

CHAPTER IV

Political *T~ari<qa* of Mohammad Natsir

A. Characteristic of Political *T~ari<qa* by Mohammad Natsir

1. Political Correctness as His *T~ari<qa*

T~ari<qa, as agreed definition in terms of the theory, etimologically means way, the meaning is the way that is used to draw closer to God in order to gain His *rid~a* by obeying His teachings.¹ Through the right way (according to the teachings of Islam) is steady and consistent, mankind being promised the gift of a happy life is matchless?² *t~ari<qa* also be interpreted as the activities of individuals in working ourselves to be as close as to God to the extent *wushul*. From the understanding above, substantially, *t~ari<qa* can be defined as a process of finding a position closest to the God through various ways that allow.

Given its status as a way, *t~ari<qa* demanded the difference between one individual to another, of course, with the way that is suitable and easy to follow. Even where the al-Ghazali as quoted by Ahmad Munji, saw that the *T~ari<qa* can be adjusted to the profession. More al-Ghazali divides the group into six groups, *abid*, scientists, students, leaders and entrepreneurs.³

Based on the theory above, the choice Natsir as a scholar as well as politician can be categorized as a *T~ari<qa* to draw closer to God, to earn His *Rid~a*. For Natsir, be a Moslem is not enough just to run the worship rituals such as prayer, fasting, zakat and hajj. Moreover, a Muslim has several great responsibilities that is **a)** *al-mas~uliyah al-diniyah* (religious responsibility) like prayer, zakat, fasting and like worship *mahd~ah* others, **b)** *al-mas~uliyah al-wat~aniyah* (state responsibility) in this context is political to realize the ideal state according to the value of Islam and **c)** *al-masuliyah al-*

¹Sudirman Tebba, 2004. P.177

²Q.S.22:14

³Ahmad Munji, *Profesi Sebagai Tarekat*, Tesis, 2015, Unpublished, P.106

ijtimaiyyah (organizational responsibilities). It can be seen from one of the expressions:⁴

Islam is not limited to a narrow Muslim ritual activity, but a way of life for individuals, communities and countries. Islam against the arbitrariness of man against his brother. Therefore, the Muslims must strive to gain independence. Islam endorsed the right state principles. Therefore, the Muslims must manage a sovereign state based on Islamic values. This goal cannot be reached if the Muslims do not have the courage to strive for independence, in accordance with the values of Islam are called. They also have to seriously form a cadre of educated Muslim youth.

Politics, as a medium to realize the individual who is capable of creating the state order that is fair, prosperous, independent and respectable, thus can be said as a *t~ari<qa*. Such as creating an ideal social order is the responsibility of a Muslim toward homeland "*al-mas~uliyah al-wat~aniyah*" and responsibility toward human beings (*h~ablu min an-nas*). But, of course, not every political behavior can be categorized as a *t~ari<qa*. Only political ethical behavior, spiritual insight, puts the interests of society that are included in this discussion.

As one Muslim leader who was the founder and leader Masyumi, and prominent Islamic figures, Mohammad Natsir not only spends the time to *da'wah* to spread his religious ideas. Moreover, Natsir chose to devote his age in the world of Indonesian politics. This step he took was seen as an Islamic leader's commitment to oversee the birth of the Indonesian nation.

Political culture for Natsir is a means for people to express existence as a supreme being. This is where the meaning of a life manifested in their true form. People, who live together with all the needs and interests, will produce the collective consciousness to achieve the highest level of culture or known as civilization.

Nasir is a concrete example of politicians whose wisdom full of spirituality. This fact can be seen in his polemics against Sukarno. Although both are many conflicting ideas, but Natsir still provide great respect for Sukarno. For

⁴Natsir, *Capita Selecta II*, P. 53

example, when a polemic in the 1930s, Natsir still respecting the Sukarno's opinion and keep in touch with him. When Sukarno prosecuted in the Court of Bandung by Dutch colonists, the magazine of *Pembela Islam* who led by Natsir lowered writings that defended Soekarno. One was the sharp writing of Haji Agus Salim titled "Judge, Law, and Justice".⁵

In addition, during the minister, Natsir rarely met with the family for more served in Yogyakarta. There is also his first encounter with a professor from Cornell University, George McTurnan Kahin. "The clothes really did not show he was a minister in the government," Kahin wrote in a book commemorating 70 years of Mohammad Natsir.⁶ Natsir simple behavior is not without reason. According him all of that depart from the understanding that politics is his devotion to God.

