

Islam and Politics: The Basic Propaganda of The Islamic State by Masyumi in Selayar

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Abstract: The purpose of this study is (i) to describe the struggle of Islam and politics (the basic debate of the state) as an initial analysis, (ii) the basic propaganda of the state based on Islam (the implementation of Islamic teachings and laws in the life of a person, society, state) as the goal of the party. Masyumi, (iii) the basic propaganda of the Islamic state by Masyumi in Selayar. This study uses a qualitative descriptive analytic research. This research focuses on the Selayar area, which became the site of the campaign carried out by Masyumi in 1950. This research uses historical research steps that are generally carried out, starting with Heuristics, Source Criticism, Interpretation, and Historiography. The research uses a religious, social and political theory approach. The results of this study indicate that (i) there are different views among Islamic scholars in responding to political positions in Islam, (ii) Masyumi is an Islamic party that fights for Islam as a foundation in personal, community and state life through the constituent line (iii) Massive propaganda The basis of an Islamic state carried out by Masjumi cadres in Selayar has become a real thing in sharpening its influence to local level politics (Selayar). The implications of this research are expected to be able to provide insight regarding Masyumi's activities in achieving its goals. In addition, this research is expected to be the first step in revealing further the turbulence of thinking about the ideal state basis at that time.

Keywords: Masjumi; Islam; Politics; Selayar

PRELIMINARY

Politics in Arabic means the word *siyâsah* is the masdar form of the verb *sâsa yasûsu*, which gave birth to the word *fâ'il sâ is*. This word is of course believed to be Arabic. However, another statement states that this word is a foreign word that was absorbed

into Arabic.¹ In the *Lisân Al-'Arab* by Ibn Manzur explains in the lema *sâ-wa-sa: As-saus* means "leadership". *Sâsûhum sausan* means "they lead it". The verb form *is sa-wa-sa* or *a-sâ-sa*. The word *sâsa Al-amr* means doing something business.²

Farra said: *Sawastu khatha'an. Fulan mujarrab qad sâsa wa ssa 'alaihi* which means to give power to him. In the hadith it is stated, "In the past the Children of Israel were led by their prophets" (*kâna banû isrâ'îl tasûsuhum anbiyâ'uhum*);³ that is, their affairs are taken care of by the prophets as the rulers and leaders do to the people.

The word *siyâsah* : the implementation of something that is beneficial. The subject form of this word is *sâ is*. The sentence *huwa yasûs ad-dâbbah* is used to refer to people riding and directing their riding animals. From the explanation above, it is clear to us that the word "*siyâsah*" is indeed originally from Arabic. There is no doubt or dispute about it. So what is meant by the sentence *siyâsah ar-ra'iyah* is: the implementation of the protection of various people's affairs for their benefit.⁴ This is a review of political terms in Arabic.

The scholars in the past shared their two views regarding politics, namely; *First*, politics in a general sense; namely: the management of various community affairs and their worldly affairs by using religious law. On the basis of this understanding then we find the scholars in the past stated that the "caliphate" (khilafah) is: an effort to maintain religion and regulate all world affairs which is a continuation of the Prophet Muhammad. *Second*, politics in a special sense; namely: various laws and decisions made by faith or leaders in order to avoid damage that has already been done, protect against damage that is or will occur.⁵

If we analyze the two broad lines of political understanding according to the ulama, then we will be fixated on the first understanding. Processing of public affairs and worldly affairs based on religious law. So the Shari'a in question will refer to the Shari'a brought by the Qur'an, explained by the Sunnah, and understood by the Companions and all those who follow them with kindness. So, until here it will be clear that this will penetrate into how Islam regulates state issues. In the next explanation will be discussed about Islam and the state.

Islam as a revealed religion that teaches its adherents to spread this religion in ways that are full of wisdom and wisdom so that in that way, people can accept humanist Islamic values, Islamic values for the benefit of humans and nature, even though they practice it. Islamic human values do not believe in Allah, the god worshiped by Muslims. Islam is the last religion that was revealed to the earth as a complement to the religion

¹ Al-Qaradawi, *Introduction to Islamic Politics Terj. Fuad Syaifuddin Nur* (Jakarta: Al-Kautsar Library, 2019). p.27

² Al-Qaradawi . 28

³ Al-Qaradawi, 28.

⁴ Al-Qaradawi, 28.

⁵ Al-Qaradawi, 33.

and revelations received by the prophets before the Prophet Muhammad SAW.⁶

In Islam, there are teaching points, both to confirm the previous revelations of Allah and to provide good news for those who want to believe in the ONE God (Allah) or the One God. Therefore, Islam is a *deen* that has been complete and perfect, because Islam provides a clear conceptual framework of a holistic social system, political system, economy, and law. So that in its application it has based all theoretical and practical aspects on the Qur'an and Sunnah.

One of the systems that has been offered by Islam in the conceptual framework is the political system. Differences and similarities in views on this matter have formed an in-depth analysis based on the arguments they use as reference material. These views have always been decisive in the interpretation of the shape and form of every society on a small scale and the state on a large scale.

