

Nahdlatul Ulama's Political Struggle in The Early Elections in South Sulawesi

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How to cite this article: Nasrawati, Nahdia Nur, Suriadi Mappangara, Khaerul Amri (2024). Nahdlatul Ulama's Political Struggle in The Early Elections in South Sulawesi. *Library Progress International*, 44(3), 22391-22399.

ABSTRACT

This research examines NU's role and strategy in maintaining its political relevance and contribution to social and political development in Indonesia, particularly in South Sulawesi. The historical method is used to analyse the development of NU's political strategy, including changes in its approach in dealing with political dynamics in various periods. This research shows that NU has a major contribution in shaping religious and cultural identity in Indonesia. It developed into a significant political force, especially after it entered the political sphere independently, with its involvement in the 1955 General Election. This research also highlights how the NU in South Sulawesi grew into a political force with widespread support from the traditional community and local ulama in South Sulawesi. NU's development in the region reflects its changing political approach over time, including its adaptation to the political dynamics of the New Order era.

KEYWORDS: Nahdlatul Ulama, Politics, Elections

Introduction

Islam and politics are closely related if both are understood as a means of organizing the needs of human life as a whole. Islam can provide inspiration in the political arena by mapping and analyzing the social changes that occur. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) plays a significant role in religious and social history as well as being a marker of historical power in this country. As an Islamic institution that is deeply rooted in society, NU has had a tremendous impact on the formation of religious and cultural identity in Indonesia.

The presence of NU initially became an interesting phenomenon known not only in Indonesia but also throughout the Muslim world. This organization, which was founded in 1926, is a manifestation of the responsibility of K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari regarding the development of religious and political thought at that time. NU's main goal is to preserve, develop and practice the Islamic teachings of Ahlul-sunnah Waljamaah and create a democratic and just society for the benefit of the people (Fadeli, 2007: 1-7).

NU is committed to maintaining relevance in public life by maintaining moderate Islamic values and strengthening the unity of the Muslim community. The impact of NU's existence is very significant in shaping religious and cultural identity in Indonesia. To date, NU has more than twenty million members consisting of ulama, Islamic boarding school students and the general public, including in South Sulawesi.

The history of NU in South Sulawesi began in 1930 through a network of Javanese ulama such as K.H. Syukri Gazali, K.H. Muhammad Ramly, and K.H. Ahmad Bone. Muhammad Ramly, who was appointed by the Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) Executive Board, was tasked with developing NU in South Sulawesi after the 19th Congress in Palembang. In its development, NU developed massively throughout almost the entire South Sulawesi region. This organization not only focuses on religious aspects, but also plays a role in national development, creating political stability, and contributing to regional policies. After being appointed as chief representative of the Minister of Religion in South Sulawesi, Syukri Gazali succeeded in strengthening NU by building organizational structures in the regions.

In 1952, NU declared itself a political party after separating from Masyumi. This was also marked by NU's shift from focusing on social organizations to the political realm. NU then formed the NU Fraction in parliament and strengthened its position as an independent political force. NU's move to transform into a political party is part of a long-term strategy that started at the Congress in Surabaya. This organization expands its activities into various political fields, from domestic policy to socio-cultural affairs, demonstrating NU's flexibility in facing the challenges of the times and ensuring relevance in various political contexts.

Over time, NU in South Sulawesi has experienced various changes and challenges. This organization is not only a religious entity, but is also active in national development, creating political stability, and contributing to formulating regional and national policies. NU began to develop since Syukri Gazali was appointed as head of the representative office of the Minister of Religion in South Sulawesi. Gazali was able to organize the Ministry of Religion in the regions for the development of NU so that NU was quickly able to complete management in the regions. NU then declared to separate itself from Masyumi in 1952 through mukhtamar. This is also a sign that NU has officially become a political party as well as in South Sulawesi.

