

Ideological Political Contestation in the Discourse of Hisab Rukyat in Indonesia

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Abstract:

This article discusses the ideological contestation of the two mass organizations, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), that are the spearhead of the two paradigms in determining the beginning of the month of qamariah. Hisab is initiated by Muhammadiyah and rukyat is pioneered by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). These two paradigms are the cause of the emergence of tension conflict due to the non-uniformity of the method of determining the beginning of the qamariah month in Indonesia. By using a power relations approach and reading of religious commodification, this article concludes that fragmentation of religious authority has given rise to a real phenomenon in the midst of society in the form of ideological political contestation played by two large mass organizations in Indonesia in determining the beginning of the qamariah month, NU and Muhammadiyah. The conception of power relations with the government is a problem that is often used as a basis for maintaining ideology and belief in a paradigm that has long been built. Moreover, religious issues drawn in ideological interests have led to a layer of group fanaticism which often makes religion a commodification of pragmatic interests.

Keywords: Hisab Rukyat; Nahdlatul Ulama (NU); Muhammadiyah; Politics; *Wilayatul bukmi*.

INTRODUCTION

The history of hisab rukyat in Indonesia cannot be separated from the history of Islam in Indonesia. The scientific discipline of hisab rukyat began to enter Indonesia after a scientific journey carried out by Southeast Asian scholars including Indonesia in the period of the 17th to the 19th century in *Haramain*, Makkah and Madinah (Azra, 1999: 187). Scholars from Indonesia settled in Mecca for years to deepen their knowledge before returning to their respective countries (Bruinessen, 1997: 121), including in studying the science of hisab rukyat. In the construction, the thought of hisab rukyat in Indonesia cannot be separated from the developing discourse in the Middle East (Hefni, 2018: 264).

In the Indonesian context, after the formation of the Indonesian Ministry of Religion on January 3, 1946, the arrangement of holidays including the arrangement of the 1st of Ramadan, Shawwal and Dzuhlijjah was submitted to the Indonesian Ministry of Religion. This authority is stated in the government determination of 1946 No.2 / Um.7 No.188 / 1968 and 10 of 1971. The initial regulation of the month of *qamariah* has been

regulated but differences still occur due to two opinions based on hisab and rukyat (Ichtijanto, 1981: 44).

In its history, the dynamics of the development of hisab rukyat in Indonesia is characterized by thoughts and reforms by Islamic community organizations that were established after the entry of Wahabi scholars to Indonesia. Islamic organizations that have a major contribution to the development of hisab and rukyat in Indonesia are Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. These two organizations have different criteria in determining the beginning of the *qamariah* month in Indonesia. The two paradigms built by each of these mass organizations then became a contestation that never found the base. Theological tension arose from the two largest mass organizations in Indonesia related to the issue of hisab rukyat so that it often caused division. These two mass organizations in their history are also seen as a symbol of differences among Indonesian Muslims, although not disturbing the values of religious substance (Noer, 1980: 84).

This endless conflict then creates a confusing event and has implications for the determination of a procession of worship. Three events that often occur include the following. The first is when determining the end of the month of Sya'ban, it is related to the first day of the following month (fasting month). In this context, it relates to the determination of the beginning of fasting. The second is when determining the end of the fasting month (Ramadan). The connection with this is to determine the first day of Shawwal or when the Idul Fitri is being held. The third is when determining the beginning of Dhul-Hijjah because it is related to the tenth day of the month of Dhul-Hijjah, the time when the Eid al-Adha day occurred (Ulum, 2015: 3).

To solve this problem, the initiative of the Ministry of Religious Affairs as government unified the *hijriyyah* calendar in order to unite massive criteria. Various meetings were held to discuss compatible middle ground in Indonesia. In other words, the government is available in overseeing the hisab rukyat discourse, in this case the determination of the beginning of the *qamariah* month by conducting a negotiation approach to find a solution (Hidayat, 2012: 81). However, various discussions and meetings never found a meeting point. The criteria and paradigms that have taken root in each organization are constraints as well as a foundation for reluctance to unite perceptions, especially supported by long-standing ideological contestations.

