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## ULAMAA' ON THE POLITICAL STAGE ( Study of the analyzing Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party in Southwest Aceh District)

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**Abstract :** The participation of ulama' in politics was seen as a reference point for determining the vote acquisition that would be obtained by political parties. The recruitment of ulama' before the general election is strong evidence that the role of ulama' in politics was very important, not only in the religious sphere but in the social and political sphere of society. The participation of ulama' gave rise to pro and contra views in the midst of society. The pro view saw ulama' as being able to cleaned up the political atmosphere, while the counter view sees politics as limited to power and tarnishes the ulama's image. This study aimed to explained the involvement of ulama' in the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party in Aceh Barat Daya, the involvement of ulama' is abled to influenced policies in local parties and saw people's views on the involvement of ulama' in politics. The data required in writing this thesis is obtained through library and field research. Literature research was carried out by reading text books, statutory regulations, and other reading material related to this research, while field research was carried out by interviewing and observing. The results showed that the involvement of ulama' in the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party in Aceh Barat Daya was based on the recruitment of the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party to the ulama' because they provided many benefits to the party. The desire of the ulama' themselves and getting support from the community was also a factor in the involvement of ulama' in politics. This happened because the ulama' would to changed the existing government system into a better system. The involvement of the ulama' had a big influence on the party, namely being abled to changed policies in the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party in Aceh Barat Daya so that it was able to increased the number of votes obtained by the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party. Some of the people of Southwest Aceh view the involvement of ulama' in the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party as a natural thing, the involvement of the ulama was considered capable of providing a cleaner nuance in politics, while others think that when the ulama' were involved in politics he would only gave priority to himself and abled to damaged his image as a cleric. Involvement

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of ulamaa' in politics was expected to be more able to heard and conveyed the aspirations of the people, and to kepted the politics they lived in clean so that their image was maintained so that the public's view of ulamaa' involvement remains good and supportive.

Keywords: Ulamaa' involvement, politics, local political parties.

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## INTRODUCTION

The victory of political parties in the Legislative Election has a very large role for the ulamaa' in it, it can be said that the ulamaa' are the mecca for determining the votes obtained by a political party. Nowadays such things are very common in all regions in Indonesia, especially the Aceh area where the majority of the population is Muslim. If these things are broken down, it is normal for an ulamaa' to do this, but this can also have a negative impact on society because the participation of ulamaa' in politics and general election campaigns can result in divisions that will occur in society.

Ulamaa' are people who give instructions to the people about various aspects of life, including strengthening the existence of the people not only in the religious aspects, but also in the social, political and cultural aspects. Ulamaa' also become intermediaries in explaining or giving understanding of what is going on among their people, so that people will get the correct information. However, if a cleric gets involved in politics, it is suspected that the ulamaa' will abandon his ulamaa' because he must win over one side. Ulamaa' have become a benchmark for the success of a political party in winning the sympathy of the people to get what the political elites really want. In this case the ulama are considered to have behaved unnaturally, because the participation of ulamaa' in politics is considered capable of creating divisions in society.

The involvement of ulamaa' in political parties is an issue that is considered pro and contra in the community, especially the participation of ulamaa' in parties. According to a counter view, the participation of ulamaa' in politics will be used by political parties so that the ulamaa' can no longer play a role as a guide for the ummah in this life, but this is reversed because it has been influenced by most of the party's needs.

This opinion is denied by (Syerozi, 2009), that even though the ulamaa' are involved in the "success team", there is absolutely no intention of dividing the ummah even though they differ in ijihad. The division of the ummah will occur as a result of the actions of politicians through propaganda and provocation when they attack their political opponents. Meanwhile, in the eyes of the community, ulama have a higher level of reputation than

politicians. For ulamaa' who have been involved in politics, it will even lead to positive changes in society.

Furthermore, Anwar added that Ulamaa' have never been asked to participate directly in politics. Politics is an individual right, but what is hoped is that scholars can provide positive enlightenment in uncovering the current political conditions so that the creation of a peaceful regional election. the human soul is in a state of pure and clean.

However, Anwar Syerozi's opinion is also an example of the involvement of the ulamaa', where when they have become a successful team of scholars, they will try to lead their followers to one of the candidates while maturing them so as not to be confrontational with other candidates and supporters. This is so that their political behavior is not like non-ulamaa' politicians who do not have a moral responsibility towards the people. The involvement of the ulamaa' personally is not in the name of the organization in politics by directly engaging or merely joining the success team in general elections.

These various pro and contra views show how the phenomenon of recruiting ulamaa' in the political sphere, especially during direct elections at both the local and national levels, is strong evidence of how important the role of ulama in political parties is not just in the scope of religious preaching.

Political power rarely (at least what happens today) only focuses on power alone, but politicians are more interested in what is behind power, namely money (Suhendri, 2012). The stronger the public pressure, the more even the political power will change the political style of the regional rulers. Changes in leadership style are the right choice of politicians to avoid prematurely terminating their power in the middle of the road.

