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## The Impact of Modern Politics on Civil Society in Indonesia: A Review of Muhammadiyah's and Nahdlatul Ulama's Political Khittah

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### **Abstrak**

Politik modern yang menjadi ketertarikan bagi sebagian pihak, justru memiliki dampak merugikan pula, termasuk pada masyarakat madani. Tujuan utama dilakukannya penelitian ini untuk mengetahui dampak politik modern terhadap subjek penelitian, yaitu masyarakat madani di Indonesia. Melalui kajian yang dilakukan terhadap khittah politik Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama, dikuatkan dengan teori masyarakat madani dari Muhammad Abdul Fattah Santoso dan K.H. Asep Saifuddin Chalim. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode studi literatur yang mengumpulkan data berupa buku dan jurnal ilmiah terkait tema penelitian. Penelitian ini mengemukakan temuan bahwa dampak yang dihadirkan politik modern pada masyarakat madani cukup beragam, mulai dari politik dinasti yang bersifat otoriter dan mengganggu stabilitas demokrasi, tingkat kepercayaan kepada pemimpin dalam hal ini pemerintah menurun, hingga memunculkan paradigma apatis dan pragmatis terhadap politik itu sendiri. Ditambah lagi, media sosial yang dijadikan wadah bagi politik modern banyak berisi ujaran kebencian dan mendiskreditkan kelompok lain dapat mengubah eksistensi masyarakat madani. Muhammadiyah berupaya merekonstruksi dengan landasan Khittah Denpasar tahun 2002 dibarengi dengan penawaran kontrak sosial kepada pemerintah dan merefleksikan sikap dan kebijakannya terhadap politik selama ini. Sedangkan Nahdlatul Ulama berlandaskan Khittah NU tahun 1984 yang isinya prinsip-prinsip pengambilan keputusan dalam hal politik, bersamaan dengan merefleksikan sikap dan kebijakannya terhadap politik dari masa ke masa.

Kata kunci: Politik Modern, Masyarakat Madani, Khittah, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama.

## **Abstract**

Modern politics, which is of interest to some, has detrimental effects, including on civil society. The main purpose of this research is to determine the impact of modern politics on the subject of research, namely civil society in Indonesia. Through a study of the political khittah of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, it is corroborated with the theory of civil society from Muhammad Abdul Fattah Santoso and K.H. Asep Saifuddin Chalim. This research uses a literature study method that collects data in the form of books and scientific journals related to the research theme. This research suggests that the impact of modern politics on civil society is quite diverse, ranging from dynastic politics that is authoritarian and disrupts the stability of democracy, the level of trust in leaders in this case the government decreases, to the emergence of an apathetic and pragmatic paradigm towards politics itself. In addition, social media, which is used as a forum for modern politics, contains a lot of hate speech and discredits other groups, which can change the existence of civil society. Muhammadiyah seeks to reconstruct on the basis of the Denpasar Khittah in 2002 coupled with offering a social contract to the government and reflecting on its attitudes and policies towards politics so far. Meanwhile, Nahdlatul Ulama is based on the 1984 NU Khittah which contains the principles of decision-making in political matters, along with reflecting on its attitudes and policies towards politics from time to time.

Keywords: Modern Politics, Civil Society, Khittah, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama.

## **Introduction**

Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, two of the oldest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, were founded on 18 November 1912 in Yogyakarta and 31 January 1926 in East Java. Both organizations recognize that their collective efforts have played an important role in resolving various issues facing the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Fauzanto, 2020). To date, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul ulama have played this role to the extent of wanting to realize a civil society. Muhammadiyah through Muhammad Abdul Fattah Santoso stated that ideally civil society is a social structure based on self-management and volunteerism, which accommodates the goals of various individuals and upholds the rights of citizens while uniting people around common needs and interests, traditions, and values (Santoso 2021). Meanwhile, according to K.H. Asep Saifuddin Chalim from Nahdlatul Ulama, the civil society to be realized in Indonesia is a prosperous and just society based on Islamic brotherhood (Amirudin, 2019).

