amid the Crisis of Universal Humanism). Meanwhile, when Islam as a Governance, Indonesia will be forced to become a unitary state of Islamic Shari'a like the dreams of several groups that developed in Indonesia, such as the Syi'ah religious movements, the Jama'ah Tabligh, the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), the Salafi, and the Ikhwanul Muslimin.

Highlighting the emergence of movements that will drag Islam to choose Governance, then in this paper will see the potential of Indonesia, is it better to become a secular state so that the movement does not interfere with plural and multi-cultural national stability; because those who are members of the movement are those who are counter to pluralism and multiculturalism; they do not think (do not realize) that they are in a plural and multicultural country. This paper also intends to describe the offer of a resolution model to religious conflicts that have occurred in the last past years.

The Dynamics of the Encountering of Islamic Religion and Culture
1. Encountering of Islamic Religion and the Arab Nation

Islam descend for the first time during the Arabs, which according to Islamic teachings, Allah sent a Prophet Muhammad to improve the morals of the people. Islam fell for the first time amid the Arab community, which according to Islamic teachings, Allah sent a Prophet Muhammad to improve the morals of the people. The Messenger of

Allah (Rasulullah) said: "Indeed, I was sent to perfect morals" (Bukhari and Muslim). When the religion of Islam descended, the culture of the Arab community was so damaged that it was called a "*jahiliyah*" society which means "broken" "stupid"[3]. That is why the religion of Islam was revealed to the world and Allah sent the Prophet Muhammad as the bearer of Islam to teach the noble values of good morals taught by Islam.

At that time, the socio-cultural situation of the pre-Islamic Arabs was very fond of the following matters:

1. Poetry, with poetry, people can be praised/noble and insulted. From this poetry will be drawn the social life of the Arabs.[4]
2. Drinking khamar, although some of them forbid this.
3. There are also customs (traditions) at that time the habit of "marrying the wife of a father" who has died.
4. Despise women
5. Burying a daughter, but according to Sallabi, this was only done by Bani Asad and Tamim.
6. While there were only 17 people who were good at reading at the time.
7. Slavery was a common thing in pre-Islamic Arab times. They maintain and preserve slavery.

The habits of the Arab community are to get drunk, sell and buy women/treat women like merchandise, and oppress each other. That was the situation of Arab society when Islam descend to the world through a messenger, the Prophet Muhammad.

Actually, what is read from the arrival of Islam is to show good things and beneficial for humans; not even a weapon to fight each other specially to spill the blood of each fellow human. According to

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[3] Bernard Lewis, Bangsa Arab Dalam Lintasan Sejarah: Dari Segi Geografi Sosial, Budaya Dan Peranan Islam (Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu Jaya, 1988), hlm. 27

[4] Philip K. Hitti. Terj. Usuludin Hutagalung dan O.D.P. Sihombing. Dunia Arab-Sejarah Ringkas (Bandung: Sumur Bandung. 1970), hlm. 30-32

the development of the social theory of religion, all religions teach the good and the truth. So, none of the religions teach about violence or crime. There is also truth, as well the Islamic teachings that make known about kindness, harmony, comfort, mutual giving, mutual love; instead of to make the teachings of Islam as a tool to burn the anger of the masses, to fight each other, gathering mass to kill each other, slaughter each other and hurt each other.

Islam forbids drinking alcohol because of harm or bad consequences arising after a person drinks alcohol. Often those who drink alcoholic beverages lose consciousness and then commit crimes, such as: hitting people, committing abuse, if driving can cause accidents, torture, or domestic violence against his wife from a drunken husband. Fahmi Idris stated to muslimdaily.net that: "Alcoholic victims in Indonesia, based on internal surveys that have been carried out, are 50 people per day or around 18,000 per year ..."; victims as a result of alcohol consumption that directly or indirectly results, such as murder, rape, traffic accident, and domestic violence.[5] *Mudarat* or the effects caused are very many, which have been mentioned is the social harm to the perpetrator and also the harm to the biological will be much greater. People who drink alcohol will be impaired health, both men and women, especially for those who are pregnant the effect will be greater. That is why the Islamic religion issued a strict prohibition against a habit or culture that lives, grows, and develops in the community which has a negative impact on the biological and social side, such as drinking alcohol.

In the Arabs, before Islam came and banned the alcoholic drinks, human resources were no different than animals that like to commit violence, harassing women and and looting other's positions and property. Like there is no harmony in each person's life.[6] The relation-

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[5] Muslimdaily.net reported at www.voa-islam.com posted on Tuesday, 02-07-2013 | 12:01:57 WIB and accessed on 5 January 2014, 20.30 WIB

[6] See the original tribe of the Arabs, the Baduwi tribe. Where their living systems use the jungle system. And the characteristics of the Baduwi tribe are still embedded in society before the coming of Islam. Bernard Lewis in the book Arab Nations in the Cross of History: From the Social Geography, Culture and Role of Islam.

ship that they establish and maintain is a competitive relationship not a relationship of harmony. This is what religion wants to lesson so that humans become truly human beings who get along well, harmony, love one another, compassion and should only bring out the kindness of goodness that is scattered in all layers of this world. As in a phrase "with education can humanize humans"[7], but in this case, religion will make humans like humans.[8]

Thus, religion is actually present to create a religious society when they make social relationship with others and to God's other creatures. As in the teachings of Islam itself there are lessons about the *habl min Allah* (relationship between humans and God) and *habl min al-nas* (relationship between humans and humans). Started from this relationship, Islam wanted to guide the Arabs to do habits or customs and culture that time to becomes a good relationship and in harmony again.

The small question that arises is, for what is religion revealed to humans? What is certain is not only to be read, studied, memorized, or even carved; but more than that; at least people who study religion are people who can make themselves religious. What is religious meaning? Isn't religious a good relationship, a harmonious relationship? Is the person who is said to be a religious person who can memorize religious rules in good and detailed way? A messenger of Allah, is a role model sent so that humans learn about him how he socializes, how he relates to the surrounding community. Supposedly, the Prophet was examined from the sociological side not only from the theological side only. These two parts are what Muslims should learn and practice. Not only from books that tell what the Prophet said to others (people).

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[7] Pendidikan pada hakikatnya adalah memanusiakan manusia. oleh Emha Ainun Najib dalam Markesot Bertutue Lagi, (Mizan, 2013)

[8] Faisal Ismail, Republik Bhinneka Tunggal Ika: Mengurai Isu-Isu Konflik, Multikulturalisme, Agama dan Budaya, (Jakarta: Puslitbang Kehidupan Keagamaan-Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2012), hlm.225.

Rasulullah is an ordinary human whose biological structure is the same as humans in general. However, he was given strengths and x factors that distinguish him from ordinary humans. Rasulullah had a relationship like ordinary human beings namely *habl min Allah* and *habl min al-nas*. When Rasulullah is sent, what should be read is how the Prophet conveyed and taught Islam to the previous people. Did the Prophet ever command that the Muslims who kill the infidels are the true Islam? When Rasulullah declared that infidels were lawful in their blood to be killed, no one can see infidels like WHAT that is halal of their blood, nor anyone can see HOW the infidels whose blood are halal.

If seen from the history of the dynamics of the journey of Islam, that is the reality that happened on the surface. From the other side there was truth, also there was an untrue side. Religion should also be a culture, tradition and customs that must be maintained and pre-served. Like the life of the ancestors before religion came to give them new knowledge. Those who worship stones, animals, sun, and idols/images make this habit as a religion and a belief. Why precisely maintain harmony, security, tolerance, and peace are not interpreted into religion, to become a belief, become a faith that they will always be conscious both public and personal. Islam teaches, "be fear of (or piety of) wherever you are". "*Taqwa*" in Arabic, which means fear, but is represented only fear of Allah, fear of the punishment of Allah, fear of God's wrath. No one thinks that piety should be afraid of hurting fellow human beings, hurting other people's hearts, and disturbing public order.

Religion that is present amid society is a religion that leads and guides man through the harmonization of world life and the hereafter for those who believe in it. However, in its journey, the dynamics of religion were displaced by the emergence of so-called religious experts, religious leaders, 'well-known clerics whose proficient in religious knowledge. They are a category of people who read a lot of religious literature who later taught it. If at the time of the Prophet, Islam was spread by him with "Islamization" programs where the supposed "Islamization" of the Rasulullah period was different from

"Islamization" at the present time.

During the time of the Prophet, the mission of Islamization was the focus of the mission; then we should not be mistaken in understanding that the mission of Islamization is the patent mission of the Islamic religion, because that is far from the goal of the descent of Islam. The mission of Islamization is the political effort of the Prophet to open the path of harmony and get along well between human beings. The mission of Islamization is not as the main way the Prophet was sent to bring Islam. It is unknown how the true ideals of the Prophet; does the Prophet want to see all humanity as "Muslim" or the Prophet want to see humanity "Islam" (safe). These two words are indeed quite simple and have no unique value whatsoever / have no uniqueness, for those who only read the syllables. Even though the word contains the meaning of social interaction which is extremely harmonious.

Does the Prophet want to see that all people are Muslim? Which means, all humans are Muslim, memorize the Qur'an, memorize the hadiths of the Prophet, read the classic books written by previous 'ulama' but their personalities are still individual, as if Allah did not create other creatures other than himself. As if Allah had never created another human being whose faith was different and they should not have existed on this earth, they must be killed and obliterated from the face of this earth. They always read the Qur'an, memorize it until the letter verses of the Qur'an deftly and intelligently when it will be tested from any part of the Koran will begin to be read, but their social relationships with others, with friends, relatives and even siblings make it far from that social relationship. Like the Qur'an it is a crown, a trophy of success that must be won, power and effort. Though that is not what Allah SWT really wants, according to the author.

There are also groups who are so proud that they/he has read thousands of classic books, even hoarding classic book cabinets for them/him to read. But he did not get to see his wife and children crying starving out there, or he even could not see his parents working

hard in the fields under the hot sun and rain that the result of which is to be eaten by the whole family and that person as well. While that person just sits in a house that he calls himself studying religion, reading classic books with a sense of comfort and relaxation. Is this kind of thing desired by the Prophet?

The Prophet wanted his people to be Muslim. The term Islam is a term which literal meaning is safe or scathe less (*selamat or sehat walafiat*). Then here I think that "safe/saved" means saved from sin, saved from violence, saved from acts of persecution, and saved from evil acts both in heart and action. As it should be Islam is interpreted, that as a religion that not only saves themselves/their own group and others. It is not religion that saves their own people/groups but kills other people/parties. If you can live together and coexist comfortably and peacefully, why not create an atmosphere like so, instead of protecting yourself then allowing to hurt others (*outsider*). I think that is not what the Prophet wanted. Let us look at the mission of Islamization of the Prophet, he emigrated here and there to spread the values of the harmony of Islam rather than spreading Islam himself. He wants people to prostrate to God who is GOOD, who loves and cares for humans, not teaching that humans must worship God and those who do not worship God must be killed.