Agus's view is reinforced by his opinion (Tarmizi, 2005) that religion and its people cannot be separated from the environment. The history of humans and humanity as well as religion recognizes the graph of the ups and downs of life, humanity and civilization. Nowadays, there are more and more heard that religious organizations, which seem not to want to be left behind with political parties and other social organizations, are competing to provide political support to their candidates. In addition, scholars also act as intermediaries in explaining or giving understanding of what is going on among their followers, so that people will receive correct information. His position as an intermediary between the underworld (the people) and the world outside, has made scholars known as cultural brokers.

From these two views, it shows their charisma, the ulamaa' occupy a high position in the eyes of the ummah. However, this high position also causes the ulamaa' to become the struggle for various interests, including political parties. When scholars are tempted in political affairs, they can no longer be said to be cultural brokers, but change their function to become political brokers, political brokers (people who can influence people to choose the direction of certain clients, namely elected officials or referendums in exchange for political or

financial gain) In fact, there is no prohibition or appeal against the participation of ulama' in politics, Indonesia is a country that guarantees every freedom of its people, everyone is given the freedom to associate, assemble and have the right to participate (directly) in politics without the exception of scholars.

Currently Aceh Barat Daya (Abdya) is one of the regencies whose government is predominantly represented by members of local parties, the process of winning local parties in this area is also inseparable from the role played by the ulama' as party advisors and as confirmation of leadership milestones. Even today, the regional head of Abdya district is an ustadz from one of the Islamic boarding schools in South Aceh district which is a factor in his success in the general elections he participated in. However, the involvement of ulama' in politics in Abdya is not new, although there is no openness regarding this matter, however the process of participation of the ulama' in politics can be seen by the way political party figures approach the ulama' or even the ulama' themselves who are not reluctant to come to the local political party figures.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Party System Overview**

#### ***Definition of Party System***

The party system is a mechanism for interaction between political parties in a running political system. That is, because the main objective of political parties is to seek and maintain power in order to realize programs that are structured based on certain ideologies (Ahmad Farhan Hamid, 2008), then to realize programs The existing political parties interact with each other in a party system.

#### ***Classification of Party Systems***

Classification of the party system based on the number of parties.

According to Maurice Duverger the party system is divided into 3 systems, namely:

a. Single Party System (One Party System / Monopartai).

In this system there is only one dominant party. In the single party, there is no competition, because the people must accept the party leadership that has been determined. This system was chosen because if social and cultural diversity is allowed, upheavals will occur, will hinder development efforts.

b. The Bi-Party System.

This system recognizes the existence of two parties, namely the party (the party that won the election) and the opposition party (the party that loses). This system is usually supported by elections that use the district system. The dual-party system can run well if the following

conditions are met: a) Homogeneous society, b) Strong community consensus and c) The existence of historical continuity

### c. Multi Party System.

This system is applied in plural countries which have various cultures and races. This will encourage the formation of ties that are primordial (limited), including in the parties. This system is not well implemented in countries that have parliamentary systems of government (Agustino, 2007), because there are many parties, so there is no party with a majority in the parliament.

#### *Classification of party systems based on ideological distance.*

Geovani Sartori stated that it is not only the number of parties that need to be in a party system but also the ideological distance between parties in the system itself is very important in understanding the behavior of political parties. Therefore Sartoro categorized the party system into:

1. Predominant-party system Predominant-party system is a party system that describes the lack of sharp ideological differences between the interacting parties, or it can even be said that there are no different ideological views, so that what is built is a political party that has a single (dominant) perspective.
2. Moderate pluralism system. Moderate pluralism system, is a party system that provides space for more than two parties to compete with each other in general elections.
3. Polarized pluralism system. Polarized pluralism system, is a party system that is polarized which usually manifests in countries that are very heterogeneous in terms of socio-culture). The number of parties that are not small and parties that are not that small has different ideologies and even contradicts each other as much as possible. Therefore, the Polarized pluralism system party system has a low consensus tendency (Agustino, 2007), so that at an extreme point there may be splits in the political system.

## **Overview of Local Political Parties**

### ***Definition of Local Political Parties.***

A local political party (state party, regional party or local political party) is a party whose network is limited to a region (province or state) or several regions, but does not cover all provinces (national) (Ahmad Farhan Hamid 2007: 33) Aceh Qanun number 3 of 2008 concerning Local Political Parties Participating in the General Election Members of the Aceh People's Representative Council and the Regency / City People's Representative Council means that a local political party is a political organization formed by a group of Indonesian citizens domiciled in Aceh and volunteering based on the same will and ideals to fight for the

interests of members, the community, the nation and the State through the election for members of DPRA / DPRK, Governor / Deputy governor, regent / deputy regent, mayor / deputy mayor.

