

***Nahdatul Ulama* and the *Khittah* Revitalization: A Futuristic Critical Reflection for the Largest Islamic Organization in Indonesia**

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ABSTRACT: *Its splendor of 32nd Congress of NU (Nahdatul Ulama) in Makassar, South Sulawesi, on 22 to 28 March 2010, apparently similar to the 27th Congress of NU in Situbondo, East Java, in 1984. Both congress conditions were equally arise under bottom pressure of strong Nahdhiyyin (NU followers), so NU sterilizes from party or practical politics. Involvement in practical politics is believed to has many disadvantages than benefits for congregation (organization). While in Situbondo Congress in 1984, driven more by a strong desire so NU becomes civil society, strength to confront the hegemony of a repressive state. At that time, the reason is that if remain stay on the political track, NU powerless nothing. If in Situbondo Congress, the key words was back to "Khittah" 1926 as struggle basis, then in Makassar Congress, the key word is "Khittah" Revitalization. Obviously, with these facts, it can be concluded that the key is not the formulation of its "Khittah" unclear or irrelevant, but there is something wrong in the implementation of "Khittah". Consequently impressed that "Khittah" becomes depends on who interprets and treats.*

KEY WORDS: *Nahdatul Ulama, "Khittah" revitalization, critical futuristic reflection, and historical journey of NU.*

INTRODUCTION

Quoting what was once expressed by *Rais Am*, the Managing Committee of PB (*Pengurus Besar*) NU (*Nahdatul Ulama*), K.H. Achmad Siddiq that NU like a taxi that moves and destination depends on who hired it. Though, NU should be like a train that way and its destination is certainly clear. Likewise, if investigated more deeply, then ineffectiveness of *Khittah* (back to the original orientation) implementation, because lack of power of *Syuriah*

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Institution as a determinant of policy direction, steering, and controller of NU. So also in *Tanfidziyah*, more or less, has been doing *Khittah* deviation. Like that in *Tanfidziyah*, more and less, has conducted deviation of *Khittah*. So, there is inconsistency in enforcing *Khittah* commitment.

Based on the analysis above, it appears the urgency thought so NU Congress in Makassar, South Sulawesi, become momentum of the empowerment of *Syuriah* by selecting *Tanfidziyah* board appointed by the *Syuriah* itself. Unlike in some previous congress, which in a selection process is discrete between *Syuriah* and *Tanfidziyah*.

ON THE KHITTAH OF NAHDATUL ULAMA 1926

Khittah means a straight line. Its relationship with NU (*Nahdatul Ulama*), *Khittah* means the establishment line, struggle, and personality of NU, whether related to the religious affairs or public, both personally or organizationally (Ulum, 2002:86). The function of the line is formulated as the foundation of thinking and acting of NU people where should be reflected in personal behavior and organizations as well as in every decision-making process. The foundation was meant that the theology view of ASWAJA (*Ahlussunnah wal-Jama'ah* or according to Prophet Muhammad and his followers' lines) are applied according to the social conditions in Indonesia, covering the religious basics or society. NU's *Khittah* is also investigated from the essence of its historical journey from time to time (PB-NU, 1983:9-10).

The idea to back to *Khittah* 1926 has begun rolling by NU figures since 1959, when the 22nd Congress in Jakarta, December 1959, which at that time a *Muktamirin* (participants) of Mojokerto, K.H. (*Kyai Haji*) Achyat Chalimi, said that the role of political parties and NU has lost its role is held by individuals, so the party as an instrument has been lost. Therefore, be proposed that the NU should back to its *Khittah* in 1926 (cited by Hayat, 1991).

Not different with the assessment of other clergy in later, the idea to back to *Khittah* is based on the consideration during that time, NU was too forward political affairs, in fact not solely for the benefit of the organization but rather the interests of individuals rather than social and religious affairs which is the main mission of its inception. At that time, NU politics are more likely to doing "political maneuver" by the main target to take power through the NU's vehicle (Marijan, 1992:19-20).

