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Dinamika Peranan Aktor Hubungan Internasional

Aktor Politik Kontemporer dalam Perspektif *Psychocultural*

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Pengantar Redaksi

Jurnal Kosmopolitan Volume 3 Nomor 2 kali ini menggambarkan tema besar dalam “Dinamika Peranan Aktor Hubungan Internasional”. Membicarakan tentang sosok aktor HI biasanya akan selalu bermuara di narasi besar “negara bangsa” sehingga isu-isu HI lainnya hanya akan dilihat dan dilekatkan padanya. Dalam dunia yang semakin mengglobal dan berubah kemudian menghadirkan sosok selain negara bangsa yang ikutserta berperan merestrukturisasi sistem internasional. Dengan demikian beragamnya actor yang muncul ke permukaan menyemarakkan ruang diskusi Hubungan Internasional yang semakin berubah dan berkembang.

Dinamika aktor dalam studi Hubungan Internasional dalam volume ini dipaparkan dalam beberapa artikel. Diantaranya diawali oleh narasi Aktor politik kontemporer dalam perspektif *Psychocultural* menggunakan konsep Panopticon Foucault yang secara kritis melihat diskursus reproduksi aktor dalam politik kontemporer negara modern. Artikel kedua, melihat peranan actor civil society seperti Nahdhatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah dalam membangun dan membentuk karakter pergerakan modern di Indonesia. Selanjutnya perluasan actor HI menggambarkan bagaimana actor sub nasional mengimplementasikan hubungan luar negeri disajikan dalam artikel ketiga. Artikel keempat memperlihatkan peranan actor *International Government Organization* seperti UNICEF dalam program *Millenium Development Goals* di Kabupaten Sorong. Dan yang terakhir adalah tulisan yang mengupas ekspansi bantuan asing Jepang dalam peranan *EPA (Economic Partnership Agreement)*.

Semoga menjadi stimulan bagi sidang pembaca.

Makassar, Juli 2015

Redaksi

THE ROLE OF NADHATUL ULAMA (NU) AND MUHAMMADIYAH IN BUILDING THE MODERN INDONESIA

Beche Bt Mamma

Abstraksi

Indonesia terkenal sebagai sebuah negara dengan jumlah penduduk muslim terbesar di dunia dengan dua kelompok muslim terbesar yaitu Nadhatul Ulama (NU) dan Muhammadiyah. Kedua kelompok ini telah membentuk karakter pergerakan modern di Indonesia. Melalui penelitian kelompok-kelompok ini, rangkaian perubahan baik dalam bidang politik dan sosial diketahui mempengaruhi peristiwa politik yang menawarkan pencerahan kepada pemerintah dan kebangkitan diskursus isu - isu modern di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci : *Populasi muslim, pergerakan modern, perubahan politik, kebangkitan*

Abstract

Indonesia is known as one of the biggest muslim population in the world named Nadhatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. These two groups have shaped the characteristic of modern movement in Indonesia. Through examines these groups the series of change both in politics and social have played vital role in influencing the political events, offering enlightenment for government and the resurgence of the dynamic discourse of modern issues.

Keywords : *Muslim population, modern movement, political change, resurgence*

Introduction

Indonesia is well known as one of the biggest Muslim population in the world with population around 246 million people.¹⁷ With this larger Muslim population, Indonesia has faced several consequences of what we know as modern era. Regarding with this matter, there are two biggest Muslim groups that are Nadhatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah that have shaped the characteristic of modern movement in Indonesia. Both of these groups which are also known as traditionalist and modernist groups have slightly different opinion which based on their basis group's philosophy in dealing with modernization in term of modern Indonesia context.

This can be seen through series of changes both in politics and social life, for instance the shifting from authoritarian power, in Soeharto's regime to the reformation era. In this long term, both of groups have played vital role in influencing the political

¹⁷ World population review, *Population of Indonesia 2013*, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/population-of-indonesia-2012/> , consulted on 4 June 2013.

events, offering enlightenment thoughts for government, and the resurgence of their youth generation through dynamic discourse of modern issues. The first part of this essay will give historical view of Nadhatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah and then will explain their role in education system, social and politics, and contemporary *Ijtihad*¹⁸ which imbued both of groups in building Modern Indonesia. Both of groups have distinctive differentiation in implementing actions and thoughts; they significantly have colored the discourse in building modern Indonesia.

Nadhatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah

Islam in Indonesia is always interesting to examine.¹⁹ This is because it has shaped the discourse of modern Indonesia in many aspects particularly regarding the continuity of Islam thoughts in modern era. In the early 1960s, Clifford Geertz, an American Anthropologist, divided Muslim In Indonesia, particularly in Java, into two typology that are *santri* and *abangan* where *santri* means the pious Muslim, those who have strong faith in Islam, someone who does fasting in Ramadhan and praying five times a day. While *abangan* represented Muslims who are not pious, those who do not have strong faith in Islam, this types of Muslim was widely used by scholar to mapping the Islam characteristic in Indonesia.²⁰

In the Soeharto's regime, it is also known as 'new order' the role of Islam that was represented by two major groups, Nadhatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah where in Geertz typology included in *santri* Muslims. NU is the largest Muslim population in Indonesia, and then come after that is Muhammadiyah. NU is known as a Muslim group that holds a traditional view regarding deal with modern idea. This is due to its thoughts that are not only derived from Quran and obligatory (Prophet Actions) but it is also based on tradition and Ulema decision.²¹ NU also imbued with Sufi approach in their religion activities sphere.²²

¹⁸ *Ijtihad* means the individual exercise of power of reasoning, interpretation and contextualized application of the Quran and the sunnah, as opposed to simply accepting the concensus of ealier scholar, see Greg Burton page 11.

¹⁹ A. Azra, '*Islam reformis dinamika intelektual dan gerakan*', Rajawali Press, Jakarta,1999, pp. v-xix

²⁰ C. Geertz, '*The religion of Java*', The free press of glencoe, Illinois, 1960, pp.5-7

²¹ A. A. A. Dy, M. H. Zuhdi, et all, '*Islam Ahlulssunnah waljama'ah di Indonesia: sejarah, pemikiran, dan dinamika Nadhatul Ulama*', *Pustaka Ma'arif NU*, Jogyakarta,2007, pp. 107-110.

²² G. Barton, '*Gus Dur the authorized biography of Abdulrahman Wahid*', Equinox Publishing, Jakarta, 2002, pp 62-64.

The background of NU in Indonesia was influenced by the changing Islamic condition in Egypt. This was because at that time the idea of modernism which came to Indonesia had shocked the social life foundation of Islam that dominated Islam practice. This condition also influenced the decision of who would be sent to the Islamic Meeting in Egypt. Wahab Chasbullah, a prominent Islamic traditional thinker, insisted to defend his views on traditional views which were included the practice of visiting grave, and prays on the behalf of one's death. However, other Islamic scholar, who received modern views, had rejected Chasbullah views as one of issue that should be in the delegation package. From this, Wahab Chasbullah decided to set up a new Islamic direction which still based on traditional views. Chasbullah's movement had gained a huge supports from other Ulama who also had similar misson with Chasbullah.

While Muhammadiyah's philosophy is based on its group movement with the spirit of Quran and prophet actions (Sunnah), they leave excessive respect to *ulama* and few teachings that according to Muhammadiyah as not pure as Islam teaching.²³ This group of religion also is well known as a modern and an enlightened. As mentioned by Nakamura that the aims of this association was to promote Islam teaching by direct learning from the Quran and Hadith (the record of the deeds and the sayings of the prophet Muhammad).²⁴

At this stage it has a slightly different philosophy as NU has.²⁵ Muhammadiyah, in the early decade, was founded by H.K. Ahmad Dahlan who believed that Islam teaching should be brave to receive modern ideas as a part of an effort to create a better society which Islam population still has competitive skills.²⁶ To achieve their aim this organization at the early years was not merely focused on issues of worshipped, but their move effectively on how to change the poor- social condition of Muslim population by establishing small unit firm at which from this they could improve their quality life. By realizing that idea, Muhammadiyah, according to 2005 census, stated that total of these small unit firm were about 7.489. This was surprising figure for religion organization and it surely arisen question towards this organization worshipped teaching.

