

Islamic Political Deformation at the Beginning of Reformation in Indonesia

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Abstrak. This paper discusses the rise of Islamic politics at the beginning of reform in Indonesia. Islam as a political force in Indonesia has strong bargaining power in the process of national leadership succession. This cannot be separated from the reality that Indonesian society is dominated by Muslims. However, the problem is, in the 1999 elections, Islamic political parties could not gain a dominant vote. This condition certainly reinforces the notion that the revival of Islamic parties at the beginning of the reformation was not primarily driven by motivation to fight for the interests of the Muslim community in general, but rather from political motives and power, both related to political elites and political parties. This paper is prepared using a historical methodology that takes four stages of research, namely: heuristics (data collection), data criticism or verification, interpretation, and historiography (historical writing).

Keywords: Islamic, politics, deformation, reformation

INTRODUCTION

Islam as a doctrine that is based on the Koran and the Hadiths has definitely determined that human life with its various dimensions will change over time. This statement was made clear by Ibn Khaldun that human civilization, including the dimension of power, will be at the stage of birth, growth, development until it reaches glory, then regresses, until finally it comes to a time of collapse (M. A. Muchsin:2002). This concept of change is known as continuity, which reflects the existence of a transitional relationship. This transition means that the past and the present moment is an inseparable reality (W. Meulen:1991).

The history of the Indonesian nation was marked by a period known as the New Order. The New Order period which lasted from 1967-1998 was led by President Soeharto who tried to carry out Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in a pure and consistent manner, which brought the Indonesian nation to prioritize development in various sectors. The policies issued by President Soeharto received support from the main political forces, namely the Work Group and the Military. The glory achieved by the New Order Government eventually came at a time of decline and collapse. The process of collapse of the New Order began when the government was so strong

that it always declared itself and the system was tied to the values of Pancasila, but the expression of its commitment to these values only produced symptoms of verbalism and daily life in society, very far from the Pancasila principles (N. Madjid:2018). The occurrence of an economic crisis that affected all sectors of public life led to the rise of civilian forces spearheaded by intellectuals, especially students and academics, demanding that Soeharto resign from power.

Demonstrations that took place in various parts of Indonesia in 1998, which was followed by unilateral actions in the form of looting of shopping centers greatly worried various parties. Facing the demonstrators, the government through the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia which consisted of soldiers and police tried to secure it, albeit in a repressive way that resulted in student victims better known as the Trisakti Tragedy. The shooting incident of Trisakti University students further aroused mass pressure on the government. Various demonstrations, riots, political and military pressure, to the occupation of the DPR / MPR RI building by demonstrators, forced Suharto to quit as President of the Republic of Indonesia. On Thursday, 21 May 1998, at the State Palace, Suharto read out a speech about his retirement as President of the Republic of Indonesia. Henceforth, the government was continued by the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, B.J.Habibie.

Immediately after B.J.Habibie was inaugurated as President, Indonesia entered a new era, better known as the reform era. One of the President's policies in the political field is to give freedom to all Indonesian people to actively participate in political activities. The reform era is known as the new chapter of democracy in Indonesia, an era that promises more space for participation for all elements of society in various economic, social, and political life (Z. Maliki:2018). The reform era is a hope for the Indonesian nation to direct awareness of grassroots politics so that it can be present in a more rational form of mass empowerment (S. Setowara:2013). On the other hand, the presence of reform was also used by power enthusiasts in gaining public sympathy. Political elites, including those from Islam, are busy establishing political parties with the main reason as a form of participation in enforcing amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar as well as efforts to create a just and prosperous society based on the mandate of Islam and Pancasila. The question that arises then is what is the background for the emergence of Islamic politics based on political parties and what is the position of Islamic politics in the early days of reform. The answer to this question can be seen in the following description.

The Emergence of Islamic Politics and Its Struggle

The first paragraph after a heading is not indented (Bodytext style). It is understood that the condition of Indonesia at the beginning of the reformation was hit by a monetary crisis. As an effort to reduce the crisis, the President, who was then chaired by Baharuddin Jusuf Habibie, agreed with the People's Representative Council / People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR/MPR) to speed up the general election. The MPR special session decided that the general election would be held on June 7, 1999. As a consequence of this agenda, the

government provided ample opportunities for all groups to establish political parties. Political parties that meet the requirements will be given the right to participate in general elections. Political liberalization carried out by the government by eliminating the use of Pancasila as the sole principle in each organization has opened up opportunities to adopt Islam as a principle in a political party (A. Azra:2020).

