

# PHENOMENA AND HISTORY OF ISLAMIC POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDONESIA

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## Abstrak

FENOMENA DAN SEJARAH PARTAI POLITIK ISLAM DI INDONESIA: Politik kembali muncul dengan definisi asli yang mempengaruhi orang lain dan melibatkan pembuatan keputusan bagi orang banyak. Maka hidup bukan lagi politik bebas. Kami mencoba berkontribusi untuk kehidupan politik, bagaimana mempengaruhi atau bagaimana dipengaruhi, bagaimana membuat keputusan dalam hidup atau bagaimana mengikuti keputusan. Politik mengandung banyak dimensi, satu orang mungkin berpikir politik dengan cara yang negatif atau positif tergantung pada dimensi yang dia pikirkan. Partai politik merupakan salah satu lembaga utama dalam kehidupan politik yang digunakan dalam mempraktekkan demokrasi sebagai sistem perwakilan yang dibutuhkan oleh masyarakat. Partai digunakan sebagai media untuk mengirimkan pesan-pesan politik dari masyarakat kepada pemerintah. Masyarakat merupakan media untuk mengirimkan aspirasi kepada orang-orang yang menjabat di pemerintahan yang keberadaannya mempengaruhi kebijakan negara, tergantung pada keefektivitasan. Sebagai negara Muslim terbesar, Islam memiliki peran yang sangat penting dalam zona politik Indonesia. Orang yang beragama Islam benar-benar mewakili nilai-nilai Islam itu sendiri sehingga orang yang non-Islam bisa juga mewakili nilai-nilai etika Islam. Inti dari artikel ini adalah fokus lebih dalam pada bagaimana hubungan antara politik dan Islam di Indonesia dengan memperhatikan perkembangan partai politik Islam dan fenomenanya. Jika diamati dengan pendekatan historis-fenomenologis, sejarah partai politik Islam di Indonesia bisa

menggambarkan fakta-fakta sosial yang terjadi di masyarakat saat ini.

**Kata Kunci:** *Partai Politik Islam, Islam, Indonesia.*

### **Abstract**

Politics, coming back to its original meaning which might be defined as influencing other people and which involves the making of a common decision for people, then, life is never politics-free. When we are thinking, we are contributing in the political life, how to influence or how to be influenced, how to make a decision in life or how to follow a decision. Politics contain of many dimensions, one might think politics in a negative or positive way depending on which dimensions he stick the politics with. Political party is one of the main institutions in the political life which used in practicing the democracy as the representative system needed by the community. It used as a media to transfer the political messages from the community to the government, as peoples' media to send their aspiration to the people 'above', which existence is influencing the development of the policies of the country depending on its effectiveness. As a Muslim-Largest country, Islam has a very important role in Indonesia's political zone. Though, not everything that has an "Islam" name is able to completely represent Islamic values and so some "non-Islam" might also represent Islamic ethical values. The point of this article is to focus more on how is the relationship between politics and Islam in Indonesia by observing the development of Islamic Political Parties and its phenomena. It will be well observed by the historic-phenomenology approach, which is describing and observing the history of Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia and the social facts that happened in the society.

**Keywords:** *Islamic Political Parties, Islam, Indonesia*

## **A. Introduction**

Why do we choose to say Islamic Political Party instead of Islamist Political Party? There are indeed great consequences in choosing which name we are going to use. According to Dictionary of the English Language published by Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, Islamic is carrying the meaning of "relating to or characteristic of Islam or its adherents" it might also means "in accordance with or permitted under the shari'a." Meanwhile,

Islamist has a meaning of “an Islamic revivalist movement, often characterized by moral conservatism, literalism, and the attempt to implement Islamic values in all spheres of life”. Besides, Collins English Dictionary also describes Islamist as “supporting or advocating Islamic fundamentalism.”

Both names might be bringing the great name of Islam, which intended to spread Islamic values, but in the writer personal point of view, the word Islamist gives a greater burden if putting it together with the word party or movement. Because most of the people might think only the literally meaning of the word that Islamist is merely related to fundamentalism or conservatism, however, a word can be interpreted in so many different meanings.

