

## **Building Islamic Ideology From Historical Studies : From Pesantren To Parliamentary Leadership**

Yafis Alfian Hasan

Islamic Studies Faculty - Etablissement Dar Al-Hadith Al-Hassania, Morocco

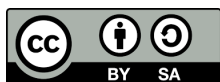
\*Corresponding Author: [alfianyh22@gmail.com](mailto:alfianyh22@gmail.com)

**Abstract:** Political parties are the axis of the democratic movement in a country. The urgency of ideology in political parties is very important in determining the party's future policies and decisions and strengthening the party's identity in the diversity of society. The emergence of ideology in people's lives gives its own style and has an impact on modern democracy. This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach. The results of the study show that Islamic ideology has colored democratic life by integrating Islamic values in the law and laws of the republic. Islamic boarding schools become institutions that supervise the Islamic community and educate and foster Islamic ideology and a sense of nationalism towards the republic. Behind that, Islamic boarding schools also produce the next generation in sustainability. The emergence of figures during the independence period is an example for Muslims today.

**Keywords:** Democracy, Islam, Ideology, Indonesia

**Abstrak:** Partai politik menjadi poros dalam gerakan demokrasi di suatu negara. Urgensi ideologi dalam partai politik sangat penting dalam menentukan kebijakan, keputusan masa depan partai dan memperkuat identitas partai dalam keberagaman masyarakat. Munculnya ideologi dalam kehidupan masyarakat memberikan gayanya sendiri dan berdampak pada demokrasi modern. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan ideologi Islam telah mewarnai kehidupan demokrasi dengan mengintegrasikan nilai-nilai Islam dalam hukum dan hukum republik. Pesantren menjadi lembaga yang mengawasi komunitas Islam dan mendidik serta menumbuhkan ideologi Islam dan rasa nasionalisme terhadap republik. Di balik itu, Pesantren juga menghasilkan generasi penerus dalam keberlanjutan. Munculnya tokoh-tokoh pada masa kemerdekaan menjadi contoh bagi umat Islam saat ini.

**Kata Kunci:** Demokrasi, Islam, Ideologi, Indonesia



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## Introduction

The sustainability of a democracy begins with the establishment of several political parties that have a vision and mission in state goals. The existence of healthy political parties is one of the references in the political stability of society. Political dynamics in a region will always change with the running of a society that grows and develops in an evolving ideology. The openness of ideology is the basis for the community to understand the essence in the occurrence of mass movements to the process of voting for parliamentary seats.

Islamic parties have always taken part in Indonesian politics and have always rejected the meaning of secularism. The involvement of Islamic ideology in several fields is a form of interpreting Allah's verse "*wa mâ arsalnâka illâ rahmatal lil'âlamîn*". This universal interpretation of the verse makes the openness of Muslims in carrying out mass actions to involvement in making state laws. The urgent program developed by Masyumi party at the beginning of its emergence had the outline goal of realizing Islamic ideology in the state, in order to be able to establish a state based on justice and popular sovereignty in line with Islamic principles<sup>1</sup>. This principle has been proven long ago during H. Agus Salim's speech at the 6th Sarekat Islam Congress, he said that "The Prophet Muhammad had preached about socialist economics 12 centuries before Karl Mark was born"<sup>2</sup>. In the quote from the speech, it indicates that Islam first had a state order and became a form of courage for H. Agus Salim by cornering several communist politicians, this attitude certainly requires a stage of regeneration of society with a solid Islamic ideology and is one example of an Islamic politician who participated in the formation of state principles that can be used as an example for a Muslim who wants to serve in politics and reject the ideology of secularism in the state. Not only names like Agus Salim, big names like Raden Mas Tirtoadisurjo (founder of Sarekat Dagang Islam), H.O.S Tjokroaminoto (Chairman of Sarekat Islam), KH Abdul Wahab

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<sup>1</sup> George McTurnan Kahin, *Nasionalisme Dan Revolusi Di Indonesia* (Malaysia: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia, 1980), p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> Kahin. p. 91

Hasbullah (One of the founders of Nahdatul Ulama), KH Ahmad Dahlan (founder of Muhammadiyah), Wahid Hasyim (Chairman Majelis al-Islam al-A'la Indonesia). These figures are figures with an Islamic ideological background who played a role in fighting for independence in Indonesian politics.<sup>3</sup>

