

THE HEGEMONY OF NADHLATUL ULAMA ON POLITICAL DYNAMICS IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

This study discusses the hegemony of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in Indonesian political dynamics by using a descriptive qualitative approach through the library research method using a sharia normative approach. Nadhalatul Ulama has strong historical roots, having a significant influence on Indonesian politics. The broad support of the community, especially Nahdliyin, allowed him to influence political policy at both the local and national levels. Through participation in the policy-making process such as the Islamic Boarding School Bill, NU brings agendas that are relevant to the interests of the community, especially in the fields of religion and education. In addition, NU plays a role in socializing democratic values through Islamic boarding schools, reflecting its contribution to strengthening the foundation of democracy at the local level. NU also acts as a counterweight in government oversight, ensuring policies are in line with people's aspirations. The implications of this research include a better understanding of Indonesia's political dynamics and the importance of considering the role of non-state actors such as NU in the political process. It is recommended that in-depth research be conducted to broaden insights into the role of NU in Indonesian politics and society.

Keywords: Hegemony, Nadhlatul Ulama, Dynamics, Politics

A. Introduction

Leadership circulation is one of the essential mechanisms in a democratic country. In the context of local politics, the process of electing regional heads is one of the instruments to create constitutional leadership change. The election of regional heads, also known as regional elections, has a significant impact on political dynamics at the regional level. Societies, which act as political subjects and objects, undergo marked changes, as they often experience fragmentation based on their political affiliation with

a particular organization.¹⁰⁶ Post-reform, changes in the political constellation opened up public space for the entry of political interests based on organizational or group affiliation, as well as certain ethnic aspects. In this situation, primordialism is no longer considered something to be avoided, but can be an effective symbol and political language to gain legitimacy and support in gaining power.¹⁰⁷ This shows the complexity of political dynamics at the local level that also shape the political identity of the local community.

The role and history of community organizations that have fought with sincerity and voluntariness hold a very important historical value for the journey of the Nation and State. This is because, indirectly, these organizations were the pioneers of the founding of this country.¹⁰⁸ On a national scale, NU is one of the organizations that played a role in the establishment of this country. NU was born as a forum for struggle for the Republic of Indonesia which always upholds its spirit of nationalism and nationalism.¹⁰⁹

NU was established 95 years ago, precisely on January 31, 1926. The birth of NU in 1926 arose from concern for efforts to eliminate local traditions in the community's religion. At the international level, the Hijaz Committee was formed as an effort to protect the common interests of Muslims from the Wahhabism movement in Saudi Arabia. Therefore, NU as a social movement seeks to "save" local religious traditions that are a way of religious life in Indonesia. NU has a vision to develop and maintain Islam Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah which is embraced by most Islamic scholars in

¹⁰⁶ Irwan Abdu Nugraha and Muhammad Noor Ifansyah, "Dynamics of Islamic Social Organizations in the Election of Central Java Governors," *Asketik: Journal of Religion and Social Change* 3, no. 2 (2019): 151.

¹⁰⁷ Widya Setyanto and Halomoan Palungan, *Identity Politics: Religion, Ethnicity, and Space in Political Dynamics in Indonesia and Southeast Asia* (Salatiga: Percik, 2009), 38.

¹⁰⁸ Nurlira Goncing and Muh. Abdi Goncing, "The Politics of the Nahdlatul Ulama Elite in the Legislative Elections in Makassar City in 2014 and 2019," *Vox Populi* 5, no. 2 (2022): 125, <https://doi.org/10.24252/vp.v5i2.30556>.

¹⁰⁹ Muhammad Nurdiansyah, "Political Communication of NU Patronage in the 2020 Purbalingga Regency Elections," *DIALECTIQUE KOMUNIKA: Journal of Communication and Regional Development Studies* 9, no. 2 (2021): 85, <https://doi.org/10.33592/dk.v9i2.1783>.

