

CHAPTER III

Political Thought of Mohammad Natsir

A. Biography of Mohammad Natsir

1. Life of Mohammad Natsir

Mohammad Natsir was born in Alahan Panjang, Gumanti valley, Solok district, West Sumatra province on July 17th, 1908 from his parents Mohammad Idris Sutan Saripado and Khadijah.¹ In his childhood, Natsir and his family lived in the Sutan Rajo Ameh's house, a famous coffee merchant there. By the owner, the house was divided into two parts; Natsir and his family live on the left and Mohammad Idris Sutan Saripado stay to the right.² Natsir has three siblings, namely Yukinan, Rubiah, and Yohanusun. His last father position was as a government employee in Alahan Panjang, while his grandfather was an Islamic scholar. He later became the custom authorities for his people who came from Maninjau, Tanjung Raya, Agam with title *Datuk Sinaro nan panjang*.³

Natsir started an education at the Elementary School Maninjau for two Years until the second grade, and then moved to *Hollandsch-Inlandsche School (HIS) Adabiyah* in Padang.⁴ After a few months, he moved to Solok and cared in the house merchant namely Haji Musa. Beside studied in HIS in day, he also studied in Madrasah diniyah at the evening.⁵ Three years later, he moved back to HIS in Padang with his sister. In 1923, he continued his studies at *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (MULO)* then joined the youth associations as *Pandu Nationale Islamietische Pavinderij* and *Jong Islamieten Bond*. After graduating from MULO, he moved to Bandung to study at *the General Middelbare*

¹Thohir Luth, *Natsir, Dakwah dan Pemikirannya*, Jakarta, Gema Insani, 1999, P. 21

²Idrus F Shahab, dkk, *Natsir:Politik Santun di antara Dua Rezim*, Jakarta: KPG (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia), 2008, P. 9.

³Asvi Warman Adam *Membongkar Manipulasi Sejarah, Kontroversi Perilaku dan Peristiwa*, Jakarta, Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2009, P. 72-76.

⁴Idrus F Shahab, dkk, *Natsir:Politik Santun di antara Dua Rezim*, P.15

⁵Thohir Luth, *M. Natsir, Dakwah dan Pemikirannya*, P. 23.

School (AMS) until graduate in 1930.⁶ From 1928 to 1932, he was Chairman of *Jong Islamieten Bond* (JIB) Bandung. He also became a teacher after obtaining the training of teachers for two years in college. He who had an education Islam in West Sumatra earlier also deepen their religious knowledge in Bandung, including in the field of *tafse>r* of the Qur'an, Islamic law, and logic. Then in 1932, Natsir studied with Ahmad Hassan, who later became leaders of Islamic organizations of Persatuan Islam (PERSIS).⁷

On October 20th, 1934, Natsir married with Nurnahar in Bandung. From the marriage, Natsir got six children. Natsir is also known to expert in several languages that are English, Dutch, French, German, Arabic and Esperanto.⁸ Natsir also have the same hobbies and has closeness with Douwes Dekker, which is playing music. Natsir likes to play the violin and Dekker likes to play the guitar. Mohammad Natsir also often speaks Dutch with Dekker and often talk about music such as Ludwig van Beethoven. Its proximity to Dekker, causing Dekker want to join Masyumi. Ideas Natsir with Dekker about the struggle, democracy, and justice is in line with Natsir.⁹ He died on February 6th, 1993 in Jakarta, and was rested a day later.

2. Political Career of Mohammad Natsir

In his lifetime, Natsir many associate with Islamic thinkers, such as Agus Salim, during the mid-1930s, Salim and he continue to exchange ideas about the relationship between Islam and the state for the future government of Indonesia led by Sukarno. In 1938, he joined the Indonesian Islamic Party (PII), and was appointed as head of the Bandung branch from 1940 to 1942.¹⁰ He also worked as the Head of the Education Bureau of Bandung until 1945. During the Japanese

⁶M. Dzulfikriddin, *Mohammad Natsir dalam Sejarah Politik Indonesia: Peran dan Jasa Mohammad Natsir dalam Dua Orde Indonesia*, Bandung, Mizan, 2010. P. 19

⁷Thohir Luth, *M. Natsir, Dakwah dan Pemikirannya*, P. 24.

⁸Iizamudin Ma'mur, *Abul Ala Mawdudi and Mohammad Natsir's Views on Statehood: A Comparative Study* (Masters in Art thesis), Montreal, McGill University, 1995, P. 30.

⁹Purwanto Setiadi, dkk, *Douwes Dekker: Sang Inspirator Revolusi*, KPG (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia), 2012, P. 150-151

¹⁰Ma'mur, *Abul Ala Mawdudi and Mohammad Natsir's.....*, P. 34.

occupation, he joined the Majelis Islam A'la Indonesia (then turns into Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia or Masyumi), and was appointed as one of the chief from 1945 until Masyumi and the Indonesian Socialist Party was dissolved by President Sukarno in 1960.¹¹

After independence of Indonesia, he became a member of the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP). Before becoming prime minister, he served as the minister of information. On April 3, 1950, he proposes “Natsir integral motion” in a of parliament plenary session. Mohammad Hatta as Vice President of Indonesia that encourages all parties to fight with discipline, felt helped by the existence of this motion.¹² The motion to restore the integrity of the Indonesian people in the Republic of Indonesia previously shaped union, so he was appointed prime minister by President Soekarno on August 17, 1950.¹³

However, he resigned from his post on April 26, 1951 because of disagreements with Sukarno, who adopts criticized Islam as an ideology of nationalism while praising done the secularization by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in the ottoman Empire, while Natsir deplored the destruction of the ottoman Empire with the show the negative effects of secularization. Natsir also criticized Sukarno that he is less concerned with the welfare outside Java.¹⁴ According to Hatta, before the resignation Natsir, Sukarno as president and chairman of the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) continues to urge manai sophiaan as well as ministers and parliamentarian from PNI to topple the Cabinet Natsir and do not support the policies proposed by Natsir and Hatta.

