

**ISLAM AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN INDONESIA:  
STUDY ON THE POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THE UNITED  
DEVELOPMENT PARTY (PPP) TOWARDS EXECUTIVE POWER  
IN THE ERA OF REFORMATION (1998 – 2003)**



**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF SHARI'AH  
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With this, it has been liable to submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirement for degree of Sarjana in Islamic Law. Thus, it could be examined in *Munāqashah*.

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# "الإسلام محبوب بالمسلمين"

محمد عبده .

"Islam, like any major religions, is complex enough to lend its self to support all forms of political system from the most authoritarian to the most democratic",

Anders Uhlin.



*For my alma mater,  
Shari'ah Faculty,  
Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University  
and my noble parents who always dedicate prays  
for their children success  
and my elder and two younger brothers*



## FOREWORD

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي قَدْ جَعَلَنَا خَلِيفَةً فِي الْأَرْضِ وَأَمَرَنَا بِإِتْيَاءِ الْأَمَانَاتِ إِلَى أَهْلِهَا ,  
ثُمَّ الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ عَلَى رَسُولِنَا الْأَمِينِ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ , وَعَلَى آلِهِ الطَّيِّبِينَ  
وَأَصْحَابِهِ الرَّاشِدِينَ وَ مَنْ تَبِعَهُمْ إِلَى يَوْمِ الدِّينِ , وَبَعْدُ :

Praises be to Allah who dedicates humankind as *khalīfah* in the world and who asks responsibility for our leadership in hereafter. *Ṣalawat* and *salam* be upon the Beloved Prophet, Muhammad who has guided us to the lightness.

I do realize that the writing of this thesis is never an individual work. So many people, including those listed here, have helped and have my gratitude.

I would like to thank and I am deeply grateful to :

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Yogyakarta, Jumadil Akhir 08, 1425 AH.  
July 26, 2004 AD.

*Yours Faithfully*



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## TRANSLITERATION

In transliteration of the Arabic names and terms to English and Indonesian in this thesis, I have used the transliteration schemes employed at Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill university, and based upon Joint Decision Letter between Minister of Religious Affairs and Minister for Education and Culture, Republic of Indonesia, Number : 158/1987 and 0543b/U/1987.

Arabic	English	Indonesian	Arabic	English	Indonesian
ا	a	unsymboled	ط	t	t
ب	b	b	ظ	z	z
ت	t	t	ع	'	'
ث	th	ś	غ	gh	g
ج	j	j	ف	f	f
ح	ḥ	ḥ	ق	q	q
خ	kh	kh	ك	k	k
د	d	d	ل	l	l
ذ	dh	ẓ	م	m	m
ر	r	r	ن	n	n
ز	z	z	و	w	w
س	s	s	ه	h	h
ش	sh	sy	ء	'	'
ص	ṣ	ṣ	ي	y	y
ض	ḍ	ḍ			

- Long : ا = ā, ي = ī, و = ū

- ta' marbūṭah : ة = ah, in idāfah = at

The *ta' marbūṭah* (ة) is transliterated as "ah" in pause form and "at" in conjunctive

form; examples: *bid`ah*, *nahḍat al-`ulamā'*. In the case of *tashdīd*, the letter is doubled; examples: *al-tawḥīdiyyah*. Alif of hamzah is transliterated as an elevated comma in all positions except when it occurs at the beginning of a word; examples: *istihsān*, *sayyi'ah*, *ifā'*.



## ABSTRACT

In the reform-era, a democratization has occurred in Indonesia which has been long ruled by an authoritarian regime during the New Order. The political process involves a variety of groups struggling for power and for and against democracy and other goals. The United Development Party (PPP) have asserted strong commitment to struggle for democracy and in the same time, the PPP asserts to struggle for Islamic values in the state based upon *Pancasila*. Political party has close relation with power that needs to be executed democratically and it requires to be controlled. During the New Order the PPP was critical toward power, but at present, what the political attitudes of the PPP towards executive power are and what influence of Islamic values toward the political attitudes of the PPP are.

In the reform-era the PPP appears to choose some cooperative, critical and confrontational attitudes toward power (the executive). During 1998 – 2003, the PPP engages in three administrations (Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Megawati) either as vice president or ministers. Nevertheless, the PPP does not forget to respond some issues on executing of power, the executive possesses. The PPP's responses can be shaped as urges, suggestion, warnings, recommendations, disagreements, rejections and threat, and supports, appreciation, expectations. Regarding political, legal, economic, religious and socio-cultural, and security problems which become the executive's authority to handle, the PPP also speaks out and launches some statements for the government through parliamentary meetings, internal meetings and individual cadre. However, those PPP's attitudes do not violate values of which Islam is taken as party's fundamental basis. In contrast, the PPP ever spoke out against female as president, but the PPP finally supports Megawati as president and Hamzah Haz as her vice. This often emerges only at certain political moment, like by the general election. Therefore the PPP sometimes seems to speak out Islamic values as slogan and as political behavior. Thus, in one hand, the PPP truly contributes to the process of democratization in Indonesia. The PPP submits some ideas of *Reformasi* in the DPR/MPR sessions. In other hand, the PPP also performs conservative attitudes on behalf of Islam which those sometime threat the process. Nevertheless, those are carried out as well as democratic procedure should be.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background

In a democratic context of the reform-era, Islam in Indonesia has a great opportunity.<sup>1</sup> This is caused by two things: normatively, Islam teaches the principles or values which coincide with democracy, such as *amānah* (trust), *'adālah* (justice), *iṭā'ah Allāh wa al-rasūl wa uli al-amr* (law obedience or rule of law), *shūra*, (mutual consultation), *ta'addūdiyyah* (pluralism), *musāwah* (equality), *ukhuwwah* (brotherhood), *silm* (peace), and *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* (social control)<sup>2</sup>; and historically and practically Islam realizes them. Practically, the Indonesian Muslim leaders representing the majority of Indonesian people play an important role in determining the reformation of the social and political fields. While in the old order era, the Muslim leaders play these role through Masyumi, and at present, they are two large organizations – NU and Muhammadiyah – , ICMi and Islamic political party that are actively and directly involved in the process of democratization, and of changing leadership in the post-failing New Order.

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<sup>1</sup> Hisanori Kato, "The Reality and Possibility of Democracy in Islam", *Profetika*, Vol. 2, No. 1, (January, 2000), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Masykuri Abdillah, "Islamic political Theories: Historical and Democratic Perspectives", Paper presented in seminar on *Islam and The West: Islamic and Modern Concepts of Governance and Democracy*, Organized by Department of Religious Affairs, yayasan 2020, Goethe Institute, friedrich Noumann Stiftung, British council, Jakarta, 11 and 12 April 2000, pp. 1-2.