²³ Sutarmo, ' *Muhammadiyah gerakan social-keagamaan modernis*', Suara Muhammadiyah, Jakarta, 2005, p.4

²⁴ M.Nakamura, ' *The Crescent arises over the bayan tree*', Gadjah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta, 1983, p. 5

²⁵ Sutarmo, ' *Muhammadiyah gerakan social-keagamaan modernis*', Suara Muhammadiyah, pp.4-8

²⁶ Sutarmo, p. 5

On the other hand, in the political event this association was contributed intensively during independence and proclamation era. It can be seen through the involvement of this association in Masyumi²⁷ and in an effort to eradicate the communist movement in Indonesia (PKI).²⁸

The Role in Education

As mentioned earlier in this essay, NU and Muhammadiyah have a significant role in building the modern Indonesia. This can be seen through the issue of education. At the beginning of NU and Muhammadiyah existed in Indonesia, they have built places to study which was known as ‘pasantren’, a traditional religious boarding school, for NU educational system and public schools for Muhammadiyah educational system²⁹.

Both of NU and Muhammadiyah have a different concept in implementing the concept of *pasantren*. In NU’s *pasantren*, it can be seen that the strong influenced by prominent leader (kyai) and the learning of *yellow books* (kitab kuning). The implementation was merely by checking the understanding of students through their memorizing ayah in the Quran and hadiths.³⁰ This type of schools was also dominated by the teaching of folk Islam and tasawuf³¹ which associated them with ‘little tradition’.³² This *pasantrens* can be found at many places particularly in rural areas in Java, Sumatra, and South Sulawesi where NU population is much based on those places.³³

However, nowadays, the significant changing has been happen in NU educational system,³⁴ public schools are now organized by NU’s organization with included subjects like maths, computer and art. This changing has given a huge impact on the students where their understanding of the Quran and *yellow books* are not merely in traditional

²⁷ Masyumi stands for Majelis Syoro Muslimin Indonesia which means Consultative council of Indonesia Muslim. The peak modernist Islamic political party in the 1950s.

²⁸ Parti komunis Indonesia means Indonesia Communist Party

²⁹ M. Fuad, ‘Islam, modernity and Muhammadiyah’s education programme’, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, vol.5, no. 3, 2004, p. 403

³⁰ M. Fadjar, ‘*Muhammadiyah and Nadhatul Ulama: reorientasi wawasan pendidikan*’, in *Muhammadiyah dan NU: reorientasi wawasan keislaman*, LPPI UMY-LKPSM NU-PP AL MUHSIN Yogyakarta, 1993, pp.57-63

³¹ Tasawuf is the teaching of sufism

³² G. Burton, ‘Indonesian’s Nurcholish Majid and Abdurrahman Wahid as Intellectual ulama: the meeting of Islamic traditionalism and modernist thought’, *Islam and Christian-muslim relation*, vol. 8,no. 3, 1997, pp. 323-324.

³³ A. Azra, ‘*Islam reformis: dinamika intelektual dan gerakan*’, Rajawali Press, Jakarta, 1999, pp. 57-60.

³⁴ A. A’la, ‘*Pembaruan Pasantren*’, Pustaka Pasantren, Yogyakarta, 15-21

views, but they knowledge on computer or art could give them a better understanding on how to deal with modern life.

Conversely, Muhammadiyah's education is not merely based on pasantren as done by NU, but it more focused on how to collaborate the idea of change which was copied from west and east and Islam itself.³⁵ As Ahmad argues that in education Muhammadiyah wants to have strong Islam intellectuals who are not only know Islam but they must also have knowledge on how to deal with the 'secularism' which came from west. \

This kind of ambition is implementing into two aspects; first is ambition. Through established the ambition, Muhamaddiyah wants to ensure that knowledge that will be gained by the scholars could be implemented in daily life and in practical way. This is also as a form of empowering *ummah* to build modern Indonesia. As Fuad mentioned that Muhammadiyah believes modern knowledge and techonogy could help ummah leave proverty and backwardess as well as leaving Islamic old fashioned ideas of modernity.³⁶

As a consequence, Muhammadiyah improved on their Islam curriculum by integrating religion subject into public schools and integrating secular knowledge into religion schools. Second is technical implementing. By doing changes in learning methodology, tools and infrastructures, school organization and school evaluation, those changes comes from new education system which still had not yet acknowledge on Islamic education, particularly in the Islam schools where the system isolated from knowledge development in modern era.³⁷

