Dynamics of Islamic Political Thought in Indonesia

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Article Info	ABSTRACT
	Islam and the state is one of the current discourses in Indonesia which has been a long debate for many years. This discourse experiences fluctuating dynamics along with the development of political regulations in Indonesia. Tensions and debates in this area will certainly continue, because Islamic political thought in Indonesia has undergone a significant transformation in line with the nation's history. This research uses a descriptive-qualitative method with a focus on the dynamics of Islamic political thought in Indonesia. In his study, it can be seen that there is an interaction between Islamic teachings and the unique social, cultural and political context of the archipelago, which produces various unique patterns of thought. Islamic political thought in Indonesia is a rich and complex phenomenon, influenced by various historical, social and cultural factors. Since the New Order era until the Reformation era, this thinking has continued to transform and adapt to changing times. This journal aims to comprehensively document, analyze and interpret the development of Islamic political thought in Indonesia.
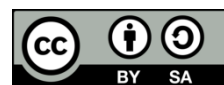
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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country with a majority Muslim population. However, it is very unfortunate that Muslims in Indonesia are less fortunate in the political realm. They often experience defeat and have never succeeded in holding control of the government. Based on historical records, before Indonesia's independence, Muslims failed to make Islam the basis and ideology of the state. Even more painful, the previously agreed Jakarta Charter containing seven important keywords for Muslims to implement Islamic law in Indonesia had to be replaced just one day after Indonesia's independence was proclaimed. Indonesia is a country with ethnic, racial and religious diversity. Therefore, Indonesia cannot stipulate the "Jakarta Charter" as a rule that only applies to Muslims. Thus, the government decided to revise the "Jakarta Charter" and replace it with Pancasila. This was done through a joint agreement which made Pancasila the official state ideology. With burning enthusiasm, Islamic fighters and militant figures in Indonesia continue to voice their dissatisfaction with the government's decision to establish Pancasila as the basis of the state, replacing the "Jakarta Charter". In response, they declared the establishment of the Indonesian Islamic State (NII), which was initiated by Kartosuwiryo. However, in a short time, the government succeeded in disbanding and paralyzing the movement to prevent potential chaos in the government.

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Kartosuwiryo. However, not long after, the government succeeded in disbanding and paralyzing the movement to prevent potential chaos in the government.

METHOD

According to Sugiyono, as quoted by Oktaviani and Setiawan (2020: 411), qualitative research is a research method based on the philosophy of postpositivism. This method is used to examine the condition of objects naturally (different from experimental research), where the researcher acts as the main instrument. Data sampling was carried out purposively and snowballing, with data collection techniques through triangulation (combining various methods). Data analysis is carried out inductively or qualitatively, and the results focus more on meaning than generalization. This research uses a descriptive-qualitative approach, where qualitative data is descriptive and represents a picture of the research object. The descriptive method aims to describe data naturally and form linguistic rules. It is called qualitative because the information collected is in the form of words or descriptions, not numbers. The aim is to create a systematic and accurate picture based on existing phenomena and facts (Oktiani, 2023:73). In this research, the object of study analyzed by the author involves data collection techniques through literature study. This study was carried out by understanding and studying various theories from relevant literature, such as books, journals and previous research results. Data collection involves several steps, namely: topic selection, information exploration, determining research focus, collecting data sources, preparing data presentation, and preparing reports.

RESULTS

A. Islamic Political Thought in the New Order Period

Under Suharto's authoritarian leadership, the New Order government made the direction of Indonesian politics increasingly centralized, even though it looked quite ambiguous, especially when Soeharto implemented the idea that Pancasila should be the sole principle for all social and political organizations in Indonesia. Many observers are of the opinion that Pancasila is an objectification of Islamic teachings, where every precept in Pancasila does not conflict with Islamic teachings, and vice versa.

