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# ADABIYAH

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**Muhammad Syahrani**

*Al-Islām min Al-Ta'ālīm Ilā Al-Taṭbīqāt, Musykilat Al-Jisr Al-Maqtu'*

**Abbas**

*Salafī and Social Religion Dynamics In Kendari*

**Muhammad Tahir Alibe, Abdul Muiz Amir**

*The Infallibility of The Prophet Muhammad Pbh. As A Human Being (A Study Of His Ijtihad)*

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*The Role of Abdurrahman Wahid in Creating Islamic Post-Traditionalist Paradigm in Indonesia*

**Muh Ilham Usman**

*Islam and Agrarian: Study of Nahdhatul Ulama's Religious Social Thought*

**Tasmin Tangngareng, Hasbullah**

*A Prophetic Study On Earthquake*

**Usman Jafar**

*Muslims' Thoughts of Non-Muslims' Political Rights in Majority Muslim Areas in Makassar*



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## ISLAM AND AGRARIAN ON NAHDHATUL ULAMA'S RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

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### Abstract

The objective of this research is to elaborate on Islam and agrarian on Nahdhatul Ulama's thought of religion. The method of this research is descriptive qualitative and library research. The result of this study reveals that NU as a social organization involved in struggling Indonesia to expel the colonial and to increase social life level with agrarian reinforcement as well. The cause of the *Nahdhatul Ulama* involved is on its ideology method related to the reality of Indonesian society. The ideologies of *Nahdhatul Ulama* are (1). To make Indonesia peaceful country (*Dār al-Salām*), not *Dār al-harb* (unpeaceful country); (2). Going back to *Khittah* 1926: NU as *Jam'iyah Diniyyah wal Ijtima'iyah*, not *Jam'iyah Siyāsiyyah*; and (3). Ahlu Sunnah wal jama'ah (ASWAJA) as *Manhaj al-Fikr* (way of thinking).

Keywords: Nahdhatul Ulama; Ahlu Sunnah wal Jama'ah; Agrarian; Manhaj al-Fikr; a way of thinking.

### المخلص

يعرض هذا البحث نتائج البحث في الفكر الإسلامي عند نهضة العلماء عن الإسلام والزراعة، ويستخدم الطريقة الوصفية النوعية والدراسة المكتبية. وجدت نتائج البحث ان نهضة العلماء تمثل اجتماعية تشارك في الدفاع عن الدولة الإندونيسية بالمشاركة في طرد الغزاة وهي تساهم في تحسين حياة الناس من خلال تعزيز الشؤون الزراعية. ولقد شاركت هذه ال في كل هذه الأنشطة لأن أسس تفكيرها أو أساليب تفكيرها لا يمكن فصلها عن واقع المجتمع الإندونيسي. أما الأسس الفكرية التي تعتمد عليها نهضة العلماء، هي (١) جعل إندونيسيا دار السلام وليست دار الحرب. (٢) الرجوع إلى الخطة سنة ١٩٢٦ التي تنص على أن نهضة

العلماء كالمُنظمة الدينية والاجتماعية ليست منظمة سياسية. (٣) جعل  
منهج أهل السنة والجماعة منهجا فكريا سائدا.  
الكلمات الرئيسية: نهضة العلماء؛ أهل السنة و الجماعة؛ الزراعة؛ منهج  
الفكر؛

### Abstrak

Tulisan ini menyajikan hasil penelitian tentang pemikiran keislaman Nahdlatul Ulama tentang Islam dan agraria. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif dan studi kepustakaan. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa Nahdlatul Ulama sebagai organisasi sosial kemasyarakatan turut terlibat dalam memperjuangkan negara Indonesia dalam mengusir penjajah serta turut andil dalam meningkatkan taraf kehidupan masyarakat lewat penguatan agraria. Organisasi Nahdlatul Ulama ikut terlibat disebabkan alas pikir atau metode berpikrinya tidak bisa dipisahkan dari realitas masyarakat Indonesia. Adapun alas pikir Nahdlatul Ulama yakni (1). Menjadikan Indonesia sebagai *Dār al-Salām*, bukan *Dār al-Harb*; (2). Kembali ke Khittah 26: NU sebagai *Jam'iyah Diniyyah wal Ijtima'iyyah*, bukan *Jam'iyah Siyāsīyah*; dan (3). Ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah (ASWAJA) sebagai *Manhaj al-Fikr*.

Kata kunci: Nahdlatul Ulama; Ahlu Sunnah wal Jama'ah; Agraria; Manhaj al-Fikr;

### A. Introduction

The expropriation of capitalism and imperialism in Indonesia was very different and colonial characteristics aimed to accumulate capitalism a lot. The accumulation of it was known by producing the colonials or outskirts.<sup>1</sup> The way this product caused the Indonesian people's way of production, consumption, and political economy distribution of Indonesian people broken. It is like losing of farmers' land as the prime production of the social archipelago.<sup>2</sup> This matter can be seen in various policy that was applied by colonial in this Indonesian archipelago.