Debates about the relationship between Islam and politics need to be elaborated further. This is because it is impossible, the Qur'an as a revelation and complement of the previous books does not regulate how the political aspects in it. One thing we should all understand is that Islam is a religion that has universal values.

This is the bright spot of the link, between Islam and politics. In addition, Islam's claim to be "a mercy to all nature" is *rahmatan lil alamin*, so that if it is said that Islam does not regulate political issues, it will invalidate its claim as a mercy for all of nature.

Interestingly, famous scholars both past and present have written a lot about their thoughts on Islam and politics. Yusuf Al-Qaradawi introduced a term Shari'a Politics. According to him, syar'i politics is a form of politics that is founded on the principles of the shari'a and all its laws and directions. Of course, not every form of politics is syar'i. In fact, most forms of politics are contrary to the Shari'a, just as most forms of politics never pay attention to the Shari'a, either when they are willing or hateful, when they accept or when they refuse. Various forms of politics always move in their path by following the dynamics and desires of the people who do it.⁷

Broadly speaking, Yusuf Al-Qaradawi also mentions that the sources of political law are divided into several parts; *First*, the laws of certain philosophies and ideologies to serve as the main support. As modern secularists do, they are both the liberal right and the Marxist-left. *Second*, the law is based on what they have inherited from their ancestral people or figures, without them ever wanting to ask whether what they are guiding is in accordance with the Shari'a or contrary to the Shari'a. *Third*, the law of passion and self-interest for the sake of perpetuating power, without ever caring about the benefit of the people or the tendencies of their aspirations, values, and beliefs.⁸

It is different with Shaykh Muhammad Abduh who declared himself to be free from

⁶ Syarifuddin Jurdi, *Sociology of Islam and Modern Society (Theory, Fact, and Social Action)* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2010), 87.

⁷ Al-Qaradawi, *Introduction to Islamic Politics Terj. Fuad Syaifuddin Nur*, 25.

⁸ Al-Qaradawi, 26.

politics with all its disgrace and all that is related to it. Until it is said in a narration that he said "I seek refuge in Allah from politics and from those who do politics, political subjects, political actors, and political objects". This is indicated by his seeing a political practice that originates from the philosophy of Machiavellianism, a philosophical school that justifies all means for the sake of achievement of goals. This philosophy was coined by Niccolo Machiavelli, a philosopher from Florence, Italy.⁹

Even in its development, some people refused to accept that in Islam there is something called "politics". They even criticized anyone who declared that Islam was "religion and politics". Some even say "there is no religion in politics, and there is no politics in religion". Until in the end the notion emerged that politics is a secular term touted by sponsors of westernization and those who veer to the west. However, in this case what is meant is "Islam and politics" is Islam that comes out of asceticism, birthday celebrations and celebration ceremonies. Islam which is stated as aqidah and sharia, religion and state, truth and strength, worship and leadership, as well as manuscripts and swords.¹⁰

In the relationship between Islam and state administration, Munawir Sjadzali divides Muslims into three streams. *First*, the sect which holds that Islam is a complete religion which contains all kinds of rules that are needed by humans, including constitutional or political rules. The state administration system that must be followed is the Rasyidin khulafaur system. The main characters of this school are Sheikh Hasan Al Banna, Sayyid Qutb, and Al-Maududi. *Second*, the sect that holds that Islam is a religion only in the sense that it only regulates humans and their gods. The figures of this school include 'Ali 'Abd Al-Raziq and Taha Husain. *Third*, the school that takes the middle path from the two previous schools, among its characters is Muhammad Husain Haikal.¹¹

The development of Islam and politics in Indonesia has historically provided an illustration of how Islam and government have become an inseparable unit. Beginning with the institutionalization of Islam as an institution in the government, it also influenced the development of the Kingdom in the archipelago at that time. The peak was the presence of Islamic sultanates in the archipelago at the beginning of XIII. These Islamic sultanates continued to exist until the entry of the colonialism era in the archipelago.

In fact, in the resistance against colonialism in the archipelago at that time, Islam was often used as a discourse to inflame the spirit of Nationalism. This continued after independence (Physical Revolution). Meanwhile, in the field of government politics, Islam found its place when the Government Decree No. X of 1945 allowed the establishment of political parties to fill the struggle for independence. Masyumi, born as a result of the Muslim Ummah conference in Yogyakarta on November 7-8, 1945. Making Masjumi a forum for the political aspirations of Muslims in fighting for Islam as the basis of the state. The basic propaganda of an Islamic state that is carried out does

⁹ Al-Qaradawi, 27.

¹⁰ Al-Qaradawi, 27.

¹¹ Munawir Syadzali, *Islam and State Administration: Teaching, History, and Thought* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1990), 27. Dalam Musda Muliah, *No Title* (Depok: KataKita, 2010), 27.

not only occur in politics at the national level but also at the local level. One of the things that can be found when Masyumi is carrying out a political campaign in Selayar. Therefore, researchers are interested in exploring the propaganda of the Basic Islamic State carried out by Masyumi in attracting the sympathy of the masses to become members of Masyumi.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Based on the description above, this research will focus on the propaganda carried out by Masyumi in Selayar. First, we will describe the intersection of politics and Islam and the birth of Masyumi as a political party that becomes a forum for the aspirations of Muslims.

