

THE FORMATION OF ISLAMIC PARTIES IN POST-INDEPENDENCE INDONESIA

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan pembentukan partai-partai Islam yang terbentuk setelah kemerdekaan, serta melihat realitas politik partai-partai Islam dari Orde Lama hingga Orde Baru. Posisi politik Islam pada masa itu relatif lemah. Partai-partai Islam pada masa itu merupakan kelompok politik minoritas di lembaga-lembaga negara. Sebagai kelompok minoritas, mereka hanya berperan sebagai penggerak dalam memberikan corak keislaman pada perkembangan politik di Indonesia sebagai konsekuensi logis yang harus diterima dalam realitas sejarah politik. Hanya beradaptasi dengan sistem dan tatanan politik baru di bawah satu komando. Dengan menggunakan metode studi pustaka, penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa; (1) Partai Islam yang berdiri setelah kemerdekaan (2) Dinamika kondisi sosial budaya pasca kemerdekaan (3) Sistem pemerintahan pasca kemerdekaan (4) Strategi dakwah yang dilakukan partai Islam (5) Tantangan yang dihadapi partai Islam saat pasca kemerdekaan (6) Tokoh dan Ulama' yang berpengaruh pada masa pasca kemerdekaan. Kajian ini penting untuk menambah sumber kajian sejarah Islam di Indonesia, khususnya kelangkaan tema mengenai pembentukan partai Islam pasca kemerdekaan.

Kata kunci : partai, Islam, Indonesia, pasca kemerdekaan

ABSTRACT

This study aims to explain the formation of Islamic parties that were formed after independence, and to look at the political reality of Islamic parties from the Old Order to the New Order. Islamic political position in that period was relatively weak. Islamic parties at that time it was a minority political group in state institutions. As a minority group, they only play a driving role in giving an Islamic style to political developments in Indonesia as a logical consequence that must be accepted in the reality of political history. Only adapting to the new political system and order under one command. By using the literature study method, this study shows that; (1) Islamic parties that were established after independence (2) Dynamics of post-independence socio-cultural conditions (3) Post-independence government systems (4) Da'wah strategies carried out by Islamic parties (5) Challenges faced by Islamic parties when post-independence (6) Figures and Ulama' who influenced the post-independence period. This study is important to add to sources of study of Islamic history in Indonesia, especially the scarcity of themes regarding the formation of post-independence Islamic parties

Key words : party, Islam, Indonesian, post-independence

A. INTRODUCTION

The Islamic party in question is an association that is of the same principle, agrees and agrees. Thus, an Islamic party is an association or group that makes Islam the party principle. Towards Indonesia's independence, the Islamic leaders at that time were not concerned with the establishment of a country based on Islam, but the most important thing was Indonesian independence. This was because the thoughts of the Islamic leaders at that time were based on the population of the Indonesian people who were mostly Muslim, according to whom the majority Muslim population would certainly form an Indonesian state based on Islam and a government that is Muslim.

In other words, the thinking at that time was that after independence Indonesia would automatically become a country based on Islam. Another thing that became an obstacle in the establishment of an Islamic state was that in the historical arena of Muslims, the aspiration to establish an Indonesian state based on Islam was not an easy thing. to be realized. This is due not only to the challenges emanating from the Islamic parties themselves, but also the emergence of secular national parties which have become an obstacle.

This can be seen in the historical development of Islamic parties before and after independence. Sarekat Islam, which is the first Islamic party in Indonesia, has made a contribution to Indonesian political life for the first time, which must be seen from the struggle of the Sarekat Islam (SI) organization, as the first major national party, in its program it does not mention an Islamic state, what is demanded is Indonesian independence. The establishment of Islamic parties during the independence period needs to be seen from the background of political developments in Indonesia at that time, as was stated at the beginning of this discussion, that SI, which had been joined by people with communist ideology, in the body of this organization had also become a split that is one of the factors causing the weakness of Islamic organizations.

B. LITERATUR REVIEW

First, research conducted by Ikrar, 2023. With the research title: "Islamic Parties in Indonesia". This research uses descriptive qualitative method. The results of this study are discussing: Accurately political reality as reflected in the political behavior of Islamic parties in the Old Order to the New Order period. As well as explaining the condition of the parties at that time being minority political groups, only narrow groups within state institutions and the scope of other institutions, so that these groups only played a driving role in giving an

Islamic character to political developments in Indonesia. So that political history will emerge. Towards Indonesia's independence at that time, the Islamic leaders at that time were not concerned with the establishment of a state based on Islam, but in general they thought about it.

