

Submission Date: 1/08/2021 Accepted Date: 10/09/2021 Publication Date: 15/12/2021

THE CONSTRUCTION AND FORMATION OF ISLAMIC REVIVALIST MOVEMENT IN ASIA: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON MUHAMMADIYAH, NADHLATUL ULAMA AND JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI

*Pembinaan dan Pembentukan Gerakan Revivalist Islam di Asia: Perspektif
Sejarah Terhadap Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama dan Jamaat-e-Islami*

Nur Atika Hairi

Institute of Middle East, Sakarya University, Turkey

¹ikahairi90@gmail.com (corresponding email)

Abstract

This paper will examine internal forms of diversity within religious movements using the example of Islamic revivalist and scripturalist movements in Indonesia and India/Pakistan. Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama and Jamaat-e-Islami India/Pakistan represent an interesting case study of internal plurality within a religious movements, especially when it is examined through their background. Through library research and observation, this study tries to address the leader's ideas, objectives, the recruitments and their activities. It is then followed by a comparative analysis on similar aspects. In addition, this paper will also explore the similarity of the struggle faced by these Islamic movements in the Muslim world due to the secular governments that undermine the honor of Islam. This idea will in turn be confronted with another reason of why they still remain behind compared to other civilizations. The study discovers that this is due to the struggle between secularism and Islam being perpetual, but the unity and steadfastness to religion are the recipes for success in every single challenge Muslims are facing.

Keywords: Indonesia, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, Jamaat-e-Islami, Islamic revivalism.

Abstrak

Kajian ini akan mengkaji bentuk dalaman kepelbagaian dalam gerakan keagamaan menggunakan contoh gerakan kebangkitan Islam dan skripturalist di Indonesia dan India/Pakistan. Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama dan Jamaat-e-Islami

India/Pakistan merupakan kajian kes yang menarik tentang pluraliti dalaman dalam sesebuah gerakan agama, terutamanya apabila ia diteliti melalui latar belakang mereka. Melalui kajian dan pemerhatian perpustakaan, kajian ini cuba menangani idea, objektif, pengambilan dan aktiviti pemimpin. Ia kemudiannya diikuti dengan analisis perbandingan pada aspek yang serupa. Selain itu, kertas kerja ini juga akan mengupas persamaan perjuangan yang dihadapi oleh gerakan-gerakan Islam di dunia Islam ini disebabkan oleh kerajaan sekular yang meruntuhkan kehormatan Islam. Idea ini seterusnya akan berhadapan dengan sebab lain mengapa mereka masih kekal dalam kemunduran berbanding tamadun lain. Kajian mendapati bahawa ini adalah kerana perjuangan antara sekularisme dan Islam yang berterusan, tetapi perpaduan dan kubu kuat kepada agama adalah resipi kejayaan dalam setiap cabaran yang dihadapi umat Islam.

Kata kunci: Indonesia, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, Jamaat-e-Islami, Kebangkitan Islam.

INTRODUCTION

Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897), a well-known Islamic reformist, believed that the loss of cultural identity is the ultimate form of dehumanization, and the signal of the demise of the entire human civilization are the malaise of the Muslim World. Afghani argues that material progress must have a sound moral basis.

Without an Islamic movement, the progress for Muslim is not only difficult but also undesirable. This view is also supported by Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) as he believes that it can be implemented in a long term program. Thus, there should be a group of people formed to develop a new kind of elite that would understand what is needed and capable to translate it into action.

In general, according to Esposito and Yilmaz (2013), two prominent Western scholars who write extensively about Islam and politics, two general approaches to Islamic renewal and reform can be identified by the desire to re-establish, similar to the past. This means the traditionalist will have to replicate an early Islamic ideal, while the reformist will call for renovation or construction through Islamic sources, yet preserve themselves in variable degree from the uncritical Westernization of the secular elites.

In conjunction to this, it is essential to explore the background of Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama and Jamaat-e-Islami India/Pakistan to solidify one's basic understanding and then followed by a comparative analysis on the distinctions between the leaders, objectives, the recruitments and activities.

This research will be presented in four sections. In the first section, the researcher will explain about Muhammadiyah in Indonesia. In section two, the researcher will discuss about Nahdlatul Ulama in Indonesia and continue to explain

about Jamaat-e-Islami India/Pakistan in section three. Finally in the last section, the researcher will present the analysis on the distinctions between these three Islamic movements.

MUHAMMADIYAH: OBJECTIVES AND ITS MAIN ACTIVITIES

Muhammadiyah was founded in Kauman Village, Yogyakarta, on Dzulhijjah 8, 1330 according to Islamic calendar or November 18, 1912 by a man named K. H. Ahmad Dahlan. He is a devout Muslim educated for several years in Mecca, where he had been much indirectly influenced by the writings of the Egyptian reformist, Ibn Taymiyyah, then followed by his students such as Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jauziyyah and later continued by Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahab before it was then expanded by al-Afghani, Muhammad 'Abduh, and Rashid Rida. Many books he read was authored by these scholars, such as *Majmu'ah al-Rasa'il*, *Zad al-Ma'ad* and others (Majid, 1990). Ibn Taymiyyah explained and advocated the purification of Islamic thought and practice, including the defense of Islam against its critics. He did not reject *Ijma'* and *Qiyas* as sources, but both of them must use al-Quran and Sunnah as their main references. Muhammadiyah is similar with Ibn Taymiyyah that strongly opposes those who do acts blindly (*taqlid*) and *jumud*. Not only that, Muhammadiyah followed Muhammad 'Abduh's idea about the promotion of these aims through a modernized system in Islamic education. In addition, Muhammadiyah shares similarity with Ibn Taymiyyah in their belief that to claim and judge some Muslims as *kafr* if they do not want to follow their ideology is not easy. The ideology held by the Muhammadiyah also opposes the effects of syncretism, where Islam in Indonesia has coalesced with spirit worship together with Hinduism and Buddhism values from the pre-Islamic period. Furthermore, they also oppose the Sufi tradition. All these elements are considered as *khurafat* and *bid'ah*. Apart from giving lessons and knowledge to men, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan also taught women in a study forum called "*Sidratul Muntaha*" and established Aisyiyah on 1918. These ideas have gained supports among a minority of Muslims not only in Indonesia but also somewhere else, yet the movement founded by K. H. Ahmad Dahlan was to become their most important expression (Majid, 1990).