This study discusses the ideological contestation of two mass organizations that are the spearhead of two paradigms. The hisab paradigm was initiated by Muhammadiyah organizations and the rukyat paradigm was pioneered by NU. These two paradigms run in the tension of conflict which often causes division due to the uneven determination of the beginning of the month of *qamariah* in Indonesia (Mushonnif, 2013: 172). The contestation continues to strengthen and is supported by the leaders of each and strengthened by the political prestige that has been held by both of them. By using a power relations approach in religious contestation, this article focuses on the aspect of determining the beginning of the *qamariah* month in Indonesia by tracing the foothold of paradigms, relations of characters and power, and the overthrow of religious discourse in the space of social-religious commodification in prolonged political tension.

DISCUSSION

Determination of the Beginning of the *Qamariah* Month in NU Perspectives

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in determining the beginning of the month *qamariah* uses the *rukyyat al-hilal* or *istikmal* method (thirty-day refinement) and is supported by *hisab*

tabkiki. This was done by NU based on the understanding that the texts about rukyat were *taabbudi* on the basis of what was practiced by the Messenger of Allah and the *khulafa al-rashidin* and also held by all the *mazhabib al-arba'ah* scholars (Masroeri, 2006, 13; Izzuddin, 2007: 95)

In determining the beginning of the qamariah month in Indonesia, NU carried out four stages. First, the stage of harmonizing the beginning of the month: second, the stage of organizing *rukyatul hilal bil fi'li*: third, the stage of following the trial of itsbat (stipulation) with the government: and fourth, issuing *ikbhar* (information) to all Indonesian people, especially the nahdliyyin (Masroeri, 2006 : 14).

For NU organizations, the position of *hisab* method is only as a helper in the implementation of the *rukyatul al-hilal* in the field. Therefore, although NU already has predictions, it does not dare to set the beginning of Ramadan, Shawwal and Dhul-Hijjah with *hisab*, but still waiting for the results of the *rukyat*. This determination was taken based on the reasons of the syar'i which were considered strong to be used as worship guidelines which could be accounted for and taken in the decision of Bahtsul Masail NU (Zulian, 2018: 24). This prudence is built on the constructs of the NU methodology which believes that the determination of the beginning of the month of qamariah must be based on direct vision (*rukyat bil ain*).

NU's attitude towards the system of determining the beginning of the month of Qamariyah, especially at the beginning of Ramadan, Shawwal, and Dhulhijjah was taken through the decision of the XXVII NU Congress in Situbondo (1984), Alim Ulama National Conference in Cilacap (1987), NU Falakiyah Seminar at Pelabuhan Ratu Sukabumi (1992) , Seminar on Adjustment of the *Hisab* and *Rukyat* Methods in Jakarta (1993), and the VI Plenary Meeting of the PBNU in Jakarta (1993), which finally was stated in the PBNU Decree No. 311 / A.II.04.d / 1994 dated 1 Sya'ban 1414 H / 13 January 1994 M, and NU XXX Congress at Lirboyo Kediri (1999) (Zahro, 2001: 135; Madany, 2003: 7).

In NU circles, said the new moon contained in QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 189 is considered the most assertive and strong as the foundation of the godhead. In other words, *rukyat* is the main foundation for NU in determining the start and end of the *qamariah* month.

In Azhari's analysis by quoting Nurcholis Madjid, the thought developed by NU was also the same as what developed in the countries of Saudi Arabia, Syria, Morocco and Bahrain. Madjid revealed that Syaikhul Islam Ibn Taymiyyah also supported the use of *rukyat*. Although it is can be trusted and approach the truth compared to other sciences, Science of *hisab* scholarship still has limitations in capturing divine messages especially to determine the beginning of the month of *qamariah* (Azhari, 2006: 457, Madjid, 1984: 235).

