The Relevance of Islam in Indonesian Politics: A Study of the Integration and Sustainability of the Role of the Muslim Ummah

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	This research explains the dynamic perspective of Islam and politics in Indonesia. The relationship between Islam and the political situation in Indonesia is not always harmonious. Using qualitative methods through literature study, this research resulted in the conclusion that the indications of Islam and politics are two aspects that are integrated in its development which has never been interrupted from the previous period. The existence of Islam in Indonesia is largely determined by the conditions of goals established by the Muslim community itself through qualifications and political capacity with an insight into the intellectual formation of its people. The condition of Muslims today is indeed progressing, but as a political institution it has experienced a setback. Therefore, discussions on Islamic and political issues are increasingly felt as urgent by Muslims themselves. The engineering of the discussion and its implementation includes a contextual understanding of Islamic doctrine with the nation's political growth, a coaching system that can liberate the people from material and spiritual backwardness, as well as leadership that is not only charismatic, but also dedicated and professional.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Tracing the history of politics in Indonesia can be done in various ways so that it can be used to reveal the journey of change in the people's political system Islam in Indonesia. Thinking dialectically will see the course of history as something that is established and receives reactions until finally giving birth to a new synthesis. This approach can certainly be used to observe the history of Islam and politics in Indonesia as the majority of the people embrace Islam. The existence of Muslims in this country is often the subject of discussion and their role has experienced ups and downs. It rises almost at the start of every new chapter, but generally then recedes. Various discussions about Islam in the political context in Indonesia also indicate that it cannot be separated from the life of the Indonesian nation and state. This article aims to discuss Islam on the Indonesian political stage from a historical perspective.

To make things easier, the author tries to discuss three perspectives, namely understanding Islamic political trends as a basis, Islam in the New Order, descriptions of current Islamic thought with various hopes for what should happen. To strengthen the analysis, a literature review will be used, namely a literature approach that supports the identification of certain research questions. Literature reviews need to draw on and evaluate various types of sources including academic and professional journal articles, books, and relevant sources (Nurhadi dkk,2022).

2. METHODS

This research uses library research with content analysis techniques. This research was carried out by analyzing library data, namely teaching materials related to the title. Next, the author uses a descriptive method from the collected data by explaining or explaining the main theoretical problems, comparing them to get the right conclusions and formulating differences in material, and analyzing different materials to be selected as comparative material.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Islamic Political Trends as a Basis

Based on a study of the sources of Islamic teachings, the Qur'an and the Sunnah, every Muslim believes that these two sources of teachings provide a very clear scheme of life. This scheme of life means that the society that must be built by every Muslim is a society that is subject to Divine will, so that its classification of good and bad values must be used as a criterion or ethical and moral basis for the development of all dimensions of life. Therefore, grounding Islamic values is a demand for Muslims. It seems that it would be clearer to clarify the problem by quoting a statement written by H.A.R. Gibb in his book Wither Islam states that it is not just a system of theology, more than that, Islam is a complete civilization. In a confirmative tone, Nasir said that Islam cannot be separated from all dimensions of life. Islam does not separate spiritual issues from world issues, but rather includes both aspects. Islamic law (sharia) regulates both, human relationships with God and human relationships with each other. Realizing this, Muslims need political power as a vital instrument for implementing values Islamic (Mahanani dkk, 2022).

In his book al-Siyasah al-Syar'iyyah, Ibn Taimiyah revealed that value (political organization) for collective human life is the most important religious need. Without his support, religion will not stand firmly. Muhammad Asad believes that a country can become truly Islamic only by having to consciously implement Islamic teachings in the life of the nation, and by integrating these teachings into state law. A country can be said to be an Islamic country if Islamic teachings regarding socio-politics are implemented in people's lives based on the constitution. To realize this dream requires struggle and a long journey. This has been done by Indonesian Muslims. Because we are very aware that the struggle against all forms of injustice is something that must be carried out by Muslims. This principle is believed to be true by Muslims so that if it is not implemented or achieved, it will be impossible to implement Islamic teachings correctly. Therefore, it is very natural to say that Indonesian Muslims are known as staunch opponents of all forms of imperialism.