2. Spiritual Soul in Natsir's Political Behaviors

Integrating politic with religiosity perhaps not an easy thing, it would appear dilemmas, one of which is the fact that somehow the religious system "does not always appropriate"⁷ by the fact that the political system adopted by many countries in the world. The word religion and politic are two things that have a background and a different spirit. Religion, understood as the revelation of God which therefore are in a sacred dimension. Religion is untouchable area. In that sense, religion is always stems from the recognition of God's revelation. Human attachments with the necessity to recognize this revelation that made him unable to act as they pleased. Language of religion as such a obligations (*language of duty, language of obligation*).

In the case of Indonesia, the political modernization towards a political Islam that spiritual insight is a must. According to Natsir, the modernization of

⁵Team Penulis, Natsir: *Politik Santun di Antara dua Rezim*, Jakarta, Tempo, 2010. P. 24

⁶*Ibid*.....,P.26

⁷The term is used to avoid the word "contradiction" between religion and political. In the visible religious system is very contrary to the political reality. Lebih jelas baca: Tedi Kholiluddin, "Studi Analisis Pemikiran Abdul Karim Soroush Tentang Kritik Sistem Wilayat Al-Faqih", Skripsi Sarjana Hukum Islam, Semarang, Perpustakaan Fak. Syari'ah IAIN Walisongo, 2006, P. 203-204, t.d.

political Islam is an attitude and outlook that seeks to apply the teachings and spiritual values, social, and political Islam that is contained in the Qur'an and *Sunnah*, which is adapted to the latest developments in the history of human civilization. In this political theme, it requires every Muslim to engage in politics as a means of worship to God.

According to M. Natsir, the state affairs in principle are an integral part of the message of Islam. Also stated that is the Muslims have a life philosophy or ideology as other religions. He quoted a verse of the Qur'an, which means: "And I did not create the jinn and mankind except to worship Me."⁸ Based on that basic ideology of Islam, he concluded that the ideal life of a Muslim in this world just want to be a servant of God in order to achieve success in this world and the hereafter.⁹ To achieve the title of servant of Allah, Allah gives provision to men on how to deal with Allah (creator of universe) and relate to human beings (creatures). Relationships of both, it called the affairs of state.

Politics as a means to draw closer to God, it means the rules of the political game must be parallel with the rules of Islam. It also means that politics must not be misleading, must not flip over truth, and deceive the public. In addition, openness, honesty, sense of responsibility, and the courage to declare that it right is right and false is false, must be a political characteristic as a means of *da'wah*.¹⁰

By having the above characteristics, the new politic will be a function for the purpose of mankind as a servant of God. Conversely, if the rule of politics

⁸Al-Qur'an surah Adh-Dhariyat verse 56

⁹Read M. Natsir thought about "Religion and State" in <http://baitulmaalhidayatullah.com/content/view/117/97/> accessed on Juni, 8th, 2016.

¹⁰Politics as a medium to draw closer to God should be able to support the reconstruction of society based on Islam. Reconstruction of society it can be done in all fields, whether social, cultural, economic, science, technology and politics. Business affairs of the state in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government and the wider community should be based on *tauhid* and should be colored with the spirit of worship to God

is not in line with the rules of Islam, then it can be expected that the political will such dysfunctional against the spirit of devotion to God.¹¹

Politics is run by a Moslem, which serves as a means of worship, it cannot be called the secular politics, but politics that full of commitment to God. In this case, politics is not the main purpose for seeking power or for seeking interest. Power, influence, interests, and political positions, only to have the means or purpose between to achieve the real purpose that is realizing the social order that is fair and prosperous society, which is religious society, educated and leading in various fields. The struggle is what is referred to as a devotion to God.

B. Political *Tawhid* of Indonesian Characteristic

Fundamentally, Natsir wants a broader and a greater role for Islam in relation to the management of the state administration. With the belief of the characteristics of Islam, Natsir tries to give an understanding of the parties concerned about the emergence of social stagnation when Islam was placed as the foundation of ideological thinking. According him, religion and state is an integral part of the *reciprocal* relationship. This means that the country needs a religion as the foundation as well as a direction, and religion requires the state as a "tool" for the enforcement of its rules and regulations.