In practice, NU does not only use the rukyat method in determining the beginning of the *qamariah* month. This can be seen from several methods of hisab that developed in Indonesia from the work of NU circles themselves. Among the methods of *hisab* by NU members who have *tabqiqi / tadqiqi / ashby* values, including *al-Khulasatul Wafiyah* which has been equipped with logarithms by KH. Zubair Umar, *al-Durusul Falakiyah* by KH. Maksum Ali, *Badiatul Mitsal* by KH. Maksum Ali, *Iryyadul Murid* by KH. Ghozali Muhammad, *Nurul Anwar* by KH. Noor Ahmad SS, al-Mawaaqit, the work of Dr. Eng H. Hafid and *Hisab Rukyat* in Theory and Practice, by Drs. H Muhyidin Khazin, M.Sc.

From the evolving method of *hisab*, the count of the initial *hisab* which is the result of the harmonization method performed by NU was then published in the form of an

almanac. Next it is used as a support and *rukyat* guide, while *rukyat* is used as a result of correction of the *hisab* that has been made. Thus, in the context of prudence and as a correction of validity, in each beginning of *qamariah* included in the NU almanac is always given a note "awaiting the results of *rukyat al-bilal bil fi'li*". This discourse became interesting because NU tried to keep up with the development of knowledge using the *hisab* method, but still maintained the authenticity of the paradigm that had been held, which is the use of *rukyat* criteria as the final result.

In practice, the empirical criteria *imkan al-rukyat* have an indicator of the minimum height of the *bilal* 2 degrees, the age of 8 months, and the distance between the sun and moon 3 degrees. In this context, if there are scientifically developed standards for the size of the *imkan al-rukyat* criteria, then for NU there is no problem because the basis is not the *imkan al-rukyat* criteria but the *rukyat* result or *bilal dzhuburul* (the emergence of hilal).

The *rukyat* adopted by NU is based on the results of the implementation of the *rukyatul bilal bil fi'li* in the country and applies a jurisdiction (*wilayatul hukmi*). This is different from Saudi Arabia's decision. In other words, the *rukyat* adopted by NU is the national *rukyat* within the framework of the NKRI. NU organizes *rukyat* using traditional tools to modern equipment. NU also has NUMO, the Nahdlatul Ulama Mobile Observatory, a mobile observatory that is easily moved anywhere to make observations (Masroeri, 2006: 5).

So far, NU still uses the *rukyat* method and there is no paradigm shift regarding the method that has been believed for a long time. NU only changes the criteria. This is getting stronger when we see the advantages of the *rukyat* method. The advantages of the *rukyat* method are scientific accuracy. This is evidenced by the development of astronomy in the golden age of Islam. Previous experts made serious and sustained observations which eventually resulted in the famous *zīj-zīj* (astronomical tables) and are still a reference today, such as Ibn Shatir's *Zij al-Jadid* (1306 M / 706 H), and *Zij Jadid Sultani Ulugh Beg's* work (1394-1449 M / 797-853 H) (Azhari, 2012: 106).

In practice, the initial stipulation of the month of *qamariah*, such as the beginning of Ramadan, Shawwal and *dzhulhijjah* in Indonesia, is the stipulation or trial of the government which is carried out by the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs. The government in determining the beginning of the month *qamariah* also follows on the basis of reports of *rukyat* results and also the *hisab* results. This *rukyat* report is closely related to the methods used by NU circles. In other words, the role of NU in the initial stipulation of the month of *qamariah* was very large and became an input and reference for the government in determining the beginning of the *qamariah* month.

In different cases or not in unison between NU and the government, it is possible for the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs to decide in its trial to reject *rukyat* results and use the results of *hisab*. In a position like this, the results of *rukyat* conducted by the NU community are the authority of NU to inform or cause information based on NU analysis to all *nahdliyin* members throughout Indonesia (Masroeri, 2006: 13).