Second, research conducted by Haryono Rinardi, 2020, with the research title: "Socio-Cultural Perspectives in the Development of National National History". This study uses the literature study method, namely by collecting material contained in the library, such as newspapers, books, magazines, manuscripts, documents, and so on that are relevant to research. The results of this study are discussing: Indonesian society was formed not by accident among various ethnic groups in the Archipelago. There is awareness and willingness among them to unite to establish the nation and state of Indonesia. This can happen because Indonesian people are instilled with an attitude of resilience, flexibility and open minded tolerance towards other cultures. This condition has resulted in the various ethnic groups in Indonesia being willing to abolish their ethnic ego for the sake of the realization of the Indonesian Nation and State.

Third, research conducted by Ribkha Annisa Octovina, 2018, with the research title: "Presidential System in Indonesia". The results of this study are discussing: Indonesia adheres to a presidential system for its government. This implementation certainly does not escape the three divisions of power or commonly known as the trias politica (legislative, executive, judicial) which are closely related to the presidential system. However, presidential practice in Indonesia has only occurred in system development. In its implementation, the role of the president is getting weaker and weaker compared to the DPR as the legislature. Not even the division of the three powers

C. METHOD

The data collection method used in writing this article is the Study Library study which is a way of collecting data on various materials contained in the library, such as newspapers, books, magazines, manuscripts, documents and so on that are relevant to research (Koentjaraningrat, 1983: 420). Searching for other sources is by browsing the internet to get data and sources originating from cyberspace. Through these two methods, the author obtains some data and information that is in accordance with the topic of discussion. In this way, the author can find out several concepts and theories that are in accordance with the topic being worked on.

After the data and facts have been obtained, they are then processed with the help of

the approach used in writing this article, namely the historical approach. In this way, problems that arise related to the development of Indonesian nationalism can be formulated. Furthermore, data and facts are put together to be written down into writing that is systematic and easy to understand.

D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Islamic parties that were established after independence

Shortly after independence, namely on October 3, 1945, the government issued a proclamation urging the people to form parties. Even though at first, the Islamic community regretted the announcement and deemed it not timely, because according to them, at that time what was wanted was the unwavering unity of the people physically and spiritually, and the establishment of parties could divide the people, but in the end they were able to accept the government's rationale. that with the establishment of parties, various sects in society can be channeled and can be led to an orderly path. Therefore, Muslims feel obligated to organize their strength and energy in one political forum so that they can carry out their duties in the political field¹.

a. Masjumi

On that basis, an Islamic Conference was held in Yogyakarta on 7-8 November 1945 which was attended by almost all figures from various Islamic organizations. The Mukhtamar decided to establish a central Shura assembly for Indonesian Muslims, the Masjumi, which was considered the only political party for Muslims.

b. Perti

The Perti Political Party originates from a traditional Islamic organization, the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association, based in Bukittinggi, Central Sumatra. This organization was founded in a Islamic boarding school in Cdung, near Bukittinggi on May 20, 1930. It was a bastion of the well-known traditionalist group in Minangkabau against the spread of modern movements. During the Japanese occupation, Perti was heavily involved in the educational and social fields. In 1944, Perti joined the Higher Islamic Council (MIT) in Bukittinggi, an Islamic organization throughout Sumatra chaired by Syekh Muhammad Djamil Djambek.

c. Indonesian Islamic Syarikat Party

The Syarikat Islam Indonesia party often prides itself on being the oldest party in Indonesia, because it originates from the Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI, 1911) and Sarekat Islam

¹ Mhd.shaleh umarella. *Sejarah partai-partai Islam di Indonesia*, 2009

(SI, 1912). However, the direct reason for the party being re-established, even though previously there had been a determination to see Masjumi as the only Islamic party, was Amir Syarifuddin's formative attempt to form a cabinet in 1947 which wanted to include Muslims but was rejected by Masjumi.

d. Nahdlatul Ulama'