K. H. Ahmad Dahlan led Muhammadiyah from 1912 to 1922, where organizational yearly meeting system was still in use. On the 11th meeting, Muhammadiyah was then led under KH Ibrahim's chairmanship until 1934. In 1926, the annual meeting format was changed to yearly congress which at a later time was again changed to triennial congress. Today, Muhammadiyah congress is held every 5 years. On 2010, the 46th Muhammadiyah congress was held in Yogyakarta and is the latest congress for this period. Currently, the central executive functions as the top leader who leads Muhammadiyah as a whole and holds the activities at two offices in Yogyakarta and Jakarta (Karim, 1986).

Now, Muhammadiyah is lead by Prof. Dr. H. M. Din Syamsuddin since 2005 until today. He openly speaks of how Islam needs to open up to the noble values of humanity in the life of the nation, the state and the world as a manifestation of *Rahmatan Lil'alamin*. Not only that, he tends to display leadership qualities that are accommodative and reconciliatory, while continuing to endeavor in eliminating the tension between religion and the struggle to find a movement pattern that celebrates peace and contributes mutually.

Objectives of Muhammadiyah

Muhammadiyah aims to uphold and revere Islam to realize a real Islamic society. To achieve this objective, Muhammadiyah upholds and acts in doing good deeds and abandoning bad ones (*Da'wah Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar*) and reform (*tajdid*) that are implemented in all aspects of life, based on al-Qur'an and Sunnah, and not based on man-created values. In Surah Ali-'Imran, Allah Almighty has said, "And let there be [arising] from you a nation inviting to [all that is] good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and those will be the successful." (3: 104)

Muhammadiyah works for the realization of Islamic teachings that covers *'aqidah* (Faith), morals, worship, and *muamalah duniawiyah* (worldly management and public supervision) (Azhar & Ilyas, 2000). All activities were done as their form of worshipping God and only for His sake. Therefore, Muhammadiyah invites all Indonesians who have received God's blessing in the form of having country rich with wealthy resources, independence of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and 1945 Constitution, to together become a just and prosperous country blessed by the Almighty God (Allah SWT) (Effendy, 2003).

Muhammadiyah has been established for more than 100 years. Their capability and contributions had brought development for the *ummah* in Indonesia. The quality of the human resources and their efforts in helping towards supporting the management and maintenance of Muhammadiyah, as well as upgrading it to a better direction. We should realize that cadres become very important because it is one of the core aspects of the movement of an organization and also a prerequisite for the ongoing regeneration of the leadership.

In terms of member recruitment, all Muslim Indonesian can join this organization and there is no limitations or any specific qualifications to join as a member of this group. The recruitment process of Muhammadiyah members is divided in two ways, namely through internal and external means. Internal recruitment refer to the act of performing stabilization understanding on Muhammadiyah ideology among friends, relatives, and members of one's own family. Meanwhile, the external recruitment focuses on other people that does not belong to internal category and areas that provides opportunities and potential recruits. This is considered as a special

recruitment because this recruitment is conducted with openness, transparency and selective such as Muhammadiyah Universities (PTM).

The strategic plan highlights three key words which are important, namely: the actor movement (it refers to an active participant), Muhammadiyah movement's ideology, and cadre system. The members of Muhammadiyah must possess good qualities to maintain Muhammadiyah movement's ideology or belief because this ideology is included as the main element in the cadre system. Therefore, the first step that needs to be done is training a cadre to produce a selected cadre. The next step is to analyze the process of making that achievement a reality. Finally, implementing the strategy to both internally and externally recruited members. All these are some recommendations received during the 46th Congress in Yogyakarta that needs to be re-evaluated in terms of the effectiveness of this system which has served as the guideline to produce a reliable cadres for this organization (Karim, 1986). For that, Muhammadiyah, through their social, religious and educational movements, aspires that the next generation of Muhammadiyah can keep fostering effort to upgrade their level of quality in order to maintain the position of Muhammadiyah in Indonesia and even the world.

Muhammadiyah Main Activities

1) Religion

After he returned from his first pilgrimage in 1898, K. H. Ahmad Dahlan remended the direction of Kaabah (*kiblat*) in the mosque around the city of Yogyakarta. During 1900 to 1910, he established the first charity (*zakat*) committee and sacrifice (*qurban*) committee. Muhammadiyah also refuted taxes for *qurban* as the *syariah* court was under colonial administration. Then, Muhammadiyah replaced the above method, as well as lunar observation (*hلال*) with the application of *hisab* (mathematic) method based on astronomical data to decide the first of Syawal in Islamic calendar (Adnan, 2010). In 1920, Fakhruddin went to Mecca to perform *hajj* (pilgrimage) and to find out further about *hajj* system to set for improvement.

In 1951, Muhammadiyah urged the Indonesian Government to be responsible for the cost of sending back the prospective pilgrims who failed to go to Mecca and still stayed in Jakarta. In 1989, K. H. A. R. Fakhruddin sent a letter to Pope John Paul II during his visit in Indonesia. The letter was a soft criticism upon Catholics frequent influence on poor Muslims to change their religion. Fakhruddin stated that religion had to be spread in supportive, fair and noble ways. In addition, Muhammadiyah had also attracted the attention of Western intellectuals to undertake research and explore about Islam resulting in the change of their bad perspective about Islam. The Islamic movement like Muhammadiyah in Indonesia influenced the process of *sharia* implementation in Indonesia specifically to dictate the *fatwa* (Islamic legal opinion). The *fatwa* on family planning is a good example on how the Indonesian Government

has been able to gain support from important Muslim organizations such as the MUI, NU and Muhammadiyah. Not only that, Muhammadiyah had also issued an edict that smoking is deemed as illegal (*haram*) on 2010 (Abdullah 2020).