The vanguard of society during the colonial and independence periods was a group of people with Islamic insight before the emergence of other doctrines. The emergence of Nahdatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah and several other Islamic organizations became the substance of ideological educational regeneration in stopping Dutch colonial efforts. So that the power of Islamic ideology has created a large mass so that it is very calculated by the colonists, because Islamic ideology is a source of revolutionary power before the existence of nationalism, socialism and communism.<sup>4</sup> Indonesian society should pay attention to political education to produce local and national cadres to face political conflicts that occur domestically and abroad as state diplomats. Because the quality of regeneration education through internal and external organizations in pesantren or schools is the key to the nation's movement for the future in participating in maintaining modernist and traditional religious principles so that they are always relevant in the sustainability of community life.<sup>5</sup>

This research uses a qualitative descriptive approach that aims to describe clearly and briefly how the situation of Islamic politics from pre-independence to post-independence times. The qualitative approach uses historical books and several political journals in order to anatomize history and thoughts that have not been touched by the general public as well as a little personal experience and stories from pesantren friends that can be used as a backing in this writing. Document analysis and research are carried out by seeing whether the journal has a relationship with other journals, then the topics are related to the author's rationality.

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<sup>3</sup> Prisca Kiki Wulandari, Destriana Saraswati, and Surya Desismansyah Eka Putra, *Membangun Indonesia: Pemberdayaan Pemuda Berwawasan Pancasila* (Universitas Brawijaya Press, 2017).

<sup>4</sup> Einar Martahan Sitompul and M Th, *Nu & Pancasila* (LKIS PELANGI AKSARA, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Najib Azca et al., *Dua Menyemai Damai: Peran Dan Kontribusi Muhammadiyah Dan Nahdlatul Ulama Dalam Perdamaian Dan Demokrasi* (UGM PRESS, 2021).

### **The urgency of political party ideology in democracy**

The definition of democracy through language review epistemology and terminology. Etymologically, democracy comes from the Greek language, namely *demos* means people or society and *cratos* or *cretein* which means sovereignty and power.<sup>6</sup> Thus in terminology, it is a country where the system of government is controlled by the people, the people rule, the government is elected by the people, government decisions are decided by the people's votes.<sup>7</sup> As for the explicit meaning, democracy is the foundation of a society that is controlled by the people.

The democratic system has principles that apply universally, meaning that a country is declared successful in implementing a democratic system, if the country is able to fulfil the requirements in democracy. According to Inu Kencana Syafie, one of the principles in democracy is the establishment of several political parties. The democratic system occurs in several countries, because there are many ethnicities, races and religions in one country. Thus, it is necessary for political parties to become a forum for aspirations for diversity in power.

Democracy is closely related to the laws of a country that requires a dialectic involving parties in determining public policy over others, if power is imposed on individuals, it will complicate politics in a country by causing problems such as maintaining power and negating the aspirations of the people. According to Jimly Asshiddiqie, a political party is an association of citizens, in

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<sup>6</sup> Budi Suhartawan, "Konsep Kepemimpinan Dalam Perspektif Al-Qur'an," *TAFAKKUR: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Tafsir* 2, no. 1 (2021): 1-23; Muhammad Hanafi, "Kedudukan Musyawarah Dan Demokrasi Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Cita Hukum* 1, no. 2 (2013), p. 95778.

<sup>7</sup> Christian List and Robert E Goodin, "Epistemic Democracy: Generalizing the Condorcet Jury Theorem," *Journal of Political Philosophy* 9, no. 3 (2001): 277-306, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9760.00128>; Mudiayati Rahmatunnisa, "Desentralisasi Dan Demokrasi," *Governance* 1, no. 2 (2011), p. 1-21.

short, there is no democracy if there is no party established to accommodate the aspirations of the people in the continuity of government.<sup>8</sup>

The description of the term political party is not an easy thing, because there are so many understandings that tend to have their own views. In general, political parties in Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties article 1 reads as follows: “a political party is a political organization formed by a group of citizens of the Republic of Indonesia voluntarily on the basis of similarities of will and ideals to fight for the interests of members, society, nation and state through general elections<sup>9</sup>”, it can be taken that a political party is a mass organization that is able to provide changes in the view of how to do politics to the community by providing continuous political ideological education to realize the interests of the people by becoming part of power and elevating political dignity in the eyes of the community. Political parties are also one of the changes in the order of society with the ideology that is the basis for the formation of political parties. Ideology also provides a way and trust for the community to vote as representatives of the people in the executive and legislative branches. But after the reformation, the existence of ideology in political parties began to fade with the change in the consensus of interests of political parties to perpetuate and increase government seats. This has led to a loss of public trust in electing representatives from political parties during general elections, leading to political apathy among the public. Furthermore, political turmoil is increasingly ineffective with the emergence of political parties that do not have basic principles in the establishment of parties or party ideology, resulting in manifestations such as the establishment of parties for *money laundry* or consensus that is not supporting the people or advancing democracy.

