

T.R.

ISTANBUL SABAHATTIN ZAIM UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE EDUCATION INSTITUTE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**UMMAH AS A POLITICAL IDENTITY IN
INDONESIA: A REFLECTION ON THE VIEWS OF
MOHAMMAD NATSIR**

MA THESIS

Muhammad Nuryadin ASH-SHABİRİN

Istanbul

September – 2024

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This study has been approved in partial fulfilment of the requirements for MA degree
in Political Science and International Relations

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DECLARATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND ETHICS ORIGINALITY

This is to certify that this MA thesis titled “*Ummah as A Political Identity in Indonesia: A Reflection on The Views of Mohammad Natsir*” is my work and I have acted according to scientific ethics and academic rules while producing it. I have collected and used all information and data according to scientific ethics and guidelines on thesis writing at Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University. I have fully referenced, in both the text and bibliography, all direct and indirect quotations and all sources I have used in this work.

Muhammad Nuryadin ASH-SHABİRİN

Istanbul, September 2024

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ABSTRACT

UMMAH AS A POLITICAL IDENTITY IN INDONESIA: A REFLECTION ON THE VIEWS OF MOHAMMAD NATSIR

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This research will explain What is the role of Mohammad Natsir in the integration of the Masyumi party, which idealizes the unity of the Ummah through the Integrated Democracy system in the old and new order eras, in the implementation of the concept of the Ummah towards Muslim identity and Indonesian society? The principles of the Islamic creed unite the Ummah, fostering the development of a civil society and a collective identity. The Ummah evolves into a collective mindset, a type of social awareness, or a conceptual community that brings together the Ummah to lead an observant life and preserve or maybe expand the limits of an independent Ummah. The Ummah becomes a concept that stands for a common identity of Muslims in implementing Islamic values for society to support the Indonesian government's movement in strengthening and defending its independence. The notion of Ummah offers a mechanism to uphold the principles and standards of sharia law, ensuring the presence of a collective identity within a state that imposes rights and responsibilities on individuals who interact socially in pursuit of their common goal. This research aims to ensure that the appreciation carried out by each individual Muslim and his nation simultaneously becomes an understanding of the meaning of Ummah as a state entity or community, which is a Muslims political identity needed by the nation to help each other, support, and create a better common goal to build an ideal nation and state.

Keyword: Ummah, Identity, Muslims political, Indonesia, Democracy, Islamic values.

ÖZET

ENDONEZYA'DA SİYASİ BİR KİMLİK OLARAK ÜMMET: MOHAMMAD NATSIR'IN GÖRÜŞLERİ ÜZERİNE BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

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Bu araştırma, Natsir'in Masyumi partisi aracılığıyla ortaya koyduğu vizyonda, Müslümanlar ve genel olarak tüm Endonezya toplumu için sürdürülebilir bir Müslüman siyasi sistem ile Müslüman bir kimlik olarak Ümmetin, bağımsızlık öncesi dönemde Ümmetin çıkarlarını destekleyecek unsurlar olduğunu açıklayacaktır. İslam inancının ilkeleri Müslüman ümmeti birleştirerek sivil bir toplumun ve kolektif bir kimliğin gelişmesini teşvik eder. Ümmet, kolektif bir zihniyete, bir tür sosyal bilince ya da Ümmeti gözlemci bir yaşam sürmek ve bağımsız bir Ümmetin sınırlarını korumak ya da belki de genişletmek için bir araya getiren kavramsal bir topluluğa dönüşür. Ümmet, Endonezya hükümetinin bağımsızlığını güçlendirme ve savunma hareketini desteklemek üzere toplum için İslami değerlerin uygulanmasında Müslümanların ortak kimliğini temsil eden bir kavram haline gelmektedir. Ümmet kavramı, İslami şariat hukukunun ilke ve standartlarını korumak için bir mekanizma sunarak, ortak amaçları doğrultusunda sosyal etkileşimde bulunan bireylere hak ve sorumluluklar yükleyen bir devlet içinde kolektif bir kimliğin varlığını sağlar. Bu araştırma, her bir Müslüman birey ve onun ulusu tarafından eş zamanlı olarak yürütülen takdirin, ideal bir ulus ve devlet inşa etmek için birbirlerine yardım etmek, desteklemek ve daha iyi bir ortak hedef oluşturmak için ulusun ihtiyaç duyduğu İslami bir siyasi kimlik olan bir devlet varlığı veya topluluğu olarak Ümmetin anlamının anlaşılmasını sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ümmet, kimlik, Müslüman siyaset, Endonezya, Demokrasi, İslami değerler.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MASYUMI	:	Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Shuro Council)
NASAKOM	:	Nasionalis, Agama, dan Komunisme (Nationalism, Religion, and Communism)
Aliran	:	Kepercayaan (Believe)
PNI	:	Partai Nasionalisme Indonesia (Indonesia Nationalism Party)
DDI	:	Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah (Islamiyah Da'wah Council)
NU	:	Nahdlatul 'Ulama (Revival of the Ulama') is one of Islamic organization in Indonesia.
VOC	:	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (The Dutch East India Company)
NKRI	:	Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia
DI/TII	:	Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Army)
PKI	:	Partai Komunis Indonesia (The Communist Party of Indonesia)
PRC	:	Partai Rakyat Cina (The Republic of China Party)
RIS	:	Republik Indonesia Serikat (United State of Indonesia)
HAM	:	Hak Asasi Manusia (Human Rights)
PANCASILA	:	The five principles, foundational philosophical theory of Indonesia.
Bhinneka Tunggal Ika	:	Berbeda-beda tapi tetap satu (Unity in Diversity)
PARMUSI	:	Partai Muslim Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Party)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) is a state with more than 17000 islands as the biggest archipelago or a group of islands. (Conrad, 2020). Indonesia located in Southeast Asia, called by Nusantara, which is the largest continent in the world NKRI (The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia) declared its independence from Dutch colonialism on 17 of August 1945 (Kroef, 1951: 166-171). The NKRI has a democratic political system and a republican form of government. Indonesia, positioned on the equator, has a multitude of natural and human resources. Indonesia, with the world's largest population and diverse cultural, religious, and ethnic origins, is constantly presented with a situation in which unity and integrity are separated. The proposed approach involves creating an instrument capable of efficiently merging many groups and their different interests. The integration of Indonesia has met many external and internal challenges throughout its history. Since achieving independence, Indonesian society has met two instances of military invasions carried out by the Dutch such as separation by the island of Timor conflicts related to separatist movements in different regions, and a political system in Indonesia.

Pancasila is foundational philosophical theory of Indonesia, that regulate the behavior of the nation and state for the entire people of Indonesia. In another word, Soekarno defined Pancasila as the five principles of Indonesian state philosophy, was started by the members of the preparatory committee for Indonesian independence. Specified elements of selected world values and ideologies, including nationalism, humanitarianism, individual rights, freedom of religion, democracy, and socialism, influenced Pancasila. Indonesia is recognized as one of the nations with the highest Muslim population globally. The national motto, "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika," originated in response to the necessity of unifying this diverse nation. The motto, which means "Unity in Diversity," symbolizes the unity and integrity of Indonesia, a nation that is host to a diverse array of cultures and languages from different regions, races, ethnicities, religions, and beliefs. This idea gained significant support among

Muslims in Indonesia, as it represented their common goal. The interconnectedness of these precepts forms a value system, preventing their separation in their application. While each principle may possess distinct qualities, they ultimately form a cohesive and organized whole (Kaelan, 2004: 79).

Indonesia produced a multitude of national figures, politicians, combatants, and intellectuals of all levels during the 20th century. Mohammad Natsir is considered one of the most important figures in Indonesia and Islam. The significance of Natsir's efforts in the national sphere has been substantiated by a role that cannot be regarded as inconsequential. Mohammad Natsir was a prominent religious figure who has made substantial contributions to the advancement and broadening of religious ideologies. The entity's initiatives to promote support for reform among Muslims in Indonesia, particularly concerning the implementation of Islamic teachings and social behaviors, were particularly prominent. According to Mohammad Natsir, a Muslim politics is required to adhere completely to philosophy of Islam, keeping Allah's commands in matters of worship and society (Harjono, 2001: 21).

Religion should serve as the basis for constructing a state, since it encompasses more than just a means of worship between individuals and his god. Islam encompasses more than just a system of worship. This culture and civilization are comprehensive and flawless. The purpose of Islam is the vision of Islam is to ensure that religion becomes an integral part of every individual's life, so that it shapes society, government, and legislation. The maintenance and implementation of the ideal state and political system in Islam have a strong connection to the framework of the Qur'an and Sunnah. These sources serve as the criteria for evaluating the acceptability of a system within the Islamic context (Natsir, 1973: 450). Mohammad Natsir has achieved outstanding political achievements in his participation in proving the political system of constitutional democratic government. Mohammad Natsir is indeed deserving of recognition as a democracy scholar and human rights advocate (Setyaningsih, 2016: 73-94).

In the beginning of Indonesia's independence in 1945, Natsir received support from the Muslim community to create a state based on Islamic values. Mohammad Natsir argued that we must explain the concept of nationality with the Islam that most Indonesians believe in, and which drives them to fight for the destiny of their nation. According to Mohammad Natsir, it was the Muslim movement that first began to

create political independence in Indonesia, started to spread the idea of Indonesian unity that removes the tendencies of islands and provinces, which begins to prove solidarity with the same people who share the same destiny beyond the borders of Indonesia with the spirit of Islam (Natsir, 1931: 14). However, to set up a political system or a state, one must carry out an *ijtihad* (effort) to find an ideal and proper system in accordance with the conditions of the era.

Basically, Soekarno proposed a nationalist concept that advocated the separation of state and religion, or the opposite. Mohammad Natsir believed that Pancasila's ideology, which contains the five principles of Indonesian philosophical theory, remained under the influence and dominance of communist and secular ideologies. In fact, Mohammad Natsir appeared to explicitly reject the philosophy of Pancasila, as it naturally encompasses Islamic principles, moral values, and societal norms. Mohammad Natsir strongly supported the idea of Islam serving as the government's foundation, not only because Muslims comprised the majority in Indonesia, but also because he argued that Islamic teachings possessed exceptional qualities that the state and society could adopt. Furthermore, he claimed that fostering tolerance and respect among the many cultures inside the state could guarantee the preservation of life's diversity. Religion and the state, while serving distinct functions, are inherently intertwined and interdependent, enhancing the goal of society or the Ummah.

Mohammad Natsir criticized the adoption of secularism as a state ideology due to its perceived disregard for Islamic principles. This disregard was seen as detrimental not just to Muslims but also to Indonesian society as a whole. Secularism, in this context, was seen as a belief system that believed the notions of God and religion to be products of human creation. According to Waluyo, the substance of the argument is based on Soekarno's description as well as his alignment with the idea of secularization ideology carried out by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk on Islamic reform in Turkiye. The basis of Soekarno's argument is that religion is a matter of the afterlife, which is only a relationship between individuals and their god. Meanwhile, the state is purely a relationship between individuals, society, and the natural world. With Soekarno's concept of thinking in this way, Mohammad Natsir considered that this was an intellectual and historical distortion (Waluyo, 2009: 36).

Although the Republic of Indonesia's system was decided after independence, its structure can change by undergoing evaluation in line with the times. Structurally, the

current executive institution, which is above the legislative institution, may experience a democratization process under the legislative institution. The concept of society refers to individuals who possess rights, obligations, and freedoms in all aspects of their existence within the boundaries of a specific region. Then the concept of Ummah as an integrated entity emerged to reach a common goal based on consciousness, norms, and values. The presence of the concept of *Ummatan Wasathan* (moderate) gives a new impression of the rights of citizens. According to Kuntowijoyo, The Ummah is a socio-political phenomenon that is an essential instrument for the social order to establish an ideal and accommodating state (Kuntowijoyo, 1997: 6).

Transformative thinking is based on the Islamic worldview because the main purpose of religion is humanity. Islam should act as a powerful and ongoing catalyst for social motivation and transformation, guided by the Islamic worldview expressed in the Qur'an and sunnah. The practical application of Islamic principles across various domains, including education, social, economic, political, and civilizational aspects, should achieve this. Transformative thinking does not give enough appreciation to theological interpretations that are literal and normative and do not bring change to the people. Thus, transformative thinking is oriented towards teachings that favor and liberate Muslims from various fundamental weaknesses in various realities of socio-political life. According to Suhelmi, Mohammad Natsir emphasized that the primary objective of the state is to implement Islamic principles and values derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah. These Islamic regulations encompass multiple responsibilities, such as the obligation to dedicate yourself to learning, the obligation to give zakat, the obligation to prevent immoral behavior, etc. The state establishes complete obedience to God's commands, both for individual existence and as an integral part of society (Suhelmi, 2002: 241).

The issue of statehood is basically within and regulated by Islam. Islam and the state are integrally related, symbiotically, reciprocally related, and require each other. Religion needs the state, and vice versa. During the early stages of their development, Muslim-majority countries met the challenge of integrating religion into the state's activities. This pertains to the dynamic response to the currents of nationalism and democracy that have been present since the 20th century. In this context, positioning Islam within the state is critical. The misunderstanding among Muslims regarding this

matter has resulted in a dispute over the most efficient way of establishing Islam as the foundation of the state (Tedy, 2016: 42).

1.2. The Purpose of the Study

This study will discuss the concept of Ummah on the views of Mohammad Natsir as a political identity in Indonesia and its relevance to the implementation of the state system to Islamic values, since the pre-independence of Indonesia in the 1945s. The ideas in the Muslim Reform Movement from all Muslims community were existed, created debates concerning the coexistence of the state and religion. That idea raised the views of intellectuals and political philosophers, including Mohammad Natsir, who suggested adopting the Islamic values mentioned in Pancasila as the principle of the state. The Ummah becomes a concept that represents a common identity of Muslims in implementing Islamic values for society to support the Indonesian government's movement in strengthening and defending its independence. This is a major issue of debate among political scholars who consider that identity politics is meant to gain support for their respective political interests.

This research will explain the roles of Mohammad Natsir in the integration of the Masyumi party, which idealizes the unity of the Ummah through the Integrated Democracy system in the old and new order eras, in the implementation of the concept of the Ummah towards Muslim identity and Indonesian society. And also to ensure that the appreciation carried out by each individual Muslim and his nation simultaneously becomes an understanding of the meaning of Ummah as a state entity or community, which is an Muslims political identity needed by the nation to help each other, support, and create a better common goal to build an ideal nation and state. Muslims cannot demand more from a state that has been proved since the beginning, especially with different cultures and religious beliefs in each territory, because the survival of a religion depends on its adherents, not on the state. The most important thing for Muslims is how all the teachings in Islamic law can influence the values and be in line with the life of the nation to create a nation that *baldatun tayyibatun wa rabbun ghafur* (a nation that collects the goodness of nature and the good behavior of its people). Consequently, Mohammad Natsir used the value of Islam as political thought as the basis for implementing Pancasila as the principle of the state system with an Islamist system, which contradicts the secular ideology inspired by Soekarno in pre-independence Indonesia in 1930–1940.

1.3. The Scope and Content of the Study

Contemporary global sociocultural phases have questioned the dominance and constraints of national and state forms of political identification. The history of the Muslims movement in Indonesia cannot be separated from the developments and changes that occur in Indonesian society as well as the global changes that affect it. With the existence of transnational processes, there was a wave of civil society and global democratization. The concepts of the nation and the Ummah have the potential to spread and dominate the notion of the individual. The Ummah represents a Muslims political identity characterized by a governance model aimed at the collective welfare, embodying a moderate approach (Ummatan Wasathan) that protects citizens' rights and adheres to principles consistent with the essence of Islam.

The history of Muslim politics in Indonesia following the establishment the old-order government depending on Soekarno, endured a period of ideological conflict between secularists, nationalists, communists, and Muslims, Soekarno's state system established Natsir's opposition to any ideologies that deviated from Islamic values. Natsir believed that Islam appeared a crucial role in Indonesian politics. The existence of Muslim politics, which characterizes identity, is an instrument that refers to the purpose of ijtihad (effort) to create an ideal system in accordance with the conditions of the era. The support system relevant to Islam is used to reduce the system that might create injustice, violations of norms, and immorality.

