ABSTRACT

Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) is the institution who plays important role in contributing scholar’s (ulama) outlook of problems which occur in Indonesia. Since it is established in 1975, MUI exist as the the extension of state to control religious life in society. The establishment of MUI cannot be separated from political dynamic of New Order under the leadership of President Suharto in controlling political Islam. After the decline of Suharto in 1998, MUI cannot fully be independent yet in mediating religious conflict in Indonesia. This paper explains the role of MUI in mediating religious conflict of Majelis Taklim HDH (Hidup di balik Hidup) in Kabupaten Cirebon. Author argues that MUI has issued fatwa sesat of Majelis Taklim Hidup di balik Hidup. In issuing the fatwa sesat, MUI tended to be influenced by society pressure from Nahdliyin people (NU) because they are the majority in Kabupaten Cirebon.

KEYWORDS: Fatwa; Sesat; Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI); Majelis Taklim Hidup Dibalik Hidup

ABSTRACT

Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) is an institution that plays an important role in providing the views of ulama groups on various problems that occur in Indonesia. Since it was founded in 1975, MUI has existed as an arm of the state to exercise control over the religious life of the community. The establishment of the MUI cannot be separated from the political dynamics of the New Order government under the leadership of President Suharto to control Islamic politics. However, after the fall of Suharto in 1998, MUI has not been able to be fully independent in mediating religious conflict in Indonesia. This paper explains the role of the MUI in mediating the religious conflict of the Majelis Taklim HDH (Hidup di Balik Hidup) in Cirebon District. The author argues that the MUI has given heretical fatwas on the Majelis Taklim HDH (Hidup di Balik Hidup). In giving this misguided fatwa, MUI tends to be influenced by pressure from the Nahdliyin (NU) community which is the majority community in Cirebon District.

KEYWORDS: Fatwa; Sesat; Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI); Majelis Taklim Hidup Dibalik Hidup
INTRODUCTION

After the prayer of Isya, Mr Rohasan, as the leader of Majelis Taklim HDH (Hidup Dibalik Hidup) conducted pengajian on 29 April 2010 at his home in Desa Sigong, Kecamatan Lemahabang, Kabupaten Cirebon. During pengajian, the people did sabotage and take violence to Rohasan’s home. Because of mass’s sabotage, Rohasan’s home was severely damaged, even several motorcycles were damaged and five Rohasan’s followers were beaten by people. The event was the effect of restlessness and inconvenience of people in several villages in Kabupaten Cirebon over the activity of Majelis Taklim HDH. According to protests letter issued by kecamatan and village, then Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) intervened in issuing fatwa about Majelis Taklim HDH. On 4 February 2010, several months before the assault of Rohasan’s home, MUI had issued fatwa sesat of Majelis Taklim HDH.

In this paper, author investigates relationship between MUI and society in social and religious life. The MUI’s efforts in issuing fatwa sesat is our focus of this paper. Author choose Majelis Taklim HDH in Kabupaten Cirebon as case study in analyzing fatwa sesat issued by MUI. The scope of our research is Kabupaten Cirebon, Jawa Barat, where the case of Majelis Taklim HDH emerged to media after the assault of the leader, Rohasan, in Desa Sigong, Kabupaten Cirebon in 2010. In order to restrict problem we investigate, author posses several questions. Firstly, how the role of MUI in mediating religious conflict in society, especially in the case of Majelis Taklim HDH; Secondly, is there any people’s role in influencing MUI’s opinion on issuing fatwa sesat of Majelis Taklim HDH; Thirdly, if so, which group of people who can influence of MUI’s fatwa sesat.

According to scope and research questions we have, author finds several literatures and papers which is related to analyzing the fatwa sesat of MUI. Nadirsyah Hosen (2004) argues that the role of MUI cannot be easy. MUI cannot give satisfactory to all of people and government. To tackle contemporary issue in Indonesia, MUI has to choose method, opinion, and argument carefully. (Hosen, 2004: 149). In his article, Moch. Nur Ichwan (2005) argues that after the reformation in 1998, MUI cannot transform yet perfectly from state-serving institution (khadim al-hukumah) to people-serving institution (khadim al-ummah). The difficulty on defining ummah in singular form is the cause of the difficulty in giving satisfactory to all people.(2005: 71). Furthermore, after the reformation of 1998, MUI tended to change to be institution with puritan model. Syafiq Hasyim (2015) states that anti-pluralism attitude is always institutionalized by MUI through its fatwa. Of course it can be problem for Indonesia because Pancasila, as the nationhood