Indonesia. In daily religious practice, NU refers more to Imam Shafi'i.¹¹⁰ Although NU exists as a religious organization, it is inseparable from political involvement. This is because NU has followers spread throughout Indonesia, so its influence can be felt in decision-making in the public sphere.¹¹¹

The role of ulama, especially from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) ulema in various election contests, be it legislative, executive, or regional head elections, has a significant impact. As religious figures respected by most of society, scholars are not only involved in religious affairs, but also play an important role in the social aspects of society. Within NU, the ulama have strong support from the Nahdliyin people who are loyal to them.

The Nahdliyin community is known for its obedience and loyalty to ulama, starting from the local level such as villages and sub-districts, to the national level. Nahdlatul Ulama, a large and influential Islamic organization, has a long history of influencing Indonesian politics from the pre-independence period to the present day. With millions of members and networks spread across the archipelago, NU is not only a religious organization, but also a great political power. Based on the facts on the ground, NU has a strong mass base among Indonesian people, especially in rural and urban areas.

NU's physical and social presence in society forms a close connection between this organization and the daily life of the Indonesian people. In addition, NU has a long history of political participation, ranging from the struggle for independence to the reform era. During this period, NU has been involved in a variety of political issues, ranging from public policy to political power struggles. This research also considers the important role of NU in shaping the nation's political identity. As a moderate and inclusive Islamic organization, NU has a significant influence in determining the political narrative that supports diversity and tolerance in Indonesia.

¹¹⁰ Abdul Haris and Abdulloh Dardum, "Kiai NU and Politics (Kiai NU Jember's Involvement in the 2019 Presidential Election Contest)," *Phenomenon* 20, no. 1 (2021): 92, <https://doi.org/10.35719/fenomena.v20i1.51>.

¹¹¹ Akhmad Sayuti, Wasino Wasino, and Ibnu Sodik, "Dinamika Politik Partai Nahdlatul Ulama Di Semarang Tahun 1952-1979," *Journal of Indonesian History* 7, no. 1 (2018): 2.

B. Method

This study uses a type of *library research* using a sharia normative approach. Primary data sources are obtained from various literature sources such as books, classical literature, scientific journals, and other sources. The secondary sources of this study include all references relevant to the topics discussed in this study. Through the analysis of books, classic books, and scientific journals, this research seeks to compile a comprehensive synthesis of information to make a significant contribution to the understanding of the concept or phenomenon being researched. The study also attempts to identify existing knowledge gaps in the existing literature and propose directions for future research in relevant domains.

C. Result and Discussion

1. The Influence of Nahdlatul Ulama on Political Dynamics in Indonesia

The relationship between Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and practical politics and bureaucratic structures in Indonesia, both on a national and local scale, has been going on for a long time. This link can be seen when NU scholars occupy high positions in the Legislative and Executive institutions. KH A. Wahid Hasyim and KH Masykur, for example, served as the Minister of Religious Affairs in the Parliamentary Cabinet. During the administration of President Soekarno, KH Muhammad Ilyas, KH Wahib Wahab, and KH Saifuddin Zuhri also alternately served as the Minister of Religion.¹¹²

Nahdlatul Ulama in carrying out its role as a community organization has basic values that are its guide, including in organizing political education for the community. These basic values are known as *tawasuth*, *tasamuh*, *tawazun*, and *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar*, which reflect the principles of the middle, tolerance, balance, and the invitation to do good and reject bad things in society.¹¹³ In practice, NU residents are sometimes still greatly influenced by the way charismatic scholars in NU instill these basic values. In the context of political education, NU as an Islamic organization decided

¹¹² Wasisto Raharjo Jati, "Ulama Dan Pesantren Dalam Dinamika Politik Dan Kultur Nahdlatul Ulama," *ULUL ALBAB Jurnal Studi Islam* 13, no. 1 (2013): 100, <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.voio.2377>.