Theory Basis

This research, based on the theories that will be used as an analytical pen, are Islamic political theory, and Propaganda Theory. The explanation is as follows;

a. Islamic Political Theory

There are three views in Islam towards politics; *First*, the sect which holds that Islam is a complete religion which contains all kinds of rules that are needed by humans, including constitutional or political rules. The state administration system that must be followed is the Rasyidin khulafaur system. The main characters of this school are Sheikh Hasan Al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, and Al-Maududi. *Second*, the sect that holds that Islam is a religion only in the sense that it only regulates humans and their gods. The figures of this school include 'Ali 'Abd Al-Raziq and Taha Husain. *Third*, the school that takes the middle path from the two previous schools, among its characters is Muhammad Husain Haikal.¹²

In Hasan Al-Banna's thought, describing the characteristics of Islamic government in a principle called "The Theory of Limiting Government Power". It is stated that Islamic government is based on three main principles, namely; ¹³ *First*, determine the limits of government power. *Second*, the government's responsibility for all violations and mistakes. *Third*, the people's authority to lower officials. Islam has affirmed the power of the people in government.

In terms of Islamic political thought, Hasan Al-Banna's thought has the substance and the final agenda, namely upholding Islamic politics, where Islamic law must be made into the state constitution (UUD). Whatever the form of the country, whether republic or kingdom.¹⁴ In relation to realizing his thoughts, Hasan Al-Banna can also be achieved through *first*, preparing individuals, families, and communities, then *secondly*, through political activities.

¹² Syadzali, *Islam and State Administration: Teaching, History, and Thought*, 1–2.

¹³ Fadilah Rahmi Yuni, "Political Thought and Da'wah Hasan Al-Banna," *Manthiq 2* (2017): 85.

¹⁴ Yuni, 85.

b. Propaganda Theory

Propaganda is an effort carried out with deliberate and systematic intent, with the aim of forming perceptions, manipulating thoughts, and directing behavior to get the reactions desired by propagators. Jacques Ellul, defines propaganda as communication used by an organized group who wants to create active or passive participation in the actions of a mass consisting of individuals, psychologically united and incorporated in a group or organization.¹⁵

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is a historical research which has descriptive analytical character in describing the findings during the research. With this analytical descriptive nature, it is hoped that it will be able to find and describe analytically and interpret the dynamics of the Masjumi Party in Selayar, especially in Propagating the basis of the Islamic state in 1950-1960. So this will use qualitative research.

Given that this research uses historical archives or documents as the main source in revealing historical data and facts about the existence of the Masjumi party, the sources are as follows; *First*, the Office of the Library and Archives of South Sulawesi Province which is located on Jalan Perintis Kemerdekaan KM. 12. *Second*, the Makassar Cultural Values Preservation Agency, which is located on Jalan Sultan Alauddin Makassar. *Third*, the South Sulawesi Provincial Library which is located on Jalan Sultan Alauddin Makassar

In understanding the dynamics of Masjumi in Selayar in the period 1945-1960, it will be tried to use a religious approach, a political approach and a sociological approach. To start a historical research, by Louis Gottschalk has introduced a step that makes it easier in historical research, namely; Heuristics, Source Criticism/Verification, Interpretation and finally Historiography.

DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH RESULT

The Basic Debate of the State

Religion and the state can meet, when both are institutionalized in the party, a phenomenon that can exist in Indonesia which is based on Pancasila. All parties claim to represent Muslims, all parties have Islamic institutions. The relationship between political parties and the people should only be instrumental and temporary. Instrumental means that if a party cannot accommodate the political aspirations of the people, it is possible for the people to leave the party.

At the beginning of independence, there was a conflict between Islam and nationality regarding the relationship between Islam and nationality regarding the relationship between Islam and politics. The nationals were too worried about Islam as a potential force to undermine the ideology of nationalism that had been mutually agreed on on August 18, 1945 in the PPKI session.

¹⁵ Iman El Islamy, "Communication of Political Islam Propaganda in Indonesia," *Journal of Communication Studies and Islamic Studies* 7 (2020): 304.

BPUPKI, as a body formed with 8 members, namely; Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Ir. Soekarno, Drs. Mohammad Hatta, Mr. Muhammad Yamin, Mr. AA Maramis, R. Otto Iskandardinata, Mas Sutardjo Kartohadikusumo, and KHA Wahid Hasyim. These eight members, also known as the Committee of Eight, were assigned the task of gathering the members' proposals to be discussed during the trial to be held in July 1945.¹⁶

It was noted, regarding the state proposal, the Small/Eight Committee formed, there were seven proposals from BPUPKI members. The proposals include;

- a. Nationality and Divinity,
- b. Nationality and Populist, Nationality,
- c. Populist and Divinity, Nationality, People,
- d. Nationality, Populist, and Family,
- e. Prosperity of living together, progress, spirituality, intelligence of the Indonesian nation's mind pious, influential firm in the demands of God Almighty, *the* state religion is Islam,
- f. Nationality, Democracy, and Islam,
- g. The spirit of Greater East Asia.¹⁷

Looking at the above proposals, it is not surprising that in the first basic formulation of the state of the Republic of Indonesia, which is sovereign by the people, based on; "*God with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents*". This became a decision that was accepted by the Committee of Nine (substitute for the Committee of Eight).¹⁸ After going through a long debate in a meeting chaired by Dr. KRT Radjiman Wedyodiningrat "*to the fullest extent*". The preamble to the formulation of June 22, 1945 was later known as the Jakarta Charter.