2) Education

On 1st December 1911, the first school set up by Ahmad Dahlan was announced officially and named as *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Diniyah Islamiyah*. Muhammadiyah has a remarkable education system. This medium is available beginning from infant school level right up to its own university such as Muhammadiyah Universities (PTM). There are two types of institution offered by them, one which provides coeducational system while the other one focuses more on religious study. The ultimate aim is to provide an education which is both modern and truly Islamic (Nor, 2009). In the spirit of 'Abduh' tradition, the organization has carried out, since its formative years, a massive and multidimensional reformist program in the fields of general and religious education (Eliraz, 2004).

3) Social

A female organization was set up in Sopo Tresno on 1914. The activities were designed to help female orphans altogether to support a group of young men who was involved in public suffering assistance. The first hospital was built in Yogyakarta in 1923, followed by hospitals in Bandung, Surabaya, Ujung Pandang (Makasar), Semarang, and Banjarmasin. K. H. Ibrahim set up *Fonds Dachlan* (Dahlan Foundation) to fund the school's cost for poor children. The first orphanage was also established on 1924. Muhammadiyah began to expand their *dakwah* and community service to the global stage. With (Special Branch Leader of Muhammadiyah) PCIM, they also spread *dakwah* and build brotherhood for Indonesian citizens residing abroad (Adnan, 2010). In addition, Muhammadiyah's leading role in the area of disaster and humanitarian assistance in Indonesia has furthermore brought them forward to the international political discourses on humanitarian aid (Bush, 2015). In response to the national government's call, Muhammadiyah in partnership with the Australian Government through AusAID, had designed a program, Child Disaster Awareness for School and Communities/CDASC (2008).

4) Media and Publications

Sworo Muhammadiyah in Javanese and Malay language was published using Latin and Javanese alphabet in 1914. In addition, *Suvara Muhammadiyah* was also published using Javanese on 1916. In 1921, Fakhruddin's most valuable contribution was leading the way for *Soeara Muhammadiyah* to be an official magazine of *Hoofdbestuur Muhammadiyah* under Literature Department. Besides, he also had his contribution in setting up *Percetakan Persatuan* as a Muhammadiyah's printing

company. Through the company, all publications of Muhammadiyah's activities in the forms of magazines, annual news, calendars, and books were printed and spread to extensive regions. Mas Mansur became the Chairman of Muhammadiyah's Board of Directors based on the 26th Congress' decision in Yogyakarta until 1943. Mas Mansur has produced a lot of high quality writings. His reforming thoughts were expressed in mass media. Hence, the development achieved through globalization would simultaneously correspond and give big impact for the development of *ummah* too. Pertaining to this issue, Muhammadiyah also tries to maximize the use of technology that is compatible for Muhammadiyah by using all mediums in the Internet such as websites, Facebook, twitter and others available platform to ensure the continuity of their objective (Adnan, 2010).

5) Politics

In 1937, after Mas Mansur became the Chairman of Muhammadiyah's Board of Directors, he did a successful political move for Muslims by initiating the establishment of *Majelis Islam A'la Indonesia* (MIAI) along with K. H. A. Dahlan and K. H. Wahab Hasbullah. He also, together with Dr. Sukiman Wirjosanjaya, had initiated the establishment of *Partai Islam Indonesia* or Indonesian Islamic Party (PII) to counterbalance the non-cooperative position from *Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia* (PSII). Not only that, *Hikmah Council* was then formed in 1953 for them to focus and learn more about everything related to Muhammadiyah and their political problems. Its main duty consisting of gathering political balance concerning religion and Muslims in general, as well as Muhammadiyah itself. In addition, political educational program for Muhammadiyah members was also outlined. During Ahmad Badawi's chairmanship, he was also appointed as the member of *Dewan Pertimbangan Agung* (Supreme Advisory Council) in 1968.

In 1963, Ahmad Badawi was appointed as the Presidential Advisor for religious affairs. Not only that, in 1966, after Hamka was released from the prison, he was appointed as the member of *Badan Musyawarah Kebajikan Nasional* (Consultative Body of National Benevolence), the member of *Majelis Perjalanan Haji Indonesia* (Indonesian Hajj Council), and the member of *Lembaga Kebudayaan Nasional* (National Arts Institute). Muhammadiyah did not functioned merely as a dakwah movement, but indirectly reflected as a realistic image of politics. In 1966/67, Muhammadiyah was known as a social movement that functions in politics without party (Majid, 1990). Muhammadiyah gave recommendations concerning the 2009 general election. They, firstly, urging political parties and all nation's components not to make general election in 2009 as an arena to pursue power that could lead to pragmatism and justifying the means. Secondly, Muhammadiyah urged all national components to elect national leaders meeting the criteria such as strong vision, being

courageous and strategic, able to keep national authority and sovereignty, as well as capable of concentrating while managing and leading.

