

The Changing of Political Orientation of Masyumi Party During 1950-1959

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Abstract

Through historical method, this article studies the Shifts in Political Ideological Orientation of Masyumi Party during the Liberal Democracy Era 1950–1959. The shifted orientations of Masyumi Party included a shift of orientation in its principle, form of government and the government executive system.

The establishment of Masyumi Party was the apex of the Japanese concern in trying to map the axis of the powers of various groups in Indonesia. The formations of PUTERA, which bore the nationalist inclination and MIAI, which tended to accommodate urban Muslims were not attractive enough to win the hearts and empathy from the Indonesian native communities for its occupation in Indonesia. Masyumi Party made Islam as a its struggling principle, not only as a symbol but also the ideology and spirits in conducting the various *siyasa* preaches within the scope of political struggles. Numerous internal dynamics were then occurring in the body Masyumi Party. The Party's change in its orientation began to be visible, indicated by the idea suggested by M. Natsir to formulate the Constitution or Law of General Election.

The formation of the General Election Law made M. Natsir and Masyumi the symbol of the establishment and growth of democracy in the Republic of Indonesia, which became more evident when M. Natsir was ousted and the subsequent working cabinet heads failed to hold a General Election. And finally, at the end of 1955 under the leadership of Burhanuddin Harahap, who was himself a Masyumi figure, a general election was held for the first time. The political attitude shown by Masyumi indicated that Masyumi Party had shifted its political orientation. Masyumi Party, which originally struggled to implement Islam by employing the *Syura* in forming a government was helplessly compromising its principle by following and combining itself into a democracy model the initiator of which was the leader of Masyumi Party itself. Such political behavioral changes were associated with the reasoning of the then leaders of Masyumi Party, who tended to accommodative and excessively compromising.

Keywords: Masyumi Party; Political ideology; Democracy.

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Introduction

The Indonesian proclamation era was an important atage for Indonesian Muslims. During this era Muslim prominent figures further confirmed their concept of an Islamic State compromising with nationalist-secular groups. Through this compromising and accomodating process the consession so called Jakarta Traety was agreed upon and finally became the Indonesian State Principles, the Pancasila (Azra, 1996: 70).

It was and is crucial because Islam was then being offered to be the state principles or in the stage of *embrionation-state*, when different opinions and ideological conflicts were growing. This condition further contributed to the political polarizations the nationalist-Islam and the nationalist-secular groups within the newly independent country. During this period, an Islamic group struggling for Islamic Ideology bearing firm and open-minded characteristics was born. This struggle for Idealistic Islam ignited new ideological conflicts within the national life, then torn by the group who disapproved that Islam was used as a State Principle and those who agreed that Islam became an entry in the state structure. This era became the important cornerstone and was full with vitality affecting the mind and growth of Idelogical Islamic movements in indonesia in the subsequent phases.

After the fruitless struggle and conflicting ideas with the nationalist-secular groups led by Sukarno, the members/leaders of Islamic groups became compromising. These Islamic figures turned to a different way as their means to struggle for the formation of an Islam-based Constitution. The desire to implement Islam as the State Principle has never ended and continues to be fought for in different means and strategies (Azra, 1996:84).

The fight between the Islamic groups and the nationalist groups continued to the old era period. During the old era period, Muslim groups flaunted Masyumi as a dominant power, with tens of millions people becoming the members then collected at its embryotic existence. It can be said that Masyumi was the largest Islamic party at that time (Madinier, 2013:44).

Masyumi was established to accommodate Islamic political parties and was greatly supported by many Muslims. The founding fathers of Masyumi Party included the prominent figures from Muhammadiyah, NU, and PSII, such as Hasyim Asy'arie, Mohammad Natsir, Zainal Abidin Ahmad, Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, Mohamad Roem, Abu Hanifah, Hamka, Soekiman Wiryosanjoyo and Mohammad Rasjidi. These prominent figures united themselves in Masyumi in order to form the unity of Muslims in Indonesia (Ma'arif, 1985:31). Since the initial stage if Indonesian independence up to the Old Era period, Masyumi had become the polotical representation of the Muslims.

In the initial stage of its establishment, Masyumi was functioning as a means to cooperate and struggle against the Japanese. During the Indoneisia's Struggle for Maintaining the Independence (Physical Revolution Era) (1945-1949), Masyumi became a plitical party struggling for Islamic syar'i (Islamic rules) in the view that implementation of Islamic teachings and laws be included in the national or state life

of Indonesia with the blessing from God. This ideal is provided in the purpose of the party as contained in Masyumi Party's Articles of Association and Articles of Corporation.