### ***History of Local Political Parties in Indonesia***

The existence of local political parties in Indonesia is actually not a new thing. In the history of the party system in Indonesia, it has been colored by local political parties, and these local political parties have also participated in the 1955 general elections. Looking at the results of the 1955 general election, Herbert Feith has divided 4 (four) groups of political parties that have succeeded in getting votes in the House of Representatives and the Constituent Assembly, namely: large parties, medium-sized parties, small groups with national coverage, and small groups with regional coverage. According to Feith, the latter group can be categorized as a party with regional and ethnic characteristics. Several political parties are regional and tribal in nature, for example, the People's Village Party, the Free Indonesian People's Party, the Sundanese Choice Movement, the Indonesian Peasants' Party, and the Banteng Movement in West Java. In addition, there are also Grinda in Yogyakarta and the United Daya Party in West Kalimantan. Among several examples of political parties that can be considered as local political parties, there is even a political party that has become very popular in its home region. The party is Partai Persatuan Daya in West Kalimantan. The results of the general election for the People's Representative Council in 1955 showed that the Persatuan Daya Party, for the West Kalimantan constituency, managed to occupy second place behind Masyumi who was in first place.

### ***Functions of Local Political Parties.***

As a political party, all functions known to be carried out by political parties also apply to local political parties. The difference is only in terms of level, if the national political party carries out interest aggregation at the national level and political recruitment for political positions elected at the national level, then local political parties only perform these functions at the local level (Ahmad Farhan Hamid, 2008).

### ***Goals of local political parties.***

Different from political parties in general, local political parties have different objectives according to the characteristics and types of local political parties. Seen from the point of view of objectives, in political practice in countries that recognize the existence of local political parties, this type of party has different goals (Oka Mahendra, 2004), which are generally categorized into three:

1. Local political parties that protect and promote the economic, social, cultural, linguistic and educational rights of certain minority groups.
2. Local political parties that want autonomy for their regions or uphold and increase the autonomy rights that the regions already have. Local political parties that explicitly fight for their territorial independence and form a new state.

### ***Types of Local Political Parties***

Local political parties can be divided into two systems:

1. Closed local political party system. This local political party may only participate in the general election to elect members of the regional legislature and regional heads.
2. The local political party system is open. These local political parties are given the right to participate in national general elections, such as for the election of central legislative members (Muhammad Jakfar AW, 2014). In this open political party system, local political parties can become coalition partners of national parties at the national level and can therefore place their figures in the cabinet as ministers.

### ***Relations between Local Political Parties and National Parties.***

The basic idea of a local political party is the division of labor between political parties at the national level and political parties at the regional level, both of which have a functional relationship. The existing conflict is more structured, does not cause the accumulation of confusing aspirations at the national level. This party operates independently, controls policies, programs, strategies according to the limitations of the territorial authorities it has. Approaches the implementation of national elections, Local parties make their affiliation to the big parties that are already established, in the sense of having a national network, so that the locality is guaranteed without leaving the national frame. This affiliation is carried out freely (Faisal Akbar. Mujibussalim, 2017). This means that one local political party may be affiliated with one national party in one general election, then change its affiliation to another party in the next general election. This functional relationship implies the ability to bargain between local and national communities. In this way, the strengthening at the grassroots of politics will have an impact on strengthening political institutions nationally. The existence of local political parties is in line with the spirit of implementing government decentralization (Ahmad Farhan Hamid, 2008).

### ***Ulamaa' and Politics***

Functionally, the preacher or mubaliq (preacher) carries out some of the functions of the ulamaa' in Islamic society. The term dai itself refers more to the function of ulamaa' and even non-ulamaa' circles who know more or less about the teachings of Islam to preach practically

in the field, on the pulpit. The scholars in general can be said to be both dai and, on the other hand, not all of them can be said to be scholars. Traditionally and conventionally, ulamaa' are seen as people who have deep mastery of religious sciences and functional specializations in religious life; on the other hand, the function of dai is not only carried out by the ulamaa', but also by people who are not specialists in the field of religion (Azra, 2002).

Ulamaa', a word that is derived from the Arabic language, Al-Ulamaa', the plural form of the word "Alimun" means who knows or people who have deep knowledge, so profoundly ulamaa' means people who have knowledge of religion. The Koran explains based on the word of Allah (QS, Al-Fathir: 28), which means; Indeed, those who fear Allah among His servants, are only scholars. The meaning of ulamaa' in this verse refers to the meaning of people who know / know Allah SWT and their religion in depth. The old people feel afraid of Allah, if the knowledge that has been passed down by the Prophet is not fully practiced / wasted. Giving knowledge that is useful and beneficial to the people only -Eye sincerely and expect the pleasure of Allah SWT, not for expecting rewards and adulation from the crowd. Ulamaa' are people who practice religious knowledge and can sincerely convey (teach) to others (the community). In other words, it can provide a perfect introduction to the knowledge of religion in society, so that their hearts / people become calm in doubts and people's anxieties disappear. People who have been equipped with religious knowledge have faith and devotion to Allah SWT, carry out Allah's orders and leave all His prohibitions (Razali Abdullah, 2009).