3. Work of Mohammad Natsir

During his studies at AMS, Natsir has been involved in the journalism. In 1929, he wrote two articles published in the *Indische Algemeen Dagblad* magazine, entitled *Qur'an en Evangelie* (Al-Quran and the Bible) and *Muhammad*

¹¹Deliar Noer, *Mohammad Hatta: Hati Nurani Bangsa*. Jakarta, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2012. P. 155

¹²*Ibid*, P. 124

¹³*Ibid*, P. 128

¹⁴Ma'mur, *Abul Ala Mawdudi and Mohammad Natsir's.....*, P. 30-33

als *Profeet* (Muhammad as a Prophet). Then, he and other Muslim leaders founded newspaper namely *Pembela Islam* that published from 1929 until 1935. He also wrote intensively about his views on religion in various magazines such as *Pandji Islam*, *Pedoman Masyarakat*, dan *Al-Manar*. According to him, Islam is an integral part of Indonesian culture .

Natsir has written about 45 books or monographs and hundreds articles containing his views on Islam. He writes in magazines Islam since the paper was published in 1929. The work is generally commonly used Dutch and Indonesia , which is discuss about Islamic thought, culture, the relationship between Islam and politics, and the role of women in Islam. Many subsequent works written in English, and more focused on politics, news about Islam, and the relationship between the people Christian with Moslem, Ajip Rosidi and Hamka said that the writing Natsir has become a historical record that can be a guide for the moslem. Besides writing, Natsir also established schools of Islamic Education in 1930; the school was closed after the Japanese occupation in Indonesia.¹⁵

Even Natsir has the educational background of the Netherlands, Natsir was not want to do Westernization or secularization in the Islamic education. He also concerned about the influence of Western education to the young generation. Actually, these steps are concerned about education because after he read the essay Snouck Hurgronje against Islam, such as *the Netherlands en de Islam* which exposes strategy in the fight against Islam. This book in the end and then make Natsir determined against the Netherlands through education.¹⁶

4. **Death of Mohammad Natsir**

At noon on a cloudy February 6, 1993 to coincide with 14 Sha'ban 1413 AH at Cipto Mangunkusumo Hospital Mohammad Natsir take last breath, he returned to *Rahmatullah* aged 85 and buried in Karet Cemetery, Tanah Abang. News of this death made headlines in various print and electronic media. Although in the new order and the old order he often branded as a rebel, he

¹⁵*Ibid*,P. 30-33.

¹⁶Idrus F Shahab, *Natsir:Politik Santun*,P. 21.

still had a lot of personal friends, followers who felt the loss of a figure that is second to none. Even condolences arise both from comrade in arms as well as his political opponents. Former Prime Minister of Japan represented Nakajima revealing news of the death of Mohammad Natsir to the phrase:

"Berita wafatnya Pak Mohammad Natsir terasa lebih dahsyat dari jatuhnya bom atom Hiroshima".

"News of the death of Mr. Mohammad Natsir noticeably more powerful than the atomic bombing of Hiroshima".

B. Political Thought of Mohammad Natsir

1. Political ethics of Mohammad Natsir

Mohammad Natsir ideas, is often times in the two themes at the same time, both the subject of religion and state. Within theme state Mohammad Natsir often attempts "Picking" a few scattered thoughts that often ignored the politicians. Thought of political ethics is one in among other things, which is Mohammad Natsir critical attitude as an intellectual infatuated would need stimulating the democratic process moving in around us. The democratic process it is meant that if it could open the control dynamics and offsetting (*check and balance*) in society.¹⁷

As for the ethics¹⁸ politic¹⁹ are referred to in this research is term to simplify the description of the Mohammad Natsir thought classified by researcher under several themes, namely: democracy, justice, and leadership.

¹⁷Fachri Ali, *Dialog dan wacana keterbukaan*, pengantar dalam Nurcholish Madjid, *Dialog Keterbukaan ; Artikulasi Nilai Islam Dalam Wacana Sosial Politik Kontemporer*, cet. 1, Jakarta, Paramadina, 1998, P. xvi

¹⁸According to Amin Syukur cites the opinion of Robert C Soimon, ethics is a discipline that studies values of human life in real and legal behavior. Thus, according to Amin Syukur, ethics is the science that contains rules of good and bad deed and in activity. Amin Syukur, *Etika Keilmuan*, in the Journal of Theologia, Semarang, Ushuluddin Faculty of IAIN Walisongo, edition No. 28, June 1999, P.2. As expressed by Poedjowijatna, as a science, object of materia ethics is human, while formal object is human actions are intentional. Poedjowijatna, *Filsafat Tingkah Laku*, Cet. VII, Jakarta, PT Rineka Cipta, 1990, P. 15.

¹⁹Political ethics as a branch of science and philosophy was born in Greece at the time of the traditional political structure began to collapse. With the breakdown came the question of how

1. Thought About Democracy

According to Natsir, democracy in Islam is more to the meaning of democracy theistic, a country built on the basis of an agreement, consensus, fairness and tolerance that be guided on al-Quran and al-Sunnah with a view to achieve prosperity in this world in hereafter. Democracy according Natsir is a philosophy that not only limited to systems of state administration. It was a view of life that covers aspects spiritual and physical. The essence of democracy is that includes various aspect and activity of life. According Natsir again, democracy in general can be allotted to two sides. First, political democracy which is guarantees freedom of thought, speech and assembly; Second, economic democracy that is guarantees social justice for every member of society. Case Such was included than the human benefit spiritually and physical. Then find the spirit of Islam that encourages people towards democracy, namely a form of democracy that is in under legal escort. In essence, the teachings of Islam itself refused various form of tyranny and dictatorship.²⁰

The essence of democracy in Islam, according Natsir is an attempt to advance truth above the interests of individuals or groups so that the form of democracy provide space for people to criticize, reprimand, correct administration that prevailing unjust. If not enough criticism and reprimand, Islam gives the right the people against various forms of injustice that happened on behalf of the state.²¹ In line with the thinking of

society should be organized. In the modern world of political ethics re-emerged strongly as a result of the expansion of the reach of human power is also expanding the range of issues that must be decided. So that the decisions taken by observing the complex facets that should not be sacrificed, required ethical principles structuring society. Franz Magnis Suseno, *Etika Politik; Prinsip-Prinsip Moral Dasar Kenegaraan Modern*, Cet. 2, Jakarta, PT Gramedia, 1988, P. iii