6) Economic

Muhammadiyah was also successful in formulating a conception about the Economic Council in 1951. Besides, *Tanwir 2007* also emphasized on the importance of Muhammadiyah in encouraging the economic sector to the point that Muhammadiyah was reconsidered as economic power. It also emphasized on bringing back Muhammadiyah to the beginning of establishment in which the majority of its members were entrepreneurs. One recommendation from this *Tanwir Meeting* was in asking the government to look in favor on people's economic empowerment. Therefore, Muhammadiyah issued an edict that bank interest was illegal (*haram*) on 3 April 2010 during the 27th National *Musyawah* (Munas), the *Majelis Tarjih* and *Tajdid Muhammadiyah*. Moreover, Islamic scholars in various international forums such as forum *fiqh* Organization Islamic Conference (OIC) had also ruled that bank interest as similar to *riba'* because receiving extra amount from a loan initiated without the presence of any effort is *haram*. Al-Quran has mentioned this explicitly in Surah ar-Rum: 39, an-Nisa: 161, al-Imran: 130 and al-Baqarah: 275-281. The impact from this effort, the community who realized the actual ruling would leave this system and convert to Islamic banking instead. Not only that, now, there are 29 Islamic banking with 620 branches in the whole Indonesia (Adnan, 2010).

NAHDLATUL ULAMA: OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES

Nahdlatul Ulama, also known as NU, is a traditionalist Islamic organization based in Indonesia. It is the largest organization with nearly 40 million followers spread all over the world. This organization was established on 31st January 1926 by K. H. M. Hasyim Asy'ari as a response to Muhammadiyah which was a modernist organization. According to K. H. M. Hasyim Asy'ari, it is necessary to establish an organization that is more encompassing and systematic in order to anticipate the development. From this idea, after coordinating with various Muslim leaders (*kyai*), finally they managed to come with an agreement to establish an organization named Nahdlatul Ulama which means the awakening of '*ulamas*. It then also became the place where traditionalist leaders gather to attend World Islamic Conferences in Indonesia and Middle East. The organization was first led by K. H. M. Hasyim Asy'ari himself as the highest leader (Budyastomo, 2020)

K.H. M. Hasyim Asy'ari had the intention to spread Islamic understanding based on *Ahlusunnah Wal Jama'ah*. This ideology is a mindset that takes the middle ground between the extreme *aqli* (rationalist) with the extreme *naqli* (scripturalist). Therefore, the source of ideas for NU is not only the Qur'an and Sunnah, but also by utilizing the mind's ability coupled with empirical reality. Such way of thinking was

a reference from earlier thinkers, such as himself and Abu Mansur al-Maturidi in theology.

To affirm the basic principles of this organization, K.H. M. Hasyim Asy'ari, has formulated two books namely *Kitab Qanun Asasi* (basic principles) and book of *I'tiqad Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaat*. These books embodied in *Khittah* NU, which formed the basis and reference to NU members to think and act in social, religious and political aspects. *Qanun Asasi* means basic principles, it contains his speech in the first *Muktamar* NU in Surabaya.

According to Ulum (2021), in terms of jurisprudence, NU follows the four Islamic scholars; Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanbali. While in the field of Sufism, NU developed the method of Al-Ghazali and Junaid al-Baghdadi, which integrates between Sufism with *Shari'a*.

Objectives of Nahdlatul Ulama

To reiterate, Nahdlatul Ulama was established to uphold Islamic ideology according to *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah* by following one out of the four *mazhabs* in Islam namely Hanafi, Maliki, Syafi'i and Hambali. In the first constitution of NU, it was said that the organization was established to strengthen the loyalty of Muslims to one of the four *mazhabs* (Ridwan, 2020). The activities done were:

1. To strengthen the unity of *ulamas* who are still loyal towards *mazhabs*.
2. To give understanding on different types of *kitab* taught by Islamic institutions.
3. To spread Islamic thought that is in line with any of the four *mazhabs*.
4. To increase the number of *madrasah* (Islamic schools) and improve their organization.
5. To help the constructions of mosques and Islamic boarding schools (*Pesantren*).
6. To assist orphans and poor people (*Fakir*).

According to Ridwan (2020), this organization is not involved in any kind of forcing people to follow its way in understanding Islam. This is because it is a traditionalist organization that tends to be more flexible in solving any social phenomena. People can accept its ideologies and continue to follow its way of understanding Islam. In a country like Indonesia where culture is strongly attached to the people, it is not easy to establish a modernist approach of Islam within the society (Ridwan, 2020). Therefore, NU's flexibility has invited Muslims in Indonesia to follow its Islamic values.

In determining the support base or *Nahdliyin*, there are some terms that needs to be clarified, namely: members, supporters or sympathizers, and traditionalist

Muslims who has same the ideas with NU. There is no special recruitment or membership in this organization, therefore, no exact number of followers of NU is known. If the terms are equated with the term ‘citizen members’, then, to this day there is no official document that can be referred for it. This is because until now there are no serious attempt made by NU, at any level, to manage its membership.

When viewed in terms of supporters or sympathizers, there are two ways to evaluate it. Politically, it can be seen from the number of votes of the parties that is associated with NU, such as PKB, PNU, PKU, Sunni Party, and most of the PPP. In terms of its religious thoughts, it could be seen from the number of people who support and follow NU as their religious understanding. Although some groups or people who have the same religious understanding with NU, it is unlikely that they want to be affiliated with NU.

In the structure itself, NU divides its committees into three sections. First is *Mustasyar* or the advisor of the organization. Second, is the *Syuriyah* or the highest leader which functions as advisors in case there are certain situations that cannot be solved by the main committees themselves. The leader of *Syuriyah* is a person suggested by branch leaders and is a very respected person also recognized in terms of his piety and knowledge in Islam among the NU members. Finally, the *Tanfidziyah* committees who are in charge of the organization’s daily affairs.

Nahdlatul Ulama Main Activities

Nahdlatul Ulama is a non-violent Islamic organization in Indonesia. Its main objective is to spread Islamic understanding according to *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama’ah* to all levels of Muslim society in Indonesia (Muzzammil, 2020). In order to achieve this goal, NU approaches the society through different fields in a very peaceful manner. The following are the activities of Nahdlatul Ulama (Muzzammil, 2020):

1. In the field of religion, NU does *dakwah Islamiyah* (preaching) and foster brotherhood relations based on the spirit of unity and diversity within Indonesian society.
2. In the field of education, NU provides education that has Islamic values as the basis to shape a Muslim who is pious, virtuous and knowledgeable.
3. In the social and cultural fields, NU promotes the welfare of the people and the culture that corresponds to the value of Islamization and humanity.
4. In the economic field, NU seeks for equal opportunity to enjoy the fruits of development, with emphasis on the economic development of the people.
5. Developing other businesses that could benefit wider community.

JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI INDIA/PAKISTAN: OBJECTIVES AND ITS MAIN ACTIVITIES

Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi's thought is the backbone of the establishment of Jamaat-e-Islami. He was known as a *Mujaddid*¹, a significant Islamic thinker in the 21st century and indefatigable organization builder. His influence concerns around the area of contemporary Islamic revival and ability to spark political consciousness for the establishment of the Islamic state. There is no Islamic modern discussion which can avoid from using term originated from him. Maududi is a pragmatic leader in terms that he encourages the Muslim in 21st century to adapt modern terms such as Democracy, the role of government and the formation of Islamic movement with the aim to establish Islamic state. Nevertheless, he was inclined to conservatism in Islamic principles such as the *sharia* as a comprehensive system according to God's sovereignty at the center. He does not totally rejecting the modern element, if it is utilized as a medium or instrument to achieve the establishment of Islamic state. This was clearly shown by his distinctive character from other Islamic thinkers about the modern ideas especially about politics.

Kausar (2005) underlined four foundations of Maududi's thought which are, "First, Islam as the complete system of life; a blueprint for life based on the Qur'an and Sunnah. Secondly, the meaning of life for a man is nothing but to serve Allah s.w.t. Thirdly, Maududi understands that a perfectly complete Islam is not a static and rigid, but dynamic which is open to changes. Fourthly, he opposed the idea of 'domination of man' in all aspects of life which later raised the question here about injustice". Maududi also strongly believed in Islamic history, which is for him since the period of the Prophet (PBUH), Islam had experience a triumph also turbulence. Nonetheless, Islam is still the one and only with complete guidelines for individual spiritual needs and the development of communities.

Hence, because of the challenges and the emergence of different forms of ideologies that opposed the pure state of Islam during his time, Maududi felt it is important to establish an Islamic movement that will impose Islam as the foundation of the politics, economy and social. From this idea, "In 1941, Maududi established Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) in British India as a religious political movement to encourage Muslim values and practices. After the Division of India, JI was redefined in 1947 to support a Muslim State in Pakistan" (Ali and Amin 2020). In Pakistan, Maududi's main goal was to establish an Islamic state which is not necessarily a Muslim majority nation-state but the whole Islamic political system with all its institutions practising the concept of the *Syura*² with *Shari'ah* is implemented and fully supervised.

¹ A *Mujaddid* - a person that enlightens the teaching of the Prophet (PBUH) that was almost diminished.

² *Majlis-i-Shoora* which is responsible to assist and counsel an emir (President) of Jamaat-e-Islami.

According to Mawardi, the principles of Islamic state must consider the three pillars; *tawhid* which is the Oneness of Allah SWT, *risalah* referred to Prophethood and *khilafah* which is man's vicegerency to Allah SWT (Kausar, 2005). Maududi also opposed the idea of nationalism because to him it is a man-centred ideology that separates man's focus and loyalty from the main purpose of an Islamic state, which is to serve Allah s.w.t. only. Nationalism demonstrates man's interest which is a perpetual struggle. He also proposed the idea of an Islamic order to replace the new world order based on the idea of 'Pan-Islamism'³.

Maududi's efforts through the Jamaat-e-Islami to establish an Islamic state in Pakistan is not an easy path. Though the government shared the same thought that Pakistan is an Islamic state, however they failed to reach a consensus on how far and at what level the Islamic values and principles will be rooted in Pakistan's Constitution. In the early phase of the establishment of Pakistan as an independent state, each of its presidents had different types of engagement with Jamaat-e-Islami. During General Mohamad Ayub Khan's rule, his relationship with Jamaat-e-Islami was internally oppressed because of his vision of Pakistan's statecraft is united based on an Islamic structure that accommodated with the modern states. In Jamaat-e-Islami's perspective, Ayub Khan's ruling was a form of liberal and western-oriented ruling where Islam is absent from the foundation of Pakistan's statecraft.

The system was changed during the rules of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto that demonstrated the rise of socialist influence. The challenges to unity in Pakistan was the separatist movement in East Pakistan by Bengali's ethnic and also the pro-socialism ideology by Bhutto. Though not based on 'God-less' socialism, still according to Jamaat-e-Islami there is no such Islamic socialism in Islam. Bhutto-Islamic socialism would jeopardize the internal politics, economy and social. Later, Jamaat-e-Islami agreed to join forces with Ayub Khan to overcome both challenges that will threaten the stability of Pakistan. After 1979 was remarked as a significant period for the Jamaat-e-Islami because they found a role as an important civilian supporter of Zia ul-Haq's ruling that closely embraced the spirit of Islam in his political life. The shared ideologies and the vision of an Islamic state in Pakistan between Zia and Jamaat-e-Islami gave an advantage for both parties. The Jamaat-e-Islami had a wide spectrum within Pakistan's politics, however there was a sense of tension in the relationship with the military which is very synonymous with Pakistan political life because of the traditionalist religious image carried by Jamaat-e-Islami.

Objectives of Jamaat-e-Islami

The Jamaat-e-Islami set its objective as "The establishment of the Islamic way (*al-Deen*) so as to achieve God's pleasure and seek salvation in the Hereafter" (Ahmad &

³ *Pan-Islamism* - The federation of Islamic state at the international level.