Responded to the idea above, PB-NU (*Pengurus Besar Nahdatul Ulama* or Central Committee of the NU) in the general view, delivered by K.H. Idham Chalid, said that we return to the spirit and *ta'abbudiyah* soul in 1926; but

in the struggle, we struggle in 1959 (Marijan, 1992:85). The idea to back to the *Khittah* arised again when K.H. Dahlan in 25th Congress in 1974 in Surabaya, Esat Java, inform the idea. K.H. Dahlan was a member of Cabinet Presidium of Soeharto and last Minister of Religion from NU. He was not directly involved in the birth of New Order and knowing the possibilities of changes in practice structure (Ida, 1996:10). A similar idea is expressed by *Rois Am* PB-NU, K.H. Wahab Hasbullah, in *iftitah* speech. To the *Muktamirin* (the participants of conference), he stressed the importance of returning to the *Khittah* 1926.¹

But the idea has not obtained a response seriously. At the 26th NU Congress in Semarang, Central Java, in 1979, the discourses back to *Khittah* 1926 arise again. The idea to make NU as a religious organization (*jam'iyah diniyah*) as its inception, it seems more based on rational considerations: (1) disappointment of NU's figures of political parties that was held, where NU's position increasingly marginalized; and (2) there are disappointment among politicians in NU, which is considered likely to be "opportunistic". From opportunistic nature, a handful of NU's politicians, in other side NU's mass used as a tool of political maneuvering that benefits him, while on the other hand, they are less even aside to fight for the NU's political aspirations in the political party (since then PPP, *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* or Development United Party), so that experience reduction in seat acquisition in Indonesian Legislative Assembly.

The flow of ideas to back to *Khittah* became stronger in 26th Congress in Semarang, Central Java, in 1979. This can clearly be seen on the basis program of five year development as Congress's decision, which aims: (1) Appreciate the meaning of the exclamation to back to soul 1926; (2) Confirming the internal efforts to meet the exclamation; and (3) Confirming the scope of NU's participation clearly in nation-building.²

In the course of its history, *Khittah* 1926 still seem to have deviations. It can be said that in the body of NU itself for different groups about *Khittah's* issues, and this case throughout its history until now still exist: (1) a group that wants practical politics, like Idham Chalid group and his supporters; (2) a group requiring the NU back to its orientation in 1926, consisting of clergies non-politicians such as K.H. Ali Maksum and a number of other clergy; and (3) a group that wants politics but NU must also stay focused

¹See "Keputusan Musyawarah NU, No.II/MAU-NU/1404/1983" in *Nahdatul Ulama Kembali ke Khittah 1926* (Jakarta: PB-NU, 1985), p.58.

²See PB-NU [Pengurus Besar Nahdatul Ulama], *Program Dasar Pengembangan Lima Tahun Nahdatul Ulama: Keputusan Muktamar NU ke-26 Tahun 1979 di Semarang* (Jakarta: PB-NU), p.12.

attention on social and religious fields such as K.H.M. Yusuf Hasyim (Machfoedz, 1982:269).

The decision of 26th NU's Congress in 1979, so NU back to *Khittah* 1926, it seems only success to recover NU as a religious organization conceptually, but fail operationally. The failure occurred because NU was still experiencing an identity crisis. Spirit to return to the religious organizations is stated in the decision of Congress, but the steps and strategies to implement the *Khittah* consistently not be addressed by strategic measures. As a result of this identity crisis continues to be the organizational crisis, caused by the leadership of NU who was also concurrently the head of PPP (Sitompul, 1985:160).

The idea to back to *Khittah* 1926 continue when the General Assembly of clergies *Salafiyah Syafiiyah* School in Situbondo, East Java, in 1983, the discourse to back to *Khittah* became the main agenda. Even one of three commissions, there is a *Khittah* commission in charge of discussing the struggle basis of NU, including the issue of single basis and organizational structure.³

Despite occur opinion is contra between supporting those that do not support about its back NU to *Khittah* 1926,⁴ NU's young intellectual group continue to communicate intensively by visiting clergy figures, schools, intellectuals, and collect the NU's young generation in discussion group 164.⁵

In May 1983, the 164 discussion groups have gathered in Jakarta that aims to reflect on NU with important communication, namely the formation of "Team of Seven" for the recovery of *Khittah* NU 1926. This team consists

³See an article entitled "NU: Khittah 26 dengan Asas Tunggal" in magazine of *Panji Masyarakat*, No.418 (Jakarta: 1 January 1984).

⁴NU then separated into two groups, known as "Cipete Group" in Jakarta and "Situbondo Group" in East Java. The "Cipete Group" consists of K.H. Idham Chalid's supporters in Jakarta (the politicians) and "Situbondo Group" consists of non-politicians among Islamic school in East Java. The "Situbondo Group" does not recognize Idham Chalid as chairman of *Tanfidziyah* PB-NU. Led by K.H. As'ad Syamsul Arifin; this group is also at the right time accepted *Pancasila* (five pillars ideology of the Indonesia's state) as single basis and must be accepted by all Muslims and forbidden to reject it. Accordingly, K.H. As'ad Syamsul Arifin is also behind the young figures of NU that investigate concept to back to *Khittah*.