Political ethics is the moral philosophy of a political dimension in human life, the ethics of politics means a standard of value derived from human values to be used as the theoretical reference frame in question and explain political legitimacy and the political culture of society. Therefore question the political ethics and human liability as human, and not just as a citizen of the state, law and so on. *Ibid*, P. 8

²⁰Mohammad Natsir, *Agama & negara dalam perspektif Islam*, Jakarta, Media Dakwah, 2001, P. 24. Compare with *Capita Selecta II*. Jakarta, Media Dakwah. 2008. P. 55

²¹Mohammad Natsir, *Capita Selecta I*, Jakarta, Media Dakwah, 2008, P. 115

Natsir, Robert Dahl, viewed democracy not only in the form of a lawsuit against the state and its political discourse practice which directly reflects the power relations, but also to policies in favor of the interests of small group of people.²²

As if applicable rebuttal to the government not mean people reserves the right to resist arbitrary, but it must be done in accordance with legal procedures and laws that are recognized by Islam, with respect high principles of justice, deliberation and tolerance. Thus, democracy in statehood truly ensures the survival of a society be better. Although Natsir also agree with meaning democracy is conceived by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as a guarantor for freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of want (freedom than deficiency) and freedom from fear.²³

So that the concept of the opposition by Natsir not to be understood as an attitude opposed (to oppose does count against), because in there is also opposition to Support its terms, so in that context Political opposition is more a balancing force, a Checks and balances that can create feelings clogged be channeled.

2. Concept About Justice

In principle, all people want to be treated fairly, legal, political or economic aspect. Indonesia in the country, if we want to look back issues of injustice this is often the cause of conflict and infighting within the Indonesian society.

According to Natsir, the firmness of law and justice in the midst of society is an important factor in maintaining democracy. It because according Natsir, process democratic in state life will never is achieved if it is not based on the principles of justice and a sense of equality before the law. In order to uphold justice and the rule of law as a legal orientation of

²²Fachri Ali, Dialog dan wacana keterbukaan,.....P. xvi

²³Mohammad Natsir, *Capita Selecta*II,,,P.56

statehood, Islam has laid down some guidelines. Among these are the rule of law above all citizens and the authorities, the independence of the judge in his decision, between the government and the people of supervision applicable folk and popular support by soul *akhlaq al-karimah*.²⁴

Thus, there is some justice in view of Natsir must be upheld, the first social justice, it is the real purpose in the state, because with their growing sense of social justice has come and feel participated by all. Commitment to the efforts to achieve social justice is the firmness of the people's attention to the interests of life significantly. Second, the rule of law, commitment to the value's private life that noble will not mean anything if it is not manifested in everyday actions. Personal commitment to the noble values can be realized in the form of personal obedience to the rule of law.

From presentation on the concept of politics and the state put forward by Natsir, can be formulated, that the main basis in the formation of the state is to hold on religious values, democratic values based on divine sovereignty, build tolerance to the each class and group, build economic and social forces that the warmth justice and prosperity to all the people. All this refers to what is believed by Mohammad Natsir that Islam is the only religion that has a base intact human life, including social, political and state. In other words Islam requires the enactment of welfare and universal justice. It is reasonable he as the supreme leader of Masyumi party, in Natsir loudly demanding basic institutionalization of the Republic of Indonesia based on Islam, namely a democratic state based on Islam.²⁵

3. characteristics of Leaders

In order to realize the ideal state presents a true leader is an absolute requirement that should not be tolerated. According to Natsir, in Islam the leaders and people have the same rights and obligations between one over

²⁴Mohammad Natsir, *Demokrasi di bawah hukum*. Jakarta, Media Dakwah. 1970. P.72

²⁵Mohammad Natsir, *Agama & negara dalam perspektif Islam*, Jakarta, Media Dakwah. 2001. P.42

the other. Therefore, the balance between the protection of human rights man with the implementation of the obligation (human duties) between the state and the people became an important basis for realizing the stability of statehood. The name and designation awarded to someone who hold an office head of state, in view of Natsir it is not an important requirement in the concept of political Islam, as long as the properties, rights and obligations in accordance with Islam.²⁶

A criterion or set the size to appoint a person to be the head of state is his religion, nature and temperament, character and aptitude (ability) to hold the power given to him. So it is not a nation and its offspring, or just mere intellect.²⁷

According to Natsir, the holder of state power is an *ulu al-amr* that mandatory is adhered by Sura al-Nisa (2: 59-59). In the same period, *ulu al-amr* as Leaders have obligations which are trustworthy, fair and deliberation based on the Sura al-Shura (42:38). Leadership concepts and criteria a leader that proposed by Natsir in this case was similar to that of Ibn Taymiyyah in *al-Siyasah al-syar`iyyah* when explaining about the obligations of the rulers and the people. Among them are trustworthy, have the knowledge and ability²⁸. So that it because the affairs of state management is a serious matter. Therefore, the integrity, credibility and mandate become very important criterion that must be owned by a head of state

2. Worship Concept of Mohammad Natsir

Worship is etymologically derived from the Arabic namely (عبد يعبد عبدا) which means serve, obey and submit. Meanwhile, terminologically terms are

²⁶Mohammad Natsir, *religion and the state in the Islamic perspective*....., P.24

²⁷Mohammad Natsir, *Capita Selecta* ,,,,P.56

²⁸Ibn Taymiyyah, *Al-Siyasah al Shar`iyyah fi Islah al- Ra`i wa al-Ra`iyyah*, Morocco, Dar al-Afaq al-Jadin. 1991. P.81

directed to do what is commanded by Allah and stay away from all the banning. The first is referred to as a devout, while the second is called *taqwa*.

Basically, either does what the governed or away from what is forbidden submissiveness solely glorifies the God who is worshiped. Abul A'la al-Mawdudi says that worship from the root word (طَع) means service and slavery. Meanwhile, etymologically is servitude and slavery. Indications of worship are faithfulness, obedience, respect and reverence to God and it is done without time limits.