1.3.1. Research Questions

Based on the background thesis focuses on Ummah as political identity in Indonesia. One question consists of two sub-questions significant to underline that regard:

How did Mohammad Natsir interpret the concept of Ummah as a political identity in Indonesia?

- a. How did Mohammad Natsir create the dynamics of Muslim politics values in the post-independence era of the Republic of Indonesia?
- b. What is Mohammad Natsir's views and notions about the relationship between democracy and the society's (Ummah) welfare and sovereignty in Indonesia ?

To find the answers to these questions, the researcher utilized data through various previous literature reviews, documentation, journals, theses, books, and websites.

1.3.2. Hypothesis

Based on the research questions above, the author then proposes three basic hypotheses developed in this study. Mohammad Natsir, as one of the Muslims politician figures in Indonesia, consistently proposed advancing Islamic values as the ideological basis of the pre-independent Indonesian state. Mohammad Natsir supported the establishment of Islam as the defining characteristic of the state during three distinct periods, each characterized by different ideological perspectives:

First, in the period 1930–1940, Mohammad Natsir campaigned for the discourse of the Indonesian state system incorporates Islamic values. through various mass media. This certainly led to a great deal of polemic and differences in opinion and ideology between Mohammad Natsir and Soekarno in fact, Soekarno presented a secular nationalist ideology. Mohammad Natsir agreed to transform Pancasila as the state ideology in the period following Indonesian independence, as long as the values interpreted were consistent with Islamic teachings and the essence of all its contents aligned with its essential role as the foundation of the state. During this period, Natsir accelerated his progress in Muslim politics by establishing Masyumi (Majelis Syuro Muslim in Indonesia) as an Islamic party, a legally recognized instrument under the parliamentary constitution. Nasakom (the Nationalist Communist Party) Marxism and nationalism founded by Soekarno, was an obvious rival Masyumi, which were ideologies that separated all religious and political concerns.

Secondly, the implementation of Islamic values according to Mohammad Natsir within the state system and the foundation of governmental instruments towards understanding the concept of Ummah as a Muslim identity the growth of ideology-best politics in the post-independence era encourages Natsir purpose to promote Muslim's ideology through a constitutional framework. This practice was brought about by the instructions of Vice President Muhammad Hatta on November 3, 1945, in which he directed and legitimized a multi-party system. Following the instructions, Indonesia then witnessed three ideological streams, literally called *aliran* (believe), in its political sphere: Islam, nationalism, and communism. Islam is a tradition, not only as a religion or ideology but also as a community (Ummah) that shares a common destiny that provides justice, equal rights, values, goals, and interests. It has its own understanding, but with a collective consciousness engaging together to achieve a

common goal, not only individually. Islam is a tradition that includes the community (Ummah) as well as Islam as a religion or philosophical thought.

Third, the Ummah has objectives, interests, and its own understanding, but there is also a collective awareness through collaborating to accomplish a purpose instead of merely separately. Islam is a community, which means it has a political identity that is sometimes misinterpreted at the present to be widely used as an instrument to politicize religion in the interests of those who use the Islamic label to gain more support and influence.

1.4. The Importance and Original Contribution of the Study

The importance of this research is intended to contribute to the development of the study of social, and politics, especially theories related to politics Identity, democracy and Muslims political thought. To find out more deeply how the concept of Ummah, from the perspective of Mohammad Natsir and Muslim politics at that time, competed with each other in terms of prestige, influence, and recognition from the government and the Indonesian people in the first general election after the reform of Indonesian independence, This research aims to examine the significance of the Ummah in Muslim identity politics, both in Islamic countries and Muslim-majority countries, and as a reflection to support an appropriate understanding of Muslim politics to integrate the values of *Ukhuwwah Islamiyah* (Islamic brotherhood) and *Maslahah* (benefits) in their interrelationship for all Muslims in the world.

The most important thing that adds to the originality of this research is that it uses literature studies, by accumulating, processing, and summarizing some of the data that has been obtained using methods that are in accordance with the research needs to answer these objectives and definitions. To collect the data for this discussion, the author examined a variety of literature related to the topic at the time in the form of books, journals, and papers and collected information from various government documents.

1.5. Research Method of the Study

This research used descriptive qualitative research methods by explaining the study of political identity as the Ummah in the reflection of Muhammad Natsir in Indonesia. The collection mechanism used in this discussion is carried out by searching library data, looking for a set of literature related to the problem of study in the form of books,

journals, or papers, and collecting data from various articles. The articles, such as news reports, are related to the focus of the research as primary data, which allows hypotheses to be verified based on data, facts, and theories.

1.6. Literature Review Related to the Thesis Subject

The findings of earlier studies serve as a guide for researchers as they conduct this study. In the study, there are similarities and differences between the current and past research: The first research by Zehra Nur Duz “The concept of Ummah in International relations” (2020). In this research to reveal whether contemporary discourses of Ummah can be regarded as part of these alternative conceptions of political community. Contemporary global sociocultural transformations have problematized the dominance and limits of national and statist models of political identity and enabled resurrection of alternative conceptions of “political”, “community” and “identity”. The similarity between the first study and this study that they both examine how the problematized the dominance and limits of national and statist models of political identity and enabled resurrection of alternative conceptions of “political”, “community” and “identity”. The difference between the first study and this study, the research that will be conducted focuses on the ideology that exists in Indonesia in general, then becomes a polemic for people who are not only Muslims as the concept of Muslim identity. Through offering the ideology of Pancasila as a value that is instilled in the entire nation so as not to get out of the nationalist understanding.

The study refers to Imam Walid Asrofuddin Ulil Huda, Zia Hulhak, Ahmad Bajuri “Partai Masyumi: Mercusuar politik identitas Islam positif di Indonesia 1945-1960” (The Masyumi Party: A landmark of positive Muslim identity politics in Indonesia 1945-1960) (2022). This study examines the constructive influence of Muslim Identity Politics in Indonesia from 1945 to 1960. The Masyumi Party is renowned for effectively employing Muslim identity politics while maintaining a strong focus on national unity and avoiding the imposition of group interests or the division of the people through agitation and confrontation. Nevertheless, the Masyumi Party retains the ability to incorporate Islamic principles into the government's agenda. To ensure universal tranquility, it is imperative that individuals coexist together, notwithstanding their divergent political preferences. Thus, subsequent research will examine about Mohammad Natsir's concepts in depth. The distinction between the previous research and this research lies in their examination of the Masyumi party. The Masyumi party

was founded by Mohammad Natsir, a Muslim scholar advocating for the incorporation of an Muslim political identity into the Indonesian state system.

Next study refers to is the study by Ejaz Akram “Muslim Ummah and its link with transnationalism Muslim politics” (2007). The primary goal of this study is to clarify the meaning of the Ummah and shine a light on the many issues surrounding its operationalization. Furthermore, it investigates the enduring influence of the Ummah concept on the political landscape of Muslim states, as well as its impact on the historical consciousness of Muslims. Lastly, it analyzes the relationship between Western conceptions of the nation-state and the Ummah, focusing on how the latter facilitates or impedes regional cooperation among Muslim states. Western and non-Western scholars have engaged in considerable debate regarding the concept of the Ummah, particularly considering the efforts of transnational Muslim networks to operationalize the ideal of Ummah unity. Muslims perceive the surrounding environment as precarious when it imperils their way of life. The similarities between the previous study and the current study are significant, discuss about Muslim world was experiencing movements of nationalism to rid themselves of the colonial rule. As well as new nations, republics, or states to be a weak actor on a global scale. The muslim countries are competing to increase their nationalism, to have an identity that is recognized by other nations and the colonizers will be reluctant to intervene in the system they build against nationalism identity. The difference between the first study and this study, the difference contained in this research considers the idea of what can hinder transnational relations between western nations and Muslims, which according to them is not in sync between the concept of Ummah brought as a Muslim identity in the world.

The research by Salwa Ismail “Politics of Identity: Being Muslim: Islam, Islamism and Identity Politics (2004)”. This paper discusses the intricate relationship between religion and identity poses significant issues both in the supposedly secular public sphere and in situations where religion is thought to have a significant factor in defining the public realm. The idea that religion is a personal affair removed from public discourse is prevalent in secular countries. In general, religion cannot and should not be used as a frame of reference to support public policy on social concerns, nor can it be brought up when proving the guiding principles or governance structure of such policies. The similarity between the first study and this study, that religion is

often exploited as an instrument that can increase public support, for the purpose of practical political interests of a particular community as most of the ideology adopted. Whereas religion as a direction that can bring together all the differences that exist in the Muslim public space with different backgrounds, to unite common goals and for the benefit of the Ummah not just a certain group. The difference between the first study and this study, this research focuses on the scope of religion, Islamism, and how the position of religion in the post-modern and global era is a challenge to Muslim identity nowadays. Then criticize the construction of identity as a model in power, which uses various frames of reference.

In article by Retanisa Rizqi and Riski Aulia Ahmad “Pemikiran Agama dan Negara Mohammad Natsir” (Muhammad Natsir's Ideology on Religion and State) (2022). This study aims to analyze Mohammad Natsir's perspectives on the correlation between Islam and the state. Mohammad Natsir created efforts to ensure a harmonious integration of Islam and the state in Indonesia. Mohammad Natsir views the relationship between Islam and the state as an integrated connection encompassing politics, economy, and a way of life that rejects the notion of separating religion from politics. Mohammad Natsir emphasized that the purpose of Islam is not to create a system of governance, but rather to use its authority to defend the values of Islam as expressed in the Qur'an and Sunnah. The similarity between the first study and this study, examining Mohammad Natsir's thoughts on the relationship between the State and Islam, and current study also focuses on discussing the correlation between the basic principles of the State mentioned in the first paragraph of Pancasila which reads; God Almighty. The difference between the first study and this study, the discussion focused mainly on the scope of the role of Muslim ideology that Natsir campaigned for from a national perspective, Indonesia as a country based on Islam.

The study undertaken by Riaz Hasan “Globalisation's Challenge to the Ummah (2006)”, This study will examine the difficulties faced in this conflict and its sociological consequences for the fragmentation of the Muslim world into various self-governing territories. The argument posits that the future of the Ummah may derive strength not from being a unified and homogeneous society but rather from being a diverse community with various Ummah reflecting different Muslim regions. The historical events and dispositions of its inhabitants will shape the distinct identity of each regional Ummah.

Next research by Rido Putra “Konsep Negara Ideal Ali Abdul Raziq Dan Relevansinya Dengan Pancasila (2019)” (The Concept of Ideal State Ali Abdul Raziq's and Its Relevance to Pancasila). According to Ali Abdul Raziq, the central issue in this study is what constitutes the ideal state. Furthermore, how does Ali Abdul Raziq's concept of an ideal state relate to Pancasila in Indonesia? the research in question through analytical descriptive methods and deductive reasoning. Ali Abdul Raziq asserts that the ideal state is based on universal humanism and is committed to the welfare of its citizens, democracy, and social justice. Specifically, it is a secular state that is inclusive of both Muslim and non-Muslim citizens. Ali Abdul Raziq asserts that the ideal state is based on universal humanism and is committed to the welfare of its citizens, democracy, and social justice. Specifically, it is a secular state that is inclusive of both Muslim and non-Muslim residents. Ali Abdul Raziq's conceptualization of an ideal state is relevant to Pancasila because it recognizes that democratic values and social justice, Pancasila provides the basis of the Indonesian state, based in humanism and broadly applicable regardless of religious affiliation. It is characterize Indonesia as an intermediate state, where state law incorporates religious values, rather than being a secular or religious state.

Other study refers to Mujtaba Razvi “Muslim Ummah: Problems and Prospects (1987)”. This study focuses problems of the Ummah, The Muslim countries meet many challenging tasks. On average their per capita income stands in no comparison with that of the West. It is smaller by any standard and markedly below the current level achieved in semi-industrialized societies. Only a tiny part of the Ummah enjoys material prosperity, that also based on petroleum which cannot have a last. Ummah peace committees have been performing such a function. But to be effective such committees should be made to act as an independent point of reference distinguishable by their courage in defending the fundamental principles of Islam, without which lasting peace and security cannot be proven. In other words, it should examine every international question in the light of the principles of justice and equity, as proclaimed by Islam for the regulations of inter-state relations.

In other research, refers to Hendra Lesmana “Bingkai Politik Islam Dalam Perspektif Abdul Rashid Moten Suatu Upaya Membentuk Ummah (2017)” (The Frame of Muslim Politics in the Perspective of Abdul Rashid Moten an Effort to Establish Ummah). The main inquiry of this study pertains to the analogy between Islam,

politics, and two currencies both are interdependent and interconnected. Islam's politics inextricably link to the Prophet Muhammad, especially his journey (hijra) from Makkah to Yathrib (Medina). a pivotal moment in his career as a dependable political leader, prophet, and apostle. He was a highly esteemed negotiator in Medina society at the time, and he played a crucial strategic role. The Medina Charter was established as a benchmark for the peaceful coexistence of different religious groups in Medina as well as a blueprint for the development of interreligious and interreligious relations. This demonstrates the historical fact that the prophet's promotion of religious political values led to the successful transformation of human civilization into a holistic-integralistic one.

Besides that, a study conducted by Ris'an Rusli "The State Concept: The Political Thinking of Mohammad Natsir (2018)". This study emphasizes the notion of the state as conceptualized by Mohammad Natsir, which is defined as an establishment that promotes the welfare of individuals while guiding communal existence. The strategic function of the state in large part determines a variety of policies pertaining to the economy, politics, society, and education. Throughout its development, the shape and concept of the state sparked controversy and divergent opinions. Mohammad Natsir is an academic Muslim who has contributed his perspective on the notion of the state. Natsir further argues that the state leader should be a morally upright individual who abides by democratic principles and the constitution while also enjoying popular support. His ideas constitute the foundation for a moral state and a virtuous government. Additionally, he addresses the character and appointment of the head of state (imam), the necessity for the head of state, the appointment and determination of the head of state, and his stance on Indonesia's Pancasila.

The research refers to Basyir Syam "Sinergitas Pemikiran Muhammad Natsir di Bidang Teologi, Pendidikan dan Politik; Suatu Kajian Perspektif Pemikiran Politik Islam (2015)" (The Synergistic Thought of Muhammad Natsir in the Theology, Education and Politics; A Study of the Perspective of Islam in political views). The goal of this study is to clarify a prominent global politician's cognitive processes. According to Basyir Syam, Muhammad Natsir was a Muslim philosopher who wrote in a diversity of fields. The most significant contributions of Mohammad Nasir were in the fields of education, religion, and politics. He perceives all three of these domains as a cohesive entity, these three domains harmoniously integrate the author's ideas.

Ultimately, religion shapes an individual's destiny, education effectively instills Islamic teachings, and politics serves as a powerful tool to enhance life quality. Islam asserts that one can use political influence to bring religious doctrines to life in society.

In other study by Armin Tedy “Pemikiran Politik Islam Mohaammad Natsir” (Based on Islam Political Thought of Mohammad Natsir) (2016). The focus of this research is Muslim political parties according to Mohammad Natsir are a means of conveying aspirations in government. The purpose of Muslim political parties, according to Natsir, is to worship and become servants of Allah who have faith, piety, and noble character, which are based on the Qur'an and sunnah. There are three reasons used by Mohammad Natsir to support Islam as the basis of state ideology: the holistic character (versatility) of Islam, the superiority of Islam over all world ideologies, and the fact that Islam is the religion of most Indonesian citizens.