Muslim leaders who are members of various political parties build a national spirit that remains based on the common thread of Islam. The color of the struggle in forming an independent and sovereign nation certainly did not have to stop after the Indonesian people were free from the shackles of colonialism. As a pluralistic nation, not only in the form of differences in ethnicity and customs, but what is more serious is that differences in beliefs and religions certainly give rise to various differences of will in characterizing this nation and country. The unavoidable result is of course the emergence of various struggles between the nation's children based on religious differences. For Muslims, the state they wish to form is certainly based on Islamic teachings, by integrating these teachings into the state constitution. This is the central theme fought for by Islamic leaders in Indonesia, firstly during the eve of the proclamation and secondly during the period of independence.

The end of the colonial period with the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17 1945, required the nation's leaders to work hard to organize and give a new face to this Republic. The most fundamental issue is establishing the State's Foundations. Islam is embraced by the majority of the Indonesian population through leaders who strive to be consistent with their identity by fighting for Islamic values to be included in the country's constitution. It started with persistent struggle in the committee of nine chaired by Soekarno which produced the "Jakarta Charter" which was signed on June 22 1945. This issue reached its climax in the debate in the Constituent Assembly on the results of the first election in 1955. This can certainly be considered as a description of historical facts The Indonesian people, especially Muslims, have formed an Islamic political trend that continues to develop in the political history of the Indonesian nation until today.

3.2 Islam During the New Order Period

The New Order as a historical chapter in the chain of Indonesian history is not free from the philosophy of history in general, which is within the range of the law of reflection and dialectical interaction. This means that the new order, apart from being a manifestation of preserved social action and reaction to actual problems, gives reciprocal vibrations to human life in its cultural perspective, is also an antithesis to the history that preceded it. It must be admitted that the New Order has given birth to optimism, institutions and alternative offers that influence the structure, cultural patterns and perceptions of society in looking at the future of the Indonesian state, nation and society. No exception to this is Islamic institutions and the perceptions of their followers in the context of self-actualization efforts. The birth of the New Order in mid-1966, which later identified itself as a development order, has brought changes in almost all areas of national life, both in the political, economic and socio-cultural fields (Mahanani dkk. 2022).

In the political field, this change occurs with the existence of a mechanism for realizing people's political participation and refreshing national leadership which is manifested through general elections every five years. Next, in 1973, party simplification was carried out through fusion, from 10 parties to 3 parties, namely the United Development Party (PPP), which was a combination of the Islamic parties, NU, Permusi, PSII and Perti; Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), a combination of PNI, Parkindo, Catholic Party, Murba, and IPKI; Work Group (Golkar). None of the three political parties carries the name of a religion or other cultural ideology. Even the only party that promotes Islam, PPP, had to let go of losing its Islamic identity. In fact, its Islamic identity is the PPP's strength. This political party engineering was also followed by a floating mass policy which limited political activities to Level II Regions and above; and establishing Pancasila as the only principle for political parties (1983) and mass organizations (1985).

The government with all its engineering is an important part of what is called bureaucratization, namely government involvement in all people's activities. This is actually a manifestation of the obsession of the government dominated by ABRI (now transformed into TNI and POLRI) in order to achieve national order and stability as a prerequisite for carrying out development smoothly and attentively. At the beginning of its birth, the New Order was very beneficial to Islam, because the emergence of this new order meant that it had eliminated the old order and the Soekarnoism movement which was supported by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) as an anti-religious party.