1 Dokumen Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (Komnas HAM) Indonesia no: 1.476/K/PMT/VI/10.
3 Dokumen Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) Kabupaten Cirebon.
principle, always supports pluralism value.(Hasyim, 2015:1-9). In other papers, Syafiq Hasyim argues that application of the law of blasphemy in MUI is caused by the relationship between majority and minority rather than the mutual understanding. Majority always take action as if the were determinant of religious value over other people. On the contrary, minority always becomes victim. Syafiq Hasyim also asks that state has to participate on forming the clear platform to guarantee that MUI is free from the intervention of Islamist group.(Hasyim, 2015: 298) If MUI has no freedom on issuing fatwa, MUI, as the institution who has nearness with government, will consider political motive rather than its social religious function. (Hasyim, 2015: 264)

According to some researches written regarding MUI, author argues that fatwa sesat issued by MUI over Majelis Taklim HDH cannot be separated from social pressure of majority Muslim especially from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) over group who had no understanding in interpreting (menafsirkan) Quran. In addition, the leader of MUI Kabupaten Cirebon at the time was from NU. Accordingly, the existence of religious organization of majority Muslim firmly influence the result of fatwa over some problems.

**METHOD AND THEORETICAL APPROACH**

In investigating research entitled “Majority Muslims and Fatwa Sesat of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI): Case Study of Majelis Taklim HDH (Hidup di balik Hidup),” author use observation, field trip, and interview method with several people in related with HDH. The interview was taken with Rohasan (the leader of Majelis Taklim HDH), Hermanto (the leader of NU and MUI in Desa Sigong, Kecamatan Lemahabang, Kabupaten Cirebon) and Marzuki (the Director of Fahmina Institute). In addition to interview, author also uses several primary documents such as Surat Keputusan Fatwa Aliran Sesat of MUI, the report of Majelis Taklim HDH for Komans HAM and the letter of defence written by Rohasan as the leader of Majelis Taklim HDH. All of the documents is belonging to Rohasan. Author also conduct literature research in libraries such as The National Library of Republic of Indonesia, the Library of University of Indonesia and the Library of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI).

In this paper, author tries to analyze the influence of Muslim majority of the declaration of fatwa over group considered as sesat by MUI. In this sense, author limits the research scope only in MUI Kabupaten Cirebon and Majelis Taklim Hidup di Balik Hidup (HDH). Majority Muslim is the group of Muslims who is bounded and affiliated with given Islamic organization and has the majority population in some areas. In this case study, Nahdliyin people is majority Muslims who has strong relations with the declaration of fatwa sesat of MUI over Majelis Taklim HDH.

The definition of fatwa sesat is the declaration of opinion over one problem issued by Islamic scholars (ulama) who are assembled in one of People Autonom Organization (Organisasi Swadaya Masyarakat/LSM) independently named Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI). According to its own website, MUI is “People Autonom Organization (Organisasi Swadaya Masyarakat/LSM) which covers the aspiration of ulama, zu’ama and Islamic intellectuals in Indonesia in guiding, supervising and caring of Muslims in Indonesia.” (http://mui.or.id/id/category/profile-organisasi/sejarah-mui/).

MUI was established on 26 July 1975 in Jakarta, founded by ulama, Muslim intellectuals, and zu’ama from whole Indonesia. Some of ulama came from many Islamic organizations,
contributing on building MUI. Islamic organizations who help building MUI were Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Syarikat Islam, Perti, Al-Washliyah, Mathla’ul Anwar, GUPPI, PTDI, DMI dan al-Ithiaddiyah. The aims of MUI are:

1. Guiding and supervising ummah of Indonesian in embodying the religious and social life which is allowed by Allah SWT.
2. Giving advice and fatwa of social and religious problem to government, increasing activity in order to strengthen ukhuwah islamiyah and the peace among religious community in order to embody the unity of nation.
3. Taking role as mediator between ulama and umaro (government) and the mutual translator between ummah and government to embody national development successfully.
4. Increasing the relationship and cooperation among organizations, Islamic institution and Muslim intellectuals in contributing to supervise and guide society, especially Muslims with giving consultancy and information.5