Political party is one of the main institutions in practicing the democracy. Modern democracy which is used nowadays, is a process where representative system needed by the community. Differ from the previous direct democracy used in ancient Greek, modern democracy as an indirect democracy need a media to transfer the political messages from the community to the government. That institutional media is called political party. Its existence is influencing the development of the policies of the country. That is why, it might be said that both the failure and succeeds of a government in serving and increasing the peoples prosperity is at the same time the failure and succeeds of the political parties in doing its effective functions.

Strengthening the importance of the political parties' existence, Miriam Budiharjo mentions four different functions of political parties, shortly are:

1. Political party as an instrument of political communication.
2. Political party as an instrument of political socialization.
3. Political party as an instrument of political recruitment.
4. Political party as an instrument of conflict management.<sup>1</sup>

Political parties and Islamic organizations patterned Islam in the *reformation* era have openly echoed and cultivated

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<sup>1</sup> See, Budiarjo, Miriam, 2004, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama Persada, Jakarta

the struggle of the implementation Islamic *Shari`ah* through rolling an issue of amendment of 1945 constitution like what are sounded by PPP, PBB, PK (PKS), KPPSI and Hizbut Tahrir by means of political struggle inside or outside parliament. They do believe on authenticity and completeness of Islamic teachings as having practiced by the first generation of Islam. For them, the first generation of Islam are great example in maintaining and promoting the *Shari`ah* in resolving any kinds of social-political problems. Apart from Islamic parties operated in formal-parliament, the Islamic movements such as Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), as well as Komite Penegakan Penerapan Syariat Islam (KPPSI) are part of movements operated in outside formal-political structure. These both Islamic movements, as political party and non-political party, have the same ideological origins and even to some extent having linkage of elites and ideology with the Islamic groups addressing the shape of Islamic state issue.<sup>2</sup>

Many political parties have actively participated in the development of politics in Indonesia. As a country with the largest Muslim citizens in the world, Islam has a very important role in Indonesia's political zone. It can be seen from the development of the political policies and the political parties throughout Indonesia's political life. The majority of Muslim people in Indonesia will also feel more secure and might put more believe when the name of Islam is being their representation in politics. Though, not everything that has an "Islam" name on it is able to completely represent Islamic values and even without the word "Islam" as long as it represent Islamic ethical values, it might said as Muslim' representation.

Islamic Political Parties which are being the object of this discussion are both political parties which are explicitly declare Islam as their foundation and political parties which are traditionally based on mass Islam. In the development of democratization of Indonesia, both types of political parties are

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<sup>2</sup> See, Syahrir Karim, dkk. *Islamism and Democratization in Indonesia Post-Reformation Era: Socio-Political Analysis*. International Journal of Islamic Thought. Vol. 6: (Dec.) 2014.

having their own rise and fall. That situation was influenced by both the internal condition of each political parties and the general condition of Indonesia's political life. All along the history of political life in Indonesia, Islamic political parties have brought many influential ideas toward Indonesia's policies.

The rise of the political parties which are explicitly declare Islam as their foundation and the political parties which are traditionally based on mass Islam, since 1998 (after the collapse of the New Order era) is an interesting area to discuss to. There are at least two points of view which can be considered toward this issue.

First, before reformation era, both Soekarno era or Old Order era and New Order era, there are no significant differentiation in ideologies. In Old Order era, both political parties which are explicitly declare Islam as their foundation and political parties which are traditionally based on mass Islam were working together, hand in hand to struggle for making Islamic ideology as the state's principle. In the New Order era, there are four Islamic Political Parties (NU, PSII, PARMUSI and PERTI) joined the general election of 1971, and also added by PPP for the next general election till 1997, there are no quite big differentiation among them. Second, Islamic Political Parties' articulation in this reformation era showed that there are a quite big differentiation toward parties characteristic and ideology struggle in MPR. The political parties which are explicitly declare Islam as their foundation are more introvert rather that those political parties which are traditionally based on mass Islam, especially in choosing their leader.

