

MUHAMMADIYAH'S POLITICAL DIALECTICS IN INDONESIA

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**Abstrak**

This paper examines how the dynamics of the Muhammadiyah politic in 1937-1942 with 2010-2014. The problem in this study is the difference in the political dynamics of Muhammadiyah during the KH. Mas Mansur 1937-1942 and in 2010-2014. The purpose of this paper is to determine the political dynamics of the leadership of KH. Mas Mansur and how the political dynamics in 2010 were declared to have started to depart from the original organizational goals of Muhammadiyah, which is a religious-based community organization that devotes its attention to the social and educational fields. This type of research is library research. The facts that the writer searches for are in the text or written sources; archives, books, magazines and other texts containing the political dynamics of Muhammadiyah. Qualitative descriptive research method. This journal is a conceptual journal taken from several sources and then put together. The results of this study are the political dynamics of the Muhammadiyah, the involvement of Muhammadiyah in politics, the politically impressed movement that occurred during the tablig akbar

**Kata Kunci :** *political, Muhammadiyah, Indonesia, movement*

**Introduction**

Muhammadiyah is a social organization in the form of an association that operates in the area of enlightening amar ma'ruf nahi munkar and tajdid da'wah, sourced from the Qur'an and Sunnah. Muhammadiyah is based on Islam, while the aims and objectives of Muhammadiyah are to uphold and uphold the religion of Islam so as to create a true Islamic society. In order to achieve this goal, various efforts are carried out, which are realized in business charities, programs and organizational activities.

Since its establishment, Muhammadiyah and its leaders have always been side by side with the political world. Muhammadiyah's involvement in politics in Indonesia is also called high politics,<sup>92</sup> this occurs because of the national revival movement initiated by national leaders who are starting to realize the importance of fighting for the fate of the nation from the oppression carried out by the colonial nation. Muhammadiyah's involvement with politics began when Muhammadiyah, then led by KH. Ahmad

Dahlan was in contact with Sarekat Islam<sup>93</sup> especially under the leadership of HOS Tjokroaminoto. Because at that time, both of them made Islam as the basic foundation in the development of their organization. At that time, Muhammadiyah's political activities were increasingly visible in Minangkabau, which was led by Haji Rasul. However, in its development, Muhammadiyah and SI (Sarekat Islam) are no longer in line because Muhammadiyah focuses more on da'wah and religion and SI is more on politics. So Muhammadiyah decided to leave the Sarekat Islam.

Muhammadiyah is one of the socio-religious organizations whose focus is in the field of da'wah and social charity. However, this also does not prevent Muhammadiyah from being close to politics. Political relations with Muhammadiyah do not mean that Muhammadiyah is directly involved in the political world, such as being part of a political party in search of a stage of power.

Muhammadiyah began to determine its views on politics during the KH. Mr.

Mansoor. It is this fifth chairman of the Muhammadiyah Executive Board who formulates political views and guidelines for Muhammadiyah members. After that, every Muhammadiyah tanwir session formulates its political stance.<sup>94</sup> Muhammadiyah's attitude in politics is accommodative politics.<sup>95</sup> Muhammadiyah's tendency to behave in accommodative politics is to be in a more flexible position and role and to avoid things that are contrary to the mission and ideology and keep holding on to it. uphold the principles of Muhammadiyah. This accommodative attitude is taken with an awareness of the value that is not against the teachings of Islam and the principles of Muhammadiyah as an Islamic organization. Because, Muhammadiyah assesses why politics is more about using radical traits and tends to play against each other.<sup>96</sup> This is Muhammadiyah's stance and is not trapped in an atmosphere of political conflict, so that Muhammadiyah remains intact as a socio-religious movement. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah's political policy is to liberate all citizens and political members individually and not carry the name of the organization. This happened because Muhammadiyah considered politics important, but politics was not Muhammadiyah's ideology. But Muhammadiyah provides guidelines in politics for its members. Among them are politics honestly and seriously carrying out the mandate that is being carried out, politics for the sake of the nation as a value of worship, clean politics, and politics with political attitudes and piety.<sup>97</sup>