If the terms of the type, worship in Islam is divided into two types, with different shapes and characteristic from each other. First, Worship *mahd~ah* that is worship established by God concerning the procedures and time. Second, Worship *ghairu mahd~ah*, common worship which is all the good deeds that recommended implementation by God.²⁹

Meanwhile, in the conception of Worship Mohammad Natsir he cites a verse of al-Qur'an as reference. "And i did not create the jinn and mankind except to worship Me."³⁰ Based on the basis of this verse, he concluded that the ideal life of a Muslim in this world is to be a servant of God. And to be the title of "servant of God", according to Natsir, God has given various rules.

Applicable rules or the way we relate to God who made us and the way we are dealing with human beings apply. Among the rules relating to *muamalah* our fellow beings, there is given a broad outline of one's community, and the rights and obligations of society towards oneself. The latter is no more no less, is called the present with the affairs of state.³¹

In an article "*Arti agama dalam negara*" Natsir confirms the strong relationship between religion and politics by saying:

²⁹Khairunnas Rajab, psikologi Ibadah, Jakarta, AMAZA,2011, P.73

³⁰Al-Qur'an surah Adh-Dhariyat verse 56

³¹Ahmad Suhelmi, P. 87

If the so-called religions are merely one system of worship of the creature with the Almighty, so this definition is not appropriate for the religion called Islam. Islam is a philosophy of life; a system of livelihood for human victory now and in the hereafter. Therefore, for us as Muslims we may not be able to extricate ourselves from politics. As in politics, we cannot escape from our ideology that is ideology of Islam.³²

From the above fact, it is understood that in view of Natsir, meaning politics implicates many of the meaning of Worship. If reviewed in depth, found political thought Natsir divided into two parts. First, the pre-independence of Indonesia. In this phase the pattern of political worship is more inclined towards political ideas and action for win independence from the Dutch colonial Christian. Sharp criticism continues leveled by Natsir up attitude and police Kingdom of the Dutch which tend to discriminate against Muslims in Indonesia by supporting the movement of Christianization, as given substantial funds to the faithful Christian to build houses, virtue, ease education, houses of worship and medical assistance in their efforts Christianize Muslims. In the same period, the Kingdom of the Dutch did not pay attention to the interests of Muslims.³³

Second, in the post-independence era, it was found that Natsir so determined to uphold Islamic values in the political field. As the largest Muslim party chairman at that time the Parti of Masyumi, Natsir when it also hold an office as an expert of Parliament involved themselves in politics. Basic political views Natsir referring to the principles of monotheism or the sovereignty of God. According to him, the essence of monotheism implies 'absolute surrender oneself to God and liberate his soul from various servitude fellow creatures'. *Tawh~id* also reflects the courage, spiritual peace, and intellectual.

The principle of *tawh~id* has two aspects of the firm. The first aspect, it reinforces the inner consciousness, grow spirituality and become personal ethical principles. When in the second aspect, he teaches a blend of universal significance

³²Mohammad Natsir, *Arti agama dalam negara, on Agama & negara dalam perspektif Islam*. Jakarta, Media Dakwah. P.22

³³Mohammad Natsir, *Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia*, Jakarta, Media Dakwah, 1969, P.44

for mankind based on equality, justice, compassion, tolerance and patience. Natsir implies *Tawh~id* implies that the important role in the life of a Moslem, so that the development level of the Moslem community is very dependent on how the understanding and appreciation of them into the doctrine of monotheism.³⁴

From the above explanation can be drawn a conclusion that Nasir as Muslim leaders understand that the worship views of its kind is divided into two, *mahdhah* and *ghairu mahdhah*. As Muslims, in the context of servitude and devotion to God is certainly no more tolerance for the conduct of Worship *mahdhah*. But that alone is not enough because it is also to be balanced with worship *ghairu mahdhah* that in practice more contact with fellow human beings including interest in it is worship through political stage, both in order to realize the good order of society, as well as in the realm of practice to make it happen.

2. Concept of Religion and State by Mohammad Natsir

Themes of Natsir writings cover many things. He wrote issues of culture, philosophy, education, politics, and religion. However, the overall theme of which is the object of his writings, were clearly visible Natsir main concern is religion, in this case particularly the relationship between religion (Islam) with the state. For Natsir, who often people forget when talking about matters of religion and the country is that in terms of Islam is called the religion was not merely worship in everyday terms it is just like prayer and fasting, but the so-called "religion" in the sense of Islam is covering all the rules, limits, in *mu'amalah* (association) in the community along the lines set by Islam.³⁵

Therefore Natsir very intense study and offered the idea of unity between religion and state, coupled with a very transparent political position to offer Islam as the state principle in Constituent Assembly (state forum that was formed through the 1955 elections for a constitution)³⁶ Natsir always attached to the

³⁴Mohammad Natsir, *Capita Selecta I*, P. 67

³⁴*Ibid*, ... P. 533

³⁵See al-Qur'an surah al-Baqarah verse 185

³⁶M. Natsir, *Capita Selecta I*, P, 541

ideals form an Islamic state, even stigmatized as anti-Pancasila. Islam figure as a benchmark,³⁷ that the mainstream in Natsir thinking about the unity of religion and state.

Natsir argued, indeed the Prophet Muhammad *pbuh* did not have to establish the state. With or without Islam, the state could stand, and had been standing before and after Islam; anywhere there is a class of human beings who live together in one community. With rhetorical tone, Natsir asserted, in an age of camels and palm trees, there is state; at the age of flying boats, there is state. No state on a regular, and there is less regulated, according Natsir, is a matter of course. But how else are both countries. With, or not with Islam that brought by the Prophet Muhammad *pbuh*, continued Natsir, are some guidelines for governing the state, so that the state into a strong and fertile, and may be *wasilah* (means) as well as possible to achieve the goal of human life gathered in the state, for the safety of themselves and the community, for the tranquility of individual and public tranquility.³⁸

For Natsir, the state is not the goal. State is just a tool. The goal, in the words of Natsir is “*the perfection of divine enactment of legislation, both with regard to human life itself (as an individual), or as a member of society*”.³⁹

Up here, it is clear to us, Islam as a measure initiated and championed by Natsir not just formal enactment of Islam as the state principle. Emphasized further by Natsir is the enactment of Islamic values in the life of a personal, community, nation, and state, in accordance with the goals and ideals of a Muslim.