⁵Discussion groups are consisting of twenty-four figures. They are: (1) K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, (2) K.H. Mustofa Bisri, (3) Asip Hadapranata, (4) Mahbub Junaedi, (5) K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid or Gusdur, (6) M. Tolhah Hasan, (7) H.M. Zamroni, (8) H.M. Munasir, (9) Fahmi Zainuddin, (10) Said Budairy, (11) Abdullah Syarwani, (12) Muhammad Tohir, (13) K.H. Muchit Muzadi, (14) Saiful Mujab, (15) Umar Basalim, (16) Cholil Musaddad, (17) Ghaffar Rahman, (18) Slamet Efendi Yusuf, (19) Ichwan Syam, (20) Musa Abdillah, (21) Mustafa Zuhad, (22) Daniel Tandjung, (23) Ahmad Bagdja, and (24) Masdar Farid Mas'udi.

of Abdurrahman Wahid as Chairman; H.M. Zamroni as Vice Chairman; Said Budairy as Secretary; and Mahbud Junaidi, Fahmi Zainuddin, Daniel Tandjung, and Ahmad Bagdja as members; whose task is to formulate the concept of reform and NU's development in accordance *Khittah* 1926, and arrange the NU's leadership pattern.

The formulation that resulted from "Team of Seven" is then used as matter in National Conference of clergies in 1983 and 27th NU's Congress in Situbondo, East Java, in 1984. The most interest of decision and monumental is acceptance the single basis of *Pancasila* and decision to back to *Khittah* 1926.

About the outlines and the basic idea of NU's struggle, formulated as the *Khittah of Nahdatul Ulama*. NU's congress has formulated a definition that: (1) *Khittah of Nahdatul Ulama* is the foundation of thinking, behaving, and acting of *Nahdatul Ulama* peoples that should be reflected in the behavior of individuals and organizations and in every decision-making process; (2) The foundation in *Ahlussunnah wal-Jama'ah* concept defined according to the social conditions in Indonesia covers the basics of religious and society; and (3) *Khittah of Nahdatul Ulama* is also discovered from the history of its humility from time to time (Marijan, 1992:140).

Although it has been through a long process, the decision of 27th NU's Congress which officially left the arena of practical politics, it still receives a constraint because there are still many NU's activists who expressly or secretly do not agree. Kacung Marijan suggests that there are three reasons why there are parties who do not agree to leave politics (political party) as follows:

First, historically, NU has a long plunge into the arena of practical politics, making it so difficult for it, especially the figures to simply switch the orientation of to left his political world, especially the figures already have influence in NU's leadership. *Second*, each of the forces that function within the PPP (*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* or Development United Party) can be seen more as a federation whose elements have their own autonomy. *Third*, the government still provides opportunities for organizations to affiliate into a particular political party (cited by Ecip ed., 1994:16-17).

On the three reasons above, according to the opinion of writer, the first reason is logical, real, and perceived directly by NU's politicians which are already active in the arena of practical politics. Ejecting NU from the political party really difficult for NU's politicians, especially when they were ejected out of his position in NU's committee. Related to this case, the writer argues that the opportunity to adopt the supporters will decrease.

Moreover, when the politicians of NU must face each other with their own who had pulled himself from the political parties, when in fact NU is needed as space maneuver for NU's politicians. Similarly, if NU was formally freed the *Nahdhiyyin* (NU's peoples) to determine their own choice, it is difficult for NU's politicians to maintain supporters mass.

The return of NU to *Khittah* and be a religious organization not just to appreciate the political guidance of the time, but also a concrete realization that NU, since its inception in 1926, is basically an organization engaged in the socio-religious, preaching, and education (Rahmat, 2001:15). By return the NU to religious social organizations, the clergies can focus their attention, energy, and mind to develop and empower people through the programs that are prepared carefully and it covers all aspects of Moslem's life in Indonesia. NU really has shifted the orientation of practical politics to practical social, from political prestige to the religious prestige in society.

With the attitudes of *tawazzun* (balanced), *tawasuth* (center), *i'tidal* (straight), *tasamuh* (tolerant), and *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar* (encourage good and forbidden bad matters) which are formulated from the doctrine of *Ahlusunnah wal-Jama'ah*, then NU will look forward as figure of nation civilization builder.