The problem faced is that Muhammadiyah in carrying out its political role at the age of entering the second century at this time needs a consistent attitude towards its kihttah in playing an active role as a bridge for the community to face the nation's problems. Therefore, in historical events and its contact with national politics, Muhammadiyah is often considered to have left the organization's goals, which in fact Muhammadiyah is a religious-based community organization that devotes its attention to social and educational fields, for example the involvement of Muhammadiyah which is too practical in politics, or which is

too practical in politics. Recently, the involvement of the Muhammadiyah Central Executive in carrying out an explicit support action against one of the presidential candidates in the 2010 General Election has resulted in significant losses. Muhammadiyah was used as the basis for mass support for political parties, and the focus of Muhammadiyah's social da'wah began to be ignored. With all his achievements over the past century, he is in the right position so that it is appropriate to increase his contribution to the citizens and nation of Indonesia at his age at the **beginning of the second century today.**

In 1937-1942

From 1930 to 1940, there was a systematic change in Muhammadiyah's main religious thought. These changes occur in accordance with social, intellectual, and political dynamics that develop in the current situation following the times. If in the first generation, such as KH. Ahmad Dahlan and others focused on establishing the basic ideological foundation of Muhammadiyah. After that it continued in the second generation, starting from KH. Mr. Mansoor. KH. Mas Mansur who has high religious knowledge and good character became the beginning of Muhammadiyah politics.<sup>121</sup> KH. Mas Mansur who laid the main foundation of Muhammadiyah in politics, even the political peak of Muhammadiyah was during his leadership. <sup>122</sup> Because Muhammadiyah's political activity was at its peak during the KH. Mas Mansur, of course it also experiences the dynamics of ups and downs in it. Starting with Muhammadiyah joining MIAI. MIAI is an organization fronted by Islamic organizations which aims to unite other Islamic organizations and strengthen the ties of friendship among Islamic organizations. Muhammadiyah is one of the organizations that initiated the organization. In accordance with its goal, MIAI only focuses on the unity of the people, but over time, MIAI also focuses on developing politics so that MIAI becomes Muhammadiyah's first forum in expressing its aspirations. This is the same as the theory of socio-political movements which usually occur due to social, economic, or political changes.<sup>123</sup> Where this theory

usually occurs in interest groups or interest groups, such as MIAI which tries to make social change by uniting the people and avoiding problem organizations. - trivial and aspirational issues in politics during the Dutch colonial period. Muhammadiyah is also seen in this theory, where Muhammadiyah channels its political voice to fight for the nation to change for the better and have the right to its own land. Muhammadiyah channeled its aspirations that were visible, ranging from demanding the release of Hamka that occurred in the West Sumatran turbulence, to the refusal to transfer religious affairs from the Religious Courts to the government courts.

After MIAI, Muhammadiyah was seen in PII and also in GAPI. PII or the Indonesian Islamic Party, was the first party that became the seat of Muhammadiyah, although Muhammadiyah was not directly in it, but many Muhammadiyah members sat on the PII management, especially KH. Mas Mansur who incidentally is the Chairman of the Executive Board. Awareness and activities of KH. Mas Mansur in politics got a difference of opinion among Muhammadiyah members. Members who are against Muhammadiyah's participation in politics because they want Muhammadiyah not to be on the side of any party and can change their organization. Meanwhile, those who are pro let KH. Mas Mansur made his own choices.<sup>124</sup> There were differences of opinion on politics from KH. Mas Mansur will result in division and damage the organization. However, KH. Mas Mansur responded to the counter-criticism by stating that he was doing politics on his own, not carrying the name of the organization.<sup>125</sup> However, KH. Mas Mansur put his position in the PII management. The attitude of KH. Mas Mansur can reflect the theory of John B. Watson, namely behaviorism in which individual behavior or political behavior is the main focus. This main focus lies on the relationship between political knowledge and political behavior. Including how the process of getting politics, how political skills are obtained and how to be aware of political events. KH. Mas Mansur carries out political behavior with his political base as an individual who has high knowledge.

