

Architecture And Politics (Study of Tarekat Preferences in the 2018 Gubernatorial Election)

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Abstract

This study aims to find out the understanding of tarekat mursyids and their preferences / tendencies towards politics and participating in it, including their support for the 2018 governor election. This study uses a qualitative approach by interviewing respondents who are tarekat murshids who are always obeyed by students. The findings are enriched with literature, books, research results and thoughts of experts in related fields. The results show that there are mursyid tarekat in North Sumatra that allow them to enter politics for the greater benefit of the people (Syeikh Sofwan Babussalam), to uphold or magnify the word of Allah (Syeikh Sabban Rajagukguk) and to uphold justice, prosper the people and create prosperity. people (Syeikh Nazaruddin Brayan) and even Jabal Qubis Founder Sheikh Amir Damsar Syarif founded the Jabal Nur Indonesia Party although it did not qualify in 2002. The results of this study are reinforced by the results of Martin Van Bruinessen's research which says that in the history of Indonesia, it turns out that some tarekat mursyids and their members are involved in practical politics. They opposed the colonial movement such as Sheikh Yusuf al-Makkassari, Haji Marzuki Banten, the Naqsabandiyah-Qadiriyah caliph, Guru Bangkol in Lombok, Kasan Mukmin Sidoarjo, Naqsabandiyah affiliate.

Keywords

tarekat group; politics; preference



I. Introduction

Is there a relationship between spirituality through tarekat groups and political power? Smith said: Sufism is a mystical path based on universal truths that transcend culture, politics and history. At the same time, the trends and practices of Sufism, like those of any spiritual tradition, have been shaped by historical, political and cultural contexts.

There is a difference of opinion among the Murshid and followers of the tarekat as to whether they can/should be involved in government affairs, establish cooperative relations with the authorities and participate in political affairs or not.

The followers of the Qishtiyah order during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries strictly avoided ruling circles and nobility. They were of the view that relationships with kings and rich people could be dangerous, heart-numbing and an obstacle to their prayers and spiritual practice as Kirmani stated:

Actually, politics and tarekat are two different/separate domains. But the separation of normativity does not have to be reflected in the realm of historicity. This can be seen in the involvement of the tarekat in politics in the historical records of the Islamic world as described by Nizami and Williams.

In Indonesia, Mahmud Suyuti provides a phenomenal example of tarekat and politics in colonial times. The two met in the course of sporadic movements against colonial rule. In the 17th century, a leader of the tarekat Syaykh Yusuf Makassar moved to lead the

guerrillas against the Company. A century later (1819) there was resistance from the Palembang people against the company pioneered by the Sammaniyah order.

As for Aceh, for example, it can be seen that there is support for certain tarekat groups against a particular political party or candidate. For example, that Habib and Said support JADIN in the 2017 Pilkada. Ahead of the 2017 Pilkada, some residents of Nagan Raya Regency have again expressed their support for the candidate pair for regent and deputy regent HM Jamin Idham SE and Chalidin Oesman SE.

Likewise, in the 2018 Gubernatorial Elections, there was also support for tarekat groups or the association of certain pairs of candidates. The Jabal Qubis Naqsyabandiyah Order in Dagang Klambir Tanjungmorawa Village, Deliserdang Regency, for example, firmly stated its support for certain cagub and cawagub. Elsewhere, the New Darussalam tarekat group, Terang Bulan Village, Aek Natas Labuhan Batu Utara (Labura) actually gave support to the cagub and cawagub that were different from that carried by the Naqsyabandiyah congregation group Jabal Qubis Dagang Klambir Tanjungmorawa Village Deliserdang Regency who supported the ERAMAS pair.

Sheikh Nazaruddin Lubis, who is one of the caliphs of Naqsbandy Khalidy Babus Salam Lankat who lives in Medan, has also publicly expressed his support for the ERAMAS group.