At the beginning of the reformation, the government opened a very broad tap of democracy by opening and guaranteeing freedom to the press in covering and reporting events in the country, as well as giving everyone the freedom to establish political parties. This policy was greeted with great fanfare. The enthusiasm and political movement of the people is actually driven more by the mere desire to participate in the frenetic of reforms or even simply to release the burden of boredom, after being in an order full of uncertainty for a long time, without being supported by sufficient knowledge or consideration of the direction and dynamics ahead. . This reformation era has also triggered the freedom of the people to express their aspirations through new political parties, which will contest within the framework of the new political system. The emergence of new parties in a multiparty political system is a phenomenon that cannot be prevented. Freedom to express opinions, commitment to democracy, respect for human rights, fair legal recognition, equitable economic development, and a welfare approach, are the main discourses that have developed and become standard assessments of the course of reform (B. Chamsyah:1999). There are about 141 political parties that registered themselves as election participants in the Ministry of Justice. After going through a selection by the Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of the General Election Committee (P3KPU) or a team of eleven consisting of Nurcholish Madjid, Miriam Budiardjo, Adnan Buyung Nasution, Afan Gaffar, Adi Andojo, Kastorius Sinaga, Mulyana W. Kusumah, Andi Alifian Mallarangeng, Anas Urbaningrum, Rama Pratama and Eep Saefullah Fatah (E. S. Fatah:2004), so only 48 political parties have the right to participate in the general election.

The general election which was held at the beginning of the reformation has led to political deformation among Muslims. During the New Order era, the political position of the Muslims which was channeled only to the United Development Party (PPP) they felt was still in a restrained condition. PPP during the New Order era was not allowed to use Islamic principles, but it had to be Pancasila. Entering the reform era, Indonesian Muslim intellectuals and intellectuals who had been living in the upper wind slowly but surely moved towards practical politics. They have historical nostalgia to restore the glory of political Islam to the national stage (Z. Qodir:2012). Political Islam groups understand that political parties are a means to uphold Islamic principles in the socio-political arena. The presence of Islamic political parties on the national stage cannot be separated from their desire to fight for Islamic political aspirations. political aspirations are none other than the existence of a moral insight into power. for Islam, what is called political power must be used as an important tool to achieve the goals of Islam, especially in Indonesia. among these objectives are

the upholding of justice, independence, egalitarian humanism, on the basis of tauhid. these values which are the eternal demands of mankind must not hang in the air. he must be grounded. it is for grounding that the power device becomes very important (A. S. Maarif:2018).

The deformation of Islamic politics at the beginning of the reformation was also marked by the reality of the Muslim community which had been divided into small groups with very diverse interests. This shows that reform is used as a momentum and a basis for establishing political parties. The presence of so many political parties as the manifestation of the euphoria of reform will face natural selection through the mechanism of the third wave of democratization. The third era of democratization will filter parties that have popular support to remain in the political arena. Only individuals and political parties with a capacity and a vision that is much bigger than themselves will become political actors.

Islamic parties that have emerged in the reform era cannot actually be separated from the cultural roots, thoughts and religious practices of old Islamic social organizations or Islamic parties, for example Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, the Indonesian Sarikat Islam Party (PSII), the Islamic Umat Party (PUI), the Indonesian Tarbiyah Association (Perti) and the Masyumi Party. This shows that the Islamic parties did not push for a new Islamic ideology that went beyond their parent organization. Ideological issues are no longer in the limelight. The struggle to replace Pancasila with an Islamic ideology that used to absorb the greatest energy of Islamic activists, has been replaced by an agenda to occupy public positions and positions to carry out Islamization from within (M. I. Rahmat:2018).

Right on June 7, 1999, the first general elections were held in the reform era. As a result, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) as a nationalist party emerged as the main winner, followed by the Golongan Karya Party (Golkar) as a party still characterized by New Order figures in second place. The dream of Muslims to take control of power at the national level failed to achieve. Of the 462 seats contested, the position of Islamic political parties is very small. The United Development Party (PPP) only won 58 seats, the Crescent Star Party 13 seats, the Justice Party 7 seats, the Nahdlatul Ummah Party 5 seats, the Ummah Awakening Party, the Islamic Syarikat Party and the Masyumi Party 1 seat each (Y. Hamdan:2003). The two Islamic mass-based parties, namely the National Awakening Party (PKB), which were identical to the Nahdlyin community, managed to get 51 seats and the National Mandate Party (PAN), which was filled with many Muhammadiyah circles, won 35 seats.