South Sulawesi NU, which was previously part of the Masyumi Party, decided to withdraw. NU's secession was decided through voting. This decision was taken based on voting with 61 people agreeing, 9 rejecting, and several abstentions. An important point in the decision of the 19th NU Congress was the approval of separation from Masyumi, marking a new political movement for NU.

In South Sulawesi, NU was founded a year later and inaugurated by K.H. Wahid Hasyim with K.H. Syukri Gazali. The establishment of NU in South Sulawesi was welcomed by the public, including ulama and kings, who expressed their support for NU as a political party. To become an effective political party, this organization needs to mobilize support from traditionalist Muslims. NU leaders claim that 70% of Masyumi's 10 million members are NU supporters or sympathizers. The decision to become a political party was officially announced on July 31 1952. This decision was indirectly followed by NU officials who had previously been active in raising Masyumi. These NU figures include K.H. Wahid Hasyim, K.H. Masykur, K.H. Wahab Hasbullah, and K.H. Zainal Arifin. NU really showed its political stance by forming its own faction in parliament on September 17 1952. This faction consisted of K.H. Wahab Hasbullah, AS. Bachmid, Idham Chalid, Saleh Surjonoprodjo, AA Achsin, Mochammad Iljas, RT. Mochammad, and K.H. Zainul Arifin. NU's decision to get involved in politics and become a political party, which previously only focused on social and religious issues, was part of the strategy since the congress in Surabaya. The results of this mukhtamar changed the NU statute which was originally in the form of Jami'yah into the AD-ART of the NU political party. Its activities are also increasingly complex, covering issues of domestic politics, foreign policy, security and defense, socio-culture, health, education, and others.

In 1953, NU experienced significant developments in its political role in Indonesia. This decision was taken after seeing NU's more active role in forming state policies in accordance with Islamic principles. This reflects NU's desire to expand its political influence independently without being bound by other party structures. This step made NU involved in national politics and prepared itself to face the 1955 elections. In facing these elections, NU used a strategy of forming branches and strengthening in the educational and economic sectors to increase its support base and political influence. NU implemented a different strategy in the following period. During this period, the South Sulawesi NU changed its political approach to a touch of the Suharto-style New Order era.

1. Literature Review

Several works on political parties in Indonesia have become advanced studies, especially studies that specialize in the Nahdlatul Ulama Party itself. However, discussing Indonesian political parties cannot be separated from examining the existence of NU, because the NU Party was one of the parties that had a large role in politics in Indonesia after independence until 1984⁵tr. There are several articles that talk about the existence of NU.

Fidaus Muhammad (2015) in his study highlighted the transformation of NU's presence following the demands of the times. Transformation in this context is understood as a process of changing the form of existing institutions. The political movement within NU seems to be reactive, influenced by socio-political conditions on the one hand and external factors on the other. These two sides led to the birth of a movement for change within NU. Masmuni Mahatma (2017) also outlined NU's political paradigm and basic political concepts in the teachings of ahlussunah wal jamaah that NU adheres to. According to him, the general principle of Sunni social and political teachings is the attitude of tawasuth, tawazun, ta' tasamuh. This principle is an accommodative, tolerant and moderate attitude.

Amin Farih (2016) in his study discusses NU's struggle to realize the independence of the Indonesian

state. NU in every step it takes always prioritizes the interests of the nation, the State which is always based on the principles of Islamic law. The work was then refined by Miftahul Ulum and Abd. Wahid HS (2019) who straightforwardly explains the religious influence and social contribution of NU to Indonesian independence. Where NU's role in independence can be seen when it declares its sacred role and jihad against the invaders together with the community.

Idwar Anwar (2021) in his article concluded that the divisions within Masyumi leading up to the 1955 elections had a negative impact on the Muslim vote. After leaving Masyumi, NU actually succeeded in strengthening its position, gaining significant votes, and occupying third place in the 1955 elections. The process of separating NU from Masyumi was carried out elegantly and democratically, showing NU's political maturity. This success is a milestone for NU to continue to maintain its glory in the future, not just as a nostalgic story.