Natsir argues, a country whose government does not care about the purposes of the people, let the people stupid and foolish, does not suffice the tools you need to progress from being scattered from other countries, and the heads (of state and government) oppress the people to wear Islam as a cover or wear worship as a cover, while the heads of government itself is filled with all sorts of

³⁷*Ibid*, P. 532-533

³⁸*Ibid*, P. 540

³⁹*Ibid*, P. 536

vice and let *tah~ayul* and *khurafat*, as circumstances Turkey at the time of the last sultan, then the government that such is not the Islamic government.⁴⁰

Against such this government, Natsir reminiscent of understanding of democracy in Islam that entitles to the people to criticize, rebuke, correct despotic government. If it is not enough to criticism and reprimand, Islam gives the right of the people to eliminate tyranny by force and violence, if necessary. In this framework, Natsir quote hadith from Nasai narrated as follows: "ever man asked Rasulullah, what the best of jihad is? Answered by the Prophet Muhammad *pbuh*, said that the right goods to the sultan who do wrong. "⁴¹

With such views, Nasir was not awkward to defend Pancasila in relation to Islam. In a speech titled "Role of Islam for World Peace" in Karachi, Pakistan, on April 9th, 1952, Natsir among other things said: "Pakistan is an Islamic state. It must, either by the fact its population as well as by the national principle. And I say Indonesia is also a Muslim country, by the fact that Islam is a recognized religion and role models Indonesia soul of the nation, although not mentioned in the constitution that Islam is the state religion. Indonesia does not separate religion from (issues) state. Indonesia declared firmly believe in God the Almighty so the first moral principle of Pancasila, the five rules, adopted as the basis of spiritual, moral principles and moral by the Indonesian nation and state."⁴²

Over a year later, on May 7th, 1953, in the General Lecture at the University of Indonesia, entitled "National State and Ideals of Islam" organized at the request of the chairman of the Islamic Students Association (HMI), A. Dahlan Ranuwihardjo, President of HMI (1945-1967) Sukarno when outlining the position of Pancasila and Islam in particular offended Natsir speech that: "On the position of Pancasila and Islam, I can not say more than that and i cuoted the Masyumi Great leader, Mohammad Natsir. In Pakistan, in Karachi, when he held

⁴⁰M. Natsir, *Capita Selecta 2*, Jakarta, PT. Abadi dan Yayasan Capita Selecta, second edition, 2008, P 86-87.

⁴¹Iman Toto K. Rahardjo dan Suko Sudarso (editor), *Bung Karno, Islam, Pancasila, dan NKRI*, Jakarta, Komunitas Nasionalis Relijius Indonesia, 2006, P. 218.

⁴²M. Natsir, *Capita Selecta 2*, P. 208-209

a lecture in front of *Pakistan Institute for International Relations*, he said that Pancasila and Islam do not contradict one another. "⁴³

In the following year, on May 29, 1954 *Hikmah* magazine, Natsir wrote the article titled "Does Pancasila Contrary to the teachings of the Qur'an?" For Natsir, the formulation of Pancasila is the result of deliberation the leaders when the level of the struggle for independence culminated in 1945. Natsir trust, in such circumstances, the assembled leaders, most of whom are Muslims, certainly will not confirm anything formulation in their view, the real conflict with the principles and teachings of Islam. With rhetorical tone, Natsir ask, how can the Qur'an:

1.Who emit *tawh~id*; can *apriori* contradictory to the idea of Almighty God?
2. ... Who teachings are filled with the obligation to enforce is *ijtima'iyah* could *apriori* opposed to the Social Justice?
3.Which is precisely eradicated the feudal system and *istibdad* government (dictatorship) is arbitrary, and laid the foundations of society in the government structure, can *apriori* contrary to what is called the People's Sovereignty?
4. ... Who enforce the terms *islahu Bainan nas* (peace among men) as the fundamental basics that should be upheld by Muslims, can *apriori* contrary to what is called humanitarian?
5. ... Who recognizes their peoples and laid a sound basis for nationality, *apriori* can be said to be contrary to ethnicity?⁴⁴

In his writing, Natsir heard begin to sound the opinions are put Qur'an in one hand and Pancasila on the other in an atmosphere of *antagonism*. As if between Islam and Pancasila purpose that there is a conflict and strife that has real and not "know peace" and can not be adjusted. The tone is very strong as a leader, Natsir wrote: "With all my full confidence as a Muslim who was standing on the sentence *shahadah*, and because it was as a patriot with a love of the homeland and the nation, I cried so do not rush to give a qualification and decisions, when the verdict and the decision was solely based on terms by each wearer given its

⁴³*Ibid*, P. 210

⁴⁴*Ibid*, P. 211.

own interpretation, because it is not in this way we should view the subject matter.⁴⁵

Natsir was very confident in the lap of the Qur'an, Pancasila will thrive. One with another is not *apriori* contradictory but neither is identical. Natsir sure, on the land and climate of Islam, Pancasila will thrive. Because faith and belief in God Almighty it can not be grown by merely include the words and terms on God's course in the formulation of Pancasila.

It different because, said Natsir, if it *sila* please Almighty God it was just a byword. For people whose soul is actually skepticism and irony toward religion; for this, the first step alone swing Pancasila was paralyzed. If the first principle, which essentially single tendons for subsequent precepts already fallen, then all other principles will be void and *amorph*, which of course has no form. What remains is the skeleton of Pancasila easy once they are used to cover each step acts without *sila*, and has no moral at all.⁴⁶

The question arises, why in a speech in the Constituent Assembly, Natsir "changed sides" and proposes Islam than Pancasila as the based state?