BETWEEN KHITTAH AND POLITICAL TEMPTATION

In the journey of *Khittah* for 14 years, since its establishment on 27th NU's Congress in 1984 in Situbondo, East Java, until the birth of multi-party system in 1998, seemingly the *Khittah* has undergone challenges and political temptations, both challenges and temptations that come from inside or from outside the organization. The challenges from inside such a strong desire of a group of NU (*Nahdatul Ulama*)'s politicians who still wants to drag NU into the field of practical politics, while challenges from outside is a strong influence and pull of political party organizations so NU can join and strengthen its mass base (Anam, 1985:24). The end challenge is re-opening of the freedom to play politics and established political parties, following the resignation of Suharto's regime and his power in May 1998. The emergence of a variety of unavoidable necessity which proved influential in the interpretation and the movements in meaning and confront of *Khittah* mean (Noeh, 2001).

Abdurrahman Wahid, or Gus Dur, categorizes groups within NU's body into three groups. *First*, the pure *Khittah* group that is NU's peoples in explaining and practicing *Khittah* absolutely without any deductions and additions which relate to personal interests. *Second*, the plus *Khittah* group that is NU's peoples in explaining and practicing *Khittah* done to excess,

for example make prohibition on things that are not actually prohibited in *Khittah*. And *third*, the minus *Khittah* group that is NU's peoples in explaining and practicing *Khittah* done is not intact and there is still covered with reason, when explained as a whole would be detrimental to his personal interests (PB-NU, 1985:11-12).

The second and third groups are generally filled by a group of politicians who are usually trying to drag NU into the political territory, while the first group are generally filled by a group of intellectuals and clergies who along in rhythm and in line with Abdurrahman Wahid leadership. The figures in the first group are also those who are generally disappointed in the leadership of K.H. Idham Chalid and PPP, while the Abdurrahman Wahid feels to win the battle with K.H. Idham Chalid group, so that their claims against NU is expected to respond positively. Abdurrahman Wahid himself and his supporters were trying to remain consistent with the idea of separation between the NU's activity as a socio-religious organization, the activities of people or its elites who want to play politics, while NU's politicians group still wanted the *Khittah* concept unnecessary expressly formally break away from politics, because they already provide history in NU (Dhakidae, 1986:183; and Benedanto, 1999:28).

The phenomenon as discussed above was suggesting that there is a desire to make NU back in politics. Even more than that, there are figures suggested that the NU's political factions back into the political parties, apart from the PPP, abbreviation of *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* or Development United Party (Liddle, 1992:92-93; and Van Bruinessen, 1994:144). NU's political neutrality is expected as an effort to give equal distance to all election contestants, although the formulation is clear in its conception but in practice still occurs pull and draw between *Khittah* and politician groups.

In an effort to reinforce the identity of NU post-*Khittah*, then in 28th NU's Congress in 1989 in Yogyakarta, and in an effort to stop the occurrence of pull and draw and differences in *Khittah* interpretation perceived, is needed to provide or establish a guideline for *Nahdhiyyin* peoples in using their political rights. These guidelines set out in nine of NU's political formula such as follows:

- (1) Politics for NU has a meaning the involvement of citizens in the life of nation as a whole in accordance with *Pancasila* and 1945 Constitution; (2) Politics for NU is a political with nationalism insightful and towards the national integration with the steps that always upholds the unity to achieve a common goal, namely the establishment of a just and prosperous society, physically and spiritually, and performed with acts of worship to happiness in the world and life in the afterlife; (3)

Politics for NU is the development of essential independence values and democratic, educate nation maturity to recognize the rights, obligations, and responsibilities to achieve the common good; (4) Politics for NU has to do with morals, ethics, and culture that sustainably Belief in God Almighty, just and civilized inhuman, upholds the unity of Indonesia, have policies in deliberations of representatives, and social justice for all Indonesian people; (5) Politics for NU, it should be done with pure honesty and moral religion, constitutional, fair in accordance with the rules and norms are agreed upon, and can develop a consultation mechanism to resolve common problems; (6) Politics for NU made to obtain a national consensus and conducted in accordance with the morals as experience of Islam in *Ahlussunnah wal-Jama'ah*; (7) Politics for NU, with any proposition, should not be done at the expense of common interest and divisive; (8) Differences of opinion between the political aspirations of NU must continue in an atmosphere of brotherhood, *tawa'dhu*, and mutual respect for each other, so in politics still maintained the unity of in NU's environment; and (9) Politics for NU requires reciprocal communication in national development.⁶

Political guidelines above is intended for *Nahdhiyyin* peoples to understand that *Khittah* 1926 does not mean limiting NU's peoples in politics or not at all be involved actively in the political process. NU's neutral attitude towards all the power of political parties, it can expand the political space for NU rather than NU within a single political party strength in institutionalized and formal. For NU, politics culturally far away its scope than self-protect in a particular political party (Budalry, 2009:43-44).