This organization was founded in Surabaya on January 31, 1926 by K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari as an effort to restrain the development of reformist understandings of Islam in the homeland, as well as efforts to maintain traditional teachings and schools of thought in the holy land that was newly controlled by the Wahhabis under King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud. NU's attention to politics was evident during the revolutionary period. This organization issued a fatwa that defending the motherland from enemy attacks is mandatory for every Muslim.

e. Islamic Union (Persis)

Persatuan Islam (abbreviated Persis or PERSIS) is an Islamic organization in Indonesia. Persis was founded on 12 September 1923 in Bandung by a group of Muslims who were interested in education and religious activities led by Haji Zamzam and Haji Muhammad Yunus.

f. Indonesian A'la Islamic Council (MIAI)

The Indonesian A'la Islamic Council (MIAI) was assisted by Muslims from a background of Dutch policy to form a marriage law in 1937. This law was considered by Muslims to be contrary to the Islamic Shari'ah community, so Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah represented the community. Islam took the initiative to establish MIAI, so that in 1937 the A'la Indonesia Islamic Council (MIAI) was founded. In 1943 MIAI was disbanded, because the colonialists who were in power at that time considered MIAI to be irrelevant to colonial policies. Therefore, a new policy was made that could accommodate colonial policies towards Muslims. To realize this, it was replaced with the Indonesian Muslim Syuro Council (MASYUMI) as a new organization which is one of the aspirations of Muslims

2. Dynamics of Socio-Cultural Conditions

Independence has had a huge influence on the socio-cultural life of Indonesian society. Initially there had been discrimination or differential rights in Indonesian society. Now, Indonesian people are no longer in the third or second class, but all have the same position as citizens. On the other hand, there was a big social change in society. Those who previously had a different social status from the general public with independence meant equalizing their status and rank with the general public. The proclamation of independence also made major changes in the socio-cultural life of society. During the colonial period, society was socially

divided into 3 classes.

The first group is Indo-European. Second, Asia or Foreign East and Third, the Bumiputera people. Thus, during the colonial period, society was socially compartmentalized or divided into three groups. The proclamation of independence removed all these barriers. All are considered equal socially. Indonesian society is legally one, namely Indonesian citizens. This change had another major influence, namely in social relations between certain groups, which then changed with the presence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The ease with which various cultures enter the Indonesian Archipelago is related to three things. First, the strategic location of the Indonesian archipelago, namely at the crossroads of shipping and world trade. Second, the seas in the archipelago are not a barrier but rather a unifier. The sea routes in the Archipelago are very easy to navigate. The wind blows not so fast and easy to predict. With monsoons blowing from the east or south in May to August and from the northwest or northeast in December-March (Anthony Reid, 1992:4).²

The third factor is the natural products owned by the Archipelago, which has encouraged many foreign traders to come and buy various trade commodities produced by the Archipelago, ranging from pepper, cloves, nutmeg, rice, and so on. Everything is a factor that attracted the arrival of various nations to the Archipelago so that the various cultures brought by these nations also entered. All these conditions made the Archipelago an entry point for various cultures which then met with the local culture embraced by the local population. In this way, cultural enrichment is received through various means, acculturation, assimilation and so on. All of that is then passed on to the next generation, through tradition and so on. Thus, it can be said that Indonesian culture has a strong resistance to various outside influences.

The interesting thing is that Indonesian culture is able to show its own characteristics, so that it is said that Indonesian culture and its supporters have "open minded tolerance" in dealing with foreign cultural influences, in addition to the superiority of local genius that it has. It is this capability that has made Indonesian culture survive and develop widely until this millennium (Djoko Soekiman, 1991:168). However, a more serious problem is actually related to changes caused by internal factors. The emergence of the Indonesian national

² Haryono rinardi. . *Perspective Social Culture In Development history Nationality National* , vol.03 No.02, 2020, p.198

movement which began with the 1928 Youth Pledge, the Proclamation of Independence, the various excesses of the War of Independence, until the emergence of various other changes in Indonesia all tested the cultural tenacity of the Indonesian nation.