Leading political scientist, Deliar Noer, found Natsir speech in the Constituent Assembly in 1957 which propose Islam as the state is not a change of attitude Natsir against Pancasila. For Deliar, speech Natsir in Pakistan and writings in the *Hikmah* magazine, already quoted above, is the view of Natsir about Pancasila associated with the Qur'an, so that interpretation principles are also associated with the teachings of the Qur'an. In constituent, Natsir saw Pancasila as doctrine or interpretation put forward by the members of the Constituent secular. Natsir also refer primarily to Sukarno's speech in front of the Palace of movement Defenders of Pancasila in Jakarta on June 17, 1954 which

⁴⁵Deliar Noer, *Partai Islam di Pentas Nasional 1945-1965*, Jakarta, PT. Pustaka Utama Grafiti, first edition, 1987, P. 133

⁴⁶Strangely, though Sukarno claimed that the first time he found is that the Godhead in religieusiteit sense, but in a speech Birth of Pancasila, June 1, 1945, Sukarno put sila of Godhead in the final sequence. Even when him squeeze some Pancasila became Ekasila, there lived mutual cooperation. Sila Godhead participates squeezed, and lost.

gave the impression that the precept on God is a human creation that can be alternated.⁴⁷

In a speech in the Constituent Assembly, Natsir was citing a very long Sukarno's speech in front of "Pancasila Defenders Movement". Shows extreme restlessness against Sukarno sekularistik interpretation of Pancasila, Natsir cites no less than 12 paragraphs Sukarno's speech.

In Sukarno's speech, he among others outlines the existence and origin of Almighty God precepts of community dynamics angle has changed over time. According Sukarno: "Godhead (Godhead here I use within the meaning *religiusiteit*), it is already alive in his heart of Indonesia since tens, hundreds, thousands of years. I dug in the earth of the people of Indonesia, and the first thing I see is *religiusiteit*.³⁶ What cause? This is because the Indonesian nation is a nation that lives in the upper level of agrarian, agricultural level. All the people who lived at the top level of agrarian, of course *religius*...."⁴⁸

In another time, Sukarno said: "In the past, when humans lived in the jungle under the trees and caves, he thinks that God is in the form of a tree, lightning, or river. In the past, when people live in a natural farm, he thought that God in the form of animals. Until now there are still remnants of the nations who worship the animal. In the past, when people live in agrarian level, especially once before, he had other than God's creation. And when the man entered the realm of industrialism, many already do not recognize God again....."⁴⁹

If the conclusion of the speech Sukarno it simply is someone who is still in the stage of agrarian life needs God but that he had been industrialists no longer need God, then Natsir question, where the hell was about to be placed revelation as a source of confidence and belief in God. That question, said Natsir, containing his own: "For a secularist, a matter of Godhead until the matter of Almighty God,

⁴⁷M. Natsir, *Capita Selecta 3*, P. 104

⁴⁸*Ibid*, P. 109

⁴⁹As quoted by Natsir in the Overview Act II Plenary Session of the Assembly. See M. Natsir, *Agama dan Negara dalam Prespektif Islam*, Jakarta, Media Da'wah, 2001, P 118

has nothing to do with the revelation. For him about the Godhead is a matter of human creation that changed. "⁵⁰

In contrast to Sukarno who relativize the existence and origin of the precepts on God, in contrast with members of the Constituent Assembly of the Indonesian National Party (PNI) Ruslan Abdulgani explaining that the main subject of the precepts of Pancasila is the principle of nationality as a reaction to colonialism;⁵¹ for Natsir principle Almighty God should be a *point of reference*, the point where repatriate everything. For Natsir, who did not make the precepts of Pancasila on God as a *point of reference*, as understood by its supporters in the Assembly, how would receive a driving force for the soul of the Indonesian people who already have a religious ideology that firmly and covers the soul. In plain words, Natsir summarize as "tragic Pancasila secular, without religion."⁵²

Establishment Natsir who sat cross-legged on principle God Almighty becomes a point of reference, it was not alone. Establishment Natsir, in line with the views of the Vice President (1945-1956) Mohammad Hatta, who on several occasions has always stressed that Pancasila consists of two layers of fundamentals, namely the fundamental moral and political fundamentals⁵³.

According to Hatta, "The principle The Almighty God that led the ideals of our state to organize all that is good, while the base is a continuation of the humanitarian action and practices the basics of life than the lead earlier. And Basic Belief in God Almighty is not only the basis of respect for each religious

⁵⁰M. Natsir, *Capita Selecta II*, P. 118

⁵¹Mohammad Hatta argued, among other establishment in the Address to the Conference of the Chinese group in Yogyakarta, 17 September 1946; Eid Khutbah in Singapore, August 18, 1947, article in the Pulpit Indonesia in 1948, and the Address to the Congress of Christian Youth Corps Indonesia in Jakarta, June 22, 1952. See Mohammad Hatta, set Authorship Volume IV, Jakarta-Amsterdam-Surabaya, penerbitan dan balai buku Indonesia, 1954.

⁵²Mohammad Hatta, *Kumpulan Karangan Jilid IV*, P. 167

⁵³Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante*, Jakarta, LP3ES, 1985, P. 154.

respect, but also the basis on which lead to the path of truth, justice, and honesty.⁵⁴

In connection with the interpretation of Hatta about Pancasila, Ahmad Syafii writes: "... the interpretation Pancasila according Hatta more reasonable, justifiable interpretations of history than that given by a secularist, agnostic, or let alone by a communist. Throughout the sources are known, have not found an objection of political groups in Indonesia current towards Hatta interpretation of Pancasila. So from this opinion, assuming Hatta interpretation of Pancasila can be recognized and approved in the future, he would cease to be a controversial issue, both in public and in limited talks. "⁵⁵

In the debate in the Constituent Assembly, the desire of Natsir to make principle Almighty God as a point of reference was also not alone. In the debates in the Constituent Assembly, Arnold Mononutu, Constituent members of the Indonesian National Party (PNI) and the Christian religion, boldly interpret Pancasila according to the Christian faith. Mononutu who refused to recognize the Pancasila as a result of "excavation" of the Indonesian people, in order to interpret the precepts of Pancasila by using verses from the Bible. For Mononutu, Pancasila is a manifestation of the teachings of the Bible. Mononutu among other things explains: "Almighty God is for us, and the principal source of the precepts of others. Without Belief in God Almighty, Pancasila would be a mere materialistic philosophy. "Substance sentence was repeated by Mononutu:" Pancasila without the Almighty God is a purely materialistic ideology that in principle we can not accept."⁵⁶

With joy Natsir welcome affirmation Mononutu: "In my following the commencement speech he was feeling moved, I hang at the beginning of his speech is no attempt earnest of Brother Arnold Mononutu to desecularization of

⁵⁴M. Natsir, *Agama dan Negara dalam Prespektif Islam*, P. 244-245

⁵⁵*Ibid*, P. 244-245.