However, the seven words that became more points in placing Islam on the basis of the state did not last long, precisely on August 18, 1945 in the first PPKI session which became a turning point in determining the struggle of Islamic leaders in wanting Islam as the basis of the state.

After reading the text of the proclamation, Bung Hatta accepted the disagreements of PPKI members from outside Java, especially those from Eastern Indonesia. They expressed their objections to the formulation in the draft of the there is a sentence "*Divinity with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents*". So that at that time Hatta asked TM Hasan to lobby Ki Bagus Hadikusumo but failed. Furthermore, Bung Hatta asked Kasman Singodimedjo to lobby Ki Bagus Hadikusumo and came to an agreement such that the seven sentences were replaced with "*Belief in One Supreme*

¹⁶ Lukman Hakiem, *Republic's Debt to Islam: The Struggle of Islamic Leaders in Protecting the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia* (Jakarta: Al-Kautsar Library, 2021), 166.

¹⁷ Bahar Saifroedin, *Minutes of the Indonesian Independence Efforts Investigative Body (BPUPKI) Preparatory Commitee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) 28 May-22 August 1945*, (Jakarta: State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 1995), 88.

¹⁸ Hakiem, *Republic's Debt to Islam: The Struggle of Islamic Leaders in Protecting the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia*, 171.

God" and Ki Bagus's proposal was also approved.¹⁹

Prawoto Mangkusasmito, illustrating that none of the Islamic leaders who participated in drafting the Jakarta Charter (KHA Wahid Hasjim, KHA Kahar Mudzakkir, H. Agus Salim, R. Abikoeso Tjokrosoejoso) were invited to negotiate at the meeting on August 18, 1945. KHA Wahid Hasjim was in Surabaya at that time, it was not young to suggest the Islamic group to accept the abolition of the seven words previously contained in the Jakarta Charter.

Masyumi

Previously, on November 3, 1945, the government issued Government Decree No. X of 1945 which allowed the establishment of political parties to fill the struggle for independence. The declaration was signed by Mohammad Hatta as vice president. The signing was a great opportunity for several social movement organizations to transform into political parties. Thus, the struggle for hegemony of political ideology became open in the Indonesian political scene at that time.

On 1-2 Dzulhijjah 1364 H or coincides with 7-8 N November 1945, Islamic scholars and activists gathered to unite the determination to fight for the aspirations of the Indonesian Muslims. In one political party, namely Masyumi. Acting as the core committee of the Islamic People's Congress in Yogyakarta are; Mohammad Natsir (chairman), Solikin Wirjosandjojo, Abikoeso Tjokrosoejoso, Abdul Wahid Hasjim, Wali Al-Fattah, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, Sri Paku Alam VIII, and Abdul Gaffar Ismail.²⁰

Meanwhile, the results of the congress show the structure as follows; in its highest structure locates; KH Hasjim Asjari (chairman), Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (young chairman I), KH Abdul Wahid Hasjim (young chairman II), and Kasman Singodimejo (young chairman III). Domiciled as a member of Shaykh Jamil Jambek (West Sumatran cleric), KH Abdul Wahab (NU), Haji Agus Salim (awareness movement), RHM Adnan (union of penghulu and employees), KH Sanusi (Islamic ummah/PUI), big manager; Dr. Soekiman (chairman, member of PSII), Abikoeso Tjokrosoejoso (young leader I, member of PSII), Wali Al-Fattah (young chairman II, member of PII), Harsono Tjokroaminoto (secretary I, member of PSII), and Prawoto Mangkusasmito (secretary II, element of Muhammadiyah). Youth section; Mohammad Nasir (element of Persis), SM Kartosoewirjo (element of PSII), Muhammad Roem (element of the Awareness Party), KH Faqih Uthman (element of Muhammadiyah), and Anwar Tjokroaminoto (element of PSII).²¹

In the Articles of Association and Bylaws which were ratified in the party session, October 9-12, 1953, located in Jakarta, which was quoted from the Masyumi struggle manual, they opened their interpretation of the principle with a snippet of the holy

¹⁹ Hakiem, 172.

²⁰ Artawijaya, *Learning From the Masyumi Party* (Jakarta: Al-Kautsar Library, 2014), 50.