Even there are big differences of concepts in implementing ideas of education; both NU and Muhammadiyah can be said successfully creating layers of generation who had contributed to bring Indonesia that could deal with modern life. Many scholars who are from NU or Muhammadiyah have a significant roles; from NU, for instance former President of Indonesia, Abdul Rahman Wahid who is widely known as a eccentric, activist social, and out of box thinker. During his power as a president in Indonesia, he had built a harmony relation with varied organization based on religions, races and groups. And his fundamental idea about inter-faith community that should be encouraged

³⁵ M. Fuad, 'Islam, modernity and Muhammadiyah's education programme', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, vol.5, no. 3, 2004, p.1

³⁶ M. Fuad, 'Islam, modernity and Muhammadiyah's education programme', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, vol.5, no. 3, 2004, p.1

³⁷ A. Jainuri, 'Muhammadiyah sebagai gerakan pembaharuan Islam', in *Muhammadiyah kini dan esok*, Pustaka panjimas Jakarta, 1990, pp. 41-43

in Indonesia receiving many criticisms³⁸, this was because that idea was not common in Indonesia at that time.

However, nowadays the idea working together with other religions is done by many organizations, such as Interfedei Indonesia. Similar concept also was introduced by the late Norcholish Majid, a prominent Indonesia scholar, who emphasized that respecting other religions was important to create a Modern Indonesia.³⁹ By doing this, he argues that it could unite all the differences then later it could form a harmony social life structure. While scholars from Muhammadiyah, such as Amin Rais and Azyumardi Azra both of them are very famous scholars in Indonesia, they contributed on how idea of modern Indonesia could be achieved by changing Islamic schools system which is nowadays not relevant. This Issue of change either from NU or Muhammadiyah scholars were heavily criticized by both sides of groups. Those debates still are an important discourse nowadays.

Politics Influence

Not only contributed in improving education system, they also have colored the dynamic of political atmosphere in Indonesia. During ‘new order’ under Soeharto’s regimes, NU was a pro Soeharto. This was interesting because NU involved intensively in this regime due to the religion reason for all people favor. At that time, NU involvement as members of House of Representative ‘Gotong Royong’ did not come from all of NU members.

In the NU organization itself, the involvement in Soeharto’s regime partly did not agreed by some of NU prominent people such as Bisri Sjansuri and Achmad Shiddiq. But some of them such as Wahab Chasbullah and others were agreed to be part of the regime to spread goodness.⁴⁰ The rejection was primarily caused by a strong intention by few members, for instance as I mentioned earlier Bisri Sjansuri and Ahmad Shiddiq, who did not NU to involve in politics.

This was probably they worried if NU actively involved in Politics, it would open an opportunity to the organization to no longer stick on its fundamental principle which

³⁸ G. Burton, pp.232- 239

³⁹ Z. Misrawi, ‘ *Menggugat tradisi:pergulatan pemikiran anak muda NU*’, Kompas, Jakarta, 2004, pp. xv-xviii

⁴⁰ A. Azra, ‘ *Islam reformis dinamika intelektual dan gerakan*’, pp. 74-76.

is to create prosperity to ummah with based on Islam. Later, Wahab Chasbullah's accommodative group won the thought discourse in the sake of organization.

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The refusal from few NU's members should be understood as a form of supervising in organization. Similar thought was written by Azyumardi Azra that what was interesting regarding the involvement of NU in politics in the end of regime Soeharto era. He argued that the politics accommodative, which was NU's trend mark on its politic participation, had been changed to be traditionalism radical.⁴³ It can clearly be seen during the time where Abdul Rahman Wahid had different mission towards Soeharto's regime. At that time, NU put the strongest critics on Soeharto's policy. Further as Andree Feillard (cited in Azra) argues that this situation happen due to the disappointment of NU because the regime did not consider their decision regarding the election day whether in 1967/1968, to activate President instruction that dealing with the accessibility of retired public servant to engage in politic, and the idea *piagam Jakarta*.⁴⁴

Moreover, Azra maintained that the involvement of NU in politics in 1973 was when it joined United Development Party (PPP). Because of many problems inside the party- including conflict of interest made NU leaving the PPP, NU also considered the

⁴¹ A. Azra, 'Islam reformis dinamika intelektual dan gerakan', pp. 74-76.