NU follows the trial of *itsbat* (stipulation) and provides information and opinions on the results obtained from community reports throughout Indonesia. Starting in 1984, NU circles have contributed a lot in the development of *hisab* and *rukyat* in Indonesia by contributing together with the government in establishing the trial of *itsbat* earlier in the month of *qamariah*. Until now, NU has also continued to contribute by delivering the results of the *rukyat* report because NU uses the *rukyat bil fi'li* method.

After attending the session of itsbat with the government, then the PBNU issued information. This PBNU Ikhbar functions as follows: first, conveying the NU's stand on the beginning of Ramadhan, the beginning of Shawwal, the beginning of Dzuhlijjah; second, strengthen the determination made by the Minister of Religious Affairs if it is issued based on rukyat; third, correction of the determination of the Minister of Religious Affairs when it was decided by ignoring *rukyat*. This correction can be understood as proof of arguments against the method used by NU. In this case, if the stipulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs ignores rukyat, then the position of the PBNU's chairperson has itsbat value which is generally applicable to Muslims in Indonesia. However, the curricula given by NU are only limited to information that does not contain coercion to follow, but rather as official information on the results of NU which are actually given to nahdliyyin circles. Regardless of whether Muslims will follow or not, this is not a problem because the government has the authority to determine in this case the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

From the construction above, NU's role is very dominant in the process of determining the beginning of the qamariah month in Indonesia through rukyat results which are taken into consideration by the government in deciding and determining the beginning of the qamariah month each year.

In the course of hisab and rukyat in Indonesia, especially in the initial determination of the qamariah month, NU experienced a long and dynamic journey. In fact, there were endless conflicts between followers of NU organizations and other community organizations such as Muhammadiyah. In fact, NU with the government has also been different in setting the beginning of the qamariah month, but still in the shade of the national vision (Ahmad, 2010: 175-190). In some cases, the month which is still under the horizon according to astronomical calculations is reported to be seen and taken as the basis for the initial determination of the month, this occurred in the determination of Eid al-Fitr in 1413 H / 1993 M. However, since 1994, PBNU has made guidelines that the testimony of the new moon can be rejected if all hisab experts agree that the new moon (*hilal*) is not possibly seen by rukyat. More explicitly, it is stated that the testimony of the rukyatul hilal can be rejected if it is not supported by accurate science or hisab. In this context, the progression of NU's views can be read without ignoring the developing science and technology.

An example of a case that has taken place was the rejection of the determination of Eid al-Fitr in 1418 H / 1998 in the itsbat meeting of the government which rejected the testimony of Cakung and Bawean. At that time, the *hilal* was still below the 2-degree *imkan al-rukyat* criteria. However, this principle has not been consistently implemented because the PBNU actually accepted the testimony. However, in its journey, NU has been expelled a statement to accept the two-degree limit of *imkanur al-rukyat* (possibly rukyat) even though its socialization is still lacking in all the ranks below. This process continually leads to a better one because it reflects on the case of Eid al-Fitr in 1993 which received the testimony of the *rukyatul hilal* when the moon was under the horizon according to accurate astronomical hisab (Nawawi, 2004: 218).

Determination of the Early Month of Qamariah in Muhammadiyah Perspective

In determining the beginning of the month qamariah, Muhammadiyah bases its opinion on several verses of the Qur'an and the hadith of the Prophet. They are QS. Yunus [10]: 5, and QS. Al-Baqaroh [2]: 185. Muhammadiyah links between the ideal dimensions of revelation and human civilization. Therefore, as explained by Azhari, Muhammadiyah in

determining the beginning of the month Qamariah does not merely use rukyat, but uses hisab method (Azhari, 2006: 459).