⁵⁶Lukman Hakiem, *Perjalanan Mencari Keadilan dan Persatuan Biografi Dr. Anwar Harjono, SH*, Jakarta, Media Da'wah, 1993, P. 189

Pancasila." In other parts, Natsir said: "Does not this mean, (when it is), this is where we come to a meeting point, between Christians and Muslims, which are equally want to find basic state bersumberkan Divine revelation?, Either through the Bible or the Qur'an. Thus there exists would be a reality, both groups Mononutu brother and one of us got a rapprochement in one respect Essential, which are equally reject the ideology of secularism as a state philosophy "⁵⁷

By Presidential Decree (*Dekrit Presiden*) dated July 5th, 1945, the Constituent Assembly was dissolved, and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945 which in the preamble formulation contained grains of Pancasila declared used again. In the preamble of the Presidential Decree July 5, 1959 that contained the sentence: "That we believe that the Jakarta Charter, dated June 22th, 1945 inspirit Act of 1945 and is a continuum with the Constitution."⁵⁸

It is too naive if fact the dissolution of the Constituent interpreted as evidence of the failure of political parties struggle Islam (Nahdlatul Ulama, Masyumi, Syarikat Islam Indonesia Party, and PERTI) that in the Assembly joined the Islamic faction⁵⁹, to make Islam the basis of the state. Therefore, the main concern of the whole idea of making Islam as the state is the desire to desecularization of real life for the nation by placing a base of countries that have opened themselves to the "intervention" of revelation.

That in order to achieve the main concern was to use the big theme of Islam as the state certainly can not be separated relation of the Constituent function as a state institution that has full authority to draw up a definitive constitution. Function, said Natsir, can only be met "if he got a chance as possible

⁵⁷The union of Islamic political parties in the Constituent Assembly in the Islamic faction received a warm welcome among the people throughout the region. Faction Islam, initially led by Mr. Kasman Singodimedjo (Masjumi). When Kasman was arrested on September 5, 1958, the Chairman of the Islamic faction in the Assembly led by K.H. Masjkur (NU). Leadership K.H. Masjkur end until the Constituent Assembly was dissolved by President Sukarno. See Deliar Noer, *Partai Islam di Pentas Nasional 1945-1965*, P. 389.

⁵⁸M. Natsir, *Capita Selecta II*, P. 84-85

⁵⁹Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante*, P. 143

to explore, discuss, comparing mind thoughts which live in Indonesian society. Strictly speaking, to conduct orientation earnest, for the results to be achieved be completely accountable to the people and the future of our descendants. "⁶⁰

For religious based political circles, the debate in the Constituent Assembly was a resounding success. Natsir loud voice has awakened secular circles not to seek foothold divineness for Pancasila. With the rise of secular circles in the constituency that's not the idea to squeeze Pancasila into Ekasila, namely the principle of Mutual without Almighty God, or replace principle Almighty God with the precepts of Religious Freedom as voiced by the communists,⁶¹ failed.

It is hard to imagine what happens now if the Assembly had not done his job "exploring, discussing, comparing mind-thoughts which live in Indonesian society," if the Assembly does not confront ideas in thoughts. "Perhaps, as said Natsir, we can get just "tolerance and not the constitution."⁶²

From this angle, we can conclude that the preamble of the Presidential Decree July 5, 1959 is actually more than just supporting between the compromises opening June 22th 1945 version, with version opening August 18th, 1945 version is a successful attempt to desecularization Pancasila as state ideology.

Upon asking members of the House of Representatives, Anwar Harjono (Masyumi) and KH Ahmad Sjaichu (NU) about the meaning of the Decree preamble July 5, 1945, Prime Minister Juanda with a letter to the Chairman of the Parliament No. 0761/59, dated March 25, 1959, among others said that:

1. Although the Jakarta Charter was not part of the Constitution of 1945, of whom see the date June 22th, 1945, but the manuscript as a

⁶⁰M. Natsir, *Capita Selecta II*, P. 86.

⁶¹Lukman Hakiem, *Perjalanan Mencari Keadilan dan Persatuan*, P. 182-184

⁶²Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi tentang Percaturan di Konstituante*, P. 181.

historical document of great significance for the struggle of the Indonesian nation and for material preparation of the Preamble of the Constitution of 1945, which became part of the Constitution of the Proclamation, and

2. Recognition of the Jakarta Charter as a historical document, the government would also mean recognition of its influence on the Constitution of 1945. So it is not about the influence of the said Preamble of the Constitution of 1945 alone, but also on Article 29 of the Constitution of 1945, which should further article be a legal basis for life in the religious field. Namely, that thus the word " Godhead " in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution can be given meaning " of Godhead with an obligation for Muslims to carry out Sharia, so on that basis can be created legislation for the followers of Islam that can be adapted to Islamic *shari'a*.⁶³

Commenting on the preamble, Ahmad Syafii wrote: "this preamble that very important inclusion is clearly a more political compromise between supporters of basis Pancasila state and ideology Islam. According to our judgment, when it has meaning consideration constitutionally, and rightfully so, even if only implicitly, but the idea to implement the shari'a for followers of Islam are not turned off. This is probably accurate and fair interpretation of the Decree of July 5th regard to the Jakarta Charter. Another interpretation of this, in addition to not have meaning, also is a historical..."⁶⁴

In addition to its contribution in the field of thought, especially in the giving spirit of religion to the constitution that is being drafted, Natsir also noted for the role of smart and glittering in restoring the shape of the state of the Republic of Indonesia (RIS) to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) through his speech in Parliament RIS on April, 3rd 1950 that became known as "**Integral Motion of Natsir**".