In this case, scholars play a very important role in all areas of both the world and the hereafter. Because scholars are the heirs of the Prophet and there are scholars of the world and the hereafter. The ulamaa' of the world are always looking for world life, pursuing rank and position, accumulating wealth either for themselves or for their families. . Ulamaa' like this are called "Ulamaa' Al-Su", but on the other hand, the life of the ulamaa' in the hereafter is always in simplicity, is obedient in worship, trustworthy, honest, intelligent and always convey the prohibitions in religion sincerely. The character of this kind of ulamaa' was demonstrated by the Prophet Muhammad SAW in developing his apostolic mandate (Razali Abdullah, 2009: 15).

In relation to politics, the knowledge possessed by ulamaa' is a power that can potentially be used not only to gather mass support in order to realize a certain political action or process, but even to support a certain political system or political power as a whole, and often without reserve. Thanks to the sacred aura they have, the presence of the ulamaa' in a political meeting, a kind of election campaign, and especially if accompanied by the ulamaa's appeal to support certain political parties or forces, for the lay masses, let alone a floating mass is not just a political decision, but at the same time. is a religious "fatwa". And in this last context, voting in elections, for example, is seen by the common masses as no longer just a

political act, but a religious act, or perhaps even worship, because it is the ulamaa' who "order" (Azra, 2002: 76).

Religion and politics in Nurcholish Madjid's thought can be traced to the writings of the "first period" of the 1970s, which emphasized more on broad political autonomy without being associated with "exclusivity", which seemed to belong to formal Muslims only. who are in Islamic religious organizations. For this reason, broad political autonomy includes little connection with "religious affairs". Then, in the "second period" of the 1980-1990s, with a more positive emphasis on religious nuances that influenced politics, as well as diminishing the "enlightenment mindset ". The historical and sociological context of the early modernization of the New Order and the "mindset" that grew in communities around the political system (including the party system) and political culture seemed to be the background for such pressures and nuances (Zamharir, 2004: 105).

Recent developments in Indonesian politics show that religion is one of the most important political institutions in the Pancasila system. Nurcholis Madjid argues that there is an opportunity for religion to "become a strong positive force, and not negative like liberalism or secularism" (Zamharir, 2004: 113) .

In terms of the backgrounds that are followed, Acehnese scholars can be divided into two, namely dayah scholars who take and receive non-formal education and school scholars who take and obtain formal education. Based on qualifications like this, as a scholar, he is usually shown to have the depth of Islamic religious knowledge and gain recognition from the surrounding community. Thus to become a scholar, apart from being armed with scientific qualities and personal integrity, one must also gain collective legitimacy from the community. In other words, ulamaa' must be capable, credible, also acceptable. In Aceh, all of these requirements receive simple confirmation if someone already owns and leads a dayah institution, which in the above category is called ulamaa' dayah. As for those who get formal education Even though they are capable in the field of religion - which is in the above category called school clerics - it cannot be ascertained that they will get the label and recognition from the community as scholars (Suyanta, 2008: 12-13).

The existence of ulamaa' in the modern world today cannot be avoided from the political world in the homeland, even long before now many scholars have been involved in the world of politics, during the New Order era, ulamaa' were one of the important elements in achieving the policies they wanted to implement, the concept of ulamaa' and the current political concept is a concept that cannot be avoided in a discussion of the world of homeland politics.

## **METHOD**

This research uses a qualitative approach. Qualitative research can be constructed as a research strategy that usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in data collection and analysis, emphasizes an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, which emphasizes the placement of theory creation (generation of theory). (Faisal Akbar. Mujibussalim, 2017)

To complete the required information, interviews with informants were also carried out. The informants who the authors mean here are those who provide information based on their knowledge. As for the informants in this study are:

1. Chairman of the Aceh Barat Daya Party.
2. Chairman of the Nanggroe Aceh Ulama Council (Chairperson of the MUNA Aceh Barat Daya).
3. Local Political Observer.
4. Chairman of the Aceh Sovereign Party Abdya.
5. Chairman of the Aceh Dayah Ulama Association (HUDA Abdya).

This study uses two types of data sources. The data used are:

1. Primary Data Sources.

Primary data source is an object or original document - raw material from the perpetrator which is called "first-hand information". Data collected from the actual situation when the event occurs is called primary data. Individuals, focus groups, and one group of respondents in particular are data sources. primary in research.

2. Primary sources

Secondary data sources are data collected second-hand or from other sources that were available before the research was carried out. Data collected through other available sources is called secondary data. Secondary sources include comments, interpretations, or discussion of original material. Data collection techniques used in this study were interviews and documentation.

Interviewing is a systematic and organized conversation carried out by the researcher as an interviewer with a number of people as respondents or interviewees to obtain a number of information related to the problem under study. As for documentation, it is looking for data about things or variables in the form of notes, transcripts, books, newspapers, magazines, inscriptions, meeting minutes, notes, agendas and so on.

