

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM IN THE NEW ORDER PERIOD

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**Abstrak:** Berbicara Islam di masa orde baru yang berarti juga bicara soal Islam di Indonesia, starting discoursnya berawal dari perdebatan tentang asas bernegara dalam sidang (BPUPKI). Satu pihak yang diwakili oleh kalangan Islamis menginginkan diberlakukannya asas Islam sebagai asas tunggal Negara. Keinginan ini dipandang cukup beralasan karena perjuangan umat Islam menjadi bagian kekuatan terbesar dan terpenting dalam mengusir penjajah. Dilain pihak kalangan nasionalis dengan argumen bahwa kalangan non Islam juga ikut andil dalam mengantarkan Indonesia kedepan pintu gerbang kemerdekaannya, mengusulkan asas tunggal Pancasila guna mengakomodir kalangan non Muslim dan keragaman budaya bangsa. Drama panas perdebatan di atas yang tidak jarang diselingi dengan tragedi Deadlock pada akhirnya kedua kelompok berkompromi dengan diterimanya Pancasila sebagai asas tunggal dengan adanya beberapa revisi terhadap isi di dalamnya. Fenomena inilah yang akan penulis urai dalam tulisan dibawah ini.

**Kata kunci:** *Orde Baru, Islam, Perkembangan*

**Abstract:** Talking about Islam in the New Order era, which means also talking about Islam in Indonesia, the starting discussions started with a debate about the principles of the state in the meeting (BPUPKI). One party represented by Islamists wants the application of Islamic principles as the sole principle of the state. This desire is seen as quite reasonable because the struggle of the Muslim community is part of the biggest and most important force in expelling the invaders. On the other hand, the nationalists argued that non- Muslims also took part in bringing Indonesia to the gate of its independence. proposed the single principle of Pancasila to accommodate non- Muslims and the nation's cultural diversity. The hot drama of the debate above, which is often interspersed with the Deadlock tragedy, in the end, the two groups compromised by accepting Pancasila as the single principle with several revisions to its contents. This phenomenon will be described in the following article.

**Keywords :** New Order, Islam, Development.

## **INTRODUCTION**

The New Order was the reign of President Soeharto where this period occurred in Indonesia from March 11, 1966 until the transition of president from President Soeharto to the leadership of President B.J Habibie on May 21, 1998. Basically this new order period was a total correlation to the old order period, which is where the PKI dominates and thinks it has distorted Pancasila. The New Order era also gave a new style to Islamic religious policies, due to the shifting of influence from communism in Indonesia towards the purification of Pancasila through a sustainable national development plan. The New Order era is also known as the Constitutional Order and the Development Order, which aims to develop the whole person and balance the spiritual and physical to create a better life.

Muslims and Christians worked hand in hand with the army to fight against the PKI which was carried out by the PKI on September 30, 1965 but the coup failed and changed the political direction of the Indonesian nation. And at the MPRS meeting in 1966 it was decided that religious education must be carried out from elementary school to university level, with that decision making some religious leaders happy, on the other hand it has also become a trigger for tension and conflict between Islamic and Christian leaders.

After that many people converted to Islam, Christianity and other religions then the Western media or foreign missionaries exaggerated this news, and made Muslims feel afraid and feel threatened. This is the origin of the discourse on the threat of Christianization missions among Muslims which has led to demands to limit the broadcasting of religion to those who are not yet religious, and for the approval of the central population for the construction of places of worship.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

The type of research method used by the author in compiling this article is library research, namely descriptive method with the help of various books or data in the form of scientific work, both theses, papers, journals, and so on. In compiling this article the author uses a collection technique with the library method. Where this research was conducted by reading books or magazines with other data sources in the literature. The data sources used by the author in compiling articles are books related to the theme, namely the development of Islam during the New Order era, while the secondary data sources used are journals, articles and others. scientific work related to the theme of this article. The sources in this study deserve to be the correct data because they are taken from sources that have proven credibility. This study uses a qualitative approach, namely systematic research used to study or study an object in a natural setting without any manipulations in it. In addition, the analytical technique used in this research is descriptive method, in which the researcher tries to describe and

interpret what happened at that time.