In the early days of the New Order government, Muslims faced an increasingly marginalized position and had difficulty playing an active role. The process of marginalization of Muslims is taking place intensely, and they are even accused of not being ready to be involved in modernization. This is due to the assumption that Muslims do not have an intellectual tradition equivalent to that of Christian groups and secular nationalists (priyayi), most of whom are graduates of Western education. The marginalized position of Muslims in national development often makes them labeled as "anti-development" and "anti-modernization." In addition, Muslims not only highlight modernization issues, but also view the relationship between the New Order government and political Islam with great concern. (Al-Chaidar 1419 H).

Initially, the presence of the New Order was considered to bring new hope for the possibility of the rise of Islamic power in the national political arena. However, these hopes increasingly dimmed when it was revealed that Masyumi was still not allowed to exist again. On the other hand, the New Order government attempted to avoid unhealthy competition between various political parties by freezing all political activities.

The political restructuring carried out aims to confirm the view that past political instability was caused by the multi-party system. In the view of Islamic leaders, Indonesia's political system, which is more program-oriented and dominated by the military, is seen as an attempt to marginalize the role of Islamic leaders in national politics. The dominance of Social and Christian groups in the New Order government, especially after Golkar's victory in 1971, was considered a strategy designed to contain the possibility of Islam emerging as a political force. Thus, from the start, Islamic political power was deliberately domesticated. Muslim-non-Muslim factionism immediately formed when many Christians appeared in the composition of the First Development Cabinet, and moreover, after Muslims felt that they were often cornered with accusations of being "anti-development and anti-Pancasila". This accusation arose, apart from the attitude of Muslims towards the idea of modernization, as seen above, originating from the difficulties of the New Order government in convincing Muslims to accept the "formal interpretation" of Pancasila.

Relations between Islamic political leaders and the New Order government became increasingly worse when the issue of Christianization emerged on the national political stage. However, after ten years of the New Order, the government's orientation towards Muslims began to change. This time there is a breath of fresh air being blown by the government to approach Muslims. With the reason of increasing national stability, security and harmony in the life of religious communities, in 1967 the government began to close mission and zendmg institutions. Two years later, the Ministry of Religion issued a regulation regulating foreign aid to religious institutions. The government also issued regulations prohibiting activities that influence groups of people who have embraced a particular religion from being invited to convert to another religion. Likewise, the government's willingness to withdraw the draft marriage law (RUUP) in 1973 was difficult for Muslims to

accept, because it was considered to be contrary to Islamic law; and the government's rejection in the 1970s of the Abangan's demands that their beliefs be recognized as an (official) religion by the Indonesian government were a series of actions that were quite encouraging for Indonesia. To maintain the continuity of the Ummah, Muslims are faced with two choices between the need for reform and maintaining an attitude of traditionalism. These choices have certain consequences. The choice of the necessity of reform seems to have the potential to cause division in the Ummah, while the choice to maintain Islamic traditionalism and conservatism means prolonging the situation of intellectual decline for Muslims. (Iran Arnayadi 2023).

For Nurcholish, maintaining the unity of the Ummah, with the consequence of avoiding refreshing religious-Islamic understanding, is not a practical approach in following the modernization process. The political conditions of the New Order government seemed to require a change, both in the attitudes and thoughts of the Indonesian Islamic community. Thus, maintaining the concept of the unity of the Ummah, the form of which is also unclear, will not actually produce anything, because it will not make any changes, in fact it will only lead to barrenness and sluggish thinking among Muslims themselves. The loss of what Nurcholish calls psychological power, which according to Mintareja has caused the Muslim community to decline until the past twenty-five years, is a problem that is difficult to resolve through efforts oriented towards the unity of the community. (M. Muchsin Jamil 2007).

Because, the problem does not lie in the issue of unity or not unity of the people. Meanwhile, the liberalistic approach of the "new thought" movement, even though it seems to have the potential to endanger the unity of the Ummah, is an alternative that is considered capable of breaking down the confusion and stagnation of Muslim thinking. Therefore, for Nurcholish, the division of the Ummah is a risk that is still better to accept. Although this kind of "new thinking" movement will eventually fail. This is still better and quite useful, because after all the effort to escape from the curtain of Jumud and the stagnation of thinking has been done. Starting to mobilize efforts like this seems to be what the Indonesian Muslim community needs, especially considering the lagging behind Muslims in seizing economic and educational opportunities during the development period of the Barn Order. This new thought movement simultaneously transformed the Islamic movement in Indonesia, and political activism into idealism of thought.

