MICHEL FOUCAULT'S GENEALOGICAL ANALYSIS IN LAJNAH BAHTSUL MASAIL LIRBOYO'S NATIONAL TEXT DISCOURSE IN 1980

Nailal Muna
Universitas Islam Tribakti (UIT) Lirboyo Kediri
nmuna72@gmail.com

Irgi Ahmad Vahrezi
Universitas Islam Tribakti (UIT) Lirboyo Kediri
ahmedvahrez811@gmail.com

Dwita Nurulita
Universitas Islam Tribakti (UIT) Lirboyo Kediri
dwita513@gmail.com

Abstract: This research is within the large frame of the fiqh of nationality and examines Pancasila and Islamic values. This research examines the national fiqh text of Lajnah Bahtsul Masail (LBM) of Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School, Kediri, East Java, published in 1980. LBM of Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School is an academic tradition of the boarding school that produces problematic laws in society. LBM of Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School produces religious decisions that integrate Pancasila and spiritual values. This research is a Library research method with primary data from the LBM textbook published in 1980. The data analysis method uses Michel Foucault's genealogy of power theory. This research aims to discover the symbiosis of knowledge and power present during the emergence of the Lajnah Bahtsul Masail (LBM) national fiqh text. The conclusion of the research shows that the results of LBM were born from the micro genealogy in the form of the tradition of Islamic boarding schools and the fame of Islamic boarding schools, and macro genealogy in the form of political situations and national issues when the text was born.

Keywords: Fiqh, Nationality, Pancasila, Bahtsul Masail, Islamic Boarding School

Introduction

The issue of Pancasila as Indonesia's state ideology is still being debated in some circles, even though Indonesia has reached the age of more than 70 years. The debate about Pancasila as the basis of the state has become the talk of many parties, especially among Muslims. Many articles, research, and books discuss Pancasila and Indonesia in various ways, such as the hottest topic, the designation of the fiqh of nationality. Various writings related to nationality fiqh were delivered by researchers, including the idea of nationality fiqh in the Lirboyo Islamic boarding school in Kediri City, East Java. This idea was born after Bahtsul Masail (religious deliberation) by graduates of the Lirboyo Pesantren who are members of the Lirboyo Pesantren Alumni Association (Himasal) to respond to legal issues and problems in society, including national issues.[1] The fiqh of the nationality of Lirboyo Kediri emerged to respond to movements supporting the caliphate system that emerged after the reform movement in 1998 and began to massively propagate the caliphate system in the decade of the 2000s. The fiqh of the nationality of Lirboyo is narrated in the form of pesantren curriculum and madrasah diniyah, as well as in the form of national fiqh books distributed to the public.

The narrative of nationality fiqh is also expressed by Muh Sholihuddin and Saiful Jazil, who discuss the nationality fiqh of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in the frame of *fiqh siyasah*. This study reveals that the fiqh of nationality responds to the discourse on the relationship between religion and the state. Some Muslims view that Islamic religion and politics are a complete unity, meaning that the state with the form of an Islamic state is a teaching that must be upheld; some other Muslims state that the unity of religion and the state has ended since the end of the era of *khulafaur rosyidin*.[2] In the Indonesian context,

---

[1] Achmad Hidayat and Zaenal Arifin, "Narasi Fikih Kebangsaan di Pondok Pesantren Lirboyo," *Jurnal Intelektual: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Studi Keislaman* 10, no. 3 (January 29, 2021): 315–28, https://doi.org/10.33367/ji.v10i3.1491.

[2] Muh Sholihuddin and Saiful Jazil, "Konstruksi Fikih Kebangsaan Nahdlatul Ulama: Kajian Terhadap Peran NU Perspektif Fiqh Siyasah," *Al-Qanun: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pembaharuan Hukum Islam* 24, no. 1 (August 7, 2021): 85–121, https://doi.org/10.15642/alqanun.2021.24.1.85-121.

Nahdlatul Ulama, as an organization that has existed since 1926, accepted Indonesia as a nation-state or unitary state, which KH Wahid Hasyim directly expressed in the PPKI meeting. NU introduces the building of national political arguments without leaving Islamic teachings with the principle of *fiqh siyasah*. The founding fathers chose the nation-state as the ideal choice because it can minimize the potential for discrimination between groups, considering that Indonesian society is a pluralistic society.[3]

The issue of nationality fiqh reasoning based on the thoughts of figures has also been carried out by several people, such as the dissertation of Miftakhul Arif exploring the thoughts of KH. Wahab Hasbullah is one of the three significant figures in the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) movement. Through a historical sociological approach, the research found four things that made KH. Wahab Hasbullah's nationalist spirit is so burning, namely the pesantren tradition, the understanding of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah*, mastery of the logic of *ushul al-fiqh*, and comprehensive social association with various groups.[4]

Meanwhile, this research is library research with the primary data of the results of the Lajnah Bahtsul Masail (LBM) of the Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School in Kediri City, East Java, regarding the fiqh of nationality published during the New Order era. LBM is a deliberation forum in Islamic boarding schools that studies the law on issues that occur in society. LBM will produce fiqh-based legal texts to answer the problematic problems in society. The method of taking the law in the LBM tradition in several ways, such as *qauly* (opinion), *ilhaqy* (analogy), and *manhajy* (methodological) methods.[5]

In the book Bahtsul Masail Lirboyo, published in 1980, there is a discussion between Islam and Pancasila. There is a decision that can answer the relationship between Islam and Pancasila based on verses

---

[3] Sholihuddin and Jazil.

