

Dynamic Political Thought of Muhammadiyah About Indonesian State

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ABSTRACT

This study focused on dynamic problems of Muhammadiyah political thoughts about Indonesian State. Moreover, this study aimed to analyze and describe the development of Muhammadiyah political thoughts about Indonesian State therefore it would be able to develop the structures or parts of Civic Education in order to make Civic Education especially in Muhammadiyah had special characteristics and values that differed from general Civics Education studies. Grounded theory was employed in this study using several techniques of data collection: documentation dan interview. Data analysis procedures covered data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion or verification. This study indicated a theory on dynamic of *Muhammadiyah* political thoughts about the concept of Indonesian State that showed the development of *Muhammadiyah* thoughts toward Indonesia concept from time to time. Those changes implicated that *Muhammadiyah* political thoughts about Indonesian State was not one, yet it showed various thoughts. This was affected by the condition of national politics.

Keywords: *Civic Education, Dynamic political, Indonesian state, Muhammadiyah,*

1. INTRODUCTION

Muhammadiyah is an Islamic organization in Indonesia founded by KH Ahmad Dahlan on 8 Zulhijjah 1330 H coincides with 18 November 1912 M in Yogyakarta. Muhammadiyah always emphasizes nationalism as a commitment that is united in its movement and its work across the ages. Muhammadiyah initiated and it has been struggling to integrate Islam and Indonesia in national life. Muhammadiyah and Muslims are an integral part of the nation that has taken part in developing Indonesia. Muhammadiyah is actively involved in laying and determining the foundation of the nation-state. Muhammadiyah's role is very strategic in influencing the life of the nation and state. Since the era of the Dutch Indies Muhammadiyah has actively provided resistance to the colonial government [1]. Moreover, Muhammadiyah can be seen as one of the pillars that helped to establish the house of Indonesia Republic, because Muhammadiyah, who was born in 1912, was thirty-three years older than the birth of Indonesia independence in 1945. One of Muhammadiyah's major contributions to the nation and state of Indonesia is the involvement of Muhammadiyah elite figures such as KH Ahmad Dahlan, who from the beginning had been actively involved in inclusive forums such as the Boedi Oetomo and Sarekat Islam

meetings in giving birth to political thought in the era of struggle. Cannot be forgotten were Prof. Kahar Muzakir, Mr. Kasman Singodimedjo and especially Ki Bagoes Hadikusumo for his role and contribution in the formulation of the concept of Indonesian State [2]. Individual thoughts of those figures could undergo transformation into organizational understanding. In fact, most of those views affect on the consideration of the nation and state, For this reason, the study of the dynamics of Muhammadiyah's political thinking regarding the State of Indonesia from the perspective of Citizenship Education is important because Citizenship Education in Muhammadiyah must be contextual with the values of the Muhammadiyah that originate from the thoughts of the organization and its founding leaders [3]. Therefore, Civic Education (CE) in Muhammadiyah must be contextual with the values of Muhammadiyah which started from organizational thoughts or its figures. This is in accordance with the results of research that CE should have developed Islamic values in accordance with its vision in every learning process including the development of CE learning materials [4]. Other studies also interpret Islam as a system of values needed in the study of civic education. Furthermore according to the study, PKn will have an important contribution about the meaning of efforts to form good citizens with Islamic identity [5], as applied in America which focuses on reinvesting Islam in citizenship education in an effort

to plant the identity of American Muslim students [6] or in Pakistan as an Islamization program for its citizens [7].

In accordance with the background above, the problem was formulated as "How is the dynamics of Muhammadiyah's political thoughts regarding the State of Indonesia?". This study aimed to analyze and describe the development of Muhammadiyah's political thoughts regarding the State of Indonesia. This study is intended to contribute to the scientific epistemology of civic education as an interdisciplinary field of science especially on the topic of the development of Islamic intellectual leaders' thoughts as one of scientific fields of Civic Education. In the long term, this study will initiate the thoughts of Islamic intellectual leaders including Muhammadiyah leaders so that they will enrich the treasures of civic science in Indonesia to compensate the theories of Western intellects. So far the object of CE studies has not included the thoughts of Islamic intellectuals figures [8]. Included in the studies that have been done, Citizenship Education has not been a lot of touching on the field of study of political thought, especially the political thoughts of Islamic intellectual figures.