According to the function of MUI, it is mandatory for the organization to solve the problems among people. The existence of Majelis Taklim HDH has encouraged the restlessness in society, that is why MUI has to help people to solve the problems. The MUI has issued the discourse whether or not HDH taught sesat tenets. However, MUI has concluded that HDH has taught sesat doctrine in the middle of society.6

THE EMERGENCE OF MAJELIS TAKLIM HDH

The emergence of Majelis Taklim Hidup Dibalik Hidup (HDH) cannot be separated from social and political constellation which was occured aroung 1970’s when the New Order government under the leadership of President Suharto strengthened his domination in the political life in Indonesia. Islam was the most important factor on supporting President Suharto in order to perpetuate his power. The special circumstance of G30S/PKI 1965 which was ended by the disband of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) had perpetuated Suharto to be the president of Republic of Indonesia, replacing President Sukarno at the time. Sukarno was considered had connection with G30S/PKI 1965, indirectly insisted to put an end his position as president. On the other hand, Suharto, as the highest rank of Indonesian Military (ABRI) at the time, was promoted as preseident thanks to his role in exterminating PKI. The extermination of PKI in the regions, especially in Java, cannot be separated from the role of Islamic organization especially Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). The cooperation between Islam and ABRI in order to exterminate PKI had succeeded bringing out the New Order government. Nevertheless, in the early 1070’s, New Order realized that Islam had great power and could threat its own power. The efforts of President Suharto to control Islam in the political life was by simplifying Islamic parties become one party under Development and Unity Party (PPP). The simplification of Islamic parties to be one party had caused tremendous effect in social and political life in Indonesia. Without the space for expressing

their aspiration, there were several *aliran-aliran Islam* which came from local and transnational area.

Majelis Taklim HDH was founded by Muhammad Kusnandar (reknown as Ugi Amir) in Jakarta in 1975. Kusnandar was a person with great charisma based on spiritual and physical. His appearance with tall body and ability of intelligence had caused Kusnandar as the respected leader and founder of HDH. Since his childhood, Kusnandar was critical person over his religion, that of Islam. Since nine years old, Kusnandar always asked to his mother about God, the creation of human being and universe. Kusnandar parents could not anser all of his critical questions. Accordingly, Kusnandar adventured to seek the truth, working in many places such as Jakarta, and even abroad. Finally, Kusnandar arrived in Netherland, studying in department of psychiatry, Leiden University. After being a psychiatrist, Kusnandar lived in Netherland and had a family there.

Though lived in Netherland, Kusnandar always studied the number of sciences, seeking knowledge in tarekat movements. He always seek the turth in order to answer his critical questions about God. He then deecided to go home to Indonesia, founding Majelis Taklim HDH in 1975.

In Jakarta, Kusnandar met a friend named Muljoni. Muljoni was working as electrical technician and the disciple of Kusnandar. When Kusnandar passed away, Muljoni replaced Kusnandar as the leader of Majelis Taklim HDH. In the beginning, the Majelis Taklim HDH was only followed by few people in Jakarta and its neighborhood. Author cannot find many sources about the number of Majelis Taklim HDH’s *jamaah* or follower. But after Muljoni, Rohasan, Kusnandar’s niece, was promoted to be the leader of HDH. Under the leadership of Rohasan, HDH started to be known and emerged pro and contra among society, especially in Kabupaten Cirebon in 2002.

According to the story of the leader of HDH, Rohasan, we know that the emergence of HDH is related with soul experience (esoteric) of charismatic leader named Kusnanadar. It is still unclear how Kusnandar got knowledge about *tasawuf* tenets. Yet it seems that HDH would like to emphasize that Kusnandar had knowledge directly from God. According to Jalaluddin Rumi, knowledge can be attained by *akl* (mind) which is divided into two parts that of *akal parsial* and *akal universal*. *Akal parsial* can be possessed by learning process through education. It is similar how researcher get information and knowledge to find the truth through scientific observation. Meanwhile, *akal universal* cannot be possessed through learning process, but it is existing without automatically in human’s mind. Commonly, *akal universal* is only possessed by *wali* and prophets. (Rumi, 2016). Accordingly, *tasawuf* emphasized soul experience of someone to possessing knowledge. *Tasawuf* was different from theology/kalam where knowledge is possessed by strict learning process. According to Haidar Bagir, “sufi also believes that their mystical intuitions came from the higher world named spirit world.” (Bagir, 2017:63). Although *tasawuf* emphasized the soul experience of someone, but it is mandatory for sufi to possesses *sanas* or *silsila* from teacher to continue their tenets. (Chittick 2000:28). Although happened in the dream or mediaton of other people, a disciple (*murid*) has to receive the license (*ijaza*) from a teacher to continue his tenets. (Bagir, 2013:xiii) However, it is unclear who is Kusnandar’s teacher because information regarding Kusnandar is limited. Rohasan only said that Kusnandar learned eweruthing from one place to other places.