Furthermore, until the mid-1998, *Khittah* paradigm can still be maintained, so it can be run in accordance with the rails. But in euphoria of Reform and incessant political establishment, NU as an essential part of social forces and has a huge mass base in Indonesia, it seems tempting to establish political parties. The question now is whether the establishment of NU's political party may be considered deviant from *Khittah* paradigm or not? It seems that the political temptation is to attract the attention of NU *Nahdhiyyin* peoples so PB-NU (*Pengurus Besar Nahdatul Ulama* or Central Committee of NU) facilitated the establishment of political parties. It is then responded by Abdurrahman Wahid, as chairman of PB-NU, to form a political party. Finally on July 23, 1998 was born the PKB (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* or National Awakening Party). But not all NU's figures to join in PKB. This seems obvious, beside the PKB, also standing the *Sunni* party such as PNU (*Partai Nahdatul Ulama* or NU Party) and PKU (*Partai Kebangkitan Ulama* or Islamic Scholars Emerging Party).

⁶The formulation of NU's politics can be seen in "Keputusan Mukhtar NU No.06/MNU-28/1989 tentang Masalah-masalah Kemasyarakatan" in *Nahdatul Ulama Back to Khittah 1926* (Jakarta: PB-NU, 1990).

According to H.M. (Haji Muhammad) Yusuf Hasyim, the establishment of political parties led by other NU figures, in addition to PKB, especially PKU, is a form of disappointment against PKB was founded by Abdurrahman Wahid, has shown that Abdurrahman Wahid was not listening to *Nahdiyyin* peoples aspirations thoroughly (as cited by Alaena, 2000:101).

The establishment of PKB is a real fact and has caused controversy about the *Khittah* position. The establishment of PKB by PB-NU has changed its meaning shift to the *Khittah*. The controversy was then led to at least two interpretations according to the writer. *First*, the interpretation of the relatively normative (in accordance with the concept of pure *Khittah*) that this interpretation assumes that the action was a violation of *Khittah*. And *second*, the interpretation set out and changes the orientation and behavior of NU as a consequence of circumstances occurs. The second interpretation is more widely used by NU and among practitioners.

DENIAL OF THE *KHITTAH* AND THE NU'S CIVIL SOCIETY AGENDA

The establishment of political parties led by PB-NU, especially PKB (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* or National Awakening Party), basically NU was out of *Khittah*. The involvement of formal institutions of NU's organization can be seen from the formation of 5 and 9 Team as assistance with Task Letter of PB-NU No.925/A.II.03/6/1998, dated June 22, 1998, and the Decision to the Plenary Meeting of 4th PB-NU, dated July 24, 1998, which asserts that all NU's peoples give support and maintain PKB as the only party belongs to the NU's peoples. This is clearly an authentic evidence to suggest that NU or PB-NU has been denied and violated its own *Khittah* (Mohammed, 1998:8; and Ismail, 1999:161-162).

Evaluation of NU's lunge as an organization after establishment the PKB party seems to appear on the 30th NU's Congress in Kediri, East Java, in 1999. Results of the congress which mandates namely so NU people's which upheld the *Khittah*. To all NU's committee from small until large called upon to stay put NU as a socio-political organization (Muzadi, 1999:106). Therefore, perhaps it is time for NU to reaffirm stance to draw the line between political and cultural matters. NU faces must be returned in their original face to the cultural awakening of civil society (Rahardjo, 1999:137). This is important because if NU remains fused in practical politics, there is impoverishment of the land. While the other mission of NU such as education, economic, social, and religious matters would be difficult to be addressed. NU's involvement in practical politics affairs will actually raise primordial barrier and hostility points.

For future, NU is going to face the multidimensional challenges. Globalization is not just liberalizing of Indonesia's economy that its influence felt as far into the country side as the basis of NU's peoples, but also bringing in the influence of transnational group which pull and draw with the basic tenets of traditional NU and accommodate the values of local culture (Misrawi, 2010). Therefore, the role of NU, in which participated confirms that Indonesia state consists of various groups and *Pancasila* is final for Indonesia, now a need to continue to strive for.

