STRATEGIC ISSUES OF ISLAMIC UMMAH, NATIONHOOD, *and* UNIVERSAL HUMANITY

THE 48TH MUKTAMAR OF MUHAMMADIYAH
SURAKARTA, 2022

THE CENTRAL BOARD OF MUHAMMADIYAH
2023

STRATEGIC ISSUES

OF ISLAMIC UMMAH, NATIONHOOD, AND UNIVERSAL HUMANITY

CENTRAL BOARD OF MUHAMMADIYAH

INTRODUCTION
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The 48th Muktamar of Muhammadiyah decided on **Strategic Issues of Islamic Ummah, Nationhood, and Universal Humanity** as important recommendations concerning problems in these three domains which require solutions based on an objective view within the framework of Muhammadiyah thinking. These strategic issues are important to be read and understood by all leaders to become a framework for thinking in dealing with contemporary situations, and in providing solutions according to the characteristics of the Muhammadiyah movement. For the public and various parties, these strategic issues can become an insight into how Muhammadiyah views problems and offers moderate solutions.

The real problem is not only to be disputed, but must be studied carefully and objectively to find a solution and a way out. The issues of community, nationality and humanity in this document are voiced in accordance with the position and role of Muhammadiyah as a social organization with the spirit of *da'wah* and *tajdid.* Muhammadiyah's position might be different from the voices of political parties and interest groups, which have their own characteristics and performance. Such a proportional understanding is important so as not to lead to a wrong position and improper role in voicing issues of Islamic community, nationhood and universal humanity.

Strategic issues of the Islamic ummah cover six important issues, namely Regimentation of Religious Understanding, Digital Piety, Unity of Ummah, Islamic Philanthropy Governance, Religiosity Enlightenment, Authenticity of Wasathiyah Islam, and Millennial Generation Spirituality. Strategic issues of Nationhood contain material on Family Resilience, Electoral System Reform, Leadership Succession 2024, Deradicalization Approach, Legal Justice, Inclusive and Fair Public Space, Disaster Resilience Systems, Aging Population, National Integration, and Economic Justice. As for universal humanity issues concern the problems of Peaceful and Just World Order, Climate Change Impact, Gaps between Countries, and Spread of Xenophobia.

These strategic issues are important to become insights and frameworks in addressing and solving strategic problems faced by the people, nation and global humanity. Indeed, not all strategic issues become the attention and agenda of Muhammadiyah because of the wide range of problems faced. Muhammadiyah in addressing these issues makes an alternative choice with the principle of *taqdīm al-ahamm min al-muhimm,* namely prioritizing the most important of the important.

Muhammadiyah's views in dealing with these strategic issues may be different or not always the same as other parties, it is even possible that they differ from personal views within the Organization. However, members of Muhammadiyah, especially the leaders, should secure the Muktamar's decision according to the view of the organization and not negate it. Differences in views in dealing with problems among parties are natural according to their respective perspectives, so there is no one view that is absolutely correct. However, members and leaders in the Persyarikatan environment, because Muhammadiyah's view has become the decision of the Muktamar, must abide by the decision as the thinking frameworks in viewing and solving problems. There are no absolute answers concerning issues of thought concerning *mu'amalah* affairs, so they do not have

to be addressed dogmatically and apologetically. However, Muhammadiyah members and leaders have an obligation to secure and carry out organizational decisions, especially the highest decisions from the Muktamar.

Besides that, there are actual problems that occur or grow in the life of the people, nation and universal humanity. When the actual problem is important and concerns the livelihood of the people, nation and humanity that requires Muhammadiyah's views or responses, the Central Board will certainly respond to it according to the level of need and urgency. However, Muhammadiyah leaders should not pay attention to actual issues or problems that are temporary and partial in nature, even though these problems must be faced and solved. Moreover, if the actual issues are limited to the concern of individuals, they should not be pushed or burdened into organizational issues and problems, because there are so many issues that must be prioritized.

More than that, Muhammadiyah is not alone in the life of the ummah, nation and global humanity, so it can share roles in solving problems in accordance with the interrelationships of these problems. Muhammadiyah does not need to take all matters and problems into its responsibility, because not only the power of society, but even the state, has limits and limitations. The obligation and responsibility of Muhammadiyah is to think and seek solutions to the problems of the ummah, nation and universal humanity according to their position, role and ability. We are given limits by Allah in endeavoring, "*la yukallifullāhu nafsan illā wus'ahā lahā mā kasabat wa 'alaihā maktasabat,*" meaning, "God does not burden a person except according to his ability. He gets the reward (of virtue) he seeks and he gets punishment (from the crime) that he did." (QS. Al-Baqarah : 286).

We hope that the results of the 48th Muktamar on Strategic Issues of Islamic Ummah, Nationhood and Universal Humanity

can become a reference and insight in viewing and providing solutions for the common good. May Allah SWT bestow His blessings and gifts. *Naṣrun min Allāh wa fatḥun qarīb*.

Yogyakarta, 7 Jumadilakhir 1444 H/30 December 2022 M

General Chairman,   General Secretary,

sgd   sgd

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Muhammadiyah conducted the 48th Muktamar in Surakarta on November 18-20, 2022. After carefully observing and profoundly studying the dynamics, developments, and problems in the realm of the ummah, nationhood, and universal humanity, the muktamar (national congress) conveys views regarding actual issues of concern and offers solutions as follows.

A. ISLAMIC UMMAH

1. Regimentation of Religious Understanding

Indonesia is a country based on Pancasila, neither a religious state nor a secular state. Because it is not a spiritual state, no religion should dominate, let alone a particular religious group. However, the issue is that there is a power of formalization of religion in the public sphere, and there are simultaneously symptoms of religious repression by a religious group. Religious regimentation is increasingly becoming more assertive with the tendency to dominate the meaning and interests of religion by a dominant view and group of religion in the public sphere and the state.