Zayad Abdurrahman “Konsep Ummah dalam Al Qur'an; Sebuah Upaya Melerai Miskonsepsi Negara Bangsa (2015)” (The Concept of Ummah in the Qur'an; An Attempt to Resolve the Misconception of the Nation State). There are various interpretations for this Ummah-focused study. Its significance transcends the confines of humankind. The term "Ummah" to associations of place, religion, and time. In addition, Surah al-An'am (6:38) applies to birds and other animals in the same way. The meaning of this statement is multifaceted. However, it extends beyond that scope. Al-Qur'an employs the term "in fact" to encompass multiple meanings. This interpretation broadens our understanding of the concept of brotherhood within the context of humanity. The article undoubtedly examines the term as a counter-discourse opposed to organizations that are willing to use it in an exclusive and limited sense.

Other study by Hadza Min Fadhli Robby “Positioning Ummah in International Politics: A South-south Perspective (2020)”. The goal of this research is to examine Ummah's reevaluation in the context of contemporary global politics. The concept of Ummah has been recognized and implemented into practice by the people of Medina since the time of Prophet Muhammad However, in recently emancipated countries dominated by Muslims, efforts have been made to revive a sense of unity within Muslim communities through the development of organizations that resemble the Ummah. Over the course of history, three significant endeavors have surfaced: The Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Developing-8 (D-8), and the Asian-African Islamic Conference. As active global organizations, only two initiatives have

materialized, symbolizing the Muslim community's participation in international politics. The objective of this study to examine the justifications behind the formation of those organizations through the lens of the South-South and English schools of thought.

According to Mubashar Hasan “The Concept of Globalization and How This has Impacted on Contemporary Muslim Understanding of Ummah (2011)”, This study analyzed of modernization and the concept of globalization, followed by an investigation of the Ummah concept and the impact of globalization on the Muslim understanding of Ummah. Implementing Quranic research methodology, this paper investigates the theological significance of Ummah and examines the Muslim understanding of Ummah in a globalized world. Despite Ummah's theological significance as a representation of humanity, its exclusivity in the age of globalization has led to confusion.

Research by Muhammad Adil Iqbal and Shaikh Abdul Mabud “Challenge of Globalization to the Muslim Ummah (2019)”, The Western world's conflicted attitude towards Islamic civilization shapes the study's focus on the range of problems arising from Muslim extremism and the evolving dynamics of globalization. To navigate the complex and chaotic state of the present day, it proposes a balanced approach (wasath) for the Muslim community (Ummah). Globalization refers to the expansion of regional dominance and the standardization of culture through the utilization of technology, capitalism, and global politics. Globalization's process, which encompasses both economic and political dimensions, has indirectly contributed to the spread of reactionary Muslim extremism by prolonging social and economic disparities and promoting exploitation. The primary motivation behind consecutive Western invasions and operations in Muslim countries has been the justification for executing the neo-liberal agenda via globalization. Following the issues of 9/11, Islam and Muslims faced unprecedented scrutiny and censure on a global scale. This examination became a prominent and all-encompassing concern, overshadowing even the substantial loss of life and violence that occurred. The portrayal of the Muslim world and its religion as demonic suggests that the Western world has not upheld its liberal values and is managing the world with conflicting standards. Currently, Muslim extremism continues to be a significant issue that the Muslim community encounters in the context of globalization. Both Western and Muslim experts widely reject the

assertion that Islamic extremism emerges as a response to Western political and economic supremacy, viewing it as nothing more than political hyperbole.

The proposed study by Manzooruddin Ahmed “Ummah: The Idea of a Universal Community (1975)”, This research analyzes the theoretical implications, the development of this concept during its constructive era (prophetic period), and its origin. Subsequently, he examines contemporary Muslim intellectuals' efforts to reinterpret the concept of ummah within the framework of the modern era. In conclusion, he attempts a theoretical reconstruction of the Ummah concept as the foundational principle of an authentically Muslim political theory.

Another study refers to Emi Setyaningsih “Perjuangan dan Pemikiran Politik Mohammad Natsir (1907-1993)” (The struggle and Political Thought of Mohammad Natsir 1907-1993). This study analyzed the discourse on religion and state throughout the history of the founding of a nation-state is, in fact, almost never finished. In the Indonesian context, the tug-of-war over the basis of the state, especially on the first principle according to the Jakarta Charter, was once a sharp polemic, although this fundamental issue can be resolved. The discourse shifted towards a debate on the position of Islam and Pancasila and whether Pancasila is compatible with Islam or incompatible.

Febri Hijroh Mukhlis “Konsep Ummah dalam Piagam Madinah; Asas Demokrasi Nabi Muhammad dan Relevansinya di Indonesia (2019)” (The Concept of Ummah in the Medina Charter; Prophet Muhammad's Democratic Principles and the Relevance in Indonesia). This research discusses the presents how to contextualize the messages of the Prophet Muhammad in the Medina Charter in Indonesia. The leaders and scholars in Indonesia have succeeded in grounding the message of the Prophet Muhammad following his era. Indonesia, with its diverse religious and cultural identities, must have a symbol of unity. unity. The meeting point is called Pancasila. The ideology of Pancasila is a tool to unify the nation by supplying an understanding that in a democratic life, a person in addition to being a religious citizen, is also a citizen of the country. Indonesia shares a common characteristic with Medina, which is diversity. or plurality. Pancasila is the basis of unity and integrity in Indonesia. The Medina Charter and Pancasila are legal rules for the establishment of democracy. Democracy that guarantees anyone to live religiously, culturally, without any suspicion.

According to Talal Asad “The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam (2009)”, This research criticizes the process of textualizing social life, his research has shifted the focus from interpreting behaviors to investigating the connection between practices and a "discursive tradition." Talal Asad's work about religion and its complexities in relation to contemporary sensibilities has steadily overturned prevalent paradigms in anthropology. In his intervention in the anthropology of Islam, Asad introduced this concept, which has since gained significance in a variety of disciplines (anthropology, religious studies, postcolonial studies. Notwithstanding its importance, the essay has failed to attain the same level of circulation as Asad's other articles.

Ahmad Nabil and Nadzrah Ahmad “Islam in Politics and Dakwah: A Reflection from Bapak Mohammad Natsir (1908-1993). This article provides an analysis of the political and dakwah endeavors in which Bapak Mohammad Natsir (1908–1993) ended in history. We analyze the notable challenges he faced in Masyumi (the Muslim Consultative Council of Indonesia) and DDII (the Islamic Missionary Chamber of Indonesia), his substantial scholarly contributions concerning the political aspiration and ideal of dakwah within the Islamic faith, and his endeavors to broaden the domains of Muslim politics and dakwah. The present investigation uses a qualitative approach to examine sources associated with Mohammad Natsir. With regard to political organization in Indonesia and Islamic propagandization, Mohammad Natsir contributed significantly to the Muslim faith.

In the perspective by Riaz Hassan “Religion, Modernization and The Ummah (2018)”, The effects of modernization and social transformation influence the evolving conflict within the Ummah (community of believers) is being influenced by modernization and social transformation. between 'authenticity' and 'hybridity' among Muslims. This paper will examine This conflict, and its sociological ramifications lead to the division of the Muslim world into numerous autonomous regions. It is my contention that the Ummah is more likely to prosper as a differentiated community comprised of various Islamic regions rather than as a unified and unitary community in the future. A distinct personality and history-influenced disposition of its populace will shape and define each regional Ummah. The paper will conclude with observations about Muslim nations' future intellectual, political, religious, and economic paths.

According to Prince Said Halim Pasha “The Reform of Muslim Society (2008)”. This research examines the religious awakening of Muslim populations as they strive to

liberate themselves from foreign domination. That signifies their ultimate comprehension that the main obligation of every Muslim is to possess freedom, as it is indispensable for both genuine advancement and happiness. However, his contentment is not entirely pure, as he observes that most Muslim intellectuals primarily focus on replicating Western institutions in their countries, albeit with minimal alterations. They believe that the only way to revive their nations is by embracing the principles and ideas of the Indo-Aryan world. The current intellectual state of distress among Muslims concerns me, as it indicates a lack of recognition that Islam not only teaches us to worship the One God but also provides a comprehensive set of moral and social principles that stem from the belief in divine unity. These principles, which are inherent in our faith, have shaped and sustained Muslim societies throughout history.

The research refers to Muhammad faqih “Konsep Ummah dan Rakyat dalam Pandangan Islam (2021)” (The Concept of Ummah and Society in Islamic Perspective). The goal of this study is to establish a true understanding of Ummah and individuals from an Islamic perspective. It aims to explore the criteria for being part of the Ummah as outlined in the al-Qur'an Hadith and civil society, as well as examining the notion of citizenship from the perspective of Islamic studies. This study employs a heuristic methodology and history, as proposed by Notosusanto. The research yielded the following results: Ummah refers to a diverse group of cultures characterized by variations in ethnicity, color, religion, and culture, all united by a shared vision, mission, and goals. The Ummah refers to a diverse group of communities that vary in terms of nationality, race, religion, and culture. They share a common goal of living together harmoniously and striving to fulfill God's instructions and prohibitions, with the aim of achieving a progressive, dignified, and civilized way of life. The Prophet's hijrah, a transformative process that aimed to establish a new civilization in Medina with its inhabitants, is the origin of the notion of Ummah in civil society. In practical terms, the Prophet established the basis of a civilized society by engaging in thoughtful discussion and defining the principles and objectives of coexistence, which encompass freedom, justice, and participation. In the context of Muslims, there are two designations for non-Muslims, notably kafir dzimmi and musta'min. The term "kafir dzimmi" designates a non-Muslim citizen who satisfies

specific criteria, such as permanent residency in a single location, respectful treatment, and the preservation of their peace of mind.

Wasisto Raharjo Jati “Dari Umat menuju Ummah? Melacak akar Populisme kelas menengah Muslim Indonesia (2017)” (From Umat to Ummah: Tracing the roots of Indonesian Muslim middle-class Populism). This research discusses about populism in the middle class The Indonesian Muslim middle class is part of the effort to build representation and the articulation of interests through informal channels. interests through informal channels. Although some narratives also say that populism is an unconstitutional attempt to suppress the government through informal channels, power is gained by trying to pressure the government through informal channels. Populism seems to be an important "panacea" for the various problems faced by a society that presents itself as "populist". and by people who present themselves as "demos". The context of populism in the Indonesian Muslim middle class is part of an effort to reconstruct the meaning of "Ummah" in the current context. The situation that arose in the narrative of the Ummah is the condition of inequality and alienation experienced by the Ummah because it is not alienation experienced by the Ummah because they do not have accessibility to power. This condition is constructed to be a symbol of strengthening the collective people. By using arguments from the Qur'an and Hadith, it is as if Muslim populism is an ukhrawi order that must be translated into the worldly realm. Whereas there is a commodification of the meaning of the verse that is used as a proof of the truth of the movement being carried out.

The research by Haikal Fadhil Anam “Politik Identitas Islam dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Demokrasi di Indonesia (2019)” (Ummah Political Identity and its Impact on Democracy in Indonesia). This research finds Ummah political its impact in Indonesia, then the emergence of Ummah political identity gained significant momentum due the mobilization during the 2016 Jakarta elections. This has significant implications for multiple aspects of state affairs, including the current state of democracy in Indonesia.

There are three primary gaps from previous studies that underly this study:

- a. Previous research has not specifically concentrated on research that advocates for Pancasila's ideology as a persuasive argument for all individuals to comprehend the concept of Muslim identity.

- b. There are gaps in the discourse around the notion of the Ummah as a worldwide Muslim identity that differ from this concept. The discussion primarily focuses on potential barriers to global relations between Western nations and Muslims.
- c. Research has not adequately explored the significant importance of Natsir's Islamic ideals in shaping a democratic system founded on the impact of religion, providing an intellectual principle that integrates the Ummah (society) towards a common goal.

1.7. Design and Structure of the Study

This study consists of four chapters and will be described as follows: Seeing the increasingly scattered condition of the Ummah gave rise to the idea of "Ummah unity," which has become a great hope and aspiration of Islamic figures in Indonesia. Ummah means self-regulating, which prioritizes its own ability to solve its internal problems. As the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia is certainly considered a country that can implement Islamic values into its state system. Related to this, Mohammad Natsir one of the pioneers of Islamic values in Indonesia and expert on Muslim political scholars of the Ummah in Indonesia. Natsir stated that the root of the unity of the Ummah lies in the firm faith of Muslims. This is a reference related to identity politics, which is a tool of attack for Muslim leaders against secular nationalists and communists and separates state and religion. Identity politics is due to a form of secularist and communist concern about the dominance of political Islam, especially in the era after the proclamation of independence for the Indonesian nation in 1945. Which consists of four chapters and will be described as follows:

The First Chapter: Introduction: The description of the object of study, this chapter is the underlying of this research which consists of; Thesis subject/background, the thesis's objective is the extent and substance of the thesis, Foundational inquiries into the thesis, Assumptions, the thesis topic's significance, and distinctive contribution, and utilizes a specific research methodology. literature review related to the thesis subject, design and structure of the thesis, schedule of the thesis study.

The Second Chapter: This chapter will discuss the Ummah: Basic Concept of Muslim Political Identity, The Basic Concept of Ummah, The Genealogy of Meaning of Identity in Indonesian Politics, Biographical Background of Mohammad Natsir,

Biographical Background of Soekarno, Mohammad Natsir Integral Motion (Integral Essential Ideas) and its Challenges, The Democracy, Masyumi Party, and Pancasila.

The Third Chapter: The results of a study that will analyze: The Ummah on the Views of Mohammad Natsir, Ummah and Nation, The Relevance of Muslim Democracy (Ummah) according to Mohammad Natsir, The Integration in Political Identity of Ummah according to Mohammad Natsir, The Relevance of Ummah and Mohammad Natsir Integral Motion in Indonesia.

The Fourth Chapter: The end of writing this thesis which holds conclusions, and brief descriptions, from the results of a literature study conducted by the author.



CHAPTER II

THE UMMAH: CONCEPT OF MUSLIM POLITICAL IDENTITY

The escalating conflict between nationalism and religious identity has reached a level of intensity that has resulted in the nation's destabilization. The divergent perspectives on political identity within these two identity groups give rise to multiple challenges and serve as an obstacle for the broader community due to the prevalence of propaganda and competing claims regarding the legitimacy of their respective identities. Consequently, this has led to the formation of pro-government factions and anti-government factions. An understanding of Indonesia's identity politics is crucial in order to establish a common thread among the existing differences and ensure the preservation of political stability. Throughout its history of independence and to the present day, Indonesia has demonstrated the ability to preserve unity despite its diverse population (Lestari, 2018: 20-21).

The fragmented state of the Ummah creates a sense of resentment. Muslim unity, also known as *al-Ummah Wahdah* (One Umma), has long been a treasured goal for Muslim figures such as Mohammad Natsir, particularly in Indonesia. He contended that faith must be the foundation of this cohesion. He emphasized the importance of having a firm belief in Allah and the Prophet. Rituals and daily conduct serve as demonstrations of religious belief. Faith empowers individuals to regulate their desires and passions, aligning them with the teachings of Allah and the Prophet, which serve as the ultimate authority for resolving any disagreements. Furthermore, religion serves as the fundamental principle underlying all worldly affairs and acts of devotion. Allah promises to unite all believers, not just Muslims. According to him, the correct phrase in surah Al Hujuraat, verse 10: "*innamal mu'minuuna ikhwatun fa aṣliḥu baina akhawaikum wattaqullāha la'allakum tur-ḥamun*" (The believers are but brothers, so make settlement between your brothers. And fear Allah that you may receive mercy (Natsir, 1968: 4).

Nowadays, many challenges are met by individuals across the world, particularly Muslims, due to the significant differences in their current life circumstances compared to centuries of historical events. Today, the spread of western ideology known as liberalization or "globalization" is particularly concerning, as it affects

multiple areas like technology, economics, politics, and intellectual discourse, potentially harming the Ummah. As Muslims, it is imperative to engage in proactive measures that serve the best interests of Muslims and advocate for a comprehensive reassessment of modern research on globalization, encompassing social, political, economic, and international dimensions. Globalization primarily arises from actions that exert pressure and deviate from Islam teachings. To conduct an in-depth inquiry, it is imperative to thoroughly examine all aspects related to globalization from the standpoint of Islam and Ummah civilization. Over the past few decades, the nation-state has often restricted Muslims, hindering their desired growth in inter-regional collaboration. Muslims in this scenario must devise a Muslims political strategy to advance the interests of the Ummah (Akram, 2007: 383).

