

Relationship between Muhammadiyah and Politics in Parliamentary Democracy Period (A Case Study in Banyumas)

Suwarno

Department of History Education, Faculty of Education and Teacher Training,
Universitas Muhammadiyah Purwokerto – Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: suwarnopurwokerto@gmail.com

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14710/ihis.v4i1.6598>

Abstract

This study identifies steps taken by Muhammadiyah in the political arena during the Parliamentary Democracy period which was established through its proximity with Masyumi. Muhammadiyah was known as a special member of Masyumi at that time. This political phenomenon occurred both at national and local levels, in this case in Banyumas. The breakthrough was conducted by important figures such as K.H.A. Dardiri and S. Notosuwiryo. Muhammadiyah of Banyumas district had played an important role in establishing the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia which was finally granted by the government. By Masyumi as its political articulation, Muhammadiyah figures in Banyumas had a lot to perform among political matters, mainly in Temporary Regional Houses Representatives of Banyumas (DPRDS) in 1950 which were quite dominant. The study used a historical approach to explore sources as evidence to strengthen the argument that Muhammadiyah and Masyumi in Banyumas had played an important role in social, economic, and community culture. It addresses the stigma that Muhammadiyah is very identical to Masyumi, if it is examined further then they have the same goal, namely a modernist movement. This step gives an affirmation that Muhammadiyah becomes a strong religious organization. Muhammadiyah embodies its goal by focusing on developing social, religious, and educational fields, while Masyumi's goal was purely in developing political parties. However, it is found that the number of human resources owned by Muhammadiyah is getting less. If the situation still occurs, then the majority of educational institutions experience teacher limitations.

Keywords: Muhammadiyah; Political Relationship; Masyumi; Parliamentary Democracy; Banyumas.

Introduction

Muhammadiyah is an Islamic da'wah movement, *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, and *tajdid* (purification and renewal of Islam) founded by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan on 1912. This modern Islamic reform organization is oriented to be active in the fields of religion, education, social, and health since its establishing. Until today, Muhammadiyah has reached more than a century old (100 years) and grown rapidly because it has reached the entire country with thousands of business charities in the form of primary and

secondary education institutions, both public and religious schools, hundreds of universities, and hundreds of social and health service institutions.

As stated by Alfian (1989, p. 5), there are three roles played by Muhammadiyah in the history of Indonesian people: *first*, as a *religious reform movement*; *second*, as an intermediary for social change (*agent of social change*); *third*, as political power (*political power*). The role as a religious renewal movement can be identified through the intentions and objectives of Muhammadiyah to purify Islamic religion practice by referring to the Qur'an and the Hadith.

Muhammadiyah role as an intermediary for social change can be traced to the large contribution for people and nation through enlightenment in the fields of education, social services, and health. If we see from its role, Muhammadiyah contribution to Muslims and the Indonesian nation is considered very huge. Muhammadiyah has given its struggle very hard to free and eradicate Muslims and the Indonesian people from chains of ignorance, poverty, and backwardness. Muhammadiyah has also given services to people and the nation through enlightenment in the field of education (Establishment of schools from kindergarten (TK), Elementary School (SD), Junior High School (SMP), Senior High School (SMA) , to Higher Education, social services (orphanages and nursing homes), and health services (clinics, polyclinics, and hospitals).

Therefore, role of Muhammadiyah as a political force is actually emphasized on its position as a community organization (mass organization), or further as an *interest group*. Related to Muhammadiyah position as an interest group, a Japanese Indonesian, Nakamura (1990, p. 114) stated that there were two main contributions of Muhammadiyah to the Indonesian people. *First*, Muhammadiyah helped the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) existence as a political entity. *Second*, Muhammadiyah had become a forum for developing independent community initiatives.

Muhammadiyah effect as an interest group is increasingly visible. In addition, Muhammadiyah role as a political power can also be seen from the relationship between Muhammadiyah and political parties and its involvement in practical politics, mainly through its leaders. Since its establishment, Muhammadiyah has not been standing as a political organization. However, it does not mean that Muhammadiyah is an anti-political organization. Kiai Dahlan and Muhammadiyah leaders have laid a political convention through their personal involvement and participation among existing political organizations and political parties. For instance Kiai Dahlan, besides as a member of Budi Utomo (BU) in 1909, he also became a member of Jam'iyat Al-Khair in 1910, and Sarekat Islam (SI) in 1911 (Jainuri, 1981, p. 29). In addition, Mas Mansur, Chairperson of Central Committee (PP) of Muhammadiyah from 1937-1942 was also known as one of initiators and key figures of Indonesian A'la Islamic Council (MIAI) in September 1937, and Indonesian Islamic Party (PII) which was founded in early December of 1938 (Suwarno, 2010, p. 59).