During the New Order era, Indonesia tried to take a middle position by creating a state that was not based on religion but was also not a purely secular state. As a result, some call Indonesia a "shyly secular country." However, formally and constitutionally, the Indonesian state system tends to be secularistic. Even though the New Order government had a secular orientation, according to M. Syafi'i Anwar's classification, there were six types of Islamic political thought that developed during that period:

1. Formalistic Typology

   This thinking emphasizes the importance of upholding and strictly adhering to the format of Islamic teachings, which can be realized in the form of an Islamic state, Islamic party, Islamic culture, and so on. Figures such as Amien Rais, A. M. Saefuddin, and Jalaluddin Rakhmat fall into this category. However, Amien Rais's formalistic views can be questioned, considering that he rejected the concept of an Islamic state and even wrote an article entitled No Islamic State in 1982.

2. Substantivistic Thinking

   This approach prioritizes the essence and meaning of faith and worship compared to religious symbolism and formality. The messages of the Qur'an and Hadith are reinterpreted contextually according to the relevant social conditions of the time. Abdurrahman Wahid and Nurcholish Madjid are included in this group.

3. Transformative Thinking

   This model views Islam's main mission as humanity. This thinking focuses on transforming society through practical and theoretical efforts, including solving socio-economic problems, increasing people's political awareness, and fighting for social justice. Figures such as Dawam Rahardjo, Kuntowijoyo, and Moeslim Abdurrahman fall into this category.

4. Totalistic Thinking

   This view assumes that Islam is a comprehensive doctrine (kaffah), covering all aspects of life—social, political, economic—both on an individual, collective and humanitarian scale in general. A figure known for this thinking is Fuad Amsyari, a lecturer at the Faculty of Medicine, Airlangga University.

5. Idealistic Type

   Namely a thought that departs from the view of the importance of the struggle of the people which is oriented towards the stages towards "ideal Islam" (ideal Islam). The ideal Islam here is Islam as expressed and implied in the authentic Al-Quran and Sunnah, but not necessarily reflected in the socio-political behavior of Muslims in their historical reality. The pioneer of this model approach was Syafi'i Ma'arif.

6. Realistic Pattern

   Namely thinking that tries to see the relationship or confront the substantive dimensions of religious teachings or doctrines, with the socio-cultural context of the community of adherents. Islam has to

struggle with various cultural patterns of society so that there is a diversity of manifestations of Islam even though it was initially based on the integrity and validity of Islamic teachings themselves. Taufik Abdullah falls into this category.

The discourses developed by Indonesian Muslim scholars actually have great potential to realize Islamic values that are egalitarian, humanist and inclusive in the political dynamics of the New Order era. However, the reality is actually the opposite. At that time, the New Order was characterized by the moral decline of political elites who were involved in unethical practices, corruption and moral deviations in various fields such as business, media, politics and government, which significantly damaged the quality of the Indonesian nation.

B. Islamic Political Thought During the Reformation Period

During the reform period, Muslims in Indonesia experienced major changes in their political thinking. During the New Order, they experienced political marginalization and oppression, but the fall of the New Order in 1998 opened up opportunities for the revival of Islamic politics. In the 1999 elections, various Islamic parties emerged and competed in the national political arena. Muslims also try to encourage the implementation of Islamic law. However, not all efforts were successful, especially because of divisions among Islamic groups themselves.

In the midst of the political freedom obtained during the reform era, various ideas and movements emerged to restore the image and political role of Muslims. One example is the election of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) as President of Indonesia, which shows that if Muslims are united, they still have great power in politics. However, this union did not last long, and Gus Dur was eventually replaced by Megawati Soekarnoputri.