The strengthening of religious regimentation can be seen from the following phenomena. *First*, there is coercion or domination of specific religious orientations or certain Islamic understandings compounded by political or state power. *Second*, oligarchic power and spiritual authority imposed certain religious understandings/doctrines. They systematically created monolithic religious leaders and interpretations. The religious and state tendency in the

name of dominant and monolithic religious understanding is not favorable for religious and state life based on Pancasila and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (unity in diversity).

In responding to the phenomenon of religious regimentation, Muhammadiyah conveys messages and appeals. *First*, the state must be impartial, moderate, fair, and objective in positioning and providing space for all religious groups without discrimination. *Second*, the state must encourage Islamic mass organizations to strengthen further the paradigm of genuine Islamic *wasathiyah*. It is a religious moderation that is not forced and dictates to the state. *Third*, Muhammadiyah encourages the state to become a facilitator for all Islamic and religious mass organizations. In turn, they will be true partners of the state who treated them fairly and objectively in line with Pancasila and the constitution. The state, as an institution with legitimate and absolute authority, must control the interests of this religion-based power. The state must not make momentary political interests hold religious mass organizations hostage in any name. *Fourth*, Muhammadiyah encourages the state to be neutral and not become a tool for politicizing religion by exploiting state institutions by certain religious groups. *Fifth*, it promotes the state not to create political segregation against Islamic organizations and not make religion mainstream as well as non-mainstream political issues.

2. Digital Piety

Advances in information and communication techno-logy cause fundamental changes in almost all aspects of human life. The industrial revolution 4.0, marked by the massification of the *Internet of Things* (IoT), *Artificial Intelligence* (AI), 3D *printing, big data,* algorithms, and other aspects, has created a virtually connected space for human life. Humans live in a digital world and culture that is easy,

fast, and broad, which influences the nature of thought and orientation of actions that makes them like modular human beings.

The advancement of digital technology is a sign of revolutionary progress and disrupts various aspects of life. Among the impacts that accompany the social disruption is a crisis of civilization so that humans easily produce hoaxes, hatred, hostility, insults, denigration, and erosion of morality. Social cohesiveness fades, and humans become instantaneous lives. Politeness, wisdom, and noble character experience decay. Much time goes wasted because of the inappropriate or overdosed intensity of internet and social media use.

Therefore, it needs a fundamental value that frames social media behavior and the moral use of digital media in digital piety. It is moral or ethical awareness in utilizing the system and living in the digital era. The religious-based moral guidelines, such as Fikih Informasi (Information Jurisprudence) published by the Central Board of Muhammadiyah, determine that a literacy culture movement is needed. It includes providing content creators of Islamic teachings and values of Islamic civilization in the digital world. Religious leaders, intellectuals, scholars, national elites, traditional leaders, and educational and socio-religious institutions must become the actors in developing digital civilization. Using this massive digital technology, they should also become *uswah hasanah* (good example) or good role models. Religious and moral guidelines are needed to build digital piety in various institutions and the broader social environment.

3. Unity of Ummah

Statistically, Muslims are the majority group in Indonesia. The number of Indonesian Muslims is the largest in the

world. Muslims have intellectual, social, spiritual, moral, and political assets that shape the Indonesian nation's character, culture, and sovereignty. Islamic organizations are the strength and form of the people's participation in national life that should develop faith, spiritual piety, noble character, and intelligence independently. Therefore, the existence of Islamic organizations is something positive and beneficial.

However, the existence of Islamic organizations is not strong enough to make Muslims the decisive majority force. Muslims are the majority group with a minority mentality. The problem is increasingly complex. It is because Islamic organizations develop rivalries that weaken each other. They compete due to theological differences, political pragmatism, the supremacy of numbers, and orientation toward short-term power at the local and national levels.

This condition needs correction, i.e., more intensive communication between the leaders of Islamic organizations to eliminate primordial sentiments and establish personal closeness and true friendship. Mutual cooperation based on the spirit and values of unity (*wihdah*), brotherhood (*ukhuwwah*), mutual help (*ta'awun*), virtue (*al-bir*), and fair competition (*fastabiqul al-khairat*) in various fields according to the teachings of the Qur'an and As-Sunnah need to be more endeavored at all levels, especially at the grassroots. Unity will be built and strengthened if the people have broader Islamic, national, political, and legal insights to be more open, tolerant, accepting, and accommodating of differences. This effort can be realized through intensive literacy and education in Islamic educational institutions such as madrasas, taklim assemblies, Islamic boarding schools, and Islamic religious education in schools and other formal educational institutions.

4. Islamic Philanthropy Governance

Indonesia is seen as the most generous nation in the world as assessed by the Charities Aid Foundation (CAF) World Giving Index 2021. This condition has long been felt from the expansion of economic and social solidarity in times of disaster or non-disaster, during a pandemic and non-pandemic situation. Collecting people's funds is a prevalent work, primarily when supported by the narratives of humanity, war victims, victims of conflicts in Islamic countries, and other causes such as helping the poor and orphans.

Within a year, there are at least tens of trillions of these philanthropic funds. Being supported by theological solid and ethical values that are upheld is necessary for issues of governance and distributional justice to avoid conflicts of interest and lawsuits from the public. The use of this philanthropic ethos becomes problematic if good managerial capacity and practices, accountability, and distribution of benefits do not support it. This philanthropic work may only encourage populism, which deviates from the code of good conduct. Corruption and philanthropic politicization must be anticipated to guarantee suitable targets in sharing the benefits. Distribution of benefits must be clean from any political interests so that phobia of Islamic institutions does not spread. What has happened should be a vital lesson for reforming and regulating philanthropic governance in Indonesia. The state needs to tighten regulations to ensure that irregularities do not occur. Organizations that collect people's funds or ZIS collector organizations originating from non-state institutions can strive for authentic reforms to benefit and fulfill a sense of justice.

