

PORTRAYING POLITICAL POLARIZATION IN PERSATUAN ISLAM IN THE CASE OF MOHAMAD NATSIR VS ISA ANSHARI

Pepen Irpan Fauzan

STAI Persatuan Islam Garut
Jl. Aruji Kartawinata, Haurpanggung, Garut, Jawa Barat, 44151
e-mail: ppnrpn@gmail.com

Ahmad Khoirul Fata

IAIN Sultan Amai Gorontalo
Jl. Gelatik 1 Kota Gorontalo, Gorontalo, 96114
e-mail: cakfata@gmail.com

Abstract: Despite having similar background Persatuan Islam and affiliated to Masyumi Party, Mohammad Natsir and Isa Anshary have quite different political view. One of the most significant differences is their view on the foundation of the country, between Islam and Pancasila. Both of these figures had actually proposed Indonesia to base on Islam. However, Natsir's attitude on this issue is more flexible than that of Isa Anshary's, which ultimately have impact on their organization. This article examines the differences of these two figures related to their position on Islam and Pancasila as the basis of the country, the background and implication of their differences on PERSIS. This study concludes that their political differences stemmed from their socio-historic and political experience differences. Natsir's moderate attitude is due to his experience of being involved in government practices. Meanwhile, Isa Anshary's is more uncompromising due to his experience during Physical Revolution and his political experience outside the government system.

Keywords: PERSIS, Masyumi, state, Pancasila, Natsir, Isa Anshary

Introduction

A number of scholars have studied Islamic politics within the context of Indonesia. Among these are Deliar Noer,¹ Endang Saefudin Anshary,² Ahmad Syafii Maarif,³ Bahtiar Effendy,⁴ Lukman Harun,⁵ Einar Sitompul,⁶ and Anjar Nugroho.⁷ In general, they cover topics such as the dynamic of debates between Islamist groups and secular groups. The debate has been emerging since the 1930s to date, the debate between the two ideological groups is still happening. Nevertheless, studies on debates among internal Islamic groups themselves are limited.

There are various interpretations on Islam, including Islamic views on state politics, exist among the Islamic groups. Similarly, the debate on Pancasila among the elite of Persatuan Islam/ Islamic Unity (throughout this paper will be referred to as PERSIS). These elites of PERSIS have been known as the supporters of the Islamic ideology since the beginning of the 20th century up to the early days of Indonesian independence through the Masyumi Party.⁸ This article discusses the debates among different groups within the PERSIS organization related to the issue of the state's relationship and the religion, or strictly the correlation between Islam and the state of Pancasila. This study focuses on two leading figures of the PERSIS as well as Masyumi Party: Mohammad Natsir and Isa Anshary. In addition to reviewing their political orientation, this paper also examines the influence of these different political views between these two figures on the internal of PERSIS.

Both Natsir and Isa Anshary had learned Islam from A. Hassan during the 1930-1940s. Therefore, they both became the young elite of PERSIS Bandung. They were once the Chairman and Secretary of the Partai Islam Indonesia (Indonesia Islamic Party/PII) of Bandung Branch for the period of 1938-1939. During the Japanese Colonization (1942-1945) the two had

selected different pathways to oppose the colonization. Natsir became the educational bureaucrat in Jakarta and Bandung, while Isa Anshary fight in the frontline. Nevertheless, when the Masyumi Party was established, they both joined that party.⁹

The polarization itself happens during the 1955's election, where Masyumi ranked second below PNI. Meanwhile, NU and PKI parties were on the third and fourth rank.¹⁰ This result had disappointed several people and raised the concern on the leadership of the Masyumi party at that time. Natsir's view and leadership as the General Chairman of the Masyumi party was blamed for this lose, especially during the National Congress of the Party in Bandung in 1956. Isa Anshary, the general chairman of PERSIS who is also the member of the national council of Masyumi leaders (throughout this paper will be referred to as DPP Masyumi), called this congress as "the dark cloud within the party".¹¹

Natsir and Isa Anshary on the Foundation of the Nation for the Period of 1955–1957

Different political perspectives among Islamic elites are on several aspect, however, the core differences is related to the acceptance or rejection of Pancasila as the foundation of the Republic of Indonesia's state. Among the Islamic groups, there were several different views on the position of Islam and Pancasila. i.e. Buya Hamka who considers Pancasila positively. He considers the elements of Pancasila as principles that suit the Islamic view. Hamka's interpretation shows as if there is no differences between Pancasila and Islam.¹² In harmony with Hamka, Natsir also tends to view Pancasila positively. However, his view does not echo the other elite PERSIS views. Isa Anshary, for instance,

as the General Chairman of National Board PERSIS during the decade of 1950s, has a contradictory view with Natsir's.

Natsir's Political View and His Acceptance Toward a Pancasila-Based Nation

Natsir has a moderate view on Pancasila. He says that the problem on Pancasila lays on its interpretation only, not on its substance. Natsir urges not to make diametrical opposition between Pancasila and Islam. He believes that those who formulated Pancasila, who in Majority are Moslems, would not formulate something that essentially against Islam.¹³ Within the commemoration of Islamic revelation in 1954, Natsir insisted this view. Rhetorically he questions whether the values within Pancasila are against the Islamic teaching? He intones that the principle of believing in one supreme God, humanity, unity, deliberation, and social justice are all relevant with the Islamic teaching.¹⁴

Natsir believes that Pancasila is not foreign to Islam as long as it is being interpreted based on the Islamic teaching. However, Pancasila would be foreign when it is interpreted in ways against the teaching of the religion. He insists,

Pantjasila itu tidak lebih daripada satu perumusan. Perumusan itu membajangkan adjaran Islam, kalau Ketuhanan Jang Maha Esa diudjudkan untuk Tauhid, kalau Keadilan Sosial membajangkan *ihsân baina al-nâs* maka Pantjasila itu paling banjak adalah merupakan bajangan...adjaran Islam/Pancasila is no more than a formula. this formula reflects the Islamic teaching, Believing in one supreme God for instance is similar to tawheed, whereas Social Justice means *ihsân baina al-nâs*, thus, Pancasila is mostly the reflection...of Islamic teaching.¹⁵

