

The Historicity of Political Thought of Muhammadiyah Regarding the Concept of Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah

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Abstract-This research focuses on political movement of Muhammadiyah regarding the concept of Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah. This research aims to explore, examine, and organize argumentative and theoretical-conceptual information regarding the historical roots and thoughts that become the underlying reasons of making the concept of Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah. This research employs grounded theory method with data collection methods of interview and documentation. The subjects of this research are the managements of Central Board of Muhammadiyah, important figures of Muhammadiyah, historians, and researchers with their study of Muhammadiyah. The data are analyzed using data reduction technique, data presentation, and conclusion/verification. This research results to a theory that the concept of Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah, as idealized by its formulators, can be the reference of policy choice, state practice, and life in the community especially for the citizens of Muhammadiyah in order to capably face the actual challenges that may appear. The integration of such values in the Civic Education will support the structural development of the Civic Education particularly in the life of Muhammadiyah. Therefore, it will have different characteristics and values from other science of Civic Education in general.

Keywords: *civic education, concept of state, Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah, political thoughts of Muhammadiyah*

I. INTRODUCTION

The birth process of the State of Indonesia has a long history in the past with the existence of Muslims in it. In that long process of history, Moslems had a very strategic role in the struggle for independence and the formation of Indonesia as a nation. The movement of more modern and organized Islamic organizations in the early 20th century such as Muhammadiyah organization, which then united with the other national organizations, became a source of strength for the nation's struggle for the Indonesian independence proclaimed on August 17, 1945. The formation of the state of Indonesia was intended to determine the dream of the nation as well as to define the personality of the nation as reflected in the Pancasila ideology. The basic principles of the independent Indonesia as contained in Pancasila were formulated by the founding

fathers of the nation through the process of extracting value from the life of Indonesians, which were not only taken during the colonialism period, but also during the glorious period of kingdom [1].

The long history of Indonesia, as reflected in several periods of government starting from the Revolution era in 1945-1949 until the post-Reformation period nowadays, is always colored by the complex dynamics of life. During this time the national life was colored by a moral and ethical crisis, accompanied by various paradoxes and denial of the values of virtue that had been recognized as noble values of national culture, such as the act of corruption, consumptive, hedonism, materialism, breaking rule action, and other deviant actions, causing Indonesian people to lose meaning in many aspects of life and to weaken joints of the life as citizens of the nation. This situation has encouraged Muhammadiyah to reconstruct a meaningful national life that is in line with the national spirit and ideals as outlined by the founding fathers contained in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution.

At the 47th Congress of Muhammadiyah in Makassar the concept of the State of Pancasila as Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah was born. This effort is carried out as an effort in affirming Pancasila as the basis of the country. To the opinion of Muhammadiyah, Pancasila is an ideal form for the people of Indonesia. Indonesian Citizens in general and Muhammadiyah citizens in particular must be committed to making Pancasila-based nation not only as a place of national consensus (*dar al-'ahdi*), but also as a place of proof or testimony (*dar al-syahadah*) in filling and building meaningful national life for the sake of progress in all areas of life [2]. Muhammadiyah wants to make the concept of the State of Pancasila as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah can be used as a foundation, reference and orientation of thoughts and actions of all elements of society, especially citizens of Muhammadiyah in the life of society, nation and state.

This sort of meaning is called the concept of a state in the frame of Islam and Pancasila [3]. For this reason, this concept must be further formulated through a more in-depth study of the historical dimension so that fundamental values can be found as idealized by the formulator and academic-theoretically it can add *Khazanah* and

epistemologic contribution of civic education science as an interdisciplinary field of knowledge particularly on the topic of the development of thoughts of Islamic figures especially from Muhammadiyah to be one of field of study of Civic education. In practice, it will contribute to the development of the model of civic education based on *Khazanah* of the thoughts of Muhammadiyah intellectual figures in the program of civic education in higher education of Muhammadiyah. The integration of islamic values and Indonesian values in the civic education, is considered as an important matter and necessity in the higher education of Muhammadiyah [4].