²¹ Artawijaya, 58–59.

verse QS Ali-Imran/3:12 which reads;

قُلْ لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا سِتُّغْلَبُونَ وَتُحْشَرُونَ إِلَىٰ جَهَنَّمَ وَيُسَمُّونَ الْمَهَادُ

Translation:

"to those who disbelieve, "You will (definitely) be defeated and led to the Hell of Hell. And that is the worst place to live." ²²

Islam as the principle of their struggle is enshrined in Article II of the Masjumi party budget which reads *"a party based on Islam"*. Meanwhile, the purpose of the party is explained in the next article, namely Article III which reads;

"The aim of the party is the implementation of Islamic teachings and laws in the lives of individuals, society and the state of the Republic of Indonesia, towards divine pleasure." ²³

In the party principle, it is explained in the party constitution that Islam is present as a *spirit* of struggle. In the interpretation of the principles of the Masjumi party, Islam as a religion that has been revealed by Allah SWT, has regulated political, social, economic, cultural life and so on. Even in his basic interpretation, he again cites the story of the Ad' and Thamud people described in the Qur'an who have dared to disobey the laws and shari'a in Islam.

Meanwhile, in terms of objectives, Masyumi introduced the concept of *"Baladatul Thoyyibatun wa robbun ghofur"* which means a state that is obliged to be covered by divine forgiveness, where the state exercises its power on the basis of deliberation with the intermediary of elected representatives of the people. Where are the principles of people's sovereignty, freedom, equality, tasamuh, social justice as taught in the teachings and Islamic law contained in the Qur'an and Sunnah.

In terms of fighting for the noble ideals contained in the principles and objectives of the Masjumi party, it chooses a legitimate path as is the open path in a republican state based on people's sovereignty, through the usual channels in a democratic country. Masyumi believes that their ideals can only be achieved and grown in security and order. Therefore, they reject every effort from any party that causes chaos and paralysis of the state and its tools.

Masyumi's Political Activities

As a party that fights for the establishment of Islam in the life of the state, Masyumi has started its political activities to areas in Eastern Indonesia. Masyumi Region Sulawesi is one of the many parts of the Masyumi Party based in the Province which was founded in 1949. Masyumi propaganda was widely depicted ahead of the 1955 elections. Masyumi Branch Selayar was founded on October 16, 1950. Masyumi Selayar Branch.

²² Ministry of Religion, "Digital Al-Qur'an," 2022, <https://quran.kemenag.go.id>.

²³ Head of the Masjumi Party Finance Division, *Masjumi Struggle Guidelines* (Jakarta: Head of the Masjumi Party Finance Division, 1955), 6.

At the beginning of its establishment, Masyumi in Selayar was aggressively carrying out political propaganda, from October 15, 1950 to October 20, 1950, it held meetings in several areas of Selayar. the following is a record of Masjumi's political activities in Selayar;

a. On October 15, 1950

Masjumi held a meeting which was divided into two sessions in two different places. *The first session*, took place at 09.00 in Polebungin (Bonea), in the yard of a Titleang Kampung. The meeting was chaired by Abdul Samad (father of the people of Bone) which was attended by approximately 900 people with details of 100 women and 800 men. Also present were government representatives from the police, namely CK Kawwa and Abdul Ma'mur as second-class investigators who later took *verslag* (reports). Several figures who were also present as speakers were Abdul Samad, H. Haiyyung, Abdul Wahab, Muhammad Hasang, Moh. Nur (Chairman of Masyumi Sulawesi Region), Lihi (Gelarang Kampung Polebungin), and Muh. Asang. *The second session*, which took place at 3 pm in Kampung Baru Iya Buki, was attended by approximately 100 Buki residents.²⁴

In the meeting it was explained that the population of the Indonesian archipelago consists of 80% of the population who are Muslim while 20% adhere to other religions. Therefore, the Indonesian state must be based on Islam and become an Islamic state. In addition, the highest leader of the state (president), the army, police, and the people came from the Islamic circle. He also explained that the goal of the Indonesian state is Social Democracy based on Pancasila. As Muslims, the existence of Masjumi is a place of unity and must obey the laws that have been set by the government and maintain security. At the end of the meeting, it was stated that Masyumi's base fee was f. 2.50 and a monthly fee of f. 0.50.

b. Meeting on October 16, 1950

Located in Tanah Lapang Benteng, Selayar, a giant meeting of the Selayar National Front was held. The meeting was chaired by Abdul Halim (central leader from Makassar) which was attended by approximately 1000 people with details of 100 women and the rest men. The government representatives who were present from the police were CK Kawwa and Abdul Ma'mur as second-class investigators who later took *verslag* (reports). The speakers who attended the event included; Abdul Halim, H. Haiyung, Densu Dg. Makuling, Daeng Boko, Moh. Amin (PSI representative), Daeng Manangara (PPRI), H. Taher, and Moh. Nur.²⁵

In a giant meeting of the Selayar National Front, it was discussed regarding the overthrow of government employees formed by the colonial government (Eastern Indonesia) from Opu to his subordinates. While matters relating to Islamic leaders (*Shara'*) from the *feet* to their subordinates. This decision will take the form of a motion

²⁴ Inventory of Selayar Regency Government Archives 1823-1973 Volume I. No. Registration. 1006, "Selayar Regency Government Archives 1823-1973 Volume I. No. Registration. 1006 Concerning Verslag, Minutes of Meetings, Speeches by the Selayar Masjumi Leaders 1950-1959" (Makassar, 1950).