Natsir, however, clarifies that regardless to many similarities between Pancasila and Islam, it does not necessarily means that

the two are similar and equal. They have their differences. He insists that Islam is indeed broader than the content of Pancasila. The principles within Pancasila are only some parts of the Islamic teaching.¹⁶ As those five principles within Pancasila are already exist within the Islamic teaching, Natsir asks for the non-Islamic groups to not to worry if the state is based on Islam. As this means, when a person practices Islam, he or she is directly practices the Pancasila. Pancasila will strive through Islam. In reverse, he further notes, Pancasila will disappear if it is practiced by the atheists or those who are religion phobia. Therefore, Pancasila should not be used as tool to prevent others – including Islamic groups – to promote what they consider as a better foundation of the state, as long as they fairly and democratically fought for their ideas.¹⁷

However, Natsir was disappointed as during the sessions of Konstituante Commission (a commission who worked to establish the foundation of Indonesia as a nation during the early days of its independence) he heard different interpretations on Pancasila by its supporters. Even more tragic, almost none of these so called Pancasila supporters who linked the “Believe in one Supreme God” values with the teaching of the religions. It is not surprising that Natsir – after hearing such comments and reasoning during the sessions of the Konstituante – concludes that there are only two alternatives for the foundation of the nation, Religion or Secularism. He argues that those so called Pancasila supporters’ interpretation of Pancasila is no other than secularism: “Pantjasila tidak dipertjajai sebagai agama. Kalaupun ada terumus di dalamnja ‘Sila Ketuhanan’ sumbernja... adalah secular, la-dienijjah, tanpa agama/Pancasila is not believed as a religion. Regardless to the ‘divinity principle’ the source... is secularity, la-dieneeyah- without religion.”¹⁸

His disappointment is understandable as of all the speeches that support Pancasila, only one person that correlates his interpretation of Pancasila by referring it to the religion. The person is Arnold Mononutu, a Christian. He interprets Pancasila by referring to the Christianity doctrine. This inflexible attitude of Natsir, according to Syafii Maarif, is due to the unclear interpretation of Pancasila provided by its supporters. Among them, there are people who arbitrarily placed the divinity into the last principle. Even, the representatives from the Indonesian Communist Party (throughout this paper will be referred to as PKI) changes the Divinity principle into the freedom to have religion and belief.”¹⁹

Even though moderate person like Natsir tends to take compromise in solving a problem, he is still inflexible on fundamental religious doctrines, like the Divinity principle.²⁰ Natsir tends to take midway in the matter of Divinity principle as long as that principle is interpreted into the doctrines of the acknowledged religions, such as Islam, Christianity, etc. He refused to compromise with those who interpret the Divinity Principle as religious neutral, like those of atheistic interpretation of the PKI, secularistic interpretation of the PNI, as well as mythical interpretation of the Parindra representative. Thus, it is clear that Natsir has wanted the Divinity principle to be interpreted using its nature of religion, as he considers this principle as mental foundation and source of ethic for individual and community’s lives.

Natsir’s positive view on Pancasila is reflected on his speech at *The Pakistan Institute of World Affairs*. This speech is often used as the evidence that Natsir accept Pancasila as the foundation and the philosophy of the state. In this 1952 speech, Natsir delivered that Indonesia is actually an Islamic state like Pakista, either in the religion believed by its people or in the foundation of the state. Natsir acknowledges that Indonesian constitution has not formally mentioned Islam as the official religion of the

state. However, he insists that Islam as the guideline for Indonesia as a nation. He further describes that Indonesia cannot separate religion from the state as within Pancasila it is stated that believe in one Supreme God. Therefore, he concludes, the Believe in One Supreme God principle is a mental and attitude as well as the guideline for actions for Indonesia as a nation.²¹ Based on this, it implies that, regardless to being not ideal, Natsir considers Pancasila to have described an Islamic state. This conclusion is also reflected in Natsir's attitude, in which he has never explicitly mentioned the Islamic state. He only stated that Islam is a state's philosophy.

Natsir's view on the correlation between religion and the state is based on the Qur'an Surah 27 number 56 which interpretation was "*and We do not create the genie and mankind, unless to worship Me*". Natsir understands this ayah as the insistence that the goal of life for the Islamic people is solely to become the servant of Allah. The servant that success in the worldly life and the hereafter. Natsir further describes that, the current world and the hereafter is inseparable in the way of life of the Islamic people. From such understanding, Natsir then develops an understanding that, for the Islamic people the state as a worldly power is an important thing; through the state, the rules and ethics mentioned within the Qur'an translated into actions in the daily lives.

It appears that Natsir views the state only as a means to realize the God's law, and not the goal itself.²² It is also seems that Natsir puts 'divine law' as the source of moral. This is insisted with the fact that Natsir rarely talks about sharia as generally understood by the Islamic community.²³ Natsir also never explicitly discusses the content of the sharia.

The concept of Islamic state in Natsir's view is a *baldat thayyibat wa rabb ghafûr*. In his *Tafsir Azas Masyumi/Interpretation*

of the Masyumi Principles,²⁴ Natsir describes such country as a state of virtue that encompassed by God's forgiveness. In such state, the power of the state is implemented based on deliberation with the elected representatives of the people; where the principles of people's sovereignty, freedom, equality, tasamuh, and social justice as taught in Islam are fully implemented. A state where the Moslem people have a chance to regulate their lives based on the Islamic teaching and principles, where the people of other religions are free to practice their religions and where diverse people live together in harmony and their rights are preserved.²⁵

Natsir considers such state as a dream that has to be constantly aimed for "*Something yet to be achieved and still very far removed from the reality of the present,*" as Kahin quotes.²⁶ Nevertheless, Natsir does not consider this as non-negotiable. He is willing to compromise with others as long as it does not violates his faith. Thus, it is understandable if he can accept the formulation of Pancasila as long as the 'Divinity Principle' is made as the spiritual and ethic source of the state and community lives. Within such context, Masyumi Party has prepare a compromised formulation on the foundation of the state. Their formula states:

The midway (on the foundation of the state) can be achieved by putting together all the principles that can be accounted for. It can be decided that the religion holds by the majority of the Indonesian people (Islam) shall be made as the official religion of the state . . . The Republic of Indonesian State is based on the will to develop a socialistic and Religious community that believe in one Supreme God, in the sense that it will ensure the social justice for all and equity of welfare and obtain the blessings from the Most Blessings and Loving God according to the Islamic, Christianity, Catholic, and other religions exist in this country. The next foundation of the state is: the Unity of the state that manifested through

helping each other's attitude, humanity, nationality, and democracy which lead by the wisdom in deliberation through representation.²⁷

This moderate-compromising attitude of Natsir is also evident in his effort to find a midway between the concept of democracy and the divine values through the concept of *theistic-democracy*.²⁸ In this concept, sovereignty is not merely interpreted as *people sovereignty* as in the western concept of democracy; rather, it is a sovereignty is in the hand of all the people as the mandate from God. In this concept, the God sovereignty is metaphysics and theological. God is the creator of the universe and the creator of universal norms for all human being. Nevertheless, the political sovereignty is not in the hand of God, as God does not carry out political role of a country. In such country, according to Natsir, sharia is the highest source of law. In a sense, the sharia norms shall be made as guidelines in implementation of people's sovereignty and its implementation shall not violates His rules. Therefore, people's sovereignty should be accountable to God. This concept of Natsir's democracy is clearly a synthesis between the theocracy and democracy.

This moderate attitude of Natsir who is ready to cooperate and view Pancasila positively is influenced by his involvement in the government since the revolutionary era. His involvement in government teaches him the reality of politics that needs certain consensus and compromise. Moreover, according to Herbert Feith, the government in the 1950's decade tends to be unstable and always faced with the situations that calls for compromise, either individuals or political parties.²⁹

Political View of Isa Anshary and His Refusal of Pancasila State

If Natsir is a moderate Moslem politician, Isa Anshary, in reverse is a PERSIS leader who has view that is more inflexible. Isa Anshary himself proclaims this. He even calls himself as part of radical-revolutionary group.

In one of his writings, Isa Anshary divides Islamic community thoughts into three: First, Conservative-reactionary group. This group called themselves as “the frozen and old-fashioned”. They firmly refuse each now reasoning and efforts to change the already set view. Second, the moderate-liberalist group. They understand the differences between *Sunnah* and *Bid'ah* (innovation), however, they are not actively trying to eradicate the *bid'ah*. Third, the radical-revolutionary group. This group tries to change the community as a whole. From these three groups, Isa Anshary identifies PERSIS in this third group.³⁰

In this group, Isa Anshary refuses Pancasila as the *modus vivendi* between the Islamists groups and the secular groups (religious neutral) groups in 1945. He views that there is no similarities between Islam and Pancasila. Only “those whose faith are corrupted who want to insist on Pancasila,” he insisted.³¹

This strong critic is uttered by Isa Anshary in the political debate that discuss the President Sukarno's speech in Amuntai, Kalimantan Selatan on 27th of January, 1953. In that speech, Sukarno states that if the Islamic state is established in Indonesia, then regions where the majority of the population are not Moslems would try to become no longer part of Indonesia. At that time, Sukarno clearly mentions those regions, such as, Bali, Maluku, Flores, Kai Island, and West Papua.³² Soekarno's speech invited protests and gained a strong reaction from the Islamic community. Isa Anshary is among the first who openly stated their reactions.³³

In *Aliran Islam* magazine, where he was the leader, Isa Anshary criticizes the President speech as undemocratic and unconstitutional attitude.³⁴ He also states that the speech is a challenge against the Islamic ideology. On 31st of January 1953, he also sends a protest memo to the government.³⁵

The PNI leaders also fight back against Isa Anshary's assault. They call him as a fanatic and friend of the Darul Islam (DI) movement. Even, during the general assembly of PNI in Bandung on 19th of April 1953, Gatot Mangkupradja issues a challenge to held an open voting, whether the people support Isa Anshary or Bung Karno.³⁶ Isa Anshary does not let this attack pass by. He launches a counter attack toward these supporters of Pancasila. He states that Indonesia today (in 1953), there has been a clear demarcation between Islam and non-Islam. He also calls the supporters of Pancasila as the hypocrites. Against this reactionary and emotional statement of Isa Anshary, Natsir and Sukiman try to make a statement to ensure the community that the dissent is just due to a confusion of term. Natsir also insists that this problem is an internal issue of the Moslem community, hence, there is no need to overtly discuss it outside the community.³⁷

Isa Anshary does not only criticize the secular group, he also criticizes the Islamic group. In directly, he launches attack against Natsir and Hamka who view Pancasila moderately. Such leader, according to Isa Anshary, is not *istiqamah* (steadfast/consistent) leader, who change direction because they are afraid to be called anti Pancasila.³⁸ He considers Pancasila as merely an empty slogan, "sleeping pill for the Moslem community". The communist-atheist also, he points out, support Pancasila where its first principle is Divinity, regardless to these people as having no god or anti-god. The Kejawen group (the Javanese mysticism believer) also accept Pancasila that they have interpreted based on the Hinduism and Buddhism principles.³⁹

Isa Anshary insists that Believe in One Supreme God is not a reflection of Islamic faith at all. Our faith, he further explains, are the two sentences of shahada, that is One Supreme God who is understood as the tawheed al-uloohiyyah and ar-rububiyyah; and second is witnessing that Muhammad is the servant and messenger of Allah. By “Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa/believing in one supreme God” only, he says, is similar to having to tear the two shahada sentences and a defacement of Islamic religion⁴⁰