3. Government System

At that time, the Indonesian government system which adhered to the presidency had not been implemented properly and fully represented the Indonesian people. This is evidenced by the absence of a special legislative body for the DPR, which at that time was still in the process of building institutions in Indonesia. For four years the Indonesian government system was constrained by the problem of territorial disputes in Indonesia itself. There were lots of rebellions by Indonesian citizens, from APRA, RMS and DI/TII. Such matters were taken care of and handled by the Indonesian government at that time.

The presidential system of government separates powers strictly between the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary institutions, so that one and the other should not be able to influence each other. The ministers are not responsible to the legislature, but are responsible to the president who chooses and appoints them, so that these ministers can be dismissed by the president without the approval of the legislature³.

The presidential system of government, which incidentally gives authority to the president in terms of formulating policies, is actually out of control because the president himself takes more part in formulating policies and establishing policies. Apart from that, the executive power which should have been chosen by general election has not been carried out. And there should be separate absolute powers between the executive and the legislature, but at the time of its inception in Indonesia the implementation of this system was still limping. Until December 27, 1949, in that year the Indonesian government system was reformulated, taking into account the social and political conditions that existed in Indonesia.

As a constitutional practice, the parliamentary system from 1945-1949 showed several uniqueness. First, changes to this government system without changes to the Constitution. So, solely as a constitutional practice. This practice is a very fundamental deviation from the 1945 Constitution. If this practice were rejected, it would definitely be categorized as a violation of the 1945 Constitution. Second, the parliamentary system did not run smoothly. In various circumstances, the President temporarily takes over the government. After that the parliamentary system was re-established, but then this parliamentary system was interrupted by a presidential government headed by Vice President Hatta. (known as Hatta's presidential

³ Ribkha Annisa, *System Presidential in Indonesia*, vol.4 No.2, 2018, p.249

government)⁴.

This is unique, because the presidential government is not led by the President (Soekarno) but by the Vice President (Hatta). This model is seen as a form of emergency, because it cannot be used as a standard variant and cannot be practiced in a normal constitutional system.

4. Da'wah strategy

A. Da'wah Strategy Through Education

The clergy tried to move the community through very favorable times in education. He tried to educate the public so that their motivation would revive in the field of education and revive the trade economy. The Islamic revival was growing by forming socio-religious organizations, successively these organizations were born such as SDI (Islamic Trade Union) in Bogor in 1905 and Solo 1911, Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta Accepted Da'wah to Islamic Organizations in Indonesia 1912, Islamic Association (exactly) in Bandung 1920, Nahdlatul Ulama in Surabaya 1926, and Indonesian Tarbiyah Association in Cdung, Bukit Tinggi 1930. Meanwhile political parties such as Sarikat Islam were also established is a continuation of SDI. The Indonesian Muslim Association (Permi) in Padang Panjang (1932) which was a continuation and extension of the Thowalib organization and the Indonesian Islamic Party (PII) in 1938⁵.

B. Da'wah Strategy Through Trade

Based on historical sources, the arrival of Islam in the archipelago was brought by preachers from Arabs who came to trade. However, because these preachers mastered religious knowledge, they simultaneously spread Islam in the archipelago. The presence of Muslim traders in the archipelago made it an economic center that supported Islamic development activities. Apart from that, another method used in spreading Islam in the archipelago is by way of power, namely by having closeness to the rulers. This is done because when someone has the same beliefs as the preachers, the people will follow the beliefs held by the authorities. The policy of a ruler can also influence other rulers to accept Islam and spearhead religious activities.

C. Da'wah Strategy Through State Ideology

In Indonesia, religion and state always go hand in hand. This can be seen in the ideological

⁴ Bagir Manan, *Welcome Dawn Regional Autonomy*, (Yogyakarta: PSH Fak.Hukum UII, 2001), p.250

⁵ Bella Ardila, *Reception Da'wah on Islamic Organizations in Indonesia*, (North Sumatra : Da'wah Management , 2022), Vol.1 No.2, p.93

battle for the realization of Indonesian independence⁶. where Muslims want a state based on Islamic law. while the nationalists want to prohibit the existence of symbols of a religion attached to a country. therefore, the idea emerged of a country based on Pancasila which has 5 precepts as the basis of the state.