²⁵ Inventory of Selayar Regency Government Archives 1823-1973 Volume I. No. Registration. 1006.

that will be submitted to the central government in Jakarta, Makassar and the Selayar state government. In addition, this motion will be signed by each leader of the Party/Organization. this is contained in the police report outside Selayar City.

c. Closed Meeting of Masjumi Tuesday, October 17, 1950

The Muhammadiyah School house was held at Bua-bua Street which was attended by 100 people, led by brothers Muhammad Nur and Sulaeman Abbas. Representative of the branch council, H. Haiyun of the Shura Council, Faharudding, the youth envoy, and the remainder for Muslim women. In terms of travel costs, after a long debate between Abdul Samad and Muh. Arfah agreed that each member was asked for financial support of f.0.50 and if it was not sufficient it would be taken from the party treasury.

d. The meeting on October 18, 1950

Propaganda conducted by Masyumi, also could not be separated from the position of Moh. Natsir was then Prime Minister after the return of Indonesia to a unitary state. This can be proven by the remarks made by Moh. Nur at a meeting held on Wednesday, October 18, 1950 in the Bontona (Tanete) area. The meeting was attended by approximately 500 people and chaired by Arung. Appear as a speaker on the occasion such as; Abdul Wahab, Moh. Asang, Moh. Nur, Moh. Arpan, Dg. Pasolong and finally Rauf Rahman's brother. The last name will be the Chairman of Masyumi Selayar Branch after brother Sulaeman Abbas.

On the same day, the meeting continued in the Batangmata Sapo which was attended by 1000 people and led by Arung's brother. In the delivery of the meeting conclusions can be drawn according to the author, among others; the importance of the existence of the Masjumi party as a forum for the struggle of Muslims. Therefore, each member is expected to be able to sacrifice energy, thoughts, and even property. The position of Masjumi party cadres in the central government also became a discourse raised during the meeting.

e. Meeting on October 19, 1950

"I have previously arranged a speech, so first I will inform all of you who are present. Pay attention to all my words that I will spread. After that, he reads the verses of the Qur'an in the clearest way possible. Who misheard who was also on the wrong path, and who misunderstood the Masjumi party was wrong as a result. Masjumi is actually a religious party; So, any Muslim ummah who does not like this party is an infidel."

The quote above is an excerpt from the speech delivered by Muh. Nur during the Masjumi general meeting on Thursday, October 19, 1950 in the Barang Barang village led by Dg. Pasolong.

f. Meeting on October 20-21 1950

The next day, Friday, October 20, 1950 at Lembang Matene which was attended by approximately one hundred people, a meeting was chaired by Dg. Pasolong. It was explained that the Masyumi party was a large party because the top leadership of the central government was led by Moh. Nasir. Therefore, there is hope for the unity of

Muslims to protect the country which has just proclaimed its independence. This is intended for the infidels (colonizers) can no longer control Indonesia. Do not forget also the most important thing is the condition for people who are illiterate to want to learn to acquire intelligence. This was also conveyed at the next Masyumi meeting which took place in Manarai (Bontobangun) on Saturday, October 21, 1950.

The emergence of distrust of the nobles who sat in the government became a separate problem for those present at the Masyumi meeting. This distrust peaked, marked by the replacement of *Opu* to his subordinates.'s religious affairs *Kadhi* and structural positions under them will be resolved. The follow-up to the problem is just waiting for approval from the government. This decision was the result of a meeting held in Palembang on the same day as the meeting held in Manarai (Bontobangun).

g. Meetings on October 22-23 1950

The last two meetings were held in Parak Village (Bonea) on October 22, 1950 and in Batangmata on October 23, 1950. The meetings held in Parak were attended by 150 people and chaired by Abdul Samad, while in Batangmata only 50 people attended and the meeting was chaired by Muhammad Arfah. At this moment it is explained that the nature of a democracy is divided into three parts, each of which has a purpose and interrelationship. The three parts are the people, government, and judges. The role of the people is as a regulator of the state (the will of the people becomes the absolute will in the state), the government plays a role in conveying the will to the wishes of the people while the judge acts as a supervisor if it is found that hinders the wishes of the people.²⁶ Masyumi general meeting in Batangmata closed a series of general meetings held by Masyumi from 16 to 23 October 1950.

If you look at Masyumi's activities from 15 to 23 October 1950, you can see a lot of propaganda carried out by Masyumi. Masyumi tends to use "Islam" as a political discourse. This is illustrated in several speeches delivered by Masyumi figures, such as:

Abd. Wahab: My aim and purpose is to stand before the honorable audience to spread and unite the Islamic religion and as far as possible the brothers and sisters to enter or association is Masyumi which is recognized by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to fight for the independence of the Republic of Indonesia based on the religion of Islam.

