




Islamic Political Deideology (Policy of the New Order Government in the Application of the Single Principle)

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p>Article history: Received may 05, 2021 Revised may 26, 2021 Accepted Jun 03, 2021</p> <hr/> <p>Keywords: Deideology, the new order Political</p>	<p>Deideology means the elimination/abolition of the principles that become the identity and ideological symbols of political organizations and mass organizations, such as the New Order government's policy in politics to weaken communal ideology so that state ideology will no longer be disturbed by the communal ideology. Another target is the receding and weak communal ideology so that Indonesia's future will run well without any ideological conflicts. The strategy of the Old Order government, which was too strongly ideologically and politically oriented, was judged by the New Order regime as having brought political instability and economic destruction that made the people miserable. Therefore, the New Order government felt the need to carry out political stability and security as an important policy that was considered to be able to support the success of the economic development of the New Order regime. This method was then realized in the form of eliminating political ideologies and establishing the principle of Pancasila as a single ideology through the instrument of Law no. 3 of 1985. The aim of this study is to find out the motivation of the New Order government in establishing Pancasila as the sole principle. Knowing the implications of the New Order's political policies in establishing a single principle for Islamic politics.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC license.</i></p> <div style="text-align: right;">  </div>

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1. INTRODUCTION

Viewed from any context, the collapse of the Old Order and the rise of the New Order remains a very important issue for the Indonesian people (Wahid, 2019). This era shift is not just a transfer of time and power, but more than that it has many meanings and implications. One thing that is relevant to be reviewed is the impact of changes in people's economic and socio-political thinking as a result of the birth of the New Order. Likewise, its impact on the response of the Indonesian Islamic community's thinking. This is because, after all, changes in general thinking greatly affect the development of Islamic thought patterns. Arbi Sanit saw that the birth of the New Order was aimed at correcting various previous weaknesses, especially the stagnation of the economy and the collapse of democracy (Sulaiman, 2008).

The New Order, which emerged on the political stage and in power to replace the Old Order, initially received support from groups of Islamic organizations that rose after Soekarno stepped

down from the presidency, student groups and students who were members of the KAMI (Indonesian Student Action Union) and KAPPI (Indonesian Student Action Unit). The Indonesian Youth and Student Action) whose members are predominantly Muslim – became the spearhead of the struggle against the Old Order regime with military support. They opposed the Old Order government under Sukarno, which was considered authoritarian (ESA, nd).

Learning from the experience of the Old Order which put more emphasis on politics as a state activity, the New Order put more emphasis on the field of economic development that was pragmatic, non-sectarian, and committed to the official state ideology "Pancasila" (Pratama, Sodik, & Suryadi, 2019). At first, the New Order did seem to make changes to the irresponsible bureaucratic tendencies inherited from the Old Order regime. However, the New Order bureaucracy, which pivoted on the close relationship between the military and technocrats, socialists and Christians, in the context of carrying out development and realizing a stable and strong government, expanded its functions by becoming a political machine. In addition to being a tool of government administration,

One of the important political policies of the New Order Government when it started to take power was the choice of modernization as the starting point and the basic framework for nation building. The choice of modernization seems to be considered the only alternative in advancing the Indonesian nation after the previous regime (Old Order) was deemed to have failed to meet the demands and expectations of the people (Sulaiman, 2008).

The strategy of the Old Order government, which was too strongly ideologically and politically oriented, was judged by the New Order regime as having brought political instability and economic destruction that made the people miserable. Therefore, the New Order government felt the need to carry out political stability and security as important policies that were considered to be able to support the success of economic development. In order to overcome this, the New Order took policies in the economic field, and in politics sought to create a political format that supports economic development (Kholis, 2013).

On the other hand, among Indonesian Muslims, modernization is a relatively new problem. Moreover, they are faced with the fact that modernization, which has become the choice of the New Order, places an ideology that is clearly oriented towards the West. Muslims are faced with a dilemma, they are faced with two choices, namely to participate in and support the policies of the New Order regime which means supporting modernization that is manifestly towards the West, or to refuse with the consequence of losing the opportunity to actively participate in development programs. This dilemma creates differences among Muslims in the face of modernization (Azra, 2019).