Several Muslim figures also occupy important positions in government in order to fight for Islam in government. The settlement of this conflict was then handed over to a small committee consisting of 9 members. The secular nationalist group was represented by Ir. Soekarno, M. Hatta, M. Yantin, A. Soebarji and A. Maramis, while representatives from the Islamic nationalist group were H. Agussalim, KH. Wahid Hasyim, A. Kahar Muzakkir and Abikusno⁷. A solution was finally obtained in the form of the Jakarta Charter. Pancasila was accepted as the foundation of the state to be formed, but a provision regarding Muslims was added to it, so that the first precept reads: Belief in God Almighty with the obligation for Muslims to carry out their Shari'at.

5. Challenge

First, it's easy to split. Muslims with different ideologies and historical roots have resulted in one Islamic organization and another being suspicious of each other, disbelieving and blaspheming each other. This condition resulted in the unity and unity of the Muslim Ummah being divided and not gathering one force in the progress of the Muslim Ummah. The da'wah movement is isolated from groups and groups, there is no concern for other groups, the important thing is that the group is healthy, safe, prosperous. Therefore, it is easy to be divided among Muslims in Indonesia resulting in the propagation of Islam experiencing its own problems.

Second, lack of confidence (lost confident)⁸. Since the beginning of colonialism, Muslims have always been indoctrinated with second-class groups, who are ignorant and backward. This stereotype is based on the interests of the colonialists so that Muslims retreat and are not confident in carrying forward progress. Thus, the perception arises that being a Muslim is embarrassing and damages self-image. Especially with the mass appearance by the Western media that Muslims are terrorists and bloodthirsty. These conditions lead to the psychological condition of Muslims becoming weak and down with no enthusiasm, as a result many Muslims

⁶ M.Nasihudin Ali, *Aktivitas Dakwah Islam (Sejarah Perkembangan Dakwah di Indonesia)*, (Sumatera Utara:2022),p.26

⁷ Ikrar, , *Islamic Parties in Indonesia* . Journal scientific Al- Shir'ah Vol.1 No.2 (2003)

⁸ Enung Asmaya, *Implementation Methodology Prophet Muhammad's Islamic Da'wah in Indonesia* , komunika vol.8 No.2:2014, p.233

feel ashamed (lost confident). Even though this is purely Western politics in destroying the character of Muslims.

Third, in the early days of independence there were still many rebellions carried out by the Dutch who wanted to return again to control Indonesia after Japan had declared defeat to the Allies. The condition of the people at that time was also not stable and they were still trying to fight the rebellion carried out by the Dutch and it was considered that this would harm the kyai, preachers and preachers. Due to security reasons it was difficult and difficult to carry out da'wah so that at that time da'wah activities were also carried out in secret

6. Influential Figures

Behind the establishment of Islamic parties in post-independence Indonesia, the struggle and persistence of these figures did not escape. Among the influential figures are:

a). K.H. Hasyim Ash'ari

K.H. Muhammad Hasyim Asy'ari was born on Tuesday 24 Dzulqa'dah 1287 H or on February 14 1871 M⁹, in Gedang, Jombang, East Java. He is the third son of eleven children. His father was named Kiai Asy'ari from Demak, and his mother was named Halimah who was the daughter of Kiai Usman. His father was the founder of the Keras Islamic Boarding School in Jombang, while his grandfather, Kiai Usman, was a well-known kiai who led and cared for the Gedang Islamic Boarding School¹⁰. Since he was a child, K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari has attended Islamic boarding schools, he received education directly from his father and grandfather (Kiai Usman). He is a smart child, easy to absorb and memorize the knowledge given. So that at the age of 13-14 years, he was entrusted by his father to help teach at the Islamic boarding school¹¹.

Hadratus sheikh K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari, was the caretaker of the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School (Jombang) who at that time had served as rois Akbar, was a great scholar who had authority and influence over Islamic boarding schools. Apart from being a caretaker of the K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari Islamic boarding school, he also took part in defending the Indonesian nation, more specifically in the Islamic religion, this was realized by him being the pioneer in the establishment of the Masyumi and Nahdlatul Ulama parties, which are still victorious today.