These values will later be references of act for people of Muhammadiyah to be in line with their existing ideology, Islamic values, and Indonesian values as derived from the moral principles of Pancasila. With these values, the acts of citizens especially people of Muhammadiyah will be in accordance with the fundamental values of the nation. Without these values, the people of Muhammadiyah will find it difficult to get clear references of the suitability of the everyday behavior that must be done by everyone in the social and national life.

In this regard, this research seeks to highlight the historicity dimension of concept of Pancasila State as *Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah*. This study aims to explore, examine, and organize argumentative and theoretical-conceptual information about the historical roots and the struggle of thought which become the underlying reasons of making the concept of Pancasila State as *Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah* so that it can be a basis, reference, and orientation of thoughts and acts of any elements of society particularly people of Muhammadiyah in the social and national life. In practice, the integration of these values can be done through the civic education in the higher education of Muhammadiyah.

II. THEORETICAL REVIEW

Several key concepts that need to be elaborated in order to clearly understand the political thoughts of Muhammadiyah dealing with the concept of Pancasila State as *Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah* are as follows:

Theory of Social and Political Movement

Based on the theory of social and political movement, Muhammadiyah is categorized as an organization of social and political movement. There are three roles played by Muhammadiyah in the national and state life namely a reformer of religion, an agent of social changes, and a political power [5]. The first two roles are derived from the position of Muhammadiyah as a social and religious organization. Moreover, the third role is an impact of philosophical implication of Islamic modernization and organizational development adopted by Muhammadiyah as the main interest of the group. The political attitude of Muhammadiyah is always driven by its institutional logics, the organization always prioritize the social and religious roles before the political one [6].

Theory of Group Interest

Muhammadiyah is included to the group of interest, meaning that the initial establishment of the organization

is intended to fight for interest of certain group of people. Such position of Muhammadiyah is seen as a non-government organization or participant that has no legal authority to make a policy, but has an ability to influence the policy [7] The group of interest like Muhammadiyah plays an important role in the implementation of democracy in the country.

Theory of Islamic Politics

In the theory of modern Islam, the concepts of Islamic politics are divided into three types namely revivalism, secularism, and modernism [8]. Revivalism is a concept which emphasizes on the belief that Islamic teaching is universal and holistic in which all matter is explained in it (*Al-Qur'an and Al-Hadits*). This concept argues that Moslems are supposed to use Islamic political system and leave the western style. Secularism is a concept which believes that *Al-Qur'an* does not rule either politics or a state. This concept sees religion and politics as a separate thing. The theory of modernism is a concept stating that *Al-Qur'an* does not explain the system of politics but the ethic values in implementing politics. This theory consider a symbiotic relation between religion and politics (a state) as religion needs a state to develop and vice versa. Also called the symbiotic paradigm, this theory is believed to be the concept of an ideal state [9]. This theory seems to become a basis of Muhammadiyah to determine the concept of Pancasila State as *Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah*.

The Concept of Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah in the Context of Civic Education

The concept of the Pancasila State as *Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah* is the result of the 47th Muhammadiyah Conference in Makassar. *Al-ahdi* means that the Pancasila is a national consensus, and *dar al shahadah* is interpreted as a place of evidence or testimony [10]. This concept is Muhammadiyah's commitment to continue to take part in developing and focusing Indonesia's goals as the State of Pancasila. The concept of the Pancasila State as *Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah* is a guideline and reference for people and leaders of Muhammadiyah in behaving in accordance with the values idealized by their formulators, namely Islamic and Indonesian values.

Based on the view of Civic Education, the Concept of Pancasila State as *Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah* is one of the models of citizenship sites using Islamic vision and mission. According to Winataputra, the development of conceptual and instrumental citizenship site models has the potential to become a systemic vehicle for the development of smart, religious, democratic, and civilized Indonesian citizens, and in practice it will improve the quality of socio-cultural life which is gradually reflecting the civic virtue and civic culture of Indonesia with Godhead-based constitutional democracy as one of its pillars [11].

Based on the description, this research question formulated is "What is the meaning contained in the Concept of Pancasila State as *Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah* and how is the struggle of thought behind the birth of the State Concept"?

