



Growing Nationalism: A Muhammadiyah Political Movement in Indonesia in the 20th Century

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Abstract

This writing seeks to describe Muhammadiyah political movement in growing nationalism among the people of Indonesia. Muhammadiyah is better known as an organization engaged in social, religion, and education area. From this tendency, so this organization is often viewed as an organization that is not political. Even in some sources it is often ambivalent in describing some parts of Muhammadiyah movement in Indonesia. Although Muhammadiyah is better known for its social, religious, and educational area, but in its efforts to achieve the goal of Indonesia free of Dutch colonialism, Muhammadiyah also often uses its political means, especially in the area of practical politics. Muhammadiyah is an organization born with the aim of opposing Dutch colonialism, and thus the right way used against this form of colonialism is to instill nationalism of the society. Muhammadiyah politics in instilling nationalism is with the area itself. that is through social, religion, and education.

Keywords: *Muhammadiyah Organization; Nationalism; Politics*

Introduction

When Muhammadiyah organization was built in 1912, K.H Ahmad Dahlan is the first actor of this organization. He has emphasized that Muhammadiyah is not a political organization, but social and more to education (Anshoriy, 2010: 57). This argument had appropriate reason, because at the period, many organizations in the political field quickly came under fire from the Dutch government (Kahin, 2013: 98-99). Thus, in order to maintain the existence of Muhammadiyah as organization, the movement is more emphasized on the mission of renewal, especially on social, social, and educational activities. As Shobron (2003: 25) puts it as "a sociological historical identity", because one of the characteristics of Muhammadiyah is a reformer in those fields, not on the issue of participating in politics just like any other organization.

Thohari (2005: 120) in his writing entitled "Muhammadiyah Political Fatsun" emphasizes that "Muhammadiyah is a proselytism movement that struggles in the cultural field (society). Ahmad Dahlan himself throughout his leadership had never formulated what was known as the "political ideology" of Muhammadiyah. It indicated that Muhammadiyah organization movement was fully devoted only for

people. For Muhammadiyah, people were the main thing, nothing important at that time except to fix the lives of the small people.

Formally, Muhammadiyah did not follow politics, it remained consistent with missions that had been primarily targeted since the beginning. Muhammadiyah organization, according to Kahin (2013: 121) viewed it self as a spreader of modernist Islamic culture and non-political ideas. However, politics within Muhammadiyah is not so contradictory, so the politics within Muhammadiyah may be elasticity. This means that members who want to be given a political freedom, as long as it did not harm the crowd, especially for the interests of the organization itself.

It is clear that, if any Muhammadiyah members are politicized, then the politics that will be used is the politics of Islam and its law. The purpose of the political system is to establish a political order based on Islamic law. Politics in the perspective of Islam, its political meaning becomes an arrangement and maintenance of mankind especially Muslim society (Jurdi, 2016: 6; Tebba, 2001: 13). This concept is said by Lewis (1994: 39) as a function of government to the Muslims. It means building people is not just based on a practical interest whose outcome is also practical, or just a momentary pleasure. Therefore, in the implementation of Islamic politics, always contradict with human idealism, it is not surprising then that it is not a benefit that will be accepted by a society, but a political promise that cannot be realized the result. In Muhammadiyah, members will be given guidance about political methods. For Muhammadiyah, political methods must have ethics, so with this ethics can know how they use the politics (Thohari, 2005: 125). However, it should be understood that from its inception to this day, Muhammadiyah only political goal is to achieve an independent Indonesia by fostering nationalism in Indonesian society, especially for people who are often marginalized.

Founding Nationalism: The Relationship between Muhammadiyah and Budi Utomo

In 1900 to 1942, the Dutch East Indies were the decisive and most influential span of the year in Indonesia's historical record. There were several reasons why this year distance is said to be very influential. *The first* reason; because in this year started with the growing spirit of collective nationalism of Indonesian society. Kohn defines nationalism as:

A concept which opined that individual who has highest allegiance must be left to the nation state. The centuries of ideals and political goals are not nationalities, but in the form of social power, political organization or feudal king, and ideological unity such as tribes or clans, city states, dynastic empires or religious groups (1955: 11).