The choice of the New Order to carry out modernization is a strategic choice that has at least two implications. First, the New Order government thus had a strong ideology that directly touched the lives of many people, because it would attract political support and participation, but it would also shift the primordial political ideology. Second, the support and political participation of the community in the next turn, will support the continuity of the development process and strengthen the position of the New Order government itself (Hariyanto, nd).

The dynamic interaction between political participation and political institutionalization is then expected to occur in the political engineering process as the New Order's political development agenda (Subekti, 2014). The New Order's political policies were carried out, among others, through the depoliticization of political parties, the merger (fusion) of political parties, the application of a floating mass policy, the application of a single principle to political parties and mass organizations, and the strengthening of national stability through various restrictions and controls. concessions, where of all the policies above the most disadvantaged are Muslims (Sulaiman, 2008).

However, the peak of the disappointment of the Muslims was when the New Order government stipulated that all political forces and mass organizations had to attach a single principle to it. The necessity of establishing this single principle means the elimination (deideology) of the principle which is the identity and symbol of the ideology of political organizations and mass organizations, including Muslims (Sulaiman, 2008). This last debate has invited strong reactions as well as broad and sharp debates among political parties and Islamic mass organizations. However, after an explanation from President Suharto that guaranteed that Pancasila would not and should

not be considered a substitute for existing religions, Muslims saw no stronger reason not to accept the single principle (Syu'aib, 2017).

The history of politics in Indonesia cannot be separated from the conflict between Islamic politics and the state. Because when talking about politics in Indonesia means also talking about Islam (Tabrani, 2016), because Islam is the majority religion in Indonesia. Sociologically, the potential of Muslims as a source of legitimacy for the political system in order to succeed in national development is very large (Hadi, 2011).

2. RESEARCH METHOD

In this study, the authors conducted research using qualitative research, namely research procedures that produced descriptive data, namely, describing matters relating to the problem being studied, in this case the New Order government policy set Pancasila as the sole basis for Islamic politics. The type of research that the author uses is library research, namely by reading, understanding and interpreting information from books and other print media that have to do with thesis material.

2.1. Data source

To facilitate this research, the authors classify data sources into two types, namely primary data sources and secondary data sources.

- a. researched. The primary data is a set of laws and regulations that apply in Indonesia obtained through official documents, as well as direct writings that are directly related to the research topic.
- b. Secondary data is data that is not direct and obtained by researchers from research subjects. For secondary data obtained from books and writings containing thoughts and analyzes related to the topics discussed in the research.

2.2. Data collection technique

After collecting the data obtained for the purposes of this study, it will be analyzed by descriptive-analytical method. That is to describe the policy of the New Order government to establish Pancasila as the sole basis for Islamic politics in Indonesia as it is, then draw conclusions that are considered important. In this case, the method used to obtain conclusions is by comparing one data with another so that it is known which one is more valid. While the technique of writing this thesis is guided by "Academic Manual 2005-2006 Faculty of Ushuluddin and Philosophy UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta".

2.3. Data analysis technique

While the analysis technique is one of the techniques in research by conducting analyzes of the data obtained. This analysis aims to explain in as much detail as possible with matters relating to the post-New Order leadership pattern of the Golkar Party. So the analysis that will be used is descriptive analysis, namely the efforts made by working with data, digging up data and information, organizing data, sorting it into manageable units, with the aim of finding a systematic, factual, actual picture of the facts and activities related to the leadership pattern of Akbar Tandjung and Jusuf Kalla in the post-New Order Golkar Party.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 Application of the Single Principle

Together with the steady state of national stability and economic development, the protection and security of Pancasila became the principle and national ideology of the state became the main priority of the New Order government. This policy appears to be driven by many factors. The first factor was that after the 1965 PKI uprising was quelled, the government continued to be wary of the party's revival even though it was officially banned. The second factor was the emergence of Muslim fundamentalist movements in various parts of the Islamic world in the 1970s, particularly in Iran. Worried that the influence of the Iranian revolution would spread in Indonesia, the government protected Pancasila. The third factor that pushes the government to continue to protect Pancasila seems to be the emergence of the separatist and fundamentalist movement in this country.