The era of modernization filled with the development of science and technology is now an ease for Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama to give birth to many ideas of renewal. The ideas of renewal not only come from the system, but human resources, position, to facilities and infrastructure. Life today seems to have undergone a transformation from traditional conservative to a more progressive and revolutionary one. Technology as a means of facilitating performance for human resources is developing quite rapidly as a supporting access for both organizations to obtain information or education related to the presentation of essential community activities and other matters (Saihu, 2019).

In fact, the two Islamic organizations are not directly involved in politics and are not said to be politically apathetic. However, modern politics, which is synonymous with dynastic and authoritarian politics, is problematic. If the configuration is dynastic politics, then clashes will continue to occur considering that dynastic politics maintains power without checks and balances. If the configuration is dominant in authoritarian politics, it will damage the stability of civil society which will give birth to orthodox laws or its reflection not to the community but to the political elites of the government (Wibowo and Srijadi, 2023). Then, with the presence of modern politics in this era, of course, Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama rationalize each other so that the response of their community members is not apathetic towards politics. These problems certainly need to be followed up and reconstructed by the two Islamic organizations so that modern politics also continues to run relevantly with the civil society movement (Muslimin et al., 2021)

Plus, social media today has the ability to influence public opinion. Social networks are a faster way to garner support for a cause. Therefore, from a political communication perspective, social media has ushered in a new era for democracy. As a result, social media as a communication tool can encourage users to actively participate by soliciting comments and contributions and by facilitating the speedy sharing of information on the internet. But in reality, a lot of people use social media to harm

political opponents' reputations or as a black campaign tool (Alam, 2021). For example, radical expressions that Muhammadiyah is the political vehicle of the National Mandate Party (PAN) and Nahdlatul Ulama is the political vehicle of the National Awakening Party (PKB). It would be unfortunate if irresponsible people were to use today's dynamic modern politics as a practical platform. Of course, it is both a challenge and a homework to stop the spread of pragmatism and black campaigns by developing measures that will strengthen civil society in the future (Hakim and Sejati, 2023).

Some studies by previous researchers are relevant to this research, such as Bambang Saiful Ma'arif in 2021 with the title "Militancy of Da'wah Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama during the Covid-19 Pandemic". In this study, it was stated that the results of militancy were in the form of da'wah progressivity to convey Islamic teachings amid the isolation that occurred due to Covid-19 in an effort to form a civil society. Fundamentalism and radicalism are frequently the offspring of militant ideology; however, despite the quality appearing to be stagnating, these two organizations have not lost their da'wah innovation in spreading Islam intensely and more frequently in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic (Ma'arif, 2021).

In another study with the title "Reorienting Inclusive Islam in Realizing Indonesian Civil Society in the Era of Deliberative Democracy" by Abdul Rahman in 2022. This study found that the inclusive Islamic ideology carried by Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama is not in accordance with hardline Islamic groups that preach hatred and information. Therefore, the efforts made are that civil society must utilize the technology implemented to disseminate an inclusive understanding of Islam and stem all forms of violence that exist (Rahman, 2022).

Another study researched by Abdullah M. Al-Ansi and Rinikso Kartono with the title "The Role of Islamic Organizations Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in Shaping National Politics in Indonesia" in 2023. the results of this study highlight the political significance of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, through involvement in elections, adoption of Pancasila, economic activities, and shaping political identity through their

respective strategies. The research sought to reveal the similarities in the national political views of the two Islamic organizations. However, in this latest study it is more specific about their impact on civil society (Al-Ansi and Kartono, 2023).

This research seeks findings that are renewable in terms of comparing the impact of modern politics on civil society both socially and culturally from two Islamic organizations, namely Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Furthermore, previous research directed this comparison more towards Islamic politics, in contrast to this research which accentuates modern politics. This research is also important because it seeks to discuss solutions after the impact of modern politics on efforts to realize civil society Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. In addition, it seeks to know the interconnection of modern politics to a moderate civil society.

