

## DIALECTICS OF POLITICS AND RELIGION IN INDONESIA

Okrisal Eka Putra<sup>1</sup> Mifedwil Jandra<sup>2\*</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Department of Dakwah Management (MD), Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup> Centers of Research and Community Engagement (LPPM), Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

\*Corresponding author: [jandraj6@gmail.com](mailto:jandraj6@gmail.com)

---

### Article history

Received: 14/09/2015

Received in revised form: 14/09/2015

Accepted: 18/10/2015

### Abstract

This study describes the relationship between religion and social life with politics as one aspect. The issue is the imbalance that occurs when Muslims as majority in Indonesia is not the sole determinant of political life journey., Parti-Islam party representing the political aspirations of Muslims never be a winner in every election. At best, they can only act as a "disturbing" factor in the election of the president and vice president. The question is what happens to Muslims in Indonesia so that every democratic process as elections only be used by those who want to take power in this country. This research is qualitative descriptive. Data retrieved through documentation and interviews. Later, the data were analyzed with descriptive analysis. The unit of analysis in social institutions in this regard is the religious and political parties. Data search is through books, journals and writings of Islamic political thinkers. urthermore, interpretation of data and grouping of data is done in accordance with the type of problem and then analyzed through an explanation to determine the variables. This research can enrich 'the wealth of thought in politics and in the fight for the aspirations of Muslims in civic life as well as in the preparation of an appropriate strategy to no longer be deceived by their political opponents. Muslims understanding of strength, verses and hadith are always multi-interpretative power that spawned a variety of comprehension and crystallize into a solid group. Differences occur is difficult to put together in one political group. Primordial existence more prominent than thinking about the progress of Muslims in the life of state and society. Color portrait of Muslim politics, we look long dialectic between propaganda and politics of the New Order, which is a long fight between Muslims and the government's birth that cause antipathy to each policy. It's realizing the physical strain that produced casualties on both sides.

*Keywords:* political relations, government, Muslims

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

Politics is a study that has been aged probably the same age as the age of the human himself. It is not surprising that many people are paying attention and studying about political science. Epistemologically, politics is associated with power. This definition given by Harold Lasswell, or is simply defined "who gets what, when and how" (Gani, 1987:13).

Political words derived from Greek, namely "politicians" from the root word "polis" the state of the city, and also of the Latin is "politica" which has been used since the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. It means that until now has been used for more than twenty five centuries. Athens city is the administrative center of the ancient Greeks. They assume that this world is their territory only and is referred to as polis. After Athens joins the city of Sparta, Thesallia, Corynthe, Mylithos and Samos, the concept of polis is more widely. It includes the cities that recently joined it. Greek philosophers were the first to introduce this term was Plato (427-347 BC) with his *Politeia* and Aristotle (384-322 BC) with his work *Politica*. This is the first book written and talked about politics and was a pioneer for the birth of political science (Ahmad, 1977:20).

Husain Munaf in *Ensklopedi Indonesia* explained that the word politics is known in Latin as *politica*, in Greek *politician*, in Dutch *politiek*, in French as *politique*, in English as politics and in Arabic as *siyasah*. If the word of politics has been around since ancient Greece, the term of *siyasah* in Arabic also emerged since the birth of an Islamic state in Medina. If the Greek political terms have the meaning government or state, then *siyasah* was originally defined as the effort and endeavor to achieve or solve a problem, but it also means government affairs.

As a political term by Islamic scholars interpreted with two meanings:

1. The general meaning, namely dealing with human affairs and life's problems based on religious laws. Therefore, the technical term *Khilafat*, which means representatives of *Rosulullah* to keep religion and rule the world.
2. The specific meaning, namely the opinion expressed leaders, laws and decrees were issued to keep the damage that will occur, eradicate the damage that has occurred or to solve a specific problem (Qardhawi, 1995:34).