[4] Miftakhul Arif, "Fikih Kebangsaan: Telaah Pemikiran Abdul Wahab Chasbullah tentang Kemerdekaan dan Persatuan Indonesia" (Surabaya, Pascasarjana Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel, t.t.).

[5] Ahmad Munawir, Muhammad Rois, and Husniatul Jauhariyah, "Corak Ijtihad Bahtsul Masail (Pondok Pondok Pesantren Lirboyo)," *Hukama: Journal of Islamic Law* 1, no. 1 (August 11, 2022): 32–47.

of the Koran and hadith. The LBM agreement explains the relationship between the Koran and hadith is *isti'ala'* (استعلاء).[6] This decision was taken by more than 30 members of the LBM who were influential figures in East Java at that time.

The birth of any text will always be related to the social, economic, political, and cultural conditions that surround it.[7] This includes the LBM Lirboyo texts, which will always be related to the situation surrounding their presence. Therefore, research on the 1980 LBM Lirboyo text will use Michel Foucault's genealogy of discourse to reveal the dynamics and situations that embryonated the birth of the text. The use of Michel Foucault's genealogy of power theory as an analytical tool because the idea of thinking develops from a structural focus towards a broader movement and beyond structural boundaries with the concept of the relationship between power and knowledge, which aims to cover and transcend broader studies.[8]

This research complements the writings of Achmad Hidayat and Zaenal Arifin, who concluded that the narrative of nationality fiqh was only made after the 1998 reformation. Still, there were bahtsul masail studies that had discussed the issue of nationality fiqh before the reformation.[9] This research also complements the study of Muh Sholihuddin and Saiful Jazil, who discuss the issue of nationality fiqh among NU structurally. Still, this paper discusses nationality fiqh among NU culturally in Islamic boarding schools. This research can also complement Miftakhul Arif's research on his study of KH. Wahab Hasbullah's nationality thinking.

---

[6] *Hidayatul Mubtadiin Fi Masail Ad Din* (Badan Pembina / Pengasuh Pondok Lirboyo Kediri, 1980).

[7] Umi Halwati, "Analisis Foucault Dalam Membedah Wacana Teks Dakwah Di Media Massa" 1 (2013).

[8] Ritzer George, *Teori Sosial Dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Terakhir Postmodern* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2014).

[9] Hidayat and Arifin, "Narasi Fikih Kebangsaan di Pondok Pesantren Lirboyo."

Result and Discussion

Description of the Manuscript of Nationality Fiqh of Lajnah Bahtsul Masail Lirboyo in 1980

The manuscript of Bahtsul Masail Islamic Boarding School of Lirboyo was printed in 1980. The description of the 1980 printing is on one of the book's back pages. The bahtsul masail activity in this text is a monthly agenda that is used to discuss problems that occur in the community. In the introduction to the book KH. Mahrus Ali, using Arabic, explains:

فقد طالما لطلبة العلم في ليربايا ان يجمع في كتاب ما حصل لهم في مباحثهم ومشاورتهم ليالي فيما يسئل عنه من مسائل الدين الواقعة لينتفع به للعامة والخاصة ورغبة في العلم ونشره وتشبها بعلمائه واهله وتذكرة لامثالهم من المبتدئين ورجاء لثواب ذلك ممن لا يضيع اجر المحسنين

KH. Mahrus Ali explained the academic tradition of Lirboyo students in a regular and structured manner to deliberate on religious issues that occur (*al waqi'ah*) with the aim that they can be utilized by the general public as a form of love for knowledge and imitate the behavior of scientists and scholars, improve intellectual abilities as students, and expect rewards from Allah and include those who do good.[10] The LBM text mentions 31 deliberation members, several of whom are prominent figures such as K.H. Kholil Ya'kub Lirboyo, K.H. Zamroji is the caretaker of the Raudlatul Ulum Kencong Islamic Boarding School, Kediri, K.H. Ridwan al Hafidz the son-in-law of K.H. Marzuki Dahlan Lirboyo, K.H. Maksum Jauhari (Gus Maksum) Lirboyo, K.H. Ahsan Genggong Probolinggo.

This LBM text is the fourth print, as explained by K.H. Maftuh bin Batsul Birri[11] served as a scriptwriter or *katib* in the fourth print, and the deliberation members were recorded according to K.H.

---

[10] *Hidayatul Mubtadiin Fi Masail Ad Din.*
[11] "KH. Maftuh Bin Bastul Birri Adalah Salah Satu Pengasuh Pesantren Murottilil Qur'an Lirboyo, Wafat Tahun Tahun 2019.," n.d.