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<sup>8</sup> Ellya Rosana, “Negara Demokrasi Dan Hak Asasi Manusia,” *Jurnal Tapis: Jurnal Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam* 12, no. 1 (2016), p. 37-53.

<sup>9</sup> Ben Hillman, “Ethnic Politics and Local Political Parties in Indonesia,” *Asian Ethnicity* 13, no. 4 (2012), p. 419-40; Government of the Republic of Indonesia. *Law Number 2 of 2008 on Political Parties*. (2008). Retrieved from [https://id.wikisource.org/wiki/Undang-Undang\\_Republik\\_Indonesia\\_Nomor\\_2\\_Tahun\\_2008](https://id.wikisource.org/wiki/Undang-Undang_Republik_Indonesia_Nomor_2_Tahun_2008)

On December 14, 2022, the Indonesian General Election Commission (KPU) announced 17 national political parties and 6 local Acehese parties that had participated in the 2024 elections yesterday with a division of 9 parliamentary parties and 8 non-parliamentary parties, but the 17 parties were a form of fragmentation of previously existing parties such as the Ummat Party from the Amanat National Party (PAN), the Gelora Party from the Kesejahteraan Rakyat Party (PKS).<sup>10</sup> Party splits do not occur due to ideological differences in party ties but differences in actions in determining political policies, this can be overcome by the party regeneration process before officially joining the party members.<sup>11</sup>

The article is a reminder that the emergence of ideology within the party is very important. In detail, the emergence of Islamic ideology will provide its own historical ink that the integration of Islam in all aspects of the dynamics of life; economic, political, and others. The strength of planting in the heart of democracy requires the formation of buds with strong character in appropriate containers such as pesantren and organizations at the high school and university levels.

### **Integration of Islamic movements in politics**

As described earlier, ideology is the essence of the formation of a political party. There are many ideologies that emerge and become the fundamental foundation of the party. Examples include ideologies based on nationalism such as the Indonesian National Party (PNI) founded by President Ir. Soekarno, with socialism such as the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI) founded by Sutan Sjahrir. Party representatives always socialize the programs and ideas that will be held on the basis of their ideology, if the party becomes the government organizer.

The occurrence of ideological formation is not without a cause, but rather the occurrence of several factors that can change ideology such as the perspective of society, the existence of thought revolutions and customs in the

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<sup>10</sup> Muhammad Sidiq et al., "Kehadiran Partai Gelombang Rakyat Indonesia Sebagai Manajemen Konflik Internal Partai Politik," *Moderat: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan* 9, no. 2 (2023), p. 271-88.

<sup>11</sup> Nanang Trenggono Nanang Trenggono, "Antagonisme Komunikasi Politik: Konsekuensinya Terhadap Integrasi Politik" (Suluh Media, 2021).

region and religion. Revolutions in politics and social affairs that occur are also able to change the ideology of an era and form a response to the conditions of the times and circumstances such as the existence of the ideology of socialism as a reaction to the ideology of capitalism. The role of ideology is not only to strengthen the party's worldview but to become a party identity and become the basic framework in formulating the policies that the party will carry in government. For example, the involvement of Islamic ideology with the Indonesian revolutionary movements in pre- and post-independence. Quoted from the journal *Al-Syir'ah* Vol. 1 No. 2 by Ikrar, it is explained that the Islamic party before Islamic independence was intended for an association or group that made Islam its principle<sup>12</sup>. The sentence *La ilaha illallah Muhammadur Rasulullah* was used as the basis of the movement, as well as relations between tribes and nations in eliminating anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist words before the existence of other ideologies emerged and developed. Islamic ideology not only passively absorbs the impulses of the ideology of nationalism, but Islam became the earliest ideology of the development of nationalism in Indonesia that is mature and modern, unique characters of Islamic ideology that are not owned by other ideologies such as tolerance with other religions, anti-fanaticism, and openness to other ideas. The revolutionary movements carried out by Muslims in the pre- and post-independence periods were not only a matter of taking up arms, but also involved in pre-independence negotiations and establishing parties based on Islamic ideology.

