

**THE STRUGGLE STRATEGIES  
OF POST NEW ORDER ISLAMIC POLITIC IN INDONESIA:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PKB AND PK**



**A THESIS  
SUBMITTED TO THE SHARI'AH FACULTY  
STATE INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC STUDIES  
SUNAN KALIJAGA YOGYAKARTA  
AS A PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR OBTAINING SARJANA DEGREE IN ISLAMIC LAW**

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*Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.*

After having read, researched and corrected to whatever extent necessary, we, as a supervisor, think that the thesis belongs to:

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Title : The Struggle Strategies of Post New Order  
Islamic Politic in Indonesia:  
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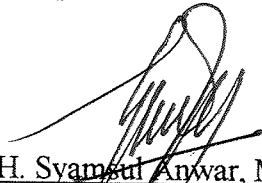
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Thanks a lot for being available and understanding, may this thesis be useful, Amin.

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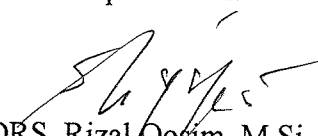
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*Wassalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.*

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## LEGALIZATION PAGE

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The Struggle Strategies of Post New Order Islamic Politic in Indonesia:  
A Comparative Study of PKB and PK

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Was tested before examination council on Wednesday, 3 Jumadil Akhir  
1425 A.H. / 21<sup>st</sup> July 2004 A.D. and was stated that it could be accepted as a  
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## MOTTO

**Although the Heavens will destroy**

**The Law must be upheld**

(Baharuddin Lopa)



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## DEDICATION

*I dedicate this writing to*

*My father and mother*

*Who have always prayed for God*

*To the success of their beloved son*



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## SPELLING AND TRANSLITERATION

In transliteration of the Arabic names and terms in this thesis I have used the transliteration scheme employed at the State Institute of Islamic Studies Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. The Indonesian names and terms are written based on the new Indonesian spelling used since 1972. However, certain names of persons and places written in the old spelling will appear, especially in quotation. Some examples of the differences between the old and the new Indonesian spelling are that ch, dj, j, tj, oc become kh, j, y, c, u.

The main differences in transliteration from Arabic to English and Indonesia are :

Arabic	English	Indonesia
ث	th	ts
ح	ḥ	h
ذ	dh	dz
ش	sh	sy
ص	s	sh
ض	ḍ	dh/dl
ط	t	th

ظ

z

zh

ع

‘

‘

ء

‘

‘

و

w

u/w

Long with tashdid : اى and او , instead of īya and ūwe employ iyya and uwwa respectively.

In the case of ta' marbuta (ة) h is omitted, unless it occurs within an idāfa where it is written at.

The hamza (ء) occuring in the initial position is omitted.

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## ABSTRACT

Author : Saifuddin  
Title : The Struggle Strategies of Post New Order Islamic Politic  
in Indonesia: A Comparative Study of PKB and PK  
Department : Department of Comparative Law and Madhhab,  
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Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

---

The ruination of Soeharto in July 21, 1998 made the political situation confused. The era of honeymoon between "Islam" and "the state" in the late of New Order government is over. The question, then, is how is the political condition, especially Islamic political condition, in Indonesia?

In the history of the relationship between "Islam" and "the state", at least, there are three kinds of relationships. They are antagonism, critical - reciprocal and accommodative politic. Meanwhile, the strategies, which are used, such as Kuntowijoyo said, are structural and cultural strategies. The Islamic parties as the Muslim political institutions also run with their dynamic experiences. In the early independence era, especially in general election 1955, they had the freedom to use "Islam" as the basic principle. But, in the New Order government, all political and social organizations must use the single principle, Pancasila, as the sole basic principle. Then, in the reformation era today, the freedom in politic came back. General election 1999, whereas many Islamic political parties as the participant, is the indicator that Islamic political parties will come back to refresh the political stage in Indonesia.

Nevertheless, the question is whether the struggle strategies of the Islamic parties in the reformation era, are similar or different with the last time. Therefore, the main objective of these studies is to analyze the struggle strategies of Islamic political parties in the reformation era. The writer takes PKB and PK as the example.

To study this objective, the writer uses a social action theory of Max Weber and socio-historical approach to be a tool of analysis.

By using above theory and approach, the writer finally conclude that the struggle strategies of Islamic political parties in Indonesia are very influenced with the figures' political actions. Besides that, the mode of religious environment also influence to them.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله خالق العالم، منزل الأحكام والحكم أشهد ان لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له و أشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله الذي لا نبي بعده والصلاة والسلام على النبي المبعوث بالسنة الطاهرة وعلى آله وأصحابه أولى المناقب الفاخرة، فى الدين والدنيا والآخرة. اما بعد.

Praise be to Allah, most gracious most merciful, who gave and blessed His protection for us. Pray and peace for the prophet Muhammad SAW (peace be upon him) who has successfully brought us from the darkness to the lightness.

