

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The process of national life cannot be separated from the political dimension of life. However, political life in every country of course it is different. One factor that distinguishes it is the state ideology used. Political life of people that living in a country that adopts a liberal ideology it is different from those who live in socialist or communist countries. So also with the political life in Indonesia, it ideally in contrast to the people of other nations.

Pancasila is the way of life Indonesia principle are supposed to be the basic philosophy and purpose of political life of our nation and it reflected in the attitude of politicians in this country. In this regard, the political development process that is underway in our country today should be directed at the democratic political system that is reliable also has a high quality of independence which makes it possible to build or develop themselves continuously in accordance with the people' aspirations and all demands of changing times.

Demands for the needs of the country's leader (central and regional) in accordance with the expectations of society and the passage of the democratization process in the election in an honest, fair and accountable need to be addressed through good governance. This price is not negotiable if the Republic Indonesia wants to be a country that has identity in the international forum. It is because one of the demands of democracy is the implementation of the rule of law in every line of state government both at central and local levels.¹

The reformation process in Indonesia is showing evidence of the dynamism of the political life of the Indonesian people. However, in dynamic was not to leave the ethical values. Increasingly democratic political life was marked by the opening of the channel with the political aspirations of the community, such as the freedom to establish political parties, freedom of speech, the presidential and vice president election, legislators and regional heads election directly, should always uphold the values of ethics. So that the implementation of these activities has always reflects the personality of the nation, and to realize the ideal leader. But unfortunately, aspirations to ideals embody of the political system fair and

¹AosKuswandi, "*Membangun Gerakan Budaya Sistem Politik di Indonesia*", GOVERNANCE Vol1no1, (November 2010), P. 42

ethically in Indonesia are faced with various challenges. One of the major problems in the political life of the Indonesian nation is a matter of moral decay, especially moral leader of the elite in this country. It is characterized by the occurrence of various form of fraud, such as corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN). As well as other violations of action in politics and government. And this in turn caused a wide variety of multi-dimensional crisis in the national life. In this context, returning the people who must be sacrificed.

In addition, the problem of morality, and decency in the political leadership is become long-unresolved issues in the political life of the nation. The behavior of the political elite, who often leave the virtuous moral doing political activities, has hurt the moral issues in the political life of this nation. In fact, if still left the evolving political climate such as this, in which the political elite still views people is a simple man who just judging from the appearance and easily deceived and lied to. In the political of Machiavellian formula version of this, that the people are positioned as an object of lying politicians and rulers. So country that uncivilized is becoming the real fact. As described in the prophet hadith:

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِذَا ضَيِّعَتِ الْأَمَانَةُ فَانْتَظِرِ السَّاعَةَ قَالَ كَيْفَ إِضَاعَتُهَا يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ قَالَ إِذَا أُسْنِدَ الْأَمْرُ إِلَى غَيْرِ أَهْلِهِ فَانْتَظِرِ السَّاعَةَ

Rasulullah shallallahu 'alaihi wasallam bersabda: "Jika amanat telah disia-siakan, tunggu saja kehancuran terjadi." Ada seorang sahabat bertanya; 'bagaimana maksud amanat disia-siakan?' 'Nabi menjawab; "Jika urusan diserahkan bukan kepada ahlinya, maka tunggulah kehancuran itu."

Prophet Muhammad pbuh said: "if the mandate had been wasted, just wait destruction occurs." There is companion asked; how was the mandate wasted? The prophet replied; if the matter is not left to the experts, so watch the destruction."²

In the politics, upholding morality indeed required courage. A courage that is based on awareness, unfair political process not only undermines the democratic process that is being built. However, it is also destructive to the political system that should be uphold and adhered together.³This means, in public view, politics is still dominated unfair proceed that spawned amoral politicians. Thus, political orientation was unfair, merely enrich and benefit themselves and the group even had to go through in unfair ways.