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7 Interview with Rohasan (The Leader of HDH Cirebon).
8 Interview with Rohasan (The Leader of HDH Cirebon).
Nevertheless, Kusnandar experience along with his life story had strengthened his charisma on forming a group of pengajian named HDH. The story of uniqueness and ability of Kusnandar since his childhood was considered to be able to convince people about his ability in religion. Moreover, Kusnandar was smart in elaborating Quranic verses and sciences. Background of Kusnandar as psychiatrist by all means eased him to read people’s mind and know what people want over religion. Kusnandar seemed to understand that tasawuf was important thing, yet the tenet is very difficult to be understood by people. Accordingly, Kusnandar tried to teach tasawuf easily in order to be understood by common people. That is why HDH claims that its organization is based on “Tasawuf Objektif”.

HDH claims that its organization is based on objective tasawuf, however, what objective tasawuf means is a part of the history of tasawuf that exist since nineth century until now. According to Rohasan:

the lesson taught in HDH is not hard because it is based on objective tasawuf. It means that in addition we are approaching God, we also care about our neighborhood and secure of people because we live in one country. Objective means that as human being, we have to build relationship with people (habluminanas) along with relationship with God (habluminallah). Many people consider that tasawuf teach as to run away from realities and society, only approaching God without care to human being. It is false. In HDH it is allowed we want to pursue worldly life because it will be good for us, yet we are forbidden to be bounded by worldly life. We have to remember hereafter life also.

As far as we know, objective tasawuf HDH means is a part of Islamic reform that explains Islamic tenets according to problems human being face, so much so that tasawuf can be understood. The tenets of Islamic reform is contradictive with what Orthodoxy Islam want that prefer textual to contextual approach in order to understand Islam. In Orthodoxy Islam, the role of Arabic sciences (nahwu and sharf) is very important. Either are other sciences such as history important also. Orthodoxy Islam is developed coincidence with the development of codification of hadith and the rise of fuqaha. Philosopher or Kalam experts (mutakalimun) disagree with Orthodoxy Islam because they are approaching Islam through intellectual-based mind. In the nineteenth century, the rise of Islamic reformation encouraged to integration between Islam and modernisation initiated by West. Through his writings, some of Muslim reformists such as Muhammad Abduh and Namik Kemal tried to introduce tolerant Islam over modernisation. Furthermore, in Ottoman Empire, the modern Islam had strong political spectrum thanks to the roleh of Young Ottomans. (Mardin) Islamic reformation or modern Islam was not only limited in the Ottoman World, but also it could be found in South Asia and Southeast Asia. In Indonesia, Islamic reformation was introduced by KH Ahmad Dahlan through Muhammadiyah which was established in 1916. As Muslim reformist, Ahmad Dahlan emphasized that Quran should not be viewed merely as text, but also as the source of human knowledge in order to solve the problem. In 1970’s there were several Muslim reformists such as Nurcholis Majid, Dawam Rahardjo and Kuntowijoyo. Kuntowijoyo introduce Quran paradigm as the
outlook of reality based on Quranic values. (Kuntowijoyo, 2006:16). Encouraging the emergence of Quranic paradigm, Kuntowijoyo introduce efforts to objectifying Islam (objektifikasi Islam), making Quran as basic of positif law that is formed according to agreement of people. Through this concept, Kuntowijoyo wants Islamic values in Quran can be felt by all of citizen universally and solve the problem of common people (wong cilik). (Kuntowijoyo, 2006:64-65).

Accordingly, HDH is not the first tenet who emphasizes objective tasawuf. The usage of “objective” has been used by experts to popularize Islam to common people. To objectifying tasawuf, HDH use Quran translation (Bahasa Indonesia) as the source of study. HDH use Quran translation because because they, as Muslim reformist, want to extract the essence of Quran to be contextualized with daily life problem in society. It means that HDH does not want to focus in difficult textual explanation that is difficult to understand by common people because Quran is one of solution to simplify knowledge transfer in their gathering. It has been criticized by NU which represent Orthodoxy Islam. The usage of Quran translation in Majelis Taklim HDH gives a chance for Orthodoxy Islam, represented by NU, to criticize authority of founder and the leader of Majelis Taklim HDH in Islam tenets and Quran science.

