

# **MOSLEM COMMUNITY IN INDONESIAN POLITICS: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE**

## **1. Introduction**

Alvabet editorial entitled 'Why is it Moslem Party, Why is it lose' analyzes the lose of Moslem Party in Election 1955 and 1999. In election 1955 the unity of Moslem Party only scope 45 % votes and less than 50 % in 1999. Some questions are : What actually happens to the Moslem in the biggest Moslem country ? Does the fact show the Moslem become less confidence of their aspiration to be accommodate properly (by Moslem Party)? Does the cause is because of the Moslem politicians aren't credible, moral, intellectual? As much as 78 articles offered and supposed can answer the questions (<http://www.geocities.com/alvabet21/partai-cat.htm> p. (;\_8/12/04 ). Based on the fact that in General Election 2004, the Moslem parties which based on Moslem principles will get less votes than Moslem parties which based on non Moslem principles. Even, these Moslem parties' votes are under non-Moslem parties.

Quotation above gives the inspiration to the writer to tell the historical facts completely by knowing the action of Moslem community in Indonesian politics deeply. Who is Moslem community in Indonesia actually can be explored through the types of Indonesian Moslem community since their first presence in Indonesia until now; What strategy used by Moslem community to the social changes, some strategies can be used to get the description of their action in Indonesian politics. It is about how Moslem prospective in Indonesian politics can be followed through the tendency of Moslem leader in politics lately. This explanation is based on library research, not field analysis. This simple explanation is supposed to be used as the comparison in some countries which have similarity in characteristic and history.

## **2. Types of Indonesian Moslem**

Moslem community existed since Moslem rule is established and then carried out by the participant of the Prophet Mohammad s.a.w. The Moslem

community expansion in the world runs as well as Moslem growth itself. Meanwhile, the Moslem community in Indonesia existed as well as the Moslem presence in Indonesia itself, which nota bene wasn't brought by the first adherent (an Arabian) but an Indian.

### **The Arrival of Moslem Kingdom in Indonesia:**

Moslem comes for the first time in North Aceh upcoming 13<sup>th</sup> century and was spread smoothly by the trader from Gujarat, West India (R. Soekmono, 1973). The next spread starts and centres from Samudra, Malakka, Majapahit and Ternate. From Samudra to Aceh (Pateu). From Malakka to Brunai, Kampar, Indragiri and Riau. Whereas, from Majapahit to Demak, Banten, South Sumatra, Lampung and South Kalimantan. The last spread is from Ternate to Maluku and East Sulawesi beach.

The first Moslem King in Indonesia is Sultan Malik al-Saleh from Samudra Kingdom who substituted by his son, Malik al-Tahir. This Kingdom has a relationship with Sultan Delhi India, Tiongkok and Persia. In the middle of 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Samudra government moves to Pase (near Samudra).

Majapahit Kingdom (1293-1528) has a role in the spread and establishment of Moslem community in Indonesia. The part of this Kingdom, mainly in Aceh become Moslem Kingdom. The relationship of trade and the government between Majapahit and Samudra are intensive enough and full of tolerant. So that, even the Moslem is not being accepted completely, the elements of Moslem culture has become the part of the people. Upcoming the end of 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Majapahit region mainly in north Java coastal (Jepara, Tuban and Gresik) has become Moslem.

In the early of 15<sup>th</sup> century, Malakka as the centre of trade and Moslem activity competing Samudra-Pase. Paramison (Iskandar Syah), the first Moslem Kingdom of Malakka; is substituted by Muhammad Iskandar Syah, Sultan Mudzafar Syah (1445-1458), Sultan Mansur Syah (1458-1477), Sultan Alaudin Syah (1477-1488), Sultan Mahmud Syah (1488-1511), as the last King who experienced the dark period along with the arrival of Portuguese in Malakka.