Mahtuh's understanding is because of K.H. Mahtuh needed help understanding the previous prints, only knowing that the first print had come out in 1387 H.

> "Kulo penulis cetakan sekawan tahun 1400 H/1980 M ngaturaken catetan sebagian anggota musyawarah meniko ingkang kulo ngertosi jalaran cetakan-cetakan sak dereng ipun dereng nate nyatet lan ugi boten nyerat tahun pinten musyawarah meniko dipun wonten aken. Dene cetakan pertama kaleksanaaken kala tahun 1387 H"[12]

(I am the author of the fourth printing in 1400 AH/1980 CE, and I am presenting the records of some of the members of this meeting that I know of because the previous printings did not record them, and they did not record when this meeting was held; only the first printing was made in 1387.)

H. Maftuh bin Basthul Birri's explanation indicates several possibilities. The deliberation was held 13 years before the book was published because the first printing was made in 1387 AH, the same as 1967 AD. It means it was discussed between the old order and the beginning of the new era.

This bahtsul masail book is written in Arabic pegon, a typical pesantren writing, using refined Javanese (*kromo inggil*). The content of this bahtsul masail work as a whole consists of several chapters, namely the first chapter of *bayan al-ilmu* (explaining knowledge), the second chapter of bayan *at-thaharoh* (purification), the third chapter of *bayan as-sholat*, the fourth chapter of bayan az-zakat, the fifth chapter of *bayan as-shoum* (fasting), the sixth chapter of *bayan al-haji* (hajj), the seventh chapter of *al-buyu'* (buying and selling), eighth chapter *bayan al-wakaf*, ninth chapter *bayan al-luqathah* (found property), tenth chapter *al-irsi* (inheritance), eleventh chapter *bayan as-sariqah* (theft crime), twelfth chapter *an-nikah*, thirteenth chapter *as-syahadah*, fourteenth chapter *bayan al-udhiyah* (slaughter), and fifteenth chapter *al-munkarat*.

---

[12] *Hidayatul Mubtadiin Fi Masail Ad Din.*

The form of the bahtsul masail script uses a question-and-answer format. Questions are coded with the letter س, and answers are coded with ج. The use of س and ج is probably an abbreviation of سؤال and جواب. The use of such س and ج codes can be found in basic-level books studied in Islamic boarding schools, for example, the book *Jawahirul Kalamiyah* by Sheikh Thahir bin Saleh al-Jazairi or Kitab Mabādi' Al-Fiqhīyah Juz 2 by Shaikh Umar Abdul Jabbar. Using س and ج in the pesantren tradition facilitates students' understanding of the material provided.

All questions and answers in the Lirboyo bahtsul masail book explain the law of problems that occur in society, including the issue of Pancasila. The issue of Pancasila and nationality is included in the first chapter, namely the science chapter with the editorial:

S: Menopo wonten istidlalipun pancasila saking quran soho hadits?
J: Mboten wonten wangsul namung isti'la.dene isti'la ipun saking quran tuwin hadits miturut paham Islam inggih meniko

1. *Almighty God*
   Alquran:

اَللَّهُ ٱلَّذِى خَلَقَ ٱلسَّمٰوٰتِ وَٱلْأَرْضَ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا.

يٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ ٱعْبُدُوا۟ رَبَّكُمُ ٱلَّذِى خَلَقَكُمْ وَٱلَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ .

واعبدواالله ولا تشركوا به شيئا

2. *Sovereignty of the People*
   Alquran:

وَأَمْرُهُمْ شُورَىٰ بَيْنَهُمْ

وشاورهم في الامر

   Hadits:

قال النبي : ما خاب من استخار ولا ندم من استشار

3. *Nationality*
   Alquran:

يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَٰكُم مِّن ذَكَرٍ وَأُنثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَٰكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَآئِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوٓا۟ۚ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ أَتْقَىٰكُمْ

Hadits:

لا يؤمن احدكم حتى يحب لاخيه ما يحب لنفسه

4. *Social Justice*
   Alquran:

إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يَأْمُرُ بِٱلْعَدْلِ وَٱلْإِحْسَٰنِ وَإِيتَآئِ ذِى ٱلْقُرْبَىٰ وَيَنْهَىٰ عَنِ ٱلْفَحْشَآءِ وَٱلْمُنكَرِ وَٱلْبَغْىِ

Hadits:

والله في عون العبد ما دام العبد في عون اخيه

5. *Humanity*
   Alquran:

قال تعالى: . قُلْ إِنَّمَا حَرَّمَ رَبِّىَ ٱلْفَوَٰحِشَ مَا ظَهَرَ مِنْهَا وَمَا بَطَنَ وَٱلْإِثْمَ وَٱلْبَغْىَ بِغَيْرِ ٱلْحَقِّ