In line with continuous efforts to preserve Pancasila starting in 1982 the government discussed its importance. The government's main motive is to protect Pancasila as the state's

national ideology, and to continue to socialize it in the life of the nation. For this reason, the government feels that there should be no other ideology that can match Pancasila as the sole principle. This conclusion is driven by two factors. The first factor is that the government seems to have learned from the experience of previous election campaigns where there were physical fights, particularly between Golkar and PPP supporters. The second factor that pushed the government to make Pancasila not only as the sole principle or ideology of the state, but also the single principle for all political parties and mass organizations in this country is because ideologically Pancasila will occupy a stronger position in the social and national life of the Indonesian nation. This idea seems to be strengthened by the fact that as far as political Islam is concerned, PPP still maintains Islam as its principle in addition to Pancasila. PPP's use of two principles is seen by the government as proof that they do not totally accept the national ideology of Pancasila. To eliminate this basic dualism, the government then implemented the idea of Pancasila as a single principle.⁷⁸ Even Suharto once attacked groups that did not totally accept the state ideology, Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution and would punish groups that were still ideologically oriented, Marxism, Leninism, Communism, and Nasakom.

According to the government and its supporters, the application of Pancasila as the sole principle of political parties will encourage each party to become more program-oriented rather than ideologically oriented. In this way the attractiveness of the party will be based in particular on the programs it offers to the public, not on the ideological principles used. So, the main issues during the election campaign will be focused mainly on the program, not on the ideology. In this regard, ideology is believed to be a source of inter-party political violence, as happened in previous campaigns.

Pancasila was finally used as the sole principle for all political parties. On February 19, 1985, the Government with the approval of the DPR issued Law no. 3 of 1985, stipulates that political parties and Golkar must accept Pancasila as the sole principle. Four months later, on June 17, 1985, the government again with the approval of the DPR issued Law no. 8 of 1985 concerning mass organizations, stipulates that all social or mass organizations must include Pancasila as a single principle. With the issuance of Law no. 3 of 1985, the acceptance of Pancasila as the sole principle for all political parties and mass organizations became an absolute requirement.

The New Order's political policies were not without reactions. As far as Muslims are concerned, at least since 1982, they have shown a reaction to the government's proposal of Pancasila as the single principle for all mass organizations. A number of Islamic organizations objected to the government's idea for fear that accepting Pancasila as the sole principle would mean that it would replace Islam, or that Pancasila would be equated with religion.

The reaction of Muslims to the single principle of Pancasila caused serious differences. In fact, Muslims have experienced the most complex conflicts and spent the longest debating this change of principle. From mid-1982 to 1985, debates took place and were accompanied by internal conflicts and conflicts with the government. This conflict had to be paid dearly by the split of HMI into HMI Diponegoro and HMI MPO, while PII was forced to disband because it rejected the policy.

At first almost all Islamic parties and organizations opposed this policy. But in the end, after being pressured by the government, many Islamic organizations began to accept a single-principle policy. Successively, all Islamic organizations conform to the will of the single principle of Pancasila. NU, through the 1983 Situbondo National Conference and the 1984 Surabaya Mukhtamar said it accepted Pancasila as the principle of social and political life and then established it as the principle of NU's organization. Likewise, Muhammadiyah through the 41st Congress in Surakarta in 1985 took a similar step. In 1988 as the time limit for the adjustment of all social and political organizations to the will of the law, all Islamic organizations have adapted, except for Indonesian Islamic Students (PII),

The success of eradicating the primordialistic ideology of Islam is the most valuable achievement for the New Order regime. All forces and ideologies have been successfully subdued. No power can stand against it. This strengthened the position of authoritarianism of the New Order regime. In this case, Islamic groups at the beginning of the New Order seemed to have played less of an important role in giving the content and meaning of this country's principles. This is one of the strategic mistakes of Muslims. They should compromise and then jointly share the contents of

Pancasila. Unfortunately, Muslims did not take the initiative to give Pancasila content to make it more in line with Islamic aspirations.

3.2 Policy Implications of the New Order Government in the Implementation of the Single Principle for Islamic Politics

For a long time, Islamic leaders in this country have been trying to find a way out of the problems that entangle most of their people. After being confined for a long time by the colonial discriminatory policies, independence did provide opportunities for Muslims to develop themselves. However, after the proclamation of independence, the image of poverty and backwardness has not been erased. Most Indonesian Muslims are far behind in many ways: low education, materially disadvantaged occupations, low physical quality of life scores, and low socioeconomic status.

