The Problems of Political Development of Islamic Party Politics in Indonesia and Malaysia: History Review on Democration Process

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Abstract-There is a very interesting relationship between political development and political parties, namely that both emerge as a response to the independence of the country. Malaysia and Indonesia are two countries that provide examples of how political development relations and political parties have a strong influence. Political development hopes to grow in a democratic space. But in reality, the political development in Malaysia and Indonesia at the beginning of these newly independent countries was in fact not like that especially because it was related to the existence of Islamic parties. The focus of this paper is how the development of Islamic party politics in Malaysia and Indonesia grows and develops? What is the response of the Malaysian and Indonesian governments to the emergence of the Islamic party? Is the democratic space given to the authorities by the Islamic parties? In answering the issue, the research method used is through the historical approach of archival and publishing documents. The results of the research conducted found that the political development of Islamic parties in Malaysia and Indonesia at the beginning of the establishment of the country received a negative response from the government. For reasons of development the government considers the party a barrier to development. The implication is that there is an attempt to break the Islamic party and make them enemies. So that the democratic process that should have grown in political development in Malaysia and Indonesia at the beginning of the two countries did not run fair.

Keyword: Malaysia and Indonesia, Masyumi, PAS, Political Development

I. INTRODUCTION

[1] This article discusses Political Development of Islamic parties by focusing on political relations between Islamic parties and countries in Indonesia and Malaysia [2]. The focus was put on the Islamic political parties Masyumi (Indonesia) and the Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) between 1945-1969. In both countries the political relations between Islamic parties, which involve Masyumi and PAS and the state are characterized by tensions that lead to conflict. Both in Indonesia and in Malaysia, the position of Islam is very prominent. This is because most of the population is Muslim [3].

The founding of the Masyumi as an Islamic political party on November 8, 1945, is arguably in a state of competition and ideological challenge. Influence on this ideological rivalry, as well as the impact of the current political climate, was one of the main reasons for Islamic activists to establish the Islamic party, the Islamic political party Masyumi. In the authors' view, the existence of Masyumi is a climax of the notion that the unity of Muslims in Indonesia is very much needed, amidst the various currents of ideology in the formulation of Indonesian identity. It exists to connect the disconnected eye from the previous Sarikat Islam struggle [4].

Masyumi's political party was decided at the Muslim Congress in Mu'alimmin Muhammadiyah Madrasah, Yogyakarta. The Congress made two important decisions that later became an important cornerstone of Indonesia's political discourse in Indonesia. The two important decisions are, first, that Masyumi is the only Islamic political party in Indonesia, and secondly that Masyumi will fight for the fate of Indonesian Muslims. Through the congress, Islamic political parties outside of Masyumi were not recognized. Judging from its history, the existence of the Masyumi Islamic political party was actually a result of the organization of the Islamic organization which later became a political organization [5].

According to some activists who played the role of forming the Masyumi as an Islamic Political Party, such as his ally Wahid Hashim, Hajj Agus Salim, Abdul Kahar Muzakkar, Muhammad Roem, Prawoto, Dr. Sukiman, as well as Mohammad Natsir, had some partisanship that prompted them to form the "single party" of Islam in Indonesia. From a doctrinal point of view, these activists are based on the Qur'an ordering Muslims to unite and not divide. Opinions between Islamic organizations, in their opinion, should be seen as "mercy from God" as they are not fundamentalist, but only in relation to issues/things-small things (furuiyah). This difference will surely lead to some good because it will unite (the different) groups in one strong Islamic political party.

PAS's stand was grounded in the backdrop of a need for Islamic political struggle as well as a non-political formalist struggle to champion Islamic principles in a just society. The Islamic factor as a dien, which has long been integrated into the Malay community has been a decisive factor in the establishment of PAS. By making Islan a manifestation of the entire protest activity, PAS was not a national party but was set up for the purpose of fulfilling the purpose of Muslim life in order to uphold Islam as a whole. That PAS wants to make Islam the basis of the struggle for the independence of the nation and the Muslims [6].