Thus, we see that tarekat groups in North Sumatra have also been "pulled" to give their support to certain candidates or parties in the 2018 Gubernatorial Election. How the tarekat responses and preferences in North Sumatra in the face of the 2018 Gubernatorial Elections will be explained in more detail in this paper

II. Review of Literature

2.1 Tarekat and Politics

Tarekat comes from the word Tariqah which means the way (sirah, tarib) or school (group/group). If taken from the word tharaqa or tariq then he means the emergence of the night. If turned into tharqu can mean strength or turned into thar iq then means a wide road.

Some say the word tarekat comes from Arabic, namely tariq, tariqah, ath-thariqu, and the plural thara'iq, which means road or way (al-kaifiyah), traffic (al-shirath), school of thought, flow or direction (al-mazhab), method or system (al-school). -uslub). Tarekat is an open path to God, the fath or the way, which is taken by a salik (follower of the tarekat) to God. So tarekat means the journey of a salik to God by purifying himself or the journey he must take to get as close as possible to God.

Harun Nasution said tarekat is a path that must be taken by salik to be as close as possible to God. But in its practical development, the tarekat changed its meaning into a group or collection of Sufis who had formed an institution or bound the salik (members of followers) with special rules. In short, tarekat is Sufism that has been institutionalized, in which each tarekat is led by a sheikh or murshid by means of rituals (riyadhah/practice) and certain/separate remembrance.

According to Schimmel, the tarekat is the path taken by the Sufis and can be described as a path that stems from the shari'a, because the main road is called syar'i, while the path children are called tariq. This derivative word indicates that tarekat is a branch of shari'ah which consists of God's law. There can be no street children (trariq) without a main road (syar'i). A mystical experience cannot be obtained by a salik if the orders of the Shari'a are not obeyed first in a disciplined manner.

Sheikh Muhammad Amin Khurdi , more inclined to say tarekat as an experience of the Shari'ah and implement it with full sincerity and perseverance, and abstain from an attitude of simplifying things that should not be made easy". Tarekat is an act of staying away from prohibitions both external and internal and upholding God's commands according to the level of a Sufi's ability.

Meanwhile, according to Ibn Arabi, what is meant by tarekat is avoiding what is haram and makruh and excessive in things that are permissible, carrying out things that are required and things that are circumcised to the extent of the ability of the salik under the guidance of a wise person from the nihayah expert. There are also those who define tarekat as a special way or method to achieve spiritual goals.

Martin vans Bruinessen To call tarekat literally means the way, referring to the system of meditation and practice (muroqobah and dhikr) which is associated with a series of Sufi teachers (mursyid) and organizations that grow in a distinctive Sufism method (tarekat)". According to Massignon, as quoted by Abubakar Aceh, tariqah among Sufis has two meanings, namely: First, tarekat is defined as a way of moral and spiritual education for those who are interested in living the Sufi life. This understanding was used by the Sufis in the 9th and 10th centuries AD. Second, tarekat means a complete movement to provide spiritual and physical training for a group of Muslims according to certain teachings and beliefs. So, tarekat is a way to get to the goal of worship, namely the essence of God.

Meanwhile, according to Louis Michon, the tarekat contains two meanings, namely: First, mystical wanderings in general, namely a combination of all teachings and practical rules that are sourced from the Qur'an and Sunnah, as well as the experience of spiritual teachers (murshid). Second, the Sufi Brotherhood is usually named after its founder, such as the Qodiriyah Order taken from the name of its founder Sheikh 'Abdul Qodir al-Jailani, the Syadziliyah Order after the name of its founder Sheikh Abu al-Hasan al-Syadzili, and the Naqsabandiyah Order after the name of its founder Sheikh. Muhammad bin Muhammad Baha' al-Din al-Uwaisi al-Bukhari Naqsbandi.

Spencer said tarekat is a practical method (in other terms also referred to as mazhab, suluk or others) to guide salik (seekers of God) both guiding thoughts, feelings and actions through stages (spiritual levels / ladders, maqamat) that are integrated with experience. psychology called 'ahwal' to obtain the essence (divine reality).

This method must be passed gradually, gradually through contemplation and cleansing of the heart. Spencer also said that the journey of suluk must begin under the supervision of a teacher (mursyid) who guides him.