During the Physical Revolution Era, Masyumi played vital roles in making a decision affecting the fate of Indonesians. One of the important roles played by Masyumi during that period laden by political dynamics was the appointment of a Masyumi prominent figure Sjafrudin Prawiranegara, who became the country's savior in that emergency period. Sjafrudin Prawiranegara was elected the caretaker for the government by establishing Republic of Indonesia's Emergency Government (PDRI) in Bukittinggi, Sumatera after Sukarno and M. Hatta had been arrested and exiled in Holland.

Other factors contributing to Masyumi becoming great are the active movements of various Islamic organizations combined in Masyumi. Masyumi utilized this conditions to organize effectively. The uncertainty on political situation during that period was used by Masyumi to exercise socialization with the grass roots (people) on the importance of Islamic Syar'i (Islamic Laws) as the State Principle until Indonesia finally declared itself to be fully independent and adopted parliamentary democracy as its governmental system in 1949.

During the Parliamentary Democracy Pada Masyumi became a leading political power. Masyumi was also the initiator for the formation of the First Working Cabinet under Muhammad Natsir, who was one of Masyumi leaders. During this period, various dynamics and events occurred in the organizational body of Masyumi. The change in the political orientation of the Party began to sprout, characterized by the idea proposed by M. Natsir to form a General Election Law. Internally, M. Natsir was considered to be on the side of the liberal democracy and was contradictory to the purpose of Masyumi itself, the desire to establish an Islamic country and a government based on Islamic Syar'i (Islamic Laws). This idea was also considered to be inconsistent with the Constitution which does not mention a General Election as the means to elect people's representatives and leaders (Budiharjo, 2013:432).

The General Election Law promoted M. Natsir and Masyumi as the symbol of the establishment and growth of democracy in the Republic of Indonesia, as further supported by the fact that since the fall of M. Natsir the subsequent leaders of Indonesia's Working Cabinets were unable to hold a General Election. In 1955 a Masyumi figure, Burhanuddin Harahap, was again trusted to be elected the Parliamentary leader. Under the leadership of Burhanuddin Harahap, Indonesia succeeded in holding the first General Election in 1955 and this event again confirmed that Masyumi was identical with liberal democracy and it slowly changed its political orientation.

These various activities and dynamics of Masyumi Party have become the interest of the author, who from time to time has continuously observed how dynamic the party's directions, which struggled to maintain Islamic Laws during the Revolution Era (Independence Maintaining Era) and finally accepted democracy as an instrument to conduct the Government, The General Election Law and Indonesia's first general

election were both realized during the cabinet of M. Natsir and Burhanuddin Harahap, who were both Masyumi Party' prominent figures.

Through such concise summary, the author tries to illustrate the political condition during the Liberal Democracy Era and the dynamics of Masyumi Party. The author is therefore stimulated to study more deeply how the shifts in Masyumi Party's ideological orientation during the Liberal Democracy Era, from Islam to democracy.

Method

The method used in the construction of this article is the historical method, a process to critically test and analyse the records and legacy of the past (Gottschalk, 2002:35). Historical Method includes four stages: collection of sources (*heuristic*), criticism of sources, interpretation and historical writing (historiography).

The sources used to write the research come from various instruments, including, inter alia, historical archive, being the primary source, consisting of newspaper articles, the party's documents and interviews with the party's prominent figures of that time. As supporting sources, we use different books, which are certainly related to and relevant with the subject matter written herein.

Results and Discussion

Interpretation of the Principles of Masyumi Party

It is expressly written in the party's Articles of Association that Masyumi Party is based on Islam.¹ Masyumi Party aims at the implementation of Islamic Law and teachings in the life of an individual person, society and State of the Republic of Indonesia. A principle is the foundation, step stone, and spirits of the Party. Based on such faith, Masyumi Party has made Islam and its teachings as its foundation for its main struggles, in particular to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia.

The long history of Muslims' struggles prior to the Independence and the deep spiritual faith of its followers made the Islamic leaders who joined Masyumi Party believe in their own identity, vision and mission and the Islamic-orientation that they were then struggling for.

Islam, as the principle of Masyumi Party, represents its spirits of its struggle. To Masyumi Party, Islam is the *ad-dien* (orders and rules of life) given by Allah SWT (God) to regulate human life within its broadest meaning. It is meant to regulate the political, social, economic life and culture and so forth. Whatever humans do shall not be separated from all the rules written in the Qur'an.