In the political aspect it should be noted that during the Prophet, he had established social and political order of Islam in Medina. But after more than three centuries later, new legal thinkers began to formulate a political theory they are more systematic. Among them is quite popular is Al Mawardi and Al Ghazali. In generally both Sunni clerics that is constructing his political views. According to Al Mawardi, the political concept of Islam is based will be their obligation to establish the institutions of power, because it was built as a replacement prophetic religion to protect and regulate the world. Al Mawardi also wrote there are five basic elements in a country, namely: religion as the foundation of the state and the unity of the people, territory, population, authoritative government, and justice and security (Ahmad, 1977:20).

Ideologically in the view of scholars about building institutions *Imamat* is an obligation. But the requirements for taking office require personnel who are able to organize the life of the world and religion. Ahmad Syalabi explained that the state government or is the nature of human nature. Interests match the primary human interests against the interests of others such as food, clothing and shelter. The interest has been felt since man was born to earth (Syalabi, 1967:12).

Plato and Aristotle in their works explained that the government is the nature and purpose of man in every time and place because it is human beings who live in a society constantly require. Safety and welfare of the community can be realized with the concentration of governmental power (Ahmad, 1977:104). Abu A'la al-Maududi explains that human life requires government or state because of the necessity to implement an *amr ma'ruf nahi munkar*. This can only be carried out by its form of government. Without government or concentration of power, it is impossible case can be implemented. If the man fails to implement *amr ma'ruf nahi munkar*, this earth will undoubtedly bathed in the blood due to the thousand and one kind of crime committed human (Maududi, 1986:107).

With a starting point on the principles and objectives of the country according to Islamic teachings, as well as the constitutional principles include the principle of deliberation; the state according to Islamic teachings can be given a variety of predicate. Predicate is not sourced to the argument of the Qur'an and the hadith of the Prophet. The predicates are (Basyir, 2000:41):

1. Ideological State (*Daulatul Fikriah*), or a country that has the principle of ideals, namely the implementation of the teachings of the Qur'an and hadith in society, towards the achievement of prosperity will live in the world, physical and spiritual, material and spiritual, individuals or groups, and deliver to the achievement of happiness in the afterlife.
2. Law State (*Daulatul Qonuniyah*), or countries that are subject to the rules of the Qur'an and Sunna of the Prophet. Rulers who manage life of the country and its people are subject to the provisions of the law of the Qur'an and the Sunna of the Prophet.
3. Theo-democratic State, or countries with the principle teachings of the God (and his apostles), which is based on the realization that the principle of deliberation. Theocracy predicate cannot be accepted, because Islam does not recognize the existence of state power which receives the overflow of God. State power comes from the people and the rulers being responsible to the people. Predicate democracy more closely still contains several objections, namely the notion that sovereignty is fully in the hands of the people. What the people desired to walk, without being confronted to the teachings of the Lord. QS. Surat al An'am (6): 116 warn: *"And if you follow the will of many people on this earth they would mislead you from the way of Allah"*.
4. Islamic State (*Darul Islam*), predicate Islamic State in the books of fiqh is used to distinguish the non-Muslim countries, namely a friendly country or treaty country (*Darul 'Ahd*) and the state of war or enemy states (*Darul Harbi*), in the context of the discussion of relations between countries (Basyir, 2000:43).

Of the possibility of giving a variety of predicate for the country according to Islamic teachings, it can be concluded that the division of the country including the title of the authority of man, according to the agreement in the deliberation, it is not specified in the arguments of Al-Qura'n and the Sunna of the Prophet. This opinion was expressed also by Muhammad Natsir, according to him, the Muslims are not forbidden to imitate the systems used by non-Muslims as long as the system is not against Islamic teachings. A system is not the monopoly of a nation or state (Noer, 1987:129). Sayyid Qutb added that the Islamic government can embrace any system as long as it remains implement Islamic law. Therefore, all the governments which implement Islamic law can be referred to as an Islamic government, whatever form and style reign. Instead, governments that do not recognize and execute Islamic law, although carried out by an organization calling itself Islam or Islam label use, still cannot be regarded as an Islamic government (Qutb, 1967:108).