Thus practically it can be understood that the tarekat as a method to guide (guide) a disciple or salik continuously, systematically, in a certain way that is programmed through understanding, feeling and charity, all of which are carried out until they reach levels (maqamat).) which culminates in ma'rifat (feeling the essence of divinity and loving Allah).

Srimulyati chose the tarekat definition to refer to a system of meditation practice and practices (muraqabah, remembrance, wirid and so on) associated with a series of Sufis. According to him, one of the most important things in the tarekat is genealogy. Family tree this is like a business card and the legitimacy of a tarekat. Yes, it's the same as a diploma. This genealogy will also distinguish this tarekat as mu'tabarah or not.

In summary, the objectives of the tarekat can be formulated as follows:

- a. By practicing the tarekat means doing mental exercises (riyadhoh) and struggling to control one's passions (mujahadah) to rid oneself of despicable traits and to be filled with commendable qualities through moral improvement in all matters.

- b. With intention, you can realize uninterrupted remembrance of Allah SWT and also a sense of closeness through wirid and dhikr, also accompanied by continuous tafakkur.
- c. With bertakat will also arise a fear of Allah so that a person keeps trying to avoid himself from all kinds of forms that can cause him to forget Allah.
- d. If the tarekat is carried out with sincerity and obedience to Allah, then a salik level can reach ma'rifat, so that all the secrets behind the light of Allah and His Messenger are revealed more clearly.

There are several types of tarekat that developed in Indonesia, such as:

1. Qadariyah
2. Naqsabandiyah
3. Syattariyah
4. Khalwatiyah
5. Alawiyah.
6. Sammaniyah
7. Tijaniyah

Besides that, there are also congregations of Syadziliyah, Rifa'iyah, Wahidiyyah, and Al Haddad and Khalidiyah linking them as a school that developed in Indonesia.

Politics etymologically comes from the Greek, namely polis which means city or city-state. From the word polis, other words emerged, such as politicos which means citizenship (relating to the citizen), potitechne which means political skill, and politice episteme which means political science. This term evolved to the Romans to name knowledge of the state (arts politica) which means proficiency (kunst) on state matters.

In English, the word politics is called politics which indicates personal or deed, and is lexically defined as acting or judging wisely, well judge, prudent. So, politics is everything related to matters concerning the interests of society or the state.

The term politics is absorbed into the Indonesian language with three meanings, namely: (a) politics is defined as all affairs and actions or policies, and tactics regarding the government of a country against other countries, (b) politics is defined as a ruse, and (c) politics. used as the name of a scientific discipline, namely political science.

In society the term politics was first known during Plato in his Politeria or Republic, and then developed through Aristotle's work, namely politica. The work of Plato and Aristotle is seen as a starting point for political thought, where it can be seen that politics is a term used as a concept of regulating society. The two works discuss issues related to the problem of how the government is run so that a political community group or a good state organization can be realized.

In general, politics is a variety of activities in a political system or state which involves the process of determining the goals of the system and carrying out those goals. According to Keban, decision making about whether the goals of the political system involve the selection of several alternatives and the preparation of a priority scale from the goals that have been chosen. To carry out these objectives, it is necessary to determine public policies concerning the regulation and distribution or allocation of existing resources.

The methods used in politics can be persuasive and coercive. Without the element of coercion, the policy is only a mere statement of intent that will never come true.

According to Deliar Noer Politics is any activity or attitude related to power and which intends to influence, by changing or maintaining some form of social structure.

According to Meriam Budiardjo Politics is all activities related to a political system or state which involves the process of determining an objective of the political system or state and carrying out that goal.

The two definitions above show that the nature of politics is human behavior or behavior, either in the form of activities, activities, or attitudes, which of course aim to influence or maintain the order of community groups by using power. This means that power is not the essence of politics, although it must be acknowledged that power cannot be separated from politics, in fact politics requires it so that a policy can run in people's lives.

According to Nurcholish Madjid, politics has two meanings, namely: "Politics in the sense of public interest (politics) and politics in the sense of policy (policy). Politics in the sense of politics is a series of principles or principles, circumstances, paths, methods or tools that will be used to achieve goals. Politics in the sense of policy is the use of certain considerations that can ensure the implementation of efforts to realize the desired desires or ideals. Policy is the best way to implement these principles, paths and directions. So that the political goal, which is to embrace justice, can be achieved to the fullest."