⁴² B. Effendy, 'Islam in contemporary Indonesian politics', Ushul Press, 2006, Jakarta, pp. 18-19

⁴³ A. Azra, p. 75

⁴⁴ A. Azra, pp. 75-78

decision that was made by Mukhtar NU in Situbondo which wanted NU to do not involve in politics.⁴⁵

During the Suharto's regime, the involvement and the freedom of Islamic party were not freely accepted. As mentioned by Porter that it was based on Law No.18 which stated all functions, rights, and duties of community organization. In this Law clearly stated that the obligation of the leaderships in any organization to ensure their members to receive Pancasila doctrine and put national unity above the interest of individual or groups. Furthermore, each organization had to register by providing the members lists to the Minister of internal affairs. The results of this Law was, as mentioned above NU withdrew from PPP because the regime intervention had proven undermined the NU's political and economic interests. As a consequence, in 1984 in Situbondo congress, NU announced its formal withdrew from PPP and return to its originally organization spirit as a social-religious organization.⁴⁶

However, when Abdul Rahman Wahid or Gus Dur became the President of Indonesia on October 1999, NU as an organization got its moment. It was because Abdul Rahman Wahid is a NU's members. So, most of policies that had been issued by Wahid's government that considered as NU, On the other, Gus Nur who came from the NU family was well known as someone who has liberal view regarding Islam. His views particularly emphasized on how to enhance the cooperation among religions in Indonesia and in the world. His commitment had honored him with lists of awards from Indonesia and the world such as the culture of peace distinguished award 2003, from International culture of peace project Italia, Global tolerance award from United Nation, and Paul Harris fellow from The rotary International.⁴⁷

However, his liberal view on freedom was not received by all Muslim groups in Indonesia, there were groups which resisted with his opinion. As Nusantari maintains that Gusdur liberal view on freedom and religion are more excessive than he should be.⁴⁸ Although his view on freedom in religion was assessed vary in society, most of his controversy opinions contributed to modern life in Indonesia, particularly creating peaceful life among different religions.

⁴⁵ Azra, p. 43

⁴⁶ D.J.Porter, ' *Managing politics and Islam in Indonesia* ', Routledge Curzon, London, 2002, pp. 48-49

⁴⁷ A. Nusantari, ' *Ummat menggugat Gus Dur: menelusuri jejak penentangan syariah* ', Aliansi Pencinta Syariah, Jawa Barat, 2006, pp. 27-29

⁴⁸ A. Nusantari, pp. 40-41

Having different basis regarding politics, Muhammadiyah involvement in politics was not as active as NU did. However, Muhammadiyah was still having closed relation with National Mandate Party (PAN). This correlation could be seen through the vote that the PAN got in 2002 which was 7.8%. This vote would not be much if Muhammadiyah was not participate on in. According to Arifin, Muhammadiyah affiliated to PAN based on its similar ideology movement, this affiliation was not formally as NU did with PKB.

The affiliation was merely because Muhammadiyah wanted to participate in politics cultural which was not formally linkage to PAN movement.⁴⁹Historically, in 1945, Muhammadiyah, NU and other Islamic organization joined Masyumi party, a party which represented Muslim interests. But later NU withdrew from the party because it disputed with modernist leaders in the party. In 1960s Masyumi was banned due to its involvement in supporting rebellion group in Sumatra.⁵⁰

As a modern islamic organization, Muhammadiyah believes that to create and to participate in modern Indonesia is not merely active in party politics. As maintained by Federspiel that Muhammadiyah's political activities based on its members decision on congress or meeting which emphasized that Muhammadiyah as an organization was banned to join formally any party politics.⁵¹ This decision was made because Muhammadiyah has realized that as a social organization it should not play its politics role.

However, individually, many of its members actively involved in party politics out of Muhammadiyah organization, for instance Amin Rais. Also in 1966, after did not active in politics during Sukarno's era. Muhammadiyah has gradually changed its organization limitation in politics from being limited to be actively participated. At this point, some leaders who were still arguing the participation of Muhammadiyah in politics, were lately having opinion that politics can be used as a tool to do change and to gain support in society.