Another related work about NU figures in South Sulawesi is the work of Ruslan Muhammad (2007). Muhammad explained the struggle of ulama in building and forming organizations and institutions. In other words, ulama are important actors in the history of the formation of political organizations and parties in South Sulawesi. Sapriallah (2020) in his work Dynamics of NU in South Sulawesi explores various aspects related to the existence and development of NU in South Sulawesi. NU's existence is marked by the activities of ulama and PBNU administrators who are active in Makassar. Local traditions such as "Appalemba Kittak" or Bahtsul Masail are also in the spotlight, representing an intellectual forum for discussing various religious and social issues that were relevant at that time.

Different from the articles presented above, this article attempts to examine political developments in South Sulawesi by conducting a historical analysis of the Nahdlatul Ulama political movement 1952-1984. This research is intended to fill space in the stage of political history in Indonesia, especially in South Sulawesi, to differentiate historical research from political research, of course in the analysis of historical aspects, namely issues of continuity, change and continuity.

2. Research Method

If Kuntowijoyo carefully differentiates local level politics from local politics, then in contrast to Sartono Kartodirjo he does not seem to see this difference, in fact he tends to use the two concepts together as if the two do not have a substantial difference. With such control, these two historians agree on a general understanding that political history is no longer solely about writing about politics, but about power in general. Both of them understand that the political process is largely determined by political attitudes and behavior which are essentially multidimensional which include economic, socio-cultural, regional and so on factors. Furthermore, Sartono Kartodirjo explained that political events are a complex process and involve the relationship between leaders and the loyalty of their followers. All of them will be able to reveal patterns of distribution of influence and power (politics) in relation to commodity distribution patterns (economics) as well as with society itself (distribution patterns of social relations). All of this is based on culture (pattern of distribution of values) (Kartodirjo, 1993: 47).

The author collects information and knowledge, consisting of books, magazines, newspapers (newspapers), manuscripts, magazines, related to this work. The steps of this research method are related to Hamer Carey Hockett's vision of finding suitable sources for research. At the beginning of this research was the search and collection of data and information sources. Searching for relevant sources of information, including the Nahdlatul Ulama party archives (as basic information) and newspapers that report political situations and conditions according to the author's time period, as well as articles supporting the topics discussed. Criticize the sources collected after obtaining various sources and then test the degree of credibility by asking when the source was created so that it does not come out and when it must be reviewed; where the source was created (location); who made it (author); and what material it is made of (analysis); whether the source is in its original form (original); what evidentiary value it has (credibility).

When looking for sources, the author first checks whether the source can be considered correct and relevant to this research. If there is a conflict between one source of information and another source of information, it is necessary to compare with other sources. This is very important considering the political conditions of the 1950s when newspapers published in this period usually had a certain political and ideological mission. After the source criticism is complete, it is the turn to write or compile the facts which are expressed in critical historiography. The results of this description are compiled in a research study. By using historical methods, the aim is for each written

story to lead to a reconstruction of past events. Any event of the past can be presented as such, although this is very difficult even for chroniclers and historians. However, the authenticity of this information is still being verified to explain the history of the NU Party's political journey in South Sulawesi.

3. Result and Discussion

4.1 NU in the 1955 Election

Since the NU Congress in 1928 in Surabaya, traditional Islamic and reformist Islamic groups in Java began to be involved in practical political activities. One of the main goals was to spread this organization throughout Java and Madura to prevent reformists from entering Java. For the South Sulawesi region, efforts to establish an NU branch were given the mandate to K.H. Wahid Hasyim and K.H. Syukri Gazali after NU officially became a national political party. The traditional ulama of South Sulawesi and the kings expressed their support for NU so that the presence of the NU organization in South Sulawesi became increasingly stronger. To achieve success in recruiting NU members and supporters, the first NU branch was formed in Pangkep Regency in 1951 and led by Bakri as chairman. After the NU branch was officially established, the South Sulawesi region established the NU management in 1953. This decision was stated in letter Number 007/M.C./-53 dated 15 October 1953, which discussed the results of the decision of the NU general management conference in the South Sulawesi region. Based on the results of this decision, Abdul Muin Daeng Miala was elected as PBNU consul for the South Sulawesi region replacing K.H. Syukri (ANRI. Inventory of the Nahdlatul Ulama National Archives. No. Reg. 702).