The downfall of Soeharto, of which has been regarded as “authoritarian”, resurrects a new expectation for political, social, and economic democratization. All Indonesian people from various elements take part to have replaced the last authoritarian regime. Leaders of Muslim’s organization, who represent the majority of Indonesians, are playing an important role in the Indonesia’s political and social reformation. The leader of Indonesia’s second largest Muslim organization-Muhammadiyah, Amien Rais, has been active throughout successive process of the national leadership in May 1998. He frequently appeared in the media and was introduced as an opposition leader.<sup>3</sup>

In the today’s era of reformation, Muhammadiyah organizationally also gives a great attention to the national affairs and always involves in the national development. In spite of not proclaiming as political party, Muhammadiyah is concerned with the political field and keeps consistent with the original initiative and remains to criticize an authority wherever its members are involved in it. Muhammadiyah continuously takes an active role in human resource development in such fields as social, culture, education, and public health. In the process of implementing these social, cultural, educational activities, Muhammadiyah works together with the state. However, Muhammadiyah, according to Amin Abdullah, knows when it should behave freely and autonomously and when it must cooperate with the government to execute its various programs and when it must criticize the government’s policy.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Hisanori Kato, “The Reality and Possibility of Democracy in Islam”, *Profetika*, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> M. Amin Abdullah, “Muhammadiyah’s Experience in Promoting a Civil Society in the Eve of the 21<sup>th</sup> Century”, *Profetika*, p. 30.

In the same time, Abdurrahman Wahid, who is the leader of largest Muslim organization in Indonesia, seems to have taken different attitude from Amien Rais in relation to the 1998 national leadership succession, and he has been rather restrained and modest during the process. He upholds moderate stance toward the democracy movement that happened in 1998. He has strongly believed that there should be no bloodshed in Indonesia under the succession.

During the early of multi-party system, Nahdatul Ulama' (NU), is also more courageous to be practically involved in politics, rather than that NU previously played an important role in building civil society.<sup>5</sup> NU openly and seriously recommends the *nahdiyyin* (followers of NU) support the National Awakening Party (PKB). NU, though established as social and religious organization, always gives a great influence in political scene.

Other Muslim leader, Habibie, who is the leader of Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectual (ICMI), is involved within the government. He, substituted Soeharto's position, is inaugurated as the third president of Indonesia. Adi Sasono, the ICMI's leader is also elected as a minister. Hence, Th. Sumartana negatively considers that the Habibie's administration can be categorized as the transition era of the coalition between Islam and army.<sup>6</sup> But Habibie behaves smoothly towards the popular demand of democratization and he proves his commitment towards democracy, by celebrating the 1999 election with multi-

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<sup>5</sup> Zainul Munasichin, "Politik NU, NU Politik: Studi Kasus Relasi NU-PKB Jember", *Gerbang, Jurnal Studi Agama dan Demokrasi*, No. 12, Vol. V, (Juli-September 2002), p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Th. Sumartana, "Politik Islam dan Pluralisme Bangsa", in Abu Zahra, ed., *Politik Demi Tuhan: Nasionalisme Religius di Indonesia*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1999), pp. 117-120.

party system.<sup>7</sup> Thus, because of joining ICMI's leaders within the regime, ICMI, organizationally takes the penetrative attitude towards the regime.

Throughout period of Indonesia's development, a Muslim and Muslim's organization, who represent as actors, always take a significant position within the process of democratization. In this sense, John L. Esposito and John O. Vall point out four general positions for Islamic resurgence movement. First, Muslims choose the revolutionary opposition against the existing political system; second, they take cooperative opposition, with involving in the existing political system; third, they actively participate in the governance through coalition with other political group; and finally, they exercise control functions over the existing political system.<sup>8</sup>

In the process of democratization (in particular 1998-2003), Islamic political party seems to face the greatest challenge among other Muslim's groups, because it is often considered that Islamic political party is exclusive and will be a threat against process of democratization. Adnan Buyung Nasution states that political organization, based on Islamic or sectarian politic, always contains the danger of monolithic, as its fundamental basis is exclusive. Tolerance might not be there, because sectarian politic, moreover Islamic politic, always tends to hold strongly *mono-loyalty*. So that, politic will be arranged comprehensively based on undebatable ideological principle.<sup>9</sup> In addition, Syamsudin Haris notes on the

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<sup>7</sup> Muhammad Izzul Muslimin, "Ormas Islam dalam Kancah Politik di Indonesia", *Jurnal UMY Media Inovasi*, No. 2, (Th. X/2000), p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> John L. Esposito & John O. Vall, *Demokrasi di Negara-Negara Muslim: Problem dan Prospek*, translated by Rahmani Astuti from *Islam and Democracy*, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1999), p. 40.

<sup>9</sup> Adnan Buyung Nasution, "Politik Aliran, Masih Relevan?", *Ulumul Qur'an*, No. 2 Vol. V, (1994), p. 72. See also: *idem* in Abu zahra, ed. , *Politik Demi Tuhan*, p. 286.

United Development Party (PPP) that at present, it is not really significant to return to Islamic basis and symbol of Ka'bah. To him, such options are wrong and represent a setback action, because the future of Indonesian political life, certainly, is pluralism of politic, not sectarianism of politic.<sup>10</sup>

In deal with these facts, the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, which is led by Hasan Metarium and Hamzah Haz during 1998-2003 and domiciles in Central Jakarta, is the most significant sectarian political party, because the PPP constitutes old Islamic political party that, in New Order era, often got pressure from the ruler and that still exists strongly in the era of reformation. In addition, during the widespread demand of Indonesia's reformation, the PPP has more actively demanded democratization, even the PPP claims its self as the guard of the 1998 reformation. The PPP normatively upholds the principles "*al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*" and "*qul al-haq wa law kāna murran*". Thus, the PPP as political party gets serious challenges of whether the PPP consistently implements the platforms based upon Islamic values, or upon political interests only as Lasswell asserts that politic is who gets what, when, and how.<sup>11</sup>

Then, when the PPP relates to power, it ideally should be consistent to act as Islamic teachings. When the PPP is involved in the government, it should hold good responsibility and when the PPP is not involved in the government, it must be consistently critical towards government's policies and its attitudes coincide with Islamic principles. Because in Indonesia, Islamic political parties generally

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<sup>10</sup> Syamsuddin Haris, "Agar Dia Menjadi Kekuatan Islam Nasionalis" in Hairus Salim, ed. , *Tujuh Mesin Pendulang Suara : Perkenalan, Prediksi, Harapan Pemilu 1999*, 1<sup>th</sup> ed., (Yogyakarta : LkiS, 1999), p. 270.

<sup>11</sup> Amir Santoso, "Demokrasi dan Nilai-Nilai Politik : Apa yang telah Dilakukan dan Apa yang telah Dicapai", *Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, No. 10, (1990), p. 58

struggle for two principles, namely democracy and Islam. Based on these facts, the writer considers that the PPP's role in process of the 1998-2003 democratization is necessary to be more deeply researched and studied.