²BukhariHadist no: 6015

³Prihatin dwihartono, "Etika dan kejujuran dalam berpolitik", POLITIKA vol 4No.2, (oktober 2013), p. 34

Islam is as the largest religion convinced by the majority of Indonesian people, certainly able to provide insight and guiding as the solution of all problem. It is affecting the life of the Indonesian people nowadays. Especially as insight and moral guidance in the political life of the nation.

Islam has actually explained and also provides much guidance on issues of human life on earth. One of them is the problem of the relationship between religion and human life, including political issues. This has become one of the uniqueness of Islam among other religions.

According to study a broader comparison with other religions, Islam actually uniqueness lies not in issues close relationship between religion and politics. Other religions also recognize a close link with politics. It could even be said to be united or do not recognize the separation of the political problems. The term politics “theocracy” itself already suggests a possible anywhere to blend religion with politics, so that the applicable rule is seen as “power (politics) of GOD”⁴

Seeing so much the role of religion, especially the moral principle of humanity and justice in determining the survival of human beings, including in political life it is very important for Indonesia to return rely on both. It was an attempt to get out of the problems that press political life of the nation today. Thus, the nation that politics is dirty, seek and maintain power, cunning, sly persuasion, squeeze play, it should be revised.

It has many prominent figures of Islamic statement in early Indonesia independence era that have ideas about the concept of civility in politics and uphold the principle of morality. The figures include Muhammad Hatta, Mohammad Yamin, Sri Sultan Hamengkuwono IX, and Mohammad Natsir. But only a few at once put it into practice in the life of the state and provide a big influence in the political advancement of the nation. One such figure is Mohammad Natsir who not only theorizes but also practiced in the religious life and politics in Indonesia. Mohammad Natsir has a concept that clearly illustrates the relationship between religion (Islam) and politics and also become an example of political behavior was polite and full of simplicity.

According to Natsir, regard the relationship between Islam and state is that religion is not merely ritual of worship in colloquial terms such as prayer and fasting, but religion

⁴Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, Paramadina, Jakarta. 2003. p. 188

encompasses all rules, boundaries in *muammalah* and social relationships. Therefore Natsir said to keep the rules and standards that can apply and running as it should, it is necessary and should not be, there must be strength in the society in the form of power in the state, as has been warned by the prophet to the muslims that verily Allah is the holder of the power of the rules.⁵

The concept and behavior if traced is the embodiment of the teachings of their religion, especially with sense of divinity (monotheism). The attitudes of lofty morality materialize only if based on sense of divinity. Sense of humanity out of sense of divinity, it will lead to practices absolute of fellow human beings. Because it's true humanity should aim at God willing alone. Orientation God willing is the foundation for an increase in the values of one's humanity.

Tas-awwuf According Harun Nasution that cuoted by Sahri there are 4 etimological theories about the word of *Sufi* that are: ⁶

1. *Ahl al-s-uffah* (اهل الصفة), that is the people who join with Prophet Muhammad to move (*Hijrah*) from Mecca to Medina. Their removal caused losing wealth, so that economically there are become poor people. They lived on Prophet Mosque and slept on stone chair and used saddle as a pillow. That saddle is familiar called term "*S-uffah*".even though they are poor but they have kindness and noble. Their condition that adhere them is ignore profane and poverty.
2. *S-af* (صف) first. Terms that taken from prior and noble who want to *salat* in first *saf*.
3. *Sufi* from the word *s-afa* (صفي) and *Sofia* means holy. A *S-ufi* is a people who be purified. They purified themselves with hard *riyadhah* constantly.
4. *S-uf* (صوف), cloth from feather that is wool. But Wool that wearing by Sufi is hard wool. That is the symbol of simplicity and poverty. The opponent is sutra as a symbol luxurious as wearing by government officer.