Debates between Nahdliyin and HDH emerge the restlessness in society, especially in Kecamatan Lemahabang, Kabupaten Cirebon. Some of people who dislike HDH issue information about HDH. The leader of MUI of Desa Sigong, where Rohasan held pengajian, stated that “Kusnandar, the founder of HDH, ever claimed that he had dream. At his dream, he was playing in the field, then two people who wore white uniform slice his chest, cleaning the inside of his body, bringing them to the lake. The two people invited Kusnandar ti go to heaven and hell, like Mi’raj of prophet Muhammad PBUH.”

Even a people in Desa Sigong said that, “Mr Rohasan is fake prophet.” There were controversial information about HDH in Kecamatan Lemahabang, that is why many people in village don’t want to tell information about HDH because it is sensitif issue. Many people dislike HDH because HDH has different tenets from common people and HDH never integrate itself with society. That is why there is social aspect who is being watched by people to HDH. Many people consider that HDH is exclusive organization that held pengajian at Rohasan’s house, not in mosque. In addition, mostly, the follower of HDH do not come from Kecamatan Lemahabang, but from outside Lemahabang. The leader of HDH itself cannot integrate and create socializatio process with people and Islamic scholar in Lemahabang. According to restlessness inside society about HDH, then MUI declare that HDH is a part of ajaran sesat in 4 February 2010. Even Rohasan’s home itself, as HDH leader, was besieged and ruined by people in 29 April 2010 when HDH held pengajian at night.

11 Interview with Hermanto (Ketua MUI Desa Sigong).
12 Interview with Hermanto (Ketua MUI Desa Sigong).
13 Interview with Hermanto (Ketua MUI Desa Sigong).
14 Interview with Marzuki Wahid (ketua Fahmina Institute).
15 Dokumen Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) Kabupaten Cirebon 07/MUI/Kab.Cbn/II/2010..
16 Dokumen Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (Komnas HAM) Indonesia no: 1.476/K/PMT/VI/10.
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FATWA

Religion problem who emerge in society can cause social and political instability. The case of Majelis Taklim HDH can be seen as one of religious proble must be faced by people. According to the function, MUI has to, “Giving advice and fatwa of social and religious problem to government, increasing activity in order to strengthen ukhuwah islamiyah and the peace among religious community in order to embody the unity of nation.” (http://mui.or.id/id/category/profile-organisasi/sejarah-mui/). According to its function, then MUI must declare a fatwa who can encourage the unity of nation and support the multicultural thought in society.

Fatwa is opinion issued by Islamic scholar or ulama in order to view a problem. Islamic scholar need several steps to issue a fatwa. Accordingly, Islam has several steps to determine wrong and right of a problem. Quran is the most important source in Islam, it must be cited by Muslim before citing other sources such as hadith. According to Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Quran is the main manifestation of Islam and verbatim of God’s saying that is presented by prophet Muhammad PBUH through Gabriel and propagated by prophet Muhammad to his companions to be remembered in their heart and recorded.(Nasr, 37). The holy book of Quran contains of all of doctrin about the nature of reality over each step from Absolut Reality, that of Allah, until the creation reality such as macro cosmos and micro cosmos. (Nasr, 26). If Quran does not enough to determine a problem, ulama has to refer to hadith. After hadith, the third Islamic sources is ijtihad of ulama. Fatwa can be declared by the three process from Quran, hadith and ijtihad. To determine the decision of Islamic law, MUI can not ignore the process.

The process to determine a fatwa of MUI must be done in detail. Investigation is important part before MUI declare a fatwa. MUI must know beackground of social and religious problem about Majelis Taklim HDH. According to document of MUI Kabupeten Cirebon, the tenet of HDH can be viewed as ajaran sesat. In the MUI letter, MUI explains that HDH has, “misinterpret shariah of Islam, blame and mock ulama (kiai) who is not a part of their group.”17 In addition, MUI collect information from people in order to get accurate information that, “HDH believes that its founder named Kusnandar (Ugi Amir) has been slice by angel and talk with angel everyday and meet prophet Muhammad and previous prophet before Muhammad. Even they are sure that Kusnandar has traveled to the barzakh, heaven, hell and the arasy of God.” Its tenet has been known by people from a “guide book” printed for the follower of HDH. Yet HDH itself refuses the existence of the book.18 In addition, HDH also teach Quran directly from Qur’an translation published Department of Religious Affair without given interpretation methos that has been done by the most of ulama.