Demak Kingdom (1500-1550) as the Moslem Kingdom isolates itself from Majapahit and gets the supports from Jepara, Tuban and Gresik. Raden Patah, the warrior of Kingdom, has conquered Majapahit and moves to Demak along with the ruin of Malakka to Portuguese. In 1568-1586, Demak Kingdom is moved to Pajang by Joko Tingkir as the result of the power struggle. The Kingdom, approved by Sunan Giri (one of the Wali Songo)<sup>3</sup>, gets the support soon from the Adipati of the whole Central Java and East Java. However, in 1586, Pajang is moved to Mataram that known as the indolent area of Moslem process.

Fatahillah, the Moslem leader who run from Portuguese attack, has a role in Moslem process in Demak, Banten and Cirebon. Then when he died called Sunan Gunung Jati (one of the Wali Songo)<sup>1</sup>. His sons; Hasanuddin, Panembahan Yusup and Maulana Muhammad; make Banten as the centre of trade and Moslem development. However the presence of Netherlands conquered Banten while Sultan Abdulfakhir government (1627).

### **Moslem in Indonesia While Netherlands Colonization**

The prosperity of Indonesia becomes the fight of western nations. Among these nations, Netherlands wins Indonesia. The kingdoms in Indonesia factually govern without a full sovereignty, includes Islam kingdom. The power struggle between the kings and Netherlands can't be avoided, indicated by the rebellion seethed all over the country. Islam community then affected by the mapping and the forming process

In 1600, Banten as an Islam kingdom has glory also as the first kingdom can expell Netherlands. So that Netherlands and its trade organization, Vereenigde OostIndische Compagnie (VOC), move to Batavia (Jakarta).

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<sup>1</sup> Wali Sanga or Wali-Ullah known as the Moslem disseminator especially in Java; there are: Sunan Gunung Jati, Sunan Ampel, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Drajat, Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Giri, Sunan Kudus, Sunan Muria, and Syekh Siti Jenar. They have great magic. They are not only have the power in religion but also in government and politics. Becoming a King must be avowaled and blessed by the Wali Sar,ga. There are still many Moslem figures to be of the same status as Wali Sanga in limited area.

In 1628, Sultan Agung; as the Islam King of Mataram until passed away (1645); known as the courageous disseminator of Islam through all over the domination area of Mataram (Central Java, east Java except Blambangan and Bali). So that he is called "Susuhan or Sunan" (title for the holy man who first brought Islam to Java) and Sultan Abdul Muhammad Maulana Mataram". He ever joined forces with Portuguese in Malakka and . England in Banten to burn off the descendants of Netherlands colonization. But it is not successful. In 1633, he changes the count of tarikh caka (teap year = 365 days) to be the Moslem calender (tunas year = 354 days).

The Moslem King of Aceh, Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636), is not successful completely in the spread of Moslem since it is opposed by Portuguese toward Johor. The successor, Iskandar Tani (1636-1641), although he is successful in developing the Moslem Kingdom in Aceh, yet the spread of Moslem is not in complete too. Since it is opposed by Netherlands toward Minangkabau, meanwhile, Malakka falls into the clutches of Netherlands after Portuguese.

Ternate, as the one of the Moslem spread centre in Eastern Indonesia, has the same fate in relationship with Netherlands. At the first time, the arrival of Netherlands is welcomed well. Netherlands is the most rival of Portuguese. Netherlands can make some bases easily in Ambon, Ternate, Tidore, and Halmahera. The Netherlands monopoly of spices in these area triggers Sultan Ternate to start the fight toward Netherlands (1635-1743). The Netherlands violence and cruelty cannot be defeated. It affects the Moslem spreading is not running well.

Moslem Kingdom in Goa-Tallo South Sulawesi has enough influence in the spread and establishment of Moslem community in mostly Sulawesi and Eastern Lesser Sundas. The role of Sultan Hasanuddin (the grandson of Raja Goa, Sultan Alaudin or Sultan Muhammad Said's son) in continuing the spread of Moslem in Makassar (South Sulawesi) is big enough, although it must deal with Netherlands's authority. The presence of Netherlands in Makassar is triggered by the attention from the King Goa and Tallo in helping the struggle inspired by Moslem to fight Netherlands in Maluku. The war enthusiasm to fight Netherlands

is used everywhere (Timor and its environs, Kalimantan, Java and Sumatra) by Makassar or Bugis people (a tribe in South Sulawesi).