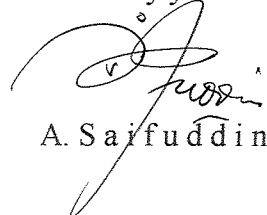
I would like to express my gratitude to:

1. Drs. H.A. Malik Madaniy, MA, Dean of Shari'ah Faculty, State Institute of Islamic Studies Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.
2. Drs. Abd. Halim, M. Hum. And Agus Moh. Najib, S.Ag., M. Ag., the head and secretary of Department of Comparative Law and Madhhab, Shari'ah Faculty, respectively.
3. Dr. H. Syamsul Anwar, MA. as an academic advisor and supervisor dedicated in determining the ultimate direction and scope of this thesis. I wish to express my deepest gratitude for his valuable advice and his endless patience.
4. Drs. Rizal Qosim, M. Si., the assistant supervisor, who advised me in correcting the contents and methodology of thought in this thesis.

5. Mr. Fuad Arif Fudiyartanto, S. Pd., a lecturer and a friend of mine who patiently helped me in correcting the structure, vocabularies, lexical, sense of language etc.
6. The officers of Library either at center or Shari'ah library and also special for Mr. Habib who helped me so much to manage the schedule and the administration.
7. My father, Mother, grand mother, old sister, niece (Tita) and nephew (Izzul) and all relatives who has, always patiently, given me moral and material support. I Love You all so much.
8. My class mates, PMH 2 '99, fellows of mine at PMII, Students organizations of Shari'ah faculty especially SEMAF Shari'ah, and eL-KaSAB (Lembaga Kajian Sosial, Agama dan Budaya) community.
9. All my best fellows such as Khotim, Elly, Ogel, Iis, Adah, Rozi, Far, My moon, Memet, Marwini, Farida, Aroel, Umi, A'yun, Anang, etc. who can not be mentioned one by one here. Without you all, I am lonely in Djogja.
10. The last, I want to express my deepest gratitude to NĀdiĀ, a smart girl, who gave me a strong reason why I have to finish my study and made me optimistic to face my post study. Be sure! The reason I breathe is You. Be with you, I want to see the bright sunshine.

Yogyakarta, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2004

Sincerely yours



A. Saifuddin

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Back Ground

The relationship between Islam and the State has long been a delicate and controversial subject in the Muslim world. Already in the classical times, the Muslims scholars debated this matter, as discussed in the fiqh books. But, in the modern times, especially in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this debate gained new dimension, because of the intent contact with the western idea on the separation between religion and state. Muslim countries such as Turkey, Egypt, The Sudan, Marocco, Pakistan, Malaysia, or Algeria have experienced difficulties in the attempt to establish a viable synthesis between Islamic political movement, ideas and the state in their respective localities.<sup>1</sup>

It is important to note that the studies on Islamic political thought has been running well, involving so many Islamic political thinkers and Islamic intellectual treasury. In this case, the following names such as al-Farabi, al-Mawardi, Rashid Rida, Ibn Taimiyah, al-Maududi, Ali Abd al-Raziq, and Muhammad Husein Haikal etc. can be mentioned.

Generally, among Muslims, there have been three schools of Islamic political thought/theory on the relationship between Islam and Politics. First, Islam is not solely a religion in the Western sense, namely it is not only concerned

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<sup>1</sup>Bahtiar Effendi, *Islam and the State in Indonesia: Munawwir Sjadzali and The Development of A New Theological Underpinning of Political Islam* at Studia Islamika Journal, vol. 2 No 2, (Jakarta: PPIM IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1995) p. 101.

with the relationship between man and God. But on the contrary, Islam is a comprehensive religion complete with provisions for all aspects of human life, including life within a state. Among the prominent figures of this school were Syaikh Hasan al Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Syaikh Muhammad Rashid Ridā and the most vocal Maulana Abu al-A'la Al Maududi.<sup>2</sup> The second is the separation theory of State and religion, which opines that religion nothing to do with state affairs. Among the prominent figures of this school were 'Ali Abd Al Raziq<sup>3</sup> and Dr. Taha Husayn. The last one is a symbiotic theory that sees a mutual relationship of state and religion. Dr. Muhammad Husein Haikal, a well-known Muslim writer and author of the book *Hayatu Muhammad* and *Fi Manzil al-Wahyi*, can be considered to be a representative and advocate of this school.<sup>4</sup>

In Indonesia, as a country with the greatest number of Muslim populations in the world, the ideas about Islam and politics have not yet had any opportunities for advanced development. Indeed, Islamic political parties have started to emerge since the colonial period, but like non-Islamic political parties at that time, the interest of Islamic political parties was focused on the struggle to

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<sup>2</sup>See the main ideas of Al-Maududi, Abul A'la al-Maududi, *Nadhariyyah al Islam wa Hadyah fi al Siyasah wa al Qomun wa al Dustur*, (Dar al Saudiyah, 1985), see also at AKS Lambton, *"Islamic Political Thought" on Schacht et al, the Legacy of Islam*, (Oxford: the clarendon Press, 1974) p. 404., see also at S. Abul A'la Al-Maududi, rendered into English by Khurshid Ahmad, *Political Theory of Islam*, 8<sup>th</sup> edition, (Lahore: Islamic Publications Limited, 1993) pp. 30-31.