According to Arabic, the word Islam means submissive, obedient, recumbency and peace. So, the characteristics and basic character of Islam is actually a comprehensive notion of the need for peace in life and human life. Islam, as a religion, was descend for the purpose of realizing peace (salvation), peacefulness and propitiation.[9] This means that Islam is a religion that saves humanity; not only Muslims but also people who do not want to recognize it as a religion. Salvation does not come from religion itself; but rather from each of adherents. Those who believe in Islam, is a savior religion, then they should also save others. Salvaging is "Islamizing" in the sense of not forcing people to profess Islam. Returning to freedom of conscience and belief,

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[9] Faisal Ismail, Republik Bhinneka Tunggal Ika: Mengurai Isu-Isu Konflik, Multikulturalisme, Agama dan Budaya, hlm. 3.

this principle must be strictly upheld. "Islamize" or to salvage is to maintain the security and comfort of others as we maintain security and comfort for ourselves. That way Islam *rahmah li al- 'alamien* and Islam *li kulli zaman wa al-makan* will truly be the identity of the Islamic religion.

During the time of the Rasulullah, the Apostle fought against unbelievers because the disbelievers interfered and threatened the safety of the believers. The Rasulullah took up arms not merely to eliminate God's creatures (the disbelievers), but the Prophet's attack was also to teach them a lesson that the Prophet's motive was to spread goodness, not to spread the spirit of slaughter.

2. The Dynamics of the Encountering of Islamic Religion and Culture in Indonesian Society

Indonesia is a nation that is rich in language, culture, ethnicity, race, and religion. A country with cultural wealth, both imported and indigenous. This plurality has remarkably high conflict potential. The higher the multicultural level of a nation, the greater the potential for conflict. Often when a conflict occurs, it can be seen that multiculturalism. The existence of Islam in an Islamic society is in contact with several elements of community life. First, Islam with a different understanding or interpretation, the majority and minority will emerge. After the emergence of the majority and minority, the potential for conflict against the majority (*Saran: kalau ditulis "…potensi konflik TERHADAP*/AGAINTS the <u>minority</u>", *tetapi kalau maksudnya adalah "…. potensi konflik DARI*/potential conflict FROM the <u>majority</u>") is exceptionally large. Second, Islam with a culture of society that existed before the arrival of Islam.

An encounter between religion and culture is for the most part colored by conflict. Conflicts become colorful if there is an encounter between religions. However, conflicts do not always occur when there is an encounter between religion and local culture. Often there is a synthesis of the encounter, namely the formation of local wisdom. The local wisdom referred to is harmony, mutual cooperation, and tolerance. Rural communities in general are still strong in having local

wisdom such as mutual cooperation; become a tradition and culture that continues to be preserved; for example: mutual cooperation clearing trash on village roads, cleaning of wild grasses and tidying graves. Mutual cooperation also occurs between individuals in the community such as helping neighbors who organize parties. In the Islamic religious dimension, there is a tradition of *dzikir* traveling from house to house, *hiziban* traveling from house to house, group of (mourning prayer) service and so forth.[10]

Embodiments of tradition or local wisdom in urban communities that are often identified as modern society; still often occurs in groups of migrants in a housing complex. If the context is compounded in religion, they make a mutual cooperation program in building houses of worship for followers of other religions. This happens because there is still strong awareness of the value of harmony and tolerance that must be put forward.

Local wisdom can be categorized as natural local wisdom and imported local wisdom. The forms of mutual assistance above, are natural local wisdom. Whereas import wisdom is pluralism and multiculturalism; although there are those who claim that pluralism and multiculturalism are forms of local wisdom. Both are actually natural realities that have not been realized by the local community, but after entering Indonesia with Western social theories then the term appears.

Multicultural discourse is a new understanding that is not a theory of the natural origin of Indonesians. According to Suparlan, conceptually the discourse of multicultural society is actually relatively new. Around the 1970s, multicultural movements first appeared in Canada; then spread to Australia, the United States, Britain, Germany, and other countries including Indonesia. Canada at that time suffered a prolonged conflict, caused by problems of relations between citizens. These problems include relations between ethnic groups, religions, races, and political currents that are confined in domination and he-

[10] Zuli Qodir, Sosiologi Agama: Esai-Esai Agama Di Ruang Publik, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2011) www.voa-islam.com

gemony. The end of the conflict is in line with the concept of a multi-cultural society that promotes equality, respects the cultural rights of the community and democracy. This idea turned out to be effective and even become a global product.[11]

Likewise, with Indonesia which has a plurality of tribes, races, languages, religions, and cultures; then the concept of multicultural society should also be able to reduce the potential for conflict in Indonesia. According to *the 2012* Annual Report on Religious Life by CRCS UGM there were 22 cases of conflict related to differences in understanding or religious practices which in the law are called blasphemy. They are considered as religious people who are heretics because their religious practices are different from those of the majority. The majority of religious practices have been claimed to be a religious public identity, so when there are two different possibilities that arise, namely the community directly adjudicates or takes legal action by involving the state in the matter.

3. The Reality of the Role of Islam in Multicultural Communities in Indonesia

Religion is basically the main mediation to reduce conflicts, not just be trigger conflict. Religion generally teaches kindness and propitiation. All religious doctrines teach about goodness/kindness. Therefore, the more proficient in religion or being a religious figure, the more peaceful the person is. Likewise, with the religion of Islam, from its name alone is a religion that "salvage", a religion that salvaged. For this reason, the writer will extract Islamic religion as a mediation between mediations offered by conflict figures. In fact, the souls of mediation of propitiation already exist in each religion. However, in the book Islam and Humanism try to use the field of humanist science as a tool to dismantle the seeds of the soul of propitiation.

If there is a conflict, including religious conflict, there must be the perpetrators or actor. The following description is an analysis of various religious conflicts according to the perpetrators of the conflict, namely:

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[11] Dikutip dari Andy Dermawan, Dialektika Islam dan Multikulturalisme di Indonesia :Ikhtiar Mengurai Akar Konflik, (Yogyakarta: PT. Kurnia Kalam Semesta, 2009), hlm. 68

1. Conflict on behalf of individuals
2. Conflict on behalf of religious groups
3. Conflicts between religions or in the name of religion.

Several offers to position Islam as a mediation to reduce the potential for conflict is so high; one of them is **Multicultural Concept Abdul Aziz Sachedina**.

According to Abdul Aziz Sachedina, Islam is a public religion, a religion that is not limited by place, space, and time. The problem of religious diversity according to Abdul Aziz is the hypocrisy of the community outside themself as "they" (outsider) and claims have the same authority about *self-governing existence*.

The Prophet Muhammad who was sent by Allah SWT was a person who delivered the law and guided the community to be good and obedient citizens in maintaining interpersonal relations. Basically, Islam already has the seeds of vision to form its people as people who like to socialize and maintain humanist values. This is the Muslim identity desired by the true religion of Islam.

With the rise of conflicts that have developed in the name of religion, this has strayed far from the vision of propitiation and the desired goodness as explained earlier. Abdul Aziz Sachedina offers a concept to uphold Islam as a mediator to prevent all conflicting realities by democratizing religious values that contain the doctrine of propitiation. Some hardline Muslim groups consider that a country should be in the form of a "Sharia Islamic State". Can this be applied in Indonesia? Will all elements of community life be okay? Is the idea of a "Sharia Islamic State" better for maintaining peace among the people? Questions like these that then arise due to public facts show that the majority of conflict actors are Muslims.

The adherents of a religion that are truly said to be religious are those who do not call themselves the most righteous then the others are wrong; respect the religion and beliefs of others; not interfere or

sue and moreover to impose his religion on others. Let them worship according to their respective religion and beliefs and and to let each to worship as fervently as possible to his beliefs. Whenever you meet in a social environment, you should behave like a citizen or a friend, a best friend or siblings; willing to help, provide assistance, turn on harmonization which is a common goal.

The attitude of exclusivism[12] of followers of religion is also a factor triggering an increase in the potential for conflict. Religious reading material that only contains about monoreligious (relationships among adherents of religion) that can not cross interfaith relations, such as fiqh reading materials that only teach about Thaharah, Zakat, Hajj, marriage. There is nothing in the book of *fiqh* (*fikih*) that specifically explains the chapter of *habl min al-nas* across religions and cultures. There is also no study of *aqeedah* and moral values of Sufism between religions and cultures. The lack of understanding of the universal discourse of the Qur'an[13] also triggers potential conflicts. Maybe by making faith a tool of justice[14] where faith is not only on the theological plane, but also becomes a socio-cultural field. There are also people who have realized that inclusivism is important, but they are afraid to express it because they are afraid of being claimed as apostates.

Conflict resolution offered by secular liberals is the role of the state to unite the community in the principle of religious pluralism with the government system. This will make religion separate from public space as is the mission of secularization. All communities are legally bound to maintain peaceful social relations. Resolution is no longer the mainstream there must be upholding certain beliefs but the vision of future communities, beliefs that can transcend cross-

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[12] Abdul Aziz Sachedina, The Role Of Islam In Public Square: Guidance or Governance, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press),hlm.7 alenia ke 2

[13] Tawaran praktis Abdul Aziz Sachedina dalam The Role Of Islam In Public Square: Guidance or Governance,hlm.7 alenia 4.

[14] Abdul Aziz Sachedina, The Role Of Islam In Public Square: Guidance or Governance,hlm. 8 alenia pertama

religious relations.[15] No religious claim is the most correct and will be used as a resolution when conflicts arise.

Another offer put forward by Abdul Aziz Sachedina is the freedom to choose beliefs and choose a religion that will become a public identity for him/her. Apart from the problem of religion as a public identity, the Qur'an states that humans are guided by the revelation of God in two forms, namely universal moral guidance that touches all humans and guidance of revelation given to certain religious communities.[16] This means that Islam gives freedom to believe or to follow the conscience of each individual. Safety issues are a matter of the heart that can not forced. Based on human nature itself there is a nature of rebellion when there is something that is not in accordance with the conscience.[17]

So, in fact with the positive instruments contained in the body of the Islamic religion, the Islamic religion is actually as guidance not as governance. Religion, especially Islam, guides its adherents to live more meaningful lives, more beneficial to others. Please you be a fanatic toward each of your faith as long as that faith guides you in moral and spiritual awareness that leads to responsible behavior and creates respect for all humans and can share dignity.

If Abdul Aziz Sachedina uses the word dignity and honor, then the writer uses the word harmony. Religion guides each of its adherents to be able to uphold the values of humanism. The values of humanism serve as tools to achieve harmony with religion. With the principles of harmony with religion, humanity can reach the level of propitiation and harmony between human relationships. As for the humanist principles offered by Hasan Hanafi namely, mutual respect for the rights and obligations of each individual, eliminating *religious egoism*, still respecting all humans are God's creations, both those who be-

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[15] Abdul Aziz Sachedina, The Role Of Islam In Public Square: Guidance or Governance,hlm. 8 alenia ke 3

[16] Abdul Aziz Sachedina, The Role Of Islam In Public Square: Guidance or Governance,hlm. 14 alenia ke 2

[17] Pengalaman psikologi

lieve or do not believe in God himself.[18] Hasan Hanafi also called humanists or religious guidance to the people so that people maintain good relations between each other and recognize our dignity as fellow as a global ethic. When Hasan Hanafi called it global ethics; Abdul Aziz Sachedina actually calls it respect for humans as a fellow who has the same dignity and honor.