⁹ Muhammad Rifa'I, *KH. Hasyim Asy'ari: Biografi singkat 1871-1947*, (Jogjakarta:Garasi,2020),p.17

¹⁰ Muhammad Rijal Fadli dan Ajat Sudrajat, *Islam And Nationality : Examine Thinking KH. Hasyim Ash'ari in Building and Protecting the Archipelago*, Journal of Indo- Islamika, vol.10, No.2, 2020, p.38

¹¹ Muhammad Rijal FAdli dan Ajat Sudrajat, *islam and nationality*,p.113

b). K.H. Wahid Hasyim

K.H. Wahid Hasyim is a Nahdlatul Ulama figure. He was born in Jombang on June 1, 1914. He is the son of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari and Nyai Nafiqoh¹². He is known as a smart figure and has a far-reaching perspective beyond his time. His attitude is very nationalist, that is, he has high political awareness in the context of nation and state. His religious knowledge is no less great, it began when he was 23 years old as chairman of the A'la Indonesia Islamic Council. Whereas in 1938 K.H. Wahid Hasyim began to join the Nahdlatul Ulama organization. He was entrusted with holding the position of chairman of the education and teaching sector. In this education and teaching sector, KH. Abdul Wahid Hasyim made many changes¹³, especially in advancing the field of Islamic boarding school education. The initial steps taken by KH. Abdul Wahid Hasyim at that time was carrying out an internal reorganization in the field of education and teaching of NU. After the internal reorganization was carried out, KH. Abdul Wahid Hasyim immediately drafted several policies which included increasing the number of NU madrasas throughout Indonesia, increasing the weight of lessons for students and improving the quality of teachers.

c). H. Agus Salim

H. Agus Salim was born on October 8, 1884 in the city of Gadang, IV Bukittinggi. He was born into a family of government employees. Why not, because both his father and older brother were Dutch government employees. His father was a native, but at that time had held quite a high position, namely as a Chief Prosecutor in Riau. Sutan Mohammad Salim was his father's name, and his mother Siti Zaenah belonged to a respected family, so because of his social status, it was open for Agus Salim to attend school as wide as possible¹⁴.

One of his accomplishments in Indonesia was being a member of the committee of Nine in the Investigation Agency for Preparatory Efforts for Independence which prepared the 1945 Constitution, throughout his life he dedicated himself to the struggle of the Indonesian nation. So he has an important role in Indonesia.

¹² Agung Syahrman dan Agus Mulyana', *role K.H.Abdul Wahid.....*p.18

¹³ Agung Syahrman dan Agus Mulyana', *role K.H.Abdul Wahid Hasyim in Indonesian Government Year (1945-1953)*, Vol.8 N0.1 :2019,p.20

¹⁴ Mukayat, *Haji Agus Salim Karya dan Pengabdianannya*, Jakarta: 1985 (proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional, p.2

CONCLUSION

Islamic parties are associations or groups that make Islam the party principle. Towards Indonesia's independence, the Islamic leaders at that time were not concerned with the establishment of a country based on Islam, but the most important thing was Indonesian independence. This was because the thoughts of the Islamic leaders at that time were based on the population of the Indonesian people who were mostly Muslim, according to which the majority of the Muslim religion would certainly form an Indonesian state based on Islam and a government that was Muslim, among the parties that were established after independence were Masyumi, PSII, Nahdlatul Ulama', Perti, Persis, MIAI.

Independence has had a huge influence on the socio-cultural life of Indonesian society. Initially there had been discrimination or differential rights in Indonesian society. Now, Indonesian people are no longer in the third or second class, but all have the same position as citizens. At that time, the Indonesian government system which adhered to the presidency had not been implemented properly and fully represented the Indonesian people. This is evidenced by the absence of a special legislative body for the DPR, which at that time was still in the process of building institutions in Indonesia. For four years the Indonesian government system was constrained by the problem of territorial disputes in Indonesia itself. There are several strategies carried out by Islamic leaders to attract interest, including through trade strategies, strategies through education, strategies through state ideology. Behind the success of the figures in establishing an Islamic party, of course, there are several challenges that must be overcome. First, it is easy to divide. Muslims with different ideologies and historical roots, resulted in one Islamic organization and other organizations distrusting each other, disbelieving and blaspheming each other. carried out by the Dutch who wanted to return to control Indonesia after Japan had declared defeat to the Allies. Among the great figures behind the scenes were K.H.Hasyim Asy'ari, K.H.Wahid Hasyim, and H.Agus Salim.

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