The involvement of Islamic ideology in politics began with the establishment of the Sarekat Islam (SI) party in 1912, which began with the existence of Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI) in 1911 under the control of Haji Oemar Said, then became the Sarekat Islam Party (PSI) which was then followed in the following years by several Islamic parties and Islamic community organizations. The beginning of the establishment was oriented as a reaction of the Indonesian people against the batik trade with the colonials (European and non-European) and against the penetration of the Chinese, which then turned

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<sup>12</sup> Ikrar Ikrar, "Partai-Partai Islam Di Indonesia (Latar Belakang Dan Dinamika Perjalanannya)," *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah* 1, no. 2 (2016).

into a political and social field for a long time and became an important movement in independence as well as a form of resisting Christian missionaries among the Dutch<sup>13</sup>. This quote already shows that the involvement of Islamic ideology through mass organizations and parties has given its own colour in the struggle for the Indonesian revolution.<sup>14</sup>

The existence of Islamic ideology in Sarekat Islam was criticized by some communists so that there was an internal conflict in Sarekat Islam due to differences in views regarding between Islamic nationalists and secular nationalists, then there was a setback with the involvement of Alimin who wanted to take over the leadership of Sarekat Islam and wanted to change the name to Sarekat Idjo,<sup>15</sup> in another history it was said that internal conflicts occurred because several branches in Sarekat Islam had been controlled by Marxism with the departure of communist cadres such as Semaun and Darsono who had united several branches and replaced them with a counter-party, namely Sarekat Islam Merah or Sarekat Islam Semarang.<sup>16</sup> Despite this setback, new organizations with modernist Islamic ideology emerged such as Muhammadiyah in 1912, then shortly after the establishment of Muhammadiyah after more than a decade, the renewal of the traditional Islamic organization Nadhatul Ulama (NU) emerged in 1926.<sup>17</sup> These two organizations became the bastion of Islam during the revolution that would change the dynamics of Indonesian politics and Sarekat Islam was the pioneer of Indonesia's national awakening in the political field. With the existence of Sarekat Islam, three political organizations that played a very important role in Indonesia emerged, namely the Indonesian National Party (PNI) led by

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<sup>13</sup> Kahin, George McTurnan. "Nasionalisme dan revolusi di Indonesia." (*No Title*) (1980) p.81-82

<sup>14</sup> Nurma Helani, "Peran Haji Agus Salim Dalam Konflik Perpecahan Sarekat Islam Tahun 1914-1936," 2019; Handri Raharjo, *Metamorfosis Sarekat Islam* (Media Pressindo, 2019).

<sup>15</sup> Neni Yulianita, "Potensi Opini Publik Terhadap Eksistensi Ormas & Partai Islam," *Mimbar: Jurnal Sosial Dan Pembangunan* 19, no. 1 (2003), p. 106.

<sup>16</sup> Hok Gie Soe, *Di Bawah Lentera Merah: Riwayat Sarekat Islam Semarang, 1917-1920* (Yayasan Bentang Budaya, 1999).

<sup>17</sup> M Ali Haidar, *Nahdatul Ulama Dan Islam Di Indonesia: Pendekatan Fikih Dalam Politik* (PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1994).

Soekarno, the Indonesian Communist Party led by Semaun, and Darul Islam led by Sekarmaji Marijan Kartosuwiryo.<sup>18</sup>

The integration of politics and Islam cannot be separated from the views of the santri and kyai. Modernist teachings that emerged in Cairo in the 20th century were welcomed by Islamic ideological leaders and indirectly posed a threat to the Dutch colonial government. These modernist movements such as the creation of the Muhammadiyah Surat Magazine published by Muhammadiyah in 1915 which discussed important points of Islam, worship procedures and in social discussions as well as sensitizing the Islamic community about fighting imperialism through education. The important role of modernist teachings in Surat Muhammadiyah Magazine in nationalism by using Indonesian language and Javanese script at the beginning of its production<sup>19</sup>. In other Islamic movements such as the traditional movement taught by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari in Nahdatul Ulama and some ulama' who did not have a mass organization such as Shaykh Thaher Djalaluddin, Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Al Minangkabawi provided their own methods of resistance by providing recitation of *wirid*, *asmā'*, *ḥizb*, *dhikr*, *ṣalawāt* and so on, which became a big suggestion of sacredness to fight the war against the colonizers. Both modern and traditional movements continue today, indicating that the Islamic movement has an important role in the political and non-political fields.