وَتَعَاوَنُوا۟ عَلَى ٱلْبِرِّ وَٱلتَّقْوَىٰۖ وَلَا تَعَاوَنُوا۟ عَلَى ٱلْإِثْمِ وَٱلْعُدْوَانِ
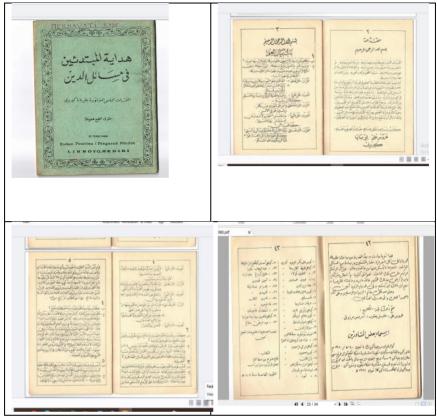
Hadits:

قال النبي : لا ضرر ولا ضرار

Figure 1 Bahtsul Masail Manuscript

The legal provisions and relations of Pancasila in the context of the Indonesian state according to the bahtsul masail text with the wording *isti'la'* (استعلاء). Isti'la' is an altered form of the word *'ala* (علا), which can mean high and sublime.[13] The change in the form of *isti'la'* can mean that the actor is trying to find the object's high meaning.[14] In the case of this bahtsul masail issue, Pancasila is not textually found in the Quran and hadith. Still, Pancasila contains noble values from the Quran and hadith as the primary sources of Islam. *Isti'la'* can be said to

---

[13] Ahmad Warson Munawir, *Al Munawwir* (Surabaya: Pustaka Progresif, 2002).

[14] - Mohamad Yusuf Ahmad Hasyim, "Af'a>L Wazan (Verba Berpola) Istaf'ala Dalam Al-Quran (Kajian Morfosemantis)," *Journal Of Arabic Learning And Teaching* 8, No. 2 (2019), Http://Lib.Unnes.Ac.Id/47823/.

be a *ta'wil* method in the study of ulumul Quran. The *ta'wil* method according to Ibn Rusd as quoted by Umar Abidin is to realize the meaning (*dalālah*) of words from the original to majaz without violating the rules of Arabic majaz. The method is to name with a simile something that is the cause of the object's existence, something related to it, or something that can be classified as a majaz expression.[15]

So, it can be interpreted here that the precepts of Pancasila, such as the principle of divinity, social justice, and unity, result from the implied meanings of several verses of the Quran and hadith. The first principle of Belief in One God contains a divine dimension. The Quran explains the greatness of God and the obligation to worship God, as in Q.S. Al-Baqarah verse 5, where worship is a form of obedience. This submission culminates in something that is believed, believing in the human body and soul with a form of mastery that is essentially unreachable.

The two precepts of Fair and Civilized Humanity of Pancasila contain humanitarian values that are based on the content of Q.S. Al-Maidah verse 2. The use of Q.S. Al-Maidah verse 2 because the verse teaches tolerance, even for adherents of other religions to carry out their worship, as a form of humanitarian relations and respect for the rights of others.[16] The third principle of Indonesian Unity contains national values that align with Q.S. Al-Hujurat verse 13. This verse talks about ethnic and group differences in society. This fact cannot be avoided and is the provision of Allah SWT, so attitudes emphasizing unity in society are needed.[17]

The fourth precept of Pancasila contains the value of popular sovereignty and the principle of deliberation, which aligns with Q.S. Ash-Shura verse 38 and Q.S. Ali Imran verse 159. These two verses prioritize the principle of deliberation to make all policies. Deliberation in various matters, especially community issues. Deliberation is a

---

[15] Umar Abidin, "Ta'wil Terhadap Ayat Al-Qur'an Menurut Al-Tustari," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 15, No. 2 (2 Juli 2014): 219–36, Https://Doi.Org/10.14421/Qh.2014.1502-02.

[16] M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al Misbah* (Lentera Hati, n.d.).

[17] *Tafsir Alquran Tematik; Moderasi Islam* (Jakarta: Lembaga Pentashih Mushaf Alquran, 2012).

method to unite differences and social conditions; hence, the editorial verse is brief and general.[18] The fifth principle of social justice is a value contained in Q.S. An-Nisa verse 58. Justice will be created through upholding the rule of law and giving rights to the proper parties. Trust and justice must be fulfilled and upheld without distinguishing religion, descent, or race in society.[19]

Michel Foucault's Genealogy of Power Analysis

Michel Foucault, a modern sociologist in the era of French poststructuralism, is famous for his theory of power and knowledge. Poststructuralism in Michel Foucault's thought is more diverse and not only influenced by linguistics. Michel Foucault is interested in several intuitions and in the micro-politics of power. Michel Foucault practiced hermeneutics to gain a better understanding of social phenomena. Michel Foucault made a pattern of the relationship between power and knowledge but analyzed it more sociologically. In some of his works, Michel Foucault conducted studies on discourse related to human sciences.[20] Discourse is sometimes a field of all statements, sometimes as an individualized group of statements, and sometimes as a regulative practice seen from several statements.[21] The purpose of the study of discourse is to tell the truth.[22]

---

[18] Shihab, *Tafsir al Misbah*.

[19] Shihab.