¹¹³ Muhammad Farhanuddin, "The Role of Nahdlatul Ulama in Political Education in Majene Regency," *JPP (Prophetic Political Journal)* 5, no. 2 (2017): 158, <http://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/jpp/article/view/4342>.

not to be directly involved in politics, because it saw that the benefits obtained were less than the potential losses that might arise. This political stance is known as "return to khittah", which describes NU's political stance that is not institutionally tied to political parties or other community organizations.¹¹⁴ The long-standing relationship between Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and practical politics and bureaucratic structures in Indonesia shows the important role of NU in national and local political dynamics.

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is a religious organization that previously played the role of a political party and had considerable influence in the development of Indonesian politics after colonialism. However, NU underwent a reorganization with a policy of "return to khittah" in 1926, which formally ended its relationship with the PPP as an Islamic political platform in the New Order era. This prompted NU to look for alternative formats and models of movements in affirming its existence as the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia.¹¹⁵ In the context of national politics, the presence of NU figures and cadres has made a significant contribution to the dynamics of democratization in Indonesia.

In almost every high institution of the state, we can find NU cadres who occupy strategic positions, both in the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial. As part of civil society, NU has many roles in the democratization process in Indonesia. Historically, from the pre-independence era to the Reformasi era, NU has adopted an approach oriented towards accepting democratic principles as a commitment, because the values fought for by NU are in principle in line with the basic concept of democracy.

Within the city of Makassar, PKB and PPP, two parties that have cultural ties with NU, have not succeeded in attracting public sympathy. Even though NU cadres elected as legislative members in the city come from different parties, they will still advocate for NU's agenda and da'wah message in the legislature. The presence and success of NU cadres in winning the 2014 Makassar DPRD election through parties that

¹¹⁴ Abdul Muchith Muzadi, *fifteen years old returned to Khittah; Critical Reflection and Evaluation 1984-1999* (Jakarta: Committee of the XXX Nahdlatul Ulama Congress, 1999), 51-59.

¹¹⁵ Bahtiar Effendy, *Repoliticization of Islam: Has Islam Ever Stopped Politics?* (Bandung: Mizan, 2000), 177.

are not PKB or PPP, actually benefits NU as a whole because they have a cadre base from various parties that are not exclusively affiliated with NU.¹¹⁶ This strengthens NU's position and influence in the local political realm.

NU intellectuals use the term "civil society" as a translation for civil society, in contrast to the term "civil society" that is often used by modernists. AS Hikam stated that if civil society is translated as civil society, which refers to the phenomenon of Madinah society during the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, then it can raise concerns that Islam will be made an alternative vision for the concept of statehood.¹¹⁷ For NU, Civil Society is not an alternative concept of a political system or an attempt to Islamize.

Although the civil society movement carried out by NU aims to integrate Islamic values in people's lives and present Islam as a value in resistance to an authoritarian state. Hikam emphasized that Islam in Indonesia is complementary, so the use of the term civil society opens up opportunities for cooperation with other groups that have a similar agenda, namely community empowerment against government authoritarianism.¹¹⁸ This shows NU's inclusive approach in building cooperation with various groups for the same goal. Thus, this approach is a means to expand the support network and strengthen NU's role in advocating Islamic values in the public sphere.

NU as part of civil society participates in the policy-making process of a country by advocating for the interests of the community, as in the case of the Islamic boarding school bill.¹¹⁹ One of the roles of NU as an element of civil society in Indonesia is through efforts to improve society through Islamic boarding schools, which are also used in a limited way to socialize democratic values. As an organization of Muslims, NU feels that

¹¹⁶ Goncing and Goncing, "The Politics of the Nahdlatul Ulama Elite in the Legislative Elections in Makassar City in 2014 and 2019," 132.

¹¹⁷ Ahmad Baso, *Civil Society versus Civil Society; Archaeology of Civil Society Thought in Indonesian Islam* (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah and LAKPESDAM NU, 1999), 9–14.