The Islamic movement is not only limited to the non-parliamentary movement, but the Islamic movement remains involved until the strengthening of Pancasila, UUD 45 and the Jakarta Charter (Piagam Jakarta). This is undeniable with the involvement of Islamic figures such as the participation of K.H. Abdul Wahid Hasyim, Kyai Masykur from the Nahdatul Ulama organization (NU), Kyai Kahar Muzakkir from the Indonesian Islamic Party (PSI) and K.H Agus Salim in committee nine in the BPUPKI session. Tengku

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<sup>18</sup> Wahyu Iryana, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional: Melacak Akar Historis Perjuangan Bangsa Indonesia Dan Kiprah Kaum Santri Dalam Lahirnya Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* (Prenada Media, 2022).

<sup>19</sup> Prabaswara, Sandya Sahisnu, and Muhammad Wildan. "Kontribusi Suara Muhammadiyah Bagi Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam Di Indonesia (1915-1957)." *Al-Tsaqafa: Jurnal Ilmiah Peradaban Islam* 19.2 (2022), p. 229-242.

Mohammad Hasan representing the portico of Mecca, Aceh, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo representing the Muhammadiyah association, and K.H. A. Wahid Hasyim representing Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in the PPKI session on August 18, 1945, who sacrificed “seven words” namely “with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents (*dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya*)” for the sake of the establishment of the Indonesian state and a form of religious tolerance so that the majority of eastern communities are Christian. According to Hatta, they did not want to join Indonesia, so instead the “seven words” in the Jakarta Charter were included in the Preamble of the 45th Constitution and Pancasila, with the diction “God Almighty (Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa)”<sup>20</sup>. This incident signifies the defeat of Muslims through the non-inclusion of Islamic ideology in the constitution, but signifies a form of tolerance and contribution to the establishment of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The Islamic movement did not end until the proclamation text was read in the admiral's house, but the Islamic ideology continued to stretch until several parties and community organizations emerged. The highest peak was during the first election in 1955, when two parties with Islamic ideology were ranked in the top four and passed to the parliament.<sup>21</sup>

**Table 1.** Islamic parties enter parliament

No.	Party	Vote	Presentations	Number of Chairs
1.	Indonesia Nasional Party (PNI)	8.434.653	22,32	57
2.	Masyumi	7.903.886	20,92	57
3.	Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)	6.955.141	18,41	45
4.	Indonesia Communist Partai (PKI)	6.179.914	16,36	39

<sup>20</sup> Zudi Setiawan, “Peran Tokoh Nahdlatul Ulama Dalam Proses Perumusan Pancasila Sebagai Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia,” *Spektrum* 18, no. 2 (2021), p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> Irsad Irsad Akil, “Kontribusi Ulama Sufi Dalam Keutuhan NKRI,” *PUTIH: Jurnal Pengetahuan Tentang Ilmu Dan Hikmah* 6, no. 2 (2021), p. 59–76.

The table above shows the surge of the Islamic community that was able to control half of the parliamentary seats due to the existence of Islam as the majority ideology in Indonesia and the existence of local-scale party regeneration from modernist and traditional groups. Before the first general election in 1955,<sup>22</sup> Islamic figures had already occupied many cabinet seats from the Syahrir I Cabinet to the Ali Sastroamidjojo I Cabinet, or state institutions such as the KNIP (Central Indonesian National Committee) or the Working Committee during the Dutch Military Aggression I and II before the handover of sovereignty from the Dutch to Indonesia in 1948.<sup>23</sup> The following Islamic figures were involved from Syahrir I Cabinet to Ali Sastromidjojo I Cabinet:

**Table 2.** Islamic Figures Entered the Cabinet

<b>Sjahrir Cabinet I (14 November 1945 - 12 March 1946)</b>	
Name Of Minister	As
Soekiman Wirjosandjojo	Minister of Finance
Abikusno Tjokrosujoso	Minister of Transportation
Mohammad Natsir	Minister of State
<b>Sjahrir Cabinet II (12 March 1946 - 2 October 1946)</b>	
Soekiman Wirjosandjojo	Minister of Home Affairs
Agus Salim	Minister of Foreign Affairs
Abikusno Tjokrosujoso	Minister of Transportation
Mohammad Natsir	Minister of State
<b>Sjahrir Cabinet III (2 October 1946 - 27 Juny 1947)</b>	
Agus Salim	Minister of Foreign Affairs
<b>Amir Sjarifoeddin Cabinet I&amp;II (3 July 1947 - 29 January 1948)</b>	
Agus Salim	Minister of Foreign Affairs
Mohammad Natsir	Minister of State

<sup>22</sup> Singgih Bambang Permadi, "Proses Pemilihan Umum 1955 Di Indonesia," *Skripsi Sarjana Tidak Diterbitkan*. Yogyakarta: Program Studi Pendidikan Sejarah, Jurusan Pendidikan Sejarah FIS UNY [Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta]. Tersedia Secara Online Juga Di: <https://eprints.uny.ac.id/21750/9/Ringkasan.Pdf> [Diakses Di Bandung, Jawa Barat, Indonesia: 3 Juli 2018], 2014.