Because if our independence, the Republic of Indonesia, was understood by other religions, as Christianity, would you guys follow that religion? So of course the brothers (we Muslims) do not want to be under another religion. And that is why we must unite to fight for our party, namely Masyumi, who will fight for the rest of the day until the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, its government and its laws are in line with the contents of the Quran.

To achieve an Islamic government until it is official when we brothers and sisters have sacrificed our lives, our property, our energy for the independence of the Republic of Indonesia.

²⁶ Inventory of Selayar Regency Government Archives 1823-1973 Volume I. No. Registration. 1006.

With the conclusion that our goal is to strengthen the Masjumi Party to fight for the Islamic Independence of the Republic of Indonesia forever and ever.

And when we open the contents of the Koran which are quoted along with the running of the government, and the law, then the Masjumi Party will continue to fight for it.²⁷

Masyumi's basic state propaganda activities were vigorously carried out. There are even times when their propaganda can offend the feelings of the existing parties. As stated by Abdul Rauf Rahman during the commemoration of Isra Mi'raj on March 24, 1954 at the Great Mosque of Benteng, it caused controversy and was considered offensive and insulting to a group. The following is an excerpt published in the Marhaen newspaper, April 22, 1954.

Daily "Marhaen"²⁸
April 22 '54 No. 677.-

Behind the scenes, people say in Selajar there is a Masjumi kingpin who likes to talk a lot, right? In his recent speech, someone said that if the state constitution was not changed for a while, it would be....huh?

If you don't win in the general election, the government will collapse, right? And if the foundation of this country is not changed, then Indonesia will be flooded with blood, defend? Hearing this, then Djodja tanja with Pak Nur, is that true, sir? Then the idiot is afraid to enter Masjumi from now on, so as not to add to the flood of blood, kodong?

With this propaganda, Rauf Rahman was then questioned by the Selajar District Court Attorney's Office. However, from his statement it was disproved that he did not intend to offend any particular group. Until being questioned by the Prosecutor's Office of the Selajar District Court, other parties/organizations have not shown any other actions.

The political momentum this year has become the culmination point for every party participating in the election of DPR members and constituents. Every political party began to take systematic steps. One of the strategic steps in question is a campaign to be able to win public sympathy.

Masyumi, in January 1955 had determined his candidate in the 1955 general election. Abdul Rasyid Faqih was elected by Masyumi who was also a member of the XII regional election committee (South-Southeast Sulawesi). While PSII chose Aroepala as its candidate. In February, Masyumi had put up picture signs within the scope of the

²⁷ Inventory of Selajar Regency Government Archives 1823-1973 Volume I. No. Registration. 1006.

²⁸ Marhaen, *Behind Lajar*, (22 April 1954). In Inventory of Government Archives of Bantaeng Regency No. registration 511 concerning Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number. 200 f 1960 concerning the dissolution of Masjumi political parties and Indonesian social parties, "Government Archives of Bantaeng Regency No. Registration 511 Concerning Decree of the President of the Republic of Indonesia Number. 200 f 1960 Concerning the Dissolution of Masjumi Political Parties and Indonesian Social Parties" (Makassar, 1960).

Citadel's capital. Campaign activities like this will continue until July.²⁹

The campaigns carried out by political parties in the context of general elections are carried out to remote areas. The implementation of the campaign is conducive and does not create hostility. It was even reported in a political newsletter in August that the implementation of the campaign referred to the government's instructions so that during the campaign nothing would conflict with state law or morals as an eastern nation.³⁰

Only the implementation of the campaign carried out by the PKI drew criticism from the government. The PKI posted campaign pictures that violated government instructions. So this error was reported to the Bonthain District Information Office. After the criticism came in, the PKI agreed to improve the installation of the campaign image.³¹In this case, it is not known what form the pictures displayed in the campaign took and the parties who objected to the campaign carried out by the PKI.

If we trace the campaigns carried out by the PKI in several regions in Indonesia, such as in Majalengka, the PKI's campaign strategy is to include non-party people (individual candidates) in the hammer and sickle image. So that the strategy was criticized by Islamic parties and asked the authorities to reprimand the PKI. Masyumi also emerged as the party that raised objections at that time.³²

The author's attention is again focused on the campaign carried out by Masyumi in Selayar. The campaign carried out in Selayar was reported to have been conducive, unlike the campaign carried out by Masyumi in several areas of South Sulawesi, Masyumi openly attacked the opposing parties. In addition to using Islamic discourse, Masyumi also makes an analogy for each party symbol to something negative.

The two parties that were targeted by Masyumi's campaign were the PNI and the PKI. Masyumi urges the people not to stab the PKI because they do not know religion and moral law. Even analogous to the hammer and sickle is a tool to slash the human neck and a hammer to hammer the body to death and similarly choosing the PKI is the same as wanting our country to have a communist ideology. As for the PNI, Masyumi interpreted the Head of the Bull as a ferocious animal and if it won, the bull would go head-to-head with people one after another so that they died ridiculous.³³ A thing that is inversely proportional to the status that has been known so far that the 1955 election

²⁹ Inventory of Selayar Regency Government Archives 1823-1973 Volume I. No. Registration. 1005, "Selayar Regency Government Archives 1823-1973 Volume I. No. Registration. 1005 Concerning the Selayar KPN Political Report for the Years 1951-1956." (Makassar, 1951).