2.1. The Basic Concept of Ummah

The concept of Ummah encompasses a universal principle that extends beyond restricted interpretations confined to race, culture, area, and creed (Natsir, 2007: 182). Abdul Rashid Moten argues that the concept of Ummah differs significantly from nationalism, and he outlines five key distinctions between the two: Firstly, nationalism prioritizes allegiance to the nation-state, while Ummah prioritizes compassion and allegiance towards fellow individuals. While the legitimacy of nationalism is derived from the state and its many institutions, the Ummah's legitimacy is rooted in the authority of sharia law. Furthermore, nationalism is based on factors such as ethnicity, race, language, and other elements, while the Ummah is solely rooted in the belief in monotheism with Allah. Furthermore, limitations imposed on individuals because of territorial boundaries are incongruous with the Ummah, which transcends geographical limitations and is universally applicable. Furthermore, nationalism entails the outright refusal of the unity of humanity, whereas the Ummah advocates for the promotion of all aspects of universal human brotherhood. Furthermore, various sovereign nations categorize individuals, while the Ummah serves as a unifying force for the entire Islamic worldview (Rusnadi, 2011: 18).

The term "Ummah" is derived from the word '*amma*', which refers to a collective movement driven by a clear goal and a conscious effort to achieve that goal with the aim of making progress. The term Ummah originates from the concept of a luminous pathway, denoting a collective of individuals progressing along a specific course (Aravik, 2021: 271). According to Bano, the notion of Ummah in Islam might be

likened to communism, however, with a positive connotation, as it aims to establish a community that is free from social hierarchies (Bano, 2015: 56-67). The concept of Ummah emphasizes unity and solidarity, as the establishment of Muslim brotherhood physically and mentally connects individuals to the framework of peace. Another viewpoint posits that the Ummah encompasses temporal, directional, and dynamic aspects, as well as a distinct way of life (Shihab, 1996: 18). At first, Western scholars interpreted the term Ummah as being akin to the idea of a nation-state. However, this interpretation was inconsistent with the principles, purpose, and trajectory of both concepts (Faqih, 2021: 21).

The concept of Ummah can be more accurately described as a religious entity that transcends physical boundaries and nationalism. In certain instances, the notion of the nation-state sets up a framework of interconnected entities. Furthermore, history highlights the necessity of a singular socio-political unity in the socio-political aspect. The Qur'an, in fact, presents the perspective that variations and diversity are helpful for the advancement and growth of human attributes, even within the context of a nation-state (Abdurrahman, 2015: 1-8). Various influences, both normative and historical, have shaped the social and political dimensions of the concept of Ummah, drawing not only from the verses of the Quran but also from the principles embedded in the construction of political society. In the era of globalization and modernization, some Muslim positions are not fully receptive to the concept of nationalism as a tool that aligns with the concept of Ummah. The Ummah is expected to resemble global citizenship more than a nation-state, which leans towards nationalism. According to Iqbal, Islam teachings consider nationalism, or the concept of a nation-state, to be against the concept of Ummah as intended in the Qur'an. This is seen as an instrument formed based on a theoretical concept rooted in European history and ethnocentrism (Iqbal, 2002: 57). Both the Qur'an and the concepts of political society have extensively influenced the notion of Ummah, resulting in significant socio-political implications throughout history. Although globalization and industrialization have brought about significant changes, certain Muslim factions still struggle to completely embrace nationalism as a means that aligns with the concept of Ummah.

To understand the significance of Ummah in relation to the socio-political influence of Muslims, it is important to examine the following aspects: Historically, the concept of Ummah, as described in the Qur'an, refers to the community of Muhammadans who

are considered caliphs on earth. Their task is to help and support their fellow human beings. Ummah, in its religious sense, refers to one Ummah, a community that shares the same faith and belief in one deity, although it is divided in social aspects. The recent period in Makkah was a pivotal time in bringing together the Ummah into a worldwide unity of humanity (Abdurrahman, 2015: 14).

Abdul Rashid Moten argues that the establishment of a legitimate leader, known as *caliphate*, elected, and trusted by the people in line with the law, is also a source of the idea of Ummah (Moten, 2001: 302). Through an examination of the conditions affecting individuals and the global landscape, we can delve into the correlation between the notion of Ummah (the worldwide Muslim community) and the validity of leadership. The Ummah is a collective that encompasses prophetic, transformative, visionary, and ethical attributes, surpassing particular geographical limits. Moten said that the leadership of the caliphate in Islam functions as a means of proving the political framework of the religion. The term *muhasabah* (self evaluation) or reflection is crucial in standing for the concept of accountability and responsibility in Islam. Abdul Rashid Moten's research may enhance comprehension of how the notion of Ummah shapes and supports social order in Islam, demonstrating its function as a fundamental tenet for establishing an equal and peaceful society (Moten, 2001: 303).

2.2. The Genealogy of the Meaning of Identity in Indonesian Politics

The emergence of identity politics in Indonesian history is directly linked to the dynamics and historical significance of different political practices, which contribute to the ongoing variations of identity politics during the state's development. The population of societies is intimately connected and consists of members of a variety of identity groups that assemble in both local and large circles. Indonesia has been under colonial rule by various nations for an extended duration until achieving independence. Indonesia went through three government phases: the old order (1959-1966), the new order (1966-1998), and The Reformation Era (Post-New Order era) (Afala, 2020: 92). Identity politics appeared as a political phenomenon linked to the rise of a social political movement. Minority groups facing discrimination and marginalization propelled the political movement. Syafii Maarif and L.A. Kauffman suggest that the prevailing influences in a nation or state are perceived as a threat by individuals in an ethnic community that is associated with identity politics. To develop justice for all

individuals and groups in society is a good priority. (Ma'arif, 2012: 4). According to Syafuan Rozi defines identity politics as a strategic competition over fundamental cultural symbols such as religion, race, ethnicity, and group affiliations to figure out the distribution of resources. Identity politics emphasizes using and distinguishing primal connections as the primary factor (Rozi, 2019: 1). Identity contributes to strengthening social relationships based on kinship, brotherhood, and cooperation within a socio-cultural context. Politically, people use it to assert and achieve independence from colonizers by expressing their concerns against injustices committed by one group against another. Identity is a defining characteristic or shared trait among a group of individuals (Bakry, 2020: 155). Specific political elite groups have come to dominate identity politics over time, rather than serving the interests of minority and majority groups. Specific organizations in the modern era closely tie political practices to their interests by utilizing community resources to advance the objectives of these privileged factions.

Identity politics, influenced by political practices in different regions, is a global phenomenon that extends beyond local and national boundaries. Certain groups undoubtedly drive identity politics in each country and region, motivated by a desire for a better life, mutual comprehension, and a common destiny. The phenomenon has proliferated in tandem with the advancement of democracy in many regions around the world. As a result of this development, the concept of human rights, particularly those related to development rights, political rights, civil rights, social rights, and economic rights encompass several fundamental entitlements and privileges granted to individuals within a society, appeared, and gained strength.

Despite these developments, Indonesia appeared as a participant nation in the promotion and encouragement of democracy and human rights. This contributed to the proliferation of identity politics, particularly in the aftermath of the regime change from the new order to the old order. The sociocultural context of Indonesia, which is distinct from that of Europe, is an added factor that may account for the correlation between democracy and the rise of identity politics in the aftermath of the new order regime's downfall.

2.2.1. Identity in Pre-Independence Indonesian Epics

2.2.1.1. Pre-Colonial: Acculturation of Locality Particular Identities

The enormous geographical expanse and variety of distinctions that characterize Indonesia undoubtedly contribute to a global perspective. These elements analyzed from different perspectives: first, the impact of Western nations, historical, cultural components and diversity. The emergence of traces of Indonesian nationality and diversity in language, culture, religion, ethnicity, and society is explicable in detail by each of these factors. Historical elements serve as indicators of Indonesian identity formation. Historiography demonstrates that in pre-colonial Indonesia, numerous islands were home to numerous local identity groups, each with its own unique cultures and beliefs. A state of heterogeneity is characterized by the existence of countless identity groups distinguished by ethnic affiliations, worldviews, traditions, linguistic variations, and monarchies. Ricklefs' analysis of pre-colonial Indonesian history revealed that indigenous belief systems concerning animism and dynamism exerted a profound impact on local identity groups (Ricklefs, 2008: 14). Hindu and Buddhist traditions influenced a significant cultural and socio-political transformation in Indonesia during the 7th and 8th centuries. As a result of cultural assimilation and acculturation, new local identity identities eventually appeared; these identities evolved via religiosity and merged with others via ethnicity, language, and indigenous beliefs, among other factors.

Despite trying to identify cultural similarities among specific identity groups to foster cooperation and solidarity, the diversity of identity groups regarding race, language, and ethnicity remains constrained. Put simply, identity serves primarily as an emblematic representation of affiliation, a cohesive mechanism, and a safeguard against other identity collectives. In this epic, the construction of identity is contingent upon the distinctions and parallels among each identity group. Identity in a diverse society garners esteem based on its distinctiveness as a communal group. It is indisputable that conflicts between identity groups continue to happen, as evidenced by the warfare between kingdoms and tribes.

2.2.1.2. Early Colonization: The Pioneer of a Unifying Identity

During Indonesia's colonial era in the sixteenth century, the first European colonization in Southeast Asia took place. The Portuguese arrived at the Strait of

Malacca for the first time in 1512. At the time, the Portuguese were involved in a conflict with numerous kingdoms in Indonesia. The Dutch arrived in Banten in 1596 and sailed to Java to monopolize and control the Indonesian economy through the VOC. The Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or Dutch East India Company, was a historical trading organization that had a substantial impact on the political and economic development of the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1602, Johan van Olden Barnevelt persuaded the Staten General to validate the VOC. The Octrooi Charter granted the VOC the authority to establish a governmental entity in the region it had conquered, which included the right to declare war and peace, negotiate international treaties with local kings, print and distribute its own currency, construct forts, and support an army. This entity would include a military and civil service on land and sea.

The initial surge of colonizers in Indonesia caused significant disruptions that impacted numerous countries. During that period, numerous nation states engaged in conflict with the colonizers. During that era, the Indonesian populace experienced distress and hardship as a result of the colonizers' defeat of numerous countries. Subsequently, Japan briefly colonized Indonesia from 1942 to 1945; however, it promptly established its authority over the nation. Furthermore, these colonizers violated humanitarian standards by engaging in activities such as intimidation, violence, and militarization of the local population. This resulted in psychological distress and suffering among the Indonesian populace. Colonization indirectly fostered a common identity that the populace used for centuries to resist the colonizers.

The centuries-long colonization indirectly cultivated a shared identity, which the colonizers then used to resist. Their shared historical experience has inspired diverse identity groups to unite in resistance. The unity of nationalism, which symbolized the shared identity that was collectively constructed in opposition to colonialism, was the result of the common interests of all identity groups (beliefs, religions, and ethnicities). It is impossible to disentangle intellectual adolescents' role in the formation of this shared identity. Prior to the introduction of the concept of nationalism, a number of social and political organizations demonstrated their ability to foster unity among diverse groups. In opposition to colonialism, a group of intellectual students laid the groundwork for nationalization, or the creation of a unified identity, which served as the foundation for the organization. This served as one of the foundations of

nationalism, fostering the unity of Indonesian society in spite of its various races, ethnicities, beliefs, and cultures.

2.2.2. Identity in Indonesia Post-Independence Epic

2.2.2.1. The Old Order: Attempts to Build a National Identity (1945-1966)

During the early stages of the Old Order governance system, the nascent nation of Indonesia viewed political stability and unity as precarious, causing preservation and consolidation. Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta were two prominent individuals who significantly contributed to the establishment of the Indonesian nation during the early years of the Old Order. These two individuals were the inaugural president and vice president, respectively, and defended Indonesian independence as Founding Fathers. Despite the contentious political climate, individuals made efforts to promote national unity in Indonesia amid the prevailing political dynamics of the era. Herbert Faith posits that Soekarno assumed the position of a solidarity creator, while Mohammad Hatta functioned as an administrator (Faith, 2007: 113).

According to Nordholt, Herbert argues that Soekarno and Hatta significantly contributed to national building and the maintenance of political stability. These attempts are, in essence, a means of having diverse discontent and concerns about division to prove national integrity and cohesion. The foundation for these initiatives is national building, one of the forms of national identity that can unite extant diversity, serves as the foundation for these initiatives. A part of national identity during that period was nationalism, rooted in the cultural diversity of the country (Nordholt, 2011: 387-389). Indonesia confronted internal as well as external obstacles during the early years of the Old Order regime. The remnants of colonialism, particularly by the Netherlands, Japan, and the United States, which kept significant influence in early Indonesian independence, presented external challenges. Internal challenges arose from political rivalries among the major parties, each of which had distinct political foundations.

President Soekarno used the hegemony of state power during the New Order era to promote national building, preserve independence, and quell various existing unrests. This exerted influence through the NASAKOM (Nationalist, religion, and communist) movement, which stood for nationalism, communism, and Islam. Soekarno implemented all his ideas at the outset of independence to preserve political stability

and diversity. To preserve independence, secure political stability, and quell unrest, the state authority assimilated the specific local identity into the formation and reinforcement of the national identity.

2.2.2.2. The New Order Era (1966-1998)

There were significant correlations between the Old Order and the New Order periods, most notably the preponderance of religion in many sides of community existence. The New Order regime's endeavors to foster political stability and promote progress were analogous. Consider the way the government achieves national stability and the aim of nation-building. The authoritarian rule of President Soeharto during the New Order era passively repressed identity group expression. The New Order regime implemented a sequence of coercive and authoritarian policies, using state institutions, including the military and bureaucracy. Pratikto posits that the New Order administration represented an endeavor to articulate the progression of impartiality through a singular ideology, Pancasila, and various components, including recognition, instruction, and implementation of Pancasila (Pratikno, 1998: 23-24). The state should provide the legitimacy and resources necessary to implement the idea at all levels of society.

2.2.2.3. The Reform Era (1998)

The Reform Era refers to a period characterized by significant changes and improvements in several aspects of society. In the realm of local and global politics, religious identity groups, ethnic local beliefs, and other identity groups expressed great enthusiasm in their response to the existence of freedom of expression. This form of communication is evident in the rise of diverse political factions, as well as the expansion of regional progress and self-governance. These improvements essentially offer concrete evidence of the government's decentralization program throughout the early stages of Indonesia's independence process. The evolving circumstances enhance the community's ability to freely express themselves to foster a shared sense of identity. According to Henley and Davidson's perspective, characterized by the widespread occurrence of the local identity revival movement, makes this evident (Davidson, 2010: 3-4). Indonesian politics has experienced two substantial transformations since the end of the New Order government. In the beginning, there was an adjustment from the belief that the only effective and appropriate method of

regulating and supervising Indonesia's diverse social and cultural landscape was the centralisation of political power. Considering that the government had jurisdiction over rights, it was necessary to broaden the perspective. The emergence of novel policies and pervasive demands from diverse sectors of society define change.

The emergence of numerous local demands, particularly those related to the protection of minority populations, is another example of expression. Naturally, the initial reformation's modifications to the political system and parties recognized the consequences of the diverse expressions of identity. The intensification of human rights debates coincided with the emergence of a variety of forms of expression. Officials approved a variety of human rights issues, including civil and political rights as well as social, cultural and economic rights. By ensuring the human rights of its citizens, the Ummah strengthens its position and function within society and the state, with a particular emphasis on minority groups. The reform era predominantly enables the recognition of a variety of identities and circumstances within a multicultural society, as well as democratic freedom of expression. All forms of expression represent a variety of identity groups. Comparing the pre-reform and post-reform eras, we observe the emergence of the right to identity without authoritarianism. As a result, a political context gives expression to identity, fostering the harmonious coexistence of diverse multicultural societies with integrity (Afala, 2020: 110).