<sup>23</sup> A Kardiyat Wiharyanto, *Sejarah Indonesia Dari Proklamasi Sampai Pemilu 2009* (Sanata Dharma University Press, 2022).

Kabinet Hatta Cabinet I (29 January 1948 – 4 August 1949)	
Agus Salim	Minister of Foreign Affairs
Soekiman Wirjosandjojo	Minister of Home Affairs
Hatta Cabinet II (4 August 1949 – 20 December 1949)	
Mohammad Roem	Minister of Foreign Affairs
Ali Sastroamidjojo Cabinet I (31 July 1953 – 12 August 1955)	
Mohammad Roem	Minister of Foreign Affairs

The political event was strongly fought by some Islamic communities who had received education in pesantren. Several major events have been experienced by the Islamic community, especially the pesantren community, such as the Jihad Resolution incident on November 10, 1945 which began with the raising of the Dutch flag at the Yamato hotel located in the city of Surabaya until there was fierce resistance in Central Java and Java. The war between the Allied Forces Netherlands East Indies (AFNEI) led by Lieutenant General Sir Philip Christion and the freedom fighters from Islamism and Nationalism and Socialism. Seeing the very precarious situation, President Soekarno through a messenger sent to KH. Hasyim Asy'ari. He is the Chairman and founder of Nahdatul Ulama (NU). In his messenger, Soekarno asked:

*“Is it legal to defend the homeland, not to defend Allah, defend Islam or defend the Qur'an. Again, defending the homeland? Then KH. Hasyim Asy'ari issued a fatwa with the substance of rejecting the return of colonial rule and recognizing the rule of the newly independent Republic of Indonesia in accordance with Islamic law. KH. Hasyim Asy'ari took the initiative to hold a meeting of Nadhatul Ulama (NU) consuls throughout Java and Madura to issue a fatwa on the struggle of the Indonesian people in an effort to fight the Dutch who were anti-independence<sup>24</sup>, so that every October 22 commemorates National Santri Day as a form of commemoration of the jihad fatwa process and November 10 commemorates National Heroes Day as a form of commemoration of the war in Surabaya or with another term Jihad Resolution.*

<sup>24</sup> Muhammad Rijal Fadhli and Bobi Hidayat, “KH. Hasyim Asy'ari Dan Resolusi Jihad Dalam Usaha Mempertahankan Kemerdekaan Indonesia Tahun 1945,” *SwarnaDwipa* 2, no. 1 (2018), p. 61–72.

The role of santri and scholars in pesantren has emerged since the first time colonizers descended on the archipelago. Ulama and Santri were the first group to oppose the arrival of colonial invaders to control natural resources in the archipelago, as well as their arrival in an effort to Christianize the community.

### **Political cadre in pesantren**

According to Bung Hatta and Sutan Syahrir, a movement will last for a long time, if it has mature thinking and understands basic principles.<sup>25</sup> They also believed in the long-term process of education by forming national cadres who would implement a self-sustaining education system.<sup>26</sup> As mentioned earlier, the victory of the Masyumi and Nahdlatul Ulama parties in the 1955 general election was due to the existence of party cadres who nurtured the community through recitations conducted by several figures such as KH Dimjati. This traditional movement indicates that leadership skills must be accompanied by deep religious knowledge. The pesantren base became the main source of votes from the community in several important areas such as East Java<sup>27</sup> and the presence of pesantren was also used as a place of learning for students to develop themselves through internal pesantren organizations led by Kyai/Nyai or ustadz/ustadzah which were then taken by senior students as pesantren executives called pesantren terms such as *Badal*, *Khadam*, *Mundzir*, *Mudabbir* which then managed and regulated the lives of students.