5. Religiosity Enlightenment

Indonesia is a nation that observes religious practices and learnings. Religious spirit and tradition are also very high. For example, the tradition of learning religion, usually held in *taklim* (teaching) assemblies, Islamic boarding schools, madrasas, mosques, and Islamic educational institutions, is now on radio and television as technology advances. At this time, many forms of religious instruction are presented through YouTube channels, zoom, podcasts, and other digital media, which are quickly, broadly accessed, and followed.

However, the high enthusiasm for learning Islam is only sometimes in line with the quality of the material and presenters. Learning and sermons are more about maintaining traditions and routines, which are poor in substance. Some have even turned into shows and entertainment. The people's understanding of religious teachings and the practice of religion in the public space has remained the same in quality. The teaching material places too much emphasis on limited spiritual and ritual matters. Due to low scientific quality and presentation that does not touch substance, some of the subject material deviates or is not in line with the moral principles of Islamic teachings. Religious forums often become venues for insults, hate speech, blasphemy, backbiting, suspicion, and expressions far from decency and nobility.

Therefore, it needs a change. The change aims that the learning (*pengajian*) will be more than tradition, routine, and splendor that displays shallow, ritual, formal religiosity that is far from the message of *rahmatan lil-alamin* (blessing for all). Even though it does not have to be standardized and certified, preachers and teachers (*ustadz*) must continuously improve their knowledge, competence, personality, wisdom, and professionalism. Preaching and

learning should be held as a process of enlightenment. By doing so, the people understand religion broadly and deeply. So, religion becomes a source of guidance and values that move and advance the quality of people's lives. A religion that enlightens leads people to affirm truth, goodness, noble character, peace, progress, optimism, and virtue in dealing with various dynamics of life. Education is essential for people to be more selective in choosing preachers and intelligent in receiving information. So that religion is of higher quality, leading to peace and progress in realizing a civilized and noble life oriented towards *rahmatan lil-'alamin.*

6. Authenticity of Wasathiyah Islam

Indonesian Islamic society has a moderate, friendly, and polite identity. However, in recent years there has been a phenomenon of violent and extreme religious behavior, which considers itself the most righteous and straight, while other groups are seen as deviating from Islamic teachings as in the early days of Islam. On the other hand, there has also been an extreme response that regards the group as a carrier of disturbances and disrupting the dominant Islamic ideology that has been established in Indonesia and that the stigma can threaten the state's very existence. This tension is not only in the context of understanding. In specific contexts, stigmatizes each other and even take action to disband the religious activities of groups considered different. The clash of extreme perspectives in seeing different groups of Muslims occurs in cyberspace and the real world.

At the same time, there is a negative labeling of moderate religious groups that have significantly contributed to the unity and progress of the people and the nation. Muhammadiyah experienced this. So that in certain

areas, they face intimidation and discrimination in carrying out their *da'wah* (preaching) movements. This situation occurs due to an extreme perspective in seeing the diversity of people. In the name of religious moderation, some see other groups that try to uphold religious principles as radical or extreme and intolerant. On the other hand, some reject moderation because they see it as obscuring religious principles. At the same time, they show tendencies toward extreme and intolerant religious views and attitudes.

This religious attitude is certainly not favorable for the interests of the internal *ukhuwwah* (brotherhood) of Muslims and national unity, especially in the life of religion and nationhood in a pluralistic Indonesia. The importance of an authentically moderate way of faith within the body of Muslims and other religions is not to fall into extreme positions and attitudes. If religion is built on Islamic *wasathiyah* (middle path), then facing differences in understanding and orientation as well as in attitudes to situations that are not in line with their views. Then it should be faced with the spirit of *tawassuth* (moderate) to give birth to moderate moderation, not extreme moderation.

From this reality, Muhammadiyah invites Muslims, especially its members, to develop a moderate religious attitude. It is the spirit of authentic Islamic *wasathiyah*. This moderate religious perspective prioritizes understandings and attitudes that are just, virtuous, wise, peaceful, and spreading grace in addressing differences and building religious life. Different groups should respect each other and maintain unity. This attitude will foster critical thinking, respect for other groups, and tolerance (*tasamuh*) in seeing differences with the spirit of Islamic brotherhood or *ukhuwwah Islamiyah*). We must see differences as a sunnatullah that must be respected and contain a lesson for life. We also have to demonstrate a wasathiyah or moderate

attitude with authentic views to present the authenticity of wasathiyah Islam in religious life. We have to invite various groups of Muslims to seek common points (*kalimah sawa*) rather than sharpening differences to benefit Muslims and to realize Islam as *rahmatan lil alamin*.

Therefore, Muhammadiyah delivers messages and solutions. *First*, all people or religious groups, especially Muslims, should prioritize authentic Islamic wasathiyah and not follow religious extremism. *Second*, religious groups that advocate religious moderation or moderate religion must respect religious principles and continue striving for moderation with moderate views and methods. *Third*, Muhammadiyah encourages the mainstreaming of religious moderation to be carried out moderately so that it involves many religious groups and not just one certain party. *Fourth*, the state should be moderate, fair, and objective in treating and responding to religious people and not be used to suppress or discriminate against certain religious groups in the name of religious moderation.

7. **Millennial Generation Spirituality**

Demographically, Indonesia is a young country with a large number of millennials. The millennial generation has a personality and character that is different from the previous generation, especially concerning the use of technology, life orientation, creativity, and global association. Many studies show that millennials have a relatively low spirituality, moral integrity, adherence to social norms, and a national spirit. An instant lifestyle impacts weak mental resilience and agility in facing challenges and solving problems. On the other hand, millennials are swept up in the flow of religious extremism because of a shallow understanding of religion from sources that cannot be accounted for.

The shift and change in outlook on life that tends to move away from the noble values of Indonesian culture and religion can cause religiosity degeneration. The millennials are the holder of the leadership baton responsible for advancing and building the well-being of the people, the nation, and the country.