The reality can be seen from the large amount of support from political parties and Islamic mass organizations for the New Order. However, not all Islamic groups' wishes can be granted. As is known, at the beginning of the birth of the New Order, Masyumi figures fought for their figures who were still detained by the Old Order to be immediately released and for the Masyumi Party itself to be rehabilitated, but these demands could not be granted. Likewise with Bung Hatta who will establish the Islamic Democratic Party. As a solution, the Indonesian Muslim Party (Permusi) was formed, which was expected to become the incarnation of the banned Masyumi party. However, the government wants this party to become a new party that has nothing to do with the Masyumi party, and even former Masyumi figures are not allowed to lead the new party.

In the first election since the New Order which took place in 1971, Islamic parties only got around 29% of the vote and Perti only 0.7%. Meanwhile, Golkar received 62.8% of the vote, PNI 6.4%, Perkindo and the Catholic Party 2.45%. Then it can be noted that the birth of PPP as a fusion of Islamic Parties in 1973 was actually not simple. Fusion was not the idea of party leaders, but came from the government. And even though the party leaders of the four parties have agreed to merge themselves into a party called or given the name PPP, their different cultural backgrounds remain a potential factor for division, as has happened in the past, namely when the then PSII followed by NU separating from Masyumi. It turned out that this solidarity only lasted until 1973 until the 1982 election.

In turn, history has proven that leading up to the 1982 elections, sharp differences between the elements within the PPP became increasingly visible. The main factor was because J. Naro replaced the candidates from the NU elements on the list of candidates for DPR members. This attitude which has brought chaos within political parties has resulted in a reduction in the number of PPP seats in the DPR, namely by 6 seats compared to the number of seats obtained in 1977, when it was 99 seats. Since then, PPP has been in an increasingly uncertain position with the authoritarian attitude displayed by J. Naro towards every party leader who is different from him. Not only that, this authoritarian attitude is also applied to those who come from the same element as himself (Permusi), if their differences arise. This attitude had an unfavorable impact on the party, which can be seen from the results of the 1987 elections with the PPP gaining only 61 seats in the People's Representative Council (DPR). So even though at first the New Order provided opportunities and positions for Muslims to strengthen and determine their political stance, in its journey it was disrupted by the emergence of ambitious groups and individuals. Therefore, political orientation and its implementation by Muslims has given rise to serious internal conflicts, thereby cornering the majority of Muslims who are verifiers in the national development arena.

3.3   Description of Islamic Thought and Attraction

The presence of the New Order as explained above is an order that has given birth to efforts to restructure the nation's life in social, political, cultural, economic and other aspects. The slogan of reform has become a new political format. However, it should be noted that the violation of the issue of renewal (modernity) has had quite a deep influence among the Islamic elite. Does the ongoing renewal accompany development dynamics that refer to program oriented and pragmatic attitudes; or it will have a positive impact on Islam or it will be a terrible blow that threatens its existence. Based on historical facts, after the rehabilitation of Masyumi came to a halt and the emergence of the establishment of the Indonesian Islamic Democratic Party and the increasingly narrow space for Islamic parties to move, although the figures were initially optimistic, in turn many Islamic circles took a hard line in responding to the current of development and modernization, as a result putting Muslims at a disadvantage. in a marginal position in development itself.

In line with its development, there has actually been a new trend among young Muslims in Yogya in anticipating Islamic issues. The situation is questioned critically. Islam and its institutions are discussed intelligently. Even though here and there there were pro and con responses, at least the description was found that some were still able to understand the political orientation in the Islamic struggle, while others saw that this orientation needed to be reviewed and even overhauled. The last group offers an alternative understanding of Islam in a more basic and proportional way in a societal context, not limited to political orientation, in fact political orientation and its implications have given rise to serious conflicts, thereby cornering Muslims, the majority of whom are verifiers in the development arena. Such conditions cannot be allowed to continue. Therefore, it needs to be formulated in a way that allows Muslims to play an equal role with other people in development or from another point of view does not reduce the image of Islam as a religion.