## **Theoretical Framework**

The theories used in this research to guide the course of the research are modern political theory and civil society. Modern political theory from Thomas Hobbes states that the people and the government have come to an agreement to create a contract that will benefit both parties. The mandate that the people give their leaders is to govern the nation justly, allowing no arbitrary position to be accepted. Al-Mawardi also believes that Thomas Hobbes' conception of modern politics is essentially the same, with the people and the leader having separate responsibilities with an eye toward prosperity (Jati and Tunggal, 2023).

Then this research presents civil society as the main subject. Since civil society is the ideal form of society to which all nations aspire, it is significant as a proposal for change. Buildings for civil society need to be constructed with a variety of robust, resilient materials that have their roots in religion. In contemporary times such as these, discussing civil society is an essential necessity that needs to happen right now. A varied modern society with a wide range of individual and collective interests is what leads to this kind of situation (Ilma and Alfian, 2020).

The theory of civil society in this study uses two branches of thought, namely the theory of civil society according to Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama figures. Civil society according to Muhammad Abdul Fattah Santoso is one that upholds social order and constantly looks out for the interests of the general public in creating a peaceful civilization (Santoso and Khisbiyah, 2021). Meanwhile, the opinion of K.H. Asep Saifuddin Chalim believes that the fundamental component of civil society is its existence, which constantly conducts an identity-searching process and ensures that each person has the freedom to develop in accordance with their interests, talents, affections, emotionality, and cognitive abilities. This allows people to have the capacity and opportunity to create civic cultures, which serve as the foundation for the development of civil society (Rozi, 2019).

## **Research Method**

The research methodology used in this research is a literature study, also known as library research, which is a review of several works of literature selected from different sources to draw conclusions or generate new concepts (Sakti and Sulung, 2020). Secondary data was used as the data source for this research. A number of articles and books that will support and discuss the research phenomenon are used to collect secondary data. The secondary data will be collected and analyzed in a legitimate manner through these processes, to guarantee that the information collected is factual and accurate (Setiawan et al., 2023). Then to provide factual, accurate and actual information, the publication of the collection of articles and books used in this study is no more than five years back. Another reason it is important to cite recent references for researchers is because the information contained is in accordance with the time and conditions. time and conditions, so that it experiences significant differences to be used as a reference today. to be used as a reference at this time.

## Result and Discussion

### *Modern Politics in Indonesia*

Politics and human life are closely intertwined. This is because politics serves as a framework for controlling how people interact with each other, fulfill their needs, and work towards common goals. Since humans are social creatures that depend on each other, human relationships will always exist. Therefore, rules governing these relationships are necessary to ensure that they are beneficial to everyone in society. This suggests that the human need for politics is the basis on which politics, as a system of regulating society, naturally arises (Said and Nurhayati, 2020).

In the thinking of western philosophers, political theories have been used as a tool for the history of politics in the past. For example, Thomas Hobbes revealed that humans are attracted to certain things based on their desires and stay away from things that they believe will negatively affect them. To satisfy these desires, people will do anything, including being selfish, violent, power-hungry, cruel, and evil. Later, as a successor to Thomas Hobbes, John Lock outlined the qualities inherent in human nature, such as reason and the ability of people to make their own decisions under any circumstances. He also said that political authority cannot hinder people's ability to exercise their inherent freedom. From these statements, it can be concluded that human political life is usually characterized by constant conflict, ruthless competition for prestige and power, and a state of war between all individuals (Wahyudi, 2022).

In keeping with the political philosophy of Islam put forth by Al-Mawardi, which has had a significant impact on the evolution of discussions regarding siyasah jurisprudence that continue to this day. Among his most significant contributions is the notion of leadership, or imāmah. Al-Mawardi's conception of leadership in an Islamic state's government closely embodies Islamic principles. As such, it subtly rejects the Western concept of the state, which leans toward secularism. Al-Mawardi's leadership philosophy has shown to be incredibly successful and efficient (Diana, Rohman, and H, 2021).