There are many conflicts in the name of religion, like what recently happened destruction and killing and bombings in the name of religion; so that religion is no longer as guidance, but it becomes governance. Actually, the above theory is a denial upon the bad image in the name of the religion. As with the presentation of the theory of propitiation that acts of violating public order in the name of religion that occur in human reality can be minimized, if the context is the same as the concept offered by Abdul Aziz Sachedina.

CLOSING

Indonesia as a pluralistic country with all kinds of diversity can be an example for other countries on how to manage diversity in terms of ethnicity, religion, and race. Propitiation mediation offers given by Abdul Aziz Sachedina deserves to be mainstreamed into the context of Indonesia's multicultural society.

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[18] Hasan Hanafi, Islam dan Humanisme, hlm. 1

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Media Sosial, Radikalisme dan Peluang Membangun Perdamaian: Sharing dari GKJW dalam Aksi Bersama Menolak Kekerasan dan Ekstrimisme Menuju Keadilan, Perdamaian dan Rekonsiliasi

Pdt. Brahm Kharismatius

Abstrak: Tujuan dari paper ini adalah untuk mengetahui pengaruh media sosial dalam masyarakat sosial media khususnya terkait suburnya konten radikalisme. Metode yang digunakan adalah studi pustaka. Dalam uraian di paper ini dapat disimpulkan bahwa media sosial memiliki pengaruh positif dan negatif. Pengaruh negatif dari penggunaan media sosial adalah kemudahan menerima informasi termasuk konten-konten tentang radikalisme dan intoleransi. Penulis melihat bahwa GKJW menggunakan fungsi positif dari penggunaan media sosial ini untuk pembinaan-pelayanan-pembekalan umat. Media sosial juga sebagai sarana informasi kepada masyarakat umum dalam membangun budaya toleran, menyuarakan narasi-narasi perdamaian dan menolak pandangan radikalisme. Inilah yang memperkuat Pancasila sebagai ideologi bangsa Indonesia.

I. Pendahuluan

Kita sekarang hidup di abad 21 dengan perubahan yang sangat cepat khususnya di bidang teknologi informasi. Segala aspek teknologi informasi tersebut beriringan pula dengan perkembangan masyarakatnya, dari masyarakat yang tradisional menjadi masyarakat modern. Sebagai contoh masyarakat dahulu dalam mendapatkan informasi dari jarak jauh memerlukan waktu yang lama, karena cara pengiriman pesan masih memakai surat. Sekarang ini masyarakat mengirim pesan dengan menggunakan telepon bahkan dengan disertai suara ataupun video. Tentu kemajuan teknologi ini membawa

perubahan pada peradaban dan kebudayaan manusia. Perubahan ini juga mentransformasi nilai-nilai, cara berpikir dan tatanan yang ada di masyarakat. Khususnya di Indonesia dapat kita saksikan begitu besar pengaruh kemajuan teknologi informasi terhadap nilai-nilai kebudayaan yang di anut masyarakat, baik masyarakat perkotaan maupun pedesaan yang tumbuh menjadi lebih modern. Kemajuan teknologi informasi telah membawa revolusi yang dinamakan revolusi 4.0 melalui media internet dan telepon pintar (*smartphone*).

Pada bulan 21 Februari 2020 agensi pemasaran media sosial *We are social* bertajuk "Global Digital Report 2020" mengeluarkan hasil riset bahwa pengguna media sosial di Indonesia telah mencapai 175,4 juta atau sebesar 64% dari total populasi Indonesia sebesar 272,1 Juta orang. Jumlah ini meningkat 17% dari survei tahun 2019. Sedangkan media sosial *user* yang menggunakan *mobile* (gadget) mencapai 160 juta, jumlah ini setara dengan 59% dari jumlah populasi penduduk di Indonesia.[1] Artinya, separuh lebih penduduk Indonesia sudah terkoneksi dengan internet dan memakai *smartphone* sebagai alat koneksi utamanya. Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia (APJII) menyatakan bahwa kontribusi terbesar dari pengguna Internet di Indonesia atau sebanyak 55% adalah Pulau Jawa, dimana Jawa timur sebanyak 13,5%.[2] Bisa dibayangkan pengguna internet ini turut mempengaruhi dinamika kehidupan masyarakat di Jawa Timur yang proyeksi BPS tahun 2020 berjumlah sekitar 40 Juta jiwa. Semua informasi baik yang bernilai positif maupun negatif, dapat dengan mudah di akses oleh masyarakat melalui media sosial. Berdasarkan realitas tersebut di akui atau tidak, perlahan-lahan media sosial mulai mengubah pola pikir masyarakat, menciptakan gaya hidup, termasuk dalam kehidupan spiritual mereka dalam memahami agama. Artinya, pertumbuhan media sosial yang pesat dapat mempengaruhi dan merubah pemahaman seseorang yang memiliki akses terhadap media tersebut. Seseorang dapat berubah semakin pandai, maju karena dapat memanfaatkan media sosial untuk menguatkan komunitasnya. Sebaliknya, seseorang yang baik juga bisa rusak dan menimbulkan

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[1] *https://amp.kompas.com/tekno/read/2020/02/20/14090017/penetrasi-internet-di-indonesia-capai-64-persen* diakses 11 Mei 2020 Pukul 14.00 WIB.

[2] *https://m.akurat.co/625055/sebagian-besar-pengguna-internet-indonesia-berlokasi-di-pulau-jawa* diakses diakses 11 Mei 2020 Pukul 14.00 WIB

permasalahan hukum. Sebagai contoh, kita dapat melihat penggunaan renungan, tuntunan atau kotbah pada ibadah secara *on line*, ibadah *live,* ataupun *live streaming* dengan menggunakan media sosial. Namun disisi lain menjelang PILKADA dan PILPRES media sosial menjadi akar masalah utama atas persatuan bangsa. Media sosial justru dipakai oleh kalangan tertentu dengan tidak bijak untuk memecah belah agama, menebar kebencian, fitnah, hujatan, hasutan, informasi hoax, serta menyebarkan paham radikal.

Tentu sebagai warga negara dan masyarakat beragama yang menggunakan media sosial, hal ini merupakan hal memprihatinkan. Oleh sebab itu tulisan terbatas ini berupaya mencaritahu sejauhmana pengaruh media sosial tersebut bagi masyarakat pengguna media sosial dan bagaimana respon sebagian umat Kristen di Jawa Timur khususnya, Greja Kristen Jawi Wetan (GKJW) terhadap paham radikalisme di Media Sosial tersebut.

II. Sekilas tentang Teknologi (informasi), Media Sosial dan Radikalisme
II.1 Teknologi

Sebelum menuju pada media sosial, maka pertama-tama kita diajak memahami teknologi. Sehingga istilah teknologi seharusnya tidak terbatas pada penggunaan mesin, meskipun dalam arti sempit hal tersebut sering digunakan dalam kehidupansehari-hari. Menurut Roger (1983) teknologi adalah suatu rancangan (desain) untuk alat bantu tindakan yang mengurangi ketidakpastian dalam hubungan sebab akibat dalam mencapai suatu hal yang diinginkan.[3] Menurut Iskandar Alisyahbana (1980) Teknologi telah dikenal manusia sejak jutaan tahun yang lalu karena dorongan untuk hidup yang lebih nyaman, lebih makmur dan lebih sejahtera.[4] Jadi sejak awal peradaban sebenarnya telah ada teknologi, meskipun istilah "teknologi" belum digunakan. Istilah "teknologi" berasal dari "*techne*" atau cara dan "*logos*" atau pengetahuan. Jadi secara harafiah teknologi dapat diartikan "pengetahuan tentang cara". Sehingga pengertian teknologi menurut pandangan kedua tokoh di atas bisa

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[3] Rogers, Everett M., 1983. *Communication Technology*, New York: Free Press.
[4] Alisyahbana, Iskandar,1980. *Teknologi dan Perkembangan*, Yayasan Idayu, Jakarta.

disimpulkan cara melakukan sesuatu untuk memenuhi kebutuhan manusia dengan bantuan akal dan alat, sehingga seakan-akan memperpanjang, memperkuat atau memberdayakan seluruh anggota tubuh, pancaindra dan otak manusia.

Pengertian yang lain diberikan oleh Arnold Pacey yang menyatakan *"The application of scientific and other knowledge to practical task by ordered system that involve people and organizations, living things and machines"*.[5] Dari definisi ini nampak, bahwa teknologi tetap terkait pada pihak-pihak yang terlibat dalain perencanaannya, karena itulah teknologi tidak dapat lepas dari organisasi, tidak bebas budaya dan sosial, ekonomi dan politik. Sedangkan definisi teknologi yang diberikan oleh Rias Van Wyk adalah demikian "*Technology is "a set of means" created by people to facilitate human endeavor"*.[6] Dari definisi tersebut, ada beberapa essensi yang diperhatikan:

a. Teknologi terkait dengan ide atau pikiran yang tidak akan pernah berakhir, keberadaan teknotogi bersama dengan keberadaan budaya umat manusia.
b. Teknologi merupakan kreasi dari manusia, sehingga tidak alami dan bersifat artificial
c. Teknologi merupakan himpunan dari pikiran (set of means), sehingga teknologi dapat dibatasi atau bersifat universal, tergantung dari sudut pandang analisisse
d. Teknologi bertujuan untuk memfasilitasi human endeavor (ikhtiar manusia). Sehingga teknologi harus mampu meningkatkan performansi (kinerja) kemampuan manusia.

terdapat 3 entitas yang terkandung dalam teknologi dari definisi di atas, yaitu: *skill* (Keterampilan), *Algorithma* (Logika berpikir) dan *hardware* (Perangkat Keras). Teknologi adalah suatu tubuh dari ilmu pengetahuan dan rekayasa (*Engineering*) yang dapat diaplikasikan pada perancangan produk dan atau proses atau pada penelitian untuk

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[5] Pacey, Arnold,1990. *History of technology, Technology in World*. Qvilization: A Thousand Year History, MTT Press.
[6] Wyk, Rias Van, 1990, *Technology Analysis and R & D Management*, R&D Management.

mendapatkan pengetahuan baru. Kemajuan teknologi adalah sesuatu yang tidak bisa kita hindari dalam kehidupan ini, karena kemajuan teknologi akan berjalan sesuai dengan kemajuanm ilmu pengetahuan. Setiap inovasi diciptakan untuk memberikan manfaat positif bagi kehidupan manusia. Memberikan banyak kemudahan, serta sebagai cara baru dalam melakukan aktifitas manusia. Namun demikian, walaupun pada awalnya diciptakan untuk menghasilkan manfaat positif, di sisi lain juga juga memungkinkan digunakan untuk hal negatif.