<sup>3</sup>See Ali Abd Al-Raziq, *al Islam wa Uṣūl al Hukmi Baḥṭh fi al Khilafah wa al Hukumah fi al-Islam*, (Cairo: Matba' al Musarakah, 1925) pp. 12-20.

<sup>4</sup>Read for example, Munawir Sjadzali, *Islam and Governmental System, Teaching, History and Reflections* (Jakarta: Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS), 1991) pp. 81-129. See also Muhammad Azhar, *Filsafat Politik Perbandingan Antara Islam dan Barat*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 1997) pp. 112-142.

free Indonesia from Dutch colonialism. It would not be too far wrong to say that at colonial times, Islamic political parties in Indonesia were just like the other political parties.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, it does not mean that there is no people struggled for Islam at political field. At the history of Islamic politics in Indonesia, we have known many people struggling for Islam and Indonesian Muslims interest intensively. They can be classified into two groups. Firstly, the people struggled for Islam to be *Madhhab* and Ideology of state. For example Tjokroaminoto, Agus Salim, Ahmad Hasan and Natsir. Included in this group were universalist, idealist and modernist ideologists who did not only believe in the eternity of Islamic taught but in the total application as well.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, the people who wanted Islam to enter into state at value form (deformalism of Islam), people of this group were Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, A. Wahid Hasyim, Kasman Singodimejo and Teuku Muhammad Hassan. Their attitude was proved when they agreed to delete the elements of Islamic legality and formality in composing the elements of State principles (Pancasila)<sup>7</sup>

The relationship of State and Islam in Indonesia has had long time experiences. Rahmani Timorita Yulianti<sup>8</sup> quoting Taba's opinion (1996: 240),

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<sup>5</sup>Munawir Sjadzali, *Islam and Governmental System, Teaching, History and Reflections* (Jakarta: Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS), 1991) p. 129.

<sup>6</sup>Abdul Ghofur, *Demokratisasi dan Prospek Hukum Islam di Indonesia; Studi Atas Pemikiran Gus Dur*, (Yogyakarta: Walisongo Press dan Pustaka Pelajar, 2002) p. 137.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>8</sup>Rahmani Timorita Yulianti, *Reaktualisasi Strategi Politik Islam di Indonesia*, Al Mawarid, 7<sup>th</sup> edition, (Yogyakarta: FIAI Jur. Shari'ah, 1999) pp. 93-94, see also Bahtiar Effendi's

states that the relationship of the state and Islam at old order was characterized by its antagonism. This relationship changed into critical reciprocal (1982-1985) since the initiation of understanding process of their position. Then, from 1985-1998 it was characterized by accommodative politic.

However, most of Islamic political condition *vis-à-vis* the state did not make people happy. Deconfessionalization, domestication and deideologization approach of Islam justified the above hypothesis.

Because of the defeat of Islamic political parties (Islam of politic), at New Order, Indonesian Islamic political paradigm has been changing, from legalistic-formalistic and exclusive character to more substantive and integrated political approach.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, after the state has replaced the Islam of politic as a target of ideological suspicion (Islam phobia) and applying Pancasila (five principles) as the only principle of political and social organizations (1985).<sup>10</sup> The question arises now as to how is the relationship between the state and Islam at post New Order?

After the ruination of Soeharto's regime, the freedom widely opened in many aspects of life such as social, economy, politic, and culture. It became a great chance for politicians, especially politic of group, including the Islamic

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disertation, *Islam and State: The Transformation of Political Ideas and Practices in Indonesia*, translated into bahasa Indonesia by Ihsan Ali Fauzi, *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1998), see also Dr. Afan Gaffar, at Drs. Abdul Aziz Taba, MA, *Islam dan Negara*, (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1996) p. xvi.

<sup>9</sup> Abdul Ghafur, *Demokratisasi...* p. 153.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.



although there are many other Islamic political parties, it is only because of the writer's tendency very much to PKB and PK.

But at least, the reasonable thing that the writer could apply. Firstly, discussing PKB, Prof. Dr. William Liddle, a western politician, analyzed that NU is the most ready group to establish a new party when the political system changed in Indonesia. His prediction was expressed at a seminar on "The Remaking Indonesian Leader Perspective" held by ILUNI FISIP UI, August 18<sup>th</sup> 1998<sup>12</sup>. PKB has real constituents, namely come from community of NU. Besides having real constituents, the fundamental principle of PKB was not "Islam" like other Islamic political parties, but interestingly, PKB used Pancasila as its principle<sup>13</sup>. The platform of PKB is opened to everyone not only for Muslims but also for non Muslims. It could be proved that in North Sumatera, five leaders of DPW (Leadership of Political party at regent level) are from Huria Kristen Batak Protestant (HKBP) and also in North Sulawesi, Eastern Lesser Sundas (NTT) and Papua, the leaders are from non-Muslims.<sup>14</sup>

Secondly, PK (Justice party) is a new phenomenon at modern Indonesian Islamic political stage. It is nicknamed "The Rising Star", or "The Future Party". Even "Media Indonesia" newspaper called the demonstration of mass of PK as a

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<sup>12</sup> Asmawi, *PKB Jendela Politik Gus Dur*, (Yogyakarta: Titian Ilahi Press, 1999) p. 59.