In line with the development of astronomy, Muhammadiyah began to use hisab which was initially pioneered by KH. Ahmad Dahlan as a response to the Aboge system that prevails at that time (Rohmat, 2014: 133). Ahmad Dahlan for Muhammadiyah circles is known as the foundation of the rationale for Muhammadiyah's Hisab. This method is used to determine the beginning of the month of qamariyah with the *ijtima 'qablal ghurub* system, i.e. when the day the *ijtima'* agreed, then the time after sun set is the beginning of the month even though the *bilal* does not manifest at sunset (Rohmat, 2014: 135).

In determining the beginning of the qamariah month, Muhammadiyah used the *wujudul bilal* criteria. Muhammadiyah interpreted *wujudul bilal* as determining the beginning of the month of qamariah with the construction of the middle way between the *qablal ghurub ijtima* and *imkan al-rukat*. In practice, the ultimate hisab *wujudul bilal* is the criteria for determining the beginning of the month by using the principle of *ijtima* (conjunction) that has occurred before sunset (*ijtimak qabla al-ghurub*), at sunset it is at the horizon without seeing the degree of elevation (*irtifa'*), and the moon sets after sunset. Hence, in the evening it is stated as the beginning of the Hijri calendar month. With the conception of *wujudul bilal* as it is called, Muhammadiyah considers that these criteria provide more certainty and practicality (Rohmat, 2014: 143). Besides, Muhammadiyah can find out the beginning of the month for hundreds of years ahead using the intended hisab system.

Muhammadiyah believes that if we use rukyat, Muslims cannot make a calendar. Rukyat cannot predict the date far ahead because a new date can be known on D-1. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah has the view that rukyat is not the only method that can unite the beginning of the month of Islam globally. This is because rukyat in the first visibility does not cover the entire face of the earth. On the same day there is a face on the earth that can use rukyat but there is another earth that cannot use rukyat (Ulum, 2015: 8).

The arguments above show that rukyat cannot provide a definite and comprehensive time tag. Therefore, rukyat is considered unable to organize the time of the implementation of Muslim worship in harmony throughout the world (Anwar, 2010: 5).

In the theoretical level, Muhammadiyah indeed puts hisab and rukyat equally. It is just that in the praxis area, Muhammadiyah considers that hisab is sufficiently representative so that rukyat is rarely practiced. In the view of Muhammadiyah the determination of the beginning of the hijriyah month enters the *ta'aquliy* activity domain, so that automatic rukyah is not an act of worship.

The tendency to put hisab higher than rukyat in Muhammadiyah has actually existed since long ago. However, lately this tendency has strengthened through the publication of the latest *Majelis Tarjih* and *Tajdid* book entitled "Hisab Beginning of the Month of Qamariyah in Muhammadiyah Perspective" published by Suara Muhammadiyah. On the Muhammadiyah website, it is explained in detail about the beginning of the month and the Muhammadiyah hisab method. In the statement that was raised, according to Muhammadiyah, the determination of the beginning of the month with hisab had begun since the Muslims recognized Astronomy in the era of great taboos conducted by school of thought of Mutraf ibn Suhair. In that context, then along with the advancement of science and technology, the calculation of hisab based on systems and methods is accurate. The results will not be different, even if there are problems only limited to the matter of minutes and seconds (Muhammadiyah: 2015).

Power Relations in Ideological Contestation

From the above discussion, the NU and Muhammadiyah organizations actually acknowledged the existence of *hisab* and *rukyat*. For these two mass organizations, each method found its place with a significant portion and then became the basis of each. For NU, it is clear that *rukyat* is based on the sighting of the new moon. As for Muhammadiyah, *hisab* is the main foundation along with the development of science and technology and pay attention to the existence of the new moon. Problems that always arise, the two mass organizations insist on their own criteria and paradigms that have been built for a long time. Implicably, the reluctance to combine two criteria (*hisab* and *rukyat*) ushered in theological factions and was trapped in group fanaticism built on pragmatic ideological interests. These differences also give rise to conflict and tension (Robynson, 2011: 220).