The application of domain theory by Raffles is the first policy that destroys the production way order of social archipelago. The policy of Domein theory is

<sup>1</sup>Bonnie Setiawan, *Peralihan Ke Kapitalisme Di Dunia Ketiga: Teori-Teori Radikal Dari Klasik Sampai Kontemporer*. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1999), h. 105.

<sup>2</sup>Multatuli, *Max Havelaar*, ed. by HB. Jassin, VI (Jakarta: Pustaka Djambatan, 1985), h. 3.

applying a system of taking land tax or it is known as *laundrette 2/5* of the land production outcome. When applying the domain theory, General Van Den Bosch applies at that time the policy more oppressed and more made suffering society namely *cultuurstelsel* or system taking by force was a very colony policy. Taking more outcomes from colonized countries by the advanced country also occurred in this region archipelago.<sup>3</sup>

In 1870, the agrarian law was legalized by the government of the Dutch Kingdom so-called *Agrarische Wet 1870*. Its content, Colony governor could rent the overpowered land to private financiers. The process of this exploitation ended up in the 1930s, in which marked by a collapse in Indonesia's extractive product prices in the world market, it made the Dutch East Indies government intervened the market in stabilizing its prices and determined the standardization of the price.<sup>4</sup>

The farmers' lands were taken by invaders at once and rented to the financiers for investment in shares or establishment of factories to get multiple profits. At this time, the offending between the social archipelago and the investors occurred for the first time. The forced land system was changed with freely work for wages.<sup>5</sup> Or the other words, the process of liberalization started and begun on archipelago history. As the fact of those policies, the assets (land, water, and air) in the archipelago area don't belong to Indonesian people anymore, because they had been rented by the Dutch Colonial to the private investors.

National revolution and the improvement to new Indonesia had waited for the future, but the improvement and development to the better Indonesia ran slowly because of the return of the colonialism of Dutch Colonial till the Indonesian freedom legalized and holding "Round table conference" (KMB) that harmed Indonesia. The content of it was all factories and farms belong to Dutch Colonial and private financiers in which couldn't be taken over by the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Besides that, the effect of the content of KMB impacted Indonesia owed for the first time and dependency because of a lack of budget.

## **B. *Research Methodology***

This research is a qualitative descriptive in which aims to find out and describe the *Nahdhatul Ulama's* ideology of agrarian by using library research analysis. The research was conducted for 2 years starting from 2017 to 2019.

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<sup>3</sup>J. Thomas Lindbland, *Fondasi Historis Ekonomi Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Sosial Asia Tenggara UGM dan Pustaka Pelajar, 2002), h. 9.

<sup>4</sup>George McTurnan Kahin, *Refleksi Pergumulan Lahirnya Republik: Nasionalisme Dan Revolusi Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Sinar harapan dan UNS, 1995)., h. 18-19. Robert van Neil, *Sistem Tanam Paksa Di Jawa*, ed. by Hardoyo (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2003), h. 43.

<sup>5</sup>Soe Hok Gie, *Di Bawah Lentera Merah, Riwayat Sarekat Islam Semarang 1917-1920*, III (Yogyakarta: Bentang, 2005), h. 11.

### C. Discussion

#### 1. Indonesian Agrarian History: Old, New, and Reformation Period

During 32 years (thirty years), developmental ideology was applied in this motherland till 1997 and Soeharto's leadership was over and the failure in prospering, freeing Indonesia. The Soeharto regime practically became a foreign comprador regime. The Indonesian became a semi Colonial state. The assets (land, water, and air) and the born policy always were partially determined by foreign countries through International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Consultative Group Indonesia and etc.<sup>6</sup> World Trade Organization, Asia Pacific Economy Consultative and etc. and International corporations. So, it was not a wonder, Mansour Fakhri stated that developmentalism was the new cover from the old cake of capitalism.<sup>7</sup>

The first effect of developmentalism is a dependency. The dependency toward the debt of overseas was the colony of a new trick that was played by the advanced industrial countries to developing countries. The debt was given by the advanced countries or International Monetary Fund in order to develop Indonesia made the dependency because it always was owed with fresh funds, although the debt of overseas was not totally for Indonesian people's needs. However, paying an installment of the debt of overseas with its interest will lose out an estimate of strategic countries' income. Such as; for reinforcement of agriculture, education and health sector.<sup>8</sup> As an effect of it, Indonesia bent down to investors, so the advanced countries freely exploited all natural resources in this wealthy country.

For instance; the government of Soeharto's developmentalism ideology legalized many policies that did not totally emphasize Indonesian people. For example; the Law of Foreign Investment (UU PMA) and the Law of Inside Investment (UU PMDN) in 1967 in order to open investment land, includes Management of Natural Resource (SDA) with Building Right (HGB), Trade Right (HGU) and Right of Flora Management, in which those are set in law of RI No. 5/1967 about the main determinations of mining became as the basis of legitimization for foreign investors to explore and exploit Indonesia of Natural Resource.<sup>9</sup> This policy makes Indonesia people basic need is neglected and it also only refers to entrepreneurs and rulers cooperate to accumulate the funds.

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<sup>6</sup>Noam Chomsky, *Memeras Rakyat: Neoliberalisme Dan Tatanan Global*, ed. by Ni'am Sa'diyah (Jakarta: Profetik, 2005), h. 21-23.