Masyumi Party witnessed that the conditions of the world were then very distressing. Within the international aspects, there were then two conflicting super powers, the USA, with its Western Block and the Soviet Union (USSR), having communist orientation, with its Eastern Block. Each with its allies and 'colonized' territories. On the one hand, both Blocks admitted that they promote and acknowledge the ideal of peace, freedom and welfare for all human around the world. On the other hand, their efforts to influence and find new allies for the purpose of maintaining their

¹Statute of Masyumi Party, Article 3.

ideology and continuity of their power made the whole world insecure, full of upheavals, and generating various conflicts.

Amidst the heated disputes of the two super powers/blocks, Masyumi Party was deeply concerned with Indonesia that as a state having newly proclaimed its independence, Indonesia might be dragged into the torrential currents of the disputes between the two blocks. This was one of the main concerns of Masyumi Party to try to be present and offer Islamic ideas and suggestions amidst the systems created by humans which, in the opinion of Masyumi Party's leaders, had failed. This includes communism has only created proletarian dictators, capitalism has, on the other hand, exploited labor, socialism which has denied personal ownership and secularism which has deleted the roles of religions in governing the state, humanism which has prioritized humanitarian aspects and obscured the rules of God and materialism, which has degraded the social life.

Masyumi Party saw that all these ideologies were not suitable to be implemented in Indonesia. Masyumi Party opined that Islam could provide the integral, comprehensive, and complete solutions and Indonesia would therefore be saved from and prevented from the infiltration of such ideologies.

Masyumi Party saw Indonesia not as a war filed to fight for influences by various groups.² For Masyumi Party, Indonesia was a blessing from Allah SWT (God), having proclaimed its independence after its long, bloody, energy-consuming struggles and having sacrificed Muslim martyrs, muslim students, leaders, preachers. For Masyumi Party, no other way was better than to maintain the blessing of Allah SWT/God by implementing the rules and regulations consistent with Islamic teachings, to enforce the Islamic daulah (God's instructions) to regulate the aspects of life of humans, society, and the state. Basically, Masyumi Party believed that Islam is the solution to all problems of its followers.

Masyumi Party was challenged to participate in expressing its attitude and be responsible for when Indonesia's Independence was proclaimed.

"We, Indonesian Muslims, comprising the majority of the population, shall bear the greatest responsibility for the safety and development of Republic Indonesia and further to be beneficial to the state, filled with the divine blessings from Allah, where the Islamic teachings are implemented in the state and social life".

Masyumi Party's concept and idea in managing a government are "*Baldatun thayyibatun wa Rabbun ghafur*" (a blessed country with abundant forgiveness from God).³ Masyumi Party would therefore try to fight fully for the implementation of Islamic teachings, without any exceptions.

The realization of "*Baldatun thayyibatun wa Rabbun ghafur*" was that Masyumi Party declared that a just/fair state filled with divine blessings is represented by the people's representatives appointed for such purpose.⁴ In addition, Masyumi Party

² *Dokumen Perjuangan Partai Masyumi*, page 26.

³ *Dokumen Perjuangan Partai Masyumi*, page 26.

⁴ *Dokumen Perjuangan Partai Masyumi*, page 27.

encouraged the implementation of Islamic Laws with sovereignty, freedom, social equality, regulation of personal life in accordance with the rules contained in the Qur'an and sunnah, whereby follower of other religions and faiths are able to practice their beliefs and develop their culture.

Masyumi Party existed to fight for the enforcement of Islamic Ideological principles and the Syar'i in Indonesia. Masyumi Party believed that these were lofty ideals of Indonesian Muslims and had to be struggled for. These Islamic ideal which Masyumi Party was using as a step stone and differentiating aspect from the secular groups or the nationalist groups. As stated by Haji Agus Salim that Nationalism must be based on compliance with Allah/God, by asserting to use His rules, His words as the regulations of personal life, society and state (*Tempo*, 12 August 2013).

The Idealistic State in the Perspective of Masyumi Party

As an Islamic-oriented political party with approximately 3 million Muslims as its members, Masyumi believed that Islamic truth should be the state governing ideology. As an ideology, in the opinion of Masyumi Party, Islam bore sufficiently wide cognitive coverage, covering both the worldly and eternal life (the life after).

All aspects regarding the worldly life and the eternal after-world life are regulated in Islamic teachings. Islam is therefore a sufficiently extended teachings. In this case, Masyumi Party followed the principles of the faiths/words contained in the Qur'an confirming that Islam does not only regulated the relationships of humans with other humans, humans with God, but also regulates all the life guidelines of humans themselves.