This movement for a critical and empirical understanding of Islam gained momentum in the early 70s when Nurcholis Madjid put forward the idea of "The Necessity of Renewing Islamic Thought and the Problem of Community Integration", January 3 1970. With such an intense role of mass media, this

idea spread quickly and jolting the conditioned atmosphere. It is natural that reactions from various groups immediately emerged, both for and against. The content highlighted by this new thought is about liberalization of views, secularization, freedom of thought, ideas of progress, inclusiveness, separation of Islam as a value and Islamic parties as a tool. The existence of thought in the early 70s, of which the Yogya circle can be called the parent, had its own influence and was intertwined with previous series. So some observers position it as a reactive movement to the ongoing socio-political changes. Of course the problem is not simple. This, apart from being a result of the influence of actual cultural upheavals, is also a synthesis of previous patterns of understanding. As is known, the pattern of reform that occurred in Indonesia went through a political, ideological, educational and social puritanical phase.

In certain benchmarks, it is known that the previous reforms were considered to have failed to deliver Islam to the bosom of its adherents, having failed in realizing its political ideals. In other positions it can be assessed that they have acted and also achieved in the context of their time. Returning to the understanding of the 70s renewal, apart from the terminology used, which was considered inappropriate by some circles and Nurcholish Madjid himself realized that the terminology used was indeed controversial and advocated the use of more precise and neutral technical terms. Substantially, this movement has offered basic foundations in the framework of restoring the psychological power (psycholo-striking force) of Muslims through a realistic point of view; not apologetic. The direction that is being aimed at is at least reflected in the analysis that Muslims are not able to recognize and direct the symptoms of modernity, are not alienated from it and are no longer in a marginal position in the dynamics of development, especially participating in and making national political policy decisions. In order to achieve this, basic prerequisites are needed in the form of improvements or changes in viewpoint patterns, freedom of thought, openness of attitude and grounding Islam as a value system (Surpani, S, 2023).

3.4 Islam Today

The New Order's commitment to the Indonesian nation-building program through Islamic parties was felt to be enormous. However, there were still differences in views regarding the direction and form of "ideal" development that would be implemented in the future at the beginning of the New Order era. This phenomenon was very reasonable, because at that time many bureaucrats and technocrats had secular educational backgrounds and priyayi - abangan culture. The impact can be seen in the style of development carried out which has a more westernized modernization character. This color makes Muslims, including modernist leaders, view this modernization with suspicion, and even oppose it. So Muslims are often the target of criticism from the government with claims that Islam is anti-development, anti-modern, anti-Pancasila and so on. This happened because the Islamic modernism movement from the beginning of this period until the beginning of the new order was actually more of an Islamic purification movement than a movement that emphasized how to improve the quality of Muslims and understand Islamic teachings so that they could respond to existing developments in life. The thoughts that emerged from Masyumi, for example regarding politics, turned out to be only thoughts transferred from the West wrapped in Islam (Wahid, K. A, 2010).

Deliar Noer, as the first Islamic figure, openly said that modernization is not contrary to Islam, but is a necessity. This statement was then followed by Nurcholish Madjid, who in some cases actually had a further reach of thought, such as his opinion that the main step to modernize Muslims must be to create a liberalistic climate. One part of this process is what is termed secularization which is different from the standard term. After the emergence of these two thoughts, other thinkers followed, especially in the 80s, which according to Fachry Ali and Bachtiar Effendi were classified into four main patterns, namely: Neo-modernism with its figures. Abdurrahman Wahid and Nurcholish Majdid, Islamic Democratic Socialism with its figures M. Dawam Raharjo and Adi Sasono, Universalism with its figures Jalaluddin Rahmat and AM. Saefuddin, Modernism with the characters Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif

and Djohan Effendi. With the emergence of these new thought patterns, the traditionalist-modernist dichotomy is no longer visible and is even becoming increasingly faded.