<sup>13</sup> The Statutes and Rule of Association of PKB.

<sup>14</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, *Barang Lama, Kemasan Baru?* (1), (Yogyakarta: Kedaulatan Rakyat, January 3<sup>rd</sup> 2003)

likeable demonstration, extremely number, order, well mannered but peace.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, after stepping forward impressedly, it was the seven big winner of national party at general election in 1999.<sup>16</sup>

The uniqueness of this party as Bahtiar Effendi said, PK was the only political party that supported by young intellectual constituents who came from Islamic environment. No political parties, especially which had spirit or Islamic symbol, had constituents and characteristic such as PK. The combination of these factors-young, intellect, and Islam-looks luxurious that has only been embraced by PK.<sup>17</sup>

Besides, the fundamental principles of PK were "Islam".<sup>18</sup> It can be understood, because their religious concept is universal Islam (kaffah). This concept laid Islam as a universal way of life, covering all of human life. Islam covers all aspects of the State and father land, government and members of religious community, moral and the strength, mercy of God and justice, culture and jurisprudence, knowledge and court, matter and natural resource, effort and wealth, *jihad* and *dakwah*, soldier and thinking, the truth faith (ideology) and

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<sup>15</sup>Ali Said Damanik, *Fenomena Partai Keadilan Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah di Indonesia*, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, (Jakarta: Teraju, 2002) p. viii.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

<sup>18</sup>Look the statutes and Rule of association of PK at *Sekilas Partai Keadilan*, (Jakarta: DPP PK, 1998), The statutes of PK chapter one, article 2, p. 52.

*ibadah* (Worship). Thus, according to this concept, the appearance of political parties must have a pivotal point of Islamic taught directly.<sup>19</sup>

Looking at first glance at the principle of PKB and PK, I assume that PKB, an Islamic political party, struggles for Islamic values to be base of thought of the State and the structure of government. The values are *Al Hurriyah* (freedom), *Al Musawwa* (equality), *Al Ukhuwah* (Brotherhood), *Syuro* (Democracy), *Ijtihad* (individual interpretation) and *ijma'* (consensus)<sup>20</sup> If the values can be applied without declaring Islam as a Madhhab and ideology of State, why should Islam be the principle of a party? Whereas PK can be classified as an Islamic party that wants Islam as a principle, ideology, grand norm and way of life of nation and state.

The question arises as to which struggle strategy of Islamic political parties is more existing and effective for struggle of Islam and Indonesian Muslim's interest, it may be better if we give to the natural selection, which party, among the Islamic parties, will exist and be the big one, and also calculated in the Indonesian political stage in quantity and quality success. We can see it at general election in 2004.

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<sup>19</sup> Kholid Novianto dan al Chaidar, *Era Baru Indonesia, Sosialisasi Pemikiran Amin Rais, Hamzah Has, Nur Mahmudi, Matori Abdul Jalil, Yusril Ihza Mahendra*, (Jakarta : PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 1999) p. iii. See also, *Tashwirul Afkar*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, (Jakarta: LAKPESDAM dan LTN-NU, 1999) p. 9.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.



## B. The Problems of Study

To ease this research, it is necessary to mention the major problems that will be examined in this research study. The main questions are:

1. How is the condition of post new order Islamic politic in Indonesia?
2. How is the struggle strategy of PKB and PK in struggling Islam and Indonesian Moslem interest (the differences and similarities).
3. What is the theoretical basis used by both of these parties in formulating their struggle strategies?

## C. Objectives and Significances of this Study

### 1. Objectives

- a. To describe the map of Islamic politics nowadays, after ruination of Soeharto's regime and the beginning of post new order (Reformation Order)
- b. To describe the struggle strategies of Islamic politic (specially the struggle strategies of PKB: *National Awakening Party* and PK: *Justice Party*).

### 2. Significances

- a. To be able to give an explanation about the map of post new order Islamic political parties in Indonesia.
- b. To give a description of the differences and the similarities of struggle strategies used by Islamic parties (PKB and PK).

- c. To make a contribution to the thought of Indonesian Islamic political strategies further.
- d. To enrich Islamic intellectual treasury in Islamic politic (Siyasah Shar'iyah)

#### **D. Review of Related Research**

As far as I know, study on post new order Islamic politic in Indonesia has not yet been found. Some books or literatures, which specially discussed it, are very limited. At the absolute most we would probably find some information about Indonesian Islamic politic just from newspapers or magazines explained at glance and not comprehensive. It can be understood, because the appearance era of post new order Islamic political parties has been four years only. As a matter of fact, it is not a little time for Muslims politicians, researchers, and academic to have paid attention to research post new order Indonesian Islamic politic comprehensively. However, four years is a very limited time to research it intensively and comprehensively because of extremely business from the Muslims elite in this country.