Initial hopes emerged before independence, when BPUPKI (Badan Investigating Efforts to Prepare for Indonesian Independence) convened to determine the basis of the state, where an agreement was reached between the Islamic and nationalist groups as stated in the "Jakarta Charter" (22 June 1945), which was in the Jakarta Charter. It contains the sentence "...with the obligation to carry out Islamic Shari'ah for its adherents" in the first principle of Pancasila. This aims to make Pancasila more accepted by Muslims who incidentally are the majority in Indonesia.

With the abolition of these seven words, according to some people, it is seen as a political defeat for the representatives of Islam. However, according to Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara as quoted by Syafi'i Ma'arif, he had a different opinion, he interpreted that this event was a gift from Muslims to the Indonesian people and Indonesian independence, in order to maintain unity. The second hope emerged when the fall of the Old Order regime, where at that time all elements of Muslims together with the Army (military) student and student movement together toppled the old Order regime and crushed the PKI which had betrayed the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila.

In the beginning of its journey, the New Order government transformed into a regime that was no better than the old Order. This is reflected in the policies issued by the New Order state for Islamic politics. By cooperating with ABRI and technocrats (most of whom are Christian), the New Order state, which prioritized development orientation, was transformed into an authoritarian regime that could even be called a dictator in taking "policy" policies, especially when it comes to Islamic political interests. The policies of the New Order regime were to try to weaken and eliminate communal ideology so that the state ideology would not be disturbed anymore. This can be seen from the policies taken by the New Order regime, among others, through the depoliticization of Islamic politics through deparpolization and de-ideology which clearly contradicted the spirit of Islamic political parties.

This policy of depoliticizing Islamic politics began with the promulgation of Law no. 3 of 1973 which contains the simplification/merger (fusion) of nine political parties in the 1971 election into 3 political parties in the 1977 election. 3 and 8 of 1985 which contain the obligation to place the Pancasila date principle for socio-political organizations and the community.

Other single-principle responses also came from Islamic politicians, including Deliar Noer, as quoted by Faisal Ismail. Noer explained that the government's idea of the expansion of Pancasila as a single principle for all political parties and mass organizations reflects the tendency to narrow and limit people's aspirations, an act that must be avoided in democratic life. Noer also sees this as an attempt by the government to implement a single party system.

Under these conditions, the existence of more than one party is a mere formality. If this is true, then the implementation of Democracy in Indonesia must be debated. Furthermore, Noer added that the use of Pancasila as the sole principle will cause parties to be unable to explain the programs they want, because the values or criteria used to evaluate programs are the same. This will cause parties to become less competitive in offering programs, which in turn will weaken popular support for them. According to Noer, the specific principles of the party must still be shown, because this will affect the style and goals that make them different from one another.

However, various kinds of strong reactions that emerged from Islamic political figures, Islamic mass organizations and elements of Islamic society in general, did not dampen the steps of the New Order regime to continue to ratify and establish Pancasila as the only basis for political organizations and organizations. mass. With the help of ABRI, the New Order regime will take firm

action and dissolve political organizations and mass organizations that do not accept the single principle of Pancasila.

With the application of the single principle of Pancasila, PPP as the only party based on Islam must abolish Islamic principles and replace them with Pancasila principles. This means that the struggle and journey of Indonesian Islamic Politics through practical politics has suffered the biggest defeat in the history of Indonesian Islamic politics. Since the beginning of independence, Islamic leaders and activists have realized that in order to improve the living standards of Muslims as mentioned above, it requires a political struggle, namely dealing with efforts to gain power. As the ability to influence the actions and thoughts of others and also influence the process of making public policies, power is very important. Whatever the ultimate goal to strive for, every activist must achieve a goal between gaining the ability to influence people and the policy process. The ultimate goal, such as reducing people's poverty, definitely requires the ability to influence the public policy-making process. A summary of political and power issues is always inherent in every struggle. In this sense, the political struggle to free Muslims from poverty and backwardness is a matter of empowering the people. Namely, empowering them so that they can solve their own problems in life better.