III. RESEARCH METHODS

This research employs a qualitative approach with grounded theory. The reason underlying the use of the grounded theory method in this research is because it is theoretical conceptual in terms of scientific philosophy, especially concerning epistemology. Therefore, the researcher is expected to be able to find grounded theories of research conducted epistemologically considering that in this research a deep sensitivity is needed to reveal the meaning expressed through the interaction of the researcher with the subject. The intended grounded theory is in the form of the concepts and theories of citizenship education derived from the thoughts of the Muhammadiyah organization and its leaders to balance out the theories of Western thinkers in the civic education in Indonesia.

The determination of the sample is carried out using purposive sampling technique. The samples include management of Central board of Muhammadiyah, Muhammadiyah figures, and academicians who are involved or know the process of formulating the concept of Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah. Interview is also done to the informants to reconstruct their perspectives and ideas in accordance with their respective experiences. The results of the interview are used to develop, to change or verify information that has been obtained. Prior to the interview, the researcher prepares an instrument in the form of an interview guide. In order not to obey research ethics, the researcher seeks the informant's approval before the interview and tries to treat all informants fairly. To guarantee the confidentiality of information, the identity of informants in this research is not originally published.

Other data and information are collected by utilizing sources in the form of official Muhammadiyah documents, articles in Suara Muhammadiyah magazine which contain information that is considered to represent the official views of the organization, as well as the writings of relevant Muhammadiyah figures. The researcher acts as a "human instrument" or the main instrument which is very important in the process of collecting data by utilizing all of his potential and ability to obtain accurate data and information. Data analysis is carried out by following three activity lines which included data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion / verification. The verification is carried out on written information as well as oral information obtained. The step is to try to compare written sources with other written sources, and oral sources to other oral sources and written sources.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The concept of Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah was officially established in the 47th Congress of Muhammadiyah in Makassar in 2015 as one of the most important decisions of the congress. The concept of Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah is based on official ideas which have become the organization's guidelines and references such as core of beliefs and the Ideals of Life in Muhammadiyah, personality of Muhammadiyah, roadmap of Muhammadiyah, Building State's Vision and Character, Progressing Indonesia, and

Results of Tanwir Muhammadiyah in Bandung in 2012 and Tanwir Samarinda in 2014 [12]. As an official document, the concept of Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah involves all citizens of Muhammadiyah including cadres and leaders. Based on historical examistate regarding the birth of the concept of Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah which was carried out through documentation studies and through interviews, several research results were obtained as follows:

1. The concept of Pancasila state as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah the concept of Pancasila state as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah

Confirms the commitment of Muhammadiyah for the state and state. For Muhammadiyah, the country of Indonesia with the Pancasila ideology, also called the state of Pancasila, is a Darul Ahdi or the result of a state agreement that was formulated and decided by the founding fathers on August 18, 1945 as an official decision and the basic constitution of the state where all elements in the state's body may not come out of the agreement for any reasons. This means that all Indonesian people must remain committed to the state of Pancasila. But for Muhammadiyah, Pancasila is not merely a commitment. The commitment of Muhammadiyah is proven by efforts to build the independent, united, sovereign, fair and prosperous state as dreamt by the founding fathers of Indonesia. Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah must be interpreted and functioned as a spirit, thought, and action to build Indonesia in a trustful and responsible manner towards the realization of state ideals amidst the problems and challenges of the future.

Darul Syahadah is literally a participation meaning that Muhammadiyah actively participate as an element of a country. To the opinion of Muhammadiyah, the concept of State of Pancasila is the ideal form of this country. Pancasila does not come from any specific religion, but it contains the value of religions. Therefore, Muhammadiyah see the ideology as the Islamic basis of a state. Muhammadiyah emphasize on the aspect of character of the society, not the format. In other words, Muhammadiyah intend to form Islamic society, not an Islamic State. Referring to the articles of the organization, the objective of Muhammadiyah is to develop Islamic society despite the different definition theologically and politically. Muhammadiyah focus on the society itself not the state. Therefore, in the struggle of Muhammadiyah, the concept of Pancasila is always kept in mind in order to maintain the unity of the country.