There are three data analysis techniques used in this study, namely data reduction, data presentation and conclusion / verification. Data reduction is defined as the process of selecting, focusing attention on simplifying, abstracting, and transforming raw data that

emerge from written records in the field. Data presentation in qualitative research can be carried out in various types of matrices, graphs, networks, and charts. Everything is designed to combine information arranged in a unified form so that an analyzer can see what is going on and determine whether to draw conclusions or need further analysis (Husaini Usman, et al., 2009). Meanwhile, the actual drawing of conclusions is only part of one activity from the complete confirmation.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **Scholarship Recruitment**

In terms of political science, ulamaa' were political actors who have charismatic and traditional-based political resources that allow ulamaa' to form certain political attitudes or preferences in the social structure of the surrounding community. Ulamaa' are made into front-line groups by political parties as a pillar of power, ulamaa' believed to be able to attract people's attention to the party because of their charisma, ulamaa' are able to bring the party to a better direction, but currently the charisma possessed by the ulamaa' is misinterpreted by some who only want to get benefits for their own party, and the ulamaa' himself is not feel burdened, it is on this basis that political parties do not hesitate to hold ulamaa' together to enter the world of politics. This was confirmed by the narrative by the chairman of the Aceh Barat Daya district branch, namely: "The involvement of the ulamaa' in the Aceh Party is a recruitment from the Aceh Party itself, which is the main task of the Aceh Party" (M. Nazier, chairman of the Aceh Abdyia Party).

The Aceh Party is one of the parties that takes advantage of the charisma possessed by the ulamaa' to get a greater chance in the parliament, the Aceh Party is one of the local political parties in Aceh whose basic leadership is very strong, the Aceh Party was formerly known as the Free Aceh Movement Party (GAM). ) then changed to the Aceh Mandiri Movement Party in the 2009 elections.

The Aceh Party is a party that is very close to the ulamaa', a local party which is very dominant in Aceh strengthening its power by involving the ulamaa' as party advisors and as party members. In the early days before the formation of local political parties, former GAM combatants had earlier formed the dayah ulamaa' group to continue the line of struggle after the MoU-Helsinki, these ulama groups were gathered in the Nanggroe Aceh Ulamaa' Council (MUNA) which was formed on February 15, 2006 (one year before the formation of the Aceh Party itself), the ulamaa' group was then functioned to answer all forms of social unrest that existed in society due to the conflict and after the tsunami disaster. The state of society that is mentally traumatized certainly requires religious spiritual treatment from the scholars for peace of mind.

“It is undeniable that the existence of ulamaa’ in the middle of a party has a huge impact on parties, both in terms of imaging in the midst of society in order to obtain maximum votes. The politicization of ulamaa’ itself has indeed occurred long before this modern world was formed, even at the time friends, too, the politicization of the ulamaa’ already exists and is not something strange that happens in society” (Tgk Fakhrizal, Chairman of the Aceh Peace Party Abdya).

Ulama are also people who in the struggle for independence in Aceh have a very big share, it is not wrong if the Acehnese people highly praise the existence of ulamaa’ because in addition to their deep knowledge in the field of religion, these ulamaa’ are also fighters in independence, and there is no doubt that the Party takes a more towards ulamaa’, as the chairman of the Democratic National Party said:

### ***The wishes of the Ulamaa’ Himself***

On the basis of wanting to continue the Aceh struggle which encourages the ulamaa’ to participate in politics, not all ulamaa’ are indeed involved directly or indirectly in politics, depending on the individuals of each ulamaa’, sometimes there are those who wish to be involved in politics because of encouragement from the community, but there is also on the personal wish of the cleric. As said by Tgk. Tarmizi, namely: “We want to get involved in politics with the Aceh Party to further improve the welfare of the pesantren within the MUNA forum because MUNA is what the Acehnese really expect” (Tgk. Tarmizi, chairman of the Nanggroe Abdya Ulama Council)

Ulamaa’ have an important and strategic position in the midst of society. Ulamaa’ are part of society whose position is higher than the leader. This important position is because the advice, suggestions and input of the ulamaa’ will always be needed by the leader, because this position is what makes the ulamaa’ more motivated to enter the realm of politics.

Before the PDA was formed, a number of ulamaa’, santri, national party politicians and ordinary citizens joined a community study institution called the Aceh Daulat Forum (FDA). This forum held discussions about Islam and held training. In this case the ulamaa’s desire to enter the world of politics because the ulamaa’ see a gap in the sharia in Aceh, besides wanting to continue the struggle of Aceh which is better known to the outside as an area that is very thick with Islamic law, the ulamaa’ also want to strengthen and rebuild sharia codes that have been destroyed. In addition, he is also engaged in the study of national political parties. The results of the study helped push the FDA to transform itself into a party.