II.1.1 Teknologi Informasi

Pada awalnya, manusia bertukar informasi melalui bahasa. Maka bahasa adalah teknologi. Bahasa memungkinkan seseorang memahami informasi yang disampaikan oleh orang lain. Tetapi bahasa yang disampaikan dari mulut ke mulut hanya bertahan sebentar saja, yaitu hanya pada saat si pengirim menyampaikan informasi melalui ucapannya itu saja. Setelah ucapan itu selesai, maka informasi yang berada di tangan si penerima itu akan dilupakan dan tidak bisa disimpan lama. Selain itu jangkauan suara juga terbatas. Untuk jarak tertentu, meskipun masih terdengar, informasi yang disampaikan lewat bahasa suara akan terdegradasi bahkan hilang sama sekali. Ditemukannya alfabet dan angka arabik memudahkan cara penyampaian informasi yang lebih efisien dari cara yang sebelumnya. Suatu gambar yang mewakili suatu peristiwa dibuat dengan kombinasi alfabet atau dengan penulisan angka, seperti MCMXLIII diganti dengan 1943. Teknologi dengan alfabet ini memudahkan dalam penulisan informasi itu. Kemudian, teknologi percetakan memungkinkan pengiriman informasi lebih cepat lagi. Teknologi elektronik seperti radio, TV, komputer mengakibatkan informasi menjadi lebih cepat tersebar di area yang lebih luas dan lebih lama tersimpan.

Teknologi informasi adalah teknologi yang digunakan untuk mengolah data (memproses, mendapatkan, menyusun, menyimpan, memanipulasi data) untuk menghasilkan informasi yang berkualitas. Peradaban Jaman yang semakin modern membuat komputer terus

mengalami evolusi sehingga melahirkan generasi baru yaitu terjadinya penggabungan antara Teknologi Komputer dan Komunikasi sehingga disebut sebagai Teknologi Informasi dan Komunikasi yang dibuat untuk membantu menyelesaikan berbagai masalah komunikasi dengan mudah dan cepat.[7] Dengan demikian kita dapat mengetahui bahwa teknologi informasi adalah hasil rekayasa akal pikiran manusia terhadap proses dari bagian pengirim ke penerima sehingga pengiriman informasi tersebut akan: a) Lebih cepat; b) Lebih luas sebarannya, dan c) Lebih lama penyimpanannya.

II.2 Media Sosial: Definisi, Karakter dan Jenisnya

Media Sosial (*Social Media*) adalah saluran atau sarana pergaulan sosial secara *online* di dunia maya (*internet*). Para pengguna (*user*) media sosial berkomunikasi, berinteraksi, saling kirim pesan, dan saling berbagi (*sharing*), dan membangun jaringan (*networking*). Jika mencari definisi media sosial di mesin pencari *Google*, dengan mengetikkan kata kunci "*social media meaning*", maka Google menampilkan pengertian media sosial sebagai *websites* and *applications used for social networking* -website dan aplikasi yang digunakan untuk jejaring sosial. Menurut *Wikipedia*, media sosial adalah sebuah media online, dengan para penggunanya (*users*) dapat dengan mudah berpartisipasi, berbagi, dan menciptakan isi meliputi blog, jejaring sosial, *wiki*, forum, dan dunia virtual. Andreas Kaplan dan Michael Haenlein mendefinisikan media sosial sebagai sebuah kelompok aplikasi berbasis internet yang membangun di atas dasar ideologi dan teknologi Web 2.0, dan yang memungkinkan penciptaan dan pertukaran *user-generated content*.[8] Artinya, isi media sosial dapat digunakan untuk menyebarkan gagasan secara luas dan tanpa adanya batasan usia pengguna, batasan waktu dan jarak.

Wikipedia mengutip pandangan Gamble, Teri, dan Michael dalam *Communication Works*[9] menyebutkan, media sosial mempunyai ciri - ciri sebagai berikut:

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[7] Haag, Stephen, Dkk.1996. *Information Technology Tommorow's Advantage Today*. McGraw-Hill.

[8] Kaplan, Andreas M, Michael Haenlein, 2010. *Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of Social Media*. Business Horizons.

[9] *https://brainly.co.id/tugas/26931745* diakses 11 Mei 2020

a. Pesan yang di sampaikan tidak hanya untuk satu orang saja namun bisa keberbagai banyak orang, contohnya pesan melalui SMS ataupun internet.

b. Pesan yang di sampaikan bebas, tanpa harus melalui suatu *Gatekeeper.*

c. Pesan yang di sampaikan cenderung lebih cepat di banding media lainnya,

d. penerima pesan juga dapat menentukan waktu interaksi.

Jenis Media Sosial yang populer digunakan di Indonesia antara lain *Youtube, WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, twitter, Line, FB Messenger, Linkedin, Pinterest, WeChat, Snapchat, Skype, Zoom, Telegram, dll.* Sebagian besar pengguna media sosial memanfaatkan media gambar, suara, ataupun tulisan untuk berkomunikasi atau menyebarkan informasi atau gagasannya. Meskipun demikian, media sosial yang menyediakan bermacam-macam pilihan *feature* untuk menarik penggunanya, memiliki kemiripan satu dengan yang lain yaitu mudah, murah dan jelas dalam penyampaian informasi.

Sebagai salah satu media komunikasi, media sosial tidak hanya dimanfaatkan untuk berkomunikasi, berbagi informasi dan inspirasi, penyebara ideologi, tapi juga ekspresi diri (*self expression*), pencitraan diri (*personal branding*), dan ajang curhat bahkan keluh-kesah dan sumpah-serapah. Status terbaik di media sosial adalah *update* status yang informatif dan inspiratif.

II.3 Radikalisme: Sejarah dan Ciri-cirinya

Radikalisme adalah paham atau ideologi yang menuntut adanya perubahan dan pembaruan sistem sosial dan politik dengan cara kekerasan.[10] Radikalisme berasal dari bahasa Latin, yaitu kata "radix" yang artinya akar. Ensensi dari radikalisme adalah pemahaman atau sikap jiwa dalam mengusung perubahan. Tuntutan perubahan oleh kaum yang menganut paham ini adalah perubahan drastis yang jauh berbeda dari sistem yang sedang berlaku sebelumnya. Terdapat beberapa indikator yang terbilang sikap radikalisme yaitu yang

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[10] Ahab, 2015. *Radikalisme :Pengertian, Sejarah, ciri, Kelebihan dan Kekurangan. Ilmu Dasar.*

pertama intoleran, *kedua* fanatik, *ketiga* selalu menganggap dirinya benar dan yang lain salah, keempat membedakan diri dari kelompok umat beragama lain pada umumnya dan *kelima* dalam mencapai suatu tujuan kelompok ini menggunakan cara-cara kekerasan. Inilah Yang menyebabkan radikalisme sering dikaitkan sebagai pendorong aksi terorisme, karena mereka akan melakukan apa saja dan kepada saja yang menghalangi tujuannya.

Konsep radikalisme telah muncul sejak umat manusia ada. Jika dilihat sejarahnya kata "Radikal" pertama kali diperkenalkan oleh Charles James Fox tahun 1797 yang mendeklarasikan "reformasi radikal" dalam sistem pemerintahan. Reformasi radikal ini digunakan untuk mendefenisikan pergerakan yang mendukung revolusi parlemen negaranya. Tetapi seiring berjalannya waktu, ideologi radikalisme mulai terserap dan menerima ideologi liberalisme. Adanya keyakinan yang kuat mejadikan dekatnya paham radikal dengan agama. Terlebih, agama adalah sarana yang paling mudah untuk mempengaruhi pemahaman seseorang atau kelompok.

Radikalisme sering dikaitkan dengan gerakan kelompok-kelompok ekstrim dalam suatu agama tertentu. Agama yang paling sering menjadi target kalangan penganut paham radikal adalah agama Islam. Suburnya pertumbuhan radikalisme dalam agama Islam ditandai tiga peristiwa penting: *pertama*, kalahnya Uni Soviet kepada Afganistan, *kedua*, peristiwa robohnya menara kembar WTC di Amerika pada 11 September 2001 (9/11). *Ketiga*, Tumbuh dan berkembangnya ISIS di Suriah dan ke seluruh dunia. Tetapi sangat penting untuk digarisbawahi bahwa hakikat Islam adalah negara yang cinta dan membawa kedamaian. Mereka yang menerapkan kekerasan dengan mengatasnamakan Islam adalah ideologi radikal yang menggunakan kedok agama. Saat ini mungkin tidak ada kelompok yang akan mengakui secara terbuka bahwa mereka menganut paham radikalisme, bahkan mungkin mereka sendiri tidak sadar akan hal tersebut. Karena paham radikalisme dianggap sebagai paham yang salah dan sesat. Kenyataannya, pemahaman radikal merupakan respon terhadap kondisi yang sedang terjadi di masyarakat. Respon tersebut terwujud dalam bentuk evaluasi, penolakan, bahkan

perlawanan. Mereka tidak pernah berhenti berupaya menolak sebelum terjadi perubahan drastis terhadap kondisi yang dikehendaki. Penganut paham radikalisme memiliki keyakinan yang sangat kuat akan program yang akan mereka jalankan, bahkan dengan menggunakan cara kekerasan dalam mewujudkan keinginannya.

Dari paparan di atas kita dapat mengetahui kelebihan dan kekurangan pandangan radikalisme. Meski lebih banyak kekurangannya, tetap saja radikalisme juga memiliki kelebihan. Kelebihan Radikalisme di antaranya memiliki tujuan yang jelas dan percaya diri dengan tujuan tersebut. Selanjutnya radikalisme memiliki kesetian dan semangat juang yang sangat besar untuk mencapai tujuannya. Disamping kelebihan, Radikalisme juga memiliki kekurangan, yaitu: *pertama*, Buta akan kenyataan karena sangat keras kepala dengan sesuatu yang dianggapnya benar walaupun berbeda dengan kenyataan. *Kedua*, Menggunakan kekerasan dan cara negatif lain untuk mencapai tujuannya. *Ketiga*, Menganggap semua pihak yang tidak setuju dengannya adalah musuh yang harus dimusnahkan. Dan terakhir Radikalisme cenderung tidak menghargai Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM).

III. Radikalisme dan Upaya Pencegahannya di Media Sosial
III.1 Pengguna Media Sosial dan Paparan Paham Radikalisme.

Perkembangan teknologi informasi membuat hampir semua orang mengakses media sosial. Tidak hanya terbatas di satu wilayah geografis tertentu, atau di Jawa Timur saja, akan tetapi bisa mencakup seluruh wilayah dunia maya. Media sosial yang bertujuan untuk menjalin komunikasi dengan memangkas jarak dan waktu, menyampaikan informasi-informasi yang, bisa dikehendaki, namun ketika terpapar radikalisme, bisa mengubah kehidupan manusia menjadi mahluk yang eksulif dan kejam di dunia nyata. Kehidupan masyarakat yang terpapar Radikallisme menjadi ekslusif dan interaksi dengan lingkungan sekitarnya jauh berkurang. Aksi kejahatan dengan mudah dapat dilakukan di dunia maya, mulai: pencemaran nama baik, penistaan agama, ujaran kebencian, berita palsu (*hoax*), dsb.