2.3. Biographical Background of Mohammad Natsir

Mohammad Natsir was an is a prominent figure in Indonesia, known for his intellectual ability, political and religious beliefs on various matters, social activism, political leadership, educational contributions, and diplomatic ability. He was born on July 17, 1908, in Alahan Panjang, Solok district, West Sumatra, Indonesia. Since his teenage years, Mohammad Natsir has been involved in politics. He moved from the Bandung branch of the Jong Islamiten Bond (JIB) organization and subsequently became the leader. Furthermore, Mohammad Natsir was also the leader of the Indonesian Muslim Party (PII), the Indonesian Muslim Shura Assembly Party (Masyumi), and the Indonesian Muslim Da'wah Council until he passed away. Mohammad Natsir His struggle extended for a long period, beginning in the colonial era, through the Old Order regime, and culminating in the New Order. Diverse perspectives appeared around the country and state of Indonesia, spanning the political sphere. Natsir has proved his political activism by participating in the establishment of a constitutional

democratic government. He certainly deserves the status of a democratic supporter and an advocate of human rights (Setyaningsih, 2016: 73-94).

Mohammad Natsir is known as a mujahid da'wah, as he believes that da'wah in the sense of amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar is an essential component of the ideal of life, both individually and as a society. Mohammad Natsir has demonstrated his commitment to khairu al-Ummah through a da'wah path that is so extensive that he himself encourages Muslims in Indonesia establish this virtue. It seems that it is crucial to examine Mohammad Natsir's challenges individually to establish a foundation for his thought processes in each of his significant works. Mohammad Natsir evidently based his understanding of struggle, despite challenges, on a value he deemed true as well (Halim, 2011: 3).

The Muslim movement's transformation, which initially concentrated on fihiyyah and furu'iyah struggles, transitioned to ideological and political Muslim struggles. Natsir, captivated by this transformation and his participation in political activities, initially enrolled as a member of the Indonesian Muslim Party (PII). He became the chairman of the party's Bandung branch in 1940. Additionally, he was involved in the leadership of Majellis al-Islam A'la Indonesia (MIAI) (Ma'arif A, 1985: 5).

Mohammad Natsir became the fifth prime minister of the Indonesian republic on 5 of September 1950 to 1951, following the re-establishment of the unitary state structure. Despite his failure to obtain a position in government during this period, Natsir persevered in expressing his critical opinions of the government, resulting in an unstable relationship between him and the New Order regime. Natsir strongly encouraged the government's reform efforts, specifically supporting 50 petitions on May 5, 1980. Subsequently, the authorities prohibited Natsir from traveling internationally unless authorized by legal process (Luth, 2005: 27).

2.3.1. Mohammad Natsir Political Thoughts

The presence of Islam-related movements further demonstrates the existence of Indonesian nationalism prior to Indonesia's independence. A variety of Ummah movements, such as Sarekat Islam and Muhammadiyah, which developed through various platforms and spread throughout Indonesia from region to district, demonstrated the connection of Indonesian nationalism. Mohammad Natsir emphasized that Islam fostered Indonesian unity, now known as Indonesian

nationalism, long before the global establishment of the Indonesian state. Mohammad Natsir's political views regarding Indonesian unity and nationalism developed after the Muslim movement's supremacy in Indonesia. Before organizations coined the term "Indonesian nationalism," Muslims either directly or indirectly dominated several organizations, such as Budi Utomo, Pasundan, and Jong Sumateranen Bond, all of which promoted Indonesian unity and nationalism (Natsir, 2000: 62-75).

Mohammad Natsir asserts that *ijtihad* (effort) should actualize a political system or state by identifying ideal and appropriate concepts and systems that align with the conditions of a specific time and space. Islam does not exclude the possibility of incorporating concepts and systems of state or politics from outside of Islam, even when conducting *ijtihad*. However, the Qur'an and as-Sunnah must continue to regulate and frame the acceptance of these alien systems, serving as a determining factor and measuring tool for the size and criteria of a system's acceptance in Islam (Natsir, 1973: 450). Numerous concepts of renewal inherent in his character, along with the contributions of Indonesian and Middle Eastern figures, have significantly influenced Mohammad Natsir's conception of government in Islam. Specifically, he contributed his views on the ideal form of the Indonesian state in accordance with Islam, although Indonesia had just become independent at the time.

The socio-politics of the 1940s caused ideological conflicts and polemics between secular nationalists and Muslim nationalists. Soekarno was inspired and supported by Mustafa Kemal's secular ideology, which was the separation of religion and state in Turkey at the time. At that time, the political elevation of Islam was a topic of intense debate in the Middle East, just as the issue of secularism was also a topic of great debate. During his speech at the plenary session of the Constituent Assembly on November 12, 1957, M. Natsir stated that there were only two options for the foundation of the Indonesian state: secularism and religious understanding (Natsir, 2001: 204). In response to the escalating dualism of Muslims political thought at the time, which was characterized by a desire for a secular state foundation rather than a one Ummah, Mohammad Natsir presented these two alternatives in his official statement. As a defender of the principles of Islam ideology, Mohammad Natsir presented compelling arguments. He highlighted the significance of the transcendental source for the Muslims state as divine revelation and contrasted it with secularism, which he absolutely rejected. According to him, secularism is an ideology that is

exclusively concerned with worldly existence and has no relation to the afterlife or the teachings of Allah. Mohammad Natsir had emphasized in his discussions while he was a member of the Constituent Assembly that a country with a majority Muslim population, such as Indonesia, must be based on Islam (Waluyo, 2009: 120-121).

A variety of possibilities and opportunities explicitly articulate Mohammad Natsir's concept of political Islam. He argues that Islam, as a religion, encompasses a variety of aspects of human existence, meticulously regulated in Muslim's teachings in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Qur'an. Therefore, political, social, economic, and cultural life inextricably link with Allah's regulations. According to Mohammad Natsir, we should not distinguish between politics and worship, as politics is an essential part of devotion. This perspective demonstrates that religion must also influence the state's existence; consequently, Islam is an ideal religion that does not distinguish between religion and the state (Nawawi M, 2015: 64). Religion, according to Natsir, is a multi-system that regulates human existence, both vertically with God and horizontally with humans and the environment, rather than purely a belief system. Mohammad Natsir began his governmental career as Minister of Information (Roem, 1983: 174). During his period as Minister of Information, he had a close relationship with Soekarno. Soekarno frequently extended invitations for him to participate in small discussion at the palace. Mohammad Natsir served as Soekarno's speechwriter. Mohammad Natsir developed nearly all of Soekarno's speeches and was also responsible for establishing the foundations of the Information Department.

2.3.2. Political Career and Achievements of Muhammad Natsir

Mohammad Natsir is a prominent figure in Indonesian history, particularly in relation to Indonesia's struggles for independence and political developments. This national figure has received several honors.

The international community regards Natsir as one of the prominent the leaders of Islam of the 20th century. King Faisal of Saudi Arabia once attended a state reception in Jakarta to commemorate his visit. During the event, he stood to determine whether Natsir was in attendance. This was stated by K.H. Achmad Sjaichu, President of the Central Council of the Muslim Organization of Asia and Africa (OIAA).

The World Muslim Congress, based in Karachi, Pakistan, appointed Mohammad Natsir as Vice President of the World Muslim Congress in 1967. He served in this

capacity until his passing. Since 1969, Natsir has been a fundamental member of Rabithah Alam Islami's Ta'sisi Assembly, which is headquartered in Mecca. Natsir became a founding member of the World Council of Mosques in 1976, which is located in the holy city of Mecca. Furthermore, he was once considered for the position of Secretary General of the Organization of the Islam Conference (OIC); however, the Indonesian government declined to grant him sanction.

Mohammad Natsir received the Star of Honor symbol from the Republic of Tunisia in 1957 for his contributions to the independence movement of Muslim nations in North Africa. In 2005, the President of Algeria conferred the Star of Appreciation upon the late Mohammad Natsir for his contributions to the Algerian independence movement.

The International Muslim University in Islamabad, Pakistan appointed Natsir as a Member of the Board of Curators in 1957. Furthermore, in 1986, Mohammad Natsir became a Founding Board Member of the International of Islam Charitable Organization, headquartered in Kuwait. In 1987, Oxford Islamic Studies in London, England recognized Mohammad Natsir as its founder. In 1967, the Islamic University of Lebanon conferred the honorary degree of Doctor Honoris Causa in Muslim politics on Mohammad Natsir.

On February 12, 1980, the Malik Faisal International Achievement Foundation (King Faisal Foundation) of Saudi Arabia awarded the Malik Faisal International Prize (Faisal Award) to Mohammad Natsir in recognition of his contributions to the Muslim world. Prince Fahd bestowed the accolade on Natsir during an official event in Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia.

Mohammad Natsir's remarks reflect his profound commitment to the advancement of Islam in Indonesia during that period. The primary conclusions drawn from Natsir's statement are as follows:

- 1. Natsir expressed optimism over the future of Islam in Indonesia:** Mohammad Natsir stated that there were positive advances in the understanding and application of Islam, both within the general populace and among bureaucrats and intellectuals.
- 2. Expansion of Islamic Studies:** Mohammad Natsir observed that the examination of Islam was diversifying and intensifying. It encompasses a broad spectrum of dimensions, including political, economic, social, and cultural concerns. This suggests

that various disciplines are increasingly considering Islam as a topic worthy of analysis and application.

3. Translation of Books and Literature: The translation of Islam literature into multiple languages has increased. This indicates that understanding Islam is becoming more accessible for people from diverse backgrounds, dispelling previous skepticism about Muslim principles in economics and other domains.

Mohammad Natsir emphasized that the youth and ulul albab (individuals of profound understanding) significantly shape religious fervor. This indicates that the younger generation significantly contributes to the dissemination and appreciation of Islam teachings. Mohammad Natsir's assertion embodies a conviction in the increasing potential and allure of Islam, particularly within intellectual and academic spheres. He asserted that, despite previous mistrust, there is now more acknowledgment and appreciation of Islam's contributions to different facets of life.

2.3.3. The Works of Mohammad Natsir

Mohammad Natsir is a scientist who expresses a variety of perspectives through his writings, which are published in magazines, dailies, and books, in addition to his role as a movement activist who actively leads various movement organizations. The publications cover the following topics:

2.3.2.1. Religious

- a. Islam Sebagai Ideologi (Islam as Ideology) [Jakarta: Pustaka Aida, 1951]
- b. Islam dan Akal Merdeka (Islam and the Freedom Intellectual) [Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1969]
- c. Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia (Islam and Christian in Indonesia) [Jakarta: bulan Bintang, 1969]
- d. Asas Keyakinan Agama Kami (The Principles of Our Religious Beliefs) [Jakarta: DDII, 1984]
- e. Mempersatukan Umat Islam (Unifying the Ummah) [Jakarta: Samudra, 1983]
- f. Di Bawah Naungan Risalah (Under the Shade of the Risalah) [Jakarta: Sinar Hudaya, 1971]

- g. Pandai-pandai Bersyukur Nikmat (Proficient in expressing gratitude for the favor) [Jakarta : Bulan Bintang, 1980]
- h. Bahaya Takut (The Dangers of Fear) [Jakarta : Media Dakwah, 1991]
- i. Dunia Islam dari Masa ke Masa (The Evolution of the Islamic World) [Jakarta: Panji Masyarakat, 1982]
- j. Iman Sebagai Sumber Kekuatan Lahir dan Batin (Faith is a source of inner and outer strength) [Jakarta: Fajar Shadiq, 1975]
- k. Marilah Shalat (Let's do the Prayer) [Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1999]

2.3.2.2. Da'wah

- a. Fiqhud Dakwah (The deep and precise comprehension of all aspects of Da'wah) [Solo: Ramadhani, 1965]
- b. Dakwah dan Pembangunan (Da'wah and Development) [Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1983]
- c. Mencari Modus Vivendi Antara Umat Beragama di Indonesia (Discovering the lifestyles of diverse religious communities in Indonesia) [Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1983]
- d. Kubu Pertahanan Umat Islam dari Abad ke Abad (Muslim Strongholds During the History) [Jakarta: Panji Masyarakat, 1982]
- e. Buku Pendidikan Moral dan Pancasila sebagai Mutiara yang Hilang (Moral Education and Pancasila: The Lost Word of Wisdom) [Jakarta: Panji Masyarakat, 1982]
- f. Kumpulan Khutbah Dua Hari Raya (A Compilation of Khutbah on the Holy Days) [Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1978]
- g. Pancasila akan Hidup Subur sekali dalam Pengakuan Islam (Pancasila will survive within the Islamic faith) [Bangil: Al-Muslimun, 1982]

2.3.2.3. Politics

- a. Demokrasi di Bawah Hukum (Democracy Under the Law) [Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1986]

b. Agama dan Negara dalam Perspektif Islam (The Relationship Between Religion and State in Islam) [Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 2001]

c. Indonesia di Persimpangan Jalan (Indonesia at a Critical Juncture) [Jakarta: t.p, 1984]

d. Tempatkan Kembali Pancasila pada Kedudukannya yang Konstitusional (Reinstate Pancasila's constitutional position) [Jakarta: t.p, 1985]

e. Pendidikan, Pengorbanan, Kepemimpinan, Primordialisme, dan Nostalgia (Education, Sacrifice, Leadership, Primordialism, and Nostalgia) [Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1987]

2.3.2.4. All Aspects

a. Capita Selecta I [Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1954]

b. Capita Selecta II [Jakarta: Pustaka Pendis, 1957]

2.4. Biographical Background of Soekarno

Soekarno was born in Surabaya during Dutch colonialism (1901–1971), the first president of Indonesia, a prominent nationalist leader and revered national leader who dedicated his life to the fight for Indonesian independence. Despite growing up in a traditional Javanese environment and absorbing Balinese culture from his mother's family, Soekarno pursued his education in modern Dutch colonial schools. Since he was young, his primary interest revolved around devouring literature about philosophy, politics, and socialism. During his time as a student in Surabaya, Soekarno lived at the residence of Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto, the founding figurehead of Sarekat Islam, an important entity in Indonesia's struggle for national consciousness. Tjokroaminoto was Soekarno's political mentor and source of inspiration. At the outset of his leadership, Ir. Soekarno implemented two effective strategies in the construction of Indonesia, which ultimately led to the creation of an independent nation. Initially, he cultivated the mental readiness of the Indonesian populace, and Soekarno seized the chances for independence.

In 1927, Soekarno founded and assumed leadership of the Indonesian National Party (PNI), a political movement dedicated to obtaining complete autonomy for Indonesia. Nevertheless, his subversive political actions resulted in his apprehension and incarceration by the oppressive Dutch colonial government in 1929. Soekarno's imprisonment further enhanced his reputation as a revered figure and promoted

independence among Indonesians. Following his release, Soekarno engaged in persistent confrontation with the colonial authority during the 1930s, resulting in his frequent imprisonment. Indonesian people still revere and respected to Soekarno, as the pioneer of Indonesian nationalism, for his unwavering dedication to the Republic of Indonesia independence and for establishing a new political identity (Indonesia I, 2024). According to Soekarno's political perspective, nationalism cannot emerge without a positive attitude toward international cooperation. The concept of mutual cooperation will have a positive impact on Indonesian nationalism's development. Implementing gotong royong as a system within the nation and state will solidify it and establish a strong formation of nationalism.

Soekarno's perspective on religion was characterized by a variety of endeavors to liberate Muslims from their dependence on the interpretations or opinions of previous scholars and inform Muslims of their autonomy in engaging directly with the Qur'an and hadith through studies. The policies implemented not only allow citizens to participate in the governance and regulation of Islam education in Indonesia, but also play a crucial role in resolving issues. Soekarno frequently generates controversy, nevertheless his massive concepts continue to inspire appreciation. According to Soekarno, Islam is the most rational and straightforward religion (Soekarno, 1964: 355). He believed that Islam was rational, which prompted him to join Muhammadiyah, a modernist and rational social religious organization.