Meanwhile, Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Masyumi) was political organization with highly good popularity in its prime time. The existence of party proliferation caused Masyumi's name and symbol grow, moreover, it was supported

by modern political power fragmentation (Fealy and Platzdasch, 2005, p. 77). Masyumi's political orientation was similar to Muhammadiyah which also emphasized modern Islam. As a religious organization that needed support, mainly in the early days of independence, Muhammadiyah needed to place appropriate strategies to obtain locally and nationally influence. Therefore, Muhammadiyah began to play a role in political democracy in Indonesia. Based on a study conducted by Jung (2014) Muhammadiyah's political behavior was driven by institutional logic, by placing its social and religious obligations beyond its political interests. This was also seen as very pragmatic idealism. By placing leaders among national political organizations, Muhammadiyah obtained recognition and its power was considered as quite strong. Discussing about relationship between Muhammadiyah and Masyumi, it was necessary to identify how Muhammadiyah's role of using Masyumi as a 'political vehicle' changed this organization as the most influential organization, both in local and national level. In addition, as stated by Fuad (2002, p. 148), Muhammadiyah seemed to enjoy a great deal with the political entity. Using historical method with political science approach, this study is different from the previous studies that have been conducted, it focuses on the relations of Muhammadiyah and politics at the local level in Banyumas.

Relationship between Muhammadiyah and Politics in the Period of Pre and Early Independence

When the two Indonesian's proclaimers proclaimed Indonesian independence, Muhammadiyah was 30 years old. Although, it was not a political organization as stated in the introduction, Muhammadiyah's contribution in fighting for Indonesian independence was considered as significant compared to other socio-political parties. This fact was recognized by many figures. One of the figures who recognized Muhammadiyah's contribution was Roeslan Abdoelgani. He stated that Muhammadiyah's services in the historical chain of Indonesia's struggle had begun since national awakening, particularly in educational-pedagogical field (Tim Pembina Al-Islam and Kemuhammadiyah Guidance Team, 1990, p. 44).

Another interesting statement was when Roeslan Abdoelgani called Muhammadiyah a "wave of beatings" among Muslims against Dutch imperialism and colonialism as well as mysticism of indigenous people who overly worshiped to trees, sacred stones and animals "(Anonymously, 1963, p. 40–41).

Since its establishment, Muhammadiyah had taken a cautious political stance and become very flexible in facing various waves of political change. Such a cautious and flexible political attitude had given a positive impression on the Dutch colonial government, so, Muhammadiyah was considered less dangerous to their colonial existence and relatively able to make a movement more freely (Ma'arif, 1987, p. 66).

According to Sugiyanto Padmo, Muhammadiyah involvement in politics during the Dutch colonial period could be seen as brave attitude on the Dutch colonial government's policies, such as the courage to oppose a tax on slaughtered sacrificial animals Sacrifice Day, and this was successfully granted by the Dutch colonial

government. Further, religious court under the Office of Colonial Religious Affairs was later fought by Muhammadiyah to be more independent. Through educational institutions (schools) that were founded during the Dutch colonial period, Muhammadiyah helped integrated a spirit of nationalism among the Indonesian people, mainly among Muslims, through the motto of *hubbul wathan minal iman* (loving your motherland is a part of faith). Furthermore, Muhammadiyah pioneered the birth of Indonesian Islamic Party (PII) in 1938, the main supporter of Masyumi which was formed by Japanese occupation government in 1947. The rebirth of Masyumi Islamic Party in 1945 as a political forum for post-independence Muslim people, in which Muhammadiyah became the main supporter (Padmo, 2007, p. 159).