According to the information of people in Desa Sigong, “the guide book” and HDH itself, MUI states that Majelis Taklim HDH bring ajaran sesat. Accordingly, there are four reasons why MUI interpretes that HDH bring ajaran sesat. According to MUI:

1. Aqidah or faith about dialogue between angel and human being, along with the task in receiving its tenets to umma, or the faith about human being travel to barzakh,

18 Interview with Hermanto (Ketua MUI Desa Sigong), Jumat 4 Mei 2018, 14.00 WIB.
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baqa, heaven and hell must be based on the information of revelation (Quran and hadith).
2. There is no Quranic verses or hadith who explain the ability of human being in doing dialogue, traveling to barzakh. People who can do that are only prophets and messengers with permission from Allah.
3. A statement who states that someone has talked with angel everyday and travel to barzakh clearly contradict with Quran. That is why the statement can be seen as sesat.
4. Teaching Quran without good tafsir methods can be dangerous for ummah.19

The decision of MUI in interpreting that HDH bring sesat tenet can be based on Quran as the most important of Islamic law. In the surrah Jinn [72]: 26-27: “[He is] Knower of the unseen, and He does not disclose His [knowledge of the] unseen to anyone. Except whom He has approved of messengers, and indeed, He sends before each messenger and behind Him observers.” Besides, MUI also bases its opinion on surah al-An’am [6]: 50: Say [O, Muhammad], “I dont tell you that I have depositories [containing the provision] of Allah or that I know the unseen, nor do I tell you that I am an angel. I only follow what is revealed to me.” Say, “Is the blind equivalent to the seeing? Then will you not give thought?” In addition there is surrah An-Naml [27]: 65: “Say, “None in the heavens and earth knows the unseen except Allah, and they do not perceive when they will be resurrected.” According to Quran verses, MUI states that none who can know barzakh except prophets and messengers who has been allowed by God. Even, according to MUI, Prophet Muhammad PBUH did not know the unseen except what the revelation has been given to him.20

To declare fatwa which states that HDH contains ajaran sesat, MUI cooperate with many elements. In the decision process, MUI has the meeting of fatwa commission (komisi fatwa) and law commission. The meeting in commissions are attended by ulama and staff from Department of Religious Affair, Kabupaten Cirebon.21 Accordingly, the decision to states that Majelis Taklim HDH bring sesat tenet has been discussed along with ulama. The committee who sit in MUI’s meeting is people who are experts and have background of Islamic education. In the Central MUI in Jakarta, mostly, ulama who has position in fatwa commission, at least, between 1975-1988, had a background from pesantren and academic institution. They were also alumni of universities from Middle East, IAIN and Institute of Quran Science, even from European and Western universities. In addition, ulama who has position in fatwa commission must possess the specialization in Islamic studies such as Islamic law, Quran, hadis and theology. (Hosen, 156) According the fact, MUI has been supported by ulama who are experts on solving the problem of ummah.

According to fatwa of aliran sesat given by MUI, there are several perspectives in viewing the position of the fatwa in the daily life of nation. According to Syafiq Hasyim, MUI refuses the religious freedom. It can be seen by the refusement of MUI to Blasphemy Law. MUI refused uji materil over UU.No.1/PNPS/1965 to The Mahkamah of Constitution. Even MUI also states that state must intervene in tackling the development of aliran sesat. According to Syafiq Hasyim, actually there are no the constitutional consequences if ummah don’t obey the fatwa of MUI.

According Islamic law theory (*ushul fikh*), “fatwa only bounds to people who asks, but the fatwa do not bounds to the people who is disinterested in.” (Hasyim, 253). According to the opinion, we should have see the position of MUI proportionally and do not consider fatwa of MUI as the opinion that bound of all of *ummah*. Besides, MUI’s fatwa of *aliran sesat* also show that there is clash among *shariah*, national law and international convention. (Hasyim, 257). The clash has been showed in several cases that there is fatwa who is used to arrest people by police based on MUI’s fatwa. (Ikhwani, 2012:188).