To overcome the problems of Muslims at that time, Islamic leaders believed that the life of an independent Indonesian society must reflect Islamic law. The romanticism of the struggle in the early days of independence prompted Islamic leaders to implement policies that were activist and often confrontational. It took various forms, ranging from efforts to fight for the inclusion of Islamic laws in the constitution (through the Jakarta Charter) and the control of the law-making body, namely the House of Representatives, to physical struggles. Starting from the use of Islamic symbols to assert identity and thereby distinguish themselves from other parties, to the control of the government bureaucracy through the Ministry of Religion. At least until the late 1980s, almost all of these efforts failed. The "Political Islam" group turned out to be not strong enough to get the power holders to accommodate their demands. In fact, in the end, the political power of Islam practically had to suffer its greatest defeat, because it was no longer able to maintain the basic characteristics and principles of Islam.

It turned out that the policies of the New Order regime towards Islamic politics which ended with the application of the single principle of Pancasila had enormous implications for the future Islamic political struggle. After failing with the strategy of Islamizing the state for the sake of society, due to being completely suppressed by the New Order regime, in the late 1970s a generation of Islam emerged with a better intellectual quality, with more modern thoughts. They came up with different ideas from their predecessors.

Sociological conditions after the determination of the single principle of Pancasila, it is no longer possible to implement the strategy of Islamization of the state for the sake of society by acting as an opposition to the New Order regime. Therefore, young Islamic thinkers and activists began to think about finding the best way so that Muslims could let go of the bad image that has been inherent in the body of Islam. The most prominent Islamic political strategy after the establishment of the single principle of Pancasila was that Islamic thinkers and activists began to try to be accommodative to the New Order regime. Especially after social and political organizations and Islamic organizations no longer use Islam as an ideological basis.

So the New Order regime considered that with the acceptance of the single principle of Pancasila for political organizations and Islamic mass organizations, the fear of "Islam Phobia" had disappeared, because all this time what the New Order regime was worried about was that Islamic politics if allowed to grow and develop and try to establish a state. Islam. This accommodative attitude is articulated by Islamic leaders and activists in several ways, namely:

- a. Formation of alliances with several "inside" figures
- b. The formation of a "pressure group" with a core of intellectuals inside and outside the government and social activists;
- c. Emphasis on high level "lobbying". This was aimed at convincing the New Order regime that political Islam was no longer a frightening threat to the regime.

In addition to the strategies above, in order for Islamic politics to continue to exist in the history of politics in Indonesia, the chosen strategy is to develop Islamic politics through cultural (cultural)

channels and emphasize efforts to build community political capacity through a strategy of Islamization of society in a national state. Nurcholis Madjid emphasized the concept of "secularization" with the slogan "Islam Yes, Political Islam, No". What is desired in this effort is an Islamic struggle with a broader base, maintaining socio-cultural change efforts that allow Muslims to respond to the challenges of the times and be free from the old divided, narrow and elitist political environment.

While the idea of emphasizing efforts to build the political capacity of the community was pioneered by Abdurrahman Wahid, who put forward several ideas, namely:

- 1) Emphasizing "Community by development" efforts to improve the living conditions of the people at lower levels;
- 2) Looking for alternatives to the excessive role of government; and
- 3) Leveraging a network of non-governmental organizations.

Based on the realities that the author has described above, it can be seen that after the determination of the single principle of Pancasila, the implication for Indonesian Islamic politics is that the Islamic political struggle does not stagnate, but Islamic politics is developed no longer through practical (structural) politics. However, the struggle was diverted through a cultural (cultural) route and was accommodative to the New Order government.

4. CONCLUSION

The New Order government's policy in establishing Pancasila as the sole principle was an effort to strengthen political power and achieve its political goals, especially efforts to build the economy and achieve political stability. This method was then realized in the form of eliminating political ideologies and establishing the principle of Pancasila as a single ideology through the instrument of Law no. 3 of 1985. The New Order regime considered that ideological pluralism was a source of prolonged conflict which in turn would hinder national development. The policy implication of the New Order regime in establishing Pancasila as the sole basis for Islamic politics was that Muslims began to be accommodative to the state and began to act no longer as opponents but as main supporters of the New Order. In addition, Muslims began to change the direction of their political struggle by abandoning the practical structural political path (Islamic party) and replacing it with a cultural (cultural) path of struggle, namely by fighting for Islam on a broader basis.

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