In the Banyumas region, during the Dutch colonial period, Muhammadiyah stood as a socio-religious organization, even though it was not a political organization, it had invested in nationalism among its managed schools. For instance in 1930, Muhammadiyah in Banyumas region (now includes four districts of Banyumas, Purbalingga, Cilacap and Banjarnegara) had managed six Holland Inlandsche Schools (HIS), one Schakel School, two Volkschool, one Madrasah Diniyah, and two Madrasah Ibtidaiyah. Number of students attending these schools were 151 male students and 103 female students. This fact indicated that Muhammadiyah of Banyumas district in 1930 fostered a young generation of Muslims up to 254 students, both male and female (Sumarno and Kosasih, 2014, p. 47). Absolutely, there was an effort to arise spirit of nationalism in coaching these students.

During the Japanese occupation, Muhammadiyah acted cautiously and carefully. This fact was proven by the gait of Muhammadiyah chairman, K.H. Mas Mansur (served among 1936-1942) alongside Bung Karno, Bung Hatta, and Ki Hajar Dewantara or known as the *Four Important Figures* who provided guidance and direction to Indonesian Muslims who were experiencing heavy pressure from Japanese militarism (regarding the biography of K.H. Mas Mansur (read Soebagijo, 1982).

It was similar to K.H Mas Mansur's political involvement as Muhammadiyah Central Committe Chairman, but in the Banyumas local area the one who was appointed was K.H. Abu Dardiri as Head of Department or Ministry of Religion (*Sumokatyo*) among Banyumas region in 1943. K.H. Abu Dardiri's position was as a consulate of Muhammadiyah of Banyumas district from 1936 to 1963. By this appointment, Japanese occupation government has recognized the existence of Muhammadiyah in the Banyumas region (Sumarno and Kosasih, 2014, p. 48–49).

After Indonesia's independence was followed by War of Independence against the Netherlands during Physical Revolution (1945-1949), Muhammadiyah was known to instruct its citizens to work alongside to expel the Dutch from Indonesian. In Islamic Conference in Yogyakarta on November 7, 1945, which gave birth to Masyumi Islamic political party, Muhammadiyah participated in formulating 'Resolution of Jihad' alongside other Islamic parties, such as Nahdatul Ulama (NU). The Jihad Resolution contained a statement that 60 million Indonesian Muslims were ready to fight in a war in the cause of Allah to oppose any occupation. According to Ahmad Mansur

Suryanegara, Jihad Resolution became one of the most important contributions that ensured Muslims' steps in maintaining independence (Suryanegara, 1995, p. 221-222; Yusuf *et al.*, 1983, p. 38).

The relationship between Muhammadiyah and politics, mainly with the Indonesian government, after independence (1945) could be said to experience ups and downs, both nationally and locally in Banyumas region. In general, the relationship between Muhammadiyah and politics or government followed a cooperative, accommodative, sub-ordinative and critical pattern. Muhammadiyah leaders' political behavior, mainly in the Banyumas region was closely related to leadership type (Sulistiyanto, 2006, p. 258). Surbakti (1992, p. 139) stated that Muhammadiyah leaders could be categorized as *public entrepreneurship*. This leadership was suspected to create or elaborate a limited number of public organizations.

Relationship between Muhammadiyah and Politics during Parliamentary Democracy Period

The Parliamentary Democracy Period (1950-1958) was a crucial period for the Indonesian government future system. It was said to be decisive because at that time all elements of the Indonesian nation were looking for right pattern for Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), whose sovereignty was only recognized on December 7 of 1949. The government system implemented in the early 1950s to 1958 was a parliamentary system based on Liberal Democracy. Using this system, the people were given political freedom and could actively participate in the political field, including through their preferred political parties according their ideology. Feith and Castles stated (1988, p. Iii-iv) that there were five streams of political ideology during the Parliamentary Democracy period that continued to last until the Guided Democracy (1959–1965). The first ideology was radical nationalism, mainly represented by the Indonesian National Party (PNI). The second was Islam, with Masyumi and NU (as political parties after leaving Masyumi in 1952) each represented modern Islam and traditional Islam. The third ideology was Democratic Socialism, represented by the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI). The fourth was communism, it was represented by Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). The fifth was Javanese traditional, represented by PNI, NU and PKI (Suwarno, 2012, p. 92).

At the inauguration of Masyumi on November 7–8, 1945, Muhammadiyah declared as a privilege member along with other Islamic organizations, such as the Islamic Association Party of Indonesia (Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia; PSII), Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Islamic Unity (Persatuan Islam; Persis), Islamic Community Unity (Persatuan Ummat Islam; PUI), Al Irsyad, Al Wasliah, and others as the only organizations of political representation for Muslims and those who would fight for the Islamic community concerns. However, PSII left Masyumi in 1947 followed by NU in 1952 (Syaifullah, 1997, p. 141–142).