[20] George, *Teori Sosial Dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Terakhir Postmodern*.

[21] Halwati, "ANALISIS FOUCAULT DALAM MEMBEDAH WACANA TEKS DAKWAH DI MEDIA MASSA."

[22] Pengkajian wacana terhadap sebuah sebuah teks ada beberapa hal yang perlu diperhatikan: *pertama* faktor tindakan dalam teks merupakan salah satu bentuk interaksi. Oleh karena itu, wacana terhadap tindakan harus dilihat sebagai sesuatu yang mempunyai berbagai tujuan seperti untuk membujuk, menyanggah, bereaksi, dan sebagainya. *Kedua* adalah konteks. Wacana terhadap konteks hadir untuk diciptakan, dipahami, dan dianalisis dalam konteks tertentu, dengan mempertimbangan kondisi dan situasi yang melingkupinya. *Ketiga* adalah sisi historis. Wacana terhadap historis yang dikembangkan untuk mengetahui sejarah lahirnya sebuah teks. *Keempat* kekuasaan. Setiap wacana yang muncul dalam teks kadang tidak bersifat netral, tetapi terpengaruhi oleh pertarungan kekuasaan. *Kelima* faktor ideologi dalam pembentukan sebuah wacana, yang pengaruhnya terlihat dalam wujud teks, percakapan dan lainnya Halwati.

According to Michel Foucault, truth-telling is directly connected to the genealogy of power. Knowledge and power are very closely interrelated. Genealogy is a way of linking historical content, becoming an organized and orderly crossing of the origin of a manifestation. Genealogy is a way of analyzing various discourses, practices, and events that are plural, open, and heterogeneous and establishing relationships without the need to use the regime of truth.[23]

Genealogy deals with power and knowledge in the science of man and the norms of self-formation.[24] In terms of history, archaeologists examine the empirical aspects of history. At the same time, genealogists critically analyze history and issues important to the contemporary world and are up to date on current issues. Michel Foucault seeks to illuminate the present by using various historical sources to reflect the possibility of relationships and the potential for diverse crossings of the elements that make up the social order.[25]

In the genealogy of power, Michel Foucault is concerned with the way people organize themselves and others to produce knowledge. Knowledge produces power by placing people as subjects of knowledge and then organizing those subjects with that knowledge. The hierarchy of knowledge is the ultimate power, for example, with technology derived from knowledge being used to impose power on society. However, in analyzing the genealogy of power, Michel Foucault does not see a conspiracy or investigate it through the consciousness of its actors. Michel Foucault instead sees a structural relationship between knowledge and power. By examining history, Michel Foucault sees a historical movement from one system of domination that is obtained in knowledge to another domination.[26]

---

[23] George, *Teori Sosial Dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Terakhir Postmodern.*
[24] George.
[25] George.
[26] George.

Discourse Analysis of LBM Lirboyo's Nationality Text from the Perspective of Michel Foucault's Genealogy of Power Theory

A text will appear in more than just society. Such is the case with the LBM Lirboyo nationality fiqh text published in 1980. The discourse on the birth of this text will appear from several sides. In Michel Foucault's theory that views the relationship between knowledge and power, the discourse of the Lirboyo LBM text was also born from the genealogical relationship of power and knowledge on a micro (narrow/local) and macro (broad/national) scale.

The first is the micro genealogy relation. The LBM nationality text was born from the scope of the boarding school tradition. In the boarding school tradition, the kyai is a central figure who is highly respected, as Dzamaksari Dhofier's theory that one of the essential elements in the boarding school is the kyai. Kyai is the most powerful and respected figure in the boarding school. The charisma of a kyai will be attached to the center; this makes the students submit and obey and not want to argue with what the kyai says. The relationship between kyai and students is more of a relationship of faith than just a patron-client relationship.[27]

Islamic boarding schools are the barns of Nahdlatul Ulama. Nahdlatul Ulama was born from the movements of the boarding schools towards nationalism. During the initial phase of NU's establishment, KH Hasyim Asy'ari, KH Wahab Hasbullah, and a series of NU figures were boarding school figures. KH Saifudin Zuhri, during Nahdlatul Ulama's anniversary in 1963, also explained that the principle of Nahdlatul Ulama had always supported the struggle and progress of Indonesia, including when, in 1959, the NU party supported the President's decree of July 5, 1959, to return to the Jakarta Charter.[28]

Lirboyo is one of the old boarding schools in East Java with KH. Mahrus Ali was a caregiver, activist, and respected figure by Nahdlatul Ulama. KH. Mahrus Ali's thinking and work tend to be the same as NU's and work on the issue of Pancasila and the values of nationalism. In the independence revolution, KH. Mahrus Ali, together

---

[27] Loubna Zakiah, "Kepercayaan Santri Pada Kiai," *Buletin Psikologi*, no. 1 (n.d.).
[28] KH. Saifudin Zuhri, "Sumbangan Ulama Kepada Bangsa Dan Negara."