⁴⁹ S. Arifin, ' *Islam Indonesia: sinergi membangun civil Islam dalam bingkai keadaban demokrasi* ', UMM Press, Jakarta, 2003, p. 243

⁵⁰ D.J. Porter, ' *Managing politics and Islam in Indonesia* ', Routledge Curzon, 2002, New York, p. 41

⁵¹ H. M. Federspiel, ' *Studi tentang Muhammadiyah sebagai gerakan Islam ortodoks* ' in *Muhammadiyah Kini & Esok*, Pustaka PanjiMas, Jakarta, 1990, pp. 118-121

The support of *Pancasila*⁵² as the foundation of Indonesia and the Suharto's regime was as indication that the *new order* guaranteed the better for Indonesian through democracy and rights. It does not mean that Muhammadiyah as a social organization has changed its direction, but it showed its flexibility in striving for Islamic modern values.

The different political behavior between Muhammadiyah and NU have shown that NU as an organization that have patronage and capacity to influence grassroots Islamic activities. This could be seen that in NU the power of Ulemas dealing with ummah problems and unity, while in Muhammadiyah has power in the bureaucracy as a public servant regarding their educational background.⁵³

Ijtihad

The dichotomy of modern and traditional between NU and Muhammadiyah does not only happen in education and politics; it has also continuity discourse in Ijtihad.⁵⁴ For NU Ijtihad is not encourage, it is because it is dangerous for someone who is only hold his believe on Quran and Hadith by his own interpretation. This understanding could lead to a big sin. So, it has emphasized in NU to follow strictly Ijtihad that had been standardized by four schools of thoughts in sunni which are Hanafi, Sya'fi, Maliki and Hambali.⁵⁵

According to Martin NU attitude that is strictly stick to those four thoughts of school because it based on two reasons which are first its pessimistic view on history; that is knowledge and pious value in someone would be diminish if those values are distance with Prophet Muhammad revelation.⁵⁶ As a consequence, today few ulemas gave Ijtihad that did not refer it to the genuinely sources; this could lead to a big sin because it also could lead ummah to the wrong direction. And second is that the highly respect from NU's members to all ulemas weather they are still alive or death, this come from hadith

⁵² Pancasila is a Sanskrit-derived neologism, literally 'the five principle'. Formulated during the Sukarno era but only championed with vigour after Soeharto came to power in the mid-1960s, pancasila represents the core philosophy of Indonesian state. The five principle are (1) belief in one God Almighty; (2) humanity that is just and civilized (3) Indonesia unity; (4) democracy guided by the wisdom of representative deliberation; (5) social justice for all Indonesian. In practice Pancasila functions as a political compromise that recognizes the theistic convictions of the majority of mise that recognizes the theistic convictions of the majority of Indonesians but delivers a modern secular model of the state. See Borton page 14.

⁵³ G. Fealy, '*Devided majority: limits of Indonesian political Islam*' in '*Islam and political legitimacy*', Routledge Curzon, London and New York, 2003, pp.158-161.

⁵⁴ Ijtihad is an authentic scholarly reasoning

⁵⁵ A. Azra, '*Islam reformis: dinamika intellectual dan gerakan*', Rajawali Press, Jakarta, 1999, pp. 68-71

⁵⁶ A. Azra, '*Islam reformis dinamika intellectual dan gerakan*', p. 71

from Prophet Muhammad that respecting your ulemas because there are descendant. But the respect that their show to their ulemas is excessively, this excessively respected to ulemas is then receiving critics not only from modernist group but also from NU's youth who believe that the respecting to ulemas shows ulemas feudalism.

For modernist group, Ijtihad is important dealing with modern world, but this group believes that Ijtihad should not rigidly limit a new perspective to born in solving problems. Following what ulemas in the past did without having critical thinking on it would lead to what it called blind Ijtihad. On modernist view, blind Ijtihad is a source of declining of Muslim today.

Furthermore their said that if Muslim want to move forward they should leave this blind Ijtihad and they must develop Ijtihad which put forward thinking independently. This act could produce new formulations which are suitable to facing modern world.

Is the Ijtihad to rigid until it does not open new opportunity of mind to intervene? Martin gives a provocative answer on this issue; he argues that Ijtihad should not be rigid. This based on the flexibility of traditionalists to accommodate various views from different school of thoughts, which indicated that there is space for accommodating and developing ideas. Currently, this what has happen to traditionalists' view which they are more flexible dealing with Jurist problems rather than modern ulemas. It can be seen that the development of thought from modern group does not improve much as stagnation.