The ideas and offers from Masyumi Party on an Islamic state opposed with by those groups having different opinions. Masyumi Party thought that the oppositions towards the ideology of an Islamic state was caused by the lack of complete understanding of an Islamic state. Masyumi Party saw that these groups opposing its the ideas were stuck on an Islamic Government model shown by the Turkish Usmani Caliph, which was dissolved less than 20 years earlier. According to Masyumi Party the Turkish Usmani Caliph government was not their purpose as the Turkish Usmani Caliph government had indicated deviations and failed to the typical characteristics of an Islamic government it was then struggling.

The biased concept of an Islamic state arose as a result of the lack of knowledge on Islamic teachings, which led to the unfavorable general interpretation of an Islamic state. As an example, the severance of an arm for a thief, which is interpreted as a sadistic and inhuman punishment by non-Muslims. In fact, Islamic Syar'i postulates certain criteria to be considered thoroughly before employing the arm-severing punishment. So, it is not simple to apply this punishment.

A series of legal instruments, and the superiority that it holds, would not be able to create a just and prosperous. As stated in what became the guiding principle of Masyumi Party "*baladun thayyibatun wa rabbun ghaffur*", an ideal state is a good and safe country receiving abundant blessings from God (Dokumen Perjuangan Partai Masyumi, Part 1). In order for the laws to be able to guarantee and form an ideal

society, an executive element is required. That executive element is the state. It is hereby noted that the important roles of a country as a means to enact the laws under the Islamic provisions. Without the presence of the state, compliance with the laws would be difficult, if not impossible.

This type of image was illustrated by Masyumi Party of a state or country functioning as a means to enforce laws. Therefore Masyumi Party's approach towards the implementation of Syar'i and Islamic Laws within the society or the state put an emphasis on the formal legal aspects, meaning that Masyumi considered that the existence of a legal ruling power was necessary, its existence acknowledged and required to force all individuals and groups of individuals to comply with Islamic laws already enacted. This notion is different from the ideas from the secular groups which emphasized on the socialization of the values of Islamic teachings merely as a theological understanding for its followers.

It is characteristic and typical that the laws of Allah as already considered by Masyumi Party are as follows: *First*, the laws cover a number of laws and rules which, at a certain level, will form a social system and so in this system of laws the principal rules related to the life of humans as socio-cultural creatures can be found. Some examples include the laws related to family life, children and relatives, religious tolerance, peace and war agreements, criminal and civil acts, and so forth. *Second*, the enforcement of such laws depends very much of the existence of the state, which shall become the tool for its implementation. So it is very unlikely that Muslims would become able to comply with the laws generating from Allah's words or commandments without first establishing a state.

In line with this notion that a state is merely a means, Masyumi Party held the opinion that there should be any other ideologies regulating the inter-religion and inter-state relationships. With or without the existence of other ideologies, the existence of an Islamic state is a necessity that must be fought for (Interview with Kyai Sujudi).

Masyumi party further set the requirements and religious principles to be met for an Islamic state to exist, which include (Nashir, 2012:149)

- 1) The existence of rules and Constitutions that cover all laws generated from the Qur'an and *Sunnah*.
- 2) The existence of a orderly government with its security guards being respected and complied with by all citizens and such government has an international relations.
- 3) The existence of apparatus protecting all the existing rules and statutory regulations
- 4) The existence of fund sources to finance the state's activities.
- 5) There are people who comply with the rules and state regulations.
- 6) The existence of the land, water, and permanent territories and regions.

Perspective of State Principle

Masyumi Party wanted Indonesia to become a “lawful state” based on Islamic teachings. In the opinion of Masyumi leaders, a country would be Islamic not because it is called an “Islamic country” but because that country is established in accordance with Islamic teachings. The term “Islamic country” is of secondary aspect. The main point, in relation to Islam and a country, is how Islamic teachings are able to inspire the state life which guarantees the lives and assets of all Indonesian residents, both the domestic citizens and foreigners.⁵

In the Draft of Republic of Indonesia’s (Islamic) Constitution proposed by Masyumi Party, two alternatives were offered as the state principles, namely “Republic of Indonesia under Islam” or Islamic Republic of Indonesia under the Sole God”. The schemes illustrate the lofty ideals of Masyumi on the state desired by Islam and, in addition, Masyumi Party also wanted a republic with a presidential system.⁶

Masyumi Party elected a strategy that was considered the most suitable to be applied, considering the existing political power. However aware Masyumi Party was that Pancasila (the Five Principles) had become the formula of a Pancasila State already represented Islamic desires, they did not automatically accept Pancasila as the State’s Principle as proposed by other groups. Masyumi Party had already presented their goal, namely to certify that Islam became the State Principle.