¹¹⁸ Ahmad Baso, *Civil Society and Civil Society* (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah and LAKPESDAM NU, 1999), 184.

¹¹⁹ Esty Ekawati, "Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as a Civil Society in Indonesia," *NUANSA: Journal of Islamic Social and Religious Science Research* 13, no. 2 (December 31, 2016): 244, <https://doi.org/10.19105/nuansa.v13i2.1098>.

it has sufficient social capital and is able to confidently position itself as a supervisory mechanism in the government.¹²⁰

Based on this that has been explained earlier, the influence of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) on political dynamics in Indonesia, it needs to be understood that NU has strong historical roots in Indonesian politics. With broad support from the community, especially from the Nahdliyin circles, NU is able to influence political policies at the local and national levels. Through its role in the policy-making process, such as the Islamic boarding school bill, NU has brought agendas that are relevant to the interests of the community, especially in the context of religion and education.

The importance of NU's role in socializing democratic values through pesantren should also not be ignored. Although on a limited scale, these efforts reflect NU's contribution in strengthening the foundations of democracy at the local level. In addition, NU as an organization of Muslims feels a responsibility to ensure that Islamic values are not only narrowly understood, but also integrated within the broader framework of democracy.

In the context of government supervision, NU has an important role as a balancer. With its social capital, NU can confidently position itself as a supervisory mechanism for government policies, keeping these policies in line with the aspirations of the community. Thus, research related to the Influence of Nahdlatul Ulama on Political Dynamics in Indonesia needs to consider the complex and multifaceted role of NU in Indonesian politics, from the policy-making process to its role as a supervisory and balancing agent.

2. The Contribution of Nadhlatul Ulama in the Development and Application of Islamic Law in Indonesia

Islam presents a comprehensive guide for the life of the world and the hereafter through the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet (peace be upon him).¹²¹

¹²⁰ Suryani Suryani, "Kontribusi NU Sebagai Organisasi Civil Society Dalam Demokratisasi," *Dialog* 38, no. 1 (June 30, 2015): 58, <https://doi.org/10.47655/dialog.v38i1.34>.

¹²¹ Rian Hidayat and Rahmatiah HL, 'Comparison of Islamic Criminal Law and National Law on the Crime of Rape Against Biological Children', *Shautuna: Comparative Student Scientific Journal of Schools and Law*, 3.2 (2022), p. 318 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24252/shautuna.vi.23605>>.

Today, the development of the times has brought great changes to the social strata¹²², but Islam affirms the principle of social equality, rejects stratification in society, and recognizes that every individual has the same value before God. Islam views humans as creatures that have multiple dimensions, whose activities develop over time.¹²³ Therefore, it is recommended that Muslims be able to sort and compare the values of modernity with Islamic teachings contained in the Qur'an and Sunnah.¹²⁴ The main texts of Islamic teachings have established the obligation to safeguard the benefits and pay attention to them when regulating various aspects of life.¹²⁵ Muslims can become advanced and further develop all the potentials that have been given by Allah, thus creating a more just and civilized society.

NU thinkers have developed a fundamental concept of ideal values in political education, which is intrinsically connected to the way Islam is applied in the political realm. There are three main perspectives that emerge from Islamic thinkers, both classical and modern. First, is the view that religion and politics are integrated entities; Second, is the view that religion and politics are interrelated and interact (symbiotic); Third, is the view that religion and politics should stand separately (secularistic).¹²⁶ NU thinkers believe that understanding and applying one of these paradigms in political education is the key to building a society based on the values of justice, truth, and equality.

Democracy in Indonesia promotes mutual respect in the midst of the diversity of society. NU, with this view, has principles that support pluralism, known as *tasamuh* (tolerance). This means that NU advocates a tolerance attitude towards differences of

¹²² Laela Safriani, Aisyah Kara, and Kurniati Kurniati, "The Role of UIN Alauddin Women Lecturers in Realizing the Sakinah Family from the Perspective of Islamic Law," *Journal of Islamic Discourse* 4, no. 2 (2016): 272.