From four theories above, there are two theories that contact with politic. That is the first and fourth theory. Politic in this discuss known as everything that related on implementation state and government.⁷ The definition is relevant with Miriam Budiarjo's opinion that are 6 elements on politic, namely: state, power, decition making, policy and distribution or allocation.⁸

⁵Mohammad Natsir, *Capita selectavol 1*, itsar, Bandung. 1961. P 436-437.

⁶Sahri, " *Dimensi Politik dalam Ajaran Tasawuf on*", *Asy-Syir'ah* vol 45, No II (Juli-Desember, 2011), P. 1528.

⁷Mahmud, Sujuthi, *Politik Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqsabandiyah Jombang: Studi tentang Hubungan Agama, Negara, dan Masyarakat*, Galang Press, Yogyakarta, 2001. P 155.

⁸Sahri, *loc. cit*,

Relationship about first theory (*Ahl al-S-uffah*) with politic is appear on caused the Muhajirin came to Medina that slept on saddle (*S-uffah*) and be poor people in Medina. According to M. A. Syaban, Muhajirin people want to live like that it because they are obedient to spiritual leader as a choice of strategically politic. In that time the situation Prophet Muhammad in Mecca become bad condition quickly. Prophet Muhammad did not have another choice except move from Mecca to another place. And the safety guaranty is from Medina.⁹

Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif is also analyzing sociologically that Prophet Muhammad *hijrah* to Medina because in Mecca he has not politic power to support missionary endeavor. In new place, Prophet Muhammad is as religious politic leader, even though he did not declare as a leader.¹⁰

And the relationship of second theory (*s-uf*, Hard wool) with politic is more clearly. It is because the *S-ufis* did protest directly about lifestyle of government officer on economic and political aspect. The *s-ufis* used protest symbol with cloth that contrast with government officer in that time. They also isolated themselves from ado and protect from government influence in order that their spiritual always pure.¹¹

And the Word *T-ari<qa* in terminologically the word *T-ari<qa* comes from Arabic *T-ariqah* meaning *al-fi al-syaikhah* (line something), *al-s-ira* (road), *al-s-abil* (road). This word also means *al-hal* (state) as contained in the sentence *huwa'ala t-ariqah hasanah wa t-ariqah sayyi'ah* (in state / good roads and bad roads). In western literature, said *t-ariqah* be *t-ari>ka* which means road (highway), the way and the path.¹² From the understanding of monoteism appeared consistent behavior, which gradually became a *T-ari<qa*.

Political *T-ari<qa* faced is necessary given the many seduction generated from politics. Among other things the temptation it is treasure, throne, and the woman who caused a person to lose self-control. And most importantly can prevent a person from nature of greed for power. Because someone who has disease greedy then all means be permitted to reach its destination.

⁹M. A. Syaban, *Sejarah Islam (Penafsiran Baru) 600-750*, terj Machnun Husein, IAIN Walisongo Press, Semarang, 1993 P. 12

¹⁰Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan*, LP3ES, Jakarta, 1996. P. 12

¹¹M. A. Syaban, *op. cit.*, P 13

¹²Muhsin Jamil, *tarekat dan dinamika sosial politik*, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta, 2005 P. 47

From concept and Mohammad Natsir behavior can be taken a construction political *T~ari<qa* of Indonesian characteristic that promoted religiousness, modesty, and simplicity in the system of political association.¹³ Being the leader should be a role model and democratic. Despite different opinions and ideology, but do not get carried away in the personal relationship.¹⁴ This property is what is now an increasingly rare owned by Indonesian Leaders today.

With reference to Mohammad Natsir expected pattern of politic in Indonesia closely with ethics and divinity. Full of simplicity uphold the principles of morality. If a person involved in politics by using ethics and awarness of divinity it can be used a media / path / *T~ari<qa* to God.