Because Muhammadiyah at the central level was declared as a privilege member and main party of Masyumi, Muhammadiyah members of Banyumas district also took

the similar step. Masyumi members in Banyumas until this party was disbanded in 1960 were dominated by Muhammadiyah by 60 percent. It was slightly different from Masyumi at the central level. The number of Muhammadiyah representatives in Masyumi was 46% and increased to 68% by 1959 (Syaifullah, 1997, p. 159).

The activities of Muhammadiyah members in Banyumas indicated that they were actively involved in political practices. Muhammadiyah showed a high commitment and contribution to the nation and state of Indonesia. This can be seen from Muhammadiyah leaders who were actively involved in the fight for independence. K.H. Dardiri and S. Notosuwiryo for example, in his capacity as a member of Islamic Faction Leadership in the Indonesian National Committee, gave a proposal to the Central Indonesian National Committee (BPKNIP) which was convened in Jakarta on November 25, 1945. He proposed that the Ministry of Religion should be established in the second cabinet of the Republic of Indonesia (Sjahrir Cabinet).

The proposal to establish Ministry of Religion by two Muhammadiyah figures who were Masyumi Banyumas figures were based on the argument that the existence of the Ministry of Religion was a necessity, given that Indonesia was dominated by Muslim. Therefore, an institution focusing on technical matters such as the management of the pilgrimage, marriage, boarding schools, and others was needed. Details of the tasks and institutions in question were as follows: (1) Regarding matters relating to marriage, divorce, and reconciliation, which were administered by the respective Regents in the Dutch era; (2) Affairs concerning the pilgrimage; (3) The highest Islamic court and Religious court; (4) Madrasa and Islamic boarding schools affairs; (5) Politics concerning religious matters which were dealt with by various Departments in the Dutch era could be managed by the Indonesian Ministry of Religion.

The proposal was followed up at the Islamic Faction plenary meeting at the Indonesian National Committee of Banyumas. The proposal was fully agreed. In the Islamic Faction plenary meeting, Indonesian National Committee of Banyumas issued a statement to confirm the proposal, namely: (1). Accepting proposals regarding the Ministry of Religion establishment; (2) Requesting the Indonesian National Committee of Banyumas to send H.A. Dardiri and Soleh Sungaidi to go to Jakarta in order to convey the proposal before November 25, 1945.

Noer (1990) also affirmed that the proposal regarding the Ministry of Religion establishment was initiated by Kiai Haji Abu Dardiri, Kiai Haji Soleh Su'aidy, and Sukoso Wirjosaputro. The three were the members of Central Indonesian National Committee from Banyumas area. This proposal was later supported by Mohammad Natsir, Dr. Muwardi, Dr. Marzuki Mahdi, and M. Kartosudarmo (all were the members of Central Indonesian National Committee) and later it was approved by Central Indonesian National Committee who forwarded it to the Indonesian government. The proposal was apparently approved by the government. On January 3, 1946 a ministry was established as proposed by Muhammadiyah members (Noer, 1983, p. 14; Khotimah, 2015).

Muhammadiyah members actually proposed K.H.A. Dardiri to be a candidate for the Regent of Banyumas in the 1950s. However, K.H. Ahmad Dardiri rejected the proposals because he was still the Resident (Consul) of Muhammadiyah Banyumas at that time. As we know that the position of resident was higher if compared to regent. In fact, a more rational reason was because all the life necessities of K.H.A. Dardiri had been fulfilled, both material and spiritual. He was no longer fond of position. He focused more on spiritual activities.

Political relations of Muhammadiyah in Banyumas district during the Parliamentary Democracy period could also be seen from the membership of Muhammadiyah activists in the Provisional Regional Representative Council (DPRDS). The number of DPRDS members in 1950 were 44. There were four who represented Masyumi and simultaneously represented the Muhammadiyah organization. They were Hasanmihardjo (employee of the Banyumas District Religious Office), Achmad Chudori (employee of Penguhulu Naib), Chambali (employee of Kenaiban Ajibarang), and K.H. Achmad Dardiri (Penghulu Naib Banyumas District). In addition, there were also Muhammadiyah members who were active in other organizations or parties such as the Indonesian Islamic Youth Movement (GPII), also known as the *onderbouw* of Masyumi.