In line with the renewal of thought, there has also been a change in the organizational orientation of Islamic leaders. Previously the format of Islamic struggle was more focused through political channels, in subsequent developments the format of struggle covered broader and more concrete fields, especially efforts to liberate Muslims from ignorance and poverty. In the past, Islamic mass organizations with all their subordinates played more of a role as mass organizers and their leaders were oriented towards practical politics such as being members of the DPR, and if they were active in the educational or social sector, for example, even then it was only limited, so now these mass organizations play a role in fostering people in a wider field. To implement this development program effectively, Muhammadiyah, for example, has formed autonomous bodies consisting of the Economic Council, Higher Education, Research and Development Council, Tabligh Council and Majlis Tarjih. Meanwhile, NU formed the Ma'arif Educational Institution, the Mabarrot Social Council, the Family Benefit Institute, the Agricultural Development and Development Institute, the Research Institute and Human Resources Development, and Lajnah Ta'wir wa Nasyr.

In addition to the development programs carried out by Islamic mass organizations on a national scale, local foundations, educational and community development institutions have now grown, in addition to individuals working in the field of community development who do not use Islamic symbols, but they still care about the institutionalization of Islam. Then on the other hand, this change in orientation has had the consequence of diversifying the Muslim leadership which now consists of ulama, figures from Islamic organizations, Muslim intellectuals and state officials in the field of Islamic religion. Even though currently there is depoliticization of Islam or institutional decline of Islamic politics and the bargaining power (gaining power) of Islamic leaders, it is not only taking place in communities that traditionally adhere to Islam (santri), but also penetrates into universities. , private offices and government bureaucracy, accompanied by an increasing number of religious facilities around them.

The distribution of the aspirations of Muslims then underwent changes. If in the past, PPP was considered the only means of channeling the aspirations of Muslims, now these aspirations can also be channeled through PKS, PBR, PKB, PAN, PBB and other parties including local parties specifically in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam. Which was born after the Helsinki peace agreement. The question is, whether this distribution can be served and distributed by parties who are competent in their fields to Muslims, or simply to civilize Islam which is always considered identical to modern culture or culture which is always found to be in contrast to Islamic values. The facts above identify that the challenges faced by Muslims are increasingly varied, both internal and external. Meanwhile, traumatic problems cannot yet be completely eliminated, which according to Aswab Mahasin is the clash between traditionalism and modernism, between religious and national ties, and between santri and abangan. 19 An external challenge that cannot be avoided is the rapid development of science and technology. modernera which has a strong influence on political, economic and socio-cultural life which is increasingly secular.

Meanwhile, the education level of the people is still on average low, and the dynamics of understanding Islam is experiencing lag compared to the pace of scientific development modern knowledge and technology. Likewise, cultural acculturation increasingly obscures not only the values of national civilization, but also marginalizes Muslims from true Islamic values. Even though the flow of back to Islam is getting stronger, efforts to accept it and raise awareness honestly are far from what was expected. On the other hand, efforts to spread non-Islamic religions (Christianization process) in various ways have progressed over the past two decades. This fact certainly has an impact on reducing the number of Muslims, at least slowing down efforts to understand Islamic values for society because Muslims are trapped by the system of religious tolerance and cooperation that they promote (Demant, P. R, 2006).

4.   CONCLUSION

Based on the description above, it can be stated that Islam and politics are two aspects that are integrated in their development which has never been interrupted from the previous period. The existence of Islam in Indonesia is largely determined by the objective conditions built by the Muslim community itself through qualifications and political capacity that have an insight into the intellectual formation of its people. The condition of Muslims today has indeed progressed, but as a political institution it has experienced a setback. Therefore, discussing Islamic and political issues is felt to be increasingly urgent by Muslims themselves. The engineering of the discussion and its implementation includes an understanding of doctrinal Islam that is contextual to the nation's political growth, a coaching system that can liberate the people from material and spiritual backwardness, as well as leadership that is not only charismatic, but also dedicated and professional. In this way, the existence of Islam will be able to provide meaning for the growth of the nation, at least for its adherents, or in terms of the Qur'an it is rahmatan li al-alamin.

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