**NAHDLATUL ULAMA AND MAJELIS ULAMA INDONESIA**

This paper does not want to examine wheter or not fatwa issued by MUI over Majelis Taklim HDH is appropriate. This paper focus on problems about the domination of a group and social pressure over fatwa of MUI. As we mentioned above, the most people in Kecamatan Lemahabang, Kabupaten Cirebon is Nahdliyin people (*warga Nahdliyin)*. Kabupaten Cirebon is a region in the north coast Java. Cirebon is not only known as harbor city, but also as the city of saint because Cirebon has a long history in Islamization process in Pasundan (West Java). The city also had been lead by Sunan Gunung Jati as the leader of saints who took important role in propagating Islam in West Java. Accordingly Cirebon becomes the center of Islamic culture in West Java. In Cirebon, there are many pesantrens that teach Islam characterized by Orthodoxy Islam and tasawuf of falsafi. Some of pesantrens knowon in Cirebon are Pesantren Buntet, Pesantren Babakan Ciwaringin, Pesantren Kempek, Pesantren Benda Kerep and so forth.

Nahdlatul Ulama is one of Islamic organization which was born in 1926 and has the biggest follower in Indonesia. (Machmudi, 84) Cirebon becomes a region which has Nahdliyin people in Indonesia. Although it is difficult to determine “Pesantren NU”, but mostly pesantren in Cirebon has affiliation with Orthodoxy Islam that roots strongly in the thought of Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali. As Orthodoxy Islam, NU or Nahdliyin people dislike Majelis Taklim HDH. There are several reasons why Nahdliyin people dislike the Majelis. Religiously, religious practice of Majelsh HDH is different with religious practice of NU. In possessing religious knowledge, Nahdliyin people relies on religious texts written by traditional Islamic scholar such as tafsir Jalalyn, meanwhile HDH relies on Quran translation produced by Ministry of Religious Affair. In interpreting Quran, HDH always interprets it rationally through scientific approach. It is related with the background of HDH founder, Muhammad Kusnadar, as Psychiatrist. Rationalism is the character of Peripatetic philosophy which has been rival of Orthodoxy Islam, so much so that Nahdliyin people critcize the way of HDH in interpreting Islam.

When HDH conducts its activity inn Kecamatan Lemahabang, Kabupaten Cirebon, many people of NU and Muhammadiyah are worried about the tenets taught by HDH. It has been caused by the difference in interpreting Quran and the way of their socialization. One of officer in Desa

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22 Interview with Hermanto (Ketua MUI Desa Sigong).
Sigong states that NU and Muhammadiyah plays important role in mediating dialogue between HDH and people. Yet NU and Muhammadiyah disagree with the existence of HDH because it will cause the restlessness in society. Accordingly, MUI takes part in solving the problem.

According to the decision of MUI, MUI issued a letter of fatwa haram of Majelis Taklim HDH. Although MUI was neutral in this sense, however, there are several reasons why MUI supported NU in solving the problem. According to Yon Machmudi, “MUI is not an Islamic organization which support the given school of thought.” (152) However, there is connection between NU with MUI indirectly in issuing fatwa. Mostly, the fatwa issued by NU and Muhammadiyah is based on the fatwa of MUI. (Hasyim, 2011:10). NU tends to see MUI as the representative of its fatwa. In addition, either NU and MUI characterize their tenets according to Sunni school of thought. Accordingly, Nahdliyin people can pressure MUI in issuing fatwa haram of MUI in order to dissolve Majelis Taklim HDH because they have same tradition in viewing religious problem.

CONCLUSION

MUI is independent organization which has task in solving the problem of ummah in Indonesia. Since its establishment of MUI in 1975, the organization has played important role in political, social, economy and culture in Indonesia. Many fatwa has been issued by MUI by government or society in order to take action of one problem that emerge in the national life. Unfortunately, the objectivity of MUI has been questioned several times. The case of Majelis Taklim HDH is an example how MUI solve the religious problem. The Majelis is based on its tenet as objective tasawuf. They interpret Quran through Quran translation produced by the Ministry of Religious Affair. The way of HDH in interpreting Quran has been problem in society, especially among Nahdliyin people. MUI solved the problem with issuing a fatwa of haram of Majelis HDH. In this paper, author argues that the declaration of fatwa haram of Majelis Taklim HDH has been influenced by the pressure of Nahdliyin people to MUI because NU and MUI have similar tradition of school of thought in viewing religious problem.
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