This decision was made on the following dual grounds. *First*, the fact that Pancasila was the State Principle was a matter of interpretation. Masyumi Party adopted this tactic because they wanted to listen to reasons of the other parties supporting Pancasila in declaring the superiority of Pancasila, not because they did not want to compromise with Pancasila. Masyumi Party also intended to notify its arguments with regard to the superiority of Islam as a state principle. Thereby, each party would be able to reach the common point to be used as the foundation for the compromise to be made. *Second*, Masyumi Party kept their promise in their campaigns for general election of 1955, where they promised to struggle to make Islam the state principle in the Constituent Council (*Majelis Konstituante*).⁷

Although Masyumi Party tended to be compromising when settling a problem, as the party believed that any argument regarding the ideology was at that time fruitless (*Abadi*, 1 Februari 1953), Masyumi Party would not compromise any divine (religious) aspects which are fundamental in religions. Masyumi Party could not accept any compromise regarding the formulation of “God”, which was neutral in nature in relation to religions, as in the interpretation of the atheists and the secular.

Masyumi Party’s hope for a compromise on the state principle initially began to show a success. After the elongated arguments on the state principle, the Constituent Council drafted the compromise plan on the state principle based on the perspectives presented by different parties/groups, including those supporting Islam and Pancasila.

⁵ *Program Perjuangan Partai Masyumi Tentang Kenegaraan*, page 1.

⁶ *Program Perjuangan Partai Masyumi tentang Kenegaraan*, page 1.

⁷ Documentation from Masyumi Party, *Perkembangan Pikiran Dari Mukhtamar Ke Mukhtamar*.

What Masyumi party wanted was that the Divine principle should be interpreted religiously, not interpreted in accordance to communism, socialism, Javanese Myth, theosophy, or the seculars. In that way, the Divine principle would become the spiritual principle and moral sources in the life of individuals and the society. The recognition of Islam as the formal state religion was, according to Masyumi Party's opinion, reasonable because the majority of Indonesian population was, and still is, Muslims. However, Masyumi also supported the Laws that ensured the existence and freedom to confess and practise other religions.

Up to the end of 1958, the Constituent Council had completed 90% of its duties in formulating the Constitution. Constituent Council still had 10 months to finish all its duties, with the desires from different parties to compromise. Surprisingly President Soekarno decided to reenact Constitution 1945. The main factor stimulating this decision was that the situation in Indonesia was unstable – politically, socially, and economically – starting to turn into anarchism, where the central government was faced by rebellious groups, such as PRRI in Sumatera and Parmesta in Sulawesi. Socially, the debates inside the Constituent Council had brought about ideological conflicts in the society, between the supporters of Islam and the supporters of Pancasila.

Although Masyumi bitterly criticized the decision by President Sukarno, they were finally pushed to compromise. This compromise was forcibly made because all the supporters of Pancasila in *Majelis Konstituante* had agreed to the idea of the President. Outside the Majelis/Council, the Military had also confirmed its attitude to support the decision. Masyumi eventually approved the re-enactment of Constitution 1945.

Shifts in Ideological Orientation

Article II of the Party's Articles of Association clearly states that Masyumi Party is based on Islam.⁸ The purpose of Masyumi Party is also clear, that is Masyumi Party is committed to implementing the Islamic teachings and Islamic Laws in the life of individuals, the society and the state of the Republic of Indonesia towards the Blessings of God.⁹

From the perspective of terminology, the name Masyumi is the shortened form of Majelis Syura Muslimin Indonesia. Masyumi Party placed its party's principle movement and idolized an idealistic government within the concept of the Syura. The universal Syura principle of theory covers exchange of ideas mutual advice and exchange of opinion. If we study more deeply the Syura universally, its universality is visible in two perspectives.

The *First Perspective*, Syura in its wide and general meaning. Within the scope of wide meaning, Syura is categorized as a means to exchange ideas/thoughts, opinions, and discussion to achieve idealized understanding, for the party stating the opinion, the participants of the discussion or the recipient of the session. At times, the topic being discussed is a simple but meaningful or useful subject for the community,

⁸ Statute of Masyumi Party.

⁹ Statute of Masyumi Party.

organization or for the party. Sometimes, Sura also discusses more meaningful aspects, such as social and political decisions.