By making the Qur'an the sunaturrasul and the jurist scholars who refer to the supreme law as the supreme law, it is one of the strengths of PAS to distinguish it from other Malay parties. The position of Islam is regarded as a religion that encompasses all forms of human life. So inaugurating Islam in the constitution of Malaya, PAS intended to respect Islam in every way of life in the country.

For PAS, to be able to apply the teachings of Islam in its entirety, it needs a political power that is essential to the implementation of God's law. Because Islamic law cannot be enforced by itself except through government institutions. Only governments that fight for Islamic law can give assurance about the implementation of God's law. Given this background PAS is actually founded on Islamic claims. In addition to claiming preaching and enforcing sanctions and preventing mischief, early scholars and scholars of Islam argued that there was a need for an Islamic religion in a country that did not practice Islamic law and a country that did not guarantee the safety of Islam and the welfare of Muslims [7]. In this paper I will explain how the political issues of the development of Islamic political parties in Malaysia through PAS and in Indonesia through Masyumi will provide an insight into the issues faced by both in the emerging democratic process.

II. METHOD AND MATERIALS

The methodologies used in this research are three things:
1. Data collection procedures
2. Methods used in the focus of this comparison
3. How to analyze the data collected.

A. Data collection procedure

The data collection procedure in this research is all the data relevant to the problem being studied. The collected data were then analyzed and summarized. It is both primary and secondary data. Primary data is based on the primary sources that contain that data. The collection of these primary sources is done in the following ways:

(a) Gathering party documents (party manifestos, ideological interpretations of program conclusions, conclusions and so on).

(b) Collect books, articles, brochures and manuscripts written by key figures of both parties.

Secondary data were obtained from newspapers and magazines of both parties: newspapers and general magazines, as well as previous research findings, in the form of books, unpublished books, and articles in various journals and magazines.

B. Comparative Focus Method

The method of comparative focus in this research will use methods commonly used in history. Historically, science has identified two focal points of comparison, namely: (a) "analytical use of comparison" and (b) "use of empirical facts as a tool for determining the usefulness of an" analytical use of comparision "and" illustrative use of comparison ".

C. How to analyze

The analysis in this research is entirely qualitative.

III. RESULTS

In Indonesia, in its political relations with the state [8]; [9], Islamic parties are always considered the "source of problems" in the process of political development. The experience of Indonesia, both during the administration under President Ir. Both Sukarno and President Suharto viewed political parties based on Islam as competing powers which could be a threat and should be suspected. For this reason, the two leaders above always try to weaken and marginalize the role of these Islamic parties. As a result, the leaders of Islamic parties failed to fight for Islam as a principle of ideology and state religion in 1945 and in the late 1950s. In addition, they are also considered as an opposition group that will hinder the process of political development in Indonesia. It can be said that throughout the period between 1945 and 1960 political Islam, which was characterized by an ideological struggle for Islam as a state principle, was successfully paralyzed through elections, legislation, bureaucracy and physically [10].

On the other hand, Islamic political party activists looked at the country with suspicion. They see the state as having carried out various policies to eliminate the importance of Islamic politics and at the same time support the idea of a secular political society [11]. This suspicion is based on the ideological principle and the framework of institutionalization that differs between Islamic parties who champion the Pancasila ideology. It can be said that mutual suspicion between Islam and the state takes place in a country where the majority of the population is Muslim. This situation continued in several political periods, namely the period of the independence revolution (1945-1949), the period of the political system of Democracy Parlimenter (1950-1959), Guided Democracy (1959-1965) and the New Order period (starting 1966).

In this regard, the strength of political Islam in Indonesia which plays a major role in the process of establishing political Islam identity on the Indonesian political stage is the Islamic party Masyumi. During its existence in Indonesia, the Masjumi was a party involved in the government. Because of this position, Masjumi accompanied the Indonesian political principle process at least until 1960.