Thus the point is focusing more on how is the relationship between politics and Islam in Indonesia by observing the development of Islamic Political Parties with its all phenomena. This kind of relationship will be better observed by the historic-phenomenology approach, which is observing the history of Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia and observe the social facts that happened in Indonesia's society, so that we can see Islamic Political Parties as a political phenomenon that has an effect toward the development of Indonesia in its future.

## B. Observing Relationship between Islam and Politics in Indonesia

Not to mention literally about the Islamist party, but to appreciate the paradoxical character of the notion of “Islamist parties” it is necessary to look back at the first organized, formal, and thus politically relevant expression of Islamism in the modern era, the Muslim Brotherhood, founded in Egypt in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna. The Brotherhood, along with the similar South Asian organization known as the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), was practically coextensive with Islamism for a considerable part of the twentieth century. (The JI, whose name means “Islamic assembly,” was founded by Abu’l-A’la Mawdudi in 1941 with the Muslim Brotherhood as its inspiration.) Most if not all of today’s “Islamist parties” owe their origins to branches or sister organizations of the Brotherhood or the JI. Yet, paradoxically, the Brotherhood is the original source of the notion that an Islamist party is a contradiction in terms.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, this history also influences a lot in the point of view of the peoples inside or at least interested on the Islamic Parties in Indonesia.

Relationship between Islam and politics in Indonesia has a very long story, just like what Bachtiar Effendy said about the theoretic frameworks from the researchers in observing this kind of relationship. He mentioned five theoretic frameworks in relation with the relation between Islam and politics; Dekonfessionalisation, Islam domestication, Skismatik and Ideology, Trikotomi perspective and Cultural Islam.<sup>4</sup> However, the last three theoretic frameworks are more relevant to the political phenomenon in Indonesia today.

As the first theoretic framework, Dekonfessionalisation explains about the antagonistic relation between Islam and the state, while the second which is the Islam Domestication explains about the fight of dominance or power between Islam and non-Islamic elements.

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<sup>3</sup> Haqqani, Husain and Hillel Fradkin. *Islamist Parties: going back to the origins*. Journal of Democracy. 2008

<sup>4</sup> See, Bachtiar Effendy. *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Gagasan dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*. Paramadina. Jakarta: 2009.

Regarding to the third theoretic framework which is Skismatik and Ideology, in his book, Bachtiar Effendy wrote that this kind of theory is observing that there are three ideologies or types of Muslim whose have different views toward the relationship between Islam and state. Those types or ideologies are *Priyayi*, *Abangan* and *Santri*. Then, based on this view, it was analyzed that there were two political powers in the first independent era of Indonesia which are represent those three ideologies. First is the group of Nationalist-secular which is represent by *Abangan* and *Priyayi* (PNI, PKI, etc), and second is the group of *Santri* which is represent by Masyumi, NU, etc. Besides, political ideology is interpreted as a politics based on culture and ideology that grows in the society.

The forth theoretic framework is Trikotomi perspective which observes that relationship between Islam and state has to be seen from the perspectives of three different Islam groups. Those three groups are Fundamentalist, Reformist, and Traditionalist. Fundamentalist Islam supports the kind of pure and awkwardness interpretation toward Islam, against secularism and Western influence, and puts Islam on the top of politics. Reformist Islam emphasizes the Islam's domination toward politics, but it still also accepts the Western influence according to the togetherness and tries to look for the solution so that religion can be more relevant in this modern life. And, Traditionalist Islam emphasizes the social and economic life rather that Islamic organizations.

The fifth theoretic framework is Cultural Islam, which is the group that grows as a response toward the pressure of the New Order era to the Muslim. This theoretic framework guides peoples' political energy back to non-political activity. It emphasizes more to the recreating of Islamic Cultural Traditions to avoid the political dissatisfaction.