<sup>7</sup>Mansour Fakhri, 'Teologi Kaum Tertindas', in *Spiritualitas Baru: Agama Dan Aspirasi Rakyat* (Yogyakarta: Interfedei, 1994), p. 205.

<sup>8</sup>Patricia Adams, *Odius Debts: Loose Lending, Corruption, And the Third World's Environmental Legacy* (Jakarta: INFID, 2002), h. 183.

<sup>9</sup>Eko Prasetyo, *Islam Kiri Melawan Kapitalisme Modal: Dari Wacana Menuju Gerakan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar dan Insist Press, 2002), h. 86.



Furthermore, the owed overseas debts are not totally used to develop and increase Indonesia, but they are corrupted by the rulers of government officials.<sup>10</sup> Those who close to the government are able to enjoy the overseas debt for developing their own business.

The second parts are ideology transformation, moral and culture. The effect of the entry and the spread of developmentalism in Indonesia is the ideology transformation, moral and culture occurred. Ideology, moral and culture in Indonesia must change little by little. Saiful Arief stated that the local culture is changed by western morals and culture. So that, mindset, lifestyle and attitude of the third world people nearly the same with the mindset and capitalism social's lifestyle in which oriented profit gloried consumptive culture.<sup>11</sup>

The third is knowledge hegemony. It's almost the knowledge that has been dominated in part by knowledge from the west. The taught knowledge both in the school and in high school is modernized knowledge.<sup>12</sup> For example; the government set the educational curriculum which is not equivalent to the context of Indonesia's locality-nationality.

The fourth, the damage of ecology.<sup>13</sup> The effect of the policy developmentalism was the damage to the environment. Many mining industries were legalized for The Right of the Woods Management (HPH) in order to mine around the woods. The farmers are given as well as the unfertile to damage soil topsoil and etc. Those are the parts of access impacted by developmentalism ideology or the construction.

The fifth, agriculture and marine sector was neglected. The green revolution in the agriculture sector and the blue revolution in the marine sector were two agendas of ORBA to increase food self-sufficiency in the developmentalism area. Both revolutions, indeed, have been enhancement short time. But, it was found that the effect of industrialization force toward both sectors impacted the massive poverty on the farmers, sailors and the damage of the natural ecosystem.

Food fulfillment has not been maximally caused by government officials since the new era until now has not had the political will to alleviate poverty by implementing the 1960 agrarian law as a solution to the agrarian state and strengthen the position of the people in economic empowerment.<sup>14</sup> However, in

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<sup>10</sup>Yoshihara Kunio, *The Rise of Ersatz Capitalism in Southeast Asia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990), h. 100.

<sup>11</sup>Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory A Critical Introduction* (Yogyakarta: Qalam, 2001), h. 1.

<sup>12</sup>Mansour Fakhri, *Jalan Lain: Manifesto Intelektual Organik* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar dan Insist Press, 2002), h. 114. Yudi Latif, *Masa Lalu Yang Membunuh Masa Depan* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), h. 201.

<sup>13</sup>George Junus Aditjondro, *Kebohongan-Kebohongan Negara: Perihal Kondisi Obyektif Lingkungan Hidup Di Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2003), h. 3-42.

<sup>14</sup>Endriatmo Soetarto & Moh, Shohibuddin, *Reforma Agraria: Prasyarat Utama Bagi Revitalisasi Pertanian Dan Pedesaan*, (Bandung: Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA), 2005), h. 20.

further developments, these regulations were labeled as rules that contained elements of communist ideology because they were related to land redistribution. Whereas, UUPA is a neo-populistic law that can improve the standard of living of Indonesian people, especially in rural areas. Carrying out agrarian reform on the equatorial earth is not without foundation, it can be seen how the structure of Indonesian society is proletarianized due to the non-implementation of Dutch colonial assets when leaving this motherland. The plantations and large companies controlled by the Dutch colonial at that time were not expropriated but still invited the invaders to explore them through the Round Table Conference agreement in Den Haag which harmed the Indonesian side.<sup>15</sup> The taken large plantations by force were by the invaders must be returned to their rightful owners. The return of land to the rightful owner has been agreed or legalized by state apparatus with the ratification of the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law in the State Line No. 104, 24 September 1960.

## 2. Basic Thought of Nahdhatul Ulama in the Agrarian

- a. Indonesia is as *dār al-salām* (peaceful country), not *dār al-harb* (unpeaceful country)

The state concept of Nahdhatul Ulama adheres *dār al-salām*. This matter was discussed in the 11<sup>th</sup> congress in 1936 in Banjarmasin which said that state controlled by the invaders still includes an Islamic state because there had been Islamic empires that had triumphed, so it had to be maintained. The editor stated that:

كُلُّ مَحَلٍّ قَدَرَ مُسْلِمٌ سَاكِنٌ بِهِ... فِي زَمَنِ مِنَ الْأَزْمَانِ يَصِيرُ دَارَ إِسْلَامٍ تَجْرِي عَلَيْهِ أَحْكَامُهُ فِي ذَلِكَ الزَّمَانِ وَمَا بَعْدَهُ وَإِنْ انْقَطَعَ امْتِنَاعُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ بِاسْتِيلَاءِ الْكُفَّارِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَمَنْعِهِمْ مِنْ دُخُولِهِ وَإِخْرَاجِهِمْ مِنْهُ وَحِينَئِذٍ فَتَسْتَمِئُ دَارُ حَرْبٍ صُورَةً لَا حُكْمًا فَعَلِمَ أَنَّ أَرْضَ بَتَاوِي (جاكرتا) بَلْ وَغَالِبُ أَرْضِ جَاوَا دَارَ إِسْلَامٍ لِاسْتِيلَاءِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ عَلَيْهَا قَبْلَ الْكُفَّارِ

The meaning:

All places where Muslims are able to occupy it at a certain time, then it becomes an Islamic territory marked by the enactment of Islamic law at that time. Whereas, in the aftermath through the power of the Islamic Ummah had been cut off by the unbelievers' mastery of them, their prohibition on reentering or expulsion of them, so in these conditions, the naming of the 'war zone' is only a formal form and not the law. Thus, the Betawi lands and

<sup>15</sup>Sritua Arif, *Negeri Terjajah: Menyingkap Illusi Kemerdekaan* (Yogyakarta: Resist Book, 2006), h. 117.

even most of the Javanese lands are 'Islamic regions' because the Islamic Ummah had ever mastered them before unbelievers' mastery.<sup>16</sup>

With the results of the conference, all NU residents must defend the archipelago territory from colonialism. On the basis of this reason, the scholars and NU figures totally involved in the struggle, both in the cultural and political sphere in expelling invaders who wanted to damage the integrity of the archipelago. The urgent matter in forming an Indonesia nation-state is the basis of the state. Therefore, BPUPKI was formed consisting of 9 people, they are; Sukarno, Hatta, Ahmad Subardjo, Yamin, AA. Maramis, Abikusno, Kahar Mukazakkar, Agus Salim and Abdul Wahid Hasyim. On August 18, 1945, it was finally determined that Pancasila as the basis of state with deletion of 7 words in the first precept.

After nine years of conference decision in Banjarmasin, on 21-22 October 1945, KH. Hasyim Asy'ari with scholars from Java and Madura gathered in Surabaya in order to maintain the freedom from colonial disturb with Jihad resolution decision. The contents of the jihad resolution were confirmed that the law of defending the country was *fardhu 'ain* for every Islam in Indonesia. Similarly, it was stressed that the Muslims who were in a radius of 94 kilometers must join to fight the Netherlands. This jihad resolution emerged in response to NICA (Netherlands Indies Civil Administration) who want to re-colonize Indonesia after declaring the text of the proclamation. The resolution of this jihad was confirmed in the 16th NU Conference at Purwokerto, 26-29 March 1946.<sup>17</sup>

These are some of the involvement of NU leaders in the struggle to establish and defend the Republic of Indonesia from invaders' attack. Thus, what is the concept of the state according to Islam? There are two principal things that are used as a reference by NU in a state, namely, firstly, the purpose of the state is creating justice. In the book of Fararah al-Tawheed stated that a priest or a justice leader is the good key to a country. Secondly, the method (*manhaj*) of government. Allah confirms in the Qur'an QS. Asy-Sura: 38: "They hold deliberations in settling their matters".<sup>18</sup>

b. Return to Khittah 26: NU as Jam'iyah Diniyyah wal Ijtimaiyyah

The word "khittah 26" refers to lines, values, and models of struggle since the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) was founded, specifically NU's foundation as a movement

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<sup>16</sup>PW LTN NU Jawa Timur, *Solusi Problematika Aktual Hukum Islam: Keputusan Mukhtar, Munas, Dan Konbes NU 1926-2004 M*, ed. by LTN NU, III (Surabaya: LTN NU, 2007), h. 176-177.

<sup>17</sup>PW LTN NU Jawa Timur, LTN NU., h. 256-261.

<sup>18</sup>Said Aqil Siradj, 'Pesantren, Pendidikan Karakter Dan Keutuhan NKRI', in *Pendidikan Karakter Berbasis Tradisi Pesantren* (Jakarta: Rumah Kitab dan Norwegian Centre for Human Rights, 2014), pp. xvi – xvii.

of social-religious (jam'iyah diniyyah ijtimaiyyah).<sup>19</sup> Jargon "returned to the Khittah 26" approved at the NU's 27th Conference in Situbondo. Although historically the slogan "back to Khittah 26" has long been rolled out since the 22<sup>nd</sup> NU Conference December 13-18, 1959 in Jakarta by KH. Achyat Chalimi (representative the NU Mojokerto branch), but it has not been accepted as a conference decision.

The idea of "returning to Khittah 26" was anymore voiced at the 23<sup>rd</sup> NU conference in 1962 in Solo, but there were still opposed by the *muktamirin*. This idea reappeared in the opening khutbah of Rais' Am, KH. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah at the 25<sup>th</sup> NU conference in 1971 in Surabaya, despite the idea, had not yet received a positive response from the conference participants. At the 26<sup>th</sup> NU conference on 5-11 June 1979 in Semarang, the idea of "returning to the Khittah 26" had the chance, although there are many participants still opposed it, but the participants of the Congress approved the program of living up the meaning and calling back to the *khittah* 1926.