During Netherlands colonization, the King of Mataram, such as Amangkurat II, is supposed to preserve his authority to make a peace with Netherlands, even transferring his region, allowing castle establishment. These are strengthen the position and monopoly of Netherlands in Indonesia, even tighten the space of Moslem spreading. It is different from Banten which opposing Netherlands, unfortunately has the same fate with Mataram.

The opposition politics, destroying, deceit are continuously done by Netherlands to develop or expand its authority until late 18th century. In the struggle of authority, the winner is who supported by Netherlands. In 1767, Netherlands forces Blambangan people to be Moslem, in order to be separated from Bali. It exactly inflicts the spread and the development Moslem community in Indonesia. Finally; the region such us Minangkabau, Padang, Riau, West Kalimantan; the Kings are getting the power of authority over the loan of region of Netherlands.

Entering 19th century, Indonesia legally becomes the colony of Netherlands and government. In 1815, Netherlands becomes the Kingdom and Indonesia becomes its part called Hindia-Belanda (Nederlandsch-Indie). The policy which is applied and influential toward the development of Moslem community in Indonesia is abolishing "The Sultanate (a term of Moslem King) in Banten, Cirebon, and Palembang. The pressure and suppression of Netherlands as the colonizer ignite the reaction of the Kings including the Moslem leader; such as Pattimura (1817) in Maluku, Diponegoro (1825-1830) in Central Java, Padri community lead by Imam Bomjol (1820-1837) in West Sumatra, Banjarmasin, Pontianak, South Sulawesi, Bali, Lombok, and Aceh (1873-1917). Their struggle is not to seize the local domination anymore, but to orient toward the freedom.

### **2.3 Moslem Community Upcoming The Independence Of Indonesia**

Owing to the "ethics politics" or "recompense politics" rolled by Netherlands government; in the form of getting education, official working in

colonial government, getting the wealthy service, and so on; therefore emerges "The National Resurgence" starting with the existing of "Boedi Oetomo youth organization (1908)". The applying of Decentralization Law (1903) in Hindia-Belanda (Indonesia) enables to form a Legislative Assembly. Filling the seats in parliament can be done by forming the party categorized in the descent of Netherlands, Chinese, and Indonesian. Indonesian party is formed into two groups, Moslem principle and non Moslem principle.

The first Moslem party is Moslem League (1912), transformed from Moslem Trade League. The development of this party is not successful having a role in "National Movement" (independence struggle). First, it is because of internal conflict. Second, the existing of some Moslem organization, such as AI-Irsyad, Muhammadiyah (modern community), and traditional community. Third, the existing of National Movement community (non Moslem), even communist community.

Along with its occupation in Indonesia, in 1943, the Japanese government approves the establishing of Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama (NU established in 1926). The confederation of Indonesian Moslem Committee A'laa (1937) is changed to be Masyumi and well prepared helping Japanese government. In 1944, Masyumi is approved to be Perikatan i.lmat Islam (The Unity of Moslem). It is as the first time that Japanese offers an important place for Moslem community in Indonesia (Deliar Noer, 1987 in Amir, 2003: 32). However, upcoming the preparation of Indonesia Independence, it is exactly that Japanese' attention is bigger toward National Community than Moslem Community (Moslem Community is only represented by fifteen people of 60 members of Indonesia Independence Preparation Committee).

#### **2.4 Moslem Community Pasca Indonesia Independence (1945-1965)**

After the proclamation of Indonesia independence, August 17, 1945, the presidential cabinet is formed and there will be the only one party, Indonesian Nationalist Party. The declaration of vice president, October 16, 1945, is giving a chance for the existing of parties and it must be parliamentary cabinet. The parties

are Communist, Democratic Socialist, Moslem, Radical Nationalist, and Java Traditional (Herbert Feith, 1995 in Amir, 2003:3). Moslem parties which have big influence pasca the independence day are Masyumi and Nahdatul Ulama (NU). Masyumi has some affiliate organization of profession (employee, merchant, farmer, and fisherman), women, and supporter organization (Indonesian Moslem Youth Movement), Moslem students organization, and Indonesia Moslem Youth).