Beside those five theoretic framework mentioned before, Bachtiar Effendy gave us one new theoretic framework which is called by 'Multi-interpretative Islam'. This type of theoretic framework observes the relationship between Islam and the state by considering the viewpoints or perspective that used to

observe it, because it will determine the analysis toward that relationship.

However, those theoretic approaches in understanding the relationship between Islam and state are really depends on the situational condition faced by Muslim in relation with the government in that era. That is why, the relationship between Islam and state will always change according to the change of the political system used by the government.

### **C. History of Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia**

Regarding to the discussion about history of Islamic Political Parties in Indonesia that actually cannot be separated from the political background that rise in their era, we might classify this historical period into three phases, which are:

1. Soekarno era or Old Order, since 1955. In this era, there are multi-system parties. Here, it can be clearly seen that there are grouping in parties ideologies. Commonly, the groups can be divided into two big groups; Nationalist-secular (PNI, PKI, etc) and Nationalist-Islam (NU, PSII, etc).
2. New order, 1977 – 1997. In this period, there is a reduction toward political parties into three political parties; those are PPP, PDI, and Golkar. In that moment, there was no freedom to create an Islamic Political Parties. Golkar was dominating among all. It was the government's political ride in New Order era.
3. Reformation era, after the downfall of Soeharto regime in May 21, 1998.

Masyumi establishment after the Indonesia's independence was being the starting point of the up and down of the Islamic political parties. On that time, two major Islamic organizations, Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah are the pioneer of Masyumi establishment. But as time goes by, Masyumi's supporting element began to leave and set up his own political party. July 1947, PSII (Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia) left Masyumi and declared as an independent political party, which then followed by NU in 1952.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Lili Romli. *Crescent and Electoral Strength: Islamic Party Portrait*



The 1955 general elections were the first to be held after Indonesia gained its independence in 1945. More than a hundred parties, organizations, and individuals participated in this election, which was based on a system of proportional voting, but only twenty-eight parties obtained seats in the national parliament (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/DPR*), which most of them are Islamic parties. Four of these groups, PNI (National Indonesian Party), Masyumi (*Partai Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia*, the Indonesian Muslim Theologians Party), NU (*Nahdatul Ulama*), and PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, the Indonesian Communist Party), gained the majority of seats in the national parliament. As under Sukarno's Guided Democracy, when parties began to be amalgamated, Suharto fused parties together in 1973 (the PKI was prohibited following the events of 1965). The Islamic parties were merged into the United Development Party (PPP, *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan*), nationalist and Christian parties were combined into the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI, *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia*), while the Functional Party (Golkar, *Golongan Karya*) became a state-supported party as well as Suharto's political machine for maintaining his authoritarian system of rule. This system rested on the power of the military, bureaucracy, and the business patronage networks of the New Order regime. Thus, Golkar continued to win the general elections held during the New Order era. During the Reform era, the monolithic system dominated by Golkar (at the expense of PPP and PDI) during Suharto's era was replaced with a multi-party system.<sup>6</sup>

However, even after the fall of the New Order era and the Reformation era was established, the "more than thirty years" political system cannot be easily changed. It can be recognized by the result of the 1999 General Election which some are still dominated by Golkar Party, and, fortunately or unfortunately, the number of votes for Islamic parties is decreased compare to the Soekarno's era.

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*of Reform Era In Indonesia*. International Journal of Islamic Thought. Vol. 4: (Dec.) 2013

<sup>6</sup> See, Tri Ratnawati and Syamsuddin Haris, *Political Parties in Indonesia from the 1950s to 2004: An Overview*. Crise Working Paper No. 61 December 2008.

*Result of the 1999 General Election:*

No.	Parties	% votes	Seats
1.	PDI Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle)	33.73	153
2.	Partai Golkar (Functional Groups Party)	22.46	120
3.	PKB (National Awakening Party)	12.66	51
4.	PPP (United Development Party)	10.72	58
5.	PAN (National Mandate Party)	7.12	34

Source: National Elections Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU) Nasional*).