## **DISCUSSION**

### **1. Conditions of Islam in the New Order Government**

Indonesia is a democratic country. Democracy that we currently understand in Indonesia is part of the concept of modern democracy. Since the beginning of independence until the era of democratic reform, there have been many changes and different styles. Democratic practices based on the Constitution experienced democratic developments in three periods. The period of the Republic of Indonesia III, namely the Pancasila democracy which was a constitutional democracy highlighting presidential democracy, this period ended together with the fall of the New Order regime and then Indonesian democracy entered a new era called the reformation era, which began with changes to the 1945 Constitution by highlighting political freedom more tangible and strengthen the presidential system.

The government system during the New Order era was presidential with a Republican form of government and the 1945 Constitution as the basis for the valid constitution. The presidential system is a government system that is centered on the power of the president as head of government as well as head of state. In this system, the executive branch is independent of the legislature. The position of the executive body is stronger in dealing with the legislature. According to Jimly Asshiddiqie, the existence of a presidential system has its advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is that the presidential system guarantees more stability of government, while the disadvantage is that this system tends to place the executive as a very influential part of power because the power is quite large. Therefore, constitutional arrangements are needed to mitigate the negative impact or inborn weaknesses of this system.

During the New Order era, the government succeeded in realizing political stability and creating a safe atmosphere for the Indonesian people. Economic development was going well and the results could be seen clearly, these two things were the driving factors for the success of the New Order government in implementing it improvement of people's welfare. This success can be seen from the reduction in the poverty rate, the number of infant deaths and the increase in basic education participation.

During the New Order period, there were many political and economic changes. Indonesia's economy is growing rapidly even though it is accompanied by rampant corruption practices. Through several policies, the country's politics and economy are also getting stronger. However, this condition declined in 1997 when the monetary crisis occurred. It was this crisis that made the government lose the people's trust so that Soeharto as president resigned on May 21, 1998 which ended the New Order's power.

### **2. Socio-Cultural Conditions of the Muslim Community during**

The New Order Indonesian social culture during the New Order rule there

was discrimination against the Chinese such as the people of Toinghoan descent who lived in Indonesia had to change their Chinese names to Indonesian names. As time went by, the Toinghoa community began to open up, such as participating in social activities, such as helping during natural disasters, participating in the establishment of educational institutions such as English, Mandarin, computer courses and so on.

Chinese society, along with the culture it brings, has grown in Indonesia for hundreds of years. Starting when this country was still ruled by Hindu-Buddhist patterned kingdoms, which were spread all over the islands in Indonesia. The relationship that existed between Chinese people and Indonesian people was always changing, starting from trading partners, slaves who both worked in under the Dutch colonial government, until there was excessive suspicion due to the domestic political situation. Over time, Chinese people began to assimilate and settle down as part of the diversity of Indonesian society. They live in various big cities, and build their own area of residence, which is called Chinatown. In Chinatown, where there is generally a Chinese temple as a place of worship, Chinese people carry out cultural activities brought from the country where they came from, China. This is done to maintain the traditions of their ancestors even though they are not in their homeland. The existence of the Chinese community in Indonesia is in fact not easy to accept by the community.

There are still many negative views pinned to the Chinese community and their neighborhood in Chinatown. This was what later led to a series of horrific events during the 1960s, when the socio-political situation in Indonesia was shaken. At that time many ethnic Chinese were expelled from Indonesia, it was recorded that more than 100,000 Chinese people returned to their ancestral lands. Prohibition after ban continued to be carried out for the native Chinese community, as well as for the descendants of Chinese and Indigenous marriages. Anti-Chinese riots also occurred in various cities, such as Medan, Makassar, Bandung, Bogor, Semarang, and so on, during the period 1965-1966.

This situation was compounded by the presence of communists in Indonesia, who were believed to have originated from the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Indonesian people are increasingly distrustful of the Chinese in this country, and always accuse them of being part of spreading this ideology. To dispel the suspicions of the Indonesian public, on 15 April 1966 Chinese people gathered at Banteng Square to hear the speech of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Adam Malik, who called on them to prove their loyalty to Indonesia. After Suharto led Indonesia, the existence of the Chinese community remained a polemic in society. The New Order government, which wanted the implementation of *Bineka Tunggal Ika* in Indonesia, began to pressure Chinese people to unify their culture, so that they would not have an exclusive impression on them, especially because of their place of residence.