2. METHOD

This research was conducted through qualitative approach of grounded theory method, which used a number of systematic procedures to develop grounded theories that were inductively arranged about a phenomenon. Data and information were collected by using qualitative data collection techniques that included study documentation, and interviews. The document review was carried out by collecting notes and documents that were deemed necessary to assist the analysis by utilizing the sources of the literature in the form of official Muhammadiyah documents and the writings of Muhammadiyah figures. The interview technique was conducted directly between the researcher and the informants in a dialogical manner. The informants interviewed were some board Muhammadiyah, Muhammadiyah leaders, researchers are concentrating research related to Muhammadiyah and expert scientific background Citizenship Education. The research subjects interviewed were both Muhammadiyah administrators and leaders, researchers who concentrated on conducting research related to Muhammadiyah and experts on Civic Education. Analysis of the data in this study included compiling data, classifying data into units on a regular basis, synthesizing data, looking for patterns, discovering important things and things must be learned, and deciding things would be presented to others. To increase the validity of the data in this study, a variety of different data sources were used, namely based on the results of interviews, documentation studies, and observations to be mutually confirmed with each other, in order to find

the same phenomenon to be generalized in the sub-sub research findings so that researchers can see the relationship between the results and the data found (triangulation).

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Muhammadiyah political thought called as political theology or fundamental religious concept is general and becomes a blue-print guide for Muhammadiyah in politics. The format of religious concepts is formulated in ideology and *khitah* (strategy) of its struggle. Muhammadiyah political thoughts on Indonesian State can certainly be traced from the involvement of Muhammadiyah leaders in formulating Jakarta Charter, to the birth of Pancasila State concept as *Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah* according to Muktamar Makassar decision in 2015. The description of the dynamics of Muhammadiyah political thoughts about Indonesia is depicted as follows:

3.1 Thought in Jakarta Charter Formulation

Three important figures of Muhammadiyah Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Prof. Kahar Muzakir, and Mr. Kasman Singodimedjo and other national leaders played active role in formulating the basic principles and concepts of Indonesia as well as their involvement in Investigating Committee of Preparatory Work for Indonesia Independence (BPUPKI) and Indonesia Independence Preparatory Committee (PPKI). Those three figures together with other Islamic figures became formulators and signatories to the birth of Jakarta Charter which inspired the Preamble of 1945 Constitution. Indeed, the Jakarta Charter was not merely a product of Muhammadiyah organization, but the involvement of the figures in formulating and signing the Jakarta Charter was very influential.

Ki Bagus was a vocal figure representing 15 Islamic groups from 62 BPUPKI members. In BPUPKI session on May 31, 1945 at 3:00 p.m. Ki Bagus issued a statement "build a state on the basis of Islamic teachings"[9]. Ki Bagus's idea about Islam as the basis of the country was based on sociological-historical reasons and reasons for understanding Islamic teachings. This view was indeed in line with the view of Muzakir, his partner in Muhammadiyah. The reason for understanding Islamic teaching for Ki Bagus, Islam was used as the basis of the state based on the substantial and comprehensive understanding of Islamic teachings. He said that the substance and systematic of Islamic teachings include: faith, worship, good deeds and jihad. Five years later, a summary of Islamic teachings that have been delivered in BPUPKI (1945) session forum was also conveyed in the 31st Muktamar Muhammadiyah in 1950, with the addition of two aspects of the teachings, namely imitating the prophets of Allah, especially the Prophet Muhammad, and involving organization (state). Both are struggle strategies that

cannot be negotiated in capturing and upholding the religion of Islam. This kind of thinking by Ahmad Syafii Maarif is referred to as ideal Islam which describes a totality of Muslim worldviews. The strategic effort to actualize the ideals of Islam in the context of state politics was once conveyed by Mohammad Natsir and Zainal Abidin Ahmad in their speech at the Constituent Assembly Session in 1950. The ideas as above are actually heavily influenced by Islamic thinkers who are considered the most comprehensive in initiating the concept of an "Islamic state", namely Jamal Al-Din Asadabadi or better known as Al-Afghani who said that Islam should not only be discussed from a narrow angle but must be elaborated, intellectually religious in order to be able to discuss in broader matters including those related to power [10].