The Aceh Peace Party itself was founded by scholars as the first milestone to become a local political party in Aceh. There are those who think that the involvement of the ulamaa’ will make the party cleaner from corruption and put the people first. The reluctance of some ulamaa’ to enter the existing political system is not a picture that they are not involved in

politics or consider Islam as separate from politics. All ulamaa' remain political by not entering the practical political arena. This kind of politics maintains the neutrality of the scholars so that every word, speech and deed is only to uphold the truth (sentence al-haqq) wherever and whenever it is, every human being has his own thoughts on what to do and not do.

In recent decades there have been circles of Muslims who claim to be "modernists", who try to separate the two sides, namely Islam and politics, but the whole idea of Islamic thought is actually built on the foundation that the two sides are harmoniously holding each other together and cannot be separated from each other. The idea of separating Islam and politics is developing which in the end continues to use Islam as a symbol of political movements. Many political parties make ulamaa' as party advisors, which are used as a basis for determining policies within the party, both policies in terms of the benefit of the people and policies regarding winning strategy in general elections. As said by Erwanto Kasyah, namely: "Indonesian society in general as a Muslim community, especially in Aceh, the influence of Islam is dominant in voting, but whether the ulamaa' play an important role in collecting votes is still a question, there is a phenomenon, for example the Islamic party in Indonesia has never been big, meaning that the Indonesian people prefer Islam rather than identity (not secular), the Aceh case might also be like that" (Erwanto Kasyah).

According to Muslim scholars, the basis of Islamic siyasah, at least is to protect religion and regulate world life, a policy approach that rests on the principle that government policy on its people is based on the benefit of the people. The benefit of the people which is the government's obligation is in the form of protection of basic rights. On the one hand, the involvement of ulamaa' in politics is considered capable of changing the image of the ulamaa' itself into a bad image, but on the other hand, the involvement of ulamaa' in politics, both as party advisors and participating in politics, is practically able to provide better policies for the progress of the party in the future.

In Aceh, there are still many problems of the ummah that must be resolved. The problems of the ummah are not always in the form of violations of positive law (Qanun) alone, but also other problems, especially issues of morality and behavior of the ummah. This means that concentration on problems of implementing positive law is not sufficient to raise Aceh's glory, without the support of passive da'wah activities. Da'wah which is carried out continuously, God willing, will open the understanding of the Acehnese people, so that the wishes of the Acehnese people are truly understood by the Regional Government without having to force symbolic Qanuns, such as symbols and flags, this is done by improving existing policies in the local political party first, by prioritizing the ulamaa' in the policy process what should be the main priority to become a leading political party in the midst of society.

### ***The Effectiveness of Ulamaa' in Gaining Votes for the Party***

The involvement of ulamaa' in politics, especially the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party, is not new in the political world. Just as ulamaa' enter into political parties, the role of ulamaa' in politics is not something new, since the New Order of Ulamaa' has been the target of political actors. In affirming his basic leadership. Recent developments in Indonesian politics show that religion is one of the most important political institutions in the Pancasila system. Nurcholish Madjid (2004: 113-114) argues that there is an opportunity for religion to "become a strong positive force, and not negative like liberalism or secularism".

On the other hand, for a good discussion, it is necessary to have a critical view of religion and secularism. For example, it is necessary to throw away the tradition for abstract generalizations about religion and secularism. "For example, Christianity is generally described as a religion that separates the church from the state, and Islam as a religion that separates (between) the two", because empirical history is more complex. from the generalization above.

The reluctance of the ulamaa' to enter the existing political system is not a picture that they are not involved in politics or think that Islam is separate from politics. All ulamaa' remain political by not entering the practical political arena. This kind of politics maintains the neutrality of the ulamaa' so that every word, speech and deed is only to uphold the truth wherever and whenever they are. The involvement of the ulamaa' in the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party always provides advice and advice to the leader, the ulamaa' actively participate in the improvement of the wider community through education. Educating the public at large means participating with the community in Their life.

They are close to the community because people always yearn for their presence, because of this, it makes ulamaa' the main thing that is the desire of political parties to recruit ulamaa' together with political parties. By playing an active role in improving society, ulamaa' have taken an important and strategic position in politics within a country. This activeness can be a powerful weapon for the ulamaa' to change the course of the government, which still has many shortcomings and irregularities.

The involvement of ulamaa' in politics which is based on their own desires and has the support of the community, both in the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party is based on the opinion that it is indeed the ulamaa' who must enter the political sphere to provide a concrete example of how to do politics in Islam and then turn the rats with ties into humans who understand the suffering of the people. If the ulamaa' only function as an intermediary axis in the arena of political contestation, then the political situation will dry up because it is filled with the same mainstream political tendencies without any distinction. If the ulamaa' are in the political arena, then they will become their own color, and at least can prevent excessive munkar by the leaders or representatives of the people. Do not these ulamaa'

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reflect the face of Islam so that the peace and calm they emit can provide a more beautiful atmosphere for people who really need attention from the government. It is on this basis that ulama' are the main thing that people want to enter the political sphere so that the achievement of people's aspirations is more true. rightly prioritized rather than just concerned with personal needs.