Therefore, the issue of Islam and democratization (1998-2003), in the form of political attitudes<sup>12</sup> of the party, based on Islam, towards executive power, is chosen as focus of the study here. Obviously, the writer determines the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan) as a subject of the study, because of many reasons, such as:

*First*, the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) is a political party that often obtained pressures and oppressions from the ruler of New Order. Under issue of depolitization launched by Soeharto's regime in 1973, the PPP was established as a fusion of previous Islamic political parties, NU, Parmusi, PSII, and Perti. In 1985, the government commanded all social and political organizations to use Pancasila as the only basis of them. Then, internal deflation occurred in 1987, so that NU withdrew from the PPP.<sup>13</sup> However, the PPP, as

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<sup>12</sup> The attitude is a learned predisposition to respond to a particular in generally favorable or unfavorable way. Every attitude is about an object, and the object may cover a person, product, idea, or event. Each attitude contains three components: 1) a belief, 2) a favorable or unfavorable evaluation, and 3) a behavioral disposition. Several terms are frequently used as synonyms for term 'attitude', including opinion and belief. The attitude that is indispensable concept in psychology is probably able and can not be manifested as real political action. Although the attitude is more eternal than idea or belief, it is easily changed by time and situation and influenced by motif, like gender, race, religion, education and social class. See in Jack C. Plano, et al., *Kamus Analisa Politik*, translated by Edi S. Siregar, (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 1999), pp. 11-12. See also in Edgar F. Borgatta and Marie L. Borgatta, *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992), Vol. I, pp. 112-118.

<sup>13</sup> Rasyid Ridha Sulaiman, et al., *PPP 30 Tahun Bersama Umat*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., (Jakarta : DPP PPP, 2003), pp. 63-68. See also in Masykur Hasyim, *Memusantarakan Politik Islam: Jembatan Partai Persatuan Pembangunan*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., (Surabaya: Yayasan Sembilan Lima, 2001), pp. 82-90.

Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara stated, was the consistent and rigid party in upholding democracy and achieving Indonesian people's idealism and purpose.<sup>14</sup>

*Second*, in post Soeharto's regime, the PPP backs to Islam<sup>15</sup> as the basis of party and Ka'bah<sup>16</sup> as the symbol. Consequently, the PPP puts Islamic values as ethical foundation and inspiration of the party struggle. In other side, the PPP also struggles for development of political democracy in Indonesia.<sup>17</sup> The PPP can be categorized into symbiotic paradigm, concerning relationship of Islam and state. So the writer thinks that there is very close relationship between Islam and democratization in Indonesia.

*Third*, as political party, the PPP has function to exercise control over executive power as manifestation of democracy principles. According to M. Efendi Anas, the PPP did not implement it effectively.<sup>18</sup> Besides, there are two possibilities of the role and attitude taken by the party towards power, namely penetration and opposition. Yet, in the multi-party system, there is no political party obtaining the majority of votes. So that, the way of compromise goes on among parties to take position in the governance. Meanwhile, Islam, the PPP struggles for, is sacred and spreads the principle "*rahmatan li al-'ālamīn*".

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<sup>14</sup> Rasyid Ridha Sulaiman, et al., *PPP 30 Tahun*, p. 137.

<sup>15</sup> Basis of Islam can be found in Article 2 Platform, PPP, *Hasil-hasil Mukhtamat IV*, November until December 1998.

<sup>16</sup> Symbol of PPP is formulated in Article 5 Platform (AD), PPP.

<sup>17</sup> See in Program Pembangunan Lima Tahun PPP.

<sup>18</sup> M. Efendi Anas, *Efektivitas Fungsi Organisasi Sosial Politik: Studi Kasus PPP*, (Jakarta: UI Press, 1997), p. 11. See also: Masykur Hasyim, *Menusantarakan Politik Islam*, pp. 81-82.

*Fourth*, in the political context, every party belongs to some interests, wills, and targets. Therefore, the role and attitude of party towards executive power certainly tend to go on mind of 'lucky' and 'unlucky'. An adage strengthens it that "in politics there is no absolute partner and no absolute rival, but an absolute interests". On the contrary, the PPP as Islamic party must ideally be able to implement Islamic values in its attitudes and its behaviors.

## **B. Major Problems**

Based on the background above, it can be understood that Islam and democratization in Indonesia are related to each other. Besides, generally there are two scenarios of democratization in Islam, namely democratization from elite group, like held by political party and from grass-root group, like done by social and religious organization.<sup>19</sup> Robert W. Hefner has researched on the latter that civil Islam contributes a large role for democratization in Indonesia.<sup>20</sup> Yet, here the writer focuses this study on the first scenario, the attitudes of Islamic political party towards executive power. In this context, the writer proposes basic questions below.

1. what are the political attitudes held by the central United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan/PPP) towards Executive Power in the era of reformation (1998-2003) ?

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<sup>19</sup> Aswab Mahasin, "Agama dan Demokrasi : Bukan Pohon Tanpa Akar", in M. Imam Aziz, et al., eds., *Agama, Demokrasi dan Keadilan*, (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia, 1993), p. 39.

<sup>20</sup> Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, (United Kingdom: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 214-221.

2. what are influences of Islamic values towards the political attitudes of the United Development Party (PPP) ?

### **C. Objectives and Significances of Research**

The study attempts to:

1. explore the political attitudes of the PPP towards executive power at the era of Habibie's, Abdurrahman Wahid's, and Megawati's administrations.
2. illustrate the impact of Islamic values, applied by the PPP, into its attitudes towards executive power (1998-2003).

The significances of the study include:

1. academically, it is an additional value to enrich scientific reference and to add Islamic political bibliography, particularly concerning contribution of Islamic political party to democratization in Indonesia.
2. practically, it is the information source for a large society, especially for the PPP to evaluate its roles and attitudes in struggling for Islam and democracy in the era of Reformation. It also becomes parameter of political behaviour of Islamic political party.

### **D. Survey of Previous Studies**

As been mentioned in introductory study, the writer has found some results of research on the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan issues, such as a work *Ada Apa di PPP ?*.<sup>21</sup> This is a result of literal observation on the internal conflict that had occurred by the 1982 election. Besides, the PPP is the fusion of four

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<sup>21</sup> H.A. Basit Adnan, *Ada Apa di PPP ?*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., (Solo: Mayasari, 1982).



previous parties. The conflict occurred in internal functionaries and in voter circle, because of emergence of interest clashes among supporters of previous party (NU, Parmusi, PSSI, and Perti) to occupy position in the party. Other work is *PPP, NU, and MI : Gejolak Wadah Politik Islam*.<sup>22</sup> This covers the polemic that goes on among K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri, Ridwan saidi, H. Mahbub Djunaedi, and Fachry Ali. The polemic happened between NU's circle and MI's circle by the 1982 election , but it actually was derived from, because of well-disorganized institution, the process of decision making. A political observer of LIPI has studied on *PPP dan Politik Orde Baru* <sup>23</sup> and he describes that the PPP obtained pressure and intervention from the New Order ruler. An engineer of the ruler, like deflation of masses and appaerance of the PPP's leader from closest person of the ruler, strongly triggered to occur conflict in the PPP, besides the conflict was also caused by internal problems of the party. Nevertheless, performance of the PPP was constantly vocal and critical towards the policies of government, so that Islamic symbols and ideas in its struggle was strong. The other book was found under the title *Duel Segi Tiga : PPP, Golkar, dan PDI dalam Pemilu 1997*<sup>24</sup> which describes that political party was opposed with reality of very dynamical politic, after the 1992 election until the 1997 election. This studies on how is the development of the parties and to what extent the parties apply their function.