Therefore, Isa Anshary has diametrically differentiate Pancasila from Islam. He also believes, Islamic law will not be able to be implemented under the Pancasila. He further states that the Islamic community will not be able to cooperate with the Pancasila-based government, as he considers such government is another form of colonization.⁴¹ He arrives at such conclusion after reflecting that as long as Indonesia has been independent with Pancasila as its foundation, there is no progress at all in Islamic religion. He firmly insists that for 11 years living independently with Pancasila as the foundation, Islam as a religion has not been progressing at all. Keeping Pancasila as the foundation of the state, he argues, will not bring any changes for Islam. Therefore, he invites to implement Islamic ideology, Islamic law, and Islamic state and not implementing ideology, law, and the state that based on Pancasila.⁴²

He considers establishing a state based on Islam as an absolute and uncompromising thing. In this sense, Isa Anshary identifies ideology with the religious faith. According to him, Islamic ideology is the Islamic ‘*aqîdah* itself. The ideology and the philosophy of the state, in his view, is part of the *aqeedah* for the Moslem community. Therefore, he insists that it is forbidden for the Islamic community. He even goes to the

extent of accusing those who are willing to compromise as the traitors of Islam, Allah and His Prophet.⁴³

Isa Anshary's refusal toward Pancasila is also based on the reason that is the mandate from the Islamic community:

...the expectation and the goals of the Islamic community electing their representatives to sit in the Konstituante Board, is not to accept Pancasila were religion is inserted. The Islamic community expectation and mandate given to their leaders are for the Islamic Law and teachings (the Qur'an and the Hadith) to be properly implemented within the state of the Republic of Indonesia. Islamic state, rather than Pancasila State. Islamic law and not Pancasila law. Islamic ideology and not Pancasila ideology...⁴⁴

This non-compromising view of Isa Anshary, tends to make it difficult for the moderate group to carry out discussion with the nationalist-secular groups within the Konstituante. In fact, this moderate group—including Natsir—expects the *modus vivendi*. Therefore, several members of the Masyumi Party try to make an approach toward Isa Anshary group to try to stop his challenge.⁴⁵

Dominantly, the leaders of Masyumi - Natsir included - tend to expect a win-win solution. According to Noer,⁴⁶ there are several reasons for the Masyumi leaders to insist on Islam as the foundation of the state. First, they consider it is a fundamental problem as something that has been promised during the 1954 - 1955 election campaign. Second, they consider Konstituante as a forum where each group are eligible to promote their ideals, including Islam. Third, the Konstituante board is considered as a field for da'wah to clearly promote about the Islamic ideology. There will be clearly compromises within certain boundaries with other parties, and those compromises would be more easily

formed if each group have stated their stands. Constitution is part of those compromises.

However, Isa Anshary firmly refuses. He views that the Islamic community must refuse each constitution that are against Islam, with no compromise.

The representatives of the Islamic community within the Konstituante are not allowed to make compromise on the aqeedah of our struggling. They should firmly refuse each law and other constitution – whatever its name – that are not appropriate, or against the Islamic law.⁴⁷

In other part, Isa Anshary also insists that making compromise in the effort to make Islam as the foundation of the state is an action influenced by the profit and loss criteria, and he considers such action as trading the religion.

The struggle within the Konstituante should not be influenced by daily political considerations that are usually influenced by profit and loss. Islamic community shall never back down. We have sufficiently tolerating and “giving good deeds” for the outside world...now, we have to “accept”, and not “give” ... if “give” means compromise, then it means we sacrifice our faith and *tawheed*.⁴⁸

This general chairman of PERSIS then makes a clear demarcation line between the personality of faithful leader and hypocrite leader. the indication of these two leaders are clearly seen from their firm or not firm attitudes in politics. He makes this statement based on interpretation of several ayahs within the Qur'an.⁴⁹ He views the midway attitude as the attitude of the hypocrite, and considers such action as outside the Islamic struggle.⁵⁰

Isa Anshary believes that Indonesian independence struggle is yet completed and revolution will never end until Islam can

control the currently developing state. Therefore, he thinks it is important to have an “Islamic revolution’. Islamic revolution, is not a national revolution bound by territory. it is more than that, it is a revolution to free human being from all forms of exploitation, either physical or spiritual. He further explains that character, theory, the nature, and philosophy of such revolution has been decreed by God through the revelation in form of the Sunnah of the Prophet. Thus, he insists a need on continuing Indonesian revolution by adding religious values to achieve the objectives of implementing the Islamic teachings and law within the state and the community. He firmly adds that such revolution is an obligation for the Islamic community to continue the struggle.

We, the Islamic people ... are the heirs to continue the struggle ... to reinforce the Islamic law in Indonesia - regardless to the hypocrites and unbelievers that are disagreeing, hating, and against this effort.⁵¹

His stands is different from Natsir’s due to his high risks activities during the Japanese and Physical revolutions that influences his political view and attitude. Since the Japanese colonization, Isa Anshary has been very active in building a physical resistance toward Japan, resulting in many risks of physical torture. He further carries out this spirit of physical resistance through the Sabilillah resistance during the revolution era. Everything is based on Isa Anshary’s faith as part of *jihâd fi sabîlillâh* (fighting against the disbeliever) as asked by the religion.⁵²

Such experiences appears in Isa Anshary’s political concept, either on the philosophy of resistance up to formulating the principles of Islamic revolution itself. There are Islamic revolutionary criteria: First: improvement and change of the human being should be based on their mental-spiritual sate followed by their physical condition; Second, changes and improvement within

the community should be started from individuals as members of the community; third, development and justice and people's welfare should be initiated from the grass root, whereas, eradication of tyranny, fraud, and corruption should be started from the top level.⁵³

In this level, Isa Anshary is infuriated on the stoppage of the *furû'iyah* problem due to political unity. Insistently, he says, PERSIS cannot accept it. For him, such attitude (putting a stop to the debate on *furû'iyah* for the unity) is a betrayal toward the religious mission (Islam).⁵⁴ He states, the objective of *khilafiyah* discussion is not to defeat each other, rather to "find out the truth and light the spiritual life".⁵⁵ In the formulation of Islamic revolutionary process that he creates, he sets spiritual life as the first and foremost program. For him, the ideal to upheld the God's world can only be achieved by interpreting the religious practices into daily lives.⁵⁶