Finally, after resigning from the PII management, KH. Mas Mansur still chose to be a party advisor from PII and remained in politics even if only a little, this was a political behavior carried out by KH. Mr. Mansoor. according to Dr. Makhsun, even though there are members or members of Muhammadiyah who are political, there must be a balance within the Muhammadiyah body. Like, KH. Mas Mansur who is active in politics, there must be a balance with the existence of figures who remain within the Muhammadiyah, such as AR. Sutan Mansur and Ki Bagus Hadikusuma.<sup>127</sup>

However, the withdrawal of KH. Mas Mansur was in the core management of PII, and stated that he did not carry the name of the organization, making the name Muhammadiyah a little dim in the politics of the movement. Because they act as individuals not as a Muhammadiyah organization.

In 2010-2014

Muhammadiyah is entering its second century at this time, starting at the 46th Muhammadiyah Congress in 2010 until the 2014 general election and presidential election also experiencing various political dynamics.

The political dynamics that occur are in the form of maneuvers that Muhammadiyah elites are trying to carry out themselves, which have indirectly shaken the principles of khittah and high politics that Muhammadiyah is trying to carry out. This political dynamic is no longer carried out in a structured institutional manner based on the instructions of PP Muhammadiyah, because it is known that General Chairperson Din Syamsuddin has repeatedly stated that Muhammadiyah is neutral and always prioritizes noble politics, and does not direct and free its citizens to choose certain political parties or presidential candidates. However, the political dynamics that occurred were carried out by Muhammadiyah elites themselves who tried to carry the name Muhammadiyah.

The political dynamics that occurred, for example, were experienced by the elected general chairman of the West Java Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership for the 2010-2015 period, which finally on the instructions of PP Muhammadiyah canceled the elected general chairman by replacing the candidate who received the largest vote under him. This is done because the person concerned has been proven to have carried out a political movement, namely by bringing in the masses using certain political parties.<sup>83</sup>

This phenomenon is clearly not tolerated by PP Muhammadiyah, because besides Muhammadiyah, it is an Islamic organization that upholds the Qur'an and Sunnah, creating an Islamic society whose main purpose is its da'wah, and it is also clear that this brings a bad image to Muhammadiyah itself. The attitude of bringing the masses using the basis of political parties to win a position is not a characteristic of what is taught by Islam and not from the personality traits and khittah of Muhammadiyah.

The movement that seemed political also occurred when the Tabligh Akbar was organized by the Regional Leadership of Muhammadiyah Malang City by presenting a single speaker, former Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah, Prof. Dr. M. Amien Rais, MA. The Tabligh Akbar was also attended by invitations consisting of Muhammadiyah leaders, Aisyiyah and Muhammadiyah autonomous organizations (ortoms) in Malang City, Malang Regency and Batu City. In this case Amien Rais delivered his speech about the condition of the nation and the western exploitation of natural resources in Indonesia.<sup>85</sup> What was surprising was when at the closing session, Amien Rais invited all young Muhammadiyah cadres who were running for legislative members to come on stage to promote themselves. .

Reactions also came from various circles, as said by Dr. EM. Sangadji, General Secretary of the Malang City Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership, said that as a result of the incident, many young Muhammadiyah activists from various political parties expressed their objections

and protested to the Malang City Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership. For example the protests by Muqqoddas Murtado from the Crescent Star Party (PBB), Ahsan Ismail from the Golkar Party (Golkar), Ihtibar Atamaja from the Hanura Party, and from the political activist PKS.<sup>86</sup>

The activists verbally complained about the attitude taken by Amien Rais, some even said "How much is the Regional Leader of Muhammadiyah Malang paid by PAN", because the legislative candidates who came from Muhammadiyah cadres who came on stage during the Tabligh Akbar were cadres. - cadres from PAN. EM Sangadji said that Muqaddas Murtado regretted when Muhammadiyah was used as the basis for political party support, which in the end made the organization's image and operation not good, because basically Muhammadiyah is an Islamic da'wah movement, which is not allowed to carry out political support actions, but its citizens are freed to act. politics because that is the right and freedom as a citizen.