The New Order government then issued Presidential Instruction No.14/1967, which was made for the process of assimilation of Chinese society. In the instruction, Suharto stipulated that all Chinese religious ceremonies,

beliefs and customs could only be celebrated within the family and in closed spaces. In addition, the customs of the Chinese people, including Chinese New Year celebrations, are prohibited from being displayed in public. Something that makes Chinese descendants in Indonesia unable to preserve their ancestral culture freely.

According to the government, if this was allowed, the Chinese would disrupt the planned assimilation program. This policy has in fact resulted in the erosion of the Chinese language and culture. In facing the New Order situation which was full of polemics, the Chinese people chose to not be hasty and respond to all that in a peaceful way. They do not dare to take actions against government regulations for fear that it will complicate the position of their descendants in the future.

During the 32 years of Suharto's rule, the Chinese community was confined by regulations that weighed heavily on their cultural activities. Until finally, President Abduraham Wahid issued RI Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2000, revoked Presidential Decree No. 14 of 1967, which finally restored the Chinese community's position in carrying out religious activities, and fighting for their civil rights, including holding ceremonies in general.

### **3. Challenges to Islamic society during the New Order**

Era In the fight against the PKI that was carried out after the coup, Muslims and Christians worked hand in hand with the military. At the MPRS session in 1966 it was decided that religious education must be carried out from the elementary school to the tertiary level. However, the major conversion that took place was not only encouraging for some religious leaders, but also became a trigger for the emergence of tensions and conflicts between Muslim and Christian figures.

The large number of people who converted to Christianity (although many converted to Islam and other religions) were then exaggerated by the Western media or foreign missionaries. make Muslims afraid and feel threatened. This is the origin of the discourse on the threat of Christianization among Muslims which has led to demands to (1) limit the broadcasting of religion to those who are not yet religious, (2) so that the construction of places of worship has the approval of the central population.

Christian missionary activities in Indonesia appear to have increased after the outbreak of the G30S/ PKI communist uprising. The families of the arrested communists and impoverished Muslims were their main targets. Tens of thousands of people were forced to convert to Christianity thanks to the inducements and funds of the mission. The missionary organizations are of various kinds and the way they carry out their activities is contrary to Pancasila (freedom of religion).

In 1967, the mission began to show its very ways offend the feelings of Muslims, by establishing churches and Christian schools in Muslim circles. Such a situation has causing undesirable events, namely the destruction of the church in Meulaboh, Aceh, in June 1967, the destruction of the church in



Ujungpandang (Makassar) in October 1967, and the destruction of a Christian school in Palmerah, Slipi, Jakarta.

Catholic Christianity in Indonesia seems to really take advantage of the opportunity to carry out open Christianization efforts post- G. 30 S/ PKI. This opportunity actually succeeded in seducing some Muslims to convert to their religion. What is even more demonstrative is that as a minority, they do not hesitate to build churches and schools in the midst of a Muslim- majority society. They did not hesitate to call for Christianization from house to house to Muslims by distributing a number of materials that are needed by the Muslim community. The reason is simple, namely social assistance and their concern for the fate of some Muslims who need assistance. If examined, actually activities like this are nothing more than an attack with the motto of peace. From this point of view, Christian/ Catholic through their missionaries seem to have crossed the line, because they no longer pay attention to religious ethics, or in another sense, Christian/ Catholic missionaries appear to be demonstrative in entering Muslim homes with various pretexts to convey the message of the Gospel.

#### **4. Characters**

##### **a. Mohammad Natsir**

Mohammad Natsir was born in Jambatan village, Baukia, Alahan Panjang. Minangkabau, on July 17, 1908. Jambatan Village is located behind Talak Solok Mountain in West Sumatra Province. He is the third son of the couple Idris Sutan Sari Pado and Khadijah. His father was a subordinate officer, namely as a controller's clerk during the rule of the Dutch East Indies. Due to the economic conditions of his family, which is mediocre. Mohammad Natsir often stays at other people's homes so he can gain knowledge. As a child he studied at the People's School in Maninjau. But when his father was moved to Bakeru, South Sulawesi, little Mohammad Natsir lived with his uncle in Padang and attended HIS (Hollandsch Inlandsch School) Adabiyah, a school that refers to the Dutch curriculum but is equipped with Islamic religious material. HIS was led by H. Abdullah Ahmad.