Joint efforts are needed to shape the millennials' nobel personalities, strong characters, quality spirituality, strong social bonds, high spirits, and a sense of love for the homeland. It can be through strengthening family functions, educative media, social experience, exemplary parents, religious development, and civic education. The government and society need to provide adequate space for actualization, socialization, and interaction, allowing the millennial generation to develop their potential, creativity, and various activities that foster a social spirit and moral integrity. Strengthening religious education in family-based formal and community education institutions, religious institutions, youth, mass media, and social media must be carried out jointly by involving all parties. We need to change the doctrinal and authoritarian models, methods, and strategies of religious education into a more enjoyable, open, and dialogic direction to foster an interest and enthusiasm to study religion and make it the basis of values and guidelines in life.

B. NATIONHOOD

1. Family Resilience

The family is a significant social, educational and religious institution. The family is an institution where children understand the basic cultural, religious, educational, and moral values. The strength and resilience of the family determine the stability, progress, prosperity, and future of the people and nation.

At this time, the position and function of the family as a social, educational, and religious educational institution experienced a shift and weakening. There are symptoms in which some community members choose not to have a family. Due to various factors, the family system and structure changed from an extended family to a nuclear family. Divorce rates tend to increase, especially among young families. Domestic violence is also becoming more common. Early marriage and unregistered marriage (at KUA) have also become social phenomena. The minimal outreach to education gives rise to new economic and health problems.

Strengthening family resilience is an essential and strategic national agenda to build a strong generation and nation. Family resilience is a condition in which there is peace, harmonious and loving relationships among family members, fulfillment of material and spiritual, physical and spiritual well-being, and education. The government, socio-religious organizations, and all parties need to pay more careful attention to family resilience through religious guidance, education, family counseling, advocacy, and social assistance.

2. **Electoral System Reform**

The general election (Pemilihan Umum) is a political system and process that reflects the implementation and quality of democracy. Elections are instruments by which the people elect members of the legislature, president, governors, regents, mayors, and village heads. Quality elections produce quality members of the legislature and executive as institutions and actors that determine the welfare and progress of the nation.

Since its independence in 1945, Indonesia has held twelve legislative and four direct presidential

elections. Ideally, the quality of the election system and implementation will improve. However, as can be seen from the democracy index, the election system and performance is full of problems, especially with the spread of entrenched money politics and identity politics. Elections as instruments of democracy have spawned oligarchic power practices that are not in line with the substance of democracy. Among the problems of politics and democracy that need serious attention are the weakening of morality, the oligarchy of power, and the domination of political party power. One of the roots of this is a liberal electoral system.

The political awareness and morals of the people, election organizers and elite political parties, and other power elites need to be improved within the framework of Pancasila values, religion, and national outlook. At the same time, the most important thing to review is the liberal electoral and political systems, which are not in line with Pancasila. Downstream solutions, which are awareness of political values and morals, will bring about significant changes if they are strengthened by reform of the electoral system as an upstream solution.

The open proportional system in legislative elections needs to be changed. There is no need to elect presidents, governors, regents, and mayors directly. However, the election mechanism needs to be improved in a more efficient and effective direction, for example, through closed or limited open electoral systems and integrated executive elections to eliminate money politics, identity politics excesses, and societal divisions or political polarization. The president and vice president election often trigger polarization when only two candidate pairs exist. So, Muhammadiyah encourages election competition that minimizes the impact of polarization and the politicization of identity which is unproductive for strengthening the

national building. Support for the active participation of political parties to protect the nation's best cadres to compete fair and square.

At the same time, it is important that in the future, there is a controlled mechanism so that the process and products of legislation and government regulations down to the ministries are not oligarchic, monolithic, and closed to public aspirations so that they conflict with the principles and substance of democracy. It is also hoped that the 2024 election will be a moment for preventing liberal and misguided constitutional practices, and restructuring superpower or super body institutions such as the Indonesian National Police (Polri) in a package of structuring or reforming the national defense and security system.

3. Leadership Succession 2024

According to the Indonesian constitution, the government once every five years holds a leadership succession, namely the 2024 General Election. It will be held simultaneously related to the election of the president-vice president, DPR RI, and DPD RI. The practice of habituating money politics, party oligarchy, political pragmatism, candidate-centered issue, and political divisions means that the five-year election is not an arena for multiplying work-oriented politics, service, and the politics of hope. For it is more plagued by the disease of oligarchic politics and power-seeking. At the same time, the politics of fear of conflict is growing due to political polarization, identity politics, SARA sentiments, and the politics of bribery and extortion. The growth of populism that only pursues popularity and support of the people at large without being accompanied by an authentic spirit of loving and fighting for the fate of the majority is still far from living in a just, prosperous, and advanced way.

The Indonesian nation has experienced elections five times after the 1998 reform. However, electoral politics more often risks socio-cultural cohesiveness due to destructive sentimental politics and a reluctance to respect the diversity of choices as a necessity. The simultaneous and complexity of the electoral system should also require many people who love this country to think about and encourage leadership that has a strong national vision and platform, a vision of respect for pluralism and unity in the spirit of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (unity in diversity), a unifying vision, a vision for prosperity, and a vision advancing Indonesia. Executive and legislative leaders should be encouraged to have a strong and authentic orientation to the values of Pancasila, religion, and national identity. The leaders who are elected and entrusted with managing the country must be true statesmen who prioritize the nation's interests and state above self-interest, cronies, dynasties, and other momentary interests. The elected leaders are also to be able to free themselves from the co-optation of various foreign and domestic forces, which are constantly working to divert the country from the function and orientation of constitutional obedience and the nobility of Pancasila values. The leaders produced by the 2024 Election are also expected to have the political principle, to keep the national interest and to hold fast integrity.

4. Deradicalization Approach

Like the current world phenomenon, Indonesia cannot be separated from radicalism, namely the understanding and actions of people and groups that are violent and intolerant of living together. Radicalism is a general or universal phenomenon and reality that concerns various aspects of life has a diversity of views or ideologies and is carried out by certain people and parties. In the name

of returning to the roots (*radic*, *radical*), people or parties become extreme, rigid, monolithic, intolerant, and often commit acts of violence.