According to Anderson (2008:8) Nationalism is as a pictured community, because individuals and groups did not know and even did not know some of these groups and individuals. But in the mind of every individual has a vision of togetherness to become one. Although in Anderson's language, nationalism grows in "Imagined Communities", but the spirit for togetherness is strongly imprinted in every heart and soul of each of its people. It cannot be denied that the community formed in each region will be easily divided, if not have a strong determination to be together into a unity, so it takes the spirit before, as a funnel towards the formation of the nation as aspired together. *Second*; the mover of the spirit of nationalism was inseparable from the role of movement of organizations, who consciously understood the condition of the Indies (Indonesia) in a state of extreme concern due to the various years of bad treatment of the Dutch colonial government. *Third*; Specific to Islamic organizations, this year's span is said by Noer (1988: 37) as the emergence of a modern Islamic movement. He argued that it is impossible in establishing Islam to fight Dutch colonialism in Christianity missions and so on, done in traditional ways, so that significant changes in Islam are needed as a sophisticated tool to dispel the Dutch mission. In the sense that at this time, Islam has been used as a political force by certain groups in favor of a

greater interest (Lombard, 2005: 351). *Fourth*, that is; after growing and spreading the spirit of nationalism in all corners of the country, it is not surprising that the mid-20th century authoritarian regime of the Dutch government could break, although the defeat was not an absolute defeat of the Indonesian people.

The description above is very clear that the collective movement of Indonesia nationalism, begun with the penetration done by various organizations of the movement. The contribution of thought toward emergence of nationalism has been one of the main ideals since the founders of the organization began to get education. Leirissa (1985: 61) called it the 1900s, a time when the rise of youth nationalism. This is true, if you see the organization of movement that was established at the beginning of the 20th century all backed by the role of youth who have completed education at home and abroad. So with the provisions and intellectual capabilities it has, and see the condition of the people who are getting worse, so the desire to form an organization that is used as a place to accommodate the aspirations of the people who have been shackled for quite a long time the Dutch.

Like Budi Utomo, the first modern organization was founded in 1908 (Pringgogidgo, 1994: 1). Organization of Budi Utomo was founded on the condition of society at that time, which is treated unfairly and identical with exploitation. Goals and ideals, especially education, encourage all its members to remain consistent with the people. How to then create the intelligent people and making large this organization is an absolute necessity of its members. The birth of Budi Utomo's organization can inspire (directly or indirectly) other intellectuals in shaping movements organizations (such as: Muhammadiyah and others), so it can be said that Budi Utomo was the first organization to pioneer the existence of the next movement organization, Which contradicts that statement.

In addition to the organization of Budi Utomo, other movements organization also emerged that brought the mission of nationalism, such as SI, Indsche Partij and so on, but emotionally, only Muhammadiyah that has closeness with Budi Utomo. This is evident from the role of Ahmad Dahlan who before establishing Muhammadiyah organization was very large against Budi Utomo. For example, Ahmad Dahlan was once a board member of Kauman and one of the commissioners in the management of Budi Utomo in Yogyakarta branch (Majelis Diktilitbang and LPI, 2010: 21). Ahmad Dahlan became a member of Budi Utomo in 1909 (Burhani, 2010: 60), so the organization of Budi Utomo was very big role in building the nationalism of Ahmad Dahlan.

During he stayed in Budi Utomo's organization, Ahmad Dahlan's desire to establish an organization with the same direction and purpose as Budi Utomo organization. Therefore with a great willingness, then stand Muhammadiyah. Although this organization was more inclined to religion, but for other activities, such as education and social do not have significant differences with Budi Utomo. Mentioned in one source, although Muhammadiyah has always been enthusiastic in its social and educational activities, the organization has since been founded as equally concerned about maintaining interest and involvement in politics, despite the fact that Muhammadiyah never established its own political party (Anshoriy, 2010: 91).

Politics of Muhammadiyah Internal: Nationalism Adhesive Strategy

Muhammadiyah is not a political organization and muhammadiyah will never become a political party, this is said by Padmo (2007: 159) in one of his writing. Padmo considers that Muhammadiyah is very close with renewal, so it is impossible this organization contribute in politics in Indonesia. However, despite being loaded with its mission (social and educational), willy-nilly, Muhammadiyah must be involved in politics. Muhammadiyah political movement emerged because of the demands of the circumstances, meaning everything that happened during that period forced Muhammadiyah into politics. For example, when this organization wanted to have a legal recognition

from the Dutch government, it did various ways so that the scope of Muhammadiyah movement was not limited by the Dutch government, which initially only limited to the area of Yogyakarta alone. Therefore, the board sent a letter of concession to the Dutch government, so that Muhammadiyah had space collectively in the Dutch East Indies. With that effort, although with a variety of ordinances, the movement of Muhammadiyah that spread to remote areas of Java was approved by the Dutch government (Majelis Diktilitbang and LPI, 2010: 29-30).

The explanation above is part of Muhammadiyah organizational politics in its efforts to foster nationalism, namely through the dissemination of Islamic reforms it embodies. Muhammadiyah did not want to implement religious, social, and educational values that is its primary mission, known only to those around Yogyakarta only or only on the island of Java, so that Muhammadiyah organizers wanted the dissemination of these understandings to areas outside Java. The considerations made by Muhammadiyah at that time were especially in the area of education which experienced discrimination from the Dutch government by looking at the education that the Dutch government proclaimed through ethical politics, can only be touched on Dutch people and more financially indigenous people.