The main basic political rights of every citizen in a country must base on two reasons: first, Islam does not justify a state that is based influence or control of an individual or a party. In other words, a country born under the approval of the people let (people) because the Koran ordered the execution of deliberations. As mentioned in QS. Ali Imran ayah 159:

*"Then caused the grace of Allah ye gentle force against them. If you were to get tough again be rude, they would distance themselves from the roundabout. Therefore, apologizing them and ask forgiveness for them, and consult them in the affairs. Then when you have determined, then put thy trust in Allah. Indeed, Allah loves those who put their trust in Him"*.

Secondly, regard to the responsibility of the people for implement sharia law in every aspect of life. However people should not exercise their sovereignty directly. Hence the theory of representation as a forum of political representation of the people, for the ultimate sovereignty lies in the people (Man, 2000:56). After a stream of openness struck the Muslims, then their involvement in the political arena is something that cannot be avoided, the reason for establishing an Islamic party there are several factors: first, to perform the function of advice to the ruler. (Al Dinu al Nasihah) which narrated by al-Bukhaari: 1/22, the Muslim book of Imam: 95, al Nasa'i: 7/157, and Imam Ahmad: 2/297.. Advising the despotic leader is the duty of every Muslim in a country.

Allah SWT says in QS. Al Naziat: 17-19:

أَذْهَبَ إِلَى فِرْعَوْنَ إِنَّهُ طَغَى فَقُلْ هَلْ لَكَ إِلَى أَنْ تَزَكَّى  
وَأَهْدِيكَ إِلَى رَبِّكَ فَتَخْشَى

Which mean: “Go to Pharaoh, surely he has exceeded the limits,, and say (to Pharaoh):” Is there a desire for you to rid yourself (from straying) ”And you will lead by me path to your Lord so that you fear Him?”.

The second factor is the effort to replace the despotic ruler better. For example, businesses owned by the Abbasid Umayyad destroy the revolution in values that deviate from the Islamic teaching is an early example of the success of this political movement. Al Mawardi gives a detailed description of the dismissal of a priest from office, First: *hujjah* on the foundation *istidlal* besides *istidlal* legitimate than the principle of sharia law. He added that if a sworn becomes a priest, he should not be dismissed from office unless a clear effect changes in a leader (Al Mawardi, t.t.:16). Added that a priest who was appointed to lose his title and the authority.

The third factor, according to the founding of the Islamic Party Kuntowijoyo only limited expression of political excitement which almost unstoppable among Muslim political leaders, who have suppressed, or at least marginalized throughout the rule of Soeharto (Fatwa, 2000:15). The fourth factor is gathers supporters to restore the political power of Islam. In the course of the history of the Prophet preach Islam to the entire region to seek support and uphold Islam. Deliberation of the Companions of the Prophet who is housed in the house of *al-Arqam ibn Abi al-Arqam's* recitation is *sabiqulnal awalun* of dakwah supporters who contributed much energy and mind the realization of the glory of Islam. The fifth factor, founded the Islamic parties is a necessity for Muslims in the independence that has been given by God to man. And he sixth factor is the opening of the freedom to establish parties once during the Soeharto freedom shackled.

## 2.0 VISION, MISSION AND THE NATURE OF THE ISLAMIC PARTY ESTABLISHMENT

Vision of the Islamic party is obliged by the Islamic faith. He also must be ready to fight for the interests of the people (Fakhri, 2000:110). Revive the pristine values of Islam. Furthermore, the mission of the Islamic party is putting the development agenda of Islamic society as a whole in the side of life ranging from moral guidance, education, economic, social, and political parties in accordance with the power to move in any of these fields. To achieve these objectives need to be loyal supporters who want to work together.