This idea had increasingly gained a place at the National Conference of Muslim Scholar in Kaliurang 1981 and at the 1983 National Conference of Muslim Scholar in Situbondo in which there was a recovery commission The NU Khittah, which was chaired by KH. Chamid Widjaya, secretary of H.M. Said Budairi and the vice of secretary H. Anwar Nurris. The result of the National Conference of Muslim Scholar in Situbondo was established and endorsed at the 27th NU Congress in 1984 at Situbondo.

In the next, all the results of National Conference of Muslim Scholar that were carried out after the 27<sup>th</sup> conference must go in line with Khittah 26 NU as a socio-religious movement, not as political movements and political parties. Therefore, the NU at this time, step by step, leaving political movements and exist in social movements-religious.

Prof. Said Aqil Siradj said:

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<sup>19</sup>Nur Kholik Ridwan, 'Khittah NU' (Jakarta, 2019)  
<sup>—</sup> <http://www.nu.or.id/post/read/39709/khittah-nū>. Diakses pada tanggal 29 Agustus 2019.

"The return to Khittah 26, NU more strengthen NU's role in order to defend human rights (HAM) and the rights of the people (HAR). When the legislature was tamed, the judiciary was put up as well as the executive in power freely, the existence of scholars who hold *khittah* 26 very hard as the hope for people with their rights".<sup>20</sup>

The declaration of KH. Said Aqil Siradj above confirm that slogan is back to the Khittah '26 wich is valid from *muktamar* NU XXVII 1984 is monumental because it made NU must go back to become a religious social movement, cannot be bound in practical politic. In view days later, this slogan becomes a motivation around the NU activities for it becomes more intense to take action in civilization social major.

c. Ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah (ASWAJA) as Manhaj al-Fikr (way of thinking).

The formulation of ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah (aswaja) as *manhaj al-fikr* for the first was introduced by KH. Said Aqil Siradj at the forum in Jakarta 1991. He criticized the Aswaja formulation as a school of thought embraced by NU. He said that how could there be a school of thought in the school. Therefore, aswaja is not a school of thought, but it was as *manhaj al-fikr*. These thoughts and ideas didn't run not well, many people opposed and keep rolling.

When in 1995, Indonesia Islamic Student Movement (PMII) placed Aswaja as a *manhaj al-fikr* that was marked by the publication of the Chatibul Umam Wiranu pocketbook entitled Re-reading Aswaja, published by Central Board PMII. The book has been was summarized from the Aswaja symposium in Tulungagung whose contents cannot be separated from the spark of thought KH. Said Aqil Siradj because he first introduced the concept of aswaja as a *manhaj al-fikr* in Nahdlatul Ulama.

Aswaja as *manhaj al-fikr*, which was initiated by KH. Said Aqil Siradj is a pattern that is carried out by the scholars in looking at the socio-political setting and socio-cultural settings when opinions/decisions/fatwas of friends and tabi ' the tabi'in were born. As the example in a theological context, which was taken as the consideration, it was not the product/result of the *ijtihad* of theologians, but of the socio-political side and the socio-cultural results of *ijtihad* were born. It was not doctrine was offered by Al-Ash'ari and al-Maturidi, al-Junaid and al-Gazali, but the question of how socio-political and socio-cultural conditions that had born the doctrine. On this basis, understanding Aswaja as *al-fikr manhaj* was an effort to get the meaning of the historical background and abstracted the behavior in Islam that was summarized by KH. Ahmad Siddiq as a character formula of Aswaja al-Nahdliyah namely *tawassuth*, *i'tidal*, *tawazun*, *tasamuh* and social stability.<sup>21</sup>

The evidence of that was the manifestation of the *at-Tawassuth* principle:

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<sup>20</sup>Said Aqil Siradj, *Islam Kebangsaan: Fiqh Demokratik Kaum Santri* (Jakarta: Pustaka Ciganjur, 1999), h. 26.

<sup>21</sup>Abu Hafsin, 'Kontekstualisasi Aswaja: Pemahaman Aswaja Sebagai Manhaj Al Fikr' (Semarang, 2019) <http://febi.walisongo.ac.id/editorial/kontekstualisasi-aswaja-pemahaman-aswaja-sebagai-manhaj-al-fikr7>. Diakses pada tanggal 29 Agustus 2019.