The reformation order as if has become a practical experiment to realize their desire, which is stopped by Soeharto's regime for almost 32 years.

The above phenomenon does not calm my step down to do this research. The writer strives hard to look for references or literatures dealing with this research such as: The statutes and Rule of Association, platform, National Agenda, and political statement of PKB and PK. Besides that the newspaper

clipping, magazine, journal, and so on, giving the information needed in this research.

The literature will be referred here such as some books entitled "Era Baru Indonesia; Sosialisasi pemikiran Amin Rais, Hamzah Has, Nur Mahmudi, Matori Abdul Jalil dan Yusril Ihza Mahendra, written by Kholid Novianto and al Chaidar (1999). Looked at the title of this book, it was easily known what the content of this book is.

Furthermore, there is another book that its content is almost similar with the first book i.e. "Tujuh mesin pendulang suara, pengenalan, prediksi, harapan pemilu 1999" composed and published by LKiS (Social and Islamic study group).

Whereas special books discussed on PKB such as "PKB jendela politik GusDur" (1999) written by Asmawi, this book explained about the history of PKB, platform, challenged of PKB in the future and ended by discussing a central figure behind appearance of PKB, Gus Dur. There are two books dealing with PK for the time being, they are "Sekilas Partai Keadilan" (1998) published by DPP PK (leadership of political party at regional level) and "Fenomena Partai Keadilan Transformasi 20 tahun gerakan Tarbiyah di Indonesia" (2002) written by Ali Said Damanik. Both of those books are talking about the historical background of PK, platform, statutes and rule of association, characteristic and its national agenda.

Other books, which have something to do with these subjects, will be consulted as primary sources as well in this thesis.

## E. Theoretical Frame Work

To study the struggle strategies of PKB and PK, according to the writer, social Actions theory is still relevant to be used. Max Weber, one of sociologist, thinks that social actions are an interaction among individuals that are a communication to get a mutual comprehension.<sup>21</sup> A process or social accident deductively explained based on explanation about situation influenced the individuals.

To know an abstract social structure theoretically, according to Weber, must be begun from empirical hypothesis about individual actions and situation happened around them. If an article can exists out of our knowledge, so the social materials such as law, cost, concept, view and tradition, all of them, are made by individual actions. So, the explanation about its structure is the individualistic explanation. It can prevent the tendencies to verify concepts that be noted by collective phenomenon and to prevent the concepts generalization become a meaningless concept. Individualistic explanation is done by indicating the individual actions.<sup>22</sup>

For Weber, social actions can be looked as a method used to achieve the certain purposes, either practical purposes or a relation of some values or

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<sup>21</sup> This idea inclined to the extreme sociologies appearance called ontological nominalist. This group assumed that doe to individual person would exist. Whereas the other group is not considered to exist at all. Look Adam Podgorecki and Christopher J. Welan, *Pendekatan Sosiologis Terhadap Hukum*, First edition, (Jakarta: PT. Bina Aksara, 1987) p. 79.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

combination of them. Such action, according to Weber, must be understood in the meaning context which given to the individuals.<sup>23</sup>

It is so far about Weber's explanation, according to Talcot Parsons, someone's action is determined by norms and values. The Norms are several rules which are socially taken and useful to take or to make actions decision. Values are individual faith to how the world should be or the world should be like what.<sup>24</sup> Parsons thinks that social process is a communication of meaning, simbols and information. In the voluntaristic action theory, Parsons asserted that human being should be understood while they were taking preferences or decisions between different aims and the tools to achieve the aims.

The preferences are taken by someone, are not made in the emptiness. The constructed environment from a month of physical and social factor limited the preferences.<sup>25</sup>

An action unit is formed from doer, tools, purposes, an environment, which consists of physical and social objects, norms and values. For Parsons, an action system is formed from the relationship among doers. Parsons assumed that every doer purposes to achieve maximal motivations in the interactions with others, if the doer got the motivations, the actions would be repeated. Every doer will expect the certain response from another, and also

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<sup>23</sup> Ian Craib, *Teori-Teori Sosial Modern dari Parsons Sampai Habermas*, first edition, (Jakarta: CV. Rajawali, 1986) p. 57.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.



the social regulation or norms will develop with common acceptable values to guarantee the responses.

The actions will be known from historical matters, that is why; it takes a historical theory to be a theoretical base. Ibnu Khaldun said that the inner meaning of history involves speculation and an attempt to get at the truth, subtle explanation of the causes and origins of existing things, and deep knowledge of the how and why of events.<sup>26</sup> The task of historian, like Hippolyte Tais said, is the investigation of fact and researching the causes.<sup>27</sup> It means that in the history, the causal law is applaid, even though; the same cause did not certainly cause the same causal. In other word, to the history, causal law has explained how the interaction between idea and accident is.