In addition, the aspect is no less important is one formulation of NU's *Khittah*, namely economic independence and prosperity of NU's peoples, until now has not given satisfactory results. Through economic self-sufficiency is a prerequisite for political independence of NU's nationality in order to act as civil society organizations that control the government.

One of the criticisms that appeared in the middle of the 32nd Congress event in Makassar, South Sulawesi, on 23 to 28 March 2010 were informed by Zuhaeri Misrawi, young intellectual of NU, that NU cannot be a civil society organization for not independent and yet still rely on government proposals or other parties (*Kompas*, 19/3/2010:45; and 25/3/2010:7). It must be admitted that until recently, the large of economic base of NU's peoples (*Nahdhiyyin*) is still very weak, even many who are at pre-prosperous society. The weak of economic base cause *Nahdhiyyin* easily to lose identity in the individual to the collective organization. Whereas, without economic independence, would be very difficult for NU to contribute to democracy, upholding human rights, even without economic independence, NU could lose his dignity as a moral force and cultural ethics.

After the statement to back to *Khittah* 1926 at Situbondo Congress in 1984 seems the effort to economic independence less pronounced, instead of making the NU as a nationality politics. If we discovered the history of NU's establishment was very important economic element in building the Islamic school communities that are the basis of NU. Relationship of patron-client between clergy as Islamic boarding school owner with his student, its basis is economic. Because many of students come from the poor families, so clergies became expectancy students to live studying religion. The clergies are also supposedly able to economically and for clergies to be rich "is not taboo", but for the grace of God. Therefore, it is customary when the clergies also develop business in the Islamic boarding school.

In 1918, historically, K.H. Wahab Chasbullah with K.H. Hashim Asy'asri established the NU Cooperative, known as *Nahdatul Tujjar* (Resurrection of the Entrepreneur) Cooperative, who despite its age is not long but success to raise substantial funds. The fundamental issues in many problems of NU

are actually the economic independence, and this should be an important agenda in 32nd NU Congress of 2010 in Makassar, South Sulawesi. Because about 84 years of NU's progress in the national arena, NU has not been able to prosper its members (Pambudy, 2010). Likewise, the leadership of Gus Dur (Abdurrahman Wahid) was not success to build the NU's economy, because it repeatedly failed in the marketplace. Efforts to establish the bank for the people, through the "Nusuma [NU and Suma] Bank" also failed. Other attenuation is also a factor *land reform* in rural, causing the land owned by clergies decrease, so it can not be a pillar of the Islamic boarding school. Finally, the relationship of patron-client which is a NU's pillar of strength also affected.

CONCLUSION

To overcome the issues above, then 32nd NU's Congress in Makassar, South Sulawesi, in 2010 last year must formulate an agenda forward and what the role of NU? Likewise, NU should focus on the charitable efforts of religious social, economic, social development of religious, missionary, educational, and economic independence; no longer bound by any political party, participated conduct political education, and promoting democracy and human rights.

NU's challenges ahead no longer whether there is a link between politics and not politics, between traditional values and modern, but rather on practical and operational. Thus, if NU can be an independent civil society organization, undoubtedly NU can giving and influencing public policy for the betterment *Nahdhiyyin* peoples and Indonesian as a whole. For that, ahead NU should be brought towards the original purpose of founding it, namely as a socio-religious organization (*Jam'iyah Diniyah*) with ASWAJA (*Ahlussunnah wal-Jama'ah*) as direction. NU's organizations must be able to provide tangible benefits to its citizens, particularly the poor and disadvantaged. Effort social charitable of NU's organization in the field education, health, economic, and speech should be improved. Nationality, politics should take precedence over practical politics.

For that, required the leader of PB-NU (*Pengurus Besar Nahdatul Ulama* or Central Committee of NU) which is not a politician i.e. people whose focus on improving and empowering organization and social effort charitable. The organization's top leadership of NU (*Rais Am* and *Tanfidziyah*) should not be a figure that will likely take advantage of positions in the NU for political purposes or other personal purposes, but figures that his/her intentions pure for the interests of NU and nation as a whole. NU, however, is a largest Islamic organization in Indonesia.

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ANZAR ABDULLAH,
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In the course of its history, *Khittah* 1926 still seem to have deviations. It can be said that in the body of NU itself for different groups about *Khittah*'s issues, and this case throughout its history until now still exist.