The failure of Islamic political parties to obtain dominant votes in the 1999 general election cannot be separated from the reality that they are fighting over the Islamic masses. they fought over conventional Islamic masses, namely Muslim masses affiliated with Nahdlyin, Muhammadiyah, Sarekat Islam, Al-Irsyad, including Nahdlatul Wathan. This phenomenon is a sign that Islamic political parties are fighting over the Muslim masses who have not experienced any change in ideology,

namely still traditionalists and modernists. as reduction and simplification, traditional affiliations are NU and NW, and modernist affiliations are Muhammadiyah, SI, and Persis. while Al-Ershad is a mass of Muslims who feel themselves descended from the Prophet or Habib, but it seems that in Indonesia, they are closer to Muhammadiyah (Z. Qodir:2009).

Based on the results of the 1999 general election, the political aspirations of Muslims are heterogeneous and plural. Obviously, once again the facts show that the majority of the political aspirations of Muslims are not always channeled to the stronghold of the Islamic-based parties. In fact, Islamic-based parties such as PPP, PBB, and PK won votes far below the PDIP, a party which is essentially a non-Islamic party or a semi-secular nationalist party. Likewise, Islamic mass-based parties such as PAN and PKB were unable to match the PDIP votes (seats). These two major Islamic mass-based parties are still far behind the PDIP in their national votes (F. Ismail:2002).

Central Axis: The Power of Political Islam at the Beginning of the Reformation

The resignation of President Soeharto on 21 May 1998 and then replaced by B.J Habibie as President has shown a succession of national leadership. Suharto, who claimed to be the main pioneer of the New Order government, had to resign his position as President after experiencing intense pressure from intellectual circles, scholars, students, politicians and the military. B.J Habibie as the continuation of the power relay immediately announced the need for holding general elections to legitimize his power. At that time, the reason for the need for holding general elections was to gain recognition or trust from the public, including the international community, because the government and other institutions which were the products of the 1997 General Election were deemed not to have gained public trust.

It is a general fact that, after the Indonesian Communist Party was dissolved, political power in Indonesia was generally held by nationalist groups, Islam and the military. After the collapse of the New Order, the dominant groups in national politics were only controlled by nationalists and Muslims, while military groups were no longer allowed to be active in practical political activities on the grounds that they had to be neutral because the military belonged to all groups responsible for maintaining the safety and sovereignty of the state. . In the 1999 general election, it was evident that there was competition between nationalist groups and Islamic groups in gaining popular support. The results of the 1999 general election placed the nationalist group represented by the PDIP as the winner of the general election. Ahead of the General Session of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) to elect the president, the condition of Indonesia's national politics is very worrying. There are two groups competing for the position of President, namely Supporters of Megawati Soekarno Putri and supporters of B.J. Habibie. Seeing this condition, the political elite, especially from Islamic groups led by PAN, PBB, the Justice Party, and PPP, tried to reduce the competition between Habibie and Megawati, which was thought to be a competition between the Islamic and secular camps. These efforts paid off by agreeing to form a central axis that would carry Abdurrahman Wahid

(Gus Dur) as a candidate for President. This incident changed the political map, especially from the National Awakening Party, which initially

CONCLUSION

At this time, Islamic politics has arguably reached a very strong starting point. The revival of Islamic politics was marked by several phenomena that barely surfaced during the New Order era. In this era, the passion for the formation of Islamic-based political parties emerged. Prior to the 1999 General Election, 35 Islamic parties had registered with the Ministry of Justice. After the selection was held by Team Eleven, which passed as contestants for the 1999 election as many as 20 Islamic parties from 48 political parties. Although Islamic-based political parties have experienced ups and downs in their journey, their existence must still be maintained and fought for. Islamic-based political parties must still exist because they are needed to channel the struggle of Muslims. It can also be a solution to reject radicalism. The last, most important thing is as an effort to integrate Islamic values into positive law in Indonesia.

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