Second Perspective, syura is not specifically formed to accommodate the power of the rulers and ties of a ruling individual holding the power and the decisions of Islamic representatives adopted or issued in accordance with the Syura, as commonly understood from most of the discussions related to the principles of Syura. To Masyumi Party the Syura meant the principle /foundation of individual freedom in togetherness having its holy rights in participating to make collective collective in all the issues discussed.

Fundementally, the purpose of Syura is justice. Justice will create balance in the proportional and right ways between the individual freedom and collective freedom. Within the aspect of struggle and government, the principle of Syura will function as protector of justice under Islamic guidelines, which in its further developmen, may force the followers to fight for justice as martyrs and to raise the verses of Allah/God.¹⁰

In that way, Syura is the poised scale, which places freedom on one side and power and government of the other. Both sides rotate on the axis called Syar'i which develops from the syariah foundations and principles, in accordance with Islamic guidelines.

Regardless of the heated arguments in the constutuent regarding the state principle , in he opinion of Masyumi Party, the 10-year governing by Indonesia had successfully implemented the syura system in its government. This was shown in the method of cabinet formation which was structured via formated collective understanding where the representatives of each group discussed and a person was appointed by President Sukarno as the person in charge of the discussion for collective understanding.

The roles of Syura in an Islamic Government will not be restricted to the election of an individual as the ruler and the ties of the authority thereby set forth. These ties give the rights to the followers or the institution representing them, in this case Masyumi Party, along with the other parties, supervised and demanded responsibility from the ruler for the amanah (responsibility) that it was bearing. This role had been played by Masyumi Party for the last 10 years.

Syura applies as long as a ruler is in power. Syura also includes the control and supervision of all duties and personl behavior. These are the logical consequences for the responsibility bearer whom various groups and factions have agreed upon and elected. This applies to the holder of amanah of the prime minister within the context of the government of the Republic of Indonesia.

Partai Masyumi tended to be compromising when dealing with matters and to follow the pattern of the government in so far, as viewed from the Sura aspect there are the similarity in the concept, although at the level with regard to orientation of the state principle no common points have been found, with the government and the other groups.

¹⁰ *Dokumen Perjuangan Masyumi*, Pokok Pikiran Muktamar Yogyakarta 1946.

Within a period of five years, from the proclamation up to the Independence Maintaining Struggle Masyumi Party had cosistenly fought for Islam as the State Principle. The consistent struggle by Masyumi Party to certify Islam to be the State Principle was based upon the basic reasons, namely to make aware and widen knowledge and competence among Indonesian Muslims in the political struggle, to formulate and strengthen the unity and poer of Indonesia Muslims in all walks of life, to execute public life on humanity, sociality, brotherhood and equality of rights under the Islamic teachings, and engaged in cooperation with other groups on the basis of the mutual respect.¹¹

Partai Masyumi showed its tough attitude when it came to the ideological struggle because Islam was confessed by the majority of Inonesian population. It was reasonable that, for that reason, Islamd became the guidelines and Constitution for Indonesian peaple as a whole. In addition, a government based on Islam was believed to be able create just and balanced peace and welfare.¹²

In that way Islam would be considered to have covered all aspects in national and state affairs. Islam was believed to be capable of creating the highest degree of syariah sovereignty in the social life. This capability was and is based on the greatness of the sources (the messages), the guarantee for syariah justicen and its association with the aqiqah and eventually forming the substantially proper segregation or distribution of jobs between the institutions commissioning the enactment of the *Fiqih* laws, political institutions and the government in a country.

After the Syariah is set, the Syura method will supplement it to exercise the Islamic governmental system. This is necessary because on one side the Syura is the means to make a commitment (*ijtihad*) and collective approvals (*ijma*) within the Fiqif laws and on the other hand, the Syura may function as the mechanism to elect and appoint a ruler based on the collective agreement of all different groups.

This principle of separation or independence of different institutions is the substantial aspect in an Islamic government. This principle is closely related to the syariah sovereignty of the government for all parties, including the Syura masters *orahlul-halli wal-aqdi* functioning as a formated type. This constitutes the most specific characteristic which differentiate an Islamic-oriented with those other existing models of government.

The concept and form of the government were well-organized but the struggle of Masyumi Party was yet to shoe its glare to establish an ideal Islamic government. This condition gradually changed when the younger and more progressive intellectuals such as Muhammad Natsir, Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, Prawoto Mangkusasmito, Muhammad Isa Anshary and others took the leadership of the older and more moderate figures, such as Soekiman, Jusuf Wibisono, Kasman Singodimedjo and the others.