As time and science progressed, the republican system of government, democracy, parliamentary system, representative system, senate, formature, and other ideas related to the system of government are examples of the application of modern political theory. Indonesia, which adheres to a democratic system, is defined as a system of government from the people, by the people, and for the people. Indonesia's declaration of independence in 1945 marked the start of this democratic process. Indonesians had the right to vote to elect their representatives in parliament, and the country was established with a democratic and parliamentary system of government. However, Indonesia experienced political and social instability and a bloody Independence Revolution at the time, which hindered the development of democracy. Indonesia finally ratified the 1945 Constitution as its current constitution in 1950, after a prolonged period of political unrest. Indonesia is a democratic country with a presidential system of government under this constitution, which allows the people to elect their representatives in parliament and the president (Santoso et al., 2023).

Democracy, the contemporary expression of modern politics, is the result of humanity's longstanding struggle for justice and against injustice. Those who are free from all forms of slavery can achieve democracy. As totalitarian governments and military dictatorships seek to win over the public, the idea of democracy is often misinterpreted and misused. An Islamic thinker named Abdolkarim Soroush states, we all want democracy, but in practice, not everyone can achieve it. A certain level of political, normative and governance development is necessary for democracy and depends on economic growth. Modern politics as it exists now requires a process for the progressive development and differentiation of institutions and spheres of life under the influence of economic and technological progress associated with the rise of capitalism (Bunardi, 2021).

Recently, there has been a significant impact of modern politics in Indonesia. In recent political contestations, issues of dynastic politics have come to the surface. It obviously affects civil society, whose very existence is meant to be able to balance out



the "pressure" that civil society puts on the government. Naturally, the interests of those unable to compete in various facets of state life are the focus of this pressure. A relationship between civil society and the public in the form of advocacy and the state in the form of policy control results from this condition. The relationships that civil society forges with the state and with marginalized/weak groups will play a major role in determining how effective the advocacy and control process is (Triantonoi, 2019).

Additionally, Facebook, YouTube, WhatsApp, Twitter, Instagram, and other digital channels are used by modern Indonesian politics. There are a lot of hate speech, intolerant narratives, and animosity against political parties or other political viewpoints without people understanding it. Culturally speaking, civic society stepped in and started acting similarly toward the government and other citizens. At last, set aside discussion and act on your own. In order for a compromise or consensus to emerge, civil society must strengthen its understanding of the necessity of tolerance (Rasyid and Sudarsa, 2021).

Until now, the fact is that Indonesia has made a transition and transformation from an authoritarian to a democratic political system. However, the process is believed to have not been fully successful, because there are still many negative political images that appear and are still mushrooming in Indonesia. As a result, the public expects the government to be more careful in terms of accountability, transparency and full public participation in all matters as corruption continues to erode the quality of democracy. There needs to be a solutive fight to maintain the electability and quality of democracy in Indonesia. To combat issues such as Islamic conservatism, the rise of hyper-nationalism, corruption, collusion and nepotism, society and the government must work together in a collegial collective (Muhajir and Wulandari, 2023).

Therefore, in order to move the nation forward, officials and governments must remember that the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) is a democratic state that relies heavily on its citizens. It cannot be said that the people do not have the knowledge or capacity to influence government decisions and affect the country. Every

citizen has the same obligation and right to oppose any policy that will harm the country. The voice of the people must be taken into account in modern politics to prevent speculation that an authoritarian and oligarchic state will return (Pureklolon, 2021).

#### *Modern Politics Towards Civil Society Muhammadiyah*

According to the Islamic organization Muhammadiyah, civil society is considered to be the true form of wasathiyah Islam, which is characterized by a fair spirit and moderate attitude toward opposing parties, allowing each to exert influence over the other without violating or intimidating their rights. From this interpretation, the term wasathiyah will be employed as a reconciler between opposing extreme viewpoints, such as those between ideals and reality, between human relationships and God, between reason and revelation, between the hereafter and the world, and so forth. It is hoped that a bridge will be built between these extreme points so that the two sides can have equal potential and counsel one another (Syukur, Amin, and Pranata, 2022).