with Lirboyo students, disarmed the Japanese at the Dai Nippon Company Headquarters in Kediri (now the Keris Galery shop on Jl Brawijaya Kota), which is located about 1.5 kilometers from the east of the Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School, as one of the kyai who helped stir up the students in the jihad resolution in Surabaya in 1945. Finally, this spirit became the embryo for the birth of Kodam V Brawijaya in the tragedy of 30 S PKI, KH. Mahrus Aly's role was also significant in suppressing the movement in Kediri.[29]

With the theory that power and knowledge will always go hand in hand, from the tradition of leadership in Islamic boarding schools with kyai as the main symbol, it will be understandable that the decision of the bahtsul masail of the nationality of fiqh in 1980 will be the same as the thoughts of the caretaker of the Islamic boarding school, in this case, KH. Mahrus Ali has a nationalist spirit that has played a significant role in the Indonesian state system.

The second is the macro genealogical relation. This macro genealogy illustrates that the LBM Lirboyo nationality text was born because of the national political situation and issues surrounding the birth of the text. In this case, it will give birth to two discourses around the birth of the text. First, suppose the bahtsul masail was made during the Old Order or around 1967. In that case, this is likely related to the conflict between communist and Pancasila ideologies that occurred then. In 1967, Indonesia was in a period of Guided Democracy. Guided Democracy began with the issuance of the Presidential Decree of July 5, 1959. The Presidential Decree of July 5, 1959, was issued as a reactionary attitude by Sukarno due to the failure of the Constituent Assembly as a result of the 1955 elections, which for three years of work had not produced results in finding a new constitution for Indonesia. Even in the issue of the basis of the state, there was a division between the camp that fought for Pancasila as the basis of the state and the unitary state as a form of Indonesia, with groups fighting

---

[29] "Kiai Mahrus Aly Dan Panggilan Jihad Dari Lirboyo Melawan Penjajah | Merdeka.Com," accessed February 28, 2023, https://www.merdeka.com/histori/kiai-mahrus-aly-dan-panggilan-jihad-dari-lirboyo-melawan-penjajah.html.

for Islamic sharia and an Islamic state represented by Islamic groups, this was coupled with Sukarno's attitude as the spokesman for the Pancasila front.[30]

In addition to the issue of a turbulent and uncertain government, the issue of separatist movements that tried to leave Indonesia, such as the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) Rebellion in Madiun on September 18, 1948, to establish a Soviet state with communist ideology, the Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army rebellion which aimed to replace Pancasila with Islamic sharia as the basis of the state, the Rebellion of the Republic of South Maluku (RMS) which aimed to establish its state, and the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) or the Struggle of the People of the Universe (Permesta) as a form of protest movement to the central government.[31]

Sukarno's power became more visible during Guided Democracy because of the centralized system. Sukarno made various decisions that were considered radical, such as dissolving the Masyumi Party and PSI (Indonesian Social Party) and only recognizing ten legitimate parties, namely the PNI, NU, PKI, Catholic Party, Indonesian Party, Murba Party, PSII, and IPKI, Indonesian Christian Party (Perkindo) and Perti. Establishment of state-owned enterprises, an overhaul of land ownership rights, formation of a national front based on NASAKOM (Nationalist, Religious, and Communist), plus functional groups, including the military.[32]

Sukarno's principle of power in the era of Guided Democracy and the MANIPOL USDEK movement (Political Manifesto, 1945 Constitution, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, Indonesian Personality) plus the power of the military and

---

[30] Dody Nur Andryan, *Hukum Tata Negara Dan Sistem Politik; Kombinasi Presidensial Dengan Multipartai Di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Deepublish, 2018).

[31] BPIP RI, "BPIP :: Penerapan Pancasila dari Masa ke Masa," BPIP :: Penerapan Pancasila dari Masa ke Masa, accessed February 26, 2023, https://bpip.go.id/.

[32] Nur Andryan, *Hukum Tata Negara dan Sistem Politik; Kombinasi Presidensial dengan Multipartai di Indonesia*; Anwar Ilmar, "Demokrasi Terpimpin Dalam Pemikiran Dan Praktik Politik" 4, no. 1 (2018).

the Indonesian Communist Party formed a triangle of power with Sukarno at the apex. The military had also effectively utilized this system to build a political machine to counterbalance Sukarno and the PKI. Likewise, the PKI utilized Sukarno's personality to influence the people and expand its mass base.[33]

There was heavy competition between the PKI and the military in seizing Indonesian political power, and the Army and the PKI had different political missions. President Soekarno stepped down as a balancing figure between the political competition between the PKI and the military to keep the concept of Guided Democracy and NASAKOM running. However, Sukarno's balancing efforts did not bear fruit, with the occurrence of the Gestapu or G 30 S/PKI event as an effort to defeat the military forces, which actually brought down the PKI. The Gestapu mission failed because the military forces were better prepared to face political competition.[34] The significant effect of the Gestapu event was the chaos of political turmoil and mass chaos in areas almost throughout Indonesia, especially in Java, and the tragedy of mass killings of former PKI members in nearly all regions of Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party is considered a separatist movement that wants to replace the Pancasila ideology with a communist ideology. However, in theory, Sukarno's collapse and the Gestapu event involved the US and the CIA, worried about Sukarno's power, and the non-Aligned forces, more inclined towards socialism and communism.[35]

As a result of the endless political turmoil, through a series of Supersemar events, followed by the IV (fourth) General Session of the MPRS on June 20, 1966, which produced TAP MPRS No. IX/MPRS/1966, which contained the confirmation of the March Eleven Order, provided a strong foundation for Suharto as the holder

---

[33] Anwar Ilmar, "Demokrasi Terpimpin Dalam Pemikiran Dan Praktik Politik" 4, no. 1 (2018).