Tumbuhnya paham radikalisme di Jawa Timur juga mendapat pengaruh dari situasi global yang sengaja ditampilkan di Internet. Gerakan radikal seperti yang dilakukan kelompok Negara Islam Irak Suriah (ISIS) juga banyak dikembangkan melalui internet sehingga memiliki jangkauan dan pengaruh yang berkembang di daerah luas dan cepat. Tidak hanya warga awam dan warga agamis. Bahkan, anggota pihak keamanan juga ada yang terpengaruh dengan gerakan radikal ini karena akses informasi yang mudah melalui internet. Paham radikalisme tersebut, tidak bisa diabaikan dengan dilihat hanya dari tampilan fisik semata. Tetapi harus dilihat secara untuh dari cara pandang dan pemikiran mereka.

Memang paham radikalisme menjadi energi pendorong gerakan terorisme. Alasan yang diusung untuk melahirkan gerakan terorisme adalah ketidakadilan, anti Kapitalisme, anti kafir, anti liberalisme, anti Yahudi dan anti pemerintah yang sah (dan aparatnya). Penganut paham radikalisme tidak hanya menentang orang yang menghalangi Tidak hanya di Media sosial, akan tetapi gerakan radikalisme juga nyata terjadi di Jawa Timur seperti Ledakan Bom di beberapa tempat di Surabaya di beberapa tempat di Surabaya dan Sidoarjo pada 13-14 Mei 2018. Tiga tempat di antaranya adalah tempat ibadah, yaitu: di Gereja Santa Maria tak Bercela, GKI Diponegoro, dan Gereja Pantekosta Pusat sawahan Surabaya. Dua tempat lainnya adalah Kompleks Rumah Susun Wonocolo di Taman Sidoarjo dan di Markas Polrestabes Surabaya. Dari hasil pelaku yang ditangkap mereka mengaku sebagai pendukung gerakan ISIS dan menghendaki adanya perubahan sistem pemerintahan menjadi negara Khilafah. Dalam berkomunikasi, mereka menggunakan aplikasi *Telegram* dan *WhatsApp*. Sedangkan tutorial pembuatan bom diperoleh dari media *Youtube*.

Dalam penelusuran percakapan di dunia maya yang disebut *web scrapping* menemukan bahwa, penyebar ajaran radikal lebih 'lincah' menggunakan teknologi dibanding penganut agama moderat atau tradisional. Rendra Radjawali, pengamat data yang berbasis di Jerman, menelusuri media sosial Twitter dengan menggunakan piranti lunak yang dapat menyaring algoritma internet. Kemudian dengan

menggunakan 300 kata kunci terkait radikalisme seperti ISIS, jihad, kafir, Syria, Rendra berhasil memetakan titik panas percakapan terkait radikalisme di Indonesia. Dari penelusuran yang dilakukan pada periode waktu tertentu diketahui, bahwa 'titik panas' pembicaraan terkait radikalisme banyak terjadi di Sumatera dan beberapa kota di Jawa. Namun, menurutnya informasi ini bukan representasi kenyataan. Masih harus dicek dengan apa yang terjadi di lapangan. Selanjutnya dari hasil penelusuran, juga diketahui bahwa banyak akun di sosial media yang menyebarkan paham radikal ternyata akun robot atau yang sering disebut bot–akun yang dijalankan mesin. Yang menarik bahwa percakapan terkait radikalisme ini tidak selalu menggunakan kata-kata yang konfrontatif. Secara umum bahasa yang dipakai bahasa-bahasa yang cukup sejuk, yang tidak membuat marah dan konfrontatif.

Harus diakui penganut radikalisme lebih banyak menghabiskan waktu di internet dan mereka sebagian besar kaum terpelajar yang memiliki kepandaian di atas rata-rata. Tidak hanya kekuatan ideologis yang menjadi energi pergerakan mereka, akan tetapi juga gelontoran dana yang besar yang mendukung aktivitas mereka. Mereka paham bahwa media sosial adalah cara yang sangat baik untuk menyebarkan doktrin radikalisme dan mempengaruhi masyarakat media. Jika melalui *Youtube*, *Twitter, Instagram* atau *Facebook*, yang adalah aplikasi terbuka, masih bisa *counter*. Namun jenis aplikasi yang tertutup, yang tidak mudah terlacak (*Whatsapp*, *Line*, *Telegram)* sehingga mudah merekrut para pengikut. Hal tersebut ditambah pula dengan masyarakat Indonesia tidak terlalu suka mencari tahu (*crosscheck*) akan kebenaran suatu informasi yang diperolehnya. Dengan hanya memberikan *threading messages* (jalinan pesan), masyarakat langsung percaya tanpa mencari asal-usul informasi, tujuan pengiriman informasi, serta kebenaran dari informasi tersebut.

III.2 Upaya Pencegahan Bahaya Radikalisme di Media Sosial

Berkembangnya radikalisme di Indonesia terutama yang terjadi di media sosial merupakan domain pemerintah khususnya Menkominfo, BNPT dan Menkopolhukam. Berbagai upaya sudah dilakukan oleh pemerintah untuk mencegah berkembangnya radikalisme, agar

masyarakat tidak terpapar paham yang mengancam kehidupan berbangsa di media sosial. Salah satu upaya yang dilakukan Humas Kementrian Komunikasi dan Informasi dalam mencegah bahaya radikalisme di media sosial dapat dilihat pada pada tabel berikut:[11]

Keterangan	Penjelasan
Peran Humas Kominfo	Secara garis besar bahwa Kominfo telah melakukan edukasi terhadap masyarakat secara masif dimana Kominfo mengadakan seminar, menyebar *tagline* yang memuat konten positif, bahkan tidak hanya di lingkungan Jakarta namun di semua bagian Indonesia dengan bekerjasama dengan Dinas Kominfo setempat
Peran Relawan dari masyarakat	Banyak peran dari organisasi dan komunitas sekitar yang juga turut serta untuk meng-*counter* narasi-narasi yang berbau paham radikalisme dan terorisme, agar masyarakat tidak terdoktrin dengan paham tersebut.

Tabel di atas menjelaskan peran humas k.nominfo dalam mencegah paham radikalisme di media sosial. Di samping meibatkan relawan dan melakukan sosialisasi maupun seminar, pemerintah juga menciptakan sebuah *Crawling Engine* yang berfungsi untuk menyaring setiap konten-konten negatif, atau bersifat dekat dengan ideologi radikalisme untuk diolah, dianalisa ataupun ditindaklanjuti dengan pemblokiran.

Namun apa yang telah dilakukan pemerintah bukan berarti tidak mengalami hambatan. Beberapa hambatan muncul dari sebagian masyarakat media sosial yang tidak memiliki kepedulian untuk meng-*counter* Radikalisme, seperti membagikan konten-konten yang positif untuk menyuarakan nilai-nilai toleransi, menyampaikan pentingnya menghormati keanekaragaman, serta nilai-nilai Pancasila. Di samping ketidak pedulian masyarakat media sosial tersebut, hambatan yang lain muncul dari Organisasi Masyarakat (ORMAS), tokoh-tokoh agama,

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[11] Jefri Handoko, Eko Harry Susanto ,*Humas Kominfo Dalam Mencegah Bahaya Radikalisme Di Media Sosial*, Univ. Tarumanegara.

maupun *Influencer* yang tidak satu kata dalam melawan radikalisme. Inilah terkadang yang membuat masyarakat menjadi bingung, karena tidak mampu memfilter pandangan para tokoh agama dan masyarakat, sehingga hal ini menjadi momen bagi penganut paham radikalisme di media sosial untuk terus gencar menyebarkan ideologi radikalisme dan menyerang Pancasila sebagai ideologi bangsa yang sudah final.

IV. Media Sosial Sebagai Sarana Untuk Pelayanan, Menyuarakan Toleransi Dan menyampaikan Pesan Perdamaian

Sebagai bagian dari komunitas masyarakat global di media sosial yang tinggal Jawa Timur, serta sebagai sebuah organisasi sosial keagamaan, Greja Kristen Jawi Wetan (GKJW) juga berupaya membangun bangsa Indonesia menuju masyarakat yang adil makmur dan berkeadilan sosial sebagaimana impian para *founding fathers*. Dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara GKJW berasaskan sama dengan ideologi bangsa Indonesia yaitu Pancasila.[12] Kesulitan dan kendala pemerintah dalam mengedukasi dan menjangkau masyarakat pengguna media sosial maupun akar rumput akan bahaya radikalisme, menjadi panggilan bagi gereja khususnya GKJW untuk berperan menyuarakan pesan-pesan kehidupan yang didasari kasih, perdamaian dan saling menghormati sesama manusia ciptaan Tuhan yang memiliki perbedaan keyakinan dan identitas, baik melalui di dunia nyata maupun di jagad media sosial.

Saya melihat apa yang dilakukan GKJW atas suburnya paham radikalisme di media sosial mencakup dua hal:

1. Memberi Pembekalan dan Pemberdayaan Kepada Warga Jemaat (*internal*).

Pembekalan dan pemberdayaan kepada warga dilakukan kapanpun dalam situasi menguatnya paham radikalisme di media sosial, sebagai lembaga sosial keagamaan Gereja tetap memberikan pembinaan, penguatan, pencerahan kepada umat atau jemaat untuk hidup dalam perdamaian, kasih dan pengharapan dalam Yesus

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[12] Dalam Tata gereja Bab III mengenai Asas Bermasyarakat, Berbangsa dan Bernegara, GKJW mendasari kepercayaannya dan panggilannya berasaskan Pancasila. __, 1996, Tata-Pranata GKJW, Malang: MA GKJW

Kristus. Hal ini penting, karena gereja dalam arti lembaga perlu mengedukasi, menyadarkan, dan membentengi warganya akan bahaya paham radikalisme dalam kehidupan berbangsa. Jangan sampai umat atau warga jemaat goyah pemahaman agamanya dan pemahamannya sebagai bagian dari bangsa dan negara. Keyakinan hidup dalam beragama dan hidup bersama dalam berbangsa dan bernegara adalah dua entitas yang saling mendukung. Artinya, kehidupan bangsa yang aman dan kondusif membutuhkan dukungan lembaga dan para tokoh agama untuk menyampaikan berita-berita kesejukan tentang kasih, perdamaian, dan kehidupan bersama yang harmonis dalam kehidupan berbangsa. Jangan sampai warga jemaat atau umat jatuh dalam perangkap ujaran kebencian, bahkan membalas dengan cara radikal atau kekerasan; dimana itu semua berlawanan dengan kasih yang diajarkan oleh Yesus Kristus.

Pelayanan pembinaan kepada warga jemaat ini pelaksanaannya melalui dua cara, *pertama*, melalui cara *direct* atau langsung melalui khotbah, renungan, pertemuan khusus, surat penggembalaan, maupun surat koordinasi mulai lingkup Majelis Daerah (klasis), maupun melalui pendeta GKJW yang ada di jemaat. Cara *kedua*, pembinaan, penguatan dan kotbah-kotbah tentang perdamaian disampaikan kepada jemaat secara *online* via *internet*. Perlu diketahui dalam pelayanan kepada warga jemaat memakai jaringan internet, Majelis Agung GKJW memiliki akun *website* resmi di *www.gkjw.or.id* dan sudah menggunakan beberapa akun media sosial GKJW (*Facebook, instagram, Youtube*). Melalui jaringan internet dan melalui media sosial tersebut, GKJW menyampaikan pembinaan, pendampingan, pelayanan, penguatan kepada warganya. Sikap, pesan, maupun arahan lembaga gereja secara khusus kepada warga jemaat dapat ditemukan dalam akun media sosial tersebut. Perkembangan akhir-akhir ini, banyak gereja GKJW di lingkup lokal yang kemudian juga memperbarui pelayanan mereka dengan membuat akun media sosial Youtube, Line, Instagram.