In the structural functionalism theory was stated that society could be seen as a system consists of correlated elements each other. Therefore, the change in one element will cause the change in other. And finally, in the whole systems.<sup>28</sup> Change of thinking at one of communities will influence the other thinking.

## **F. Research Method**

### **a. Kind of Research**

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<sup>26</sup> Ibnu Khaldun, *The Mukaddimah*, translated into English by Franz Rosental (New York, Pantheon Booke Inc., 1985). p. 1: 5.

<sup>27</sup> Quoted by Nouruzzaman Shiddiqi, *Sejarah Pisau Bedah Keislaman*, at Taufik Abdullah and M. Rusli, *Metodologi Penelitian Agama Sebuah Pengantar*, first edition, (Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana, 1989), p. 70.

<sup>28</sup> Margaret M. Poloma, *Sosiologi Kontemporer*, translated into Indonesia by translating team of Yasogama (ed), second edition, (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1987) pp. 24-25.

The kind of research in composing the thesis is a library research. That is, the research emphasized exploring and survey of literatures that related with main discussions, either primary or secondary sources. Nevertheless, it is very possible to interview some of figures of PKB and PK to add and enlarge the data.

b. Characteristic of Research

This research characterized descriptive-analytic. It means describing the map of post New Order Islamic political stage in Indonesia, its struggle strategies particularly, and more especially about PKB and PK that be a central study in this research. Then, the data will be analyzed according to its inclination.

c. Research Approach

For doing this research, the writer wants to use socio-historical approach. First of all, by doing mapping of Islamic political condition, either from Pre-Independence Order, Post-Independence Order until Post New Order (Reformation Order). Of course, it takes a historical approach to analyze the condition of Islamic politic at the past time. Furthermore, to study the struggle strategies of PKB and PK takes a social approach. By using a social approach, it is easier to analyze PKB and PK. For example, to study PKB and PK, The writer has to know right before the individuals actions of politic at both parties, the environment are there at both parties, the traditions, the characters of thinking and etcetera. So that, the writer can study PKB and PK comprehensively and objectively.



#### d. Data Analysis

The data that was collected will be analyzed qualitatively with applying the following methods:

- a. Deductive; it means the logic of thinking that analyses from general logical reasoning and vision side to apply in pointing the specific matters.<sup>29</sup> This method is used to get a general summary.
- b. Inductive; it means explaining the specific data then be pulled to be general summaries. If the data or the fact (not theory) from some phenomena indicate the similarities, it will be took the summary or generalization.<sup>30</sup>
- c. Comparative; analyzing the data to find the similarities and the difference on the research. The summary is made by comparing the data and took more proper formulation. That be pointed the standard with a strong base.<sup>31</sup>

#### G. Structure of the Thesis

To give a comprehensive and integrated description in discussing this Thesis, the writer uses a following structure.

This Thesis consists of five chapters, at first chapter it will be discussed the Background, Major problems, Objectives and benefits of research, survey

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<sup>29</sup>Sutrisno Hadi, *Metodologi Research*, (Yogyakarta: Yasbit Fakultas Psikologi UGM, 1986) 1<sup>st</sup> volume, p. 42.

<sup>30</sup>Nana H. Sudjana dan Drs. H. Ulung Laksamana, *Menyusun Karya Tulis Ilmiah*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, (Bandung: CV. Sinar Baru, 1992) p. 9.

<sup>31</sup>Dr. Suharsimi Arikunto, *Prosedur Penelitian*, 9<sup>th</sup> edition, (Jakarta: PT. Rineka Cipta, 1993) pp. 211-213.

of sources, Theoretical frame, Research method and structure of the thesis. First chapter is an introduction besides the first framework in composing this thesis.

Second chapter consists of mapping theory and strategies of Islamic politic and especially the mapping of Islamic politic in Indonesia since pre-Independence Order until post New Order.

At the third chapter, it will be studied on the social background and the history of PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa: National Awakening Party) and PK (Partai Keadilan: Justice Party) and also the basis of their struggle.

Furthermore, fourth chapter is analyzing the struggle strategy of PKB and PK according to post new order Islamic politic context, comparing both of them by looking for difference and similarities type.

Finally, fifth chapter is a closing, consists of conclusion and advices in looking for ideal formulation of struggle strategies of Indonesian Islamic politic in the future.

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUDING REMARK

#### A. CONCLUSIONS

From the explanation at the prior chapters, this study produced some following conclusions, they are:

1. The differences of religious, cultural, social background also produced the different political actions.
2. The political principles of PKB as a party dominated by community of NU are very influenced with the political principles of *Ahlussunnah wa al Jama'ah* and very influenced with Gus Dur's political actions.
3. The emergence of PK is to struggle for the Tarbiyah doctrines that are universal doctrines of Islam.
4. PKB as a mass party still relies on a charismatic figure and supporters from community of NU. Meanwhile PK emphasized to the programs. In other word, PK emphasized to the system orientation.
5. PKB believed in that institutionalization of religion will make the religion as a commodity of politic to fulfill the group and individual interest. Whereas PK believed in that Islam is universal, including all aspects of life such as economy, politic, culture, social, etc.