Isa Anshary also wants total implementation of Islamic law. for this purpose, he insists, a leadership of Ulama is needed especially in political and state matters. According to him, the elite Ulama is the people that understand most about the sharia law mentioned within the Qur'an and the hadith. In this sense, he is referring to the concept of *ahl al-hall wa al-'aqd*, where its members are those who understand the Qur'an and the hadith. They are the people who make decisions based on the Qur'an and the sunnah, and not based on the most votes.⁵⁷

Here, it is clear that the difference between Isa Anshary and Natsir's view is on the way they see or the interpretation of it. It is also clear that Isa Anshary's uncompromising view is influenced by his textual and inflexible understanding. This is evident in his attitude that equate ideology with the aqidah. Thus, it is not surprising if he considers his political opponents as the *kufur* or disbeliever. Therefore, the non-compromising

political approach shown by Isa Anshary and his group reflects a fundamentalist political orientation.

The Impact of These Different Views and Politic Attitude Toward the Organization

The existence of these political views and attitudes have resulted in the emergence of different factions within the *jam'iyah* Persis, regardless to its subtlety. On the one hand, there are those who support the political view of Isa Anshary and attacks Natsir's leadership, such as Tamar Djaja, Firdaus AN, E. Abdurrahman, Munawar Cholil, even A Hassan.⁵⁸ Thus, it is often stated that the majority of the PERSIS support the political movement of Isa Anshary. e.g., the manifesto of radical politics and non-compromising politic written by Isa Anshary is made as the official view of the organization called, *Manifest Perjuangan Persatuan Islam*.⁵⁹

On the other hand, there are also those in PERSIS who lean toward Natsir's moderate approach.⁶⁰ The political attitude and view of Rusyad Nurdin, for instance, leans toward those of Natsir's. Rusyad Nurdin's view related to Pancasila is fully based on Natsir's reasoning. Although Rusyad Nurdin criticizes Pancasila as the foundation of the state, he states that Pancasila is empty of meaning compared to Islamic teaching. therefore, he argues, Pancasila needs to be given Islamic loads for its to have philosophical meaning. Rusyad Nurdin's thought reflects the acceptance of Pancasila with certain conditions.⁶¹

It is not surprising that the majority of PERSIS elite supports the view of Isa Anshary. This is due to his position as the General Chairman of PP Persis. Therefore, after his retirement in 1960 and his demise in 1968, the reasoning framework of the elite of PERSIS, which dominated by the Ulama are still

uncompromising. When PERSIS is led by KH. Abdurahman, an internal suspiciousness toward several members are starting to arise. Strict monitoring on those suspects are held as part of the organizational discipline. One of those expelled from PERSIS is Rusyad Nurdin who is a follower of Natsir.⁶²

This strict monitoring and discipline of the organization is the unique leadership trait of KH. Abdurrahman. Among this monitoring and organizational discipline implemented during KH. Abdurahman's leadership is the exclusive cadres within the *jam'iyah*.⁶³ The PERSIS leaders forbid their members to get actively involved in political party. He even goes to the extent of forbidding its members to become the civil servants and entering the public schools. It is told by his disciples in Pesantren Pajagalan, Bandung, that each graduation time of the students, he always pray that the diploma will not be accepted for civil servant's application.⁶⁴

Thus, when the leadership changes from KH. Abdurrahman to KH. Abdul Latief Muchtar, a chaos arise within the organization, as the latter is a follower of Natsir. Following the death of KH Abdurrahman in 1983, the leadership of PERSIS is held by KHA. Latief Muchtar—or known as Ustad Latief. In his early leadership, Ustad Latief is faced with the UU No. 8/1985 on Pancasila as the single principle for all community-based organization.⁶⁵ PERSIS is put within a dilemmatic position: follow the rule by sacrificing their faith or insistently refuse with the consequence of their organization to be dissolved.

Ustad Latief whose vision is accommodating, tries to solve this problem by persuasive approach in various meetings with the management and the members. He also persuades all level of the organization as well as to the Hisbah council.⁶⁶ PERSIS finally accepts Pancasila as the single principle as a *siyâsah* of

their struggle. Therefore, PERSIS preserves its existence as *jam'iyah* amidst the political turmoils within the country.⁶⁷

Conclusion

The differences of political view and political attitude between Natsir and Isa Anshary on the philosophy of the state is influenced by their different political experiences. During the Japanese era, Natsir opted to cooperate with Japan to become the head of Education bureau and Islamic higher education. Further, during the political revolution, and early days of independence, up to 1950s, Natsir selected diplomatic path and becomes a government elite together with Soekarno-Hatta. Through these elite political positions within the government, Natsir experiences in-depth political socialization on how hard it is to build a government, and to build a political reconciliation among political parties, the importance of cooperation to develop the community. These conditions help shape the moderate political attitude of Natsir to view political problems, including the political ideology. His experience within the government has made Natsir understands that ideology should be manifested into practical political level where various political interests are in it. Within this practical political context, a midway political agreement is needed. Due this influence as well, he views Pancasila positively, with the condition that the Divinity Principle becomes the foundation for other principles. His principle is clear when he proposes for Indonesia to follow the *Theistic-Democracy* as solution or midway between two conflicting theories, between democratic state and theocratic state.

Contradictory to those of Natsir, the political trackrecord of Isa Anshary is always outside the government system, both in colonial era and in early independence days. During the

Japanese colonization era, Isa Anshary joins the underground political movement to defy Japan. In addition, during the independence revolution, Isa Anshary also lead the people's movement in Priangan to fight against the Dutch. This condition during the revolutionary era has expanded the political socialization of Isa Anshary on how hard it is to fight for something that he believes is right. He fights in the revolution and considers it as *jihâd fi sabîlillâh*. This condition has shaped the radical attitude and view of Isa Anshary on Islamic politic. This influence is evident in his believe that Islamic revolution with Islamic spiritual values should be carried out sustainably until the Islamic sharia can be implemented as a control for the government in Indonesia. this influence is also evident when Isa Anshary challenges and criticizes Natsir's political attitude and reasoning, which he considers weak, inconsistent, and tends to be westernized, as well as Natsir's cooperation with Sukarno. For Isa Anshary, the establishment of Islamic Law State in Indonesia is a must that cannot be negotiated. Within this conceptual framework of Islamic Law State, Isa Anshary refuses Pancasila as the philosophy of the state.