Kenyataannya sikap GKJW dalam kaitannya paham radikalisme di media sosial tidak begitu jelas. Namun hal ini bukan berarti bahwa GKJW tidak *aware* atas kondisi bangsa, ataupun diartikan kompromi

dengan paham radikalisme. Dalam perkiraan saya, GKJW mempertimbangkan berbagai sisi dan bersikap hati-hati menyangkut paham radikalisme. Di samping GKJW menyadari dirinya sebagai lembaga sosial keagamaan yang berkaitan erat dengan ranah spiritual, di sisi lain paham radikalisme erat kaitannya dengan agenda politik untuk meraih kekuasaan. GKJW menyadari ada lembaga pemerintah (Menkominfo, BNPT, Kemenpolhukam) yang lebih tepat dan berwenang dengan dilengkapi undang-undang memberangus paham radikalisme. Sebagai lembaga gereja, GKJW mendukung kegiatan mereka dengan melakukan pembinaan dan pembekalan secara internal.

Perlu juga diketahui, di samping menggunakan 'media sosial terbuka' seperti *Facebook, Youtube, Instagram, dan Website,* para personil pelayanan dan warga jemaat di GKJW juga menggunakan 'media sosial tertutup' *WhatsApp, Line, dll* untuk berkomunikasi, berkoordinasi, mensosialisasikan kebijakan serta informasi-informasi penting. Hal ini sudah berjalan lama dan menjadi bagian kehidupan seharian para pendeta, bersama majelis jemaat dan warga jemaat. Adanya media sosial secara tertutup ini membuat lingkup koordanasi dan perjumpaan menjadi lebih sempit dan ekslusif. Sehingga, gereja GKJW sebagai lembaga maupun sebagai persekutuan (koinonia) dapat berinteraksi dan saling berkomunikasi lebih erat (*realtime*) tidak terbatas jarak dan waktu. Media sosial tertutup ini telah berkembang sebagai sarana pengiriman gambar, video, suara dan administrasi surat menyurat, sehingga melalui media tersebut dapat dilakukan pembekalan terhadap warga jemaat untuk mempertahankan ideologi Pancasila dan menghadapi pengaruh paham radikalisme dengan cara-cara non konfrontatif.

2. Menunjukkan Sikap Hidup Toleran dan Merawat Hubungan Baik Dengan Umat Beragama Lain (*eksternal*).

Sama seperti cara pertama di atas, dalam menunjukkan sikap hidup yang saling menghargai, saling menghormati, dan saling bekerja sama dengan umat beragama lain benar-benar dilakukan di dunia nyata dan di media sosial. Berbagai agenda kegiatan lintas iman mulai ucapan hari raya keagamaan, kunjungan silaturahmi, doa

bersama, dialog lintas iman, seminar lintas iman, studi intensif lintas iman, dll., dilakukan GKJW mulai lingkup lokal, regional, nasional dan internasional terdokumentasi dalam media sosial GKJW. Media sosial GKJW yang dimaksud tersebut tidak terbatas lingkup sinodal yang dikelola tim multimedia-MA GKJW, akan tetapi juga akun media sosial gereja GKJW yang ada di lingkup jemaat (lokal). Akun media sosial tersebut pada *moment* tertentu memposting kegiatan GKJW bersama lintas iman yang berlangsung hangat dan harmonis. Masyarakat pengguna media sosial dapat mengetahui hal itu manakala muncul di media sosial GKJW, terlebih jika kemudian postingan-postingan tersebut di *share* pada akun personal.

Media sosial GKJW yang menyuarakan eratnya hubungan GKJW dengan tokoh maupun komunitas lintas agama adalah grup *facebook* "KAUM-MA GKJW". Dalam grup *facebook* KAUM MA GKJW tersebut terdapat postingan berbagai dokumentasi kegiatan yang telah dilakukan komisi Hubungan Antar Umat Majelis Agung (KAUM-MA) GKJW bersama mitra-mitra lintas iman. Kegiatan yang dilakukan meliputi: jejaring dialog lintas iman, silaturahmi hari raya, kunjungan dan jejaring kegiatan ke Pondok Pesantren, aksi bersama lintas iman di bidang ekonomi, kerjasama lintas iman bidang ekologi, *Live in* remaja lintas iman, maupun seminar menghadapi radikalisme. Kegiatan tersebut merupakan potret positif yang mendeskripsikan rangkaian cerita atau narasi perdamaian, sehingga mematahkan hal negatif di media sosial: ujaran kebencian, perpecahan, *hoax* (*fake news*). Dengan demikian postingan di media sosial yang menunjukkan hubungan yang harmonis GKJW dengan komunitas lintas agama inilah yang mampu memperkokoh Pancasila dan mempersatukan kehidupan berbangsa.

Kegiatan yang sudah terjalin mesra antara GKJW bersama dengan lembaga keagamaan moderat seperti Nadhatul Ulama, Muhamadiyah, Hindhu, Budha, Konghucu, Penghayat kepercayaan, dll tidak dijalani dalam waktu singkat. GKJW menjalani hubungan lintas iman tersebut didasari pada semangat dan roh membangun 'Persaudaraan Sejati' yang digagas oleh Alm Pdt. Wismoady Wahono (ketua Sinode GKJW) bersama dengan tokoh NU Alm. KH. Abdul Rahman Wahid (Gus Dur).

Keduanya merupakan tokoh yang menginspirasi dab memiliki pengaruh bagi komunitas lintas iman. Oleh sebab itu dalam beberapa kesempatan tertentu dalam relasi lintas iman, GKJW dengan NU sangat dekat. Hal berdampak pada berbagai situasi, dialog lintas iman berkembang lebih jauh lagi dengan 'dialog karya'. Artinya, GKJW bersama dengan mitra lintas iman khususnya NU tidak berhenti sekedar saling menghormati dan berdialog, akan tetapi berlanjut pada tahap kerjasama menyelesaikan masalah-masalah aktual lingkup lokal, regional maupun kebangsaan yang perlu diselesaikan bersama. Misalnya, terkait kontra radikalisme dan memperingati 20 tahun Alm. Riyanto (anggota Banser yang tewas karena ledakan bom di gereja pada malam natal tahun 2000), pada 14 Desember 2019, pemerintah kota Mojokerto dan GP Ansor Mojokerto mengadakan seminar nasional dengan melibatkan BNPT, Kepolisian, Densus 89 Asmaul Husna, dan KAUM GKJW. Kegiatan ini dilakukan tidak hanya menentang aksi terorisme, tetapi juga menolak paham radikalisme. Kegiatan yang dilakukan tersebut juga disosialisasikan secara *massive* di media sosial, dengan harapan kegiatan tersebut berfungsi sebagai *influencer* yang dapat memberikan pengaruh untuk mengkampanyekan pencegahan radikalisme.

Penutup

Perkembangan yang pesat teknologi informasi khususnya media sosial, memberi kemudahan bagi masyarakat dalam berinteraksi dan saling bertukar informasi. Namun perkembangan teknologi ini diikuti paham radikalisme yang berupaya menyebarkan pengaruh dan ideologi melalui media sosial. Masyarakat pengguna media sosial tidak mudah untuk menghindari paparan paham radikalisme ini, sehingga lembaga pemerintah yang berwenang perlu terus bertindak membendung dan melawan paham radikalisme yang mengancam keutuhan bangsa. Dukungan dari semua pihak, termasuk organisasi sosial keagamaan yang berperan proaktif menciptakan hidup yang rukun dan harmonis dalam perbedaan agama, suku, ras dan golongan baik di dunia nyata maupun di media sosial akan membawa pengaruh positif bagi kehidupan berbangsa di Indonesia dan menguatkan ideologi Pancasila.

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Social Media, Radicalism and Opportunities in Building Peace: Sharing from GKJW on Acting Together Against Violence and
Extremism Towards Justice, Peace

Rev. Brahm Kharismatius

Abstract*:* The purpose of this paper is to find out the influence of social media in social media society, specifically related to the proliferation of radicalism content. The method used is study of literature. In the description of this paper, it can be concluded that social media has positive and negative influences. The negative effect of using social media is the comfort of receiving information including content about radicalism and intolerance. The author observes that the GKJW utilizes the positive function on the use of social media for fostering services for the people. Also, social media necessitates sharing of information to the general public in building a culture of tolerance, proclaim the narratives of peace and rejecting the view of radicalism. This has strengthened the Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian people.

Introduction

We now live in the 21st century with rapid changes, especially in the field of information technology. All aspects of information technology go hand in hand with the development of society, from traditional societies to modern societies. For example, people used to get information remotely from a long time ago, because the method of sending messages was still using letters. Nowadays people send messages using the telephone even with sound or video. Of course, this technological progress brings changes to human civilization and cul-

ture. This change also transforms the values, ways of thinking and order in society. Especially in Indonesia, we can see the enormous influence of the advancement of information technology on the cultural values adopted by the community, both urban and rural communities that are becoming more modern. Advances in information technology have brought a revolution called the 4.0 revolution through the internet and smartphones.

On February 21, 2020, the social media marketing agency We are social titled "Global Digital Reports 2020" released research results that social media users in Indonesia had reached 175.4 million or 64% of Indonesia's total population of 272.1 million people. This number increased 17% from the survey in 2019. While social media *users* who use *mobile* (gadgets) reached 160 million, this number is equivalent to 59% of the total population in Indonesia.[1] This means that more than half of Indonesia's population is connected to the internet and uses a smartphone as its main connection. The Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) states that the largest contribution of internet users in Indonesia, or as much as 55% is Java, where East Java is 13.5%.[2] It can be imagined that internet users will also influence the dynamics of people's lives in East Java with BPS projections in 2020 of around 40 million people. All information, both positive and negative, can be easily accessed by the public through social media. Based on this reality, whether recognized or not, slowly social media began to change people's mindsets, creating lifestyles, including in their spiritual lives in understanding religion. That is, the rapid growth of social media can influence and change the understanding of someone who has access to that media. A person can change more smartly, move forward because he/she can use social media to strengthen his community. Conversely, a good person can also be damaged and cause legal problems. For example, we can see the use of reflections, guidance, or sermons on online worship, live worship,

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[1] *https://amp.kompas.com/tekno/read/2020/02/20/14090017/penetrasi-internet-di-indonesia-capai-64-percent* accessed on 11 May 2020 At 14.00 WIB.