³⁰ Inventory of Selayar Regency Government Archives 1823-1973 Volume I. No. Registration. 1005.

³¹ Inventory of Selayar Regency Government Archives 1823-1973 Volume I. No. Registration. 1005.

³² Mudanto Pamungkas, *Source of Manuscript of Archives of Democracy in the 1955 Election* (Jakarta: National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019), 63.

³³ Burhaman, *The 1955 Election in Sout Sulawesi and the Process of Strengthening National Awareness at the Local Level (a Study of Political History at the Local Level)* (Jakarta: Directorate of History, Directorate General of Culture, Ministry Of Education and Culture, 2019), 168-69.

was a democratic election.

In the general election campaign document,³⁴ explained that ahead of the DPR elections on October 5, 1955, inter-party blocks occurred: the Religious Block (Masyumi and Parkindo), the Nationalism Block (PNI and PKR), the Socialist Block (PKI). The PKI's attack on Masyumi began when Mrs. Salawati Daud in mid-August carried out the campaign for traveling to this area. During his campaign he stated the goal of his party and its promises to the people:

"to create a prosperous and just, free society, that is, a proletarian society, where there is no more poverty and destitution, not wanting capitalism, feudalism and imperialism as a struggle to achieve society. the same, the same taste. Masyumi wants Indonesia to become a Masyumi (Islamic State) country where we all must be converted to Islam, our livelihoods will be abolished, namely the raising of pigs must be eradicated and so on".

In addition, the PKI accused Masjumi of being a gang liaison. And it was also explained that if you don't want to choose the hammer and sickle (PKI) don't choose the moon and stars (Masyumi) and it's better to choose the horn of tedong (PNI). In terms of campaigns between parties insulting each other, it turns out that the people already understand the organization and political parties in democratic life so that there is no conflict between the masses of parties and therefore no action from the authorities. Campaigning is the business of political parties and there is no need for armed tools to interfere.³⁵

September is the peak momentum in the implementation of elections. Interestingly, ahead of the election days, Masyumi, PSII, PNI and PKI were still campaigning. The parties are also seen actively facing the vote. After the voting ended and it was known that the winning party remained calm in order to create conducive conditions.³⁶ Moving on from the political news this month, especially the order of parties in the news, it can be interpreted that the party that won the election in Selayar is Masyumi. This was also conveyed by Muhammad Ridwan Jongke in an interview with him that Masyumi emerged as the party winning the 1955 general election at the local level (Selayar).

The second stage of the 1955 general election was the election of constituent members to be held on 15 December. The momentum of the political campaign by the party, which should have been carried out from October to November, did not show any activity that was significantly different from the previous DPR election campaign. The impact greatly affects the results of the incoming votes, according to a report by the

³⁴ Letters from the Information Office of Makale-Rantepao and the person in charge of Djupenkep, R. Sarira, to; 1.Djapen of Luwu Regency, 2.Djapen of Sulawesi Province. No. 343/Rhs./4.d./55, Oct. 5 1955. Inventory Of Sulawesi Government No. Registration 235, "Sulawesi Government Archives 1950-1960" (Makassar, 1950).

³⁵ Inventory Of Sulawesi Government No. Registration 235.

³⁶ Inventory of Selayar Regency Government Archives 1823-1973 Volume I. No. Registration. 1005, "Selayar Regency Government Archives 1823-1973 Volume I. No. Registration. 1005 Concerning the Selayar KPN Political Report for the Years 1951-1956."

chairman of the PPS (Panitia Pemungutan Suara) that the votes received were somewhat less than during the election of members of the DPR.

CONCLUSION

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that the differences in viewing the relationship between Islam and politics among the *founding fathers* at the beginning of independence have created ideological barriers. In addition, there is disagreement from the Islamic minority group to be one of the considerations for accepting the removal of the seven words in the preamble. However, this momentum has spurred the spirit of Muslims to return to fight for Islam so that it becomes the basis of the state. The climax, after getting the opportunity, Muslims fought through the constituents which began with the formation of an Islamic political party, namely, Masyumi. Through this Masjumi, the basic propaganda of the Islamic state has become part of their political activities down to the local level politics (Selayar). Masyumi's basic propaganda of the Islamic state carried out by Masyumi in Selayar can be seen from several speeches delivered at the Masyumi general meeting from 15 to 23 October 1950. Even in Masyumi's propaganda actions, it often offended and rubbed against other parties in Selayar, precisely before the first general election. post-independence in 1955 was implemented.

This research is expected to provide insight regarding Masyumi's activities in achieving its goals. In addition, this research is expected to be the first step in revealing further the turbulence of thoughts about the ideal state basis at that time in general and in particular, can be used as reference material regarding the relevance of the state foundation in facing today's challenges. The study of Islam and politics needs to be expanded as *an entry point* in seeing the dynamics of the needs and struggles of Muslims in the political context.

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