To strengthen its mass base, NU South Sulawesi expanded its branches in various regions. The NU branch in Makassar was officially formed in 1953 under the leadership of K.H. Saifuddin, assisted by K.H. Muh. Nashir, H.M. Daniel as clerk, and H. Abdullah Jusuf as treasurer. Other branches were also established in Pare-pare, Bone, Polmas, Bantaeng and Luwu. (Syamsulrijal, 2023: 41) Apart from establishing branches in several regions, NU is also involved in the world of education. NU in South Sulawesi implemented a number of strategies in the field of education to strengthen its position ahead of the 1955 elections. This strategy not only focused on improving the quality of religious education but also on mobilization and political awareness among the community. Education matters are managed by the Maarif and Mubarak autonomous bodies, as well as other bodies to be more effective in teaching these values (Taha, 2021: 14)

NU's winning strategy in South Sulawesi began with establishing and strengthening schools formed by NU. NU focuses on madrasa education in various regions in South Sulawesi. This madrasa not only functions as a religious education institution but also as a center for teaching NU values. NU seeks to improve the quality of madrasas by improving the curriculum, teaching methods and educational facilities. In this way, NU tries to attract more students and gain the trust of the community.

NU also intensifies the empowerment of Islamic boarding schools, in this case NU supports and strengthens Islamic boarding schools in South Sulawesi. Islamic boarding schools are an important base for religious education where traditional NU-style Islamic values are taught. Islamic boarding schools also function as centers of socio-political consolidation for Nahdliyin residents. These institutions became the basis for NU to spread its influence and ideology. Apart from that, NU also holds training for teachers and cadres in South Sulawesi. These trained teachers are then expected to be able to spread Islamic teachings and NU values effectively in madrasas and Islamic boarding schools. This training also includes increasing political and religious awareness and strengthening the influence of organizations in society.

NU also integrates religious education with political awareness. They conduct educational campaigns aimed at increasing political participation among their members. This activity includes lectures, recitations and discussions that emphasize the importance of participation in elections and supporting NU candidates. Not only that, NU also collaborates with local community figures and local ulama to strengthen its influence. This collaboration aims to ensure that NU's messages are well and deeply received by the community. NU then publishes and distributes religious literature that is in accordance with NU teachings. These books, brochures and magazines were used as educational and propaganda tools to spread NU ideas in South Sulawesi. NU established various social and da'wah institutions which functioned as a means of spreading Islamic teachings and providing social services to the community. These institutions help strengthen NU's network and influence at the local level. NU also tried to attract the attention of youth groups by establishing youth and student organizations affiliated with NU. This organization functions as a forum for developing young leadership and preparing them to play an active role in

politics and education.

Apart from education, NU also attracts support from voters with an economic approach. This reflects NU's understanding of the socio-economic conditions of society, especially in rural areas, and their efforts to respond to the economic needs and aspirations of local communities. Considering that South Sulawesi is an agricultural region with a large population dependent on agriculture, NU focuses on farmer economic empowerment programs. They promote equitable agrarian reform and better access to resources such as land, water, and fertilizer. NU also encourages the establishment of cooperatives and micro-enterprises to strengthen the local economy in South Sulawesi. Cooperatives are an important tool for mobilizing community economic resources and improving shared prosperity.

Infrastructure development such as roads, markets and irrigation facilities is NU's priority in South Sulawesi. Good infrastructure is considered essential to increase market accessibility and facilitate the distribution of agricultural products. NU collaborates with local governments and communities to encourage infrastructure development that can support community economic activities.