[2] *https://m.akurat.co/625055/some-besar-pengguna-internet-indonesia-berlocation-di-pulau-jawa* accessed on11 May 2020 At 14.00 WIB

or live streaming using social media. But on the other hand, ahead of PILKADA and PILPRES, social media is the main root cause of national unity. Social media is actually used by certain groups unwise to divide religion, spread hatred, slander, blasphemy, incitement, hoax information, and spread radical ideas.

Of course, as citizens and religious communities who use social media, this is a cause for concern. Therefore this limited article seeks to find out the extent of the influence of social media for the community of social media users and how the response of some Christians in East Java in particular, *Greja Kristen Jawi Wetan* (GKJW) to the understanding of radicalism in social media is.

II. Overview of Technology (information), Social Media and Radicalism
II.1 Technology

Before heading to social media, we are first invited to understand technology. The term technology should not be limited to the use of machines, although in the narrow sense it is often used in everyday life. According to Roger (1983), technology is a design (design) for aids to action that reduces uncertainty in a causal relationship in achieving a desired thing.[3] According to Iskandar Alisyahbana (1980), "technology has been known to humans since millions of years ago because of the drive for a more comfortable, more prosperous and more prosperous life."[4] Since the beginning of civilization, there has been technology, although the term "technology" has not been used. The term "technology" comes from "*techne*" or way and "*logos*" or knowledge. So literally, technology can be interpreted as "knowledge of ways". The understanding of technology according to the views of the two figures above can be concluded how to do something to meet human needs with the help of reason and tools, so as to extend, strengthen or empower all members of the body, senses and the human brain.

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[3] Rogers, Everett M., 1983. *Communication Technology* , New York: Free Press.

[4] Alisyahbana, Iskandar, 1980. *Technology and Development* , Idayu Foundation, Jakarta.

Another understanding was given by Arnold Pacey who stated, "The application of scientific and other knowledge to practical tasks by ordered systems that involve people and organizations, living things and machines".[5] From this definition it appears, that technology remains linked to the parties involved in its planning, therefore technology cannot be separated from the organization, is not free of cultural and social, economic, and political. While the definition of technology provided by Rias Van Wyk is "Technology is 'a set of means' created by people to facilitate human endeavor".[6] From this definition, there are several essences to consider:

a. Technology is related to ideas or thoughts that will never end, the existence of technology along with the existence of human culture.
b. Technology is a creation of humans, so it is not natural but artificial
c. Technology is a set of means, so that technology can be limited or universal, depending on the point of view of the analyst
d. Technology aims to facilitate human endeavor (human endeavor). So, technology must be able to improve the performance (performance) of human capabilities.

There are 3 entities contained in technology from the above definition, namely: skill, Algorithmic, (Logic thinking) and hardware. Technology is a body of science and engineering that can be applied to the design of products and / or processes or to research to gain new knowledge. Technological progress is something that we cannot avoid in this life because technological progress will proceed in accordance with scientific progress. Every innovation was created to provide positive benefits for human life. It provides many conveniences, as well as a new way of doing human activities. However, it was originally created to produce positive benefits, on the other hand it is also possible to be used for negative things.

[5] Pacey, Arnold, 1990. *History of technology, Technology in World* . Civilization: A Thousand Year History, MTT Press.

[6] Wyk, Rias Van, 1990, *Technology Analysis and R&D Management* , R&D Management.

II.1.1 Information Technology

In the beginning, humans exchanged information through language. Then language is technology. Language allows one to understand the information conveyed by others. But language that is conveyed by word of mouth only lasts a short time, that is only when the sender conveys information through his words. After the statement is finished, the information in the recipient's hands will be forgotten and cannot be stored for long. Besides that, the sound range is also limited. For a certain distance, even though it is still audible, information conveyed through the language of the voice will be degraded or even completely lost. The discovery of the Arabic alphabet and numbers facilitates the delivery of information more efficiently than the previous method. An image representing an event is made by a combination of the alphabet or by writing numbers, such as MCMXLIII replaced by 1943. Technology with this alphabet makes it easy to write that information. Then, printing technology allows information delivery even faster. Electronic technologies such as radio, tv, computers cause information to be spread more quickly over a wider area and longer stored.

Information technology is technology that is used to process data (processing, obtaining, compiling, storing, manipulating data) to produce quality information. The increasingly modern era of civilization makes computers continue to evolve so as to give birth to a new generation of merging between Computer and Communication Technology so that it is referred to as Information and Communication Technology created to help solve various communication problems easily and quickly.[7] Thus we can know that information technology is the result of engineering of the human mind to the process from the sender to the recipient so that the transmission of information will be: a) Faster; b) more widespread distributed, and c) longer stored.

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[7] Haag, Stephen, et al. 1996. *Tomorrow's Advantage Today's Information Technology* . McGraw-Hill.

II.1.2. Social Media: Definition, Character and Types

Social Media is a channel or means of social interaction online in cyberspace (internet). Social media users communicate, interact, send messages, and share, and build networks. If you are looking for a definition of social media in the Google search engine, by typing the keyword "social media meaning", then Google displays the notion of social media as websites and applications used for social networking. According to Wikipedia, social media is an online medium, in which its users (users) can easily participate, share and create content covering blogs, social networks, wikis, forums and the virtual world. Andreas Kaplan and Michael Haenlein define social media as an internet-based application group that builds on the ideology and technology of Web 2.0, and which enables the creation and exchange of user-generated content.[8] That is, social media content can be used to spread ideas widely and without limitation of the user's age, time and distance.

Wikipedia cites the views of Gamble, Teri, and Michael in Communication Works[9] mentioned, social media has the following characteristics:

a. The message delivered is not just for one person but can be for many people, for example messages via SMS or the internet.
b. The message is delivered freely, without having to go through a Gatekeeper.
c. Messages delivered tend to be faster than other media,
d. The recipient of the message can also specify the time of interaction.

Popular types of Social Media used in Indonesia include Youtube, WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Line, FB Messenger, Linkedin, Pinterest, WeChat, Snapchat, Skype, Zoom, Telegram, etc.

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[8] Kaplan, Andreas M, Michael Haenlein, 2010. *Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of Social Media* . Business Horizons.

[9] *https://brainly.co.id/tugas/26931745* accessed May 11, 2020

Most social media users use picture, sound or writing media to communicate or spread information or ideas. Even so, social media that provides a variety of feature selection to attract users, have similarities with each other, that is easy, economical, and clear in delivering information.

As one of the communication media, social media is not only used for communicating, sharing information and inspiration, promoting ideology, but also *self*-expression, personal branding, and a place to vent even to complaints and curses. The best status on social media is an informative and inspiring status update.

II.1.3 Radicalism: History and Characteristics

Radicalism is an ideology that demands a change and renewal of the social and political system by means of violence.[10] Radicalism is derived from Latin, which is the word "*radix*" which means root. The essence of radicalism is the understanding or attitude of the soul in carrying change. The demand for change by people who embrace this understanding is a drastic change that is far different from the system that was previously in force. There are several indicators for a radical attitude, namely the *first* is being intolerant, the *second* is being fanatical, the *third* is always considering himself right and the other wrong, the *fourth* is distinguishing himself from other religious groups in general and the *fifth* is achieving a goal of the group using violent means. This is what causes radicalism to be often linked as a driver of acts of terrorism, because they will do anything and to anything that blocks their goals.

The concept of radicalism has emerged since humanity came into existence. Historically, the word "Radical" was first introduced by Charles James Fox in 1797 who declared "radical reform" in the government system. This radical reform was used to define the movement that supported the country's parliamentary revolution. But over

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[10] Ahab, 2015. *Radicalism: Definition, History, characteristics, Strengths and Weaknesses. Basic Science.*

time, the ideology of radicalism began to be absorbed and accepted the ideology of liberalism. The existence of a strong belief makes the radical understanding close to religion. Moreover, religion is the easiest means to influence the understanding of a person or group.

Radicalism is often associated with the movement of extreme groups in a religion. The religion that most often becomes the target of adherents of radicalism is Islam. The proliferation of radicalism in Islam was marked by three important events: *firstly*, the defeat of the Soviet Union to Afghanistan, *secondly*, the collapse of the twin towers of the WTC in America on September 11, 2001 (9/11). *Thirdly*, the growth and development of ISIS in Syria and throughout the world. But it is important to underline that the nature of Islam is a religion that loves and brings peace. Those who implement violence in the name of Islam are radical ideologies that use the guise of religion. At present there may not be a group that will openly admit that they embrace radicalism, maybe even they themselves are not aware of it. Because the understanding of radicalism is considered as wrong and misguided understanding. In fact, radical understanding is a response to conditions that are happening in society. The response is manifested in the form of evaluation, rejection, and even resistance. They never stop trying to refuse before there is a drastic change in the desired conditions. Adherents of radicalism have a strong belief in the program that they will run, even by using violent means to realize their desires.

From the above explanation we can find out the advantages and disadvantages of radicalism. Although there are more drawbacks, still radicalism also has advantages. The advantages of radicalism include having a clear and confident goal with that goal. Furthermore, radicalism has a strong loyalty and fighting spirit to achieve its goals. In addition to strengths, radicalism also has shortcomings, namely: *firstly*, blindness to reality because it is so stubborn with something that it considers to be true even though it is different from reality. *Secondly*, using violence and other negative ways to achieve their goals. *Thirdly*, assume all parties who disagree with it are enemies that must be de-

stroyed. And finally, Radicalism tends not to respect Human Rights (HAM).

III. Radicalism and Prevention Efforts on Social Media
III.1 Social Media Users and Exposure to Understanding Radicalism.

The development of information technology enables almost everyone access to social media. Not only limited to one geographical area, or only in East Java, but can cover the entire virtual world. Social media that aims to establish communication by cutting distance and time, conveying information that can be desired, but when exposed to radicalism, can change humans into exotic and cruel creatures in the real world. Community life exposed to Radicalism is exclusive and interaction with the surrounding environment is much reduced. Acts of crime can easily be carried out in cyberspace, from: defamation, blasphemy, hate speech, hoaxes, etc.

The growth of the understanding of radicalism in East Java has also been influenced by the global situation deliberately displayed on the internet. Radical movements such as those carried out by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) are also widely developed through the internet so that they have range and influence that develops in large and fast areas. Not only ordinary citizens and religious residents. In fact, members of the security forces are also affected by this radical movement because of easy access to information via the internet.

Indeed, radicalism is the driving force behind the terrorist movement. The reasons for bringing forth the terrorism movement are injustice, anti-capitalism, anti-infidelity, anti-liberalism, anti-judaism and anti-legitimate government (and its apparatus). Adherents of radicalism do not only oppose people who block them. Not only on social media, but radical movements also occur in East Java such as Bomb Blasts in several places in Surabaya and Sidoarjo on 13-14 May 2018. Three places among them are places of worship, namely: in the Church of Santa Maria without Blemish, GKI Diponegoro, and the Pen-

tecostal Church in the center of Surabaya. The other two places are the Kompleks Rumah Susun Wonocolo di Taman Sidoarjo and at the Surabaya Polrestabes Headquarters. From the results of the perpetrators arrested they claimed to be supporters of the ISIS movement and wanted a change in the government system into the Khilafah state. For communicating, they used the Telegram and WhatsApp applications. While the bomb making tutorial was obtained from YouTube media.