On 1st of June 1945, Soekarno declared Pancasila to be the foundation and philosophy of the independent Indonesian state during the BPUPKI (Investigative Committee for Preparation Measures for Indonesian Independence) assembly. Following this, Soekarno incorporated Pancasila into the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Soekarno and Muhammad Hatta declared Indonesia's independence on August 17, 1945. Acclamation during the PPKI (Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence) period elected Soekarno as the first President of the Republic of Indonesia from 1945 to 1966 on August 18, 1945. He consistently tried to unify the archipelago into a single entity, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). In 1955, Soekarno tried to unite nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America through the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, which then evolved into the Non-Aligned Movement (Hamid, 2012: 27).

2.5. Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion (Integral Essential Ideas) and its Challenges

Mohammad Natsir established the idea of preventing the Republic of Indonesia Federation (RIS) state system from existing and returning it to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). This motion is currently known as the Mohammad Natsir Integral Motion. The establishment of the Integral Motion aimed to unite all regions into a single entity, thereby achieving the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). The Netherlands established the United Republic of Indonesia (RIS) because of Van Mook's initiative during the Round Table Conference on Tuesday, 23 of August 1949 (Suryanegara, 2018: 280). Numerous agreements and deliberations resulted in modifications to the Indonesian state system, including the transition to a federal state, which directly influenced constraints on the design of central-regional relations. Rapid experimentation regarding the design of the center-region relationship occurred concurrently with the evolving constitutional framework. The Dutch colonials' military aggression ultimately led the state leader, Soekarno, to transform the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) into the United Republic of Indonesia (RIS). Following the acknowledgment of Indonesia's independence by the Dutch Empire in 1950, Mohammad Natsir expressed apprehension about the state of the nation, which was divided because of the federal state structure (Natsir, 1957: 7).

Eventually, Natsir's Integral Motion triumphed in reinstating the integration of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. On May 19, 1950, they made an agreement to set up the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia. This agreement allowed for changes to the constitution as stated in article government decision 190. Consensus among the Senate and the House of Representatives allows for amendments to the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Union, as stated in article government decision 190 (Yamin, 1953: 37-38). Natsir aimed to consolidate the previously fragmented territories of eastern Indonesia and east Sumatra into two states. Despite first resistance from both regions, they eventually embraced the idea of dissolution and merging, like other regions (Hakiem, 2019: 226).

Mohammad Natsir aimed to combine the previously fragmented territories of eastern Indonesia and east Sumatra into two states. Despite initial resistance from both regions, they eventually embraced the idea of dissolution and merging, like other regions.

(Sudrajat, 2020: 85). Mohammad Natsir asserts that the relationship between Islam and the state is inherently interconnected and mutually dependent. In Islam, the teachings encompass not only worship but also other aspects of both worldly matters and the afterlife, including social order and governance. According to Suyitno, the state is an institution with defined responsibilities, privileges, and goals. Natsir asserted, the state aims to uphold the rights and responsibilities of its citizens, as well as their bodily and spiritual well-being, by implementing the laws of Allah as outlined in the Qur'an and Sunnah. Therefore, the state causes the presence of leaders who have the conviction and capability to engage in *ijtihad* to foster a just and helpful civilization that encompasses all individuals. The state provides society and people with overarching principles that pertain to Muslim ideals. In the structure of state institutions, the leader's capacity to formulate policies and exercise *ijtihad* plays a crucial role (Suyitno, 2015: 239).

In an endeavor to actualize NKRI through his Integral Motion, Mohammad Natsir invited the parties that established and supported the concept of the state to integrate into NKRI. To prepare for Indonesian independence, the members of the Indonesian Independence Preparation Investigation Council (BPUPKI) deliberated on the structure of the state in accordance with the proposed Constitution. At that time, the meeting's delegates proposed two concepts: Indonesia as a unitary state and Indonesia as a federation. According to specific sources, Mohammad Hatta was one of the BPUPKI members who advocated for the federal state. However, the BPUPKI members' vote produced 17% support for a federated state and 83% support for a unitary state (Mahfud M, 2008: 187-188).

The debate over the structure of the Indonesian state was a precursor to Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion. The Dutch colonialists ignored Soekarno-Hatta's proclamation of Indonesia's independence on 17 of August 1945, in their efforts to establish a federal state. The Dutch colonizers attempted to resume their colonization of Indonesia following Japan's occupation in 1942, which occurred because of the loss of allied forces, including the Netherlands, at the start of the Pacific War (Adan, 2019: 60).

There exists a disparity between the cognitive processes of an individual within an interpersonal relationship and the general disposition of the gathering itself. In the realm of conventional politics, such a situation typically leads to one of two outcomes:

either the individual will leave the party voluntarily or face expulsion, or the individual will seize total control over the party. However, as previously explained in the background, the events surrounding Mohammad Natsir's integral motion deviated from the usual course. The Indonesian government's structure has undergone three transformations from the time of independence until the present day. The first form of state is unitary, as stated in Article (1) Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution: "The State of Indonesia is a Unitary State." The second form, as stated in Article (1), Paragraph (1) of the RIS Constitution, is "The State of Indonesia is the Republic of Indonesia Federation (RIS)." The third form is based on the 1950 UUDS Article (1) paragraph (1), which states that the State of Indonesia returned to being a unitary state (Indonesia, 1981: 1).

Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion on April 3, 1950, raises an intriguing issue. Many individuals hold the belief that Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion, marked his initial attempt to reestablish the Indonesian state as a unitary state, which had collapsed due to Van Mook's federated state concept. Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion does not explicitly invite the Indonesian people to return to a unitary state. At that time, the most appropriate choice in the spirit and substance of Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion was to return to the unitary state, which was national integration. Mohammad Natsir stated on numerous occasions in the motion that the content of the motion was unrelated to the debate surrounding the unitary and federation states (Mahfud M, 2008: 191).

A further threat to Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion was the establishment of the September 30 Movement/Indonesian Communist Party (G30S/PKI), which followed its authorization by the DPRS (Temporary House of Representatives)-RIS on April 3, 1957. The aim of this movement was to destabilize the Republic of Indonesia and transform it into a communist state by influencing the TNI (the Indonesian National Army), the DPR (House of Representatives), the MPR, and numerous other state institutions. The movement, which erupted in 1965, murdered numerous generals, academicians, and public figures perceived as their rivals to seamlessly transition the Republic of Indonesia into a communist state (Adan, 2019: 67-68).

2.6. The Democracy

Democracy originates from the Greek language, particularly the combination of the term's demos, meaning "people," and cratin or cratos, meaning "power." Democracy is a form of governance where the people control the power. Demos kratia is regarded as the ideal system of politics and government. Every modern state recognizes the essential imperative of upholding democracy. While a country fails to transfer the substance of democracy into political practice, it nonetheless attempts to adopt a democratic format for its administration and offers democracy a distinct name, but with certain qualifiers attached, such as guided democracy, Pancasila democracy, and so on (Rais, 1986: 16). The principle of popular sovereignty structures a government, where citizens derive and implement authority to serve their interests. Democracy, involving the people in charge of determining state policy, frequently impacts when the state, as reflected in the government, takes efforts to limit the role of the people's will and power in the administration of the state. The current regime achieves these steps by making amendments to the constitution or legislation. Constitutional and formal legal movements are utilized to change and limit the space for democracy to develop (Kasih, 2018: 51).

Democracy is intrinsically related to basic human rights such as freedom of expression, belief, and behaviour. Democratic principles such as accountability, self-discipline, objective and rational thinking, compassion and caring, respect for others, and acceptance of others need to be applied or practiced on a daily basis. Sri Wuryan argued, there are three fundamental human rights that democracy refers to: freedom of expression, freedom of belief, and freedom of action. In practice, democracy acknowledges values such as responsibility, self-discipline, objective, rational, love and concern, respect for others, and acceptance of differences of opinion in order to prevent chaos (Wuryan, 2009: 85).

Democracy contains two important elements: freedom or liberty and equality. According to Muhammad Ichsana, Individual liberties encompass freedom of speech or expression, freedom of religion, freedom from violence and fear, freedom from lack (hunger), freedom of thought, and freedom of association, as well as the freedom to participate in the formation of government as a fundamental human right. Equality comes in many forms, human person, regardless of race, nationality, religion, or economic standing, should have equal rights and be treated equitably before the law

(Fachruddin, 2006: 28). The culture of democracy, if fostered continually, has the potential to displace the feudalistic mentality that is causing the slow implementation of equality laws. These indications or essential characteristics of democracy are widely accepted standards in the field of science, particularly political science. Considering these indicators or elements, we can prevent that is known as ethnocentrism. This is founded on the assumption that the concept of democracy is universal. However, in practice, it is possible to adjust to components of local values in a given political climate. While integrating the evident relationship between universal democracy and local values, we may appreciate how they mutually enhance one another. Under these circumstances, may observed differences in the execution of democracy across different countries (Rowa, 2015: 35).

The contemporary democratic system is a form of government that is used to lead a nation. Democracy may be further defined as the rights and responsibilities of citizens in the governance process. Imawan asserts that trust in democracy encompasses not only the qualities of rights, but also the components of responsibility that each citizen must fulfill in order to preserve society's existence (Imawan, 1997: 80). When advocacy groups or wealthy individuals concentrate power, they frequently ignore the opinions and aspirations of the general public. As a result, there is a lack of plurality and fair representation in political decision-making. The emergence of uncontrolled informal political power undermines public trust in political institutions and the government. People often lose faith and engagement in politics when they witness widespread unfair strategies, corruption, and money politics. As a result, political instability and divisiveness may increase (Irmu Yunika, 2023: 49). After the Reformation period, Indonesia strives to develop into a democratic country that respects the ideas of sovereignty at both the national and state levels. However, Indonesia has been unable to solidify its status as a democratic country while undergoing a transition period that involved multiple elections. Indonesia's insufficient legal framework, specifically the Election Law, has impeded the country's capacity to respect the democratic principles outlined in the state constitution, as it undergoes modifications with each election (Arif Sugitanata, 2021: 2).

2.6.1. The Development of Democracy in Indonesia

Following the Reformation of 1945, Indonesia strives to be a democratic nation that upholds the principles of sovereignty in both the nation and state. In spite of this,

Indonesia has been unable to establish its identity as a democratic nation as a result of the transition period, which included numerous elections. The strain legal system, particularly the Election Law, which undergoes modifications with each election, has impeded Indonesia's capacity to maintain the democratic principles of the state constitution. Throughout its history, Indonesia has frequently implemented constitutional amendments. The 1945 Constitution, the RIS Constitution, the 1950 Constitution, the reinstatement of the 1945 Constitution, and the 1945 Constitution after its amendment in 2002 are all included. Based on a conceptual standpoint, each constitution establishes the definition and regulation of the fundamental nature of democracy in accordance with the perspective of the constitution (Irawan, 2007: 55).

Mohammad Natsir's perspectives encompass a variety of principles, including the socio-political affairs of the Ummah. Mohammad Natsir recognized the significance of this matter in terms of the *shura'* principle and the necessity of adhering to it. Natsir acknowledged the importance of developing and modifying the *shura'* (Deliberation) mechanism. The Ummah's *ijtihad* is the determining factor, as Islam does not establish rigorous and definitive rules. This theoretical study explores the intersection of democracy and autocracy, a system of dictatorship that stems from a less accurate understanding of a nation's political sovereignty. Mohammad Natsir is a genuine democracy, as he concurs with Abul A'la Maududi regarding the sovereignty of God (Natsir M, 2014: 41).

The emergence of the government decree on 14 of November 1945, exemplifies the concept of pluralistic or pluralistic democracy. The two decrees have significantly changed the constitutional system by promoting public participation in the formulation of state government policies and territorial government. The concept of establishing political parties as a means of facilitating the broadest possible participation of the populace through a multi-party system gained momentum following the issuance of the Vice Presidential Decree on November 3, 1945. The Central National Committee Working Board recommended the issuance of the Vice Presidential Decree. The government supports the establishment of political parties because they can help organize all public streams. The President, with the assistance of the National Committee, temporarily establishes entities such as the MPR (the public's consultative assembly), DPR (the public's legislative council), and DPA (great advisory council) (Mahfud M. M, 2003: 45).

In September 1950 to April 1951, Mohammad Natsir transformed Indonesia from a revolutionary to a civil order and established a foundation for democratic politics, despite numerous challenges, such as disagreements with Sukarno and his party, the PNI (Natsir, 1993: 14). The historical and political context of Indonesia, particularly the ideas and beliefs organized by key figures in Indonesian independence, such as Mohammad Hatta and Soeltan Sjahrir, influence the development of democracy in the country. Furthermore, the principles of gotong royong and a strong sense of brotherhood formed the fundamental basis for the Pancasila democracy. The phases of democracy development in Indonesia:

1. **Parliamentary Democracy (1945–1959)**In this phase, Indonesia officially became an independent country and implemented a parliamentary democratic system. This system continued until 1959.
2. **Presidency Democracy (1959–1965)** During this period, the democratic system underwent a transformation into a guided democracy. This system lasted until 1965.
3. **Pancasila Democracy in the New Order Era (1966–1998)**During this period, the democratic system changed to the Pancasila democracy system. This system lasted until 1998.
4. **Post-Reform Democracy (1998–present)**Following the fall of President Soeharto in May 1998, Indonesia underwent a process of political reform that opened up opportunities for democracy development. During this period, Indonesia implemented a more open and participatory democratic system (Dwi, 2023: 1).

Indonesia has gone through multiple phases in its journey towards democracy and is currently in a period of transformation. Political parties are considered a fundamental component of democracy and the exercise of popular sovereignty in a democratic nation. Representative democracy determines the leadership of a government through general elections in which political parties participate. Political parties hold a fundamental and critical place in any democratic society because they serve as a vital link between the government and its citizens (Fahlevi, 2021: 4).

2.6.2. Theistic Democracy of Mohammad Natsir

The Democracy is derived from Greek words demos, which means "people," and kratos, which means "government," are the origin of the word democracy. In other words, democracy is a form of governance that is both for and by the people (Marbun,

1996: 134). The Greek word "theos," meaning "God," is the source of the phrase "theistic." This belief is in direct opposition to atheism, which is a fundamental belief in the existence of a single God (Hasan S, 1992: 353). The two definitions above clearly define theistic democracy as a type of democracy based on divine principles (Hartono, 1996: 67). Considering the significance of democracy in the construction of a political system, particularly in the implementation of sharia law, Mohammad Natsir believes that democracy must be based on four fundamental principles: tawhid, brotherhood, equality, and ijthihad (effort) (Natsir, 1987: 19).

The concept of democracy encompasses a wide range of elements and actions in human existence. Mohammad Natsir further categorizes democracy into two distinct sections. The first aspect is political democracy, which ensures the protection of freedom of opinion, speech, and association. These aspects contribute to the overall health and wellness of individuals, encompassing both their spiritual and physical dimensions. It is evident that the essence of Islam encourages individuals to embrace a sort of democracy that operates within the confines of legal regulations. Essentially, the principles of Islam inherently oppose many manifestations of injustice and dictatorship. This aligns with the notion of Ummah, which refers to the concept of *Ukhuwwah insaniyah* (brotherhood between human beings), the interconnectedness of Muslims with other groups, creating a unified and expansive family of Allah's creations and descendants of Adam. Hence, their relationship is characterized by tranquility (salam), mutually beneficial symbiotic interaction, and collaborative synergy to promote the well-being of the planet. The *ukhuwwah-islamiyah* (Muslims brotherhood) tie is based on shared beliefs and principles, which establish rights and obligations between Muslims. This bond embodies both morality and shar'iyah, as it finds its foundation in religious law (Natsir, 1971: 20).