It is very biased and pejorative when radicalism in Indonesia is limited to its object only to religious radicalism. It mainly refers to Islam as reflected in various deradicalization views, policies, and projects, which often cause controversy in national life. This biased view, apart from being contrary to the objectivity of truth and the position of Pancasila as a benchmark for a strong and moderate state, at the same time will only make Islam and Muslims accused. This narrow and biased view simultaneously ignores other radicalisms that are no less dangerous for the interests of the nation and state. Liberal radical, secular radical, ultra-nationalism, radical left and right, regional separatism, and potential totalitarian ideologies often prove to be radicalism that is just as dangerous for Indonesia which is based on Pancasila and whose people have religion and noble culture.

This objective view does not mean negating the existence of religious radicalism-extremism, especially in a small number of Indonesian Muslims. Deradicalization campaigns or movements have built an emergency against certain Islamic groups. However, at the same time, it normalizes other radical conditions that consciously or unconsciously have started to infect non-Islamic groups. An excessive perspective with an orientation towards deradicalization or overdose of deradicalism can lead to a paradox. Fighting radicals in a radical way will eventually lead to the birth of new radicals so that Indonesia will be exposed to radicals and radicalism in various forms.

The locus of radicalism and deradicalization must not aim at a particular religion or religious group, such as Islam. However, it is general in nature, both in the context of faith, ideology, and groups. Deradicalization should not become

another counter-radical program and radical movement which eventually leads to a new radicalism. Therefore, moderation is needed, namely understanding and action that is moderate, fair, and objective. Moderation should not contain content and ways of radicalization. Moderate or authentic moderation is more honest and objective in viewing and solving problems. Indonesia's sociological home and environment should further develop positive energy for the future of the nation and Indonesia's golden generation.

The issue of radicalism and deradicalization should not create new problems. Every day the issue of radicalism continues to be rolled out, so if it is not followed up with positive efforts toward off all diseases of radicalism which indeed endangers the socio-religious and national ecosystem, then what will happen is the problem will be preserved. They will make an impression that radicalism and deradicalization have become a livelihood for groups who benefit materially from the issue.

Various systematic efforts in dealing with religious radicalism must be designed by moderating religion and Islam to spread diversity that is *rahmatan lil-'alamin*. At the same time, it is also essential to pay close attention to forms of national radicalism originating from non-religious views and other ideologies that are inconsistent with and threaten the existence of Pancasila, a moderate ideology.

A fundamental reconstruction of perspectives on radicalism is needed so that it does not end in judgment on specific groups and aspects while ignoring objective matters and turning a blind eye to opportunities for alternative solutions that are more dialogical and uphold national values. Firm law enforcement steps to not widen the area of radicalism into a wider realm that is actually in a safe and peaceful moderate zone are urgently needed

as a commitment to localize the problem and not bring dangerous generalist and polarizing views.

5. **Legal Justice**

Indonesia is a constitutional state, and so state administration is based on law. Every citizen has the same position before the law. Firm, straight, consistent, and fair implementation of the law is a necessity that guarantees the fulfillment of legal rights and justice for all citizens. The law must not be sharp downwards and blunt upwards, accompanied by criminalization that finds fault with citizens of the nation without sound and solid legal evidence.

The dream of realizing Indonesia as a just country, as contained in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, is still far from being realized. There are not a few laws and regulations that contradict the greatest aspirations of the people and are not in favor of the people. There have been many cases where the law has sided with groups who can access legal apparatus, particularly the courts, prosecutors, and police. There is a phenomenon where the law is defeated by political, business, and power interests.

In addition to increasing literacy, awareness, and public compliance, what is very important is strengthening the morals and commitment of legal officials. Many changes are needed to the laws and regulations of the judiciary and the police to eliminate overlapping roles, abuse of authority, and responsibilities of law enforcement officials. Law enforcement is very urgent for eradicating corruption through the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), the Attorney General's Office, and other authorized institutions. The position and functions of the KPK need to be strengthened by regulations so that commissioners and employees who have high integrity must be courageous, independent, and on the side of the national and state

interest. In upholding law and eradicating corruption, law enforcement must not be selective and politicized by bringing certain political interests that erode the dignity and trust of law enforcement institutions.

6. **Inclusive and Fair Public Space**

Public space has various functions, including meeting housing needs, the economy, places of worship, cemeteries, sports, parks, and community activities. Basically, every citizen has the right to obtain and use access to public space in a manner that is per laws and regulations.

Along with the development of population, industry, and social changes, the ownership, availability, and access to public space raises various problems, such as monopolistic practices by companies, housing developers, individuals, and certain groups. Apart from that, there is also spatial planning abuse which causes damage to the environment and biological resources, like natural disasters, floods, landslides, clean water crises, and droughts. Public space that is not well organized creates problems of social segregation as a result of the exclusivism of land conversions such as for housing for the elite, and for certain religious groups, as well as including the phenomenon of exclusive cemeteries that the public cannot access.

The central government and regional governments should enforce fair spatial planning rules to guarantee the fulfillment of the public's rights to avoid social conflicts, human rights violations, and environmental damage. Structuring housing and public space that is inclusive across religions, and ethnicities and respects the diversity of society, including people with disabilities, will bring benefits and national unity. Suppose today's regulations are felt to be powerless to protect living space. In that case,

new spatial laws and regulations are needed that allow for a fair and inclusive arrangement of public spaces.

7. **Disaster Resilience Systems**

Indonesia is a disaster-prone country. Various natural disasters often occur. In addition, non-natural disasters from bad governance in managing the environment and pandemics arise one after another. Multiple disasters cause damage not only to physical facilities and infrastructure but also to social institutions of society.