- 1) *At-Tawassuth of Aqeedah*:
  - a. Balance of the definition between the use of the *aqli* argument (argumentation) and the naqli argumentation (text of the Qur'an and al-Hadith), in which the *Aqli* argument used and positioned under the Naqli argument.
  - b. Trying as possible to purify the mix of *aqidah* from outside of Islam.
  - c. Not hurriedly handed down verdicts of polytheists, kufr and so on to them, because of each other have not been able to purify monotheism/aqeedah, as pure as possible.
- 2) *At-Tawassuth of Sharia*:
  - a. Always holding hard to the Qur'an and as-Sunnah, with using methods and systems that can be accounted for and through reasonable channels.
  - b. For the question which has the argument from the text of sharih and qath'i (clearly and definitely), can not be enterferenced with *aqli* argument.
  - c. On *dhanniyat* question (unclearly and indefinitely), it can be tolerated on different opinions as long as not conflict with religious principles.
- 3) *at-Tawassuth in Country Life*:
  - a. A national state (which was established together with all people) must be kept and maintained its existence.
  - b. Legitimate State (government) authority must be placed on honorable position and obeyed, as long as it did not deviate, and/or govern contrary with the law and God's provisions.
  - c. If there was the government's mistake, the way of warning it was through the best procedure.<sup>22</sup>

### 3. Place of Nahdhatul Ulama in Agrarian Politics

In the history of Indonesia, *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) through its figures waged agrarian social protests against the Dutch colonial invaders and Japanese fascism, including social protests intensified by KH. Zainal Mustafa from the Sukamanah Islamic School in 1944. The Protest and social Resistance emerged when the formation of Kumiai Renmei (Village Unity Cooperative) was formed in several cities in West Java, Central Java, and East Java. The system of the cooperation's work cannot run as hope. Submission of rice by farmers should be followed by purchase at a fair price or with the replacement of other materials. Ironically, the happens to farmers were the obligation to submit rice result without any change.<sup>23</sup>

In another locus, the Indramayu's farmer's social protest to Japanese Fascism led by H. Maridjas, H. Kartiwa, Kiai Serengseng, Kiai Moekasan, and Kiai Koesoen. This social protest was triggered by a submission of rice result which was its large four times more compared to other districts. Even though, at that time, Indramayu

<sup>22</sup>Achmad Siddiq, *Khittah Nahdliyyah* (Surabaya: Khalista Kerjasama LTN NU Jawa Timur, 2006), h. 63-68.

<sup>23</sup>Gita Anggriani, *Islam Dan Agraria, Telaah Normatif Dan Historis Perjuangan Islam Dalam Merombak Ketidakadilan Agraria* (Sleman: STPN Press, 2016), h. 48.

had a crop failure in the rainy season that year. Meanwhile, farmers in Indramayu live in poverty, despite the production of rice field was better than the other districts.<sup>24</sup>

Not only that, the NU scholars intensified social protests on making the Agrarian Basic Law (UUPA) 1960. This Law having a cross, tug-of-war between those who agree to ratification and reject the passage of the law. Until finally, the law legitimate. This endorsement cannot be separated from the interference of the Muslim figures, especially NU figures. The representatives of the Islamic group; H.A Sjaichu, Maniuddin Brojotrano, Z. Imban, Nunung Kusnadi, Harsono Tjokroaminoto, Nja 'Diwan, and K.H Muslich. The chairman of the DPR-Gotong Rorong was a scholar from NU namely K.H. Zainul Arifin.<sup>25</sup>

Specifically for the Land Reform program in the LoGA 1960, the scholars support the Land Reform program and all political parties agree on that program so that the nation's history records the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) 1960 was legalized by the DPR-GR, then the Land Reform program was continued as one of the keys to in order to create a justice and prosperous society. One of The program keys of Land Reform was the land redistribution to the Indonesian society, which has a lot of abandoned arable land, and the land under control by Dutch companies which are not all exploited must be redistributed land to the Indonesian people who are in need. It was said in Islam that "*man ahyā arda al-maitata fahiya lahu*" and as the Prophet's hadith which stated: "Land to be tilled by tenants, if not, that the land must be given to cultivators who want to work on".<sup>26</sup>

Although on its way, the Land Reform / Land Redistribution program faced social deviation and conflict. The deviations which were committed by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) with the Indonesian Farmers' Barisan. PKI did the unilateral action of the Land Reform program was not in accordance with a clear mechanism and not in accordance with the agreement of political parties and the Indonesian government, therefore Nahdlatul Ulama together with the Nahdlatul Ulama (Pertanu) Farmers Association blasted hard action that was carried out by the PKI / BTI. This PKI / BTI unilateral action made a failure of the Land Reform Program and ended the G 30 S/PKI.

In 1966, the scholars in the Banyuwangi area were in this regard acted for PERTANU (Nahdlatul Ulama Agriculture) fought for the interests of the people to get arable land that should be their rights.<sup>27</sup> PERTANU protects peasants who have been living the area which was planted back by PPPN Karet XVI. Through the letter,

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<sup>24</sup>Gita Anggriani, *Islam Dan Agraria, Telaah Normatif Dan Historis Perjuangan Islam Dalam Merombak Ketiakadilan Agraria*, h. 50.

<sup>25</sup>Gita Anggriani, *Islam Dan Agraria, Telaah Normatif Dan Historis Perjuangan Islam Dalam Merombak Ketiakadilan Agraria*, h. 58.

<sup>26</sup>Henry Saragih, 'Gerak Ulama Dan Politik Agraria', in *Tashwirul Afkar NU* (Jakarta: LAKPESDAM NU, 2008), h. 49.

<sup>27</sup>Ahmad Nashih Lutfi, 'Sejarah Dan Revitalisasi Perjuangan Pertanian Nahdlatul Ulama Melawan Ketiakadilan Agraria', *Jurnal Bhumi: Jurnal Agraria Dan Pertanahan*, 3.2 (2017), 150.