Meanwhile, according to Michael Rush and Phillip Althoff, namely: The essence of politics is all human efforts to resolve human conflicts, or the process by which society makes decisions or develops certain policies, or authoritatively allocates certain resources and values. , or in the form of the exercise of power and influence in society .

In addition, according to Isywara, politics can also be seen from four different points of view, namely: (a) Politics is an effort taken by citizens to realize the common good, (b) Politics is matters related to the administration of government and the state, (c) Politics are activities directed at gaining and maintaining power in society, and (d) Politics is everything related to the process of formulating and implementing public policies. .

Thus, it can be concluded that politics are all kinds of activities related to the process of determining the policy of a country's system and all efforts in realizing these goals, making decisions regarding the selection between several alternatives and the preparation of a priority scale from the goals that have been determined. To carry out this goal, public policies are needed regarding the regulation and distribution or allocation of existing resources.

III. Result and Discussion

3.1 Tarekat Relations and Politics

There is one interesting thing about the tarekat world when it comes to politics, namely: obedience to the murshid. It has become a culture, a very strong adab, it goes without saying that the salik highly uphold adab and obedience to the Mursyid teacher. This is because a salik must believe in the murshid so that he can be guided and gain knowledge and arrive at the essence of divinity (Ma'rifat). Even if the student's heart doesn't believe it, it will automatically break the bai'at done by itself. In terms of religion, the ghaibiyah of the salik always obey and follow the instructions of the murshid. This will have an impact on his views on Mursyid's political choices. If the murshid orders the caliph or students to form a political party, then the students will make it and if the murshid orders to choose a certain Paslon then the students will choose it and even if the murshid orders war, the students will go to war. According to Martin Van Bruinessen, this is what makes the company angry and hates the tarekat.

However, there are differences in attitudes among the murshids regarding the relation of Sufism/tarekat, religion and politics. Smith for example says: Sufism is a mystical path based on universal truths that transcend culture, politics and history. At the same time, the trends and practices of Sufism, like those of any spiritual tradition, have been shaped by historical, political and cultural contexts.

In this regard, the Murshid and the followers of the tarekat differ whether they can/should be involved in government affairs, establish cooperative relations with the authorities and participate in political affairs or not.

On the scale of the Islamic world in general Tammy Elmansoury, in *Spirituality, Islam, and the State: The Origins and Disavowal of Sufism in the Ikhwan al-Muslimin* concluded that the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood political movement in Egypt, especially after the death of Hasan al-Banna (12 February 1949 AD), were very close with the Sufi tradition or tarekat. Al-Banna himself is also known to study the tarekat from his spiritual teacher Shaykh Muhammad Hasanayn al-Hisafa (d. 1910 AD). He also took the tradition of political activism from his teacher.

In contrast to the followers of the Qishtiyah order, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they strictly avoided the rulers and nobles. They argued that relations with kings and rich people could be dangerous, heart-numbing and an obstacle to their prayers and spiritual practice as Kirmani stated:

Basically, politics and tarekat are two different/separate things. But the separation of normativity does not have to be reflected in the realm of historicity. This can be seen from the involvement of the tarekat in politics in the historical records of the Islamic world as described by Nizami and Williams.

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Nedy Sugianto, in his research on the role of the Nurussalam Remembrance Council in Supporting the SBY Government, stated that the dhikr assembly is a very sacred central part in the world of Sufism or Sufism, as part of achieving closeness to Allah the eternal lover. From the sacredness that exists in Sufism and the dhikr assemblies in particular, lately it seems as if it has become a trend for politicians to use it as a means of political communication and even as a place to gain votes, especially at the moment before the elections for the Presidential Election, Regional Elections, Regional Elections, Regional Elections, Regional Elections, and Regional Elections. The politicians looked stuttered and so alert when welcoming the moment with the proliferation of dhikr assemblies that mushroomed throughout the national world. In the country, the spirit of the establishment of a dhikr assembly is very clear.