Mohammad Natsir then lived in the family home of Haji Musa, an entrepreneur philanthrope. Not only studied at HIS, Natsir also studied at Madrasah Diniyah in the afternoon, and recite the Qur'an and Islamic religious knowledge at night. In 1923 Mohammad Natsir successfully completed his study at HIS with boxa very good graduation predicate, this predicate has provided an opportunity to continue his education to a higher level, namely at Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (MULO) Padang for four years to 1927.

After graduating from MULO, he continued his education at Algemene Middelbare School (AMS) in Bandung, West Java, and separated from his parents in his hometown. At (AMS) he studied western classical literature for three years.

In the world of education, Mohammad Natsir had founded Islamic Education (Pendis) in Bandung, West Java. Pendis is a modern Islamic education with a religious character. At Pendis, Natsir became director for 10 years starting from 1932.

In the world of politics, Mohammad Natsir is known as a figure who wants Islam as the basis or ideology of the state. In a journal entitled Mohammad Natsir's View of Islam as a State Ideology published by the University of North Sumatra (USU), this is alluded to. In this case, according to Mohammad Natsir, Islam can manifest itself in every line of life, from community life, state administration, government to legislation.

Nevertheless, Islam still allows everyone to express their views or stance in joint deliberations. As Allah SWT says, And let their affairs be decided by deliberation. Muhammad Natsir stressed the unity of religion and the state within government. Because, he did agree and stated that democracy is in accordance with Islamic teachings. During his life, Natsir has received various award for his services. In 1957, for example, he received the star Nichan Istikhar (Grand Gordon) from the King of Tunisia, Lamine Bey, for his services to help North African people's struggle for independence. There are still several other awards given to Mohammad Natsir. Natsir died on February 6, 1993. During the reign BJ Habibie, Natsir was again given another award, namely the Bintang Republik Indonesia Adipradana award.

#### **b. Mahbub Djunaidi**

Mahbub Djunaidi was the first child born to the couple H. Djunaidi and Mrs. Muchsinati born in Jakarta on Thursday 22 July 1933. When Mahbub Djunaidi was born, Indonesia was still in the colonial period. He and his family had to move from Jakarta to Solo several times to avoid physical combat between the Dutch and Indonesian fighters. Consequently he spent his childhood in Solo, Central Java.

Since childhood, Mahbub Djunaidi was very fond of writing. His penchant for writing increased when his short story entitled "Tanah Mati" was published by Acts magazine in March 1950. The short story was given an assessment and commentary by HB Jassin who was dubbed the pope of Indonesian literature. Until in the end many of his works were published by well-known magazines in Indonesia. Budairy said that "outside dealing with the school magazine, Mahbub Djunaidi's writings have been published in prestigious magazines such as Siasat (poetry). Mimbar Indonesia (essay), Story, Romance, Star Weekly, Cinta (short story)".

Mahbub Djunaidi started his formal education at Elementary School (SD) in 1940 in the Solo area. He and his family had to move to flee to Solo because Jakarta was not safe when Indonesia was still under occupation. When he was 15 years old, Mahbub Djunaidi was only in grade 1 of junior high school (junior high school) in 1949. Mahbub began his education in Solo from elementary school to graduating from junior high school (SMP). In 1952 Mahbub Djunaidi and his family returned to Jakarta and continued his

high school education in Budi Utomo. When he was in high school, he began to actively participate in organizations and his penchant for writing increased. Many of his writings have been published in various mass media.

Within the Islamic organization Mahbub Djunaidi was very active in Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). In his first organization he became chairman of the Indonesian Student Youth Association (IPPI) in 1952 while still in junior high school. Then, when SMA began to join the Nahdlatul Ulama Student Association (IPNU), which was a cadre of the NU party. When he was a UI student, Mahbub Djunaidi chose to become an activist among students. At the college he joined the Islamic Student Association (HMI) organization. At that time HMI became the only forum for Islamic students.