Masyumi saw his involvement directly in state power as a way to realize his goals. In this way, according to one of the Masyumi activists, Zainal Abidin Ahmad, Allah's laws not only came out from the mouth of the ulama on the mosque pulpit but also left the government employees and became state laws. Based on this view, Islam must be used as a basis in state ideology. Masyumi, along with other Islamic parties such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the Indonesian Islamic Sarikat Party (PSII), PERTI, looked suspicious about the role of the state in Indonesia's secular political development process for several reasons.

First, the state's efforts in the process of political development of the Indonesian people by not making Islam as a state ideology are a denial of history. History has proven that Islam has been with the people of Indonesia and has even become a symbol of struggle in expelling invaders. Therefore, according to Masyumi and other Islamic parties, the state ideology must be based on Islam. Secondly, the ideology of the Pancasila, according to the views of Masjumi and other Islamic parties, the concept is still unclear and cannot be accounted for. This is because Pancasila is only man-made. On the other hand, Islam, as an ideology, has a complete view because it regulates all human affairs. Because of differences in views on this ideology, the engagement between Islamic parties and the state is inevitable. It can be said that throughout the period between 1945-1959 the issue of state ideology and the framework of institutionalization became an issue that was highly debated by the two schools. However, the failure of Islamic parties in fighting for political Islam was caused by the Islamic parties themselves. The Masyumi, which from the beginning was buried, became the only Islamic political party in Indonesia on November 8, 1945, eventually breaking out. It began with the release of the PSII in 1947, followed later by NU in 1952. Both PSII and NU, which later became political parties, "faced" with Masyumi in fighting for the votes of Muslims in the 1955 election. As a result, the strength of Muslims became divided and finally weak .

In Malaysia, throughout the period of 1945-1960's also experienced a situation like Indonesia. The case of national identity based on Islam has become a hot issue in the process of political development (N.J Funston, 1980). As we all know the concept of Malayness and Islam has become a bond of people's lives in various fields of life. In politics, Malay politics cannot be separated from Islam, and as long as Malays are Muslim, Islamic political demands influence Malay political development. Islam as a complete belief, should involve and touch the life and political culture and the development of values in Malay society. According to Muhammad Abu Bakar, increasingly raising Islam in the political arena, including party politics means strengthening the national identity (Muhammad Abu Bakar, 2000).

Party politics in Malaysia, which is based on Malay, nationality and Islam, is trying to be exhibited by UMNO. As a Malay national party and studying the government, UMNO recognizes that Malayness and Islam are inseparable

and because they need priority attention and place [11]. Nevertheless, UMNO's priority towards Islam is only considered as a symbol. Because in the end UMNO, by giving opportunities to Islam, prioritized the practical goals of party politics, only seeking Malay support. The main goal as expected by many Malays to make Malaysia an Islamic state, eventually only became a secular state, even though the federation's official religion was Islam. In the process of political development, making Malaysia in a secular form contains several reasons [11]. First, because Malaysia consists of various ethnic groups. Therefore the secularism of the state on the basis of nationalism is regarded as the "intermediary way" and the necessity for diversity. Such practices and political policies carried out by UMNO can occur because UMNO itself is involved in the politics of flow.

Since 1952, namely the first national election (Kuala Lumpur) UMNO has joined the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA), a Chinese political organization founded in 1949. In terms of achieving political Islam, it is clear that UMNO who is a "representative" of Malays cannot submit Political Islam freely. Because if UMNO for example imposes political Islam, it will certainly "disrupt" its position in the politics of flow made with the MCA. Even the framework of UMNO's position was more condemned to prioritize its political interests, compared to fulfilling the demands of political Islam. This situation is increasingly "not shown" by the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) joining the UMNO-MCA in a container of Engagement in 1954. For Chinese and Indians, to maintain their interests in cooperating with UMNO is considered better than being confrontational. In terms of obtaining the political power of cooperation in Engagement, it does provide an opportunity for UMNO-MCA-MIC to establish their political fundamentals. This can be analyzed from the results of the 1955 election. In this election the Engagement was indeed in the majority and gave them the opportunity to become the party of the government. Here then the problem arises. Because the majority wins, the Engagement is given full authority to submit a proposal for state institutionalization. Unfortunately, judging from the interests of political Islam and Malay the institutionalization proposal was considered to be very detrimental to political Islam and the position of the Malays. As a result, the proposal was not only challenged by opposition parties but also by Malay society in a widespread manner [7]; [9]; [13].