The existence of ulama' in the modern world today cannot be avoided from the political world in the homeland, even long before now many scholars have been involved in the world of politics, during the New Order era, ulama' were one of the important elements in achieving the policies they wanted to implement, the concept of ulama' and the current political concept is a concept that cannot be avoided in a discussion of the world of homeland politics.

The involvement of the ulama' in the Aceh Party was based on the desire of the ulama' as well as the recruitment by the Aceh Party, on the grounds that the ulama' wanted to continue the Aceh line of struggle that had been carried out in the past so that the struggle is still maintained today. Whereas the Aceh Sovereign Party is a local party founded by ulama', it is clear that the involvement of ulama' in this local party has occurred since the first time this party was founded, with the aim of the ulama' wanting to change the existing system into a more Because the ulama' within the Aceh Peace Party think that if you want to change the system you must first enter the system.

"The Islamic political party, which was previously founded by various national clerical figures with the aim of saving Indonesia from evil politics, has now become a place to earn money for cadres and even seek popularity through ulama' to win their party in elections. This fenemone also had a bad impact on the ulama who were indeed in the Islamic political party, so that their prestige was dimmed when they were proposed by the party to run as legislative candidates to represent the party." (T. Haji Abdullah Badar, Leader of the MPU Abdya).

In fact, ulama' who advance to become legislative candidates at the district, provincial and national levels are ulama' who really pay attention to the side of their general interests and they also do not try to fuse the foundation of the Indonesian state as an Islamic state, although there are a few who aim for practical politics only. Politics is actually politics that must be characterized as human efforts to achieve perfection and benefit. Politics has noble, sacred values and does not conflict with religion. Not as justification that scholars are blind to politics, because their work is only lecturing and teaching the yellow book and the preacher in the mosque is not in charge of the state.

"The existence of ulama' who always accompany local parties in formulating various policies that are needed so that local political parties have really taken into account various aspects of these policies in order to take care of the affairs of the Muslim community as the

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majority people in this country which should be prioritized according to the principle of proportionality. Ulamaa' in the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party have always been prioritized in policy making, ulamaa' have become the frontline group in terms of policies within the party both for the benefit of the party and for the community. Thus the role and contribution of ulamaa' in strengthening harmony between ulamaa', political parties and the government will naturally neutralize any movement that is radical in a negative and anarchist sense" (Chairman of the Aceh Dayah Ulama Association, Abdya).

In relation to politics, the knowledge possessed by ulamaa' is a power that can potentially be used not only to gather mass support in order to realize a certain political action or process, but even to support a certain political system or political power as a whole, and often without reserve. Thanks to its sacred aura, the presence of ulamaa' in a political meeting, a kind of election campaign, and especially if accompanied by ulama's appeal to support certain political parties or forces, for the lay masses a "floating mass" is not just a political decision, but also a Religious "fatwa". And in this last context, voting in elections, for example, is seen as no longer just a political act for the common people (Azra, 2002: 76).

Politics is an effort or a way to get something that is desired. However, many also think that politics does not only revolve around the sphere of state power or actions carried out by state authorities. In several aspects of life, humans often carry out political actions, both trade politics, culture, social, and in other aspects of life. politics always concerns the goals of the whole society (public goals) and not one's personal goals (private goals). Politics involves the activities of various groups, including political parties and individual activities (individuals).

The involvement of ulamaa' in politics, especially the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party, has had a major influence on the party, the involvement of ulamaa' in local political parties is able to help political parties to achieve higher vote results. Although not all political parties are successful in gaining votes despite the involvement of ulama in the party, in contrast to the Aceh Party, this local political party is considered very successful in terms of achieving high votes in general elections both the legislative and regional heads in various areas in Aceh province. Ulamaa' are considered to have a very big share in every moment of the democratic party held in each region, this is evident from the existence of every legislative candidate or regional head candidate who comes to clerical figures just to ask for blessing or even to get good advice for the future.

How the position and role of ulamaa' in politics has always been a constant discussion both among the ulamaa' themselves and those involved in the political arena. Like other discussions, this issue has resulted in two groups; those who allow the ulamaa' to enter into a practical political environment in order to give a good color, and groups who argue that the ulama should not be directly involved in politics so that their neutrality can be maintained.

Each opinion must have reasons and evidence that they think can be important backing of that opinion.

The involvement of the ulama' in politics, both the involvement of the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party resulted in two opposing views so that the community was divided into two groups seeing the involvement of the ulama' in politics, namely the faction that agreed with the involvement of the ulama' in politics because they thought that the involvement of the ulama' in politics was able to clean up the existing political atmosphere. Meanwhile, the second camp has the view that it does not agree with the involvement of the ulama' because it considers that the involvement of the ulama' in politics is capable of tarnishing the image of the ulama' who is considered good in the midst of society. There are even those who argue that scholars are advised to prioritize religious matters more.