In the early 1950s, there were several Islamic figures in Banyumas district who were accused of being involved in the Darul Islam (DI) rebellion and some of them were arrested by the government. Muhammadiyah of Banyumas district also gave a role as a mediator in conflicts that broke out among the people. The figure of Masyumi of Banyumas district, S. Notosuwiryo, who witnessed this, immediately went to the Purwokerto military commander, H.M. Bachrun, who served as the Resident and Police Chief of Banyumas, requested that innocent prisoners should be released. Bachrun agreed as long as there was a guarantee. Hearing that statement, S. Notosuwiryo immediately took a stand. With full patience, he made himself as the guarantee. Finally, the release was carried out after signing a written agreement and pledge reading. The agreement included the willingness of S. Notosuwiryo to be arrested, replacing those arrested. Because the military was worried that those arrested were truly DI members and would escape after being released. The magnanimity of S. Notosuwiryo apparently received attention of the military. In appreciation of his courage and commitment, Bachrun appointed S. Notosuwiryo as his political adviser as expressed in *A Short Biography of HOS Notosuwiryo* issued in 1985.

The Relationship between Muhammadiyah and Masyumi

The roots of relationship between Muhammadiyah and Masyumi had been established since the Indonesian Muslim Community Congress in the Madrasah Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah. In the congress held in Yogyakarta on November 7-8, 1945, it was decided that the Masyumi was the only means for political struggle of Indonesian Muslims. Although the name was same as the Masyumi which was formed by Japan in 1943, Masyumi which was formed in 1945 was not a continuation or extension of the Masyumi "made by Japan" according to Ahmad Syafii Maarif. This Islamic political

organization, ideologically, was even closer and could be considered as continuation of the Great Islamic Council of Indonesia (Majelis Islam A'la Indonesia; MIAI) which was formed in 1937 (Maarif, 1988, p. 30).

The first composition of the Party Council (Syuro Council) and the Central Executive Board (Executive) of the Masyumi indicated that Masyumi included various Islamic groups. The chairperson of the Syuro Council was K.H. Hasyim Ash'ari and his deputy: Wachid Hasyim (both from NU), H. Agus Salim (PSII) and Sheikh Jamil Jambek (Islamic Reformer from Sumatra). Meanwhile, the Masyumi Central Executive Boards were Sukiman Wiryosanjoyo (PSII), Mohammad Natsir (Persis), Moh. Roem (Muhammadiyah), Abikusno, and Kartosuwiryo (both from PSII) as the members (Boland, 1985, p. 45; Syaifullah, 1997, p. 143–144).

Muhammadiyah and NU became the main parties of Masyumi because these two organizations owned a large Muslim mass base. Muhammadiyah as a modernist / reformist wing owned a mass base in urban areas. Meanwhile, NU as a traditional wing owned a mass base in rural areas and boarding schools. Therefore, when one of the two wings resigned, Masyumi became weak and the political power of the Muslim community was split. This fact occurred in 1952, precisely when NU resigned and left Masyumi, following the PSII which had already resigned in 1947 (Maarif, 1988, p. 31). After PSII and NU resigned, practically Muhammadiyah remained the backbone and pillar of Masyumi. One Muhammadiyah figure, Prodjokusumo said that "without Muhammadiyah, Masyumi was almost paralyzed" (Arifin, 1990, p. 281).

If examined further, the close relationship between Muhammadiyah and Masyumi was because both had fairly same goal in which as a modernist movement. The similar goal between Muhammadiyah and Masyumi was in long-term, in which both parties wanted "the realization of a truly Islamic society, that welfare, goodness, and happiness were evenly distributed" (Muhammadiyah's Articles of Association) or "the implementation of Islamic teachings and law in the life of an individual, the people, and the state of the Republic of Indonesia, towards Divine pleasure" (Masyumi's Article of Association) (Maarif, 1987, p. 71-113). The difference was only in the ways the two organizations realized their goals. If Muhammadiyah realized its goals by focusing on developing social, religious, and educational fields, Masyumi's goals were implemented in the form of political parties. Masyumi fought for the values of Islamic teachings so that they were manifested in the government.