After going through a long process, through talks about talks were stained with twice the Dutch military aggression against the Republic of

⁶³M. Natsir, Mohamad Roem, dan Yusril Ihza Mahendra, *Mosi Integral Natsir dari RIS ke NKRI Prestasi Tertinggi Parlemen yang Dilupakan Sejarah*, Jakarta, Media Da'wah dan Panitia Peringatan Refleksi Seabad M. Natsir Pemikiran dan Perjuangannya, 2008, P. vii-viii.

⁶⁴Agus Basri, *Mohammad Natsir Politik Melalui Jalur Dakwah*, tt, P. 31

Indonesia, ended on August 23th to 2 November 2nd 1949 held the Round Table Conference (KMB) between the Kingdom of the Dutch with the Republic of Indonesia in Den Haag. KMB produces following agreement:

- 1) Both parties (the Kingdom of the Dutch and the Republic of Indonesia) agreed to form the Union between Dutch and the State Republic of Indonesia (RIS) with the Queen of the Dutch as a symbolic leader,
- 2) Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta will be served as President and Vice President, and between 1949-1950, Hatta will be the Prime Minister of RIS,
- 3) Dutch still will retain West Irian (Papua) and did not participate to RIS until there are further negotiations, and
- 4) RIS government should bear the debt of Dutch about 4.3 billion Gulden.⁶⁵

On December, 29th 1949 the Dutch formally recognized (the Dutch used the term: surrender) RIS sovereignty, except West Irian. In RIS, consist of 16 States, including the Republic of Indonesia in Yogyakarta. It because Irian excluding submitted to Indonesia, the Minister of Foreign Affairs H. Agus Salim and Minister of Information Mohammad Natsir refused KMB and did not enter the cabinet of RIS. Natsir then concentrate to lead Masyumi faction in RIS parliament.

Recognition of the sovereignty no longer happen, but on January 4th, 1950, Council of State Malang, East Java sparked the resolution to break away from the State of East Java and joined the State of the Republic of Indonesia in Yogyakarta. On January 30th, Council of State Sukabumi in the State of Pasundan issued a similar resolution. In addition to the two regions, in early January in many areas have emerged voices that want to join the state of the Republic of Indonesia. In the State of East Sumatra instead of demonstrations that forced police to intervene to overcome them.

As leader of the Masyumi Natsir examine evolving circumstances. He was sure, if it is left unchecked, could result in not well for the country to seize this independence. Natsir was rushed to the Chairman of the mind to know what was growing in parliament. Natsir also discuss with the leaders of left faction

⁶⁵M. Natsir, Mohamad Roem, Yusril Ihza Mahendra, *Mosi Integral Natsir dari RIS ke NKRI*, P. 31-32.

through Ir. Sakirman from the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Natsir also discussed with leaders of right factions, Sahetapy Engel from *Bijeenkomst voor Federaal Overleg* (BFO).

From the mind exchange, Natsir concluded that the states are willing to disband to unite with the Republic of Indonesia in Yogyakarta, just do not ordered to disperse. Throughout the two and a half months, Natsir do lobby admittedly not easy, particularly with states outside Java, such as a state in Sumatra and Madura. Once everything is considered steady, Natsir filed a motion for Integral which they claimed, was made "vague...."Integral motion made be vaged, because we face the Dutch."Do not let the Dutch messed up again. The Netherlands may not know, like where was the plan, "said Natsir.⁶⁶

Integral Motion of Natsir well received by the government. Prime Minister RIS, Mohammad Hatta, announced that the government would use the Integral Motion of Natsir as a guide in solving the problems faced. With a flexible approach, Natsir succeeded in restoring the federal state to the NKRI without anyone humiliated, it also without a drop of blood was spilled.

Preparatory committee consisting of all the State was formed. This committee prepared a draft Constitution that proposing a parliamentary cabinet system. Masyumi represented by Mr. Sjafruddin Prawiranegara insisted on a presidential cabinet. However, the two major parties at the time, the Indonesian National Party (PNI) and the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI) firmly in favor of a parliamentary cabinet system. Because outvoted, Masyumi was, in the words Mohamad Roem, "had to put them in a parliamentary cabinet system."

For the significant role, Natsir appointed by President Sukarno to become Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia. Natsir recorded in history as the first to become Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia. Remembering the incident, Natsir said: "After the Mosi Integral successful, I believed to be the prime minister, the one thing I did not initially think. I was also surprised. Asa Bafagih, journalist of *Merdeka* newspaper, asks (President) Sukarno about who

⁶⁶*Memoar Senarai Kiprah Sejarah Buku Kedua*, P. 95. See also, Agus Basri, *Mohammad Natsir Politik Melalui Jalur Dakwah*, P. 33-34.

will be prime minister. Sukarno said, 'Yes, who else if not Natsir from Masjumi. They have a conception in order to save the Republic via the constitution'.⁶⁷

Sukarno attracted to Natsir and persistently asked a cabinet without the support of PNI, because he thinks the process of returning to the state of unity has been implemented Natsir in a dignified manner and pleasant. Another thing, because Natsir and his party support presidential cabinet system, Sukarno suspect Natsir be tolerant of its will to address the current Prime Minister Natsir submit his cabinet policy. Sukarno thought, Natsir will behave in accordance with the party's attitude when discussing the draft Provisional Constitution. But Sukarno was disappointed. Natsir turned out to argue, as the Prime Minister in a parliamentary cabinet system as governed by the Provisional Constitution, he must establish his own government without any political intervention from President. According Roem, this is the beginning of the end of a good relationship between Sukarno and Mohammad Natsir.⁶⁸

⁶⁷M.Natsir, Mohamad Roem, Yusril Ihza Mahendra, *Mosi Integral Natsir dari RIS ke NKRI*, P. 40

⁶⁸M.Natsir, Mohamad Roem, Yusril Ihza Mahendra, *loc.cit.*