NU also pays attention to economic skills education to increase people's abilities and productivity. NU supports the development of local industry, including household and handicrafts, which can increase people's income. They encourage the use of simple technology that can increase production efficiency and the quality of local products. NU prioritizes a community-based approach in its economic empowerment efforts. They built strong social networks through mosques, madrasahs, and religious study groups to disseminate information and provide support to community members in their economic endeavors.

These strategies reflected NU's efforts to improve the economic welfare of the people in South Sulawesi and received widespread support in the 1955 elections. The 1955 elections were considered the most democratic in the history of Indonesian general elections until the end of Soekarno's reign. Therefore, we can estimate that the majority of Indonesian people are very enthusiastic about this historic event. Apart from that, there were many demands and hopes from the public that the elections could resolve all the problems facing the country at that time, such as prolonged political chaos, economic decline and security threats. At least the public hopes that this election will produce a national government that covers the entire region.

The NU Campaign period provides valuable insight into the thinking of party leaders. This campaign gives aspirations to traditional people and changes perspectives on the relationship between religion and politics. The slogans and tactics used to direct the masses, as well as communications carried out with other parties, especially Masyumi, show that they place great emphasis on politics as a way to spread Islamic teachings. In addition, data collected from elections is used to study supporting ethnic groups and the areas where they are spread (Fealy, 2011: 178)

Islam is the main theme of NU's campaign. This emphasizes NU's status as the party of *sunnah wal jamaah* experts and asks all Muslims from this group to vote for NU. Branches were given the freedom to organize their own campaigns, allowing them to adapt the tactics presented by Wahab Chasbullah when speaking at a meeting and the themes of their campaigns to local circumstances. Consistency and adaptation in regional level campaigns apparently support election victory (Fealy, 2011: 180)

In 1955, NU's consolidation to strengthen its political base was proven in the elections and was able to become one of the election participants who received the most votes after Masyumi. The results of the first election for NU after declaring it a political party, especially in South Sulawesi, showed that NU's votes were in second place with votes obtained from several regions. Of the 9 representatives, NU obtained 2 seats in parliament with representatives K.H. S. Husein Assegaff and K.H. Saifuddin succeeded in sitting with a vote of 14.26%. The South Sulawesi NU Party proposed nine candidates for DPR members and constituent members as party representatives who would be appointed as the permanent list of legislative candidates (DCT) (Public Relations Bureau, 2000: 42).

After the 1955 elections were over, the South Sulawesi Regional Council of Consuls continued. NU management in South Sulawesi continues as stated in Decree Number 007/M.C./-53 dated 15 October 1953. The letter discusses the results of the decision of the NU Executive Board conference, in which Abdul Mu'in Daeng Miala was elected as PBNU Consul for the Sulawesi Region replacing K.H. Shukri. During this conference, the PBNU Consul Council on October 31 1955 also invited the General Chair of NU K.H.M. Dahlan, K.H.A. Musjaddad, and K.H. Idham Chalid and all NU branches. NU branches in South Sulawesi include:

1. Makassar Branch

2. Bulukumba Branch
3. Polewali Branch
4. Bone Branch
5. Palopo Branch
6. Pare-pare/Barru Branch
7. Gowa Branch
8. Kendari Branch
9. Gorontalo Branch
10. Kuandang Branch
11. Tinombo Branch
12. Manado Branch
13. Bolaang Mangondow Branch
14. Luwu Branch
15. Palu Branch (ANRI. Nahdlatul Ulama Archives Inventory No. Reg. 742).

In 1956, the Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) Executive Board dissolved Lapunu on June 20. K.H. Saifuddin, who at that time served as secretary to the chairman, was appointed as a member of parliament along with brother Gullam who was appointed as secretary to members of the constituency (ANRI. Nahdlatul Ulama Archives Invebtaris No. Reg. 1278). Meanwhile, the Pare-Pare Branch of the NU Party formed Lapunu's leadership on August 23 1956 with Ahmad A.R. as chairman and Abd. Rahim H. Ahmad as deputy chairman, ahead of the regional DPR general elections. In the same year, the Polewali Branch of the NU Party carried out activities to develop the NU Party in the regions, showing that NU continued to develop in South Sulawesi. The development of NU carried out by the Community Policing Branch cannot be separated from the management of K.H. Sjahabuddin as Rois Am and other members.