Appleby, 1991). In order to achieve this objective, the *Jamaat* set out the following five programs for itself:

1. To construct human thought in the light of the ideals, values, and principles derived from divine guidance.
2. To “reform and purify” individual members of society so as to enable them to develop a truly Islamic personality.
3. To organize these individuals under the leadership of the *Jamaat* and to prepare and train them to invite humanity to the path of Islam.
4. To take all possible steps to reform and reconstruct the society and all of its institutions in accordance with the teachings of Islam.
5. To bring about a revolution in the political leadership of society, reorganize political and socioeconomic life on Islamic lines, and finally, establish an Islamic state.

It is important to underline the focal point of the Jamaat-e-Islami in the beginning was more into the development of its internal organization, strengthen their members based on the strong believe in Islamic values and principles. However, after the demand for separation of state between India-Pakistan sparked by the direction of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, it changed the role of Jamaat-e-Islami as the contemporary Islamic fundamentalist. The principle of Jamaat-e-Islami itself is to gain political power for the establishment of Islamic state. Nevertheless, the approaches must go through the peaceful instruments such as elections, not coercive and radical approaches, though the nature of Pakistan politics was intertwined with the military as a significant part of the state’s organ. Hence, democracy is instrumental for Jamaat-e-Islami in order to gain political power as reflected by the idea of Maududi. The recent leadership of Jamaat-e-Islami still holds on to the earlier ideas and the objectives of the Jamaat-e-Islami. It is because since becoming members of the first level of Jamaat-e-Islami, they must be tested and among the requirement is to understand and to apply the thoughts of Maududi.

Jamaat-e-Islami is an organization that has its own code and rules regarding the top of hierarchy reaching until the mode of recruitment among members. Ahmad (1991) highlighted the membership of Jamaat-e-Islami consists of three levels:

1. Full membership (*rukun*) - this type of membership is restricted to an elected few who have fully submitted themselves to the discipline of the Jamaat. Full membership is awarded only after a lengthy indoctrination and a vigorous training program including adequately internalizing the ideas of Maulana Maududi.
2. Workers (*karkun*) - known also associate members. These people, who aspire to become full members of the organization some day, constitute the

backbone of the Jamaat. The workers do not vote in the elections of the *emirs* or members of the Consultative Council but they have considerable input in the day-today working of the Jamaat at local levels.

3. Supporters (*muttafiq*) - this group who agrees with the ideology and program of the Jamaat, support the Jamaat in elections and other activities, and contribute funds, but are not ready to subject themselves to the strict discipline of the Jamaat's organization.

Jamaat-e-Islami Activities

The process of Islamization in Pakistan is also related to the engagement of Jamaat-e-Islami with the government. Though during the rule of Ayub Khan's when Jamaat-e-Islami was labelled as an illegal movement, Jamaat-e-Islami could still continue their internal organizational activities that are more onto social-*da'wah* approaches. This was the early foundation of Maududi's approaches which was focused on the bottom-up approaches by correcting peoples' behavior based on Islamic teachings. However, during the rule of Zia, the process of Islamization was much easier and institutionalized because of the power that he held. The role of Jamaat-e-Islami as the right hand of Zia's government was clearly more politically oriented:

“The beginning of Zia's era therefore offered the *Jamaat* a prominent role in the policy making of the country. In return, the party defended Zia on all fronts, from religious and educational reforms in the country to jihad against the Soviets. The *Jamaat* not only cooperated with Islamabad towards achieving Pakistan's foreign policy objectives, but also on occasion with foreign governments, including Iran and Saudi Arabia...” (Muehlenback, 2012).

Furthermore, the ability of Jamaat-e-Islami including the use of social instruments such as students, women groups and others were involved in order to ensure the political socialization process was achieved within the country. As Osella and Osella (2013) argue that, “...of equal importance was the language of demand and supply, incentives and individual choice which were used to creating a better ‘Muslim society’ that would be ready for the Muslim state that the Jamaat-e-Islami would help to establish”.

COMPARISON: MUHAMMADIYAH, NAHDLATUL ULAMA AND JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI

Among the three movements, Muhammadiyah is the first to be established and was founded by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan in Indonesia on November 18, 1912 followed by the establishment of Nahdatul Ulama (NU) found by K.H. M. Hasyim Asy'ari on January

31, 1926. Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) was established by Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi in India in 1941. After the division of India and Pakistan, JI was redefined in 1947 to support the formation an Islamic State in Pakistan.

The main reason for the establishment of NU was because they found a need to have a more flexible understanding of Islam within Indonesian society where more people are strongly engaged with the culture. The Islamic principles and methodology of Muhammadiyah which are purification of Islam by al-Quran and Sunnah like the *Wahabi* was found less effective in engaging the people in Indonesia, as it was felt to be too extreme with less tolerant. However, Muhammadiyah was not established to oppose the other groups, but it was established for the purification of Islamic thought and practice which are largely influenced by syncretism, as Islam in Indonesia has coalesced both with spirit worship and with Hindu and Buddhism values of the pre-Islamic period and it also opposed the Sufi tradition. On the other hand, JI is totally different from both organizations as it was shaped because Maududi felt the importance to establish an Islamic movement that will impose Islam as the foundation of politics, economy and society.

Besides that, the ultimate's idea of these three organizations is similar in terms of how each of them are established only for the sake of Islam, yet only the principles and the methods of execution were different. NU and Muhammadiyah used earlier thinkers as their main reference for the foundation but not for JI. Maududi strongly believed in Islamic history from the period of the Prophet (PBUH) meanwhile NU was influenced by Abu Mansur al-Maturidi, while Muhammadiyah was influenced by Ibn Taymiyyah.

In order to spread Islamic teachings, NU claims the foundation must be on *Ahlusunnah Wal Jama'ah* and takes the middle ground between the extremes *aqli* (rationalist) with the extreme *naqli* (scripturalist). Therefore, the source of ideas for NU is not only the Qur'an and Sunnah, but also uses the mind's ability coupled with empirical reality. Muhammadiyah also shares similar ground with NU, but a point of difference is seen as it refuted *dalil aqli*, meanwhile JI used *sharia* as their source of ideas.