Modernist Muslims in certain regions of the Muslim world are captivated by the concept of democracy, which they observe in the Western world. However, the Western world's interpretation of democracy significantly differs from the original Greek concept. The Quran and the Prophet's Sunnah define the laws of Allah, which Muslims must completely abide by. This obligation prevents people from having the ability to establish Allah's laws or regulations in accordance with their preferences, which is a fundamental component of contemporary Western democracy. This perspective leads Mohammad Natsir to believe that Islam is not entirely compatible

with Western democratic principles (Suhelmi, 1999: 90). Mohammad Natsir asserts that Islam's sociopolitical principles necessitate a democratic system that closely resembles the liberal democratic system. The distinction primarily exists in the criteria adopted as the foundation for establishing political policies, legislation, and other political determinations. The Qur'an and the sunnah of the Prophet establish the principles that political, legal, and other policies must adhere within a Muslim democracy. Alternatively, these measures align with the ideals of Islam's ideology (Mahendra, 1994: 70).

The implementation of democracy in Indonesia, which includes various stakeholders, demonstrates a disregard for values. This poses a significant concern, as a democracy that operates without controls on values can inflict suffering among its citizens. Muslims living in a specific era and location have the right to establish their own state according to their unique circumstances. They also possess the right to imitate the diverse systems of governance established by non-Muslim nations. Mohammad Natsir asserts that the accomplishments of a civilization are not exclusively the property of the individuals who founded it. In addition, other nations are entitled to benefit from the discoveries of other societies for the benefit of humanity as a whole (Mahendra, 1994:71).

Mohammad Natsir's perspective on democracy is that the Muslim principles of shura are more closely aligned with modern definitions of democracy. Natsir achieves this by using the principles of hudud (limits) and religious ethics as guiding principles in decision-making. Consequently, Mohammad Natsir endeavored to reconcile the theory of popular sovereignty with the theory of God's sovereignty. Therefore, Mohammad Natsir asserted that Islam, known as "theistic democracy," is a form of democracy based on divine principles. Divine values influence the majority's decisions. The Muslims' ijma, binding for specific locations and periods, represents the majority's decision, guided by divine values. From Mohammad Natsir's asserted on democracy, it is evident that he believes that democracy has a wide range of interpretations and dimensions, including deliberation. Shura (deliberation) is one of the terms for political insight that Mohammad Natsir developed as a concept of democracy (Hartono, 1996: 58).

Mohammad Natsir's advocacy for democracy does not obscure his criticisms of it. Although democracy is the most respectful of the principle of shura (deliberation), this

does not mean that democratic government is entirely compatible with Islam principles of state. To understand Mohammad Natsir's political thought typology and his approach to democracy in Indonesia, we must first understand his status as a Muslim scholar and a prominent political figure in the country. According to Muhammad Syafi'i Anwar, the typology of Muslim political thought is a study of the various forms of political thought that Indonesian Muslim scholars developed during the New Order, particularly in the 1980s. The political philosophy expressed here is an integral part of Muslim scholars' overall Islamic thought. On the other hand, it is also associated with Indonesian political thought in general (Anwar, 1995: 143). The formalistic typology in Muslim scholars' political thought demonstrates a manner of thought that places a high value on affirmation and stringent adherence to the forms of Muslim teachings. Mohammad Natsir, along with other Muslim political party figures who persistently fought for the premise of the Muslim state, had a formalistic typology of thinking, as shown in the six typologies of political thought above (Anwar, 1995: 146). In addition, M. Syafi'i Anwar contends that Indonesian Muslim scholars exhibit six typologies of political thought: formalistic, substantivistic, transformativistic, totalistic, idealistic, and realistic (Anwar, 1995:182).

According to Habibul wahyudi, Mohammad Natsir's views on democracy inextricably link to his primary concerns about the relationship between the state and Islam. Mohammad Natsir, as is widely recognized, was truly interested in establishing a government that was irrevocably linked to Islam principles. The state serves as an instrument rather than a destination, and there is an equal connection between religion and the state. Mohammad Natsir contends that religion necessitates the state, or at least its influence, as it is only through the state that religion can flourish. In contrast, to advance in the realm of ethics and morality, the state requires religion. Furthermore, Islam serves as a source of inspiration and motivation, as a community in which we can express our issues and happiness (Habibul, 2016: 7).

The Prophet Muhammad SAW's revelation to the present, Islam has proven its adaptability and suitability. Islam exclusively governs general matters, delegating the implementation of detailed explanations or laws to humans or experts present at the time through Ijtihad (effort), Ijma' (Consensus or agreement), shura (deliberation), and other mechanisms. This implies that humans are responsible for all world affairs, as long as they align with the Al-Quran and the Prophet's Sunnah, and do not contravene

the Shari'a. As Allah said in Qur'an Surah. Al Jaatsiyah 45:18, "*Now We have set you 'O Prophet' on the 'clear' Way of faith. So follow it, and do not follow the desires of those who do not know 'the truth'*". Therefore, adhere to the shari'at and refrain from following the desires of those who lack knowledge, as instructed by the Prophet Muhammad SAW. His words were as follows: "*You should adhere to my sunnah and the sunnah of the caliphs who followed the path of guidance after me*" (Fitri, 2023: 11).

It is the fundamental principle of all Muslims, including Mohammad Natsir's approach to logical thinking. God grants humans the freedom of thought to uphold and implement His law on earth, as long as it aligns with the Quran and Sunnah and does not violate Shari'a. Ijtihad plays a significant role in society because it modifies the democratic paradigm to suit Muslims' circumstances. Mohammad Natsir proposes the concept of theistic democracy, which suggests that secular regulations (reason, intuition, and experience) can reconcile Islam principles within the state. Subsequently, Islam provides clarification (revelation) (Fatwa, 2001: 246). According to Mohammad Natsir, Islam instructs individuals in the areas of politics and worship within the context of society, nation, and state. Consequently, Islam is characterized by a deep reverence for human rights, democracy (deliberation), and the prioritization of obligations without compromising the rights of individuals.

2.7. Masyumi Party

The Masyumi (Majelis Syuro Muslim Indonesia) Party, also known as the Indonesian Muslim Shura Council, is a political party that was founded during the period of liberal democracy in Indonesia. Masyumi emerged during the period of revolution in the structure of the Indonesian state. During the 1955 elections, the Masyumi party experienced a significant surge in the number of followers and sympathizers, supplying compelling evidence of widespread confidence in its highly nationalist agenda (Sumanto, 2016: 3). Masyumi appeared as one of the prominent Muslim political parties in the country. During the era of liberal democracy, Soekarno appointed many prominent members of the Masyumi party to hold positions of authority in various government sectors. Mohammad Natsir, one of them, became Indonesia's inaugural prime minister. Masyumi's genesis intricately intertwines with the chronicles of educational, social, and political movements. During the period of

Indonesian independence, it stood for the prevailing ideology among Indonesian political circles (Ishak, 2009: 25).

The Masyumi party, established on 7-8 November 1945, during a congress of Muslim individuals in Yogyakarta, closely intertwines with Natsir's work. Mohammad Natsir posits that the establishment of the Masyumi party aimed to supply a platform for the political ambitions of the Ummah. This would enable the leaders to distance themselves from the oppressive influence of the national mandate, which requires all individuals to adhere to the policies set by the state. Indonesian Muslims see Masyumi's establishment as reflecting their collective desires, responsibilities, and principles, as they strive for fair and prosperous governance for both the people and the state. Mohammad Natsir strongly advocated for Pancasila to serve as the fundamental ideology of the Indonesian State. The Indonesian government can be founded on Islam by incorporating the principles of Islam teachings into the state constitution, thus proving a logical framework for understanding nationalism and social norms within Indonesian society. In general, Muslim worldwide organizations have the common goal of serving Allah and seeking his pleasure and power. Their aim is to achieve honor for the entire Ummah, both in this world and the hereafter (Waluyo, 2009: 68).

Between 1958 and 1960, several prominent Masyumi figures Hasyim Asy'ari, Sukiman, Wahid Hasyim, Abdul Malik and Karim Amrullah, became part of the revolutionary government of the Republic of Indonesia, resulting in the dissolution of the Masyumi party by the government. Following the disbandment of the party, Masyumi members proved the Bulan Bintang group with the aim of advocating for the adoption of the sharia system. Masyumi's political dynamics, encompassing both internal and external factors, were characterized by several instances of legitimacy confrontations with the government under the leadership of Soekarno. These clashes persisted until the guided democracy period. The breakup of the Masyumi party has indirectly undermined its political standing. Soekarno dissolved the Masyumi party due to multiple reasons. Firstly, it was to achieve democratic and political party reform, as well as to enhance the effectiveness of a singular political party. Furthermore, the adoption of centralism Democracy empowers the leader to combat fraud and disband political groups that pose a threat to the general population. Furthermore, despite the

efforts of several adversaries to weaken the political party, the revolution was perceived as incomplete (Siregar, 2003: 12).

A group of prominent Islam personalities, including Agus Salim, Abdul Kahar Muzakar, Soekirman, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Mohamad Mawardi, Wahid Hasyim, and Mohammad Natsir, established Masyumi. The primary aim of establishing Masyumi was to merge the political of Ummah into a cohesive alliance (Mahendra, 1999: 34). To start the foundation of the Masyumi party, Muslim leaders met an Indonesian Ummah congress in Yogyakarta, Central of Java. Several social organizations, Islamic economic community organizations, and political elites attended this congress. The Congress looks to combine the potential of Muslim political power into a single association, enhancing its formidable combat prowess, strength, and impact. Overall, Masyumi's primary aim is to safeguard the autonomy of the Republic of Indonesia and the tenets of Islam by incorporating Muslim principles into governmental matters (Sumanto, 2016: 7). Mohammad Natsir contended that Muslims in Indonesia constituted the largest demographic group and were well organized both intellectually and politically, with a strong emphasis on achieving perfection expeditiously. The preservation of strong cohesion within Masyumi, specifically, and among Muslims in general. Masyumi will show resolute and impactful political actions, driven by the nation's interests and the principles of the Ummah (Natsir, 1951: 25).

Religion emerged as the primary creator of peace campaigns, acting as a source of optimism to avert the perilous consequences of conflict that threaten the existence of mankind (Natsir, 1951: 77). Establishing peace and unity involves granting the entire Ummah the freedom to exercise their rights and fulfill their duties as faithful and devout citizens (Natsir, 1951: 80). According to Masyumi leaders, it is crucial to address the revolutionary environment and the political-ideological conflict in Indonesian society. This is due to the prevailing mood of revolution following the proclamation of Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945. This affects the aims, ideology, and purpose of Masyumi, which is characterized by its strong commitment to Indonesian nationalism and patriotism, as well as its dedication to safeguarding the sovereignty of the Indonesian republic and the integrity of Islam. Masyumi does this by incorporating Islam principles into the governance of the state.

The determination of the Muslim struggle to uphold and safeguard Indonesian sovereignty is seen in the emergence of Masyumi as a formidable champion of democracy in Indonesia. The weakness of Masyumi stems from its federalist structure and the prevailing party ethos, rather than a spirit of togetherness. Masyumi formed as a cohesive Muslim political party during the period of Indonesian independence. The political systematics devised by Masyumi encompass the articulation of interests and political communication. One of the initiatives undertaken is the implementation of political education, aimed at raising awareness and expanding the intellectual frontiers of Muslims in their ideological struggle against communist threats. Communist propaganda effectively spreads its ideology across various regions of Indonesia via mass media, journals, and leftist literature, hence fostering an appreciation for communism. Masyumi, in adherence to its articles of association and by laws, embraces a spirit of inclusivity towards shared interests, with the goal of showing a sovereign Republic of Indonesia.

Masyumi collaborated with several Ummah factions with the aim of advocating for Islam as the prevailing ideology within the Indonesian nation during the constituent assembly. Mohammad Natsir, as the prime minister, advocated for the restoration of Indonesia as a unified state inside the Indonesian republic. He achieved this by proposing a comprehensive motion in the government sector, with the goal of preventing any divisions or conflicts among the federal regions. Soekarno entrusted Mohammad Natsir and the Masyumi party with the task of saving the Indonesian republic with the constituent assembly (Natsir, 1998: 13). On July 5, 1959, the non-hormonal Soekarno government issued a Presidential Decree, resolving the dispute between various Masyumi party members. This decree included the dissolution of the Constituent assembly that was formed after the 1955 general election and the replacement of the 1950 provisional constitution with the 1945 constitution.

The discontent among the Indonesian populace, stemming from the extended experience of colonialism and the recognition of the significance of political power, ultimately motivated the ulama to unite and pursue the implementation of Muslim ideology to restore the nation's honor. During the era of parliamentary democracy, Masyumi played an active role in the constituent parliament due to its engagement in addressing national and regional concerns that the Indonesian political sphere. The Soekarno administration orchestrated the decline of the Masyumi party, which started

with the 1955 general election. This marked the resurgence of the Indonesian communist party and exerted a significant effect on Soekarno's programs and government backing. Following the 1955 general election, Soekarno expressed his desire to include the Indonesian communist party in the upcoming cabinet. The decision led to a conflict between Soekarno and the Masyumi party, as it was believed that the earlier cabinet had experienced multiple conflicts between the Indonesian communist party and the Masyumi party (Sumanto, 2016: 3).

2.8. Pancasila

Pancasila is the basic ideology and foundation of Indonesia's state, which is essential to the nation's development and daily existence. On June 1, 1945, Indonesian nationalist leader Soekarno created Pancasila, which expressed for the first time in a speech to the preparatory committee for Indonesia's independence. Pancasila has been defined by a variety of historical figures and experts, allowing for a diverse understanding while still reflecting the fundamental values inherent in the concept based on five principles:

1. Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa (The belief in one God)
2. Kemanusiaan yang Adil dan Beradab (A just and civilized humanity)
3. Persatuan Indonesia (Indonesian Unity)
4. Kerakyatan yang Dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan Dalam Permusyawaratan Perwakilan (Democracy under the wise guidance of representative consultations)
5. Keadilan Sosial Bagi Seluruh Rakyat Indonesia (Social justice for all the peoples of Indonesia).

Mohammad Natsir considers the first principle to be the main idea in Pancasila; Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa (The belief in one God). The compromise this first principle, the remaining principles will become mere structures. Specific political goals may also exploit this framework. Hence, by upholding the initial principle, Muslims will be able to fully realize their rights and perform their obligations. Pancasila's content does not conflict with the teachings of the Qur'an. In contrast, Pancasila will thrive and develop with Muslim's support and guidance (Natsir, 2019: 51-53).

Pancasila, as a national ideology transcends individual, group, ethnic, and religious beliefs. apply the motto "Bhineka Tungga Ika" (different but still one) to all Indonesians within the Republic of Indonesia. Pancasila, a national ideology, aims to prioritize the interests of the nation and the State of Indonesia over all else. This is in line with the concept of Ummah, which is an expression of society's meaning derived from the same thoughts and communal identity. This identity is not based on geographical boundaries, nor does it depend on race, culture, language, history, or a combination of all. The traditional constitutional framework divides society into two components: First, the material element, a collection of individuals established in a specific region. Second, the spiritual element, a shared desire or intention to cohabit and live together (Supriajatna, 2015: 394).

In this context, a broader social environment, which includes the family, community, nation, and state environments, continuously embeds the individual human being. These institutions will ease and actualize the individual's perspective on life. As a result, achieving desired aims needs a determination of unity within a nation's coexistence. The values of each precept of Pancasila, which align with the state's philosophy, regulate the behavior of the Indonesian people. These individuals as Pancasila because they embody the values of Pancasila with fidelity and care. The lives of the nation and state require an aggregate guarantee to achieve ideal objectives. The Pancasila focus encapsulates the essential characteristics that constitute the nation and state's perspective on life. Daily life must realize these characteristics, both independently and in the public eye (Yanto, 2016).