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<sup>22</sup> K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri, *PPP, NU, and MI : Gejolak Wadah Politik Islam: dialog K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri, H. Ridwan Saidi, H. Mahbub Junaedi, dan Fachry Ali*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., (Jakarta: Integrita Press, 1984).

<sup>23</sup> Syamsudin Haris, *PPP dan Politik Orde Baru*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., (Jakarta: Grasindo, 1991).

<sup>24</sup> Bambang Cipto, *Duel Segi Tiga : PPP, Golkar, dan PDI dalam Pemilu 1997*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., (Yogyakarta: Bigraf Publishing & Ttian Ilahi Press, 1997).

Besides, it discusses policies, launched by the government by the 1997 election. In line with those policies, this work also studies on preparation and strategy of the PPP.

A published graduate thesis entitled *Strategi PPP 1973-1982 : Suatu Studi tentang Kekuatan Politik Islam Tingkat Nasional*<sup>25</sup> argues strategy of the PPP to accommodate muslim's aspiration. Another graduate thesis entitled *The Partai Persatuan Pembangunan : the Political Journey of Islam under Indonesia's New Order*<sup>26</sup> describes the political journey of the PPP from 1973 until 1987. It explains the position of the PPP in the political system of Indonesia's New Order as a whole. It is a case study of Islamic political force in the national level.

The thesis on *PPP dan Asas tunggal: Studi Orientasi Politik PPP Tahun 1984 – 1992*<sup>27</sup> illustrates the approval of the PPP toward Pancasila as fundamental basis of all social and political organizations. The other thesis concerns on *Konflik Internal PPP Tahun 1980 – 1989*<sup>28</sup> points out the constellation of the PPP's conflict in 1980–1989, including the causers of the conflict. The writer also found the thesis under the title *PPP di bawah Kepemimpinan Buya Ismail Hasan*

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<sup>25</sup> Umaidi Radi, *Strategi PPP 1973-1982 : Suatu Studi tentang Kekuatan Politik Islam Tingkat Nasional*, (Jakarta: Integrita Press, 1984).

<sup>26</sup> Sudarnoto Abdul Hakim, "The Partai Persatuan Pembangunan : the Political Journey of Islam under Indonesia's New Order," McGill University, Canada, (1993).

<sup>27</sup> Fathurrozi, "PPP dan Asas tunggal: Studi Orientasi Politik PPP Tahun 1984 – 1992", Adab Faculty, Sunan Kalijaga State Institute of Islamic Studies, Yogyakarta, (1998).

<sup>28</sup> Muhammad Nursidi, "Konflik Internal PPP Tahun 1980 – 1989", Adab Faculty, Sunan Kalijaga State Institute of Islamic Studies, Yogyakarta , (2001).

*Metarium Periode 1989–1995: Telaah Tentang Sikap Akomodatif PPP serta Sejumlah Faktor yang Mempengaruhinya.*<sup>29</sup>

### **E. Theoretical Frame**

Democracy is defined as people's rule based on popular control and political equality. It refers to a form of government in which the people are regarded as the real source of power and point of reference in respect not only of the principles and modes of governance, but also as the real source for values, principles, ideals, and policies. The philosophical roots of democracy lie in the concept of popular sovereignty.<sup>30</sup> Meanwhile, democratization –the process toward democracy- means the extension of people's rule to an increasing number of institutions, issues, and people that were not previously governed by these democratic principles.<sup>31</sup> Dadang Juliantara cites six principles of democracy such as limited power, by enforcing the principle of representation and equality before law; exercising control over power: interest groups or opposition party should enforce it; freedom of opinion, freedom of press; confessing and respecting to deserve opinions; respecting to minority or individual rights; and respecting to human rights.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Ahmad A. Sofyan, "PPP di bawah Kepemimpinan Buya Ismail Hasan Metarium Periode 1989 – 1995 : Telaah tentang Sikap Akomodatif PPP serta Sejumlah Faktor yang Mempengaruhinya", Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Gajah Mada University, (1998).

<sup>30</sup> Khurshid Ahmad, "Islam and Democracy: Some Conceptual and Contemporary Dimensions", *The Muslim World*, Vol. 90, No. 1 & 2, (Spring 2000), p. 03.

<sup>31</sup> Anders Uhlin, *Indonesia and the Third Wave of Democratization: the Indonesian Pro-Democracy Movement in a Changing World*, (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997), p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> Dadang Juliantara, *Meretas Jalan Demokrasi*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1998) p. 77.

In Islam, there is no special version of democracy, but Muslim intellectuals show various responses on democracy related to Islam. Esposito and Piscatori cite three patterns of Muslim thought. Firstly, those who think that Islam its self is democratic, because Islam contains principles of *shūra*, *ijtihad* (independent reasoning), and *ijmā'* (consensus).<sup>33</sup> Islam theologically and sociologically supports the process of democratization in which Prophet Muhammad started it from *tauḥīd* teachings. Islam teaches principles of justice, equality and helping the poor people. Then it brings about emergence of egalitarian movement amid feudalistic Arabic community. Komaruddin Hidayat cites the model as Theo-democracy; democracy that upholds transcendental values and constantly gives opportunity for human sovereignty.<sup>34</sup> Fazlur Rahman, Hamid Inayat, Muhammad Asad, and Javid Iqbal accept democracy with its certain modifications as well as Islamic teachings. Muhammad Asad introduces the Legislative Assembly –*majlīs al-shūra*– that constitutes the truly representative of entire community, men and women. Free election through which the members are elected is also celebrated. Javid Iqbal affirms that Islam guarantees man's inalienable rights, e.g. equality of status and opportunity; equality before law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, association, assembly, movement, trade, business, and profession; and the right to hold and dispose of property, subject to Islamic law and morality.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Riza Sihbudi, "Masalah Demokratisasi di Timur Tengah", in M. Imam Aziz, et al., *Agama, Demokrasi, dan Keadilan*, (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia, 1993), p. 33.

<sup>34</sup> Komaruddin Hidayat, "Tiga Model Hubungan Agama dan Demokrasi", in Elza Peldi Taher, ed., *Demokratisasi Politik, Budaya dan Ekonomi: Pengalaman Indonesia Masa Orde Baru*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1994), pp. 194-196.

<sup>35</sup> Masykuri Abdillah, "Islamic political Theories, p. 08.