At first, Kiai Ahmad Dahlan saw moderate values as having a sensible goal, attempting to use Islamic teachings as the cornerstone of morally upright Muslims' educational thought. Then, he aim to establish a Muslim society that is capable, in good bodily and spiritual health, grounded in reason and faith, and especially balanced in both its earthly and spiritual existence. Finally, Kiai Ahmad Dahlan wants Muslims to be a cooperative group that works to improve society and to have a positive social attitude (Kamaludin and Muthohirin, 2022).

The pressure from Islamic conservatism has caused the human brain and heart to die of vision, even in the midst of seemingly revolutionary current developments. Haedar Nashir reveals in his writing that in order to develop a basic set of Islamic thought into a formulation that goes one step further and becomes a thought of renewal, the Muhammadiyah thought chain of renewal must be followed (Hikmat et al., 2023). Muhammadiyah also sees wasathiyah as having three characteristics: first, the idea of applying faith and worship in a profound, well-rounded, and inclusive way without

disparaging the beliefs of others. Second, we need to apply hasanah in terms of morality, which goes beyond simply adhering to the Prophet Muhammad SAW's sunnah in terms of symbolic existence or attributes. And lastly, Muamalah Duniawiyah's implementation is dynamic and progressive (Nasikhin, Raharjo, and Nasikhin, 2022).

Muhammadiyah has thus far confirmed its goal to advance the nation via charitable and civic endeavors, which has greatly surpassed and even greatly satisfied expectations. Muhammadiyah's social sector struggle, according to the Khittah in 2002 at Denpasar, was aimed at realizing civil society as the primary pillar of the formation of a state with people's sovereignty. Muhammadiyah also aims to establish the civil society, and known as the true Islamic society, which consists of adherents to the teachings of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar. Muhammadiyah is ultimately fighting in the streets of the Republic of Indonesia, a country that adheres to the Pancasila philosophy of cooperating to create a just and prosperous nation that pleases Allah SWT (Alkautsar and Suharno, 2021).

Khittah Denpasar also gave advice on Muhammadiyah members' political behavior. This Khittah explains that Muhammadiyah does not have an organizational affiliation with any political party, nor does it participate in actual political activities. It also grants its members the autonomy to decide whether or not to participate in actual political activities. When it comes to giving instructions on how Muhammadiyah citizens should live as a people and a state, Khittah Denpasar is more comprehensive. In terms of Muhammadiyah's impartial position in actual politics, this Khittah offers an escape so that Muhammadiyah can continue to participate in national dynamics without being bound by the role of political parties. To put it briefly, the Denpasar Khittah's contents genuinely put the needs of the populace first, which is consistent with Muhammadiyah's own objective of establishing a society that is genuinely Islamic (Hayati, 2021).

As a political communicator, Muhammadiyah always adopts a critical perspective. This is a noble attitude with moral, ethical, and noble political dimensions. Muhammadiyah assumes the role of a political communicator who participates in a

moral political movement by offering ideas, opinions, and recommendations for enhancing the future of the Indonesian people. Naturally, the criticism is focused on influencing policy so that the government produces results that are in the public interest rather than on gaining official government posts. Muhammadiyah citizens are allowed to utilize their right to vote in politics in accordance with their own consciences. Muhammadiyah's method for avoiding power is to attempt to keep the same distance as Buya Syafii Maarif, although on occasion it tries to approach the situation more closely by attempting to retain the same degree of closeness to all political parties as is the emblem of Din Syamsuddin's leadership. Regarding Haedar Nashir's leadership, he said that Muhammadiyah responded to the political dynamics taking place in a way that was superior according to Khittah Organization (Hayati, 2021).