Apart from having studied at a university at the University of Indonesia, Mahbub Djunaidi also studied in Colombo, Sri Lanka in 1960. Mahbub Djunaidi, who was involved in the world of journalism, had the opportunity to do a comparative study in journalism. His experience in journalism was further honed and sharpened while he was studying in Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Throughout his life, both verbally and in writing, Mahbub Djunaidi had a clear and firm stance in terms of fighting for the interests of the people and human rights for the progress of the country he loved because he was concerned about the weakness of the Indonesian nation's soul and people who were trapped in irrationality, feudalism and injustice. Joe said that some of the important things he remembered before Mahbub Djunaidi died were how he fought for the rights of journalists who fought to defend their homeland and was very critical of journalists who were afraid and became puppets of the New Order. Another very remarkable thing is his honesty. Through his words as well as his writings he struggled to straighten out the history that was twisted a lot by the New Order regime at that time. He dared to go against it alone, a single fighter. Even when he was a columnist, Mahbub Djunaidi shared his thoughts on politics a lot. His thoughts on politics are based on Islamic- style politics which always talk about Islamic, democratic and state relations. As a political thinker Mahbub Djunaidi highly upholds democracy. Islam and democracy have a very close relationship which provides guidance for humans in achieving a peaceful and prosperous life.

## **5. Da'wah strategy**

The strategy in preaching cannot be separated from seeing how the context of the environment when preaching is carried out. Dakwah is an effort to change a condition that previously deviated from the path of religion to a condition that is better, more just and more humane. Da'wah since the Prophet Muhammad SAW, has been carried out with full tactics and or strategy. This departs from the belief that Islamic teachings must enter into all aspects of human life, even though the challenges are very tough. This also prompted the



Prophet Muhammad when preaching to use various approaches.

We call this approach in the teaching of Islam the da'wah strategy. This strategy was prepared by looking at the context that existed at the time the da'wah was carried out. Mahbub Djunaidi is a journalist or columnist who has a strong Islamic way of thinking. Mahbub Djunaidi's style of thinking has been formed since he was young. Raised by his father, who incidentally was an NU figure, then Mahbub Djunaidi received an education and understanding of Islam. This is an asset for Mahbub Djunaidi to take part in society by becoming a writer.

Mahbub Djunaidi uses written media as a tool to convey the truth, and a tool to criticize the government. Mahbub Djunaidi's attention covers various fields: social, political, also religious. He controls all these fields through writings. The character of Mahbub Djunaidi's writing is his language is straightforward. Mahbub Djunaidi often uses a satirical style when criticizing government.

Satire style is touted as a strategy to trick the government. When Indonesia was under the New Order government, Mahbub Djunaidi criticized the government a lot through his writings when he was a columnist. In a number of fundamental ways, he opposed the Suharto regime, opposed arbitrariness, and opposed the behavior of the regime very capitalist bureaucrats against family businesses that are exploiting, against freedom of the press that are silenced, freedom of speech and others. Mahbub Djunaidi criticized the New Order government system which he considered not in line with the existing democratic system in Indonesia. This is because in practice it is not the people who run the government but the elites. A good government is one that is oriented to the interests of the people at large, not oriented towards a small group of big men living in multi- storey buildings surrounded by glass like candy in a jar.

## **CONCLUSION**

The government system during the New Order era was presidential with a Republican form of government and the 1945 Constitution as the basis for the valid constitution. Indonesian socio-culture during the New Order government there was discrimination against Chinese people such as people of Toinghoan descent who lived in Indonesia had to change their Chinese names to Indonesian names. Christian missionary activities in Indonesia appear to have increased after the outbreak of the G30S/PKI communist uprising. Islamic figures during the New Order era were Mohammad Natsir and Mahbub Djunaidi. Mahbub Djunaidi uses written media as a tool to convey the truth, and a tool to criticize the government. Mahbub Djunaidi's attention covers various fields: social, political, also religious. Mahbub Djunaidi often uses a satirical style when criticizing the government. Satire style is touted as a strategy to trick the government.

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