PERTANU urged the plantation leaders to cancel the plan to 'plant back' the land used by the people, stop making holes that damaged plants the people, compensated for their losses, and willing to be invited to negotiate.<sup>28</sup>

The issuance of Law No. 5 of 1967 concerning Principal Provisions Forestry provides opportunities for various groups to obtain rights Forest Exploitation received a response from NU in the 29th City Conference Lampung on 16-20 Rajab 1412 H / 21-25 January 1992.<sup>29</sup> Decree of one such conference was about displacing people's land for the public interest. The contents of the decision are a) the law of land eviction was allowed to the government in the public interest (*al-maslahah al-'ammah*), with the condition that it is really used by the government for the interest which was justified by *syara'* and with adequate compensation. b) the best way in determining compensation for land eviction according to fiqh, is pursued through deliberation on the basis of justice and no party was disadvantaged.<sup>30</sup>

During the New ORDE era, NU did not stand idly on the occurring of social injustice, this can be witnessed of how the NU Congress protested on carrying away the land in force and unfair. The jargon of public benefit is prohibited in Islamic teachings. Although the acquisition of land with offered compensation was inadequate or with several ways so that people are forced to surrender and sell their land, then classified as wrongdoing and includes Bai'ul Mukrah, as stated from the results of the NU Conference as follows:

وَاتَّفَقَ الْأَئِمَّةُ عَلَى أَنَّ الْبَيْعَ يَصِحُّ مِنْ بَالِغٍ مُخْتَارٍ مُطْلَقٍ التَّصَرُّفِ

The meaning:

Imams agreed that buying and selling are legal if carried out by mature people. Freely to choose (not forced), and free to manage the treasure.<sup>31</sup>

إِذَا كَانَ فِعْلُ الْإِمَامِ مَبْنِيًّا عَلَى الْمَصْلَحَةِ فِيمَا يَتَعَلَّقُ بِالْأُمُورِ الْعَامَّةِ لَمْ يُنْفَذْ أَمْرُهُ شَرْعًا إِلَّا إِذَا وَافَقَهُ فَإِنْ خَالَفَهُ لَمْ يُنْفَذْ. وَلِهَذَا قَالَ الْإِمَامُ أَبُو يُوسُفَ فِي كِتَابِ الْخَرَاجِ مِنْ بَابِ إِحْيَاءِ الْمَوَاتِ: وَلَيْسَ لِلْإِمَامِ أَنْ يُخْرِجَ شَيْئًا مِنْ يَدِ أَحَدٍ إِلَّا بِحَقِّ تَابِتٍ مَعْرُوفٍ

The Meaning:

If Imam's actions are based on the public interest, then in a way *syar'i* the order may not be carried out except in

<sup>28</sup>Suparjan dan Asri Widayati, 'Reaktualisasi Perjuangan Nahdlatul Ulama Dalam Mewujudkan Kedaulatan Sumber Daya Agraria (Studi Gerakan Demokrasi Radikal Pada FNKSDA).', *Bhumi: Jurnal Agraria Dan Pertanahan*, 5.1 (2019), 1.

<sup>29</sup>In'amul Mushoffa dan Abdul Kodir, 'Islam, Agrarian Struggle, and Natural Resources: The Exertion of Front Nahdliyin for Sovereignty of Natural Resources Struggle Towards Socio-Ecological Crisis in Indonesia', *Karsa: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture*, 25.1 (2017), 78.

<sup>30</sup>LTN NU., h. 507.

<sup>31</sup>LTN NU., h. 522-526.



accordance with public interest. And if it is a contradiction, it can't be implemented. Therefore, Imam Abu Yusuf in the book of *al-Kharraj min ihya al-mawat* states, the imam may not remove anything from anyone's hand except the permanent right (legalized law) and kindness.<sup>32</sup>

In 1994, the 29th NU conference in Cipasung, Tasikmalaya resulted in various decisions, namely the views and responsibilities of NU towards national and state life; NU's view regarding public interest in the context of national and state life; and NU's views and responsibilities on the environmental life.

Likewise with the decision results of the NU's national conference Muslim scholar about *masail diniyyah maudhu'iyyah* at the Islamic boarding school Qomarul Huda, One of the results of the NTB 1997 was *al-huqūq al-insaniyyah fī al-Islam*.

The need for land is a basic need that must exist within carry on human life. Therefore, land must be distributed fairly in order it can be worked on and used productively. The conclusions and recommendations of the NU National Conference

1. Land must be returned to its basic function as a means of production for the welfare of the people fairly and equally. Thus, the land can not be monopolized ownership and tenants, which can cause inequality.
2. It is necessary having law strength and comprehensive to guarantee legal certainty for land distribution policies through agrarian reformation fundamentally and thoroughly. Settings about land distribution integrated into the Land Law Plan.
3. Disproportionate concession land tenure conglomerates must redistribute through legal mechanisms. The government obliged to prepare the community's ability to manage land from the redistribution.
4. Agrarian reformation policies and land distribution for welfare and justice for the people must be done thoroughly and sustainable, which did not depend on the political policy the power regime alternately.
5. Processes and mechanisms for implementing agrarian reformation and land distribution must be transparent and open to the public, able to be controlled and monitored strictly by the State and society.