B. Research Question

Departing from the above description, these researches will focuss on the formulation of the problem as follows:

1. What is the Characteristic of political *T~ari<qa* of Mohammad Natsir
2. What is construction of political *T~ari<qa* of Indonesian characteristic

C. Aim of research

Associated with the formulation of the problem above, this academic research aims to:

1. To know and to describe how Characteristic of political *T~ari<qa* of Mohammad Natsir.
2. To know and to describe how the political *T~ari<qa* of Indonesian characteristic

D. Prior Research

As far as the researcher explore the books, articles, journals are hardly found a comparatives discussion regarding Mohammad Natsir figures related to political thought associated with the values of religiosity and simplicity of life (*zuhud*). As for discussion of political studies have been done by scholars.

Thesis Muhammad Ulil Amri, that entitled *pemikiran Mohammad Natsir tentang Hubungan Islam dan Negara (Studi Analisis terhadap Pemikiran Politik Mohammad Natsir)*.

¹³Stories simplicity of Natsir recorded either by George McTurnan Kahin. In the first encounter with Natsir as minister of Information, he was amazed by the apparence of the minister, dressed most low profile among all the officials parlemen in Yogyakarta. DewantoNugroho "Natsir, politik santun diantara dua rezim, Gramedia, Jakarta, 2011. P 46-47

¹⁴Sabam sirait quoted as saying " no wonderthat in the house of representatives in the 1950's, Natsir sit in the cafetaria and have a chat over coffee and laughing with DN Aidit, the PKI's leader. Thought they are enemy ideology. Lukman Hakim, (ed). *M Natsir di Panggung Sejarah Republik*, Republika, Jakarta, 2008, p. 115.

In this paper only associated thought Natsir about religion (Islam) with a political system that is being adopted by Indonesia. Result Natsir study showed more sympathetic in favor of the Islamic state with Islamic ideology. In this paper does not discuss at all about the values of religiosity in politics.

Thesis Hidayatul Muslim, University student of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta titled *Mohammad Natsir dan Pemikirannya tentang Demokrasi*. The result stated Mohammad Natsir is a politician reformer of Islam, he wants to incorporated religion into government. However, he still wants a democratic government.

Thesis Herguita Imma Respati, University student of State university of Yogyakarta under title *Pemikiran Mohammad Natsir tentang Islam dan Dasar Negara*. In this thesis the content is similiar with thesis of Muhammad Ulil Amri. But Herguita's thesis focuses on history about Natsir while he became prime minister of RIS.

Thesis Mahfur, University student of State Islamic Institute Salatiga under title *Konsep Pendidikan Islam menurut Natsir*. In this thesis just explain the thought of Natsir in education field. And also explain about history while Natsir establish Islamic education foundation called PENDIS.

E. Methodology of Research

This research focused on the library research with emphasis on the qualitative aspect. The next step is after the data was collected followed by analyzing the data that is descriptive and qualitative. The way is after the data is collected and analyzed by completing and selecting data already collected by its relevance to the problems examined. Then analyze the data according to the data describing the original because it does not need to be interpreted. Then using interpretative analysis that is provides adequate interpretation with a reflective mindset that thinks in the process of pacing between induction and deduction between abstraction and representation.¹⁵

1. Data Source

Data was taken from the source that is literature in the form of books, journals, papers, articles and etc. There are two sources of data we used here: Primary sources and secondary sources.

¹⁵Noeng Muhadjir, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif: pendekatan positivistik, Rasionalistik, Fenomenologik dan Realisme Metaphisik Telaah Study Teks dan Penelitian Agama*, Bayu Indra Grafika, Yogyakarta, 1996, P. 48.

- a. Primary sources are direct research data on the subject as resources studies. What is means here is the work first hand related to this research theme. So the primary data is the work of Mohammad Natsir well, mostly in the form of articles from a variety of literature, among others: *Capita Selecta* book.
 - b. Secondary source are the data derived from the second or not the data that comes directly from Natsir. It means that this data is an interpretation of an author of the work Natsir.
2. Collecting Data

Data collecting methods used in this study is documentation method¹⁶ in the sense of documents written, both primary and secondary. Through this documentation method, researcher can examine and asses the work produces the figures. At the time for preparation of this data into a narrative text, also analyzed the data and constructed theories tested again ready for the truth, by sticking to the approach. After a description is completed, do a process of inference.