Masyumi; which has a goal to maintain the sovereignty of the state and Moslem, at once to be the most number one of Moslem party in Indonesia; actually has its ups and downs.

The success of Masyumi is placing its figures in some important positions, such as leading the Cabinet and Prime Minister.

However, Masyumi has some internal conflicts, such as Indonesian Moslem League parts from Masyumi (1947) and absence from the Cabinet of Ali Sastro Amidjojo (1953-1955).

In 1952, so do the traditional faction of NU parts from Masyumi and its party ("Muktamar ke-19 NU", Palembang, April, 1952). In General Election 1955, the six Moslem Party only get 43,9%. Daniel Dhokidae (1999 in Amir, 2003: 42) states that the defeat toward non Moslem party is because great nationalism in Indonesian politics up till 60es.

Since the Decree of President, July 5, 1959, the beginning of guided non-parliamentary democracy; the most persistent critical toward Sukarno's government is from Masyumi. Whereas, the other Moslem parties are more accommodating. Masyumi states that the democracy in Indonesia is the deviation of West Democracy. In August 17, 1960, the president disperses Masyumi and determines as No-Party System (Afan Gaffar puts the term from Richard Gunther, 1992, in Amir, 2003: 44). Up till the ending of an Old Orde, there is some competition between The President Soekarno, an Army. And Communist Party.

## **2.5 Moslem Community Of A New Orde (1966-1998)**

A new orde lead by the president Soeharto is an army government within many characteristics; authoritative, status quo, and patrimonial. In this condition, having a willingness to maintain the banner of Moslem politic is difficult enough. The position of Moslem is equated with the communist in an extreme pole; Moslem as the right and the communist as the left extreme. At first, Soeharto refuses the effort of Moslem community rehabilitating Masyumi. In 1968, Indonesian Moslem Party (Parmusi) is established conditionally without any leader from Masyumi.

The election 1971, actually to strengthen the domination of Soeharto (New Orde), so that the role of the party is locked by the domination of "Golongan Karya" formed from military (R. William, 1994 in Amir, 2003: 48). Supporting Moslem constituent being sympathetic toward Moslem leader, such as abroad expenses and pesantren assistance.

The policy of party restriction composed "Development Unity Party" (PPP) as the merger of Moslem parties. Kingsbury (1998 in Amir, 2003: 53) states that this is the government effort to restrict the Moslem party development by Soekarno toward Masyumi. The government is apprehend about the rising of Moslem politics can cause some conflicts between Moslem and non Moslem community; adherent and "Abangan" community.

Afan Gaffar (1992 in Amir, 2003: 54) states that the government blow toward Moslem community (Moslem party): as the proof of the authoritarian of a new orde; Moslem community as the military opposition; Moslem party is inclined to put the law of Moslem effect as the constituent and the proof of the power of elite military which are mostly Moslem "Abangan". In 1984, NU goes out of its politics and has personal freedom for the members to join other parties. The necessity of Pancasila as the only party ideology (it is forbidden to use Ka'bah as the symbol of Moslem party) keeps away the Moslem community from its politics. The Moslem leaders more realize that Moslem party is only dictated by the government. Moslem parties only as the decorative party (Cornelis Lay, 1997



in Amir, 2003: 56). So that, the general election along New Orde only as the political mobility; not the using of community in politic.

### **3. The Strategy Of The Struggle Of Indonesian Islam Community**

The decline of Soeharto is the beginning of the reformation characterized by democratization in entire life. The competition among communities in politics becomes brighter. However, the main Moslem community can be explored their origin before. Moslem political party has two parties which has many mass; Moslem principle party, such as Party of Bulan Bintang (PBB) and Party of Keadilan (PK) ; and non Moslem principle party, such as United Resurgence Party (PKB), National Mandate Party (PAN), and United Development Party (PPP). The chance of Moslem community to get the power through those political parties are big enough, nevertheless it is different.