#### **D. Conclusion**

Based on the formulation of the problem, description, and discussion that has been stated earlier that can be taken that NU was born officially in 1926, but was preceded by the forerunners of several organizations, namely Nahdlatul Tujjar, Tashwirul Afkar, and Nahdlatul Wathan. The three of these organizations bore to and formed the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). NU was established as a social organization in order to realize the justice, prosperous and safe society and drive out the invaders from the motherland of Indonesia. Although, within its existence had been ever

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<sup>32</sup>LTN NU., h. 524.

political organization, but did not take too long and returned to the starting line, which in the language of the conference participants "returns to *khittah 26*".

Some social protests intensified by KH. Zainal Mustafa from Sukamanah boarding school in 1944. Likewise social protest and resistance of Indramayu farmers against Japanese Fascism led by H. Maridjas, H. Kartiwa, Kiai Serengseng, Kiai Moekasan, and Kiai Koesoen. This social protest triggered by four times more rice delivery obligations compared to other districts.

The legalization of this UUPA 1960 cannot be separated from the interference of the Muslim Ummah figures, especially NU figures. This law has crossed-chaos, push-and-pull, between those who agree with ratification and reject ratification the law. Until the law was legalized. In the reformation time, NU figure is also as President of Indonesia, Gus Dur, had given the way for the birth of MPR Decree No. IX/2001 concerning Agrarian Reform and Management of Natural Resources, which until now has not been run by the government.

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### Example in footnotes:

<sup>1</sup>Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 8 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), h. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West* (Oxford: One World Publications, 1991), h. 190.

<sup>3</sup>Syeikh Ja’far Subhānī, *Mafāhim Al-Qur’ān* (Beirut: Mu’assasah Al-Tarīkh Al-’Arabī, 2010)., Juz 5, h. 231.

<sup>4</sup>Syeikh Ja'far Subhānī, *Mafāhim Al-Qur'ān*, h. 8-9.

#### Example in bibliography:

Subhānī, Syeikh Ja'far. *Mafāhim Al-Qur'ān*. Beirut: Mu'assasah Al-Tarīkh Al-'Arabī, 2010.

Eliade, Mircea (ed.). *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 8. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995.

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#### Detail informations of the footnotes:

##### 1. Holy book

Al-Qur'ān, Al-Baqarah/2: 185.

Perjanjian Baru, Mrk. 2: 18.

##### 2. Qur'anic translation

<sup>1</sup>Departemen Agama RI, *al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya* (Jakarta: Darus Sunnah, 2005), h. 55.

##### 3. Book

<sup>1</sup>Muḥammad 'Ajjaj al-Khaṭīb, *Uṣl al-Ḥadīth: 'Ulumuh wa Muṣṭalaḥuh* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1989), h. 57.

##### 4. Translation Books

<sup>1</sup>Toshihiko Izutsu, *Relasi Tuhan dan Manusia: Pendekatan Semantik terhadap al-Qur'an*, terj. Agus Fahri Husein dkk (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2003), h. 14.

##### 5. Voluminous book

<sup>1</sup>Muḥammad al-Ṭāhīr b. 'Ashur, *al-Taḥṣīr wa al-Tanwīr*, Vol. 25 (Tunisia: Dār al-Suḥūn, 2009), h. 76.

<sup>1</sup>Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukharī, *al-Jam' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Vol. 2 (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1999), h. 77.

##### 6. Article in book

<sup>1</sup>Sahiron Syamsuddin, "Metode Intratekstualitas Muhammad Shahrur dalam Penafsiran al-Qur'an" dalam Abdul Mustaqim dan Sahiron Syamsuddin (eds.), *Studi al-Qur'an Kontemporer: Wacana Baru Berbagai Metodologi Tafsir* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2002), h. 139.

##### 7. Article in encyclopaedia

<sup>1</sup>M. Th. Houtsma, "Kufr" dalam A. J. Wensinck, at al. (ed.), *First Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 6 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), h. 244.

##### 8. Article in journal

<sup>1</sup>Muhammad Adlin Sila, "The Festivity of *Maulid Nabi* in Cikoang, South Sulawesi: Between Remembering and Exaggerating the Spirit of Prophet", *Studia Islamika* 8, no. 3 (2001): h. 9.

##### 9. Article in mass media

<sup>1</sup>Masdar F. Mas'udi, "Hubungan Agama dan Negara", *Kompas*, 7 Agustus 2002.



10. Article in Internet

<sup>1</sup>Muhammad Shaḥrūr, “Reading the Religious Teks: a New Approach” dalam <http://www.shahrour.org/25> Februari 2010/diakses 5 Juni 2010.

11. Thesis or dissertation

<sup>1</sup>Syahrudin Usman, “*Kinerja Guru Pendidikan Agama Islam pada SMAN dan SMKN Kota Makassar*”, *Disertasi* (Makassar: PPs UIN Alauddin, 2010), h. 200.

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