The polarization among the elite of PERSIS-Masyumi is impacted on the emergence of moderate and radical groups within the organization. However, in general integration in PERSIS-Masyumi remains strong. The integration among the elite of PERSIS-Masyumi is largely due to similar ideas on the Islamic principles. Regardless to the differences of view and approach in political problem, these two groups believe in the importance of Islamic sharia in their lives; thus, they can tolerate the differences.

References

- Abbas, Rafid. "Ijtihad Dewan Hisbah Persatuan Islam Dalam Hukum Islam," in *al-Daulah*, Vol 6, No 1, 2016.
- Aliran Islam*, No. 45, Tahun VII, February 1953.
- Aliran Islam*, No. 46, VII, March 1953.
- Aliran Islam*, No. 60, Th. I, May 1954.
- Anshary, Endang Saefudin. *Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1998.
- Anshary, Isa. "Hanja Negara Islam Jang Kami Amanatkan Kepada Anggauta Konstituante," in *Daulah Islamiyah*, Januari 1957.
- Anshary, Isa. "Kami Menudju Republik Indonesia Berdasarkan Islam," in Konstituante RI, *Tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia*. Bandung: Konstituante RI, 1959.
- Anshary, Isa. "Menjambut Ulang Tahun Masjumi," in *Daulah Islamijah*, No. 7, I, November 1957, pp. 5-6.
- Anshary, Isa. "Persoalan Pimpinan, Menilai Perdjungan dengan Bashirah dan Aqidah," in *Daulah Islamiyah*, March 1957.
- Anshary, Isa. *Manifest Perjuangan Persatuan Islam*. Bandung: Sekretariat PP Persatuan Islam, 1958.
- Anshary, Isa. *Mujahid Dakwah*. Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1995.
- Antara*, 29 January 1953.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. *Islam, Politik, dan Rakyat Kecil*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004.
- Daulah Islamijah*, No. 1, Th. I, February 1957.
- Daulah Islamijah*, August 1957.
- Daulah Islamiyah*, January 1957, p. 7.
- Daulah Islamiyah*, No. 1, I, January 1957.
- Efendy, Bahtiar. *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1998.

- Federspiel, Howard M. *Islam and Ideology in the Emerging Indonesian State: the Persatuan Islam (Persis), 1923-1957*. Leiden-Boston-Koln: Brill, 2001.
- Federspiel, Howard M. *Persatuan Islam: Pembaharuan Islam Indonesia Abad XX*, trans. Yudian W. Asmin and Affandi Muchtar. Yogyakarta: UGM Press, 1996.
- Feith, Herbert and Lance Castles (ed.). *Pemikiran Politik Indonesia 1945-1965*. Jakarta: LP3ES, n.y.
- Feith, Herbert. *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. Ithaca-New York: Cornell University Press, 1968.
- Gaffar, Afan. *Javanese Voters*. Yogyakarta: UGM Press, 1992.
- Harian *Abadi*, 22 Mei 1954.
- Harun, Lukman. *Muhammadiyah dan Asas Pancasila*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1986.
- Hizbullah, Nur. "Ahmad Hassan: Kontribusi Ulama dan Pejuang Pemikiran Islam di Nusantara dan Semenanjung Melayu," in *Al-Turas*, Vol. 20, No 2, 2014.
- Humaidi, Zuhri. "Islam dan Pancasila: Pergulatan Islam dan Negara Periode Kebijakan Asas Tunggal," in *Kontekstualita*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 2010.
- Iqbal, Muhammad. "Isu Dasar Negara Indonesia Menjelang Pemilu 1955: Studi Kasus Pidato Politik Soekarno di Amuntai 27 Januari 1953," in *Al-Banjari*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2011.
- Ishak, Ajub. "Daya Serap Lembaga-lembaga Fatwa di Indonesia Terhadap Masalah Hukum Kontemporer," in *al-Mizan*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2015.
- Ja'far. *Dari Tanah Deli Untuk Negeri: Historisitas, Religiusitas dan Nasionalisme Gerakan Pemuda Al Washliyah*. Yogyakarta: K-Media, 2019.
- Ja'far. *Ideologi Al Jam'iyatul Washliyah*. Yogyakarta: K-Media, 2019.

- Kahin, George Mc Turnan. "Mohammad Natsir," in Soemarsono, *Mohamad Natsir 70 Tahun*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1978.
- Maarif, Ahmad Syafii. *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi tentang Percaturan Dalam Konstituante*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1997.
- Mahendra, Yusril Ihza. *Modernisme dan Fundamentalisme dalam Politik Islam*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999.
- Mukhtar, Latief. *Gerakan Kembali ke Quran-Sunnah*. Bandung: Rosdakarya, 2000.
- Natsir, M. "Islam Sebagai Dasar Negara," in Konstituante RI, *Tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia*. Bandung: Konstituante RI, 1959.
- Natsir, M. *Capita Selecta Jilid II*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1978.
- Natsir, M. *Tindjauan Hidup*. Jakarta: Widjaja, 1957.
- Noer, Deliar. *Partai Islam di Pentas Nasional*. Jakarta: Grafiti, 1978.
- Nugroho, Anjar. "Wacana Islam dan Negara Era Pra Kemerdekaan: Pergulatan Ideologis Kelompok Islam dan Nasionalis Sekuler," in *Afkaruna*, Vol. 9, No 2, 2013.
- Nurdin, Rusyad. "Komunisme Musuh Agama, Bangsa dan Negara," in Slamet Aminy, *KHM Rusyad Nurdin: Profil Seorang Muballigh*. Bandung: Corps Muballigh Bandung, 1988.
- PP Persis. "Hasil Mukhtamar Persis Kelima di Bandung, 17-20 September 1953.
- Rosidi, Ajip. *M. Natsir: Sebuah Biografi*. Jakarta: Giri Pusaka Mukti, 1986.
- Ryadi, Susmihara. "Islam dan Nasionalisme di Indonesia (Sebuah Tinjauan Sejarah)," in *Rihlah*, Vol. 4, No 1, 2016, p. 60
- Sitompul, Einar Martahan. *NU dan Pancasila*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1989.