3.2. Thought in Changing Jakarta Charter Formulation

If we look back at history, the role of Muhammadiyah leaders in forming the state can be seen from the debate on the basis of the State in the BPUPKI session that was held on May 29 to June 1, 1945. The debate among members produced two main ideas about the basis of the State as stated by Anshari [11]. Islamic nationalist groups wanted Indonesia to be established as an Islamic state. While the secular nationalist group wanted Indonesia to be national unity state that separates between State and Islamic affairs, in other words: Indonesia was not as an Islamic State. In addition to Islamic nationalist groups, such as Kahar Muzakir, Abikoeno Tjokrosoejoso, Agus Salim, Ahmad Soebarjo, and Wachid Hasyim who were members of the "Committee Nine" as the initiators of the Jakarta Charter, other members of the BPUPKI who also supported the Jakarta Charter were Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, then head of PP Muhammadiyah. Ki Bagus Hadikusumo's participation was also seen in PPKI trial.

On August 18, the first PPKI session was held, one of its decisions was to approve the text "Jakarta Charter" as the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, except the "seven words" after the principle of Godhead, which were replaced by the word "Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa"[12]. Two hours earlier Ki Bagus had been directly involved to discuss issues which were apparently seen as principles with Mohammad Hatta, Teuku Muhammad Hasan, and Kasman Singodimedjo. The thing that needed to be emphasized was that in a critical moment one day after the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) was proclaimed, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo and Mr. Kasman Singodimedjo with a religious spirit and high statesmanship accepted exclude the seven words in the Jakarta Charter in order to save the integrity and unity of Indonesia, namely the clause "with the obligation to carry out the Islamic syari'at for the adherents" and replace it as "the One Only Godhead" became the first principle of

Pancasila. The deletion of the seven words in the Jakarta Charter was not easy for Muhammadiyah leaders and representatives of Muslims at that time, but this attitude was taken as a form of responsibility and commitment to nationality for the upholding of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The sacrifice of Islamic leaders, therefore Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara, former minister of religion emphasized "that without the help and sacrifice of Islam, Pancasila would not exist in Indonesia. Muslims had given the greatest gifts and sacrifices for the independence of Republic of Indonesia and the existence of Pancasila"[11].

3.3. Thought of Baldatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur State

Baldatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur is the ideal of Muhammadiyah which is stated in Muhammadiyah Articles of Association. Researchers assume that Baldatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur then becomes the root of Muhammadiyah State concept. As stated in Muqaddimah Anggaran Dasar Muhammadiyah, Baldatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur is defined as "a country that is beautiful, clean and prosperous under the protection of the Forgiving God". According to Ki Bagus Hadikusumo in his book "Islam sebagai Dasar Negara dan Achlaq Pemimpin", the term Baldatun Thajjibah is interpreted as "a good country". The Thajjibah means: useful, good, clean and harmless for the society. Baldatun Thajjibah or good country is a country that is beneficial to all its people, good and neat for its rules and structure, clean from injustice and unfair, governed and regulated sincerely from any individual or group interest so that it will be harmless to the people. Whereas Rabbun Ghafur is the Forgiving Allah, who protects His servants who believe and do good, serve Him, accept and uphold His laws. According to the view of Ki Bagus Hadikusuma a good country must receive protection from Allah the Forgiving God because the country was compiled and regulated based on the laws of Allah.

3.4. Islamic State Conception "Baldatun Thayyibatun"

Throughout the age of Muhammadiyah for more than a century, Muhammadiyah political thought is quite comprehensive, namely the "Islamic State Conception" in 1955 delivered by Abdul Kahar Muzakir who was also a member of BPUPKI and signatory of the Jakarta Charter [13]. Abdul Kahar Muzakir conveyed this strategy in 1955 Muhammadiyah Tanwir Session in Pekalongan, Central Java, regarding to the duty of the 32nd Muhammadiyah Central Executive in 1953 in Purwokerto. In that Mukdamar, Muhammadiyah must have a conception of an Islamic state due to the aspirations and insistence of Mukdamirin. The Chairperson, M. Farid Makruf, focused on the central executive of Muhammadiyah to appoint a team