Contestation of ideological-political interests can be read from the aspects of government relations in the ranks of the Ministry of Religious Affairs since the 1960s. The adage of the position of Minister of Religious Affairs will determine the process of stipulating the beginning of the *qamariah* month in Indonesia to be a starting point for further analysis. From an ideological perspective, if the Minister of Religious Affairs comes from the NU circle, then the determination of the beginning of the *qamariah* month in Indonesia would be more inclined to use the *rukyat* criteria and paradigm. Conversely, if the Minister of Religious Affairs comes from Muhammadiyah circles, the process of determining the beginning of the month of *qamariah* in Indonesia is more in favor of the use of the *hisab* system. This thesis is not necessarily true, but at least it can be read in political-ideological contestation by studying the power relations and commodification of religion in determining the beginning of the *qamariah* month in Indonesia.

Power relations as described by Foucault show the totality of the structure of action to direct the actions of different individuals. Power is exercised against those who are in a position to choose and are shown to influence their choice. It is certain that power involves strategic games arranged in such a way (Foucault, 1980: 220, Hindess, 1996: 99, Latif, 2005: 38). Foucault then distinguishes between power relations as strategic games between liberties and two other types of power relations, namely domination and government (Foucault, 1988: 19).

The power exercised in government lies between domination and strategic games between independent parties. The concept of government is primarily associated with conception by conducting, directing and controlling various actions. This power framework was also used by Yudi Latif when reading the Indonesian Muslim intelligence network with a construct of power relations analysis (Latif, 2005: 40).

Based on Foucault's classification of power relations, in this context it uses an analysis of power relations that have long been used in a certain period of time to carry out the type of power of "domination" that is closely related to ideological political interests. Often, the power played will result in the practice of discrimination against other groups that are not in rhythm, different paradigms used. The conception of power relations that are intertwined with the wrapping of religious values is a knife for analysis of clashes between individuals, between bureaucrats, between communities, and also between mass organizations that can be explained in the context of the commodification of religion.

Commodification of Religion: Contestation of Ideological Politics

It has been widely known that between Muhammadiyah and NU in the 1970s and 1990s, involved in the competition seized the dominance of elite positions within the Department of Religious Affairs (before changing its name to the Ministry of Religious Affairs). At the beginning of the new order, NU could maintain its dominance in the Ministry of Religious Affairs. However, once Mukti Ali held the highest position within the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the practical dominance shifted the modernist zeal (Munhanif, 1998: 270).

During the new order this tendency was felt when the Minister of Religious Affairs was led by Munawir Syadzali. Since the era of Mukti Ali to Munawir Syadzali, the decision on the initial determination of the qamariah month in the Munawir Syadzali era was more inclined to use the method of hisab. While in the period of 1946 until 1970, the Indonesian government in determining the beginning of the month qamariah used rukyat and made hisab a means of support.

Political disputes become the trigger for the birth of various factions which give birth to different interpretations and understandings. Gradually, thoughts continue to emerge with different understandings and teachings. In other words, in its journey, the ideology of social organizations in Islam has become a commodity, including in the determination of the beginning of the qamariah month.

In line with the growing ideology and understanding of each of the community organizations, the teaching and understanding of Islam has expanded into a more commercial direction. In the context of this development, the interaction between schools (ideologies) and government institutions is also more commercial and often of a political interest. On the one hand, the form of compromise can be built, but on the other hand, rivalry is a way to show existence. In the context of rivalry, dynamic competition is present to be in power by making a strategy in fighting for public opinion (Sharpe, 2013: 482).

The feud between NU and Muhammadiyah was closely related to political interests, so the position of the Minister of Religious Affairs was also very decisive in the process of determining the initial month of qamariah. On the other hand, the character of commercialization to spread teachings and doctrines is increasingly being used by groups that have political struggles that are usually confronted with existing mainstream opponents, for example socialist groups against capitalist groups.