The birth of pesantren in Indonesia is not only the spread of Islam but signifies education and regeneration in the pesantren environment. The education system in pesantren not only educates people to have religious insights but also forms morality and manners and lives in leading and being led. The presence of pesantren is enough to answer the challenges of society on how to build community morality in the modern era because supervision of students

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<sup>25</sup> Zulfikri Suleman, *Demokrasi Untuk Indonesia: Pemikiran Politik Bung Hatta* (Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2010).

<sup>26</sup> Suleman.

<sup>27</sup> Budi Sujati, "Dinamika Partai Nahdlatul Ulama Pada Pemilihan Umum 1955 Di Jawa Barat," *Jurnal Tamaddun: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan Islam* 8 (2020).

is not only carried out when learning takes place but also outside of learning hours, of course in short, pesantren provide day and night learning by providing activities such as recitation or *muhadhoroh* so that they can form character education. according to Kafrawi, what is meant by the pesantren curriculum is, all the activities of students a day and night, all of which in pesantren life have educational values<sup>28</sup>. Limited contact with parents becomes a form of character discipline so that students can face difficult problems without the help of parents and ultimately do not easily need help from others. All humans certainly have an era and civilization should not die because of someone's death. Humans can die physically but not with their thoughts. The infinite age of thought is a sign of successful upbringing of members or arguably the success of regeneration. The function of regeneration is to prepare candidates (embryos or regeneration) who are ready to continue the baton in struggle and thought. The concept of regeneration in pesantren is a combination of ideological cultivation and ideological application. Al Quran and Hadith, the two guidelines are not only used as daily reading but become the foundation of life in pesantren, so that the students follow the kyai' s direction in exploring the Quran and Hadith with the *syarah* of previous scholars and then practicing in their daily lives.

The life of a pesantren, which is identical to a religious atmosphere, will give the characteristics of a student living under the umbrella of Islamic ideology. According to Dzofier (1982), pesantren education aims to “elevate morals, train and heighten the spirit, appreciate spiritual and human values, teach honest and moral attitudes and behavior, and prepare students to live simply and cleanly<sup>29</sup>”. Two examples can be taken, namely in classical Arabic literature education and history education. Strengthening classical Arabic

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<sup>28</sup> M Syarif M Syarif, “Politik Etis Pemerintah Kolonial Hindia Belanda Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Pesantren,” *INOVATIF: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan, Agama, Dan Kebudayaan* 5, no. 1 (2019), p. 109-31; Zuyyina Candra Kirana, “Pandangan Azyumardi Azra Terhadap Modernisasi Pesantren,” *INOVATIF: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan, Agama, Dan Kebudayaan* 3, no. 1 (2017), p. 77-94.

<sup>29</sup> Alfisyah Alfisyah, Sapriya Sapriya, and Lumban Arofah, “Civic Education Di Pesantren Sebagai Basis Pembentukan Kesadaran Kebangsaan,” *Edukatif: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan* 3, no. 4 (2021), p. 1534-42.

literature becomes the basic foundation for santri in developing da'wah methods and can integrate with state life, while the process of historical education in pesantren is a form of Islamic ideology cultivation process by introducing Islamic figures in pre- and post-independence.

Life in pesantren not only teaches education in writing, but also educates how to manage Islamic life in pesantren. The kyai's existence is not only as a person who gives fatwas but also as a leader and originator of regulations in the pesantren which are then taken over by senior santri to hold the mandate as the executive in the pesantren. The dynamics of pesantren life become a small picture of life for a santri to face real life later after graduating from the pesantren. Conflicts that occur in internal and external pesantren are a form of how the formation of regeneration in students to face and resolve. Leadership is needed to streamline every step or meaningful activity<sup>30</sup>. In short, pesantren is a small arena of life that is used as a practice in developing the potential of students.

Education in pesantren is not only about planting the roots of Islamic ideology, but also providing a forum for santri in answering the challenges of community life with the existence of organizations in pesantren that will regulate the lives of santri. The organization also provides its own character education for each santri in making decisions, and the ability to apply effective human relations so that decisions can be communicated. The dynamic life in the pesantren will also open the insight of the students in openness in receiving opinions and suggestions in solving problems. In addition to the existence of the organization, there is also a system called *mudabbir*<sup>31</sup>. The concept of education that will not be found outside the pesantren that provides psychologically education to students in order to be able to understand the

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<sup>30</sup> Zaini Tamin Abd Rohim, "Pesantren Dan Politik (Sinergi Pendidikan Pesantren Dan Kepemimpinan Dalam Pandangan KH. M. Hasyim Asy'ari)," *UIN Sunan Ampel Journal of Islamic Education* 3, no. 2 (2015), p. 323-45.