The process of political development as demonstrated by UMNO, considered PAS (Malaysian Islamic Party), was less impressive in business in Islamic politics. The Islamic Semalaysia Party (PAS) was formally established on November 24, 1951, a continuation of the Islamic reform movement on Malay soil. The Islamic reform movement in Malaya was a continuation of a similar movement that was carried out in Egypt by Muhammad Abduh in the late nineteenth century. In Malaya this movement was pioneered by Syed Sheikh Al-Hadi through Al-Iman newspapers

(1906-1908) and al-Ikhwan newspapers (1925-1931). This movement has infiltrated the first Malay political party, the Malay National Party of Semalaysia or better known as the MNP, which was set up in October 1945. Recognizing the importance of Islam to these Malays, from the then MNP, the then MATA (Malaysian Religious High Assembly) from this MATA was born Hizbul Muslimin on Mount Selangor, March 14, 1948. Hizbul Muslimin did not last long. Through the then UMNO coup, with the support of the British in June 1948, the Hizbul Muslimin was banned and considered a communist party born in Gunong (because it was founded in Gunong). This Hizbul Muslimin ban by the Hizbul leaders themselves, marked the birth of the Islamic Party of Semalaysia (PAS), November 24, 1951[14].

For this reason, PAS wants to establish a country on the basis of Islamic ideology and fight for the rights of Malays and their politics in the UMNO country itself considers PAS to have misinterpreted Islamic teachings and led to "no Islam" charges against UMNO. The result of this polemic has led to mutual suspicion and even conflict between the two parties. The issue of Islamic interests and Malays is the cause of conflict. During the period between 1950-1960 the political Islamic process involving UMNO and PAS centered on these two sensitive issues.

IV. CONCLUSION

it is quite satisfying in the study of political history and political science to look at the background of Masyumi and PAS political parties, how the political process is shaped and shaped. Both Islamic Political parties, both acknowledge that the party originated with the Qur'an and the Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, when both parties were formed, the spirit and ambition developed was to build a nation and a society to resolve social, economic and political issues based on the sources of the Qur'an and Hadith.

It should be noted, however, that political figures in both the Muslim and PAS Islamic political parties, in view of the background of the Islamist and organizational spirit, have some differences that need to be clarified. First, the political leaders of the Islamic political party Masyumi's desire to promote and fight on the basis of Islam, have come together. As many of the political figures in the Masyumi Islamic Political Party, before Masyumi became a political party in Islam, these political leaders have been active in organizations that are shaped and based on the Islamic struggle.

This was the case when the opportunity to make Masyumi a political party was decided. It was welcomed with unanimous applause and by the unanimous voice of these Islamic political figures. Second, most of the leaders of the PAS political party, previously they were active in an organization that tended to be more "nationalist" and more likely to have a "communist" influence, much influenced by Indonesia's nationalist and communist movements, the Indonesian National Party (PNI) and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which in Indonesia is itself a rival

and even hostile to the Masyumi Islamic Political Party. This phenomenon indicates that prior to the establishment of the PAS, the "nationalist" movement through these political leaders was likely to play a greater role.

In Malaysia, however, the misunderstanding of the position of the Malays, inseparable from Islam, has awakened these nationalist political figures to convert to Islam. Because, according to them, Islam should be given a higher place. They remember that even though the political activities carried out by the nationalist movement were hard to come by, but without looking at the position of Muslims, it would mean nothing. Another factor, the British policy, which was more inclined to marginalize Islam and the Malays, had made them realize that Islam was not only held in a noble and responsible position, but politically influential as well.

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