The basic principles of NU is based on *Kitab Qanun Asasi* (basic principles) and book of *I'tiqad Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaat*. JI have four foundations, namely: life based on the Qur'an and Sunnah where this foundation is similar to Muhammadiyah's principle. Second, life of man means nothing, but to serve Allah s.w.t. Third, Maududi understands that Islam is not static and rigid but it is dynamic – meaning it is open for changes. Fourth, he opposed the idea of 'domination of man' in all aspect of life where the question about injustice is raised. In terms of politics, JI uses democracy as one of the basic principles in order to establish Islamic state.

In terms of government support, unlike JI who received opposition by the governments, Muhammadiyah and NU have no challenges or obstacles from the

government in Indonesia. Both are rather socio-religious movements which engages with the society to approach Islam closer. However, JI received many challenges from government in Pakistan except during Zia ul-Haq's ruling which turned this movement to a more political instrument although it still engaged with the socio-religious activities.

In brief, the method of approach used by JI is modernist (political) and traditionalist (religious) approach, Muhammadiyah is modernist meanwhile NU is traditionalist.

Objectives

Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama are the largest two Muslim Organization in Indonesia. In order to understand the base or the objectives of these two movements, it is important for us to also know the factors that triggered their existence.

Muhammadiyah was first initiated as a respond to the pioneer ideas of Islamic revivalists such as Al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh. The idea of Muhammadiyah is to enforce Islamic teaching that does not separate the elements of development as required in modern era. For instance, reform or *tajdid* is the process of purification of Islam applied by Muhammadiyah. This modernist group in Indonesia also referred their orientation merely from Al-Quran and As-Sunnah as the genuine source. This means, it rejected any alien elements from Muslim life. Contrasting with the another group that was established as an opposition to the Muhammadiyah, the Nahdlatul Ulama is led by religious figure known as *Ulama*. *Ulama* in Nahdlatul Ulama were experts in terms of Islamic Jurisprudence. Nahdlatul Ulama was established before the establishment of Islamic Movement in Egypt. Nahdlatul Ulama aims to get rid of the modernisation elements in Islam that is represented by Muhammadiyah.

Differences between Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama are basically about the approaches, doctrine and not the principles of Islam. Both claimed that they were attached to *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah* which clearly stated in Nahdlatul Ulama's objectives instead of the claim of their loyalty to four mazhabs in Islam; Syafi'e, Hambali, Maliki and Hanafi. However, Muhammadiyah did not clearly state its strong affiliation with *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah* because the main consideration of Muhammadiyah is to implement pure Islamic teaching instead of the religious activities as *da'wah* similar to the teachings carried by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) such as in the development of infrastructure in religion and education. This circumstance opened the space for Nahdlatul Ulama to claim that Muhammadiyah has taken the content of religion text literally without an ability to be flexible with the contemporary Islamic practicing. As the largest Muslim organization, Nahdlatul Ulama has succeeded to win Muslim's Indonesia attention because of the flexibility and the openness to adapt Islamic teachings with the culture that also corresponds with Islam.

Compared to the two Muslim organizations in Indonesia Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama that are more socially oriented in their activism, Jamaat-e-Islami in Pakistan is more political-oriented. As an Islamic fundamentalist, Jamaat-e-Islami separates themselves from the conservative *Ulama* by applying the concepts of religion as a way of life, and not restricted only to the five pillars of Islam. Jamaat-e-Islami also believes Islam is dynamics because Islam is a complete system that must be comprehended in the life of a Muslim, not only as an individual, but also in a collective form of society as a whole to achieve goals in politics, economy and social. In terms of Jamaat-e-Islami's foundation, the principles demonstrated still lies in the light of traditionalist characteristic where a strong hold to the Al-Quran and As-Sunnah remained as an instrument to develop a socio-religious system with the Sha'ria as the main mechanism to rule the Islamic state.

Apart from that, the important element in Jamaat-e-Islami's objectives also aim to prepare its members for the establishment of Islamic state. In the beginning, the operation of the Jamaat-e-Islami initiated by Maududi was executed using a bottom-up approach; social activities in Islamic teaching. Nevertheless, the orientation was changed because of the separation of India-Pakistan which created a suitable time for Jamaat-e-Islami involvement in the political arena to ensure its vision for an Islamic state can be established. The evolution of Jamaat-e-Islami's objectives was contributed by its external factors mainly by the need for an organized Islamic organization to pave the way for the right Islamic teachings in a newly independent country and also the Islamic country of Pakistan.

Recruitment

All three movements have different approaches in managing their membership status in the organization structure. This includes the main board and the followers. The main board are the members who are engaged to work for the organization, while the followers are people who follow the teachings, votes and support the organization's activities.

In Indonesia, people could be identified as Muhammadiyah or NU followers from the way they perform prayers and the Islamic teaching that they follow. An individual can be an official member by registering themselves in the headquarters or official office of these organizations and before being committed to be the committee. There are special trainings for the cadre of the organizations. These trainings are conducted for the students studying in boarding schools or universities under these organizations. In most cases, the leaders of these organizations are the trained students from their specialized boarding schools. Furthermore, the the identity of these cadres from both organizations can be differentiated easily too. Academics are more likely to be traced from Muhammadiyah, while *Ustadz*, theologians (*'ulama*) are found within the NU members.

In JI, there are three types of membership. First one, is the full membership in which the members have to follow the lengthy indoctrination and vigorous training programs. Second, the workers (*karkun*) who work for the organization with the limitations of having no rights to vote in the elections of the members of the Consultative councils (*emirs*). Third, the supporters (*muttafiq*) in which are the people who becomes supporters and are in line with the ideology of JI as well as giving votes.