During this period, Muslims also faced internal challenges, such as debates regarding the implementation of Islamic law and the Jakarta Charter. Despite efforts to fight for these issues, many of these ideas have failed to materialize due to differences in views among Muslims themselves. Apart from that, the concept of "Islam, Yes; Islamic Party, No" put forward by Nurcholish Madjid has again received attention, criticizing Islamic parties which are considered to prioritize political interests rather than the struggle for pure Islamic values.

Overall, although Muslims received greater freedom in the reform era compared to the New Order era, the challenge of uniting their political power and fighting for Islamic law still remains. The Reformation era provided opportunities for the revival of Islamic politics, but also revealed that divisions and a lack of solid political strategies hindered the achievement of these goals. In this period, it is known that Islamic politics in Indonesia experienced a significant revival compared to the New Order era. The Reform Era brought major changes in various aspects of life in Indonesia, including in the field of Islamic education, which was recognized as an integral part of the national education system through Law no. 20 of 2003. This law covers institutions such as Islamic boarding schools, Ma'had Ali, Raudlotul Atfal, and Islamic boarding schools, which were previously often looked down upon. Nevertheless, Islamic education in the Reformation era still faces a number of challenges, including a conceptual crisis, a dichotomy between religious and general education, as well as methodological and institutional problems. Islamic education also faces difficulties in adapting to current developments, where this system tends to be more oriented towards the past than the future.

The reform era opens up greater opportunities for Islam to adapt in the fields of politics and education, but also requires adjustments in the Islamic education system so that it remains competitive and relevant in the future. During the reform period in Indonesia, the dynamics of Islamic political thought experienced various significant changes and advances. Some important developments in this era include:

1. Decentralization and Reorientation of Education
   One of the big impacts of reform is the shift in the education system from centralized to decentralized. Reformation provides opportunities for the development of Islamic education which is now part of the national education system.
2. Increase in education budget
   The government allocates 20% of the budget from the APBN and APBD for the education sector, which has a positive impact on Islamic education, including improving facilities and infrastructure as well as welfare for teachers and lecturers under the Ministry of Religion.
3. Madrasa Transformation
   Reform also brought policies that encouraged madrasas to become public schools with religious characteristics, so that madrasas are now educational institutions that combine general lessons with religious education.
4. Alternative Thought
   To overcome this challenge, reconstruction of the Islamic education system is needed, which includes reformulation of the concept of Islamic sciences, development of a more visionary educational orientation, and emphasis on the spirit of scientific research. (Arief Subhan 2023)

Islamic education is generally understood as a distinctive characteristic, namely a type of education that has a religious background. It can also be described that education is capable of forming "human beings who are intellectually superior, rich in charity, and noble in morals". This means that according to the ideals of Islamic education to project oneself to produce "insan kamil", that is, to make perfect human beings.

The main principle of Islamic education is the development of free and independent thinking in a democratic manner by paying attention to individual tendencies and education regarding aspects of intellectual intelligence and talent which are focused on the principles of democratic Islamic education. Thus, Islamic political thought in the reform era in Indonesia has shown complex and varied dynamics, from freedom of thought to the emergence of new ideas in the application of Islamic law and the role of Islam in social life.

CONCLUSION

Describes the journey of Islamic political thought in Indonesia, both during the New Order and the Reformation era. During the New Order era, Muslims experienced marginalization in politics, with Pancasila imposed as the sole principle that marginalized the political role of Islam. Islamic political thought at this time developed in several types, ranging from the formalistic to the more substantive and transformative. Muslims face various internal and external challenges, including tensions with the government and fellow Islamic groups, which limit their political progress. However, after the fall of the New Order in 1998, the Reformation era provided greater political freedom for Muslims. Nevertheless, divisions among Islamic groups and the inability to unite their political forces hinder the achievement of Islamic political goals. In the field of education, the Reformation brought positive changes, with Islamic education being recognized as part of the national education system and providing opportunities for renewal and improvement of facilities and infrastructure. Overall, despite the revival and significant changes in Islamic political thought during the Reformation period, the challenge of uniting political forces and fighting for Islamic law still remains. Islamic education is also undergoing transformation, but still requires adjustments to be relevant to modern era developments.

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