Reformation era is interpreted as efforts to rebuild the structure that has been destroyed by the regime before to keep their authority free. Means that reformation for Muslim in Indonesia is such kind of reconstruct the newest framework of Islamic thought to be more accordance with the development of the modern era. Reformation itself, happened as the result of the mass demonstration who demand the reformation in every aspect of life, which are include also the political freedom, media freedom, and the destroyed of KKN.

Reformation which made Habibie to be the president has opened a new way for Indonesia to step forward to the new era. The openness and freedom that gave by Habibies governance has given chances for the rise of intellectual that has been jailed by the regime before, the New Order regime. Habibie made his own history by putting his contribution on the rise and development of reformation and democratization movements.

In this era, Islamic parties come to its revival. One of the greatest factors supporting it is the fact that is a Muslim country, that Islam is the majority religion in Indonesia. There are around 88 per cent Muslims from total population of Indonesia. With the majority, it is appropriate to effort the distribution of political aspiration accordance with Islamic values and struggle. The existence of Islamic political parties regarded as the aspiration of the Islamic struggle organization. Therefore, the establishment of

the Islamic political party is quite a necessity. Muslims in Indonesia are majority adherent, and they will feel more comfortable and safe when the distribution of their political aspiration is through the Islamic political party and naturally will like to support Islamic party better than another party. Thus, the existence of Islamic political parties will automatically be backed up by Muslims.<sup>7</sup>

The *reformation* era placed Indonesia in a situation that might allow the presence of political parties in abundance. Islam also took part in the democratic atmosphere. The political parties found out a significant momentum to attract public's attention. 'Religious symbols' returned to become commodities that are regarded to enhance the number of votes. In this democratic realm, there was party proclaimed itself as an Islamic party. And also there was party felt not necessary to being an Islamic party, although public recognized it as an Islamic party. This is because supporters of both parties (Islamic and non-Islamic parties) are Muslims.<sup>8</sup>

Democracy has given a free political participation for all Indonesia's societies and political parties to have their opportunity to get to the public and political ground. This kind of democracy and freedom make the political parties to have a free competition to win the general election which are most affected by the power of modal, organization, forming cadres, and media. These are some great characteristics of reformation era.

As the result of the freedom to create political parties in this era, rose about 181 political parties, the existence of a very significant chance. And, the differentiation between the Islamic parties and Secular parties are also significant. From the twenty-four parties joined the 2004 election, only eight of them are Islamic parties.

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<sup>7</sup> *Op, Cit*

<sup>8</sup> See, Syahrir Karim, dkk. *Islamism and Democratization in Indonesia Post-Reformation Era: Socio-Political Analysis*. International Journal of Islamic Thought. Vol. 6: (Dec.) 2014.

Result of the 2004 General Election:

No.	Secular Party	% Votes	Islamic Party	% Votes
1.	GOLKAR	21,58	PKB	10,57
2.	PDIP	18,53	PPP	8,15
3.	PD	7,45	PKS	7,34
4.	PDS	2,13	PAN	6,44
5.	PKPB	2,11	PBB	2,62
6.	PKPI	1,26	PBR	2,44
7.	PPDK	1,16	PPNU	0,79
8.	PNBK	1,08	PSI	0,60
9.	PP PANCASILA	0,95		
10.	PNIM	0,81		
11.	P.PELOPOR	0,77		
12.	PPDI	0,75		
13.	PM	0,74		
14.	PPIB	0,59		
15.	PPD	0,58		
16.	PBSD	0,56		
Total		61,05		38,95

Source: Muh. Haris. *Partai Islam di Komunitas Abangan*. Universitas diponegoro. 2008.

Furthermore, in the 2009 General Elections, there are even more significant decrease in the votes for Islamic parties.

Result of the 2009 General Election:

No.	Party	% Votes
1.	Demokrat	20.85
2.	Golkar	14.45
3.	PDIP	14.03
4.	PKS	7.88
5.	PAN	6.01
6.	PPP	5.32
7.	PKB	4.94
8.	Gerindra	4.46
9.	Hanura	3.77
10.	PBB	1.79
11.	PDS	1.48
12.	PKNU	1.47

Source: Seta Basri. *Peta Partai Politik Pasca 2009*.