2. The underlying ideas of the birth of the concept of Pancasila state as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah

In relation to underlying Ideas of the Birth of the concept of Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah, based on the interview with Nashir and Mu'ti (2019) there are several important points that can be drawn from the results of this study, as follows;

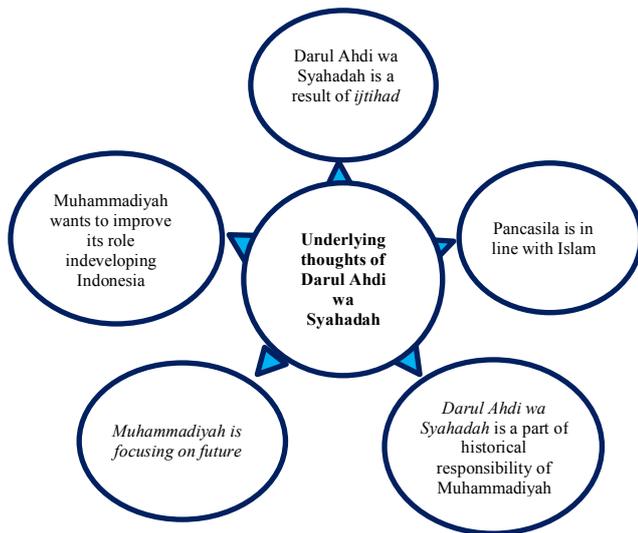


Fig. 1. Underlying thoughts of the Concept of Pancasila State as *Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah*

Firstly, the decision of choosing Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah was motivated by theological thinking that politics and the political system, including the state, are worldly affairs which are the result of strong efforts (ijihad). Related to this, Muhammadiyah has shown their efforts to come to a conclusion that the principle or basis of Indonesia is Pancasila. Theologically, Muhammadiyah assumes that the content of the Pancasila is in line with the value of Islam. Even the first moral principle of Pancasila for Muslims is considered a monotheism (Tauhid) [4]. Moreover, the deepening of tauhid is an absolute requirement to interpret the first moral principle of Pancasila, Belief in the One and Only God [3]. Therefore, theologically the concept of Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah is the actualization of Islamic political ideas and ideals. This means that there is no obstacle for Muhammadiyah to stand up and struggle in the state of Pancasila which has become common concern. Consequently, there is no longer need to aspire to form a state of Indonesia with another format, whether it is a religious, a Caliphate, a secular, or a communist state.

Secondly, historically and politically Pancasila as the basis of the state has become a national consensus called the gentlemen agreement. The state of Pancasila has become a joint political bond. Therefore, all components of the nation including Muhammadiyah and all Muslims must be able to make this historical and political commitment a part of their national commitment. In the national reality, there are still some individuals and groups who aspire to other political forms, such as the Caliphate system or the concept of an Islamic state. In general, it is not wrong to have such a concept because in the history of Islam there was also a manifestation of the concept of an Islamic state and Islamic caliphate. However, the political process that occurs in that Islamic state is also a form effort (ijihad) since the caliphate system also has various forms such as dynasty. Therefore, that concept is not a direct and absolute teaching command, but a result of ijihad. The idea of a new form of the Indonesian state is politically considered

unrealistic, and will only lead to conflict if there are still some Muslims who want a Caliphate or an Islamic state. In the history of the Indonesia, this has been proven during

the period of Darul Islam (DI)/ Tentara Islam Indonesia (TII) rebellion. Therefore, Muhammadiyah try to convince, educate and then make the elements of Muslims understand the essence of Pancasila in order that they are able to accept Pancasila as the basis of the state and make Indonesia a state of Pancasila since this concept is in line with Islam and is an actualization of Islamic politics.

Thirdly, the birth of Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah is a part of Muhammadiyah's historical responsibility since Muhammadiyah is one of the organizations in Indonesia that helped form the founding of the Indonesian state by laying the foundations of the state which is now called the State of Pancasila [13]. At least three Muhammadiyah leaders had important structural positions at that time in the formulation committee, namely Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Prof. Kahar Muzakir, and Mr. Kasman Singodimedjo. This is a proof that Muhammadiyah will always exist to influence the life of the nation and state in Indonesia. This is in line with Nahsir's statement that Muhammadiyah will remain an important part of Indonesian politics as long as it can play its role strategically and responsively [14].