The Sulawesi regional NU conference, according to PBNU instructions, invited all NU branch administrators. Discussions at this conference included renewal of the NU leadership management in the Sulawesi region, renewal of the Lapunu management in the Sulawesi region, as well as the issue of general elections for the Regency/Provincial DPRD (ANRI. Nahdlatul Ulama Archives Inventory No. Reg. 346). The first conference took place from 8 to 10 March 1957 to renew the Lapunu management with Abdullah Jusuf as chairman and H.S. Assegaf as deputy chairman, replacing the old management (ANRI. Nahdlatul Ulama Archives Inventory No. Reg. 742). Furthermore, at the third conference of the NU Party in Makassar, several decisions regarding the welfare of society in the economic, social, religious and educational fields were taken, such as increasing the number of schools in each district according to community needs and appointing honorary religious teachers who had worked for three years as a permanent religious teacher.

The NU Party regional conference in 1957 not only elected Syuriah administrators and Tanfiziah administrators but also formed autonomous bodies, institutions and sections. The Mubarrat Social Institution is led by Haji Andi Baso Petta Lolo, the Maarif Educational Institution is led by H.M. Ya'la Thahir, and the NU Student Association by Ahsan Husain and Abdurrahman (Taha, 2021: 25).

In 1958, PBNU held a second conference to welcome the upcoming general elections for DPRD levels I and II. This conference was held in all NU party areas in South Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi from 24 to 27 July, discussing election preparations. All NU members must be ready and provide support in holding elections (ANRI. Nahdlatul Ulama Archives Inventory No. Reg. 702).

After the conference regarding the general election, the Pare-pare Branch of the NU Party confirmed the leadership of the branch members on December 18 1961, based on Decree Number 3/Tmf/XII/61. This management is divided into two parts: the Syariah part with K. Musa Sawi as Rois and Abd. Razak as deputy Rois I, as well as the Tanfiziah section with H. Harunarrasid as chairman and Abd Hakim Lukman as deputy chairman I.

In 1963, the NU Pare-pare Branch held its second plenary meeting at the residence of K.H. Harunarrasjid (chairman of the Pare-pare branch of NU). This meeting discussed the development of the NU party in the organizational and political fields, as well as the regional conference which would be held on August 17 1963 (ANRI. Nahdlatul Ulama Archives Inventory No. Reg. 984). The NU Party showed its seriousness in politics by deciding not to collaborate with political parties such as the PKI, PARKINDO and the Murba Party.

In the early 1960s, NU experienced rapid development, similar to the period from 1952 to 1955. The number of NU members increased along with the recruitment of new cadres to balance the growth of the PKI and gain support

from people in areas that previously did not support NU. Between 1960-1964, several new divisions were established, such as PMII (Indonesian Islamic Student Movement), Islamic Mission (da'wah organization), and Lesbumi (Indonesian Muslim Artists and Cultural Institute) (Fealy, 2011: 291).

Report of the South Sulawesi NU regional conference on 28 to 31 August 1964 attended by 17 branches that had been ratified and 15 branches in the preparation stage. H. Abdullah Jusuf was elected as Rois Syuriah and Abdul Hafid Jusuf as chairman of Tanfiziah. This new management was given the mandate to complete the management under him and was attended by H. Mohammad Subchan Z.E. The NU Polewali Mandar branch is ready to support the conference policy (ANRI. Nahdlatul Ulama Archives Inventory No. Reg. 831).