In its National Meeting (muktamar) V held in Yogyakarta from 15 to 19 December 1949, Muhammad Natsir was elected the General Leader of masyumi Party, replacing

¹¹ *Statute of Masyumi Party, Article IV.*

¹² *Dokumen Perjuangan Partai Masyumi, Pokok Pikiran Muktamar Yogyakarta 1946.*

Kasman Singodimedjo. This became the turning point for Masyumi Party to change the direction its movements. Muhammad Natsir, as the new General Leader, emerged as the renewal agent for Masyumi Party. Muhammad Natsir was viewed by others as a modern Muslim. His ideas and thoughts were considered to be very progressive for the development of the Party. One of his phenomenal ideas provided in the resolutions of that national meeting was the domestic policy to press the Government to hold a general election immediately as may be practical.¹³

Apart from that, the resolutions of the national meeting also gave Muhammad Natsir the authority to formulate and design the interpretation of Masyumi Party's principle which should later be used as the guidelines for the party's movements.¹⁴ Given the facts, it can be concluded just how great the influence of Muhammad Natsir upon Masyumi Party. In the theory of leadership, Muhammad Natsir may be classified as an authoritarian leader (Rivai, 2012:36), although on later stages he was considered to be a democratic person.

During the early phase of Muhammad Natsir's leadership in Masyumi Party, he surprised the public with his oratories on the integral skeptical attitudes towards handling the various upheavals in the country after the recognition of the sovereignty of the Independent Republic of Indonesia. The formerly Federal Republic of Indonesia now became Republic of Indonesia. This change in status was closely associated with Muhammad Natsir's demand presented in the integral skeptical statements or better known as *Natsir's mosi integral*. Moreover, Muhammad Natsir fully supported the governmental system during the liberal democracy in which Muhammad Natsir served as the then first Prime Minister.

Whatever done and decided by Muhammad Natsir arose pros and cons within Masyumi Party. The older more moderate generation, including Jusuf Wibisono and Sukiman opposed the policies of Muhammad Natsir, and particularly when Muhammad Natsir was the Prime Minister. This intricacy was emitted by Muhammad Natsir's breach of the constitution of the party where the party's general leader was not allowed to hold a governmental official position.

Another Muhammad Natsir's policy that created a polemic was the formation of the general election agenda by initiating and, at the same time, designing all the regulations and the statutory provisions related thereto. Muhammad Natsir may be called the Initiator of general elections in Indonesia because the ideas and thoughts, along with the supporting instruments and model of the general election were invented from his ideas during his tenure as the Prime Minister (Budiharjo, 2012:434). Many opposed the policies and ideas of Muhammad Natsir but many others supported them.

The arguments and strict statements with regard to the State's Principle were not much heeded by Masyumi Party, which was quite the contrast to what took place

¹³ *Dokumen Perjuangan Partai Masyumi*, Keputusan Muktamar V tentang Kebijakan Dalam Negeri.

¹⁴ *Dokumen Perjuangan Partai Masyumi*, Keputusan Muktamar V tentang Tafsir Asas. In this decree, mentioned that the Congress accepted both the party's struggling program and ideas formulated by Muhammad Natsir to become party's basis.

during the initial years of the establishment of Masyumi Party. On several occasions, Muhammad Natsir himself had criticized and shown his disagreement to democracy and Pancasila. Muhammad Natsir thought that both democracy and Pancasila were secular. This was the fact as both democracy and Pancasila were the result of a group of people and not the product of divine messages (wahyu) from God (Bustamam-Ahmad, 2001:264). What Muhammad Natsir said on democracy and Pancasila was totally different from that stated by him when he was the General Leader of Masyumi Party. In his visit to Pakistan as an invitee of *Pakistan Institute of World Affairs* Muhammad Natsir, speaking on behalf of Masyumi Party, gave an oration showing the superiority and advantages of Pancasila implemented in Indonesia.¹⁵ This inconsistency of Muhammad Natsir, made in his capacity as the General Leader of Masyumi Party, had adversely affected the party.

To trace Muhammad Natsir's views on the State, there are at least two factors to be considered: the external factor and the internal factor. The external factor refers to Muhammad Natsir's attitude towards the Turkish secularism in connection with the rise of Mustafa Kemal Pasha as the Turkey's Father of Secularism who had ousted the Ottoman Imperial regime. Apart from that, Natsir's discourse towards the pattern and dynamics then occurring in Pakistan had sufficiently influenced and inspired his thoughts with regard to an Islamic country which he was vehemently demanded.