In one variant of Marxism, ideology depends on economic power. In view of this theory, to fight for politics through any institution, such as community organizations, schools, madrasas, pesantren, tourism, must be associated with the economy in order to obtain exchange rates from the commercialization of the ideology (Stuart, 1986: 67; Poster, 1974: 394).

Political economy theory is characterized by three things (McQuil, 1983: 64). First, commodification is the process of converting value to exchange rate. Institutions are often made commodity and turned into economic institutions. When selling information or science, those who have hidden interest do in order to support the ideological interests that they carry. Second, spatialisation is the process of overcoming barriers of space and time in social life. Space and time are used as means to get money and profits. Both are organizational extensions of groups that have power. Both are used to purify the time needed to move goods, people and messages in order to sustain the performance of groups of power owners. This will create networking.

While the third is *structuring*, the creation of inter-agent relations in a social order that is characterized by the presence of elements of power. In structuring, there is a distinction between the upper structure (supra structure) and the lower structure (structure base). Between these two structures and actors are mutually influential, there can even be a struggle of power (Mosco, 1996: 134).

In NU's body, in 1412 AH, NU determined that Eid al-Fitri was different from the government's decision. NU's attitude that is different from this government decision shows that NU is not consistent with the results of the NU Ulema Alim National Assembly decision in Sukerojo Situbondo on the 6th Rabiul Awal 1404 H / 21 December 1983 M which states that the government's decision is based on hisab. However, NU did not accept the government's decision on the initial determination of Shawwal in 1412 H which was based on istikmal (thirty-day refinement). Whereas, in 1423 H, NU was able to accept istikmal as a basis for starting Eid al-Fitr in 1423 H.

These two cases provide an indication that the differences and debates surrounding rukyat hisab are not merely academic-scientific issues but also extend to political issues. This happened in the new order and the beginning of reform. This fact is reinforced by data from the Directorate of Religious Justice Development of the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, which states that the height of the new moon which causes the initial differences in Ramadan, Shawwal, and dzhulhijjah is almost the same, but in practice it can be different.

During the reformation period, tension between hisab and and rukyat was still felt. It has been proven that there have been four times differences in determining the beginning of the month of qamariah, namely Eid al-Adha 1420 H, the beginning of Ramadhan 1422 H, Eid al-Fitr 1423 H, and Eid al-Adha 1423 H. March 2000, while NU stipulated Eid al-Adha to fall on Friday March 17, 2000. NU then did a changing paradigm by allowing the use of the hisab of al-Rukyat to reject the rukyat testimony that was too low.

The government sees complex problems that continue to occur almost every year towards the beginning of the qamariah month, realizing some efforts to bridge the differences in methods that exist in community organizations. In the context of the government as the authority holder, the government through the Religious Research and Education Agency and Religious Education and Training Department held a Hisab Rukyat National Seminar held on 20-22 May 2003 / 18-20 Rabiul Awwal 1424 H in the Operation Room of the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs. The seminar aims to obtain agreement on the date and implementation of fasting and Islamic holidays through hisab and rukyat. In his briefing at the Hisab and Rukyat Seminar which was read by M. Atho Mudzhar (Head of Research and Development of Religion and Religious Education and Training), stated:

"We hope that this national seminar will formulate a formula that can lead to the launching of a new milestone where hisab and rukyat are not only determinants of the stipulation of the hijri calendar accompanied by the spirit of sectoral validity, as well as supporting the ummah solidarity, feeling calm, without hesitation about the validity of the ibadah they have done."(Mudzhar: 2003).

Since 2003, striking differences and prolonged conflicts between mass organizations with each other or with the government in determining the beginning of the month qamariah increasingly faded. The relationship between NU and the government went well. This relationship strengthened and became central in the debate over the determination of

the month of qamariah in Indonesia because there was an adage that said that if the Minister of Religious Affairs came from the NU circles, then the determination of the beginning of the month of qamariah was using rukyat. However, if the Minister of Religious Affairs comes from Muhammadiyah, then the determination of the beginning of the month of qamariah uses the hisab system.