Imam Hasan al Banna saw that for the revival of the Muslims need a storied path. First, private fostering Muslim that *istiqomah*, so as to restore the lost Muslim personality after it was destroyed by Western civilization. Educate of *ruh*, and personal sense that they are perfectly able to subdue lust and hesitations, and not weak to face any hurdles, has Islamic thinking straight, strong thinking skills so as to deal with the war of ideas (*Ghazwu al Fikr*) that hit the count- the nation of Islam to further capable of preaching (Banna, t.t.:81)

Secondly, according to Hasan al Banna, is forming an Islamic family households are forming pairs that based strong religious base. A family that is based on Islamic teachings will be able to prepare a perfectly good generation and at the same time changing the breakdown of society that are applicable and replace it with a better generation. Third, create an Islamic society with the properties of the original in order to carry out his duty to participate in the emerging generation of Muslims who will be the foundation for the establishment of the Islamic religion. Fourth, restore the glory of Islam towards upholding the law of Allah on earth (Banna, t.t.:81).

Understanding etymologically party according to al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad in his book *Al Ain, Al Hizb*: Each collection has a desire and goal. *Al Hizb* also means supporting a person in the following

opinion, or any community that has ideals are one and the same activity (Ahmad, t.t :164-165). According to ibn Kathir in his commentary Qur'an Surah Al Azhim interpreted, is the society or a community or servants of Allah are glorified (Kathir, t.t.:77). While the terminology is a collection of people who are united by the direction, goals, and objectives are the same (Imarah, t.t.: 184). Based on the above definition can be concluded that the term *hizb* can be understood as a party in the sense that developed at that time.

If the word *hizb* anchored in the word of Islam, meaning that the party that is based teachings of Islam in all its activities. Range from the use of the name, logo, vision, and mission. Allah says in Surah al-Maidah: 56.

وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا فَإِنَّ حِزْبَ اللَّهِ هُمُ الْغَالِبُونَ

Which means: "And whoever took Allah, His Messenger and those who believe, be helpers, then indeed the followers (religion) of Allah that is sure to win".

While the nature of the Islamic party, first, the party must be oriented to the dakwah of Islam. Surah Ali Imran: 104:

وَلْتَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ  
أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ

Which means: "And let none of you are calling a class of people to virtue, sent to the ma'ruf and prevent it from being evil, they're the ones who are lucky".

Secondly, the party must uphold justice. Surah Al Maidah: 8.

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُونُوا قَوَّامِينَ لِلَّهِ شُهَدَاءَ بِالْقِسْطِ وَلَا يَجْرِمَنَّكُمْ شَنَا نُ قَوْمٍ  
عَلَىٰ أَلَّا تَعْدِلُوا اْعْدِلُوا هُوَ أَقْرَبُ لِلتَّقْوَىٰ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ

Which means: "O ye who believe, you shall be the people who always uphold (the truth) for Allah, bearing witness with justice. And do not let the hatred of a people, encouraging you to do injustice. Applies just: that is next to piety. And fear Allah, verily Allah is Aware of what you do".

Third: professional, namely high quality and good management of the party will bear the professionalism which is based on ability. Party is a tool for charity. Surat al-Tawbah; 105.

وَقُلِ اْعْمَلُوا فَسَيَرَى اللَّهُ عَمَلَكُمْ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَسَتُرَدُّونَ إِلَىٰ  
عَالِمِ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ فَيُنبِّئُكُمْ بِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ

Which means: "And say, "Work ye, then Allah and His messenger and the believers will see your work, and you will be returned to (Allah) Who Knows be the unseen and the real, and preached unto you what has been you do".

### **3.0 CONCLUSION**

Islamic political is substantially confronts Islam with power and the country that gave birth to the attitudes and behavior (political behavior) as well as the political culture (political culture) that is oriented on Islamic values. Suspicion against fellow Muslims is because of their ignorance, more than it is a discourse that developed in the days of the New Order that Islam in Indonesia there are only 2 that traditional Islam is NU and Muhammadiyah that modern Islam. Islamic dichotomy distinguish to the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama movement which became a symbol of modernist Islam and traditional Islam for decades has been the standard in reviewing the discourse of Islam in Indonesia. People always associate Islam with Muhammadiyah and NU. If there is movement or group outside of Muhammadiyah and NU will soon be branded as Islamic splinter, and the more extreme Islamic branded as a cult that should be banned and dissolved.