<sup>31</sup> *Mudabbir* in Arabic (مُدَبِّر) from *fiil* (فِيْل - فَيَّل) means caretaker. The *mudabbir* referred to in pesantren is a senior santri who has the authority to organize and condition a room of about 10-12 junior santri or more. The application of the *mudabbir* system is applied in several modern boarding schools such as Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor.

characteristics of the students who are under its auspices. Both organizational education concepts such as; internal organization and *mudabbir* become an important foundation for santri in channeling and honing leadership talents. Direction and advice from a kyai provide a new color for santri in character building, where many events outside the pesantren occur due to moral degradation and the cultivation of Islamic education. Pesantren is an integral form in forming deep characteristics so that it can replace the adages in continuing the relay of struggle.

In short, the impact of a community leader is inseparable from environmental regeneration in the realm of education such as TPQ (Quran Learning Place) to college. The cultivation of ideology certainly starts from an early age which is then implemented in real life and in the example of modernist Islamic renewal such as Muhammadiyah after separating from Masyumi because it did not want to be involved in the political path and switch to a new path, namely education, also coloured people's lives in the following period. During the leadership of KH. A.R. Fachrudin in Muhammadiyah in 1968-1992, he followed up on the meaning of education in responding to the changing human civilization by providing new platforms such as the formation of regeneration organizations such as IPM (Muhammadiyah Student Association), IMM (Muhammadiyah Student Association), Muhammadiyah Youth and several regeneration organizations that were autonomous outside of formal education. Organizations are not only used as a place for students to get a religious attitude but also equip cadres by providing knowledge competencies (intellectual and academic) and skills in leading the community, which are able to analyse the sustainability of society and maintain organizational values that continue to be relevant in the times.

The success of IMM and IPM cadreization has shaped political life in the local and national arenas. Political figures such as Amien Rais, Hidayat Nur Wahid, Din Syamsuddin not only provide transformation of the movement within Muhammadiyah and become Muhammadiyah representatives in the political arena but also contribute to Indonesian politics by expanding the modernist Islamic ideology that is humanist and progressive. The overall meaning is that organizational activities within pesantren and external

pesantren such as IMM and IPM are important basic capital for santri or students to continue the next level of organization such as participation in university organizations or the next level, namely in politics.

## **Conclusion**

Islam will always be relevant to the development and dynamics of the times from any field, especially politics. Most of the general public thinks that Islam is only located in the mosque and will not be able to get out of the religious realm, this statement is a fatal mistake for people who are often justified and seek justification. The notions of secularism in life always provide a scourge for some elements of society, especially santri. Whereas in fact, the ideology based on Islam is an ideology that has the strongest quality of tolerance, the strength of solid unity to equality which is considered a blessing for all nature. This ideology is proven through the ink of history that has provided a big picture of the strength of the Islamic movement in pre- and post-independence of the Republic of Indonesia. The active role of the ulama is one of the images for the entire general public regarding Islam's participation in making and uniting different ethnicities, races and religions. The interaction of the ulama in politics such as the figures mentioned can be used as an example for santri who want to be involved in politics.

Indeed, the parliamentary seats should be continued as a competent and skilled Islamic society in the political field through the continuous regeneration of Islamic organizations. The existence of regeneration will also be the young pillars that will replace the old pillars in continuing the relay of preserving Islamic civilization. But in the facts that occur now, symbols that contain Islamic ideology are only used as seduction by politicians to elect them in political contestation every five years, to perpetuate their seats of power in parliament. This mistake is a task for all of us Islamic society in general in order to produce the next generation that has the quality of strong Islamic ideology in terms of creed and other branches of Islamic science as well as credibility in the political stage by going through Islamic civilizations as happened in the *Golden Age* (*Golden Age*) during the time of the Abbasid caliphs. The glory of Islam will begin with the awareness and active role of the Islamic community in politics

and law, in order to realize Islamic laws through open dialogues in plenary sessions and judges who have integrity and understanding of Islamic laws. Civilization begins with the cultivation of akhlaq by providing the concept of exemplary scholars with compensated behavior of parents and teaching staff in public schools or universities. Strong social engineering in pesantren education can be used as a primary education in some students because it is very visible when a santri leaves or becomes an alumni of the pesantren. Heavy experiences in pesantren become a strong foundation for a person to become a great leader in the future who is able to maintain the Islamic ideology they have learned in the pesantren environment.

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