(chaired by Abdul Kahar Muzakir) in charge of compiling political thought or the concept of an Islamic state. The debate on the conception of the Islamic state in the 1955 Tanwir session resulted that Abdul Kahar Muzakir perfected the strategy and it was submitted to all tanwir members in Indonesia. This was aimed at obtaining input on political thought from Tanwir members. Unfortunately, the follow-up of the Tanwir trial did not find any data, including the next 33rd Muhammadiyah Muktamar in Palembang in 1956. Indeed, there were early indications that the conception of the Islamic state was perfected, specifically on one of the points in the Muhammadiyah Struggle Khitah (1956-1959) which explicitly mentioned Islamic state society, such as the following quote: "regulate the life and livelihood of households with their neighbors from the moment of birth, marriage and death, so that it forms Islamic village or society then finally the society of Islamic city and Islamic state could be achieved [13].

3.5. *The State Conception of Pancasila as Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah*

Muhammadiyah thoughts on the concept of the state continued until the birth of the concept of the "Pancasila State as Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah" which had been approved in the 47th Muhammadiyah Conference on 18-22 Syawwal 1436 Hijriyah, which coincided with 3-7 August 2015 in Makassar. This meant that the existence of the State of RI on the basis

of the State of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution had become part of the Muhammadiyah agreement on the concept of the State [2]. Muhammadiyah considers that the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) proclaimed on August 17, 1945 is the State of Pancasila which is upheld above the philosophy of nationalism which is noble and in line with Islamic teachings. The Pancasila State which contains soul, mind, and noble ideals as set out in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution can be actualized as *Baldatun Thayyibatun Wa Rabbun Ghafur* who has advanced, fair, prosperous, dignified, and sovereign life in the protection of Allah SWT. The Pancasila State is the result of national consensus (*dar al-ahdi*) and place of proof or testimony (*dar al-syahadah*) to become a safe and peaceful country (*dar alsalam*) in order to achieve advanced, fair, prosperous, dignified, and sovereign life under *ridha* of Allah SWT. All Muslims including Muhammadiyah must be committed to make the Pancasila State as *Dar al-Syahadah* or the country where people testify and prove themselves in filling and building national life that is meaningful towards progress in all areas of life. In the State of Pancasila as *Darus Syahadah*, Muslims must be ready to compete (*fastabiqul khairat*) to fill and achieve advanced life of the nation with all the best creations and innovations. The dynamic development of political Muhammadiyah thought about the Indonesian state can be seen in the following figure 1.

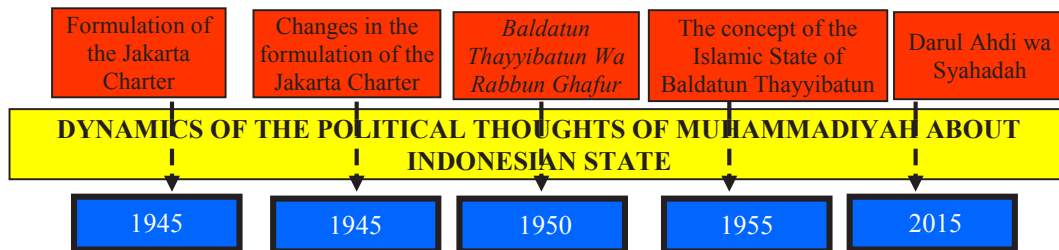


Figure 1. Muhammadiyah Political Thought Dynamics Concerning Indonesia

The emergence of human awareness to live in groups has encouraged the creation of a state which Thomas Hobbes described that each individual in it has agreed to give full authority to the state to regulate life together. But this full authority has created authoritarianism. Therefore, Maududi offers a theo-democracy in which sovereignty is in the hands of God through religious teachings. This concept is not much different from the view of Al-Ghazali which states that the head of state is the shadow of God on earth. However, Fazrur Rahman criticized such thoughts on the grounds that it is impossible for God to be politically sovereign. Concepts such countries is not without drawbacks, it will create an authoritarian attitude with great power possessed ruler. This is what then encourages the birth of civil society where the community is increasingly strengthening its role in empowering

themselves outside the structure of the state government. The form of civil society is the existence of community forces in the form of institutions or organizations. In the Indonesian context, this can be seen from the role of Muhammadiyah since its birth.