- Syahnan, Mhd. "Islam as a System: A Critical Analysis of Sayyid Quthb's Principle Thought," in *Analytica Islamica*, Vol. 4 No. 1, 2002.
- Syahnan, Mhd. "Notes on the Origin and Methods of the *Fi Zilal al-Qur'an* of Sayyid Qutb," in *Dinamika Ilmu*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 2001.
- Wildan, Dadan. *Pasang-Surut Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam di Indonesia: Potret Perjalanan Sejarah Organisasi Persatuan Islam (Persis)*. Bandung: Persis Press, 2000.

Endnotes:

¹ See Deliar Noer, *Partai Islam di Pentas Nasional* (Jakarta: Grafiti, 1978).

² See Endang Saefudin Anshary, *Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1998).

³ See Ahmad Syafii Maarif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi tentang Percaturan Dalam Konstituante* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1997).

⁴ See Bahtiar Efendy, *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1998).

⁵ See Lukman Harun, *Muhammadiyah dan Asas Pancasila* (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1986).

⁶ See Einar Martahan Sitompul, *NU dan Pancasila* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1989).

⁷ Anjar Nugroho, "Wacana Islam dan Negara Era Pra Kemerdekaan: Pergulatan Ideologis Kelompok Islam dan Nasionalis Sekuler," in *Afkaruna*, Vol. 9, No 2, 2013.

⁸ Howard M. Federspiel, *Islam and Ideology in the Emerging Indonesian State: the Persatuan Islam (Persis), 1923-1957* (Leiden-Boston-Koln: Brill, 2001), pp. 201-202, see also, Ja'far, *Dari Tanah Deli Untuk Negeri: Historisitas, Religiusitas dan Nasionalisme Gerakan Pemuda Al Washliyah* (Yogyakarta: K-Media, 2019), and Ja'far, *Ideologi Al Jam'iyatul Washliyah* (Yogyakarta: K-Media, 2019).

⁹ On biography of Natsir see Ajip Rosidi, *M. Natsir: Sebuah Biografi* (Jakarta: Giri Pusaka Mukti, 1986); On Isa Anshary see his auto biography I, *Mujahid Dakwah* (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1995), p. 311. A Hassan is a leading PERSIS figure that was the teacher of both Natsir and Isa Anshary, see Nur Hizbullah, "Ahmad Hassan: Kontribusi Ulama dan Pejuang Pemikiran Islam di Nusantara dan Semenanjung Melayu," in *Al-Turas*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 2014.

¹⁰ Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia* (Ithaca-New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 435.

¹¹ *Daulah Islamijah*, No. 1, Th. I, February 1957, p. 3.

¹² Yusril Ihza Mahendra, *Modernisme dan Fundamentalisme dalam Politik Islam* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999), p. 87; see also Mhd. Syahnan, "Islam as a System: A Critical Analysis of Sayyid Quthb's Principle Thought," in *Analytica Islamica*, Vol. 4 No. 1, 2002, pp. 45-57. For more information on how Islamist's ideas translated into exegeses see Mhd. Syahnan, "Notes on the Origin and Methods of the *Fi Zilal al-Qur'an* of Sayyid Qutb," in *Dinamika Ilmu*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 2001, pp. 75-89.

¹³ M. Natsir, "Islam Sebagai Dasar Negara," in Konstituante RI, *Tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia* (Bandung: Konstituante RI, 1959), p. 115.

¹⁴ M. Natsir, *Capita Selecta Jilid II* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1978), pp. 212-216.

¹⁵ M. Natsir, *Tindjauan Hidup* (Jakarta: Widjaja, 1957), p. 48.

¹⁶ *Harian Abadi*, 22 Mei 1954.

¹⁷ Natsir, "Islam sebagai Dasar Negara," p. 126.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

- ¹⁹ Ahmad Syafii Ma'arif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1997), p. 155.
- ²⁰ Mahendra, *Modernisme dan Fundamentalisme*, pp. 212-213.
- ²¹ Natsir, *Capita II*, p. 61.
- ²² Natsir, *Capita I*, pp. 479-481.
- ²³ Maarif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan*, p. 119.
- ²⁴ Majalah *Daulah Islamijah*, August 1957.
- ²⁵ *Tafsir Azas Masyumi*, 1972, pp. 412-413.
- ²⁶ George Mc Turnan Kahin, "Mohammad Natsir," in Soemarsono, *Mohamad Natsir 70 Tahun* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1978), p. 54.
- ²⁷ Mahendra, *Modernisme dan Fundamentalisme*, pp. 212-213.
- ²⁸ Natsir, "Islam sebagai Dasar Negara," p. 130.
- ²⁹ Herbert Feith and Lance Castles (ed.), *Pemikiran Politik Indonesia 1945-1965* (Jakarta: LP3ES, n.y.), p. lii.
- ³⁰ Isa Anshary, *Manifest Perjuangan Persatuan Islam* (Bandung: Sekretariat PP Persatuan Islam, 1958), p. 33.
- ³¹ Mahendra, *Modernisme dan Fundamentalisme*, p. 88.
- ³² *Antara*, 29 January 1953.
- ³³ Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy*, p. 281; This speech of Soekarno has gained various reactions from Islamic leaders. See Muhammad Iqbal, "Isu Dasar Negara Indonesia Menjelang Pemilu 1955: Studi Kasus Pidato Politik Soekarno di Amuntai 27 Januari 1953," in *Al-Banjari*, Vol. 10, No 2, 2011.
- ³⁴ Majalah *Aliran Islam*, No. 45, Tahun VII, February 1953, pp. 2-3.
- ³⁵ This Protest Memo of Isa Anshary is soon followed by the Islamic organizations such as, PB NU on 4th of February 1953, PB Perti on 5th of February 1953, PB GPII on the 12th of February 1953, and PP Persis on the 16th of February 1953. See *Aliran Islam*, No. 46, VII, March 1953, pp. 10-15.
- ³⁶ Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy*, pp. 282-283.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 283.
- ³⁸ Isa Anshary, "Hanja Negara Islam Jang Kami Amanatkan Kepada Anggauta Konstituante," in *Daulah Islamiyah*, Januari 1957, p. 5.
- ³⁹ Anshary, *Manifest*, pp. 55-56.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.56.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- ⁴² Majalah *Daulah Islamiyah*, January 1957, p. 7.
- ⁴³ Isa Anshary, "Kami Menudju Republik Indonesia Berdasarkan Islam," in Konstituante RI, *Tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia* (Bandung: Konstituante RI, 1959), p. 5.
- ⁴⁴ Majalah *Daulah Islamiyah*, No. 1, I, January 1957, p. 5.