However, public awareness and resilience to disasters still need to improve due to weak disaster mitigation and a theology that tends to be fatalistic. There is no seriousness from the government to provide disaster education and develop technology that minimizes damage and human casualties. Recent research shows that efforts to overcome problems and protect society from various possible pandemics, especially those caused by dangerous viruses, are still very limited, so Indonesia is still very dependent on other countries.

Indonesia's position which is vulnerable to disasters needs to be further enhanced in understanding, awareness, theological position, mitigation capabilities, and community rescue skills which are carried out through education, training, and strengthening cooperation between the government, community institutions, and humanitarian organizations. The government needs to regulate an established, consistent, and long-term resilience system supported by legal instruments, community service institutions, involvement of volunteers, and dissemination of research results related to disaster technology and infectious disease (pandemic) medical science. Officials and anyone else do not misuse disaster funds and hinder the

process of disaster resilience. Bureaucracy is to be more effective, efficient, and disaster-resilient.

8. **Aging Population**

Indonesia is currently the fourth most populous country in the world. With a high birth rate and a vast number of productive ages, Indonesia has the potential to experience a population explosion. On the one hand, a large population can become social and economic capital that promotes prosperity and progress. On the other hand, a large population with an unequal composition and low quality can cause demographic problems, such as unemployment, crime, malnutrition, stunting, poor education, poverty, and social vulnerability.

Indonesia is a young country with most people aged 16–60 years. However, over time, the number of senior citizens (elderly) has increased due to good health services, healthy lifestyles, and other factors. The increasing number of senior citizens can burden the country's economy, especially those related to health services and insurance.

Therefore, the government and all elements of society need to mitigate the demographic problem with various programs that enable senior citizens to remain active and productive through various social, religious, cultural, economic, tourism, and other activities. Education and health services for groups under five years old (toddlers), pregnant and lactating mothers to prevent stunting, violence, bullying, worsening of the environment, and various problems that threaten the growth and development of early childhood as the golden generation must be well anticipated because all those will determine the progress of the nation and country.

9. National Integration

As a plural nation, Indonesia still encounters challenges in maintaining its social and territorial integration. With such a vast territory that coincides with differences in ethnicity, race, and religion, as well as social inequality, group, racial and regional sentiments continue to emerge from time to time. However, so far, the state in dealing with this problem of national integration tends to be instantaneous and needs a simultaneous and long-term platform. Regarding the social pluralism problem, the state emphasizes the aspect of unity while negating the existence of diversity. Instead of highlighting diversity without integrating it with an agreement, the meaning of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika still needs to be clarified. Supposedly, the state stands above all groups and provides the same space for the growth and development of diversity, as well as being a bridge for the establishment of mutual understanding and trust (*mutual trust*). The state is expected to be present as a unifying force and can protect all groups without discrimination.

The Central Government, in terms of national integration, is trying to overcome the problem of territorial integration by granting the broadest possible autonomy, budget allocations, and a security approach. Unfortunately, this approach has been ineffective so far. The amount of the overflow of the state budget (APBN) was not directly proportional to the increase in people's living standards. Meanwhile, the security approach only breeds human rights violations, and the cycle of violence continues to repeat itself. Issues and problems of separatism still arise in the midst of the widest possible autonomy that approaches or equals federation.

The government and all components of the nation must avoid various issues and problems that often trigger divisions. The issue of radicalism and intolerance should not

become a stigma or factor in national groups' divisions. The government must be careful and avoid being easily carried away by controversial issues that increasingly distort nations from groups to unite national views and attitudes. The government must not participate in the negative stigma of groups within the country while giving excessive appreciation to other groups to add to social estrangement and division.

First, the government must have a national integration platform that provides open space for the growth of diversity or pluralism. That platform can also unite the diversity within the framework of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, which is balanced between diversity and unity. Second, the government must review the construction and policies in overcoming sensitive matters regarding issues of religion, ethnicity, race, and inter-groups with a Bhinneka Tunggal Ika approach instead of using a multiculturalism view. The former (Bhinneka Tunggal Ika) approach has an insight into national personality, while the latter tends to be liberal and only celebrates pluralism and tolerance according to particular views, without getting down to earth in the life of the Indonesian people who have a spirit of cooperation and moderation.

The Central Government, regarding autonomy policies and regional problems, needs to complement the strategy that has been pursued so far with several other methods that are more precise and simultaneous. *First*, increasing the capacity of local government governance, especially in terms of development planning and budget allocation that, are oriented towards fulfilling basic services. *Second*, providing assistance, supervision, and strict inspection of the performance of local governments. *Third*, giving tough sanctions to local governments that perform poorly

(by reducing budget allocations) or committing fraud with criminal sanctions and restitution of state losses.

10. Economic Justice

The founders of the Indonesian nation, from the beginning, aspired for the economy to be built as a socially just economic system in which social welfare is everyone's right. Everyone must feel prosperity, and everyone has equal access to managing wealth and national financial resources. Article 3 of the early 1945 Constitution firmly stated: "...The economy is structured as a joint venture based on the principle of cooperation...", "...The branches of production which are important for the state and which affect the livelihood of the people at large are controlled by the state...", and "...Earth and water and the natural resources contained therein are controlled by the state and used for the greatest possible prosperity of the people...". The fifth precept of Pancasila contains an important essence of "Social Justice for All Indonesians". In conclusion, one of the *raison d'atre for* establishing Indonesia in economic life is to create a socially just economy.