Modern politics certainly has implications for how Muhammadiyah civil society responds to it. It is inevitable that the diverse forms and nature of modern politics make many people try to avoid politics itself. Muhammadiyah undoubtedly has an attitude that forbids its people from becoming politically apathetic through a variety of strategies, such as enabling them to actively participate in politics and gain firsthand experience with it. But the point made is that all political desires are either based on moral and ethical considerations or are carried out in a high political manner. Then, Muhammadiyah rationalizes civil society through the results of all the consistency and diaspora of cadres carried out so far, because business charities and all assets owned by Muhammadiyah citizens are inseparable from the national political struggles of Muhammadiyah figures since long ago. There won't be a Muhammadiyah cadre diaspora and communication with different parties will be cut off if society is apathetic toward politics (Ridha and Syam, 2022).

The profound effects of modern politics have also led to power struggles, a decline in decency toward the public that sustains public concern, and a lack of consistency in democratic culture within civil society. Offering a social contract that is independent, self-sustaining, and self-sufficient in order to mitigate the influence of

modern politics on civil society. When considering Muhammadiyah's roles, there are two viable and successful approaches. First, there are political activities focused on a "low" politics (real politics, practical politics) power struggle carried out at the national level by political parties and formal political forces. The second entails both political activity in the community and indirect politics or "high" politics, which provide the moral authority to enhance people's lives. Of course, in this case Muhammadiyah will tend to high politics, because it is considered more rational and in favor of the people (Nashir et al., 2019).

Muhammadiyah is frequently associated with PAN, despite the fact that its fundamental connection is moral-political and historical. This is consistent with the Tanwir Session's decision, which directed PP Muhammadiyah to accomplish two goals: first, engage in political ijtihad to maximize national benefit, always grounded in the Islamic principle of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar. In order to realize a wealthy mainstream society more quickly, the second step is to formulate a reform agenda (Muhammadiyah reform concepts and methods) in all spheres of national and state life. PAN elites saw this order from Tanwir to conduct political ijtihad as a sign of Muhammadiyah's affiliation with PAN. In this type of ijtihad, Amin Rais is supported as Muhammadiyah's spokesperson in the political process rather than Muhammadiyah being actively involved in the formation of a political party. In theory, Muhammadiyah's connection pattern with PAN is similar to that of Muhammadiyah with other political parties; it is unstructured, without standard provisions that must be followed, and lacks organizational and structural linkages (Sholikin, 2020).

#### *Modern Politics Towards Civil Society Nahdlatul Ulama*

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) starts its path toward a position in politics. The political involvement of Nahdlatul Ulama, particularly following their active participation in the Indonesian A'la Islamic Council (MIAI). Will But MIAI's short life ended when it was dissolved in October 1943 and renamed Masyumi. The Muslim Syuro Council Indonesia

(Masyumi) was initially a non-political organization, but after independence it changed its goal of struggle and, with the help of Nahdlatul Ulama and other Islamic organizations, became a functioning political party Masyumi's battle. As Masyumi's existence developed, it evolved into an Indonesian Islamic political organization. Given that Masyumi is made up of a variety of Islamic organizations, it is impossible to deny that there are issues that arise. Increasing issues caused Nahdlatul Ulama chose to depart in 1952 (Rizaldi et al., 2023).

The political role of Nahdlatul Ulama was made abundantly evident when KH. Abdul Wahid Hasyim actively participated in the formation of the state foundations and constitution alongside individuals like Soekarno, Moh Hatta, Muh Yamin, Abikoeseno Tjokrosoejoso, Achmad Soebardjo, Abdul Kahar Muzakir, H. Agus Salim, and AA Maramis, also referred to as the Sembilan committee. Additionally, on June 22, 1945, they signed the Jakarta Charter. The Constitution's preamble states that Pancasila has emerged as the foundation nation, demonstrating NU's strong sense of national identity and influence on Indonesian politics. NU is aware that the nation's existence is the primary purpose of religion and human life because it places the nation and state above all else (Fernando, Kurniawan, and Birsyada, 2023).

The Khittah NU which was formulated in Situbondo, 1984 during the 27th Nahdlatul Ulama Congress, may offer a way to address the effects of modern politics which increasingly regulate social activities within civil society. The Khittah NU lays out the values that a civil society should uphold: moderation, acceptance of differing opinions, harmony in the service of God, society, and other people, as well as the invitation to goodness and the avoidance of evil. By using that principal, civil society can also articulate the idea of the non-rigid, formal, and tense relationship between politics (the state) and religion (Islam) (Bakri, 2021).