#### B. SUGGESTIONS

Discussion on Islamic politic in Indonesia has been so long and delicate, since pre-Independence, Islam has enliven the political stage in Indonesia.

Talking about Indonesia, the ancient and now, could not be separated with Islam.

But now, the question arises, whether Islam of politic, mainly Islamic parties, has ever taken the power or has taken the important role in making decision in the history of this state.

According to the writer, Islam (Islamic politic) has failed to get support from the Indonesian people. The rule stated that majority of Indonesian people are Muslim and certainly, they would like to support and vote for, is not correct. The Islamic politic failed to make sure some Indonesian people to support them. In addition, the failure of party's elite activists to get support from majority of Muslims.

Therefore, study on struggle strategies of Islamic political parties is very important to do. Because strategy has a significant role to get support from the constituents. The most important again is how to treat Islam, whether such as Gus Dur's invitation not to treat Islam as an alternative ideology, namely must Islam be positioned as a complemented factors in forming a cultural, political, social structure in Indonesia or must Islam be an ideology of politic?<sup>1</sup>

Besides that, it is important to study for what and for whom; the struggle of Islam has been done. The question is necessary to correlate with the fact that the support of Muslims to the Islamic parties is very low.

According to the writer, perhaps, it is not the time to use the concept of a formalistic and legalistic Islamic politic. Because the history showed that

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<sup>1</sup> Rahmani Timorita Yulianti at Journal al Mawarid, Sevent edition, (Yogyakarta: FIAI, Jurusan Syari'ah, 1999) p. 99.

majority of Muslims did not support to the Islamic parties, which used Islam as the ideology of those parties.

The writer did coveted all elements of Muslims can unite at one institution, but, the writer realized that it was impossible. To unite the Muslim's opinion is very complicated, so as far as possible we can do, is making closer the differences. PKB has the struggle strategies which look more inclusive and more acceptable mainly for non Muslims, whereas PK with its struggle strategies, would like to show that Islam was not like what many western people described-very exclusive, intolerant, terrorist, trouble maker etc- But, Islam is *Rahmatan lil 'alamin*.



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Tashwirul Afkar Journal, 12<sup>th</sup> edition, (Jakarta: LAKPESDAM dan LTN-NU, 2002)

## TRANSLATIONS

NO	FN	PAGE	TRANSLATIONS
<b>CHAPTER III</b>			
1		37	<i>Ahlussunnah wa al jama'ah</i> is the ism which hold on firmly to the tradition of thought and use the following approach: a) at the Islamic law, they submitted to the teaching of one of four Madhhab: Maliki, Hanafi, Syafi'i and Hambali) at the tauhid, they submitted to the teaching of Abu Hasan al-Asy'ary and Abu Mansur al Maturidi) at the mysticism, they submitted to the basic teaching of Abu Qosim al Junaid.
2		39	<i>Rahmatan li al 'alamin</i> means spread out the peace for all human being
<b>CHAPTER IV</b>			
3	9	65	O ye who believe! Obey God, and obey the Messenger, and those charged with authority among you. If ye differ in anything among yourselves, refer it to God and His Messenger, if ye do believe in God and the Last Day: that is best, and must suitable for final determination.
4	10	65	The answer of the Believers, when summoned to God and His Messenger, in order that He may judge between them, is no other than this: they say, "We hear and we obey": it is such as there that will attain felicity
5	11	65	It is such as obey God and His Messenger, and fear God and do right, that will win (in the end).
4	18	66	We sent thee not, but as a mercy for all creatures

5	39	79	It is not fitting for a Believer, man or woman, when a matter has been decided by God and His messenger to have any option about their decision: if any one disobeys God and His messenger, he is indeed on a clearly wrong path.
6	40	79	If any do fail to judge by (the light of) what God hath revealed, they are (no better than) Unbelievers.
7	41	79	And if any fail to judge by (the light of) what God hath revealed, they are (no better than) wrong doers.
8	42	80	If any do fail to judge by (the light of) what God hath revealed, they are (no better than) those who rebel.
9	48	84	I called out loud to them (8) And I appealed to them in public and in private (9)
10		87	<i>Vox Polli Vox Die:</i> The vote of people is the God's will

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### **Dr. Ir. M. Nurmahmudi Ismail, M.Sc.**

He was born on 11 November 1961 in Kediri, East Java. From 1977-1980, he studied at Al Ishlah religious boarding house, Bandar Kidul Kediri and state senior high school 2 Kediri, and then from 1980-1984, he continued his study to Bogor Institute Agriculture (IPB) until he has got Insinyur degree. From 1988-1994 he finished S2 and S3 at Texas A & M University, at food science and technology field by *cumlaude* predicate at 33 years old.