A socially just economy has become the main agenda of every government after the Indonesian nation achieves its independence. It has been used as a reference in planning and implementing economic development. Unfortunately, it is often used as political rhetoric that continues to be echoed at all times. It is acknowledged that many efforts have been made in every government regime to build a socially just economy. However, the ideals of creating a socially just economy have yet to achieve the expected results. Even after the 1998 reforms, a socially just economy is getting away from people's expectations. Economic growth has indeed been quite impressive so far, and economic growth has brought increased welfare for

some groups of people, several sectors of the economy, and certain regions. However, behind these good economic growth figures, it turns out that there are still many groups of people who have not got the impact of it so equity has not been widespread. The whole community has yet to obtain the benefits directly fairly and proportionally. The reality shows that there are still many regions that need to catch up in developing economic sectors, which are, in fact, the people's livelihood. There are widening inequalities and gaps in various dimensions, both in terms of income for community groups as well as regional and sectoral. In addition, a small group controls most of the national economic assets and natural resources. It leads to unfair monetary and public policy making. The policies strengthen the oligarchic groups' positions and weaken the interests of most people as a whole. It includes the increasing domination of various natural and economic resources, which has further distanced the aspirations of an economy with social justice.

Several data and facts worth mentioning strengthen this fact. *First*, the 1% wealthiest control 46.6% of total wealth, and the 10% of the richest control 75.3% of total wealth. *Second*, the Gini ratio for land tenure increased from 0.54 in 1973 to 0.64 in 2013. *Third*, 1.25% of banks' accounts controlled 80.5% of total deposits. *Fourth*, 48 financial conglomerate groups control 66.7% of the total assets of the financial services system. *Fifth*, Indonesia's Material Power Index (MPI) is higher than other ASEAN countries except for the Philippines (Didin S. Damanhuri and Maulin Kusuma, 2020). *Sixth*, Indonesia's economic structure still has dualistic characteristics (*dual economy*), as previously stated by Booke. This can be seen, for example, in the agricultural sector, where the traditional agricultural

industry, which is a subsystem of the modern agricultural sector, is capital-intensive and capitalistic.

This state of inequality and injustice cannot continue without a comprehensive settlement and reform because it will disrupt national, social, and political stability and threaten the structure of national and state life. Therefore, Muhammadiyah, as a socio-religious organization established preceding the Indonesia Republic, which has made many contributions and sacrifices in the long journey of the nation and state, is called upon to contribute thoughts and suggestions as well as input in the efforts of the Indonesian people to create an economy that is socially just. Muhammadiyah believes that creating a socially just economy must be the commitment and duty of all elements of the nation, including Muhammadiyah. In this connection, apart from appreciating the government as the authority holder, Muhammadiyah continues to strive to build a better economic life, while at the same time seeing that the true government, by receiving the mandate of the people, has great strength and power to be able to create a socially just economy through various policies and programs that are carried out systematically sustainable. The government is the main actor that has the main responsibility in efforts to create a socially just economy.

Based on these thoughts and concerns, we would like to contribute the following thoughts. *First*, laying the foundation for a new economic policy primarily oriented towards creating a socially just economy with total political commitment from the government. The commitment must embody paradigms, agendas, policies, and programs that are planned and implemented consistently and continuously. *Second*, preventing the creation of regulations and policies that are controlled and influenced by oligarchic power groups, as well as preventing and controlling the

growth of the oligarchy's power in the economic field. *Third*, developing affirmative policy actions for community groups, regions, and sectors that have been marginalized so far. *Fourth*, formulating progressive economic regulations, policies, and programs. Those are to enable vulnerable communities and micro, small and medium enterprises to gain more comprehensive, more accessible, and more affordable access to managing natural and economic resources as well as systems and services of banking and financial institutions. *Fifth*, encouraging consistently progressive tax policies for super-large business groups and super-rich groups of people who have so far benefited from the economic system that has been running so far. *Sixth*, developing a more progressive and massive empowerment program for micro, small and medium enterprise groups that will enable them to be promoted. *Seventh*, improving the business climate for the growth and development of the business world. It should be based on community empowerment that has been carried out by civil society groups so far.

C. UNIVERSAL HUMANITY

1. Peaceful and Just World Order

The Russia-Ukraine conflict has triggered a global-scale crisis that threatens world peace and order while countries worldwide are starting to emerge from the economic, social, and political downturn caused by the Covid-19 pandemic. The involvement of the United States in the conflict resulted in the threat of escalating the scale of the conflict due to mobilizing countries outside Europe to support America's position. The economic embargo against Russia made the government play the black market financial card, which triggered opportunistic economic behavior by countries in some regions that could create political economy

instability. In addition, the rise of unilateral action, namely the unilateral actions of a country against other sovereign countries, ignores the principles of international law.

Unilateralism can take the form of aggression, annexation, or occupation. This shows the fading international commitment to the principle of non-intervention. This condition also proves the increasingly disintegrating role and function of multilateral institutions, such as the United Nations, in dealing with war.

Muhammadiyah encourages the Indonesian government to be more active in playing international diplomatic and political roles in helping reduce the escalation and impact of conflict. Indonesia has a reputation as a country that pioneered the idea of non-alignment politics through the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung in 1955, which in history has become an alternative for world diplomacy to escape the binary trap of West vs. East contestation. Indonesia needs to play a conciliatory role again, not by pacifism, but instead, to be actively involved in building cooperation with conflicting parties to localize conflicts and prevent efforts to globalize the disputes.

A number of regions in the world are currently experiencing violent conflicts which have a detrimental impact on the security and welfare of civilians, such as Syria, Yemen, Myanmar, and Ukraine. The conflicts that occur involve various complex factors, starting from political, economic, social, cultural, and even religion religious ones, so that efforts to resolve them cannot be reached in one way and in the hands of one party. Efforts to resolve military conflicts in various regions require the involvement of many parties to unravel complex issues, including the participation of religious groups. Muhammadiyah can collaborate with international and regional religious organizations to be actively involved in efforts to find solutions to conflict in

several regions, either through discursive symbolic efforts by providing religious arguments to encourage all parties involved to seek peaceful solutions in solving problems; as well as empirical socio-political advocacy efforts, including efforts to help civilian victims of conflict.