In terms of political ijthad in line with the 1984 Khittah, Nahdlatul Ulama prioritizes the accomplishment of human life goals while remaining realistic, inclusive, and open to honest and free discussion between ideologies, cultures, and philosophical

ideas. An analytical tool called Fikih Siyasah can guide NU residents toward the establishment of a civil society. The fiqh or Islamic law can operate as a bridge to enable the development of civil society. Three key pillars form the basis of the Islamic conception of a civil society: First off, the right to good governance is not one that is exclusive to particular racial or religious groups. Second, the interests of the people and society are given priority by a government that listens to them rather than being oppressive or autocratic. Third, there is community involvement in both direct and indirect government administration as well as in the realization of a civilized cultural constellation (Solikhudin, 2021).

Furthermore, Abdurrahman Wahid also known as Gus Dur, the fourth President of Indonesia, took great pride in the civil society perspective, both during his time in office and ever since he took the helm of Nahdlatul Ulama well in advance of the reform era. According to Gus Dur, one way to preserve pluralism in this nation is to establish a civil society. Because society views democracy as a tool for gaining power rather than as a set of regulations governing the state, civil society will actually work against the preservation of democratic culture. He contends that in order to ensure the continuation of transparent and inclusive governance, it is imperative to establish democratic institutions, particularly political ones (Mujahidin, 2021).

Following the 27th Congress in Situbondo, the argument over whether NU should continue to be involved in politics continued beyond that point. Mahbub Djunaedi, one of them, engaged in a debate with Gus Dur, two individuals who contributed to the development of the idea of going back to khittah. It's only that although Gus Dur believes NU will only lose from its involvement in political parties, Djunaedi believes NU has not been able to fully disentangle itself from politics. Saat NU memasuki usia satu abad, perdebatan soal ini semakin seru dengan keberadaan Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB), partai yang didirikan oleh NU. Bagi kalangan PKB, pilihan politik NU jelas adalah PKB, karena partai ini didirikan oleh NU secara resmi. Tetapi yang bersikukuh dengan Khittah NU, menginginkan NU tidak boleh lagi berpartai. PKB boleh saja menjadi

saluran politik warganya, tetapi secara organisasi NU tidak bisa menjadi partisan. The National Awakening Party (PKB), a party established by NU, made the discussion of this topic even more fascinating as NU approached its centennial. In PKB circles, PKB is undoubtedly NU's preferred political option because NU formally created this party. On the other hand, NU's ardent supporters want the organization to dissolve as a party. While PKB serves as a political conduit for its populace, NU is unable to be politicized as an organization (Syamsurrijal, 2023).

Referring to NU's *khittah*, the stance that the organization took starting from after independence, NU faced a number of difficulties, such as its interaction with the national political system and the place of religion in contemporary society. NU's political stance changed during the New Order era, emphasizing social, religious, educational and *da'wah* initiatives. The NU remained loyal to its Islamic principles and social functions, although some of its members participated in real politics and helped political parties. NU's political stance has been renewed from the Reform Era to the Post-Reform Era. They support human rights, democracy, political plurality, accountability, openness, and the eradication of corruption. In addition, NU is also involved in real-world politics. It continues to strive to strike a balance between upholding Islamic principles and its social role in Indonesian society and supporting the government, despite these distortions (Sahi et al., 2023).

The religious order of civil society is also influenced by modern politics, which are closely tied to how Indonesia's pluralistic society views religious moderation and how certain religious groups have come to view the state with cynicism. As a vital component of the national spirit, NU remains unwavering. In order to fulfill the people's mandate to carry out development activities in all fields for the benefit of society, NU has always been a partner with the government. Because of this spirit, NU is steadfast in upholding the Republic of Indonesia's integrity as a vast country housing a diverse range of Indonesian cultures and religions (Rahman, Ahmadin, and Rifal, 2021). Along with that, NU's political views also reflect efforts to eschew political pragmatism, as evidenced by,



among other things, its tawasuth attitude. The three guiding concepts of wisdom, flexibility, and moderation are frequently applied to NU's political decision-making. In NU's political discourse, picking a path that is peaceful is typically exemplified by jurisprudential principles and rules that advise avoiding extremes, minimizing risks, and giving priority to the principle of benefits (Niam, 2019).