Many Indonesian Muslim intellectuals, like Abdurrahman Wahid, Amien Rais, Nurcholis Madjid, Aswab Mahasin, etc. have agreed that Islamic values and principles support a universal notion of democracy. Amien Rais identifies five democratic principles in Islam. First, the state must be based on *justice*. Second, the political system must be based on the principles of *shūra* and *musyawarah*. Third, there is the principle of *equality*. Fourth, *freedom* is defined as freedom of thought, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, the right to education and occupation, the right to get free and safe life, freedom of movement etc. Finally, *accountability*: the leaders are accountable to the people for their policies.<sup>36</sup>

Secondly, those who reject to synthesize between Islam and democracy because, to Muhammad Husein Thabathaba'i Islam comes against –does not adapt with- majority interest/willing.<sup>37</sup> Hafids Salih forbids to use the term and concept of democracy, because this concept means negation of Allah sovereignty over men and this term does not originate from Islamic vocabulary. As Salih's thought, Adnan Ali Rida al-Nahwi rejects democracy but promotes *shūra* (consultation) because the former is synonymous with the man-made order, while the latter is God's order.<sup>38</sup> Sovereignty only belongs to Allah and al-Quran and Sunnah provide a complete guideline of human life. Hence, in this case democracy that is based on people's rule can not be applied. Al-Maududi also agrees that Islam differs from democracy, but Islam contains democratic principles.

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<sup>36</sup> Anders Uhlén, *Indonesia and the Third Wave of Democratization: the Indonesian Pro-Democracy Movement in a Changing World*, (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997), pp. 71-72.

<sup>37</sup> Riza Sihbudi, "Masalah Demokratisasi, p. 08.

<sup>38</sup> Masykuri Abdillah, "Islamic political Theories, p. 07.

Thus, at least there are three reasons why Islam is against democratic principles. Socio-historically it often occurs that Islam is only held by the ruler as legitimate instrument of political interest of a group; philosophically, Islamic teachings alienate human independence including democratic principles for the shake of Allah's will; and theologically, Islam always returns to Allah but democracy concerns on empirical, concrete and dynamic issues. Therefore Islam is meant to involve in democratic issues.<sup>39</sup>

Thirdly, relationship between Islam and democracy tends to be neutral in which religious affairs are separated from politics (secularism). This occurs in the state which Muslim as minority of country's populations like India, etc.<sup>40</sup>

In Indonesia, most of Muslims and Islamic political party can be grouped as pro-democracy actors who are also responsible to participate in implementing democracy beside Islamic values, and to exercise control over the process of democratization. In this case, the PPP asserts to implement Islamic values and democratic principles at once over democratic procedures. In this sense, democracy and democratization are seen as a *means* to implement the ideas of Islam, but not as a *goal* in itself.

Meanwhile, In implementing these principles, the PPP base those all on the spirit "*al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*". Al-Ghazali states that *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* is a basic principle of Islam and constitutes all humankind's duty.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Komaruddin Hidayat, "Tiga Model Hubungan Agama, p. 192.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>41</sup> Fahmi Huswaydi, *Demokrasi, Oposisi dan Masyarakat Madani: Isu-Isu Besar Politik Islam*, translated by Muhammad Abdul Ghaffar, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), p. 132.

Generally, the process of democratization involves various groups; people, political party, non-government organization, etc. They constitute the crucial participants in the process. Huntington cites the crucial participants such as standpatters, liberal reformers, democratic reformers in the governing coalition, and democratic moderates and revolutionary extremists in the opposition.<sup>42</sup>

In the era of reformation (1998-2003), Democratization, which occurs in Indonesia, still constitutes a transitional process toward democracy. In this case, Rustow's model for transition toward democracy can be adopted for relevance to the Indonesian context. The model identifies *a background condition* and *three phases of democratic transition*. The background condition is a sense of national unity. In the first phase (preparatory phase), there is a persistent and serious conflict leading to the breakdown of the non-democratic regime; a conscious decision to adopt democratic rule occurs in the second phase (decision phase); finally, there is a consolidation phase in which politicians and the electorate become habituated to this type of system.<sup>43</sup>

In other theory, Huntington identifies *tripartite division of transition processes* in which political leaders and publics end authoritarian system and create democratic one. In the first model, there is a transformation which occurs when the elites in power take the lead in bringing about democracy; a replacement occurs in the second one when opposition groups take the lead in bringing about democracy, and the authoritarian regime collapses or is overthrown; finally, there

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<sup>42</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave*, p. 121.

<sup>43</sup> Najib Ghadbian, *Democratization and the Islamist Challenge in the Arab World*, (L.L.C.: Westview Press, 1997), p. 10.

is a transplacement that occurs when democratization results largely from joint action by government and opposition groups.<sup>44</sup>

## F. Research Method

### 1. Type of Research

The research was *library research*.<sup>45</sup> The data were explored from material of the PPP documents<sup>46</sup> and some references written by many authors, like books, journals, magazines, newspapers and websites.

### 2. Characteristic of Research

The research, held qualitatively, included *descriptive-analytic* research.<sup>47</sup> The descriptive research is intended to describe accurately the PPP's attitudes towards executive power during three administrations (1998-2003). The data, then, were analysed to understand influences of Islamic values toward the PPP's attitudes.

### 3. Research Approach

The approach has an important function for implementation of research. According to Vernon Van Dyke, the approach is a criterion to select the

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<sup>44</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), p. 114.

<sup>45</sup> Sutrisno Hadi, *Metodologi Resaerch*, 14<sup>th</sup> ed., (Yogyakarta : Yayasan Penerbitan Fakultas Psikologi UGM, 1983), p. 9.

<sup>46</sup> Koentjaraningrat, *Metode-Metode Penelitian Masyarakat*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed., (Jakarta : PT. Gramedia, 1990), pp. 44-65.

<sup>47</sup> Sutrisno Hadi, *Metodologi Research*, p. 29.



problem of research and the relevant data.<sup>48</sup> In other word, it covers the standard used to choose problem, and to determine which data will be research and be neglected.<sup>49</sup> In this case, the relevant approach, the writer uses was *normative and political approach*.

#### 4. Collecting Data

In accordance with the type of the research, data were collected through method of *documentation*.<sup>50</sup> The data for the thesis were derived from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included the PPP's documents and the works written by those directly involved in political field as well as the reports of magazines and newspapers. The secondary sources were the material from other authors with the subject connected with the issue. There were some references, though not directly to the topic but useful for the study of the PPP, were also included in the attached bibliography.

#### 5. Data Analysis

The data, have been collected was analyzed inductively<sup>51</sup> and deductively as well as naturalistic inquiry (qualitative research).