That was different to Sarikat Islam, Indsche Partij, PNI and other movement organizations that were more engaged in radical politics, Muhammadiyah had another method of doctrine of nationalism. In its movement, Muhammadiyah did not appear to be involved in politics, but actually in instilling the doctrine of nationalism this organization always passes the political path. The nationalism mission wrapped up in the educational movement is what the Dutch government did not realize.

The educational movement meant is, in instilling nationalism in the people of Indonesia, Muhammadiyah established many Islamic schools, but its learning system using modern western method (Azra, 1999: 108). The Dutch government also cannot do much, because education is a mission of Muhammadiyah, was also one of the mission of the Netherlands through Ethical Policy, so it can be concluded that the Dutch saw it as one of assistance to fulfill the mission of education contained in ethical politics.

The contribution of movement organizations idea including Muhammadiyah had brought a great thought in the effort to achieve Indonesian independence. With the independence of Indonesia in 1945 under the umbrella of the banners of the elite and the people, it is evident that the doctrine of nationalism has shaped the soul of Indonesian nationalism. Not only did it stop in 1945, the undermining of Japan (on behalf of the "old brother") after the Dutch exit also proved the power of Gorontalo people cannot be underestimated. Until the re-entry of the Dutch who did not recognize the independence of Indonesia 1945 de facto.

Politics within Muhammadiyah organization was not clearly visible in every step of its movement. But in his efforts to achieve the desire for Indonesia free of Dutch colonialism, politics always coincided with Muhammadiyah. The political intrigue of the Muhammadiyah was not only done when the Dutch were still in Indonesia, but the involvement of the Muhammadiyah in the political world was also visible after the independence of Indonesia, namely the role of its members in the formulation of statehood. As Padmo (2007: 159) discloses, "the state politics is no exception" to the political field of Muhammadiyah. So the things that deal with the state become very important for Muhammadiyah.

Muhammadiyah political movement is more moderate. Although the beginning of the establishment challenges the aggressiveness of the Christianization mission undertaken by the Dutch government, but more and more, there is a fundamental change of Muhammadiyah as organization. As pointed out by Fananni & Darraz (2013: 6) was about the disagreement Muhammadiyah in the formal application of Islamic law in the Jakarta charter. Indications of the politics conducted by Muhammadiyah were very visible in an attempt not to model the existing groups in Indonesia. Islamic law was very important, but only for its members. Indonesia is a country that consists of various religions, so it does not

become a very urgent in making the Islamic Law as the basic foundation. In this context the Muhammadiyah seeks to maintain the unity and unity of the Pancasila. Thus Pancasila can be regarded as a dogma for the people of Indonesia.

The basic concept as a form of paradigm shift in the Muhammadiyah organizational, it can be seen in the conclusion of Kuntowijoyo (In Mulkhan, 2013: 26) an introduction in Abdul Munir Mulkhan's writings. Particularly in political turmoil, Kuntowijoyo saw Mulkhan's thesis which featured the political face of Muhammadiyah that grew at the grassroots (especially farmers). The local political mastery of Muhammadiyah resulted in an increasing number of Muhammadiyah members prior to the collapse of the New Order on May 12, 1998. Muhammadiyah had shown its capacity as an organization that metamorphosed not only among the elite, but also among the lower classes. The local politics conducted by Muhammadiyah - not denying the purification mission of Islam - has made this organization acceptable to the lower classes (peasants) by combining the practice of tuberculosis and Islamic purification (Mulkhan, 2013: 254-255). It was back to Ahmad Dahlan's behavior of trying to receive TB, but not running it, not rejecting it as we find today.

Conclusion

Muhammadiyah is not a political organization, but politics is not an exception. Politics becomes mandatory, if there are particular things that are required to politics. supposing that at the beginning of its founding, Ahmad Dahlan as the founder of Muhammadiyah joined the organization of Budi Utomo, the aim is to politics. At the same time, Budi Utomo's organization had a much followers/mass base in Java, so the politics of Ahmad Dahlan is to find the right method for the organization to be established to be just like Budi Utomo. In the article Anshoriy also said, from the organization Budi of Utomo, Ahmad Dahlan studied about politics.

Furthermore, the evidence of the Muhammadiyahin politics is that it shows in the doctrine of nationalism in Indonesian society. Although the method used by Muhammadiyah is different from the movement organization in general which uses radical methods in instilling its nationalism doctrine. Muhammadiyah in that case is conduted by way of education, from this education,nationalism can be knownby society.

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