Meanwhile, in carrying out its vision, these two organizations rested on the ideas of Islamic reform thinking from Egypt, named Jamaluddin Al Afghani (1839-1897) and Muhammad Abduh (1839-1897). Both of these pioneers of modern Islamic reform had the same two targets of struggle. First, outside (the Western World) to provide an Islamic response to attacks from the Western in the social, political, or intellectual fields. Second, inside (the Islamic world) to inject a new spirit for Islam in understanding religion according to the challenges and needs of the present (Shiddiqi, 1996, p. 191).

The difference between the two pioneers of reform was the methods and tools of struggle used. Al-Afghani was a politician, scientist, and thinker, so he focused more

on fighting through politics, such as the idea of unity of Muslims around the world (Pan Islam) and efforts to mobilize the power of the masses of Muslims to fight Western colonialism. On the contrary, Abduh was better known as a theologian, linguist, and historian of Islam. However, despite being a theologian, Abduh had an interest in politics. Abduh focused more on refreshing the understanding of religion through ethics and the education system with a focus on improving the moral or religious morals of Muslims (Shiddiqi, 1996, p. 192). If we saw the types of Muhammadiyah and Masyumi movements, it seemed that Muhammadiyah was more inspired by Abduh's ideas, while Masyumi was more or less inspired by al-Afghani's thoughts.

This close and intimate relationship between Muhammadiyah and Masyumi mainly took place between 1950-1955. After that period, although the relationship between the two was quite good, there had been political estrangement. For example, one of the agenda of the 1956 Muhammadiyah Tanwir Session in Yogyakarta was to urge Muhammadiyah to leave the Masyumi privileged membership. Officially, Muhammadiyah left Masyumi in September 1959 (Arifin, 1990, p. 283-286).

On a local scale, especially in the Banyumas area, since Masyumi was established in early November 1945, most Muhammadiyah members had been actively involved in the management of Masyumi. For example, K.H.A. Dardiri was noted as the first Chairman of the Masyumi of Banyumas, then continued by S. Notosuwiryo, and followed by Syamsuri Ridwan. Furthermore, in the first Banyumas district Provisional Regional Representative Council (DPRDS) membership (1950), there were 10 people representing the Masyumi party and two people representing the GPII as Masyumi's *onderbouw*. Of the 10 Masyumi representatives, three were the members of Muhammadiyah, namely S. Notosuwiryo, Syamsuri Ridwan, and Dr. Suparno. Meanwhile, two GPII representatives (Abbas Syafii and Moh. Sukarno) were Muhammadiyah activists.

Most of the followers of Masyumi Islamic Party in Banyumas came from the Islamic students (*santri*) of urban population, especially Muhammadiyah residents. Most of the PNI and PKI masses are '*abangan*' (nationalists and communists) who lived in cities and in rural areas. Banyumas district government officials or employees were generally PNI sympathizers. Whereas, NU was based on Muslim masses in rural areas and traditional Islamic boarding school.

The existence of Masyumi in Banyumas, of which the majority of its members came from Muhammadiyah residents had more or less given a good influence to Muhammadiyah. It was because Masyumi in Banyumas had branches and departments in small towns and some in rural areas that were easily accessible by public transportation. Muhammadiyah also developed and spread widely in areas of Masyumi's influence. Moreover, after Masyumi in Banyumas were disbanded in 1960, Masyumi branches and departments in Banyumas largely turned into Muhammadiyah branches and departments. In addition, according to Syamsuri Ridwan, there was a kind of mutual understanding among the Muhammadiyah of Banyumas district members so that those who were active in the political field joined

Masyumi, while those who were more active in the social and propaganda fields remained in Muhammadiyah.

However, the political practices of most Muhammadiyah members within Masyumi also had adverse effects on the field of Muhammadiyah's movement, especially in the socio-educational field. Because of being too involved in Masyumi, the Muhammadiyah human resources in Banyumas district focused more on fighting in the political field, so that the movement of Muhammadiyah was hampered and underdeveloped.

After Masyumi was disbanded in 1960, Masyumi leaders in Banyumas district who came from Muhammadiyah such as Syamsuri Ridwan and A.K. Anshori were active again in Muhammadiyah. Thus, the disbanded of Masyumi brought political disaster in the form of destruction of Islamic political power which firmly fought for the application of Islamic teachings in government such as democracy and justice. On the other hand, it brought blessing in disguised, especially for Muhammadiyah. It was because Muhammadiyah human resources increased a lot. Therefore, Muhammadiyah was more alive, more developed, and more active in carrying out its programs for Muslims' concerns.