Abdurrahman Wahid in his paper 'Principles of Pondok Pesantren Education' presented in Seminar International in Technical University Berlin and Friedrich Naumann Stftung 1987, stated there are 3 strategies used to face the social changes (1) social politics strategy; (2) culture strategy; (3) social culture strategy.

Social politics strategy is done by Moslem community by struggling through some authorized areas as the serious attitude an action toward the reality in which the bureaucrats has neglected the public interest. They (the bureaucrats) do in un complied task in avenging public interest by doing some corruptions, human violation, etc. Moslem community must perform through the formal institution (party). . Doing culture strategy as the Moslem critical attitude forward the bureaucrats culture in fixing the whole community life. Through the social culture strategy, Moslem community places the social construction and culture form as the way of exploring the thought to fulfil public and private space competitively ( <http://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/cetak/1003/09/0801.htm> ,p.3;8/12/04).

Especially about the social politics strategy done by Moslem Community can be explained more based on the form of these community, there are:

- 1) Politician adherent Moslem community : They are from Moslem warrior inheritance, the alumnus of boarding school who active in mess and politics organization, or from the adherent politician inheritance. They are really case about the world future, then they struggling through of Moslem politics party. Their believe can be analogized with Master Ali Muda decision, answering Muhammad Syafiq, question why do Moslem need being politics". It is said that the flight of Muhammad S.a.w. from Mecca to Medina the strategy to practice Moslem through the politics/government authority in a free and independent state.

Moslem warrior must get the chance to do the religion through the authority ( <http://mindarakyat0.tripod.com/2001-0721.htm> p.3;8/12/04). It is also analogized that in Israel, Yahudi, the orthodox and the fundamental are being active in politics. Hindu is strength then in India. Priest Jesse Jackson as the candidate of the president of democrat party in America (<http://www.geocities.com/alvabet2l/partai-cat.htm> p.2;8/12/04 )

In Indonesia, the religion figure (Gus Dur, Hasyim Muzadi) are out from the boarding school to join politics. Many adherents become politics intermediary even politics volunteer.

- 2) Non politician adherent Moslem community. They are relatives who study Moslem only for the world and eternity. There are some adherents who don't care. The risk of the effect of uncertain politics calculation. If can be they are Moslem figures who want to keep the religion neutrality toward politics, to keep the Moslem unity non-participant. Alwi notes that the postulate back to the law 1926, means the strategy of the position and the role of Nahdliyyin as the mass community socio religiously formed in society, specifically had released from politics party and practical politics game. ( <http://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/cetak/1003/09/0801.htm> p.4;8/12/04)
- 3) Non-adherent politician Moslem community. They formally are Moslem, however they are less in religion and being very active in politic organization even become the politics intermediary or politics wonderer (Moslem or non-Moslem party). Some of them have their own ideology to struggle the state

based on Pancasila (non Moslem). They think that multicultural and multi-religious state must have principles of Pancasila, based on constitution mandate of Indonesian independence UUU 45.

- 4) Non-politicians non-adherent Moslem community. They never join politics activities, cannot speculate in politics games. They are in lowest level, getting busy earning money. They are the outer of adherents. They care of citizen duty, whole waiting for citizen right, however they never join ness organization even politics.

#### **4. Perspective of Moslem community in Indonesia politics**

History has noted that Moslem party hasn't get got the vote as much as Moslem citizen in Indonesia. This mathematically is truly remembering there are 4 forms of Moslem community in Indonesia, it is the only one form of community can be the participants of Moslem party. "Politician adherents Moslem community which has view participants (a quarters of Moslem in Indonesia)". And the other are non Moslem participant.

The thought Indonesia to be mature in conception, is tightening the rising of politician santri Moslem community in politics. The role of non-participant Moslem central figures are tightening the expectation of politician santri Moslem community.

The stimulus of intermediary and wonderer politics to the Moslem and pesantren figure to guild a new party supported by pesantren community is tittle to be worried of rising internal conflict. However, this anxiety, is tightening the rising of santri Moslem community in politics.

The strong consideration of the Indonesian majority who love Indonesia as a unitary state based on Pancasila, strengthen the position of nationalism politician (nonreligion). In which weaken the position of santri Moslem communication.

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