[34] himawan Indrajat, "Demokrasi Terpimpin Sebuah Konsepsi Pemikiran Soekarno Tentang Demokrasi," t.t.

[35] Luluk Syarifah H, "Peran Central Intelligence Agency (Cia) Dalam Peristiwa Penggulingan Presiden Sukarno Tahun 1955-1968," 18 Januari 2017, https://repository.unej.ac.id/xmlui/handle/123456789/78852.

of Supersemar in carrying out state activities.[36] This TAP MPRS gave Suharto more power in the political arena in Indonesia, supported by military power as a supporting base. Suharto's success in overcoming the political situation made him like a revolutionary hero. Suharto finally emerged as the second president of the Republic of Indonesia to replace President Sukarno through MPRS TAP No. XXXIII/MPRS/1967 after a special session that lasted five days from March 7-12, 1967.[37]

Next, suppose the nationality of fiqh text emerged during the New Order or around the 1980s before the issuance of Law No. 8 of 1985 on community organizations. In that case, there are indications that it emerged as a response to Suharto's efforts to strengthen Pancasila as the state ideology. At the beginning of his presidency, Suharto aimed to improve the Old Order system of government. The total correction of the Old Order system of government impacted several new policies born after the New Order was established. The New Order seemed to want to dissolve the memories of the failure of the Old Order government. This was evidenced by the dissolution of the PKI as a banned organization and the rejection of efforts to rehabilitate Masyumi, which Sukarno dissolved.

The issue of limiting the roles of ideological factions was proven by the fusion of political parties, which previously amounted to 10 parties, trying to be simplified into three parties, namely the Golongan Karya Party (GOLKAR), the United Development Party (PPP), and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) with the aim of government stability.[38] Party fusion was successfully carried out after the 1971 elections with the issuance of Law No. 3 of 1973. The party fusion policy ran smoothly during the New Order government due to various factors, including the intervention of the ABRI (Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia) group and the working class/civil

---

[36] Hayatun Naimah, "Peralihan Kekuasaan Presiden dalam Lintasan Sejarah Ketatanegaraan Indonesia," *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Humaniora* 12, no. 2 (September 5, 2015), https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v13i1.518.

[37] Naimah.

[38] Retanisa Rizqi, "Efektifitas Penyederhanaan Partai Politik Era Orde Baru" 1, no. 03 (2022).

servants who were obliged to vote for the Golongan Karya Party (GOLKAR) as a form of support for the government. This party fusion was considered successful and effective in stabilizing the economic, educational, and political problems of the New Order era.[39]

Another step issued by the New Order as an effort to bury wounds and bury communists was the implementation of Eka Prasetya Pasca Karsa or Guidelines for the Creation and Practice of Pancasila (P4) through MPR Tap No. II/MPR/1978. The purpose of Eka Prasetya Pasca Karsa is indirectly an effort by the government further to instill the values of Pancasila in social life. Eka Prasetya Panca Karsa contains 36 points of value as an elaboration of the five precepts in Pancasila. The practice of Pancasila values is strengthened by the obligation to follow the P4 upgrading for formal professions, which began in 1978. The purpose of the P4 upgrading is to understand that Pancasila is the principle and ideology of the Indonesian Nation. Pancasila is the philosophy of the Indonesian Nation. It is expected that with the same understanding, various forms of threats, terror, misleading teachings, and political divides in terms of social, economic, and other understandings contrary to Pancasila can be broken by themselves.[40]

Conclusion

The results of the Lirboyo bahtsul masail published in 1980 as a reaction of the Islamic boarding school world to national issues that always occur show that, *first*, knowledge will always be related to the social, political, and power conditions that surround it as Michel Foucault's genealogy of power. *Second*, this research further shows the accuracy of evidence that the fiqh of nationality and nationalism has existed since a long time ago, and Islamic boarding schools are one of the pillars guarding Pancasila from groups that are anti-Pancasila and trying to build an Islamic country.

---

[39] Rizqi.

[40] Cendana News, "Penataran P4 Strategi Soeharto Menyamakan Persepsi Hidup Bernegara," *Cendana News* (blog), March 25, 2016, https://www.cendananews.com/2016/03/penataran-p4-strategi-soeharto-menyamakan-persepsi-hidup-bernegara.html.