The existence of ulama' in politics is not a naïve or abnormal act because they have the right to become people's representatives according to applicable requirements. Indonesia is a country that grants all its citizens the right to politics without the exception of scholars. Basically, the ulama' who become politicians are ulama' who have high capabilities in divine law, because scholars like this are proficient in the application of fiqh science which is not only studied without the same intelligence. Once, it is they who are willing to run the wheels of Indonesian government and are not indifferent to the products of Indonesian law. However, what really needs to be paid attention to and underline is that the legal skills and abilities of ulama' must be fulfilled first so that they avoid using ulama' as party puppets and magnets. Panners of popular votes which can have an impact on the neglect of their primary activities and be more preoccupied with their politics.

Ulama'd, who are the sole heirs of the prophets in teaching Islamic syari'at, are ironic if they are blind to the political dynamics of the nation. The track record of the world of Indonesian politics is always colored by the reliable hands of scholars / kyai. It is not surprising that Indonesian Islamic politics reached its peak in the Gus Dur regime which He managed to occupy the seat of the State Palace after defeating his tough rivals. Not only that, there were still many competent ulama' who took shelter under the umbrella of the national institutions and Ministries as well as the Director General who always played a reliable role on a national scale.

There needs to be an effort to make the public aware of the steps and attitudes of the ulama' who are advancing and plunging into the world of politics. Because Islam really pays attention to politics, the public can distinguish which scholars are struggling to advance the nation's political morals and scholars who are only the party's money machines and people's magnets. because of popularity, but the nation's political skills are empty.

The assumption is not quite right if you look at the modern-day political system that has deviated far from Islamic values. Is it appropriate for an ulama' to enter the system on the

pretext of wanting to improve the system or people in the system, if the ulamaa' are required or at least allowed to do politics in a practical way, then it is likely that a stigma will emerge in society that everything conveyed by the ulamaa' has a certain political ideological content. This negative stigma naturally arises because political constellations do not recognize win-win solutions, only win, win and win. Every person who enters the world of politics will think about how to win the votes of the people, even if he tries his best to get himself elected and then campaigns everywhere that it is himself or his party that deserves to win, not other parties even though other parties are based on Islam. So this is where the phenomenon of selling religion for politics emerges. Ulamaa' like this certainly cannot give enlightenment to society to choose a good leader, on the contrary, he deliberately makes a fool of himself because he only says that he is worthy and seems to 'turn a blind eye to the kindness of other potential leaders. It is on this basis that some people do not want ulamaa' to become involved in politics.

The ups and downs of ulamaa' running for legislative elections have resulted in the emergence of pro and contra attitudes towards their steps. By smoothing national politics in the stronghold of Islamic-based political parties, they do not hesitate to propose to ulamaa' who have credibility, loyalty, accountability and the most important thing is popularity. And the result is that the general public perceives that the ulamaa's identity, which is always seen by a soothing person, seems to be a power-hungry person. Moreover, the ulamaa' who are embraced by politicians, while he himself does not have skills in the political arena, here the interests of politicians will be able to drive the sincerity of the ulamaa', and the position of the ulamaa' is nothing more than a magnet for attracting no clear benefit to the ummah. Especially if the condition of the ulamaa' is not one word from a political perspective, and this is what often happens in society. Then the result is confusion arises in tune with the war of nerves between different ulamaa' in political ijihad. Indonesia needs political experts from scholars of quality and quantity. popularity is not used for the sake of party votes. That is, the ulamaa' who have the right to run or become candidates for legislative members.

## **CONCLUSION**

The involvement of ulamaa' in the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party was an effort and recruitment from the party itself, this happened because it provided many benefits to political parties, the involvement of ulamaa' in politics is also based on the desire of the ulamaa' itself, that was because they want to improve Islamic law. in the midst of society in kaffah, because according to the Acehese scholars it is very far from the Shari'a which is actually already regulated in the Al-Quran and Hadits, some argued that to get back this kaffah shari'a must first improve the system already exist, and to improve the system he

must first entered into the system, this is also based on the support of the people who want to see a new, cleaner political world.

The involvement of the ulama' in the local party was able to change policies within the local party, the Aceh Party and the Aceh Sovereign Party still heavily used the ulama' as a milestone in determining policies based on Islam which was driven by the ulama' to determine good and correct policies within the party, the ulama' are considered as a figure who is able to provide better advice in determining policies both for the benefit of the people and for the benefits that local political parties could achieve as well as in gaining votes that would be obtained by local political parties.

### SUGGESTION

When ulama' entered the realm of politics to practice practical politics, they should be able to bring and channel the aspirations of the people and bring politics to a cleaner direction, so that their image as ulama' is still maintained. Local political parties are expected to be able to produce useful policies for the community.

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