¹²³ Kurniati, 'Fiqhi Cinta: A Wise Way of Islamic Law to Sow Love and Foster Family', *Al Daulah: Journal of Criminal Law and Governance*, 1.1 (2012), pp. 1–2.

¹²⁴ Zainuddin, Qadir Gassing, and Kurniati, "The Benefits and Implications of Modern Technology Perspective Maslahah," *UNES Law Review* 6, no. 2 (2024): 6748, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31933/unesrev.v6i2>.

¹²⁵ T Jamaluddin et al., "The Effectiveness of Child Protection Through Marriage Dispensation Policy in Maslāḥah Perspective," *American Journal of Society and Law* 2, no. 2 (2023): 21, <https://doi.org/10.54536/ajsl.v2i2.1395>.

¹²⁶ M Din Syamsuddin, "The Search for the Concept of the State in the History of Islamic Political Thought," *Ulumul Qur'an* 4, no. 2 (1993).

view, both in terms of religion, especially in matters related to sharia law, beliefs, and behavior, as well as in social and cultural issues.¹²⁷

The basic principles of NU include first, *tawassut* (moderate), which is not to favor the extreme right or left. In the teachings of *Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah*, both in law, belief, and behavior, the middle principle is always upheld. This moderation is reflected in a law-making approach that not only relies on text, but also considers reason. This is an attempt to mediate between extreme viewpoints, such as between free will (*Qadariyah*) and destiny (*Jabariyah*), between salaf orthodoxy and Mu'tazilah rationalism, as well as between philosophical Sufism and orthodox Sufism.¹²⁸ The moderation approach that NU adheres to is not only a solution to overcome polarization, but also as a foundation to build awareness of the importance of dialogue and cooperation between various understandings and backgrounds in society.

The second principle is *tawazun*, which refers to maintaining a balance in all things, including between the interests of the world and the hereafter, the interests of the individual and the interests of society, as well as between the interests of the present and the future.¹²⁹ The third principle, *tasamuh*, teaches tolerance towards differences of view, especially in derivative matters, to prevent conflicts, disputes, or excessive ego prominence, and vice versa, promotes the creation of fraternal bonds based on Islamic values (*ukhuwwah Islamiyyah*).

The fourth principle is *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (inviting goodness and preventing evil). Strengthening efforts to prevent bad behavior is a starting point that must be instilled in every individual, so that good behavior can be realized in society.¹³⁰ These principles are a solid foundation for NU in building a harmonious and civilized

¹²⁷ M. Masyhur Amin, *NU Dan Ijtihad Politik Kenegaraannya* (Yogyakarta: AlAmin Press, 1996), 86–88.

¹²⁸ Abdul Muchith Muzadi, *Getting to Know Nahdlatul Ulama* (Surabaya: Khalista, 2006), 28.

¹²⁹ Ahmad Rofi'i, "National Politics of Nahdlatul Ulama: The Perspective of KH. Abdul Muchith Muzadi," *Al-Daulah: Journal of Islamic Law and Jurisprudence* 4, no. 2 (2015): 397, <https://doi.org/10.15642/ad.2014.4.02.388-409>.

¹³⁰ Abdul Muchith Muzadi, *NU in Historical and Doctrinal Perspectives: Reflections on 65 Years. Join NU* (Surabaya: Khalista, 2006), 159–161.

society, where the values of kindness and tolerance are the main foundation in social interaction.

In the political realm, *Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah* does not always approve of extreme approaches. However, when faced with a tyrannical ruler, they did not hesitate to keep their distance and form an alliance. This attitude shows flexibility, where they can be accommodating in one situation and more assertive in another, but remain within the boundaries of balance.¹³¹ With this approach, NU remains a firm example and acts with honesty and strives to build up, avoiding all forms of extremism. These principles reflect the appreciation of human plurality in the Qur'an, which is an awareness of diversity in Indonesian society.¹³² The dynamic and principled attitude shown by NU in dealing with various political situations is clear evidence of their commitment to the values of justice, tolerance, and peace in building a harmonious and inclusive society.