Though, according to Hamdan Zoelva (in the seminar of *Quo Vadis Partai Islam*), the decrease of peoples' votes on Islamic parties cannot be merely seen and concluded as the decrease of people's believe and trust on Islamic parties, but rather caused by the accumulation of many different factors related to the situation and condition of today's political life.

#### **D. Mapping the Relations between Political Party and Islam in Indonesia's Political Life**

As mentioned above about the political party as a media to transfer the political messages from the peoples to the government and as a place for peoples' aspiration, Islamic political party, the holder of the belief and trust of the Muslim as a largest peoples' community in Indonesia – though not only Muslim hold on to Islamic Parties and not every Muslim hold onto Islamic Parties, it is not without reason in mapping the relations between Political Party and Islam in Indonesia.

In mapping the relationship between political parties and Islam in Indonesia's political life and its relation toward the development of Islamic Political Parties in General Election, Hamdan Zoelva's analysis regarding to his analysis about the decrease of the electability of the Islamic Political Parties is used here. It is used because this analysis is quite covering the political situation and condition today, and it has its relation with the societies' trust toward Islamic Political Parties.

According to him, there are at least three factors that indicate the cause of the decrease in Islamic parties' electability:

1. The changing of society's point of view towards the relation between Islam and politic;
2. Democratic system and political freedom;
3. General Election system.<sup>9</sup>

He then mentioned that if the Islamic political parties want to move forward and increasing its electability points in the future, then they need to and have to do many innovations and

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<sup>9</sup> See, Hamdan Zoelva. *Quo Vadis Partai Politik Islam di Indonesia*. Seminar UIN-Jakarta. 19 November 2009.

reorder their system. For example, Islamic political parties cannot only see the relation between Islam and the state in the group of *santri* and *abangan*, but have to be seen from the political reality that change rapidly.

Besides, Islamic parties are also in urgent to adjust and adapt their political strategy according to the changes of the point of views toward the relation between Islam and the state and also the changes towards the applied democratic system.

Regarding to the analysis of the change of society's point of view, Hamdan Zoelva started his analysis by observing the first indication of early reformation era, which is the grouping of the Islamic Political Parties into some variations; those are the political parties which are explicitly declare Islam as their foundation (PPP, PKS, PBB, etc), political parties which are traditionally based on mass Islam (PKB and PAN), and political parties of nationalist (Golkar, Demokrat, PDIP, etc).

In the 1999 general election, the ideologies of every party were strongly shown. But, in the 2004 and 2009 general elections, those different are getting smaller and smaller, mostly if it is seen from the acts and political policies when they were in the governance, for instance, what has PDIP done as a representation of nationalist-secular party, it tried to change its appearance to be more accommodative toward Islam, such as by building the Indonesia's *Baitul Muslimin*.

Those political chosen change, for Indonesia which the Muslims majority, shown that there are change of most Muslims' viewpoints toward politics, which means that Muslim started to accept multi-interpretative Islam in their political life. It means that it can be positive or even negative, depends on interpretation they are using.

Besides, another factors also shown that there is the change of societies' viewpoint, such as related to the state-political policies that are giving more of its attention toward Muslim's demand, such as the special autonomy for Aceh to practice the Islamic law, the rise of Islamic banking law, etc, and also violence in the name of religion especially Islam, also give many contributions in changing the societies' viewpoint toward Islam.

And then, regarding to the democratic analysis system and political freedom, Hamdan Zoelva emphasized that democracy and political freedom give a free political participation to the society and political parties to compete each other freely in gaining the society's sympathy.

This chosen political freedom is not without any consequences. Since everyone with capacity and capability has their rights to freely participate in politics, everyone is creating their own type of politics or parties and also competing each other in gaining peoples' attention and sympathy, which unfortunately might be different from political party's basic usage which is as peoples' messages and aspirations transfer system, as a place that represents the society.