During the long period of time, starting from the Japanese occupation, namely in 1942 until the late 1980s, Muhammadiyah was led by oleh ulama as governing elite. In addition to wrestling in the intellectual-religious field, in this context the ulama cannot be separated from social and political relations including state matters. Even at certain periods, Muhammadiyah and its elites were involved in practical political processes. The socio-political conditions, both direct and indirect, influence the transformation of thought into an ideological nature. This thought was an individual

thought which in reality later became the official thinking of Muhammadiyah. Some of the individual thoughts were adopted into the building of official thought and were regarded as Muhammadiyah ideologies, such as the Articles of Association which were more influenced by the thought of Ki Bagoes Hadikusumo.

The development of Muhammadiyah's political thinking as described in the research findings illustrates that Muhammadiyah's political thinking about the State of Indonesia is not single, but has various types of thinking. This can be seen from the development of thought from period to period. This is because it is influenced by the national political conditions that occurred at that time. Just as when fighting for Islam as the basis of the state in the BPUPKI trial, it was nothing else because at that time there was no basis for the state ideology that had been set. But the conditions thereafter are demands to release Islamic identity in the form of state ideology. With the magnanimity of Islamic leaders at that time, especially Ki, as a part of Muhammadiyah, they volunteered to change the seven key words in the Jakarta Charter. But in the following period when there was an opportunity to re-enter Islam into the state constitution, Muhammadiyah drafted the Islamic state of *Baldatun Thoyyibatun* based on the decision of the 32nd Mukhtamar in Purwokerto which was fought through Masyumi because it was possible to fight for political parties while Muhammadiyah was not a political party. But this struggle could not continue because Sukarno issued a Presidential Decree on June 5, 1959 by dissolving the Constituent Assembly and reestablishing the enactment of the 1945 Constitution as the basis of state ideology. This means that the struggle for Islamic law again found failure for the second time. In the following period Muhammadiyah in 47th Congress in Makassar confirmed its commitment to Pancasila which was strengthened by the decision of the Congress. This attitude was taken because Muhammadiyah wanted to affirm its views and commitments to Pancasila amidst certain parties doubts about Muhammadiyah's commitment to Pancasila.

The history of the development of Muhammadiyah's political thinking about the Indonesian state must be a knowledge for citizens, especially Muhammadiyah citizens, so that the younger generation of Muhammadiyah understands that there is a great contribution of Muhammadiyah in terms of its political thinking about the State of Indonesia. While the excavation of the meaning contained in Muhammadiyah's political thinking is absolutely necessary so that the citizens of Muhammadiyah can have behavioral guidelines in their lives. The process of giving this understanding can be done through citizenship education. PKN in Muhammadiyah from elementary to tertiary level

must be able to integrate Islamic and Indonesian values as contained in Muhammadiyah's thinking so far regarding the concept of the Indonesian state.

4. CONCLUSION

The development of Muhammadiyah political thoughts on the Indonesian state if viewed from a historical perspective it can be traced from the ideas in the formulation of the Jakarta Charter, the changes to the Jakarta Charter, Muhammadiyah ideals regarding the state "*Baldatun Thayyibatun Wa Rabbun Ghafur*", the concept of the Islamic State *Baldatun Thayyibatun*, and continue to the birth of the Pancasila concept as *Darul Ahdi wa Shahadah* according to the 2015 Makassar Conference decisions. The development of this thought implies that Muhammadiyah political thinking about the State of Indonesia is not single, but has various types of thinking. This is influenced by the national political conditions that occurred at that time. The concept of the state of *Baldatun Thayyibatun Wa Rabbun Ghafur* is henceforth the root of the birth of various concepts of the Indonesian State according to Muhammadiyah thought, and the concept of the Pancasila State as *Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah* although it is not mentioned as a final concept but this has become the final agreement decided at the highest session in Muhammadiyah until now. Thus, it is necessary to conduct further study especially on the meaning and interpretation of the concept of the Pancasila State as *Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah* so that the actualization of the concept can be easily implemented.

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