According to Hasyim Muzadi, pluralism and tolerance emphasize the importance of accommodating attitudes and awareness of the value of cultural diversity as the basis for mindsets, attitudes, and behaviors that are more sensitive to human values. This implies that all individuals must be treated humanely regardless of the religion they follow, because human values are the universal right of every individual.¹³³ This approach to life reflects the principles of democracy, tolerance, and pluralism. NU also develops principles such as equality (*al-musawah*) and justice (*al-'is*), which are in line with democratic principles, especially in law enforcement and the principle of equality before the law.¹³⁴ The approach not only emphasizes the importance of respecting cultural diversity, but also emphasizes that justice is the main foundation in building a just and equitable society for all individuals.

¹³¹ Muzadi, 59.

¹³² Suryani, "The Contribution of NU as a Civil Society Organization in Democratization," 62.

¹³³ Hasyim Muzadi, *Nahdlatul Ulama Di Tengah Agenda Persoalan Bangsa* (Jakarta: Logos, 1999), 61.

¹³⁴ Suryani, "The Contribution of NU as a Civil Society Organization in Democratization," 62.

National politics for NU contains the importance of consistency in maintaining the Republic of Indonesia as the main foundation of the Indonesian state. Participatory politics also includes NU's responsibility to educate the public about their rights and obligations, as well as to protect them from authoritarian behavior that may arise from any party. NU also emphasizes the importance of political ethics for cadres and their members, as well as for society at large, to create a dignified and civilized political environment, in accordance with Aristotle's view of the importance of the common good as the basis of a country's political ethics, which can only be realized through the application of rules that lead to the common good for all its citizens.¹³⁵ With this approach, NU plays an active role in shaping and maintaining a healthy and responsible political consciousness among the Indonesian people, in accordance with the principles of morality and common good.

Allah swt revealed Islam with the banner of justice, which before the arrival of Islam was very difficult for the ignorant people to obtain. As a perfect religion, Islam regulates all aspects of human life¹³⁶ including political thought in Islam in essence related to the concept of fiqh siyasah, which is presented comprehensively by Imam Mawardi in his work, "Ahkam al-Sultaniyah".¹³⁷ Fiqh siyasah must be relevant to the context of the times and human social dynamics, so that it still has timeless relevance. This thinking is based on authentic Islamic teachings and has a strong foundation in the fiqh proposal, known as maqasid al-shari'ah, which reflects the essence of the holy teachings and prophetic messages in the hadith. Therefore, siyasah fiqh can not only be accounted for theologically, but also humanistically.¹³⁸ Thus, fiqh siyasah is not only a

¹³⁵ A. Bakir Ihsan, *Ethics and Political Logic: A Critical Discourse on Political Ethics, Power and Democracy* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2009), 21.

¹³⁶ Muhammad Asykur Muchtar, Abd Qadir Gassing, and Sabri Samin, "The Value of Justice in the Customary Law of Inheritance of the Moi Tribe between Male Heirs and Female Heirs in Sorong City: The Perspective of Maslahah," in *Proceedings of the 1 ST International Conference on Science and Islamic Studies*, vol. 1 (Makassar: Program Pascasarjana, UIN Alauddin Makassar, 2023), 706.

¹³⁷ Imam Mawardi, *Al-Ahkam Al-Sultaniyah: The Laws of Islamic Governance*, Terj. Asadullah Yate (London: Ta-Ha Publisher Ltd, n.d.), 7.