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<sup>48</sup> David E. Apter, *Pengantar Analisa Politik*, translated by Setiwan Abadi, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., (Jakarta : LP3ES, 1996), p. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Miriam Budiardjo, "Pendekatan-Pendekatan dalam Ilmu Politik", *Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, No. 10 (1990), p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> It means seeking data, concerning a problem in the form of notes, transcripts, books, newspapers, magazines, notes, ledgers, agendas, etc. Suharsimi Arikunto, *Prosedur Penelitian : Suatu Pendekatan Praktik*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed., (Jakarta : Rineka Cipta, 1992), p. 200.

<sup>51</sup> It means that an analysis is started from specific facts, or concrete events, then it is concluded a generalization, based on those. Sutrisno Hadi, *Metodologi Research*, p. 42. In other words, it is inferring from particular to general. Soerjono Soekanto, *Pengantar Penelitian Hukum*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., (Jakarta: UI Press, 1942), p. 5.

## **G. Organization of the Thesis**

The thesis is systematically put into five chapters. **Chapter one** is an introductory chapter which consists of the background of problem, major problems, objectives and significances of research, survey of previous studies, theoretical frame, research method, and organization of the thesis. **Chapter two** discusses the general descriptions concerning Islam and democratization. It covers Islamic values in democratic perspective, the role of political party in democracy, and process of democratisation. This is intended to explain a theoretical frame as a tool of the analysis. **Chapter three** pictures about the PPP and the executive power in the era of reformation, and the political attitudes of the PPP toward executive power in the era of Habibie's, Abdurrahman wahid's, and Megawati's administration. Then, **Chapter four** is an analysis of the political attitudes of the PPP towards executive power in that era. The analysis was determined in the frame of Islam and democratization. Finally, **Chapter five** is a closing that consists of conclusions of the study and suggestions for the political party and for everybody paying a great attention to Islamic political party sphere and Islamic political science.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS

#### A. Conclusions

As data on issues concerning political attitudes of the United Development Party (PPP) towards executive power in the era of reformation (1998 – 2003) have been explored and analyzed in the frame of Islamic values and democratization, it could be concluded that:

1. toward executive power at the era of three administrations (Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Megawati), the United Development Party (PPP) holds cooperative attitudes, with engagement to execute power either as minister or vice president or giving supports, appreciation, expectations to the executive. These can be seen that during 1998 till 1999, PPP let its cadres occupy an office as Minister in charge of Investment/chairman of *BKPM*, Hamzah Haz, and Minister for Horticultural Affairs, A.M. Saefuddin. During 1999 till 2001, chairman of the PPP, Hamzah Haz was appointed as Minister in charge of People's Welfare, and Zarkasih Nur as Minister in charge of Cooperatives, and small and middle enterprises. The chairman of expert council at central executive board of the PPP, Baharuddin Lopa, occupied an office in the ministry twice, as Minister for Justice and Human Rights (4 months) and then as Attorney General (27 days). Then, since Megawati replaced Abdurrahman Wahid as president in 2001, Hamzah Haz has held an office as vice-president till 2004. President Megawati was also appointed two

PPP's cadres: Ali Marwan Hanan as Minister in charge of Cooperatives, and small and middle enterprises, and Bachtiar Chamsyah as Minister for social Affairs.

Nevertheless, toward executive power held by three presidents, the PPP consistently appears critical, like submitting urges or pressures, suggestions, warnings, recommendations, disagreements, rejections and threat to them concerning certain issues. These attitudes are articulated through the DPR/MPR sessions, internal meetings of the PPP, and statement of a PPP's cadre. Despite the critical attitudes of the PPP toward the executive power, the writer sees there are distinctive attitudes to each of three administrations, and even the PPP finally held confrontational attitudes toward Abdurrahman Wahid. The differences emerge because of influences from leadership style of the president and engagement of the PPP within the regimes. The PPP shows a rather soft attitude towards Habibie and his cabinet power. The PPP asserts that controversial position of Habibie is legal in accordance with the 1945 constitution. In contrast, the PPP performs a hard attitude and speaks out strongly against Abdurrahman Wahid's presidential style and against management of the administration. Finally, the PPP agrees to replace Abdurrahman Wahid as president. He often speaks and acts controversially and inconsistently. Different from PPP's attitudes toward two previous regimes, the PPP holds cooperative attitudes to Megawati's administration. The PPP asserts to support her, though she used to be previously rejected as president.

2. As an Islam-based political party, the PPP struggles for Islamic values as slogan and as political behavior. Many Koranic verses and Hadis are delivered for reasons of certain political interests. Therefore, those reasons often do not coincide with democratic values, whereas the PPP claims to struggle for Islam and democracy in Indonesia. As we know, by the 1999 election, the PPP rejected female as president for religious reason. On the contrary, the PPP supported Megawati presidency. So Islam are often understood as flexible values that could change conditionally in accordance with larger interest or *li al-maṣlahat al-ummah* (a term quoted by the PPP).

The PPP also brings Islamic values as action by supporting or submitting Islamic teachings to be held and executed by the government. Islamic values upheld by the PPP sometimes strengthen efforts of democratization, but in the same time it sometimes spoilt processes of democratization in Indonesia.

## B. Suggestions

It is no doubt that the Islamic political organization has much contributed toward process of democratization in Indonesia, but from this study it can be pointed out several notes for us, that:

1. some efforts to struggle for democracy, in fact, do not always coincide with Islamic values which are politically struggled by political party, and *vice versa*. In political sphere, Islam appeared as partial slogan is seen as threat against democratization and a challenge to maintain Islam as *rahmatan li al-‘ālamīn*.

2. It is necessary for the future that the Islamic political party should translate and integrate Islamic values as 'positive' concept and universal humane action. Therefore, Islam for this reason will not lose its universality and sacred.
3. The writer do realizes that the study of this thesis does not constitute yet a perfect research result, because there contains many aspects to be deeper researched. For instance, *an issue on Islam and Democratization in Indonesia in the era of reformation* is interesting to take as object of following research with certain Islamic political party as the subject. Because, in this thesis, the writer just put the issue as theoretical frame for analysis of political attitudes of the United Political Party (PPP) towards executive power.

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*Kompas*, Edisi Rabu, 20 Desember 2000.