However, these factors did not become an ongoing problem in determining the beginning of the month of qamariah. This was proven when the President of the Republic of Indonesia was held by Abdurrahman Wahid and the Ministry of Religious Affairs was led by Saiq Aqil Munawar. Likewise, the Ministry of Religious Affairs is led by Tolhah Hasan and Maftuh Basyuni to Suryadarma Ali.

Therefore, this political ideology factor can be mapped from year to year. From 1983 to 1999, the determination of the beginning of the month of qamariah by the government tended to be based on the position of officials of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. From 1983 to 1993, the Indonesian Minister of Religious Affairs was H. Munawir Syadzali, and from 1993 to 1998, the Minister of Religious Affairs was held by Tarmizi Taher. While in 1998 to 1999 the Indonesian Minister of Religious Affairs was Malik Fadjar. In the altar from 1983 to 1999, the Minister of Religious Affairs tended to decide the beginning of the month of qamariah based on hisab because the Minister of Religious Affairs came from Muhammadiyah.

However, in the leadership of Tolhah Hasan as Minister of Religious Affairs in 1999, this political bias became increasingly dim. What happens is almost dominated by factors of understanding and religious factors as well as doctrines. From 2000, the relationship between the government and NU and Muhammadiyah then proceeded well in the process of determining the beginning of the month of qamariah. The government continues to strive to realize the same methods used by mass organizations in Indonesia. So, the relationship between NU, Muhammadiyah and the government in determining the beginning of the month of qamariah was running dynamically to create equality for the harmony of Muslims in Indonesia.

From this reality, the economic-political variant of Marxism can be seen from the NU and Muhammadiyah processes in commodification by carrying out a different view from the government based on dissatisfaction with the government's decision through the Minister of Religious Affairs which stipulates the beginning of qamariah based on different methods of belief used. In the NU context, although it was different from the government, NU continued to give advice to the public about the results of decisions determined by the functions described above.

NU and Muhammadiyah also conduct structuring, namely the creation of relations with the government in order to sustain the future of the Muslim community so that there was no division in the process of determining the beginning of the qamariah month. In 1999, when the Indonesian Minister of Religious Affairs was held by Tolhah Hasan, this political bias was increasingly dim. What happens is almost dominated by factors of understanding and religious factors as well as doctrines.

Of the several cases above, at least this has also become an evaluation for the government. The government is tested whether in the matter of determining the beginning of the month qamariah can stand above all groups or be more inclined and identical to one organization with a method used. While for mass organizations, both NU and Muhammadiyah, they are also required to open wide doors in an effort to realize equality

with the government in determining the beginning of the qamariah month in Indonesia which has always experienced differences and caused divisions among the people.

CONCLUSION

The relationship between the NU organization and the government has been tense and NU considers the government in setting the beginning of the month qamariah has a political element because it is more inclined to the position of the Minister of Religious Affairs from Muhammadiyah. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah also often experiences differences with the government, including NU. The two paradigms developed by each organization. In hisab and rukyat discourse, both organizations cannot be negotiated. The reluctance to be dialogued and reconciled often finds sharp gravel that rests on ideological political contestation.

However, this ideological contestation can be solved by various bridged efforts by the government which began in early 2000 where the relations between the government, NU and Muhammadiyah then proceeded dynamically and well in the process of establishing the qamariah month to create equality for Muslim harmony in Indonesia.

Various businesses are carried out by the government by using the power of domination as a means of connecting and unifying the two paradigms which often argue in the context of thought and concept. The unification of these two paradigms is carried out by the government to avoid prolonged conflict tension because the issue of determining the beginning of the month of qamariah is closely related to the Muslim procession of worship which should be conducted with full unity. In the context of this togetherness, ideological contestation and pragmatic interests can be eliminated by using a scientific-based approach, not by the power of domination approach.

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