Indonesia is known as the largest Muslim country in the world. Islam is an important factor that must be considered if you want to understand the politics of Indonesia. One characteristic of Islamic tradition is the belief that Islam is a way of life that is comprehensive and integrated. Religion has an integral and organic relationship with politics and society. Since the beginning, the leaders and Muslim activists are aware that improvement is concerned it requires a political struggle, which is dealing with efforts to gain power. As an ability to influence the actions and thoughts of others and influence public policy-making process, power is very important. Whatever the ultimate goal to be fought for, every activist should achieve between gaining the ability to influence people and the policy process. In other words, should gain power. The final goal such as reducing poverty would require the ability to influence people's public policy process, so the issue of politics and power are always inherent in every struggle. In this sense, the political struggle to liberate Muslims themselves out of poverty is the issue of empowerment of the people, namely the provision of power to them so they can resolve their own problems better life.

For the first strategy can be seen from the history of the struggle in the early days of independence was encouraging Islamic leaders to implement policies that confrontational, in the application area can appear in a variety of faces, such as the fight for the loading of Islamic law in the constitution (through the Jakarta Charter) and mastery in legislators, namely the House of Representatives, to the physical struggle, it can be seen from the opposition Islamic groups in the name of Islam as a symbol of the struggle against the government. And also to confirm the identity that distinguishes itself with other groups, to control of the government bureaucracy. At least not until the late 1980s, almost all of these efforts have failed. This strategy is not strong enough to make the power-holders to accommodate their demands.

## Bibliography

- Ahmad, Zainal Abidin, *Ilmu Politik Islam*, Jilid I, ( Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1977).
- Al Ahmad, Khalil, *Kitab al Ain* (t.t)Juz 3
- Al Banna, Hasan, *Majmu'ah Rasail al Imam al Shahid al Banna* (Beirut: Dar al Qalam, t.t.)
- Al Mawardi, *Kitab al Ahkam al Sulthaniyah*, (Beirut: Dar al Fikr, 1966).
- Basyir, Ahmad Azhar, *Negara dan Pemerintahan dalam Islam*, (Yogyakarta: UII Press, 2000).
- Fakhri, M., *Multi Partai Menuju Kehidupan Islam: Studi Kritis Standarisasi Partai-Partai Islam* (Jakarta: Taghyir Press, 2000).
- Fatwa, A.M., *Satu Islam Multi Partai* (Bandung:Mizan, 2000).
- Gani, Sulistiyawati Ismail, *Pengantar Ilmu Politik*, (Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia, 1987).
- Imarah, Muhammad, *Ma'rakatu Al Mustalahatu Baina Al Gharbi Wa Al Islam* (Kairo: Daar al Nahzah, 1419 H).
- Kathir, Abu Al Fida' ibn al, *Tafsir al Quran* (Beirut: Dar al Ma'rifah, (tt) juz. 3).
- Man, Saasan, *Pendirian Partai Politik Menurut Pandangan Islam*, *Sharia Journal of Islamic Studies Academy*, (Universitas Malaya: vol. 8, edisi 2 juli 2000).
- Maududi, Abu A'la, *Khilafah dan Kerajaan.*, translete. Maskun N. (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Pustaka Pelajar, 1986).
- Noer, Deliar, *Partai Islam di Pentas Sejarah 1945-1965*, (Jakarta: Grafiti Press, 1987).
- Qardhawi, Yusuf, *Teori Politik Islam*, translete Masrohi N, (Surabaya: Risalah Gusti, 1995).
- Qutb, Sayyid, *Al 'Adalah Al Ijtima'iah fi al Islam*, (Beirut: Dar al Kitab al 'Arabi, 1967).
- Syalabi, Ahmad, *Dasar Pemerintahan Dalam Islam*, translete (Singapura: Pustaka Nasional, 1967).