## TRANSLATION

No.	Footnote	Page	Translations
1	6	21	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Translations</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Quoted from Muhammad Baqir Behbudi and Colin Turner, <i>The Quran : A New Interpretation</i>, Great Britain : Curzon Press, 1997.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>CHAPTER II</b></p> <p>God commands those of you who believe always to give back on time the things entrusted to you to whom they are due. And whenever you act as arbiter or judge in a dispute between men, God command you to act with fairness and justice at all times, even if they are not of your religion or tradition. God instructs you in the most excellent patterns of behavior. God hears how you pass judgment and He sees all things. (Al-Nisā' (4) : 58)</p>
2		22	<p>O you who believe ! you were the best (leaders) of men to emerge from your society in order to reform it. You enjoin upon the people what is good and forbid what is bad; and you believe in God. If the Jews and Christians come to believe, it will be better for them. Some of them are believers but most of them are submerged in sin and rebellion and have disobeyed the commands of God.(Ali Imrān (3): 110)</p> <p>The believers-men and women alike-are as one: protectors and helpers of each other. They enjoin what is good and forbid what is unlawful. They pray, pay <i>zakat</i> and obey God and His prophet. It is they whom God will soon cover with his mercy. For God is Almighty, All-Wise (Al-Taubah (9) : 71)</p> <p>O you who believe ! obey God and His prophet and those among you who have been authorized to rule over you. If you have a disagreement with those authorized to rule over you, refer it to God and His prophet-if you believe in God and the Last Day. Do not deviate from this path: to refer your disagreement to God and His prophet is better than clashing acrimoniously with those who rule you, and the outcome will be better for you. (Al-Nisā' (4) : 59)</p> <p>By the twilight years of life !. Despite a life time's opportunity, mankind is still in loss. Except for those</p>

			<p>who believe and perform good works; who enjoin acts of righteousness on others; and who invite those around them to patience, forbearance and truth. (Al-‘Aṣr (103) : 1-3)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>CHAPTER IV</b></p> <p>And if we will the downfall of a people, we first multiply the number of wealthy men among them. Then, when the number of wealthy men has increased and they have, by dint of their corruption and concupiscence, left the line of prophethood, God’s words concerning them are proved true: “They are bound for Hell and will not believe.” Then We will destroy them once and for all. (al-Isrā’ (17) : 16)</p> <p>Say: “The Truth has come and all falsehood has disappeared in defeat. Truly, all falsehood will be defeated.” (al-Isrā’ (17) : 81)</p> <p>Had they believed in God and trod the path of righteousness, we would have opened the floodgates of Divine Mercy and showered them with bounties, both from the heavens and from earth. But they rejected Our Message and so We punished them for their crimes. (al-Ṣaf (61) : 3)</p>
3	6	73	

## BIOGRAPHY OF SCHOLARS

### 1. Dr. H. Hamzah Haz, BSc.

He was born in Ketapang, West Kalimantan, on February 15, 1940. He studied at SMP, and SMEA in Pontianak. He continued his study at State Cooperative Academy, Yogyakarta (1962) and Economic Faculty at University of Tanjungpura, Pontianak (level 5, 1970) and he achieved the Degree of Honorary Doctor of Philosophy in management from American World of University (1998). He has joined organization, since he studied at Junior High School. Having passed from SMEA of Pontianak in 1961, he became a journalist of Newspaper 'Bebas' in Pontianak and he did not chose to work in Bank as his friends did. He ever led Daily News 'Pawan' West Kalimantan. In 1962, he established and led PMII. Since 1960 – 1962, he was a teacher at SM, Ketapang. He ever held an office as chairman of *Badan Pemeriksa Induk Koperasi Kopra Indonesia* (1965 – 1970), as chairman of *Presidium KAMI Konsulat Pontianak* (1968 – 1971), and assistant of lecturer at University of Tanjungpura, Pontianak (1968 – 1971).

Hamzah Haz began his career in politics when he was elected as member of Provincial People's Representative Council (DPRD), West Kalimantan (1969 – 1971). At that time, he joined 'Ulama's Awakening Party (PNU) and used to be vice-chairman of Provincial Executive Board (DPW) NU. In 1971, he was elected as member of the DPR RI from NU Party, West Kalimantan. Since that period, he played on the national political stage. Then, NU party was integrated into PPP, while Hamzah actively engaged in PPP, therefore he was elected as member of the DPR RI from the PPP. In addition, he has been elected as general-chairman of the PPP for two periods, 1998 – 2003, and then 2003 – 2007. Within the government, he was ever appointed as State Minister for Investment and *BKPM* in chief (1998), and then as Coordinating Minister in charge of People's Welfare (1999). In parliamentary, he had sat on chair of Commission of State Budget (APBN), (1997 – 2002), and he is known as *ayatullah* of APBN. The last office he holds is to be Vice-President (July 26, 2001 – 2004), after Gus Dur has been replaced by the MPR. He is also an author of two books : *Kebijakan Fiskal dan Moneter*, prefaced by Anwar Nasution, and *Hamzah Haz, Konsistensi dan Integritas Perjuangan di Bawah Panji-Panji Ka'bah*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Indonesia Satu, 2003).

### 2. Alimarwan Hanan, SH.

He was born on March 12, 1947 in South Sumatra. He used to be a teacher of religious affairs in Palembang. He passed from Perguruan Agama Atas Lengkap in 1967, Palembang. Since 1976 – 1981, he worked at Department of Religious Affairs, Palembang until he studied at Law faculty, University of Sriwijaya and then graduated in 1984. he also built a career in politics. After he halted as general chairman of *Badko HMI Sumbangsel* (1974 – 1976), the PPP recruited him in the 1977 election as candidate of councilor (DPRD) in South Sumatera and he has been elected for three period. In 1992, he was elected as central councilor

(DPR) who held an office as chairman of Commission and vice-chairman of the PPP Faction in DPR. In the third *Mukhtamar* of the PPP, he was elected as vice-general secretary of DPP PPP, and then as General-Secretary in fourth *Mukhtamar*. Today, he is State Minister in charge of Cooperative and Business on low and middle level (2001 – 2004).

### **3. Prof. Dr. H. Baharuddin Lopa, SH.**

He was born on August 27, 1935 in Mandar region, South Sulawesi. He graduated from SD in 1950, SMP in 1952, and SMA in 1955. he also graduated from University of Hasanuddin in 1962. Then, he took a regular course in Lemhanas, Jakarta. He obtained an appreciation “*Wibawa Seroja Nugraha*” for his the best final report of the other student’s. He achieved degree for Doctor of Legal science in Unuversity of Diponegoro, Semarang in 1982. He is also appreciated a degree of Extra-Ordinary Professor from University of Hasanuddin in 1983.

Continuously, he worked as District Attorney in Makasar, as regent in Majene, South Sulawesi, as chairman of High Attorney in South-East Sulawesi, Aceh, West Kalimantan and South Sulawesi. Then, he is assigned in Jakarta as expert staff of Minister for Justice, then as General-Director for socialization in department of Justice. He was ever appointed as Minister for Justice and the last as Attorney General in Gus Dur regime. Finally, when he held an office as Attorney General, he passed a way in Saudi Arabia. He is a chairman of expert council at central executive board of the United Development Party (PPP).

### **4. Najib Ghadbian**

He had done his doctoral work at The Graduate School of the City University of New York. He is currently a research analyst for the Emirates center for Strategic Studies and Research in Abu Dhabi.

### **5. Dr. Ahmad Shalaby**

He graduated from al-Azhar, Faculty of Dar al-Ulum, University of Cairo, University of London, and University of Cambridge. He used to visit the United State of America, and many countries around Europe, Asia and Africa. He is master in many foreign language, including Indonesian, and English. Then, he has long been a lecturer at University of Cairo and a chairman of department for Islamic history and civilization. He teaches at University of Al-Azhar, Japan, Indonesia, Sudan, Malaysia, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and Libya He also teaches at Institute for Islamic studies, for Research and Arabic studies, and Institute for diplomatic studies.