As a foundation, clearly religious with the *tawhid* will automatically provide a way (*track*) that must be passed by politicians, as well as "reminded" when they came out of the *track*. Ways means here is related to two things. First, the development of individual mental awarness, that it will be turned into a collective mental awareness. Second; there are some specific rules governing who is not allowed to be broken¹²

¹¹Yusril Ihza Mahendra, *Modernisme dan Fundamentalisme dalam Politik Islam*, Jakarta, Paramadina, 1999, P. 136

¹²In view of Thohir Luth, Natsir want to make Islam as the lifestyle for several reasons. First; their sociological fact, that Indonesian community is predominantly as Moslem. Second; the normativefact that break Muslims to apply Islamic teachings in their everyday lives.Third; their strong commitment about Islam in self of Natsir. Thohir Luth, *M. Natsir: Dakwah dan Pemikirannya*, Jakarta, Gema Insani Press., 1999, P. 105.

The phenomenon now, the party that use islam as platform that calls upon Islam does not guarantee the birth of the Islamic political principles. Islamic Attribute emerged as a platform and teachings by the leaders of the party. It is as a series of moves the parties who were looking for a profit of majority support and was not based on the normative teachings of Islam. Therefore Natsir perspective is needed by politicians Indonesia today, especially for politicians who have Islamic background.

In the era of prophecy, the principles of political Islam have been placed by the practice. Political Islam is different from politic Islam that will likely target image and control the masses alone. Political Islam has laid down moral values (ethics) on the political actors. Despite being in the non islam party if the principle is carried with the mandate, then Islam is always present. Just as in the formulation of Pancasila, how hard the trade-off issues between Islam and non-Islam. In the end, Islam is in all groups, and put the generality (*al'ammah*) as a political aims.

Natsir asserted that Islam and state affairs are two entities that religio-politic are fused. "The state for us is not a goal, but a tool". Affairs of state in essence are a part that can not be separated, one *intergreerend deel* of Islam. For him as far as a political concept, is what should differentiate between Moslems and non Moslems.

But somehow by according Bakhtiar Effendy, despite it all, Natsir also recognizes Islam is only provides general principles. The rules are more detail about how a country should be organized or run, depending on the ability of leaders to carry out *ijtihad*, provided everything is done by democratic means.¹³

Thus the concept of the relationship between religion and state of Natsir, have relevance so close to the "symbiotic paradigm", which looked at the relationship between religion and state as *reciprocal relations*. Religion needs the state because states with religion can develop. While at the other positions the

¹³Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi pemikiran dan praktik politik Islam di Indonesia*, Jakarta, Paramadina, 1998, P. 72

state can not be left to walk alone without religion, because separation of religion from the state can create a chaos and a-moral.¹⁴

From the above description can be drawn line that Natsir political behavior is the best example in the context of politics as a way to devote ourselves to God, it called "*Taqwa*". There are two things that need to be confirmed Natsir view. *First*; Persistent efforts to implement the values of Islam as the ideology of the nation. Moslems, in preparing the system may imitate Western political system or system, because for Natsir, the West and the East is not to be the size, the most important divine laws can be accommodated in it. *Secondly*; the relationship between religion and state can unite and together in a corridor that can not be separated from one another. Therefore, in order to fight for the establishment of a country that aspired to be taken in the right way in accordance with the teachings of Islam.

Presenting Natsir in the person of politicians today is an urgent requirement. Of course this is not limited to Muslim politicians, but all the political actors of the country. Subsequently, the political cornerstone of Islam can be found on the party that aims to benefit the community and the nation. Politically, the birth of Islam is to change the state bad condition to be better (*min al-fawq ila nuqra*). In a prophetic treatise, Islam was born to bring political skill. When the states of the nations are not neglected and dominated the dzholim's kings. Present context today also view Islam as a move of political benefits or *par excellence*.

¹⁴M. Arskal Salim G.P., "*Islam dan Relasi Agama-Negara di Indonesia*", dalam Abdul Mun'im D.Z., *Islam di Tengah Arus Transisi*, Jakarta, Kompas, first edition, 2000, P. 8.