The internal factor refers to the renewing spirits of Muhammad Natsir as a result of the influences from Islamic agents for renewal, both in Indonesia and in the Middle East. Muhammad Natsir was an admirer of Ibnu Taimiyah, a leading renewal figure from Saudi Arabia and tended to adhere to Hanbali Faction (Madzhab Hanbali) in his Islamized thoughts. It can be concluded that these two factors became the foundation of the development of Muhammad Natsir's views of a state or country.

Partai Masyumi gave the impression that it enjoyed the democracy during the parliamentary cabinet. Masyumi Party's decision to follow the parliamentary course through that democracy system was opposed by different criticisms. Various groups viewed that Masyumi Party accepted the principles of democracy as its means of struggle. On the contrary, on several occasions they stated that democracy was defiled and outside of Islam and could not be used as a way to seize power.

This self-prostituting attitude toward democracy was obvious when the general election, which is the breath of democracy, was held during the cabinet of Burhanuddin who was a Masyumi figure. On the other hand, Masyumi Party tried to defend itself and ensure its sympathetic followers that only the Islamic system could regulate all aspects of human life. Democracy was then only viewed as a temporary way to gain power. In conclusion, democracy was only used by Masyumi Party's leaders.

¹⁵In Muhammad Natsir speech, delivered that "Undoubtedly Pakistan as an Islamic country because of its population and they declare Islam as a state religion. Similar with Indonesia, as an Islamic state because of the factual reality that Islam is recognized as popular religion, even though our constitution does not expressly state as a state religion. However Indonesia does not issue a formal state religion. In fact, the constitution has put the belief in God at the top place in the precepts of Pancasila. The five principles that perceived as the basis are ethics, morals, spiritual of states and nations."

For lay sympathizing parties and general public, such self-defence mechanism was acceptable and understandable. On the other hand, it created the impression the Masyumi Party went all the ways to achieve its goals, although it has left a great ideal to present Syura and Islamic principles as an idealistic government.

Conclusion

The establishment of Masyumi was the apex of the Japanese attempt to map the various power axis of the different groups in Indonesia. Following the Japanese surrender to the Allied and Indonesia's Proclamation of its independence, Masyumi Organization became a political party on November 7th, 1945. The presence of Masyumi Party represented the yearning for Indonesian Muslims who intended to have a well-formalized means of struggle. Masyumi Party made Islam as the foundation for its struggle, which did not only serve as the symbol but also became the ideology and the spirits in conducting all Dakwah Siyayah activities within its political struggle.

During the Physical Revolution for Independence Masyumi played important roles by making decisions affecting the fate of Indonesians. One of the vital roles of Masyumi in the political situation of that era was the appointment of a Masyumi figure, Sjafrudin Prawiranegara, as the emergency savior of the country/nation. He was appointed the person in charge of the Republic of Indonesia's Emergency Government (PDRI) in Bukittinggi, Sumatera when Sukarno and M. Hatta were both exiled in Holland.

During the parliamentary democracy era, Masyumi became a leading political power. During this era, a lot of events and dynamics took place inside Masyumi. Pada masa inilah terjadi berbagai dinamika dalam tubuh Masyumi. The shift of the party's orientation was beginning to be visible, with M. Natsir's idea to formulate the General Election Law. In that general Election Masyumi came second, resulting in 57 seats in the Parliament.

Partai Masyumi seemed to have enjoyed the democracy system and *electoral vote*. This decision to follow the line as made by was not free from opposing criticisms. Some of the groups believed that Masyumi approved the principles of democracy as its means of struggle. On several occasions, however, they thought that democracy was a defiled system outside of Islam and should not be used as a tool to gain power.

The attitude of Masyumi Party during the liberal democracy era indicates that Masyumi had changed its political orientation. Initially Masyumi Party struggled toward the implementation of Islamic Laws using the Syura system if forming a government but in the end it became helpless and followed and incorporated itself into the democracy model, the initiators of which were themselves prominent figures of Masyumi.

The change of the political behavior was associated with the way of thinking among the leaders of Masyumi Party, who tended to be friendly with the existing political climate of that time. In addition, the role of Muhammad Natsir, as the general leader of the party was visibly very dominant. Almost all the ideas resulted from

Muhammad Natsir's opinions became the resolutions of Masyumi Party, which subsequently resulted in the internal dialects in the body of Masyumi Party, both the ideological and political dialects.

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