A similar incident was also carried out by Amien Rais when Tanwir Muhammadiyah in Samarinda on May 24, 2014. In this case, the former chairman of the MPR RI and former chairman of Muhammadiyah was deliberately invited to welcome the arrival of the presidential candidate in the 2014 presidential election. Jokowi's presidential candidate came first. at 08.00 WITA, and then presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto arrived later at 12.00 WITA.<sup>89</sup> The two pairs of candidates were presented to explain their vision and mission as presidential candidates to Muhammadiyah residents. However, Amien Rais, who is a highly respected figure in Muhammadiyah, shouted and shouted "number one" to Muhammadiyah residents who were present at the Tanwir trial at that time to welcome Prabowo's arrival, and in his speech he also claimed that 80% of Muhammadiyah residents supported Prabowo's pair. - Hatta. Actions that are considered to ignore the ethics of this organization also received a surprising reaction from PP Muhammadiyah.<sup>90</sup>

Prof. Dr. Thohir Luth, General Chairperson of the East Java Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership, who was also present at the Tanwir Samarinda trial, said that the actions taken by Amien Rais actually hurt the authority of the reform leader himself. Amien Rais's shout of "number one" made the Muhammadiyah residents not even interested. Thohir Luth also said that currently Amien Rais is gradually being abandoned by Muhammadiyah members, and this is a moral sanction he has received, because

he has brought the political carriage into the association.<sup>91</sup>

All of this can be seen how easy it is to "lead" Muhammadiyah, which has been known as a social machine, to become a political machine. So that "dragging" Muhammadiyah into the political arena will automatically be faced with a cultural stronghold that is actually still quite strong among Muhammadiyah.

Of course, if explored more deeply, political movements carried out by Muhammadiyah elites by bringing Muhammadiyah as a political mass base are often found in various other regions in Indonesia. However, the political actions and actions carried out by Muhammadiyah elites cannot directly be said to be decisions or actions carried out by Muhammadiyah institutions institutionally. Because it is necessary to distinguish between individual actions and organizational decisions. Amien Rais's actions, for example in carrying out political maneuvers, were purely Amien Rais's own initiative as his individual right to voice, and it does not mean that the actions of Amien Rais who coincidentally as a Muhammadiyah member can also be said to be actions of the Muhammadiyah association. Because the presentation made by Amien Rais was not the official voice of the association through the results of the deliberation, then Amien Rais is also currently not included in the management structure of the Muhammadiyah Central Executive. Therefore, it can be concluded that institutionally Muhammadiyah continues to carry out political movements according to its personality and khittah, but in any case it is not justified for its citizens to take Muhammadiyah as the basis of political groups in support actions, because this is not a reflection of high politics or the politics of noble values and noble spirit.

#### Conclusion

The role of Muhammadiyah in politics is only as a participant, not as a political party, because it is not the ideology and principles of Muhammadiyah. Even if Muhammadiyah is seen in politics, it is because Muhammadiyah participates in contributing ideas in politics.<sup>128</sup> Like KH. Mas Mansur is active in politics even though he holds the leadership of Muhammadiyah. It happened because, KH. Mas Mansur has the ability in politics behind his humility and strong religious knowledge. In addition, KH. Mas Mansur has a high sense of nationalism and nationalism. Even if Muhammadiyah politics is still visible today, it is because of KH. Mas Mansur was the one who laid the foundation for politics in Muhammadiyah so that it was passed on by the next generations of Muhammadiyah. Because the political peak of Muhammadiyah was at the time of KH. Mr. Mansoor.

The political movement carried out by Muhammadiyah is actually a moral movement, not as a political movement that is practical, supports, asks for positions, even causes Muhammadiyah to become a mass base for a particular political group, group or party.

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