¹³⁸ Muhammad Solikhudin, "Political Ijtihad of Nahdlatul Ulama in the Configuration of Fiqh Siyasah KH MA Sahal Mahfudh," *Ahkam* 9, no. 2 (2021): 291, <https://ejournal.uinsatu.ac.id/index.php/ahkam/article/view/4626%0Ahttps://ejournal.uinsatu.ac.id/index.php/ahkam/article/view/4626/1727>.

legal and political instrument, but also a vehicle to apply moral and humanitarian values in a dynamic social order.

Viewed from the perspective of siyasah fiqh, the principles of good governance have been fulfilled with guarantees for the rights of citizens and state rights. These include the right to vote (*Haqq al-Intikhab*), the right to participate in deliberations (*Haqq al-Musyawarat*), the right to supervise (*Haqq al-Muraqabat*), the right to demote leaders (if needed) (*Haqq al-'Azl*), the right to nominate (*Haqq al-Tarsyih*), and the right to hold office in public positions (*Haqq Tawalliy al-Wazhaif al-'Ammat*), all of which are political rights in an Islamic country.¹³⁹ These principles, which are the basis of KH's national political thought. Muchith Muzadi, reflects the implementation of moderate Islamic values and is based on justice in all aspects of life, with the aim of creating a balance of power in society, nation, and state. In accordance with the NU paradigm of *tawasut*, *tawazun*, *ta'adul* and *tasamuh*, of course, a moderate middle way is chosen.

Based on what has been explained earlier, in terms of the contribution of Nadhlatul Ulama (NU) in the development and application of Islamic law in Indonesia, it covers various aspects related to political views, principles of fiqh siyasah, and Islamic teaching values interpreted in a pluralistic Indonesian context. NU is not only an important voice in fighting for the political rights of citizens and state rights in accordance with Islamic principles, but also plays a role in shaping a discourse on a government system based on justice, equality, and balance of power.

NU's approach to the development and application of Islamic law also reflects a moderate and inclusive view that seeks to build a just and harmonious society. This is reflected in the approach of *tawasut* (moderation), *tawazun* (balance), *ta'adul* (justice), and *tasamuh* (tolerance), which are the basis for NU's activities in formulating policies and advocacy in the political and legal realms. In addition, NU also plays an important role in voicing moderate Islamic voices and promoting interfaith dialogue and cooperation between various groups in society. This is important in the context of Indonesia, which has cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity, where NU acts as an agent

¹³⁹ A. Djazuli, *Fiqh Siyasah, Implementation of the Benefit of the Ummah in Sharia Signs* (Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2003), 98–100.

who fights for diversity as a source of strength, not conflict. Thus, NU's contribution in the development and application of Islamic law in Indonesia is not only limited to the formal religious aspect, but also includes the political, social, and cultural dimensions that form the foundation for a just and civilized life of the nation and state.

D. Conclusion

The influence of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in Indonesia's political dynamics is very significant and diverse. With strong historical roots, NU has broad support from the community, especially Nahdliyin, so it is able to influence political policy at the local and national levels. Through participation in the policy-making process, such as the Islamic boarding school bill, NU presents agendas that are relevant to the interests of the community, especially in the realm of religion and education.

NU's role in socializing democratic values through pesantren also has an important impact, although on a limited scale, but reflects NU's contribution in strengthening the foundation of democracy at the local level. In addition, NU feels a responsibility to ensure that Islamic values are integrated within the broader framework of democracy, not just narrowly understood. In government supervision, NU plays an important role as a balancer with its social capital. This organization is able to position itself as a monitoring mechanism for government policies, ensuring that these policies are in accordance with the aspirations of the community. The influence of Nahdlatul Ulama in Political Dynamics in Indonesia takes into account the complex and multifaceted role of NU in Indonesian politics, from policy-making to its role as a supervisory and balancing agent. Meanwhile, in the context of NU's contribution to the development and application of Islamic law in Indonesia, NU plays an important role in forming the foundation for a just and civilized life of the nation and state, not only in the formal religious aspect, but also in the political, social, and cultural dimensions.

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