Besides, democracy also gives a larger chance to the society in participating the politics outside the formal political agenda, means that public voice and majority's demand always get a better appreciation. And, it also means that whoever the president in Indonesia is, as long as democratic system is used, Muslims' political aspiration will never be left behind if the president wants to be chosen for the next general election.

The last, which is related to the general election's system, Hamdan Zoelva said that the change of general election system from the close proportional mode to the open proportional mode also has a big impact toward the support of Islamic Political Parties. For example, if a prominent figure of Islam for example, comes into non-Islamic Political parties, then it will make his followers support the party he joined in, even though it is not an Islamic Political Party.

Anis Matta, the General Secretary of PKS, says that in this few years, Islam identity and Muslims' religiosity were increased, but the supports toward Islamic Political Parties were decreased, logically, if the religiosity increased, then the supports will also increased, but in fact, it was decreased. Then, he said that religiosity is not a matter of ideology, it is a matter of morality.

In the early 70s, Nurcholis Madjid who has a sobriquet as young Natsir, declared a motto of "*Islam Yes, Partai Islam No*"

which means that there should be political parties deislamization through “secularization”. It was all as the respond to the most of political parties which are moving forward into full-politics and left Islamic values behind. All he wanted is the Muslims’ loyalty and orientation toward Islam and not only toward political parties or Islamic institutions.

Generally, coalition of Islamic Parties such what people want is just like a kind of Utopia, exist only in a dream world. Many ideologies that rise, controversial “outside” and “inside” Indonesia, interpretation of the Islamic position, are basic ideas in creating the conflict among Islamic Parties. Maybe, it is also one of the reasons that make some non-party organizations like Hizbut Tahrir, JI, etc, got a very big attention from Muslim in Indonesia better than the Islamic Political Parties.

Besides, Indonesia’s contemporary parties’ system also formed inside the realm of politics democratic-liberal. Bargaining position each other, transparency of conflict and competition, parties’ freedom to get their mass, government’s role for only being a facilitator and regulator (not mobilizator), are some of the types of this kind of political system.

### **E. Then, What Might be the Conclusion?**

Politics is indeed part of Islam. Our Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) – not to mention him as a statesman or a political man, emphasizing the importance of organizing the society and political life even before the political party was clearly exist. He again emphasizes the ethical value of the political man as a basic means of Islamic politics. That Islam is for everyone, it is not inclusively for certain community, it is dedicated for the society.

The relationship between Islam and politics is just like what a prominent figure in the Nahdlatul Ulama Movement, Wahab Chasbullah used to describe, that Islam and politics is like a sugar and its sweetness. Obviously, both cannot be separated. If someone is able to separate sugar from its sweetness, then on that time he will be able to separate Islamic religion from politics.

Political party as a media to transfer the political messages



from the peoples to the government, as peoples' media to send their aspiration to the people 'above' the government, hopefully can always do its jobs properly and not just the opposite and being the 'above' peoples' vehicles in completing their political passion.

However, the existence of so many different Islamic political parties – might be said as unfortunately, comes with great consequences which are means that the majority of Muslims are not walking in the same road. We are spreading all over the places with our own principle and believe. Though, to be more positive minded, it does not always have to be seen negatively, we just need to see it differently, that even though we are walking in the different paths or roads, we are all trying to reach to the same place.

Regarding to the name of “Islamic Political Parties” itself, as mentioned that it does not have to be Muslim who is allowed to hold on to it and that not all Muslim have to hold on to it, the way of behaving that we have to do on facing it is how to create peoples' attention not only to the name of “Islam”, but also the consequences of this word, which is the Islamic values itself, for instance tolerant, brotherhood, and also respect each other. Thus, this Islamic political parties will not be a merely “Islam Politic” which made as a political tools in gaining individual profit.

However, the relationship between Islam, politics, and state are really depends on the situational condition faced by Muslim in relation with the government in that era. That is why, the relationship between Islam, politics, and state will always be changeable in accordance with the change of the political system used by the government, which means that the conclusion is not final yet. We as human beings are still in process of making our own conclusion, only we can decide.

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