⁴⁵ Howard M. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam: Pembaharuan Islam Indonesia Abad XX*, trans. Yudian W. Asmin and Affandi Muchtar (Yogyakarta: UGM Press, 1996), pp. 222.

⁴⁶ Noer, *Partai Islam*, p. 266.

⁴⁷ Anshary, *Manifest*, p. 49.

⁴⁸ Isa Anshary, "Menjambut Ulang Tahun Masjumi," in *Daulah Islamijah*, No. 7, I, November 1957, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁹ The Qur'anic verses referred by Isa Anshary are the Q.S. Âli 'Imrân/3: 119; al-Nisâ/4: 59, 115, 139, 141, 144; al-Mâ'idah/5: 51, 55-57; al-Taubah/9: 8, 23, 96; al-Mujadalah/58: 19-20, 22; and al-Kahfi/18: 29.

⁵⁰ Anshary, *Manifest Perjuangan*, p. 46.

⁵¹ Majalah *Aliran Islam*, No. 60, Th. I, May 1954, p. 6.

⁵² Anshary, *Mujahid*, p. 55.

⁵³ Anshary, *Manifest Perjuangan*, p. 10.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

⁵⁷ Isa Anshary, "Persoalan Pimpinan, Menilai Perdjungan dengan Bashirah dan Aqidah," in *Daulah Islamiyah*, March 1957, pp. 2-5.

⁵⁸ See composition of its redaction in the front page of the *Daulah Islamijah* magazine, No. 1, I, January 1957. A Hassan and Isa Anshary have similar strict attitude and tend to refuse the western political ideas, such as, nationalism. See Susmihara Ryadi, "Islam dan Nasionalisme di Indonesia (Sebuah Tinjauan Sejarah)," in *Rihlah*, Vol. 4, No 1, 2016, p. 60

⁵⁹ PP Persis, "Hasil Mukhtar Persis Kelima di Bandung, 17-20 September 1953." See also Anshary, *Manifes Perjuangan*, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam*, p. 205.

⁶¹ Rusyad Nurdin, "Komunisme Musuh Agama, Bangsa dan Negara," in Slamet Aminy, *KHM Rusyad Nurdin: Profil Seorang Muballigh* (Bandung: Corps Muballigh Bandung, 1988), pp. 101-144.

⁶² See the Foreword of Rusyad Nurdin in the book of KH. Latief Mukhtar, *Gerakan Kembali ke Quran-Sunnah* (Bandung: Rosdakarya, 2000), p. Xi.

⁶³ This is what considered by the antropolog Martin van Bruinessen when he studied the Moslem community in Bandung in 1990s. He states that there are exclusive religious teachings in elite of PERSIS. See Martin van Bruinessen, *Islam, Politik, dan Rakyat Kecil* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004), pp. 54-60.

⁶⁴ As told by KH. Aceng Zakaria to the authors. KH. Aceng Zakaria leads the PERSIS Pesantren in Garut and the Chairman of PERSIS for the period of 2016-2020.

⁶⁵ The demand for Pancasila to be made as the single principle by the New Order Government has gained various reactions from the Islamic Community. There

was a turmoil, the pro and cons. Within this framework, the New Order government implements a military government such as in colonial era, and thus, gained the name of authoritarian government. This is also evident from various policy issued by this government, such as, implementation of single loyalty, floating mass policy, and emasculation of political parties and uncompetitive General Election system. See Afan Gaffar, *Javanese Voters* (Yogyakarta: UGM Press, 1992); Zuhri Humaidi, "Islam dan Pancasila: Pergulatan Islam dan Negara Periode Kebijakan Asas Tunggal," in *Kontekstualita*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 2010.

⁶⁶ Hisbah Council is an institution within PERSIS that issues fatwa on various problems that arise among the community. On this matter, see Rafid Abbas, "Ijtihad Dewan Hisbah Persatuan Islam Dalam Hukum Islam," in *al-Daulah*, Vol 6, No 1, 2016; Ajub Ishak, "Daya Serap Lembaga-lembaga Fatwa di Indonesia Terhadap Masalah Hukum Kontemporer," in *al-Mizan*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2015.

⁶⁷ The ideas of KH. Latief Muctar are summarized in his book *Gerakan Kembali ke Quran-Sunnah* (Bandung: Rosdakarya, 2000). It appears that the other leading figures in PERSIS cannot accept the ideas of KH. Latief Muctar, but they have no other options, thus, they reluctantly accept it. The reluctance is clearly seen when the New Order era was overthrown and replaced with the new political order, the Reformation era in 1999. The Elite of PERSIS after the era of KH. Latief Muctar who passed away in 1997—soon demands the revoking of Pancasila as the single principle for all organizations. On 8th of February 1999, PERSIS, through SK PP Persis No. 2724/I.1-C.1/PP/1999 legally invoke the Pancasila Principle. As comparison, see Dadan Wildan, *Pasang-Surut Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam di Indonesia: Potret Perjalanan Sejarah Organisasi Persatuan Islam (Persis)* (Bandung: Persis Press, 2000), p. 196.