Right before he was a president of PK, Nurmahmudi Ismail was a researcher in BPPT (Bureau of research and technology application), and a lecturer at several private universities in Jakarta. Besides that, he became a professional member of the association related with his profession, for examples, he was a member of poultry science association, USA, and Institute of food technologists, USA. He is also a member of legal opinion commission, Indonesian council of religious scholars (MUI) and a member of Indonesian engineer Association.

He married Hj. Nur Azizah Tamhid, MA (al-Hafidzah) and got 3 children, a son and two daughters.

### **Dr. H. M. Hidayat Nur Wahid, MA**

He was born in Klaten, central Java on 8 April 1960. He finished his middle and basic education at several well-known religious boarding houses such as Walisongo boarding house, Ngabar, Ponorogo and modern boarding house, Gontor, Ponorogo. Then, he continued his study to the Shari'ah faculty state institute of Islamic studies Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta. But, before finishing his study he got scholarship to the Islamic University of Medina, Arab Saudi. Then all levels of his ensuing study from S1 to S3 are finished at the University.

Right before he is actively involved in the founding of PK, he has been a lecturer at the state institute of Islamic studies Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and several private Universities in Jakarta.

### **K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid**

He is a controversial figure, ex general chief of PBNU. He was born in Jombang on 4 August 1940 (according to Greg Barton: 7 September 1940) his grand fathers are KH. Hashim Asy'ari (the founding father of NU) and KH. Bisri Sjansuri. Both are formers of Rois Syuriyah, PBNU.

Even though he was born in Jombang, but, he grew up in Jakarta because his father, Wahid Hasyim is a national figure, former of the first Minister of religious affairs. Finishing his middle and basic study (SMTP and SMTA) in Jakarta and Yogyakarta. Besides that, he studied at KH. Ali Ma'shum boarding house, Krapyak, Yogyakarta and Tegalrejo boarding house, Magelang.

In 1963, he departed to Mesir to study at al Azhar University, but, because he was disappointed at that university, he moved to Baghdad until 1970. A year after that, he came back to Indonesia.

#### **H. Munawir Sjadzali, MA**

An intellectual and religious figure as well as diplomat, ministers for religious affairs since the IV the development cabinet (1983). Until 1993.

Born in Klaten (central Java), 7 November 1929.

After graduating from the junior and senior Islamic high school "Mambaul Ululm" in Solo, he became a teacher in Ungaran, Semarang. During the struggle for independence he was among others active as liaison between the field headquarters and the various Muslim legions.

His career in the Foreign Service started in 1950 when assigned at the Arab/middle East section. Among his foreign assignments were Washington DC. (1956-1959) And Colombo (1963-1968), then as minister/deputy head of the Indonesian Embassy in London (1971-1979), and then as Indonesian Ambassador for the Kuwait Emirate, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates (1976-1980).

Domestically, he assumed various functions at the department of foreign affairs, such as: head of the North American section (1959-1963), head of administration (1969-1970), head of general affairs (1975-1976), expert staff of the minister of foreign affairs, and director general for political affairs since 1980.

He studies at the university of Exeter, England (1953-1954) and Georgetown University, Washington DC, USA, where he obtained his MA degree with a thesis, *Indonesia's Muslim parties and their political concepts* (1959). Papers and addresses at International forums included: "*Shari'ah: A Dynamic legal system*" at the Seminar on Shari'ah and codification in Colombo (1985) and "*the role of Muslim religious leaders ('ulama') in the solution of population problems-Indonesian experience*" in Cairo (1987).

He has been general chairman of the "world association of Muslim scholars" (WAMS) since 1983. He is lecturing at the post-Graduate Faculty of the state institute of Islamic studies Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, on the subject of al-fiqh al-siyasi (Islam and governmental system)

#### **Max Weber**

A sociologist and Germany historian; professor at Freeburg (1894-1897), Heidelberg (since 1897), and Munchen (1919-1920).

His work and theory helped to put the basics of modern sociology. He thinks that bureaucracy is the most important type of modern society.

His monumental works are *the protestant ethic and the spirit of Capitalism* (1904-1905), *from Max Weber: Essays in Social and economic organizations* (1915).

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## CURRICULUM VITAE

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Parents : Abu Hamnah (father)  
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Educations :

- ✓ MI. Al Huda Sumber Nangka (1991)
- ✓ MTs. Mambaul Ulum Bata-Bata (1993)
- ✓ MA. Mambaul Ulum Bata-Bata (1997)
- ✓ Shari'ah Faculty, Sunan Kalijaga University (2004)

Organizations :

- ✓ Chief of English Department of UKM Bahasa Asing,  
IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta (2000-2001)
- ✓ Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia: Indonesian  
Muslim Students Movement (PMII) (2000-never  
ending movement)
- ✓ Chief of BEMJ PMH, Shari'ah Faculty (2001-2003)
- ✓ Chairman of Shari'ah Parliament/SEMAF (2003-2004)