Fourth, Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah is chosen because Muhammadiyah wants to focus on moving forward. Muhammadiyah considers that the ideological debate on the national concept of a state that has been agreed is endless. Muhammadiyah wants to end the ideological conflict by filling the independence of the Indonesian state which has been based on Pancasila and has been in line with Islam to become an advanced country as aspired by the founding fathers to become an independent, united, sovereign, just and prosperous state in the Islamic conception. Muhammadiyah called it the country "Baldatun Thayyibatun Wa Rabbun Ghafur".

Fifth, Muhammadiyah wants to strengthen and enhance its role in advancing Indonesia. In its long history, Muhammadiyah see that Pancasila as the country's foundation experienced ups and downs. Muhammadiyah call it a process of distortion, definition, and also stagnation. The most serious case, of course, is a deflation and distortion where the main and noble values including for example the basics of statehood in Indonesia experience irregularities and destruction. For example, the emergence of the aspirations of the establishment of an Islamic state, or the establishment of a khilafah never happened before. In certain contexts there was also a revival of communism and perhaps also other secular politics which opposed to Pancasila. Therefore, since the Tanwir Session in Lampung, Muhammadiyah began to raise issues such as the character of the nation, where Indonesia experienced the decay symptoms of superior characters from the Indonesian nation. Then in Tanwir Yoga, Pancasila was adopted as the ideal form as well as

the state of Pancasila as the ideal form of the state of Indonesia.

At the Tanwir Muhammadiyah in Samarinda, Muhammadiyah formulated strategy on developing Indonesian which includes the idea of what basis can boost the development and how to retrieve the character of the country as well as to strengthen the foundation of the country; Confirming Pancasila as the basis of the country is one of those ideas. For Muhammadiyah, the political basis and theology is inserted through Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah. The reason of choosing Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah as a concept is due to the fact that some groups of people rejected and deny the existence of Pancasila with the theological argument. For instance, some people think that standing up for Pancasila is a form of Thagut (worshipping besides Allah) or the deviation from thoughts of Islam. Therefore, Muhammadiyah intentionally use the concept Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah as an effort to build a theological construction and an ideal state. As a Darul Ahdi, the state of Indonesia shows a form of agreement among the founding fathers and a form of bond or consensus. This also shows that Muhammadiyah always support that agreement and never arise any idea of establishing other Islamic state.

3. The View of Progressing Indonesia as the Initial Construction of the Birth of Concept of Pancasila as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah

As contained in the concept of Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah, Muhammadiyah has committed to the fact that the state of Pancasila must be a place to prove the struggle for the progressing Indonesia. The conception of progressing Indonesia is a basic thinking and contains meaningful reconstruction in the national life for the sake of the realization of developed, fair, prosperous, sovereign, and dignified country. Meaningful reconstruction of a country, is clearly stated that the progressing Indonesia can be seen as a primary (al-madinal al-fadhillah), a prosperous and civilized (umran), and a welfare [15]. The progressing state is a country which supports the creation of blessings with smart, character, and noble civilized human resources. Therefore, the progressing country must be able to maintain its sovereignty (territory, politics, laws, economy, and culture); to raise the welfare (fulfillment of primary needs); to realize the material and spiritual happiness; to ensure the freedom of thinking, expression, and religion; to respect the human rights; moreover, to create the safety and guarantee of the future. Muhammadiyah believe that Indonesia will be able to achieve the objective of progressing Indonesia as stated in the preamble of the constitution 1945. That is the essential goal to achieve from the concept of Syahada as stated in the concept of Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah.