The dhikr assembly of SBY Nurussalam is one of the many dhikr assemblies that have the political orientation of power. It is proven by obtaining some data and facts that researchers have done at the SBY Nurussalam Assembly Dhikr Foundation. Starting from the development, activities, and role in the government of SBY. Moreover, this assembly proved to have a role in winning the last general election and when researchers confirmed the central management, they confirmed all of it. Coupled with the fact that the assembly formed by SBY was escorted by several state officials including ministers, political figures, family, colleagues, and retired TNI and POLRI. Therefore,

The SBY Nurussalam Dhikr Council Foundation which until now has been formed in 33 provinces throughout Indonesia. The dhikr assembly of SBY Nurussalam turned out to

be not only a forum for people who always dhikr to the khaliq, but more than that. He can be used and serves as a very effective tool of power, including as a counter issue that is neatly wrapped into the language of religion. From this the researcher thought that anyone who has a power orientation and wins in the election, that person just needs to make the same or similar forum as the dhikr assembly of SBY Nurussalam.

Martin van Bruinessen, in *Tarekat and Politics: Practice for the World or the Hereafter?* question whether tarekat groups are militant or apolitical? He demonstrated the tarekat's involvement in physical warfare against colonial aggression in a number of countries, including in Indonesia. The number of cases like this, according to Martin, if desired, could be lined up even more. The question should be asked: is this militant attitude inherent in the tarekat, or is the relationship just a coincidence? Are there factors in tarekat teachings, practices and organizations that encourage political militancy? Or should these examples be understood as exceptions, due to extraordinary circumstances, whereas tarekat usually tend to stay away from political affairs?

Regarding tasawwuf and tarekat, there are two contradictory perceptions. Officials of the Dutch, French, Italian and British colonies used to be suspicious of the tarekat because in their view that fanaticism towards teachers easily turned into political fanaticism. For this, it is no coincidence that the first Western studies of the tarekat were more like reports of intelligence investigations than scientific research. Because of the political dangers they perceive, many officials have advocated bans or restrictions on tarekat activities. Although suspicion of tarekat was not the monopoly of colonial officials. In the Republic of Turkey, for example, in 1925 all orders were banned following a Kurdish nationalist uprising led by the sheikhs of the Naqshbandiyah order. The official ban is still in effect - although recently the tarekat's activities have undergone new developments. Even more stringent prohibitions were in place in the Soviet Union; and in the Muslim republics of the Soviet Union the tarekat network was indeed the most important underground opposition.

The second perception, on the other hand, regards the development of tarekat as a symptom of depoliticization, as an escape from social and political responsibilities. In this view, the tarekat is more oriented towards ukhrawi affairs than worldly problems. The critics of the tarekat emphasize the ascetic aspect (zuhd) and the hereafter orientation; In an effort to get closer to God, it is said that tarekat people usually distance themselves from society. khalwah, uzlah). While the "traditional" Muslims (Aswaja) are considered to be more conservative, accommodating and apolitical than modernist Muslims, the tarekat are considered the most conservative of the conservatives, and the shyest away from political attitudes. This view, as we shall see, is too simplistic.

Sahri, in the *Political Dimension in the Teachings of Sufism*, it is stated that the political democratization that is taking place in Indonesia now requires a variety of offers of political concepts to Muslims so that they are more intelligent and wiser in dealing with it. In this regard, the political teachings of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani's manaqib became very relevant to be presented in the public.

Likewise in Medan, North Sumatra, in the 2018 Gubernatorial Elections, there was support for tarekat groups or the association of certain pairs of candidates. The Jabal Qubis Naqsyabandiyah Order in Dagang Klambir Tanjungmorawa Village, Deliserdang Regency, for example, firmly stated its support for the cagub and cawagub Edy-Ijek, ERAMAS. Elsewhere, the New Darussalam congregation in Terang Bulan Village, Aek Natas Labuhan Batu Utara (Labura) actually gave support to the cagub and cawagub that were different from that carried by the Naqsyabandiyah congregation group Jabal Qubis Tanjungmorawa, Deliserdang Regency, which supported the ERAMAS pair.