In searching conversations in cyberspace called web scrapping found that propagators of radical teachings are more 'agile' using technology than adherents of moderate or traditional religion. Rendra Radjawali, a data observer based in Germany, traced social media Twitter using software that can filter internet algorithms. Then by using 300 key words related to radicalism such as ISIS, jihad, infidels, Syrians, Rendra managed to map the hot spots of conversations related to radicalism in Indonesia. From searches conducted over a certain period, it is known that the 'hot spots' of talks related to radicalism occur in Sumatra and several cities in Java. However, according to him this information is not a representation of reality. It remains to be checked with what is happening on the ground. Furthermore, from the search results, it is also known that many accounts on social media that spread radical ideas turned out to be robotic accounts or often called bots – accounts run by machines. What is interesting is that conversations related to radicalism do not always use confrontational words. The languages used are quite mild, which are not angry and confrontational.

Admittedly, adherents of radicalism spend more time on the internet, and they are mostly educated people who have above average intelligence. Not only the ideological power that became the energy of their movements, but also large amounts of funds that supported their activities. They understand that social media is an exceptionally good way to spread the doctrine of radicalism and influence the media community. If via YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, or Facebook, which is an open application, it can still counter. But the types of ap-

plication that are closed, are not easily to be tracked (WhatsApp, Line, Telegram), so it is easy to recruit followers. This is coupled with the fact that the Indonesian people do not really like to find out (crosscheck) the truth of the information obtained. By only providing threading messages, the public immediately believes without looking for the origin of the information, the purpose of sending the information, as well as the truth of the information.

III.2 Efforts to Prevent the Dangers of Radicalism on Social Media

The development of radicalism in Indonesia, especially in social media, is the domain of the government, especially the Minister of Communication and Information, BNPT and Menkopolhukam. Various efforts have been made by the government to prevent the development of radicalism, so that people are not exposed to understandings that threaten the life of the nation on social media. One of the efforts made by the Public Relations Ministry of Communication and Information in preventing the danger of radicalism on social media can be seen in the following table:[11]

Information	Explanation
The Role of PR Communication and Information	Broadly speaking, the Ministry of Communication and Information has conducted massive public education where the Ministry of Communication and Information held seminars, spread taglines that contained positive content, not only in the Jakarta environment but in all parts of Indonesia in collaboration with the local Office of Communication and Information.
The Role of Volunteers from the community	Many roles of organizations and surrounding communities also participated to counter narratives that smelled of radicalism and terrorism, so that people were not indoctrinated with that understanding.

The table above explains the role of public relations k.nominfo in preventing radicalism in social media. In addition to involving volun-

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[11] Jefri Handoko, Harry Eko Susanto, *Public Communication and Information Technology in Preventing Danger of Radicalism On Social Media* , Univ . Tarumanegara.

teers and conducting socialization and seminars, the government also created a Crawling Engine that functions to filter out any negative content, or is close to the ideology of radicalism to be processed, analyzed or followed up with blocking.

But what the government has done does not mean that it does not experience obstacles. Some obstacles arise from some social media communities who do not have the concern to counter radicalism, such as sharing positive content to voice tolerance values, conveying the importance of respecting diversity, and the values of Pancasila. In addition to the ignorance of the social media community, another obstacle arises from Community Organizations (ORMAS), religious leaders, and Influencers who have not one word against radicalism. This is sometimes what makes people confused, because they are unable to filter the views of religious leaders and the public, so this becomes a moment for radicalism adherents in social media to continue to aggressively spread the ideology of radicalism and attack Pancasila as the final ideology of the nation.

IV. Social Media As A Means Of Service, Voice of Tolerance And Convey Peace Messages

As part of the global community of social media living in East Java, as well as a religious social organization, *Greja Kristen Jawi Wetan* (GKJW) also seeks to build the Indonesian nation towards a society that is justly prosperous and socially just like the dreams of the founding fathers. In the life of the nation and state, GKJW is based on the same ideology as the Indonesian nation, Pancasila.[12] Difficulties and obstacles of the government in educating and reaching out to the community of social media and grassroots users on the dangers of radicalism, are a call for the church, especially GKJW, to play a role in voicing messages of life based on love, peace and mutual respect for God's fellow human beings who have different beliefs and identities, both through in the real world and in the social media universe.

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[12] In the Chapters of Chapter III concerning the Principles of Community, National and State, GKJW underlies its beliefs and vocation is based on Pancasila. __, 1996, GKJW Procedures, Malang: MA GKJW

I see that two things are included in what GKJW is doing against the rise of radicalism in social media:

1. Give Provision and Empowerment to the Community Members (internal).

The debriefing and empowerment of citizens is carried out at any time in a situation of strengthening the understanding of radicalism in social media, as a social religious institution the Church continues to provide guidance, reinforcement, enlightenment to people or congregations to live in peace, love and hope in Jesus Christ. This is important, because the church in the sense of an institution needs to educate, awaken, and fortify its citizens about the danger of radicalism in the life of the nation. Do not let people or members of the congregation falter in their religious understanding and understanding as part of the nation and state. The belief in living in religion and living together in the nation and state are two supporting entities. That is, the life of a nation that is safe and conducive requires the support of institutions and religious leaders to deliver cool news about love, peace, and a harmonious life together in the life of the nation. Do not let the members of the congregation or the community fall into the trap of expressing hatred, and even respond in a radical or violent manner, which is contrary to the love taught by Jesus Christ.

Coaching services for members of the congregation are carried out through two ways, *firstly*, through *direct* or direct way through sermons, devotions, special meetings, pastoral letters, and coordination letters from the scope of the Regional Assembly (*klasis*), as well as through GKJW pastors in the church. *Secondly*, formation, reinforcement, and sermons on peace are delivered to the congregation online via the internet. Please note that in serving the congregation using internet networks, the GKJW Supreme Council has an official website account at *www.gkjw.or.id* and has used several GKJW social media accounts (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube). Through the internet network and through social media, GKJW conveys guidance, assistance, services, reinforcement to its members . Attitudes, messages, and direction of church institutions specifically for members of the congregation can be found in the social media account. In recent developments, many local GKJW churches have also renewed their minis-

try by creating YouTube, Line, Instagram social media accounts.

The reality is that the attitude of GKJW in relation to the understanding of radicalism on social media is not clear. But this does not mean that GKJW is not aware of the condition of the nation, nor is it to be interpreted as a compromise with the understanding of radicalism. In my estimation, GKJW considers various aspects and is cautious about radicalism. Besides the GKJW realizing itself as a religious social institution that is closely related to the spiritual realm, on the other hand the understanding of radicalism is closely related to the political agenda to gain power. GKJW realizes that there are more appropriate and authorized government institutions (Menkominfo, BNPT, Kemenpolhukam) which are equipped with laws to suppress radicalism. As a church institution, GKJW supports their activities by conducting training and debriefing internally.

Also note, besides using 'open social media' like Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, and Website, service personnel and members of the congregation, GKJW also use 'closed social media' like WhatsApp, Line, etc. to communicate, coordinate, socialize policies and deliver important information. This has been going on for a long time and is a part of the daily life of pastors, along with the church council and members of the congregation. The existence of this closed social media makes the scope of coordination and encounter become narrower and more exclusive. Thus, the GKJW church as an institution and as a fellowship (*koinonia*) can interact and communicate more closely with each other (real time), not limited by distance and time. This closed social media has developed as a means of sending pictures, videos, sounds and administration of correspondence, so that through these media can be given a briefing to members of the congregation to defend the ideology of *Pancasila* and face the influence of radicalism in non-confrontational ways.

2. Demonstrating Tolerant Life Attitudes and Maintaining a Good Relationship with Other Religious Groups (external).

Just like the first way above, in showing the attitude of life that

appreciates each other, respects each other, and cooperates with other religious communities is really done in the real world and on social media. Various agendas of interfaith activities, starting from greeting religious holidays, friendly visits, joint prayers, interfaith dialogues, interfaith seminars, interfaith intensive studies, etc. are carried out by GKJW starting from local, regional, national, and international scope documented in GKJW social media. The intended GKJW social media is not limited to the synodal scope managed by the GKJW-MA multimedia team, but also the GKJW church's social media accounts that are in the (local) congregation. The social media account at a certain moment posted the activities of GKJW together with interfaith that took place warmly and harmoniously. People who use social media can find out about it when they appear on GKJW social media, especially if later the posts are shared on a personal account.

GKJW social media which voiced the close relationship of GKJW with interfaith leaders and communities is the Facebook group "KAUM -MA GKJW". In the GKJW MA KAUM Facebook group, there are various documented posts on the activities that have been carried out by the GKJW Top People's Relations Commission (KAUM-MA) together with interfaith partners. Activities undertaken includes interfaith dialogue networks, holiday gatherings, visits and networking activities to Islamic Boarding Schools, interfaith joint actions in the economic field, interfaith cooperation in ecology, live-in interfaith youth, and seminars against radicalism. The activity is a positive portrait that describes a series of stories or narratives of peace, thus breaking negative things on social media: hate speech, division, hoaxes (fake news). Thus, posting on social media that shows the harmonious relationship of GKJW with this interfaith community is able to strengthen Pancasila and unite national life.

The intimate activities between GKJW together with moderate religious institutions such as Nadhatul Ulama, Muhamadiyah, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Beliefs of trust, etc., were not undertaken in a short time. GKJW underwent interfaith relations based on the spirit and spirit of building the 'True Brotherhood' initiated by Alm Pdt. Wis-

moady Wahono (chairman of the GKJW Synod) along with NU leader Alm. KH. Abdul Rahman Wahid (Gus Dur). Both are inspiring figures and have influence on the interfaith community. Therefore, on certain occasions in interfaith relations, GKJW and NU are remarkably close. As it impacts various situations, interfaith dialogue develops further with 'dialogue of works'. It means, GKJW together with interfaith partners, especially NU, does not stop just respecting each other and dialoguing, but it continues at the stage of cooperation in solving the actual problems of the local, regional and national scope that need to be resolved together. For example, related to counter radicalism and the 20th anniversary of Alm. Riyanto (Banser member who was killed in a church explosion on Christmas Eve in 2000), on December 14, 2019, the city government of Mojokerto and GP Ansor Mojokerto held a national seminar involving BNPT, the Police, Detachment 89 Asmaul Husna, and GKJW KAUM. This activity was carried out not only against acts of terrorism, but also rejected radicalism. The activities carried out are also widely socialized on social media, with the hope that these activities will function as *influencers* who can influence to campaign for the prevention of radicalism.

Closing

The rapid development of information technology, especially social media, makes it easy for people to interact and exchange information. However, the development of this technology is followed by the understanding of radicalism that seeks to spread influence and ideology through social media. The community of social media users is not easy to avoid the exposure of radicalism, so that the government agencies in authority need to continue to act to stem and fight the radicalism that threatens the integrity of the nation. Support from all parties, including religious social organizations that play a proactive role in creating a peaceful and harmonious life in the differences of religion, ethnicity, race and class both in the real world and in social media will bring a positive influence on national life in Indonesia and strengthen the ideology of Pancasila.

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