The NU Pinrang branch specifically expressed its thanks to Zainal Abidin based on the National Front decision in 1965. This award was given because Zainal Abidin replaced the previous ambassador, Manai Sophian, as a member of the DPR. The appointment of Zainal Abidin as DPR is an honor for South Sulawesi and the achievement of the aspirations of the people and regional government at the central level. Before replacing Manai Sophian, Zainal Abidin had many achievements, including being the leader of the Pinrang Branch of the Masyumi Party until leaving Masyumi in 1957 and joining NU as Rois Syuriah.

On June 26 1965, the NU Polmas Branch held the inauguration of the GR DPRD in accordance with PBNU Decree No. 2734/TANF/IV/65. This decision asked the NU Polmas Branch to increase the number of members to increase the party's strength, because the appointment of the GR DPRD can only be recognized if the number of members is at least 50 people (ANRI. Nahdlatul Ulama Archives Invebtaris No. Reg. 2581). The NU Party under the leadership of H.A. Hafid Jusuf, with the help of Anshor chairman M. Saleh Bustami, Abdullah Daud, Alwi Gani, Naharuddin Tinulu, and Ridwan Ar, held a general meeting at Karebosi Square which was attended by Islamic parties and organizations in Makassar, and celebrated 40 years of NU (Taha, 2021 : 18).

The NU Party plays an active role in the South Sulawesi DPRD with Abdul Hafid Jusuf elected as one of the leaders together with H.P. Connect. This situation continued until the 1971 elections, with the NU party focusing on practical political activities and NU jami'ah affairs being managed by autonomous institutions and bodies such as IPNU, PMII, Anshor, Maarif, and Muslimat/Fatayat. At the NU Pare-pare Branch, Abdul Rasjid as branch chairman and his secretary H. Muh. Hamzah chose H. Muh. Akib Siangka as Rois in the Syuriah Council and Sjamsuddin Malluru as chairman of the Tanfiziah Council, ratified based on Decree Number 131/Tamf/VII-66 on 8 August 1966 (BPAD. Static Archives Inventory, Regional Government of Pare-pare Municipality 1889-1981. Reg .984)

The 24th NU Congress in Bandung in July 1967 was the last episode of NU in the Soekarno government era. This congress assessed PBNU's attitude towards the Guided Democracy system, the coup and the transition to a new regime, and determined the political approach that NU would implement in the future. PBNU's emphasis in this congress was more on the Syuriah and Tanfidziah elections (Fealy, 2011: 337)

In 1969, new manager G.P. Ansor was ratified based on Decree No. PP/355/A/IX/69. This decision confirmed Moh. Bustami B.A. as daily chairman of G.P. Ansor is based on the regional conference of the Ansor youth movement in South Sulawesi which took place from 31 July to 3 August 1969 in Sidenreng Rappang Regency. Endorsement of the leadership of G.P. Ansor is stated in the Basic Regulations article IV letter A paragraphs 1, 6 and 9 and B paragraph 15. PBNU emphasizes the importance of the G.P. New Ansor to implement organizational programs in the regions to facilitate the development of NU (ANRI. Nahdlatul Ulama Archives Inventory No. Reg. 1137)

Based on the appeal from the second conference, the NU Jeneponto Branch held a working conference to discuss preparations for the DPRD general elections. This conference took place on 27-29 April 1970 in Jeneponto and produced several decisions in the fields of organization, government politics, finance/economics, and others.

4.2 NU in the 1971 Election

In the 1971 General Election, which was the first general election during the New Order era, the implementation was carried out on July 5 under the legal umbrella of Law Number 15 of 1969 concerning elections. A total of 10 political parties participated in this election. Sekber Golkar emerged as one of the political parties and won the most votes, beating other parties including NU.