**Table 1. Comparison of Political Attitudes of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama Based on the 2002 Denpasar Khittah and 1984 NU Khittah.**

Muhammadiyah	Nahdlatul Ulama
<p>Muhammadiyah tried to maintain the same distance from power during Buya Syafii Maarif's leadership. Muhammadiyah will expressly never change its position to become a political party or be associated with any political entity.</p>	<p>NU had to deal with issues like its relationship with the government, its place in national politics, and the place of religion in contemporary culture throughout the post independence era. While certain NU factions are active in politics, NU nevertheless maintains its position as the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia and is dedicated to advancing religious tolerance, social welfare, and education.</p>
<p>Muhammadiyah's political stance or policy in the era of Din Syamsuddin's leadership was not much different from that of Buya Syafii Maarif. During the Din Syamsuddin era, Muhammadiyah stuck to its roots as a culturally focused enlightenment missionary movement and engaged in only morally based political activity. Muhammadiyah offers assistance to those engaged in the Muhammadiyah movement.</p>	<p>During the New Order era, NU's main objective in strengthening civil society through awareness of political party pluralism was to raise issues of empowerment. The NU made an internal decision to divide its tasks into two categories: socio-religious activities, which continued to be the main focus of the organization, and political tasks, which were carried out through the National Awakening Party (PKB). This illustrates NU's strategic reorganization in response to the times.</p>
<p>Muhammadiyah, currently led by Haedar Nashir, affirmed that it will adapt to the changing political dynamics by sticking to the Organization's Khittah. Currently, Muhammadiyah strongly emphasizes its khittah to play a neutral-active role in national politics, especially in the run-up to the general election, when there is a sense of increasing competition and possible division among Indonesians.</p>	<p>During the Reformation era, NU experienced a shift in its attitudes and policies towards politics marked by social and political upheaval. It increasingly opened itself to ideas of human rights, political pluralism and democracy. It defended democratic values, pushed for greater accountability and openness, and opposed unethical government actions.</p>

## Conclusion

Politically, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah share a common past and both have nationalist leaders. Both are fully aware that modern politics is full of

inconsistencies in democracy, views on the state, intolerance of differences, and other serious issues in hindering the realization of civil society. While there may be a conflict between civil society and modern politics, these two Islamic organizations undoubtedly respond to this conflict in different ways.

Through the 2002 Denpasar khittah study, in the future Muhammadiyah must remain consistent in rationalizing to all its cadres to remain politically aware by not prohibiting its cadres from entering politics. More active in terms of cadre diaspora, because this is quite important and is the main factor Muhammadiyah should not be apathetic to politics. Muhammadiyah must also be consistent in emphasizing programs that are beneficial to the organization, humanity, nationality, and Islam. In line with Muhammadiyah's attitudes towards politics that refer to the 2002 Denpasar Khittah.

Likewise, the study of the 1984 khittah of Nahdlatul Ulama expects its citizens to remain in politics in accordance with its political guidelines, namely flexible, wise, and moderate. Nahdlatul Ulama must also consistently make the government a partner that can work together to advance the nation, face modern political challenges and realize civil society. With the description of NU attitudes that have been reflected from time to time, NU is actually on the right track to open its eyes and wisely face modern politics in Indonesia.

Based on the previous explanation, of course this research still opens up opportunities to be explored in the future by subsequent researchers. With various developments in sources and references, it will be able to provide an effective way out of the impact caused by modern politics on the civil society of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. In addition, it provides an opportunity for the wider community to understand politics comprehensively and keep away from extreme apathy when listening to the word politics.

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