The current escalation of conflict is an accumulation of smaller crises and conflicts that occurred before but did not find a peaceful solution. Each country needs to preserve, implement and revitalize its commitments regarding multilateralism to support the realization of a just and peaceful world order. This commitment must be strengthened to stem escalation in quantity and quality. The overall institutional reform of the UN Security Council must support this principle of multilateralism. UN reforms cover at least a few key points. *First*, the permanent membership status of the five major countries. *Second*, regarding veto rights. *Third*, related to regional representation and the number of countries in the non-permanent membership. Some of these main issues must be discussed in one package simultaneously. Without a thorough reform, the UN is no longer relevant as an institution to deal with current international issues. With a severe and systematic effort, the UN can anticipate many conflicts. To create global cooperation from religious organizations for peace, the UN can invite religious organizations worldwide to build alliances to study and anticipate the emergence of conflicts. So that this cooperation with religious communities will be able to map potential disputes and find solutions. The main thing that The UN must pursue is multilateral cooperation that prioritizes global peace over the superiority of each country.

Muhammadiyah, an Islamic organization with quite a long history, complete and capable resources, and a wide international network, will actively assist the government's

efforts to play the role of global peacemaker through free-active politics by participating in providing resources and networks available.

2. **Climate Change Impact**

With all its massive impacts, climate change is an unavoidable reality at the global, national, and local levels. The risks that were once feared have occurred. The examples are food insecurity, conflictual power relations between countries (*political security*) due to fighting over welfare resources, and environmental safety. Several countries and islands are threatened with drowning and migration due to climate crises; both carried out by humans and non-humans (animals). Environmental threats from human anthropogenic movements can also cause various cases of the spread of zoonotic diseases. The cause is the destruction of the original habitat where viruses nest, for example, due to deforestation.

Amid the current turmoil of the Ukrainian war, the food crisis has overshadowed the universe because food production and distribution have been systemically affected. The war is expanding the impact of the climate crisis and food security. Climate change is the main reason for causing weather disturbances such as drought, which reduces production. This requires multilateral solid regulations with a super strong commitment to realizing the ambition to reduce air temperature below 1.5%. In an ocean of turmoil, there is much hope in global forums like COP21 to push back on the importance of international alliances to save planet earth through global commitment. The 21st climate negotiations of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Paris in 2015 were a historic meeting with legally binding agreements since the Kyoto Protocol, which was born at the COP meeting. The

Paris Agreement aims to stop global warming by no more than 2 degrees Celsius. For this reason, each country needs to include a commitment regarding how much carbon dioxide emissions will be reduced. The Paris Agreement is supported by 195 countries, including the world's two largest carbon emitters, namely the United States and China. This agreement needs to be materialized faster, tougher and better because millions of young people demand that countries' leaders secure their future in an equitable manner. Many solutions have been demonstrated through various studies, such as how in the near future there will be a transition to renewable energy, green jobs, as well as funding and investment for sectors that strengthen sustainable development.

It is important for countries and all nations to develop a paradigm of "building without destroying" to save the earth and the planet, the only place where humans and God's creatures live. One of the important agendas to balance the mitigation for domestic interests is to rebuild/revitalize local food to guarantee more equitable health services and distribute sources of welfare and justice.   Food movement and consuming local food are supported by policy and the market. Compost barns are built and reproduced to support food barns that farmers can move massively and systematically. Food and climate issues closely related to coastal, marine, and small island livelihoods urge the government to immediately pass the Climate Change Bill. It is to protect sinking coastal and small islands and evaluate development projects/policies that seize sea space, reclamation, mining, tourism industry, etc.) which are the living spaces of coastal communities supporting people's management areas (WKR) on the coast, sea, and small islands.

3. Gaps Between Countries

The race for economic, technological, political, and military power among developed countries sacrifices the ideal of a just world order. The show of force from developed countries also reflects a tendency for aggressive collaboration between countries, which then legitimizes war, normalizes conflict, and exploitation of giant companies to the global south which threatens the environment, sovereignty, and the economic future of the country or region.

The secret workings, nuclear development, and algorithmic tactics for the operation of hegemony and the domination of state power over other countries are no less threatening. Information asymmetry in the global order has perpetuated wars over resource control and widespread class wars. Developing countries continue to sustain and become victims of the growth of foreign companies and other dangers it creates. The supremacy of military institutions has dominated international politics in the last decades, which can be shown in how multinational companies operate. The bankruptcy of poor countries due to global governance injustice was also triggered by the collaboration of political economy aggressors and the weakness of multilateral institutions that should objectively view the problem of global inequality. The crisis of the principles and values of peace and justice, which are utilized to organize the world together, is like managing a common house. This crisis will perpetuate the tyranny of rich countries over developing countries.

It is urgent to realize joint work between countries as a society and as an international community to save the lives of people in poor countries, alleviate suffering and reduce the political-economic consequences and social impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic. In addition, changes in international

geopolitics encourage the need for exceptional commitment to ensure energy justice, and a just world economic order and reduce various conflicts resulting from the paradox of plenty in southern countries (*global south*).

4. Spread of Xenophobia

Xenophobia is an attitude and behavior that is "anti" towards foreigners or something foreign, not only in the sense of foreigners but also includes the mindset of being "anti" and rejecting things that are considered alien, such as beliefs, culture, identity, traditions, etc. In history, this xenophobic attitude has led to various acts of intimidation, discrimination, and even genocide.

Some studies show that in the last decade, there has been an increase in xenophobic and Islamophobic tendencies in Europe following the influx of conflict refugees in the Middle East, Africa, and America following the election of President Trump as leader of the superpower. Recently, the Covid-19 outbreak in the city of Wuhan, China, has also led to the rise of xenophobia against ethnic Chinese and Asian people in general in some Western countries. In globalization, which has made the world narrower and life activities coincide, the trend of xenophobia has pushed civilization back into the dark ages.

Collaboration is needed across global civil society organizations or networks to be actively involved in efforts to mitigate the impact and prevent the spread of xenophobic attitudes in a broad sense, not only anti-discriminatory attitudes towards foreigners but also antipathy and discriminatory attitudes towards groups and identities that are considered different and foreign.

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