In this election, NU failed to win nationally. Golkar's dominance in this election was driven by strong support from the New Order government under the leadership of President Soeharto. Golkar used various methods, including mobilization of state officials and mass campaigns, to achieve victory. Apart from that, there was pressure and intimidation against opposition parties, including NU. This affects campaign freedom and public

support, as well as limiting the movements of non-Golkar parties. The New Order government also implemented policies that benefited Golkar, such as directing civil servants (PNS) to support Golkar, creating an imbalance in political competition. Strict restrictions on the political activities of parties other than Golkar were also imposed. As a result of this situation, NU was unable to gather enough support to defeat Golkar in the 1971 elections. This election was considered one of the most unfair in Indonesian political history due to domination and manipulation by the New Order government (Rahman, 1998: 99).

After the 1971 election, NU took various strategic steps to remain relevant and influential in Indonesian politics. They focus on strengthening internal and organizational structures by holding meetings and deliberations to plan future steps. NU began to form a coalition with other Islamic parties to form greater political power and strengthen educational and da'wah activities among its members and the general public (Martin, 2008: 83).

Seeing the injustice in the 1971 elections carried out by the New Order government, NU remained critical of government policies which were considered unfair and detrimental to Muslims. NU uses various forums, both formal and informal, to voice criticism. In the run-up to the election, Subchan campaigned hard, confronting Golkar and criticizing important figures such as Ali Murtopo and Amir Machmud, as well as pressuring the government to pay attention to the interests of the wider community. Even though it did not win the election, NU remained involved in government. Several NU figures were appointed as government officials or members of the DPR, so they still have channels to influence national policy. NU also tries to improve the welfare of its members through various social and economic programs.

NU adapted its political strategy to the political realities under the New Order, remaining active in various political and social forums, while maintaining relations with the government to ensure that the interests of Muslims were taken into account. Even though it did not win the 1971 election, NU tried to maintain and increase its influence on the Indonesian political and social scene. Towards the 1971 election, the South Sulawesi NU party formed the "Political Thought Kitchen" chaired by Drs. Zainuddin Taha, former chairman of the First General of the HMI East Indonesia Coordinating Board. Nomination of Drs. Zainuddin Taha in the 1971 election was asked by Drs. H. Muhaiddin Zain, H. Andi Patoppoi, and H.A. Hafid Jusuf. In the list of NU party candidates, Drs. Zainuddin Taha is listed at number 9 with Mrs. Sitti Arah from FPBS IKIP Makassar (Taha, 2021: 21). At the end of the election campaign, the NU party felt confident of achieving victory. Estimates show NU will reach number one position, beating PNI, Golkar or Parmusi. However, Golkar emerged as a majority far behind its competitors with 231 seats in the DPR (62.8% of the vote), while NU only obtained 58 seats (18.7%). In South Sulawesi, Golkar also won by a landslide by winning 18 of the 23 seats up for grabs. NU and Parmusi each got 2 seats, while PSII got 1 seat. The major Old Order parties, PNI and Parmusi, received 6.9% and 5.4% of the vote respectively. Most modernist Islamic groups gave their votes to Golkar and a few to NU (Feillar, 2017: 144).

Even though NU received fewer votes in the 1971 elections compared to the 1955 elections in South Sulawesi, its influence remained strong even though Golkar was very dominant. With significant support, NU is in third place after Golkar and PNI. This shows a shift from the results of the 1955 elections in South Sulawesi, where Golkar dominated almost all of Indonesia. NU's vote acquisition position in 1955 and 1971 both did not place it in first place. In the 1955 election, NU's vote acquisition was an achievement, whereas in the 1971 election, NU's vote acquisition was not only stagnant but also less competitive with Golkar.

4. Conclusion

Nahdlatul Ulama has a significant role in Indonesian politics, especially after its separation from Masyumi in 1952. As an Islamic organization with strong roots in society, NU not only operates in the religious and social fields, but has also transformed into an influential political force. In South Sulawesi, NU succeeded in expanding its influence through support from ulama and traditionalist communities. NU's decision to enter politics independently shows the organization's ability to adapt to national and regional political dynamics. NU's political strategy which continues to develop, including during the New Order, reflects NU's flexibility and commitment in maintaining its relevance and strength as the main actor in forming policies based on Islamic principles.

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