But the most unique thing is that almost all of the Naqsbandiyah Orders of North Sumatra from Babussalam Langkat to Mount Selamat Rantauprapat support ERAMAS uniformly. For example: Sheikh Syarwani via his son Sheikh Sofwan Hasyim said that they support ERAMAS because they see the side of the Paslon religion, both of which are Muslim.

Sheikh Nazaruddin Lubis, who is one of the caliphs of Naqsbandy Khalidy Babus Salam Langkat, who lives on Brayan Island, Medan, has also publicly expressed his support for the Era Mas group. Likewise, Sheikh Sabban Rajagukguk also supported ERAMAS even though he did not issue an official fatwa for it.

Likewise, Sheikh M. Ridwan Gunung Selamat Labuhan Batu and Sheikh Khaidir Sukajadi after our interview also supported ERAMAS although for different reasons. Sheikh Khaidir looked at the seriousness and sincerity of Edy Rahmayadi to build North Sumatra and his closeness to ulama and community leaders, while Sheikh Nazaruddin saw more from the constitutional side where Jarot and his partner were supported by the PDI-P party which, according to him, favored Pancasila on June 1st than Pancasila in the 1945 Constitution.

Thus, we see that tarekat groups in North Sumatra have also been "pulled in" to give their support to certain candidates or parties in the Pilgubsu election.

We assume that this political support is very influential on the people who follow the tarekat as in the etiquette of the murshid which is always followed by the congregation. One tarekat movement is not only seen from a normative perspective that they only carry out a series of remembrance, prayer and other worship activities, but can be seen from other motives such as social interests, religion and power politics that collaborate on the involvement of tarekat groups in politics and the election of leaders. .

However, some Mursyids do not allow themselves and their followers to enter the world of practical politics because they are afraid that they will not be able to carry out the practice of remembrance (Syekh M. Ridwan Gunung Selamat) and also do not want to drown with certain parties when the party sinks (Syekh Khaidir Sukajadi).

As for the Naqsbandy Khalidiyah congregation in Tanjung Pura Langkat whose students spread to many districts of North Sumatra, Indonesia and even abroad such as Malaysia and Singapore, through Sheikh Sofwan Hasyim whom we interviewed last October, it was more permissible for Salik to join parties if deemed necessary and for better interests. such as the benefit of the people, religion, nation and state. Moreover, he said for things that are mandatory in social society. Because for him the suluk and the practice of remembrance carried out by the tarekat are sunnah, while the obligatory are more worthy of precedence over the sunnah. This tarekat already has 420 caliphs and hundreds of thousands of congregations attend the haul every year.

Then the Tareqat Jabal Qubis Tanjung Morawa has 2 million followers throughout Indonesia and 200 thousand for the North Sumatra region also once wanted to establish a Party called the Jabal NUr Indonesia Party (PJNI) in 2012. Unfortunately, it failed because the conditions for establishing the party were not met.

IV. Conclusion

Thus, we conclude that there are still differences among tarekat murshids as to whether the salik and their murshids are allowed to enter the world of practical politics, it is important or not, all of which can be seen in the situations and conditions faced by the community.

During the war and in the colonial era, most of the tarekat murshids were involved in fighting against colonialism, as researched by Martin Van Bruinessen. When it's peaceful the tarekat looks cooler and calmer.

In societies that have higher dynamics in Indonesia and especially North Sumatra, the involvement of tarekat, mursyids and their followers in elections is considered to be important, such as the establishment of the Majelis remembrance of SBY, the opinion of Sheikh Sofwan Hasyim Babussalam Langkat, Sheikh Nazaruddin and Sheikh Ghazali Jabal Qubis.

However, in a society that is not very dynamic, or a little "conservative" in other languages, we see that mursyids and their followers are not very interested in going into politics. Even for them, practical politics can interfere with or damage the tarekat itself, as commented by Sheikh M. Ridwan Gunung Selamat and Sheikh Khaidir Sukajadi, North Sumatra's stone port.

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