His publications –apart from Islamic bibliography- are more than fivety books, such as *Mausū’at al-Tārīkh al-Islāmiy* (10 ajza’); *Mausū’at al-Hadārat al-Islāmiy* (10 ajza’); *Muqāranatul Adyān* (4 ajza’); *Kaifa Taktubu Baḥsan wa Risālatan, Al-Maktabat al-Islāmiyyah likulli al-A’mar : 100 Ajza’ min al-Sairi wa al-Tārīkh wa Qiṣaṣ al-Qur’an li al-Aulād wa al-Syubbān wa al-Sayyidāt wa al-Rijāl*; *Islam : Belief Legislation Morals*; *History of Muslim Education*, and so on. A little of his works is published in Indonesian and English, but many translated into Urdu, Turkey, Indonesian, Malaysian, French, and Persian.

#### **6. Prof. Dr. H. M. Amien Rais, MA**

He was born on April 26, 1944 in Solo and grown up in Islamic family, Kauman. He graduated from University of Gajah Mada in 1968. He achieved a degree for Master at University of Notre Dame Indiana, USA (1974), and degree for Doctor at University of Chicago, USA (1981). His doctoral thesis entitles *The Moslem Brotherhood in Egypt : Its Rise, Demise, and Resurgence*. During finishing Doctoral program, he used to extra-ordinary student at University of Al-Azhar, Cairo, Egypt. Then, he took a post doctoral program at George Washington University and UCLA, USA (1988 – 1989). He used to be a chairman of Muhammadiyah and ICMI.

#### **7. Prof. Dr. Ing. H. Baharuddin Jusuf Habibie**

He was born in Pare-Pare, South Sulawesi on June 25, 1936. Having passed from Senior High School, he has studied for a year at Institute for Bandung Technology (ITB) (1954 – 1955). Then, he moved to Aachen, West Germany and there studied at Technische Hochschule, focus on The Plane Construction. Five years later, he successfully achieved the *Summa Cumlaude* Degree of Doctor in Engineering on July 27, 1965. Further, he ever occupied an office as assistant and Research Scientist at Institute for Light Construction (*Konstruksi Ringan*) of Technische Hochschule Aachen (1960 – 1965), and as expert scholar at MBB – Messerschmitt Bolkow Blohm (1965 – 1966), and chairman of the Department at Research of Basic Science for *Kekuatan Rangka dan Koonstruksi*, MBB. He ever held an office as chairman of Division of the *Pesawat Komersial* and *Pesawat Angkut Militer* Method and Technology, MBB, and vice-presidential Director of Technological Application, MBB (1974).

In 1974, Habibie returned to Indonesia. Then, he worked as Advising Prime Director of Pertamina, Division in chief of Advanced Technology and Plane Technology of Pertamina and as Advisor of the government in the same field. He used to be State Minister for Research and Technology, and Vice-President. Finally, he placed Suharto position as President on May 21, 1998 – October 1999. He also obtained much Indonesian and International honorary, such as Honorary Professor of the Plane Construction from ITB, and Highest Medal “Gran Cruz del Merito Aeronautico Condistinctivo Blanco” from Spain, and so on.

#### **8. KH. Abdurrahman Wahid**

He was born in 1940. he studied at SMTP and SMTA in Yogyakarta and Jakarta. Meanwhile, he learned at cottage of KH. Ali Ma'sum, Krapyak, Yogyakarta, and at cottage of Tegalrejo, Magelang. He used to study at cottage of K. Wahab Hasbullah, Tambak Beras, Jombang. In 1963, he studied at Al-Azhar, then because of his disappoint there, he moved to study at Faculty of Adab, Baghdad until 1970. A year later, he returned to Indonesia and touch in Jombang. Since he moved to Jakarta in 1979, he has been known as a figure having large knowledge. He also used to be chairman of PB NU, since the *Mukhtamar* in Situbondo. In 1999, he was elected by the MPR as president of Indonesian Republic until 2001, after he has been halted through Memorandum.

His works and writings are much published in Newspaper, Book, Journal etc. His biography is written by Greg Barton entitled *Gus Dur: the Authorized Biography of Abdurrahman Wahid* (2002).

#### **9. John L. Esposito**

He is founding Director of The Center for Muslim-Christian understanding : History and International Affairs and Professor of Islamic Studies. He is Editor in Chief of the Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World. Among his publications are : *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality*; *Islam: The Straight Path*; *Islam and Democracy* (with J. Voll); *Islam, Gender, and Social Change* (with Y. Haddad); *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism, or Reform ?*; *The Iranian Revolution: Its Global Impact*; *Voices of Resurgent Islam*; *Islam in Asia: religion Politics, and Society*; *Islam and Development*; and *Woman in Muslim Family Law* (Syracuse University Press, 1982).

#### **10. Samuel P. Huntington**

He is Professor of political science and Director of John M. Ollin of Institute for Strategic Studies at Center for International Affairs, Harvard University of United State of America. Since 1973 – 1989, he is temporal Director and then central Director for International Affairs. In 1977 – 1978, he took short vacancy from Harvard to be coordinator of planning security at National Security Council in Washington D.C.. He used to be chairman of Harvard Department of Government, temporal Director for Studies of War and Peace at Columbia University, and Professor of Administration at Harvard University. His publications concern on Politics of Military, Strategy, and Relationship between Civil and Military, American Politics, and Political Comparison and Political Development. Among his works are: *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony* (1981), and *The Third Wave: Democratization in The Late Twentieth Century* (1991).

#### **11. Robert W. Hefner**

He was born in 1952, Colombia, Ohio, USA. He achieved Philosophical Doctor of Anthropology at University of Michigan, Aun Arbor in 1980. He is an observer of economic, political and religious affairs in Indonesia and South-East Asia. He is professor of anthropology at Boston University. Since 1991, he has been Director of program on *Democracy and Civil Society* at Institute for the study of economic culture.

He is author of *The Political Economy of Mountain Java and Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition and Islam* (Princeton, 1995), and editor of *Democratic Civility : The Cross-Culture Possibility of a Modern Political Ideal* (Transaction Press, 1998), and *Market Culture : Society and Morality in the New Asian Capitalism* (ISSEAS Singapore and West view Press, 1998).



## CURRICULUM VITAE

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### Education

#### *a. Formal*

1. 1990 – passed from Elementary School (SDN Bajang I Pakong) Pamekasan
2. 1993 – passed from Islamic Junior High School (MTS Darussalam) Sumenep
3. 1996 – passed from Islamic Senior High School (MA Bata-Bata) Pamekasan
4. 2004 – passed from Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University Yogyakarta

#### *b. Informal*

1. 1998 – 1999 English Course
2. 2001 Computer Course (Office)