Based on the examination of the history of the birth of concept of Pancasila as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah, this concept has been the final agreement of Muhammadiyah since it was decided at the 47th congress in Makassar 2015. The birth of this concept is intended to be resources and orientation of thoughts and actions for all Muhammadiyah citizens in the society. However, this concept needs to be

formulated further in order to explore fundamental values so that the relevance to the dynamic and developing social problems can be found. That values will be references for policy choices, state practice and also social life. The integration of those fundamental values can be implemented in the Civic Education [10]. For Muhammadiyah, Civic Education developed in Muhammadiyah must be able to show the relevance of the fundamental values. These fundamental values are in a form of value of Islam and Indonesia like the essence contained in the concept of Pancasila state as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah [12], as well as the basic thought of K.H. Ahmad Dahlan in education that combines general knowledge and religious teachings to provide a balance between intellectual and spiritual intelligence to students (16) [17]. In this context, Muhammadiyah has a strategic role to actualize the values of Islam and Indonesia to become the spirit of social life in order that Muhammadiyah has a solid baseline for the enlightenment, empowerment, and education of wider range of society.

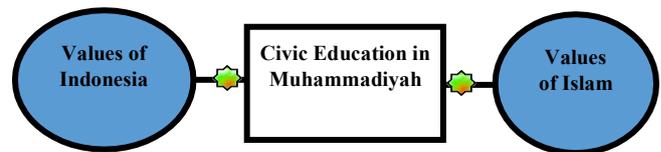


Fig. 2. Integration of Teachings of Islam and Indonesia in the Civic Education Muhammadiyah

Based on the study of Civic Education in several countries, Civic Education is generally addressed to shape the citizen with the fundamental values of related countries [18] [19] [20]. It is because Civic Education expectedly gives positive contributions to the social problems. Therefore, no matter in what form Civic Education is implemented, the fundamental values of society needs to be developed based on the changes of society so that significant contribution can be achieved.

The integration of Islamic values in Civic Education or other disciplines is important to do in the middle of “Western” science in our education world. Despite the fact that “western” science is adored worldwide and eases human beings in the development of technology, the reality shows us that it does not make western countries more civilized [21]. There is a fundamental difference between the concept of western education and Islamic education. The western education is established on two hypotheses: “the concept of modern education that does not admit the supremacy of religion”, and “the concept of differentiation between religion and life”. Based on perceptions arising in some groups of society in the world, there is a notion that science of Islam only talks about the relation between human beings and their God. This notion leads to the narrow meaning of Islam and other forms of science of Islam as well as the fact that sciences of Islam is marginalized from the world. This condition, of course, leads to the dichotomy of modern and religious sciences as well as the model of education. In one side, there is an education that explore only the modern science without morality values of religion (Islam) and produce secular

scientists. In other side, there is also an education that emphasize only on the teaching of religion and never touch the modern science which result to the condition that these scientist do not consider any modern science in his expertise of religion.

The flow of modernization of science seems to be inevitable. The efforts of intellectual modernization is sounded by Jamaluddin Al Afghani. He urged moslem to develop philoshycal and scientific disciplines by expanding the curriculum of education institutions and by renewing periodically. He emphasized that the principal values of Islam are always in line with science. The implementation of education in Turkey that religion is a concept that is closely related to citizenship and educational value [22]. Moreover, the Islamic values serve as a specific framework for moral education [23]. The religion as a strong instrument of socialization has a strong influence on the education and values of citizens [24].

Such ideas support the need to insert religious values in line with Pancasila as stated in the concept of Pancasila as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah to the Civic Education in Muhammadiyah. It is expected that Civic Education will have different characteristics and values from other Civic Education in general such as civic education programs with an emphasis on teaching democracy offering a new perspective on how Islam is fit for the democratization process [25].

V. CONCLUSION

The political thinking of Muhammadiyah regarding the concept of Pancasila state as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah is an official decision of Muhammadiyah based on the 47th Congress in Makassar 2015. The birth of such thinking is intended to be reference and orientation of thinking and action for all Muhammadiyah citizens in the social life based on the view of progressive Islam that has been the perspective of Muhammadiyah. Therefore, the thinking of Pancasila state must be formulated further in order that fundamental values of Islam and Indonesia can be explored. As an effort to shape good citizens, those fundamental values need to be integrated in Civic Education in Muhammadiyah. As a result, Civic Education in Muhammadiyah will have different characteristics from other Civic Education in general.

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