3. Data Analysis Method

Researcher analyzed the collected data by using content analysis method¹⁷ that is analyzing the data contained in the whole text of the work of Mohammad Natsir by imposing an interpretation refers to the historical context situation contained in these data.¹⁸ The approach taken is approach to hermeneutics.¹⁹ A discipline that tries to uncover the meaning those literally do not express. So that hermeneutic approach will be used as an analytical knife to dissect the construction of Mohammad Natsir thought and interpreted in accordance with the needs of the times. For Natsir thought and interpreted in accordance with the need of the time. For Natsir Thought, hermeneutic approach is used on the based that natsir expressed his thoughts with the background and particular social setting. Conditions that are realized or not it will affect to the construction of Natsir thought.

¹⁶Methods of documentation which is seeking data on things or variables such as notes, transcripts, books, newspapers, magazines, inscriptions, minutes of meetings, agendas, and so on. Suharsimi arikunto, *Metodologi Penelitian*, Gramedia, Jakarta, 1991, P. 188

¹⁷This method requires three things: objectivity, systematic approach and generalization. Noeng Muhadjir, *loc. Cit.*

¹⁸Content analysis in this study was also conducted to identify, simplify and assess data using ethical foundation of Islam as a framework of thinking. *Ibid.,,* p. 48

¹⁹Etymologically, the word hermeneutics comes from Greek, meaning hermeneuin interpret. Noun hermenia literally be interpreted as an interpretation or interpretations. Sumaryono, *Hermeneutik: sebuah metode filsafat*, Kanisius, Yogyakarta, 1999, P. 23.

This method is primarily used to examine the text with an interdependent text with the writer's world and reader's world. That is, what the author means by this hermeneutic approach is to reinterpret what is Natsir thought.

F. Systematic of Writing

So that this discussion can be read easily and it can be understood that this study needs to be compiled systematically. This study is divided into five chapters, which discussion is divided as follows:

The first chapter contains an introduction that aims to deliver a thorough discussion of the study. Therefore in this chapter presented the background to explain why this writing needs to be done, what lies behind this research. Formulation of the problem is intended to reinforce the main points examined in order to be focus. Then proceed with purpose and usefulness to explain the urgency and purpose the study, after the review of the literature to provide an explanation in which the writer's position in this regard. The method of research is intended to explain how that would be done in research and the latter trying to organize systematic discussion systematically from the preliminary stage to the final conclusion.

The second chapter explains the discourse of *Tariqa* on Sufism tradition. In this discussion in this chapter includes an understanding *tariqa* and normative aspect of *tariqa*. Then also discusses the political themes according to the Sufis. Then the meeting discussed also about the history of the *tariqa* with politics. And also discuss about how to do *tariqa* through Politic. From the discussion in this chapter will serve as material for analysis outlining the next chapter.

The third chapter on political thought reviews by Mohammad Natsir. In this chapter will discuss all things related to the writing of the study. Therefore, the discussion in this chapter talks about the biography of Mohammad Natsir, his works and his thought about the political ethic concept, the worship concept and also about concept religion and state. This discussion will be used as the analysis in this chapter.

The fourth chapter is the subject of thought in the study. In this chapter specifically synthesized views on characteristic of political *tariqa* Mohammad Natsir, and form of political *tariqa* in Indonesian characteristic.

The fifth chapter, the conclusion chapter, the author propose a general conclusion from this study as a whole. It is intended as an affirmation of the basic answers to the

problems that have been raised and suggestions given to subsequent researchers who are interested in the same subject and then study concludes with a bibliography as areference.