That is irony. As a consequence, in NU tradition there is a close relation between teacher and student which are using *Isnad* system⁵⁷; this system encourages the continuity of the knowledge originality which is from the first ulema who hold authoritative on the knowledge. Students who have learned about the knowledge should put their respect to all the ulemas who are in the *Isnad* weather the ulemas had death or alive. This, for traditionalist view is a connection to get blessing. From this practice, NU has a tradition which is known as *khaul* which means visiting ulema grave as a symbol of connection between them. This practice is done by reciting Quran on definite nights with hope that the death would receive the reward from God. Those practices prone to mix with local believe and tradition. That is why traditionalists' practices tend to many rituals.

On the modern view, Muhammadiyah, NU practices of *Ijtihad* does not acceptable; this is because they believe traditionalists' practice is not come from Islam

⁵⁷ *Isnad* means chain(s) of transmission

but non-Islam practice. From this differences, Muhammadiyah reformulate its organization vision which called for its member to back to Quran and *Sunnah* which means prophet actions. Muhammadiyah movement on *Ijtihad* is different with what has been widely done by traditionalists Muslim, neither in substance of thought or the practices.

In Muhammadiyah, *Majlis Tarjih*,⁵⁸ an assembly which hold authoritative to study, to interpret, to formulate, to give a formal answers to an interrogatory and an issue of principle on dogma and law given by a person with authority to do so.⁵⁹ Here Muhammadiyah emphasized on maximizing the rasonality when doing *Ijtihad*; this is based on that *Ijtihad* in Muhamadiyah does not only include what has been said explicitly in the Quran and *Sunnah* but it also includes something that is not mentioned explicitly in the Quran and *Sunnah*.

As a consequence, *Ijtihad* in Muhammadiyah encompass all aspects of Fiqh, the technical rules of law, religious duty, and actual practice that conduct in social relation. That means that Muhamadiyah would be more dynamic in social movement responding with *ummah* problems which are becoming more complex day by day. It also would open more possibility dealing with the advance of knowledge and technology. At the sometime, for the traditionalist view what has been defined by Muhamadiyah is something that dangerous because the term *Ijtihad* in modernist view is liberal and the practice miss the practice of Islam tradition.

Conclusion

Muhamadiyah and NU has a significant role in building modern Indonesia through their involvement in education, politics, and the discourse of *Ijtihad*. As has been mentioned in this essay that the education system in *pasantren* has contributed to the dynamic output of Islam dealing with modern ideas that come from east and west, it based on that the improvement of pasantrens which are not only teach Quran and yellow books but also it indicated the teaching of general knowledge such as computer and art; and nowadays pasantrens are not merely belongs to traditionalists but Muhamadiyah itself has build up pasantrens which teach modern subjects as public schools did. In politics, both

⁵⁸ Sutarmo, ' *Muhammadiyah gerakan social-keagamaan modernis* ', Suara Muhammadiyah, Yogyakarta, 2005, pp.54-61.

⁵⁹ M.B. Hooker, ' *Indonesian Islam social change through contemporary Fatawa* ', ASAA South East Asia Publication Series, Australia, 2003, p.1

of organization has shaped the dynamic discourse of politics Islam which indicated the involvement in Masyumi in 1955; the support of Soeharto regime and the acceptance of *Pancasila* as the official state ideology despite of the issue of *piagam Jakarta* which caused the suspicious action from the Suharto's regime towards Islam community itself.

Furthermore, the limitation of party Islam in politics has emerged the polemic among intellectual both of organizations. And the last is the issue of *Ijtihad* which I thought as the principle issue dealing with modern views. This issue has caused both NU and Muhammadiyah in the sharp differences; for NU *Ijtihad* means that it should come from Quran, Sunnah, traditions and Ulema who hold authoritative on it while Muhammadiyah put *Ijtihad* as it should not involve with tradition but Quran and *Sunnah*. For Muhammadiyah *Ijtihad* should not be limited by ulemas authoritative or rationality, it must be could deal with modern issues that *ummah* has faced nowadays.

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