Reference

Abidin, Umar. "Ta'wil terhadap Ayat Al-qur'an Menurut Al-tustari." *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 15, no. 2 (July 2, 2014): 219–36. https://doi.org/10.14421/qh.2014.1502-02.

Arif, Miftakhul. "Fikih Kebangsaan: Telaah Pemikiran Abdul Wahab Chasbullah Tentang Kemerdekaan Dan Persatuan Indonesia." Pascasarjana Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel, n.d.

George, Ritzer. *Teori Sosial Dari Teori Sosiologi Klasik Sampai Perkembangan Terakhir Postmodern*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2014.

Halwati, Umi. "Analisis Foucault Dalam Membedah Wacana Teks Dakwah Di Media Massa" 1 (2013).

Hidayat, Achmad, and Zaenal Arifin. "Narasi Fikih Kebangsaan di Pondok Pesantren Lirboyo." *Jurnal Intelektual: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Studi Keislaman* 10, no. 3 (January 29, 2021): 315–28. https://doi.org/10.33367/ji.v10i3.1491.

Hidayatul Mubtadiin Fi Masail Ad Din. Badan Pembina / Pengasuh Pondok Lirboyo Kediri, 1980.

Ilmar, Anwar. "Demokrasi Terpimpin Dalam Pemikiran Dan Praktik Politik" 4, no. 1 (2018).

———. "Demokrasi Terpimpin Dalam Pemikiran Dan Praktik Politik" 4, no. 1 (2018).

Indrajat, Himawan. "Demokrasi Terpimpin Sebuah Konsepsi Pemikiran Soekarno Tentang Demokrasi," n.d.

"KH. Maftuh Bin Bastul Birri Adalah Salah Satu Pengasuh Pesantren Murottilil Qur'an Lirboyo, Wafat Tahun Tahun 2019.," n.d.

"Kiai Mahrus Aly Dan Panggilan Jihad Dari Lirboyo Melawan Penjajah | Merdeka.Com." Accessed February 28, 2023. https://www.merdeka.com/histori/kiai-mahrus-aly-dan-panggilan-jihad-dari-lirboyo-melawan-penjajah.html.

Mohamad Yusuf Ahmad Hasyim, -. "Af'a>L Wazan (Verba Berpola) Istaf'ala Dalam Al-Quran (Kajian MORFOSEMANTIS)." *Journal of Arabic Learning and Teaching* 8, no. 2 (2019). http://lib.unnes.ac.id/47823/.

Munawir, Ahmad, Muhammad Rois, and Husniatul Jauhariyah. "Corak Ijtihad Bahtsul Masail (Pondok Pondok Pesantren Lirboyo)." *Hukama: Journal of Islamic Law* 1, no. 1 (August 11, 2022): 32–47.

Naimah, Hayatun. "Peralihan Kekuasaan Presiden dalam Lintasan Sejarah Ketatanegaraan Indonesia." *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Humaniora* 12, no. 2 (September 5, 2015). https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v13i1.518.

News, Cendana. "Penataran P4 Strategi Soeharto Menyamakan Persepsi Hidup Bernegara." *Cendana News* (blog), March 25, 2016. https://www.cendananews.com/2016/03/penataran-p4-strategi-soeharto-menyamakan-persepsi-hidup-bernegara.html.

Nur Andryan, Dody. *Hukum Tata Negara Dan Sistem Politik; Kombinasi Presidensial Dengan Multipartai Di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Deepublish, 2018.

RI, BPIP. "BPIP :: Penerapan Pancasila dari Masa ke Masa." BPIP :: Penerapan Pancasila dari Masa ke Masa. Accessed February 26, 2023. https://bpip.go.id/.

Rizqi, Retanisa. "Efektifitas Penyederhanaan Partai Politik Era Orde Baru" 1, no. 03 (2022).

Shihab, M. Quraish. *Tafsir al Misbah*. Lentera Hati, n.d.

Sholihuddin, Muh, and Saiful Jazil. "Konstruksi Fikih Kebangsaan Nahdlatul Ulama: Kajian Terhadap Peran NU Perspektif Fiqh Siyasah." *Al-Qanun: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pembaharuan Hukum Islam* 24, no. 1 (August 7, 2021): 85–121. https://doi.org/10.15642/alqanun.2021.24.1.85-121.

Syarifah H, Luluk. "Peran Central Intelligence Agency (Cia) Dalam Peristiwa Penggulingan Presiden Sukarno Tahun 1955-1968," January 18, 2017. https://repository.unej.ac.id/xmlui/handle/123456789/78852.

Tafsir Alquran Tematik; Moderasi Islam. Jakarta: Lembaga Pentashih Mushaf Alquran, 2012.

Warson Munawir, Ahmad. *Al Munawwir*. Surabaya: Pustaka Progresif, 2002.

Zakiah, Loubna. "Kepercayaan Santri Pada Kiai." *Buletin Psikologi*, no. 1 (n.d.).

Zuhri, KH. Saifudin. "Sumbangan Ulama Kepada Bangsa Dan Negara." Presented at the Ulang Tahun ke 38 Partai Nahdlatul Ulama, 1963.