Conclusion

In this section, it can be concluded that during the Parliamentary Democracy period, Muhammadiyah of Banyumas district as in other regions, had very close relations with the Masyumi Islamic Party because Muhammadiyah was a privilege member of Masyumi. Masyumi figures in Banyumas district were dominated by Muhammadiyah figures. They were including K.H. Abu Dardiri, S. Notosuwiryo, K.H. Syamsuri Ridwan, and H.A.K. Ansori. Muhammadiyah in Banyumas had become the main backbone or pillar of Masyumi Islamic Party. In fact, Muhammadiyah seemed to be identical with Masyumi.

References

- Alfian (1989). *Muhammadiyah the political behavior of a muslim modernist organization under Dutch colonialism*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Arifin, M. T. (1990). *Muhammadiyah potret yang berubah*. Surakarta: Gelanggang Pemikiran Filsafat, Sosial, Budaya, & Kependidikan.
- Boland, B. J. (1985). *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (S. Bahar, Trans.). Jakarta: Grafiti Press.
- Fealy, G. & Platzdasch, B. (2005). The Masyumi legacy: between Islamist Idealism and Political Exigency. *Studia Islamika*, 12 (1), 73-99. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v12i1.646>
- Feith, H. & Castles, L. (1988). *Pemikiran politik Indonesia 1945 – 1965*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Fuad, M. (2002). Civil society in Indonesia: the potential and limits of Muhammadiyah. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 17 (2), 133-163.
- Jainuri, A. 1981. *Muhammadiyah gerakan Reformasi Islam di Jawa pada awal abad kedua puluh*. Surabaya: Bina Ilmu.

- Jung, E. (2014). Islamic organizations and electoral politics in Indonesia: the case of Muhammadiyah. *South East Asia Research*, 22 (1), 73-86. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23752501>
- Khotimah, K. (2015). Peran tokoh agama dalam pengembangan sosial agama di Banyumas (studi historis sosiologis tokoh agama Islam abad 21). Purwokerto: Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat IAIN Purwokerto.
- Maarif, A. (1998). Sekapur sirih. In Shihab, A. *Membendung arus respons gerakan Muhammadiyah terhadap penetrasi misi Kristen di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Maarif, A. S. (1987). *Islam dan masalah kenegaraan studi tentang percaturan dalam konstituante*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Noer, D. (1983). *Administrasi Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Rajawali.
- Noer, D. (1990). *Gerakan modern Islam di Indonesia 1900 – 1942*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Padmo, S. (2007). "Gerakan pembaharuan Islam Indonesia dari masa ke masa: sebuah pengantar," *Jurnal Humaniora*, 19 (2), 151 – 160.
- Shiddiqi, N. (1996). *Jeram-jeram peradaban muslim*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Soebagijo I. N. (1982). *K. H. Mas Mansur pembaharu Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung
- Sulistiyanto, P. (2006). Muhammadiyah, local politics and local identity in Kotagede. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 21(2), 254-270.
- Sumarno & Kosasih, A. D. (2014). *Relasi agama dan negara dalam skala lokal, dinamika politik gerakan Muhammadiyah di Banyumas*. Yogyakarta: UMP Press bekerja sama dengan Pustaka Pelajar.
- Surbakti, R. (1992). *Memahami ilmu politik*. Jakarta: Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia.
- Suwarno, S. (2010). *Relasi Muhammadiyah, Islam dan Negara (kontribusi Muhammadiyah dalam perspektif sejarah)*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Suwarno, S. (2012). *Sejarah politik Indonesia modern*. Yogyakarta: Ombak.
- Syaifullah, S. (1997). *Gerak politik Muhammadiyah dalam Masyumi*. Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti.
- Tim Pembina Al-Islam dan Kemuhammadiyah. *Muhammadiyah sejarah pemikiran dan amal usaha*. Malang: Pusat Dokumentasi dan Publikasi Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang.
- Yusuf, S. E., Sjam, M. I., & Mas'udi, M. F. (1983). *Dinamika kaum santri menelusuri jejak dan pergolakan internal NU*. Jakarta: Rajawali.