Activities

Muhammadiyah and NU have similar roles in Indonesia, they act as Islamic organizations that spreads Islamic teachings within the Muslim society in Indonesia. Their activities are more inclined to social, educational and religious activities. Their focus is to make the society understand the right teachings of Islam, through *da'wah* (preaching) and education by building Islamic boarding schools and universities. Due to the nature of their activities which are considered as not harmful, the government supports the activities and there are no oppositions to both organizations. For some religious matters such as the determination of the fasting date or *eid*, sometimes NU plays role and cooperates with the government, while Muhammadiyah follows Saudi Arabia's date.

In politics, these organizations are not directly involved because politics is not their main target. There are some parties associated with the organizations, but it is not officially released by the organization, however most of the party members indeed comes from Muhammadiyah and NU. For example, the former chairman of Muhammadiyah, Amien Rais, formed a political party PAN (Partai Amanat Nasional) in 1998, while former chairman of NU, Abdurrahman Wahid, has also established PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Nasional) in the same year. Abdurrahman Wahid was also elected as the 4th President of Indonesia in 1999.

Jamaat-e-Islami changes their target as the leader changes. Under Ayub Khan's leadership, JI played role as a socio-religious group in which most activities were *da'wah*. Later, under the rule of Zia, the intention of JI was to establish the Islamic state of Pakistan. Thus, its involvement in politics is more visible rather than its social activities. The government's support also depends on the officials serving the state. If the President is a supporter of JI, their activities could be more flexible and they can be more involved in the state's policies. If Pakistan is led by a secular government, JI's activities are limited, even when they do preaching and conducting social activities in the country.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the emergence of Islamic movements in these two different countries, Indonesia and Pakistan, each has its own distinct features either in terms of the ideas of their leaders, whether the orientation is political or social, the structure, the

objectives and more. However, the important thing for us to proposed here is the similarity of the struggle shared by these Islamic movements in the Muslim world were caused by the secular government that undermine the honor of Islam. More importantly, another reason for their struggle was due to the ignorance persisted among Muslims, from crystal clear of Islamic teachings, causing them to remain behind compared to other civilizations. Even though the struggle between secularism and Islam is perpetual, yet the unity and the steadfastness for religion are the recipes for Muslims' success in every single challenge faced by them.

REFERENCES

- Abdullah, M. Amin. (2020). "Peluang Dan Tantangan Internasionalisasi Pemikiran Muhammadiyah". *Jurnal Muhammadiyah Studies*, 1(1). doi:10.22219/jms.v1i1.11405.
- Adnan, Muhammad Alkhyar. (2010). *Muhammad dan Tantangan Abad Baru: Percikan Pemikiran Dari Negeri Jiran*. 1st edition. Yogyakarta: Matan Press and Kuala Lumpur: PCIM Malaysia.
- Ahmad, M in Marty, M.E & Appleby, R.S. (1991). *Fundamentalism Observed*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Ali, Jan A., and Faroque Amin. (2020). "Jamaat-E-Islami And Tabligh Jamaat: A Comparative Study Of Islamic Revivalist Movements". *ICR Journal* 11 (1): 75-94. doi:10.52282/icr.v11i1.24.
- Azhar, Muhammad & Ilyas, Hamim. (2000). *Pengembangan Keislaman Muhammadiyah: Purifikasi & Dinamisasi*. 1st edition. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar Offset.
- Budyastomo, Avin Wimar. (2020). "The Influence of Social Media For The Development Of Da'Wah And Nahdlatul Ulama Society Behavior". *Journal Of Nahdlatul Ulama Studies* 1 (1): 106-130. doi:10.35672/jnus.v1i1.1.
- Bush, Robin. (2015). *Natural Disaster Management in the Asia-Pacific Disaster Risk Reduction 2015*, pp 33-48.
- Effendy, Bahtiar. (2003). *Islam and the State in Indonesia*. 1st edition. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Eliraz, Giora. (2004). *Islam in Indonesia*. 1st edition. US: Sussex Academic Press.
- Esposito, John L, and Ishan Yilmaz. (2013). *Islam And Peacebuilding*. Lanham: Blue Dome Press.
- Karim, M. Rusli. (1986). *Muhammadiyah Dalam kritik dan Komentar*. 1st edition, Jakarta: CV. Rajawali.
- Kausar, Z. (2005). *Contemporary Islamic Political Thought: A Study of Eleven Islamic Thinkers*. Kuala Lumpur: Research Centre IIUM.

- Ridwan. (2020). "The Role Of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) In Maintaining Religious Tolerance In Papua: Some Observations". *Journal Of Nahdlatul Ulama Studies* 1 (1): 17-33. doi:10.35672/jnus.v1i1.2.
- Majid, Muhammad Kamil Ab. (1990). *Tokoh-tokoh Pemikir Dakwah*, 1st edition. Selangor: Dewan Pustaka Islam.
- Muehlenback, P. E. (2012). *Religion and Cold War: A Global Perspectives*. Tennessee: Venderbilt University Press.
- Muzzammil, Faisal. (2020). "Komunikasi Organisasi Nahdlatul Ulama (Studi Kasus Tentang Komunikasi Internal Pada Organisasi Pengurus Wilayah Nahdlatul Ulama Jawa Barat)". *Komunika*, 3(1): 51-63. doi:10.24042/komunika.v3i1.6050.
- Nor, Riduan Mohamad. (2009). *Sejarah & Perkembangan Gerakan Islam Abad Moden*. 2nd edition. Kuala Lumpur: Jundi Resources.
- Osella, Filippo, and Caroline Osella. (2013). *Islamic Reform in South Asia*. New York [NY]: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Ulum, Miftahul. (2021). "Fatwa Ulama NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) Dan Muhammadiyah Jawa Timur Tentang Hisab Rukyat". *Jurnal Keislaman*, 1(2): 244-272. doi:10.54298/jk.v1i2.3369.