Mohammad Natsir strongly advocated for Pancasila to serve as the fundamental ideology of the Indonesian State. On November 11, 1957, the Constituent Assembly deliberated on the ideological foundation of the Indonesian state and presented three alternatives: socioeconomics, Islam, and Pancasila. The Constituent Assembly ultimately determined that Pancasila, closely resembling the Islam values it embodied, would serve as the foundation of a state after each proponent of these ideologies presented a compelling case for its acceptance. Natsir asserts that the Indonesian people's moral, spiritual, and decency standards form the foundation of the values enshrined in Pancasila. In a similar manner, Mohammad Natsir interpreted Pancasila:

Pancasila is an imperative declaration of intentions and virtuous ideals that need implementation at the state and national levels. When reviewed from the

perspective of the first principle of belief in God Almighty, it becomes evident that the purpose is to underscore to both domestic and international citizens and residents that a human being cannot embark on a path to virtue and excellence unless they have first come to terms with and committed themselves to the One True God. How, then, does one reconcile the Quran with the first principle? Pancasila will thrive as an expression of respect for the Quran. Although not a priori contradictory, one and the other are not identical (trans.) (Efendi, 1958: 129).

According to Mohammad Natsir's statement above, Pancasila's first principle and the Quran are not contradictory but rather reflect different aspects of a shared belief in one God as a foundation for ethical living. Pancasila's framework respects and incorporates the essence of monotheistic belief, while promoting harmonious coexistence among Indonesia's diverse population. The Quran, with its emphasis on the one true God, aligns with this principle by advocating for a life of virtue and justice. Therefore, we can view both as complementary in cultivating a moral and just society where mutual respect and understanding among diverse frameworks serve the greater good.

Reconciling Pancasila's first principle, which emphasizes belief in God Almighty and the Quran, necessitates an examination of both systems and their convergence with shared values and principles. Pancasila's First Principle: Indonesia's founding philosophical doctrine, Pancasila, starts with the tenet "Belief in the One and Only God." This principle underscores the significance of monotheism as a foundation for ethical conduct and social cohesion. The Quranic Perspective: The Quran, the principal holy scripture of Islam, underscores the belief in one creator (Allah) as the foundation of faith. This monotheism is essential to Islam doctrine and provides the basis for moral and ethical direction in a Muslim's life.

According to Abidin, The Indonesian government can be founded on Islam by incorporating the principles of Islam's teachings into the state constitution, thus showing a logical framework for understanding nationalism and social norms within Indonesian society. In this context Mohammad Natsir contended that Pancasila serves as a pedagogical tool for instilling moral consciousness, ethical conduct, and spiritual values among the Indonesian populace. Regarding the core of Ummah, Muslim societies throughout the world share the same goal: to serve Allah and seek His

approval and might, with the aim of achieving honor for the entire Ummah in both this life and the afterlife (Abidin, 2012: 17).



CHAPTER III

THE INDONESIAN POLITICS AND UMMAH IN INDONESIA AS A MUSLIM IDENTITY

Individuals within a certain region shape the structure of Muslim society through their social interactions, united by a common ideological belief system, and reinforced by shared experiences in dealing with external obstacles. A community group can develop a unique identity based on shared experiences and interactions that reflect its social and ideological interests. These rules are essential to promote Muslim unity and ensure freedom without allowing certain factions or the entire Muslim community to be dominated. Numerous factions or organizations, each dedicated to its own interpretation, currently divide the Ummah. Muslims introduced the concepts of citizenship, democracy, and the right to vote and compete for the dedication in government (Fadel, 2011: 109-127). Ideological groups pose no inherent problem, but focusing solely on their ideologies can cause division within the Ummah. These groups promote specific interpretations of Islamic teachings to endorse political interests, creating a religious identity debate.

Ideologies generate concepts, social structures, culture, and political systems that influence behavior. Humans form a harmonious society characterized by a variety of ideologies, races, ethnicities, and cultures that unite through shared ethical values and norms. The principles of the Islam's faith unite the Ummah, fostering the formation of a collective identity and civil society. A balance of societal elements, including universal, divine, moral, and pragmatic aspects, is a defining characteristic of Muslim political philosophy. Everyone possesses unique qualities shaped by cultural components, social systems, and philosophies. According to Mohammad Natsir, Ummah is a concept that regulates a nation's socio-political principles by incorporating Islamic values. Its objective is to advance and advance Islamic teachings while remaining unaffected by the modern era. Muslim politics often refers to "moderate" (*Wasathiyah*), where Islam promotes prophetic values to help the entire community (*maslahatil Ummah*) and holds a position in the middle ground between truth and justice. According to Kuntowijoyo, since the Ummah is prevalent in Indonesia, it is necessary for the Ummah to actualize and strengthen the prophetic essence of Islam

within the political sphere. This would transform Islam from a mere instrument for advancing the interests of specific factions to an awareness that encourages the fair distribution of prosperity, benefit, and justice through rational and objectified politics. The concept of *Ummatan wasathan* (moderate) exists as a protection for human rights and absolute individual liberty (Kuntowijoyo, 1997: 5).

3.1. The Ummah on the Views of Mohammad Natsir

Contemporary Muslims consider themselves oppressed due to the historical and ongoing influence of Western colonialism and neo-colonialism on the Muslims world. The Ummah, as seen in various historical contexts, is a substantial community that has the potential for unity through the principle of solidarity in faith. This principle, as mandated in the Qur'an and Sunnah, serves as the fundamental basis for constructing a civilization that acts as a representative of humanity on Earth. The West perceives the Ummah's unity as an identity that has the potential to undermine Western civilization. World society perceive this unity as an entity with the potential to establish a new world order, as it embraces a variety of doctrines designed to exert authority. Western colonialists deceived the Ummah into neglecting worldly affairs by introducing the concept of globalization through the development of worldwide social welfare programs.

Globalization is a momentous historical event with profound implications for humanity's living systems. This situation fosters reflective responses. Islam, a religion noted for its global and all-encompassing nature, plays a substantial role in addressing the challenges posed by globalization. The universal nature of Islam implies that it has the potential to make a substantial contribution to the unity of global society. Ummah universalism has multiple sides, including the advocacy for worldwide cultural education, the progression of scientific understanding, the establishment of a comprehensive social framework, and the instillation of elevated moral principles. The universal character of Islam supports it to effectively address a wide range of challenges, including those related to economics, education, culture, technology, and several other fields.

The Ummah, from its establishment throughout the early stages of Muslim history to its eventual unity and its projected role in the future, significantly affects the Muslim consciousness (Akram, 2007: 410). People are certainly inseparable from religion and

the state, which have their respective roles but are interrelated and dependent on each other so that society or people have a goal to live more. According to John Esposito, the Ummah two primary goals are to embody God's unity and indivisibility on earth, as well as to serve as a vehicle for carrying out God's intentions (John L. E, 1998: 4). Both occurrences are apparently religious. Many Muslims religious practices aim to strengthen ties within the Ummah. These activities encompass the following: reciting and memorizing the Qur'an in Arabic, offering five daily prayers in Arabic while facing Makkah, participating in congregational prayer services on Fridays, attending the yearly Eid holidays, and, if possible, executing the hajj pilgrimage to Makkah at least once in a lifetime.

Examining whether factual evidence substantiates the Muslim's notion of a global identity known as Ummah, albeit on a reduced scale., James Piscatori as the author of Muslim World of Nation-States, considers this academic endeavor to be significant and has approached it using a qualitative methodology (Piscatori, 1986: 8). Furthermore, this could influence policymakers to recent times, tended to overlook the potential of religion to function as the primary basis of identity for a political society. (Edward, 1994: 9). Religion and state are not separate and must be combined because Islam is different from other religions, which are comprehensive religions. According to Saoki, Mohammad Natsir argued that the state is an institution that has special rights, duties, and goals. An institution in general is a body or organization that has a special purpose, is equipped with material tools, has its own rules, is recognized by the public, and is provided with a variety of resources, rules, and regulations (Saoki, 2015: 344-367). According to Suhelmi, Mohammad Natsir asserted the misunderstanding of the Muslim state, a state that unites religion and politics, basically derives from a misunderstanding of the concept of Islam's government. For this reason, if it is desired to understand religion and the state in Islam clearly, it should be able to end the negative view of the Muslim state. The state functions as an instrument to achieve the goal of the perfection of the divine laws, whether they relate to the life of man himself (as an individual) or as a member of society (Suhelmi, 2002: 241).

The Ummah is recognized as a socio-political phenomenon, as the state is increasingly accommodating to its citizens and the Ummah. A concept of democracy for political institutions that is founded on an interpretation of state and political affairs. According to Hassan, in democracy the Ummah needs knowledge about politics so that there is

no social imbalance in implementing and supporting the state system. First, the way in internal support, the Ummah behaves following the changes that occur in themselves. Second, the external support, is to make sure that all political party organizations are aware that there are changes in the Ummah, and then they are expected to behave following the changes. The objective is to attain the global ubiquity of Islam. It serves to achieve the universality of Muslim around the world. This objective embodies the understanding of a human collective evolving into a unified society that maintains the balance between worldly and supernatural matters, fostering togetherness. The achievement of Ummah unity is undeniably a method to set up a religious and cultural identity that is not just reliant on the state. This initiative aims to foster progress, enhance interpersonal peace, and promote spiritual growth (Hassan, 2006: 312).

In the beginning of Indonesia's independence in 1945, Mohammad Natsir received support from the Muslim community to create a state based on Muslim values. Natsir argued that we must explain the concept of nationality with the Islam that most Indonesians believe in, and which drives them to fight for the destiny of their nation. According to Mohammad Natsir, it was the Muslim movement that first began to create political independence in Indonesia, which first started to spread the idea of Indonesian unity that removes the tendencies of islands and provinces, which begins to prove solidarity with the same people who share the same destiny beyond the borders of Indonesia with the spirit of Ummah (Natsir, 1931: 14). However, to prove a political system or a state, one must carry out an *ijtihad* (effort) to find an ideal and proper system following the conditions of the era.

Although the Republic of Indonesia's system was decided after independence, its structure can change by undergoing evaluation in line with the times. Structurally, the current executive institution, which is above the legislative institution, may experience a democratization process under the legislative institution. Furthermore, there is a general recognition of citizens as individuals and their interests. Because every individual with the virtue of being a citizen, possesses a unique position and a reciprocal relationship of rights and responsibilities with his nation. Based on morality, politics, culture, and the law, the relationship between citizens and their nation determines the rights and responsibilities that are inherent to every individual. The presence of the concept of *Ummatan Wasathan* (moderate) gives a new impression of the rights of citizens. Ummah, as a socio-political phenomenon, is finally believed to

be an instrument needed by social society to create an accommodating and ideal state (Kuntowijoyo, 1997: 6).

Throughout the Indonesian independence movement in the 20th century, the Dutch community critically examined the relationship between Islam and the state in Indonesia, leading to the formation of a multifaceted Muslims revival movement. Essentially, the individuals involved in the fight for Indonesian independence held diverse ideas and perspectives. This was because certain personalities believed that their respective ideologies played a crucial part in securing Indonesia's freedom. In the realm of social structure, secularization also appears. This occurred concurrently with Indonesia's rapid modernization during the 20th century. As the center of influence gradually transitioned from the privileged few to the general population, the process of secularization began. Within the religious framework, there was a transition from the clergy's upper class to the upper class of non-clergy individuals.

Muslims gradually experienced a sense of estrangement from the realm of politics. Soeharto's New Order regime led to the persistence and expansion of secularization in Indonesia. Within the realm of politics, the process of secularization was evident through the New Order's implementation of various measures aimed at diminishing and suppressing the political influence of Muslims. These measures included prohibiting the re-establishment of the Masyumi party and excluding Masyumi figures from participating in the foundation of the Indonesian Muslim Party (Parmusi). The Dutch political dominance in the country compelled the Muslims majority to withdraw and momentarily set aside their aspirations to defend Islam as a compass for the nation and state. Furthermore, Mohamad Latief said, Muslims must engage in dialogue with other social groups that prioritize national values over religious ones, as these serve as the foundation for national cohesion and integrity (Latief, 2017: 5). Based on historical records, during that period was characterized by three ideological pillars that were conducive to the advancement and progress of the country: communism, Islam, and secularism. Behind the declaration of independence, several Muslim intellectuals advocated for the legal and ideological foundation of the nation to be based on Muslim principles. Mohammad Natsir tried to articulate his ideas about the concepts of nationalism and Islam by integrating deeply intertwined political and religious ideas.

The Qur'an and Sunnah supply a crucial role in proving the constitutional system of a country by serving as grounds for its determination. The government has a

responsibility to ensure that individuals have ample opportunities to engage in unrestricted and appropriate employment, promoting the well-being of both them and society. Abduh believed that the ruler and the general populace should work together to uphold democracy. The government has a responsibility to ensure that individuals have ample opportunities to engage in unrestricted and appropriate employment, promoting the well-being of both them and society. While democracy is generally beneficial, the Islam's state system does not exclusively depend on democracy for all its matters, as democracy is not devoid of risks of the inherent hazards it involves. Furthermore, the transition of democracy from one century to another has demonstrated some of its commendable attributes. Nevertheless, democracy is intrinsically imbued with several perilous characteristics.

The democratic system universally recognizes its efficacy in ensuring the rights of individuals and promoting the well-being of a nation. By giving importance to justice at all levels of society, the democratic system provides an opportunity to create legal laws aligned with Islam's teachings. Discuss the fifth notion that Islam's guidance will result in the failure of the endeavor. At this juncture, Mohammad Natsir endeavored persistently to promote Islam's philosophy as a concept and simultaneously as a guiding principle for the pursuit of their cause. He looked to set up a fundamental framework of thinking for the Indonesian populace in confronting Dutch colonialism. According to Yusafrida, Mohammad Natsir's concept encourages the Ummah community to acknowledge the significance of aligning their conflict with Islam's principles. This thought reflects his prioritization of Islam's teachings as an ideology for the development of a just and prosperous system of governance and communal conduct. Mohammad Natsir's distinctive mindset has influenced the reasoning and perspectives of impoverished individuals in Indonesia about his position. His active involvement in community life and literature within the spheres of politics and government serves as evidence of his thoughts (Yusafrida, 2012: 62). According to Mohammad Natsir, in the maintenance and implementation of the ideal state and political system in Islam, it is inseparable from the frame of the Qur'an and Sunnah, which are the measuring instruments that determine the criteria for accepting or not accepting a system in Islam (Natsir, 1973: 450).

Mohammad Natsir asserts that Muslim's faith is an impeccable belief system that should serve as a guiding principle for individuals, groups, and the state. This ideology

causes a comprehensive understanding and adherence among Ummah. Consequently, Mohammad Natsir dismisses non-Islam ideologies as unsuitable for societal and governmental guidance. Upon further reflection, He affirmed that Islam advocates for freedom and opposes any form of colonization or domination in human interactions. Muslim invaders are bound to engage in jihad according to Islam's belief. Furthermore, Mohammad Natsir amalgamates the conviction that Islam has an ideology for proving a sovereign nation with Mohammad Natsir's receptiveness. If both Muslim and non-Muslim accept him, he might embrace the state philosophy of Pancasila. The concept is that he emphasizes the importance of integrating Islam's philosophy to establish a variety of regulations for social and political affairs. So, Mohammad Natsir aspired for the incorporation of Muslim's ideals and the philosophy of life into the state's ideology. Islam is required to strive for justice and prosperity within human civilization. The Muslims' struggle will be completed when we achieve the ultimate objective of God's mercy *Baldatun thayyibatun warabbun ghafur* (Peaceful and prosperous nation that is blessed by Allah the Almighty), it means a prosperous country under God's protection. This resulted in divergent perspectives and contemplations from various prominent individuals about the significance of state ideology, religion, and their interconnection with politics. Mohammad Natsir's motivation did not stem from Muslim's prevalence in Indonesia, but rather from his recognition of the pivotal role those Muslim's principles play in proving a nation (Natsir, 1950: 36).

The aim is to set up the foundation of a fair and flourishing nation and society precisely and effectively, irrespective of religious, racial, cultural, and regional differences. The Muslim political system forms the foundation of Mohammad Natsir's concept for the Muslim's state system. According to Mohammad Natsir, the state must engage in behavior, or independent reasoning, to identify an ideal and sufficient system that is in accordance with the current world situation. All parties should reach a consensus and conduct a synchronization study to align the values mentioned in the Qur'an and Hadith with the societal conditions, environment, culture, and social characteristics (Natsir, 1973: 450). Mohammad Natsir's perspective on the Ummah was deeply rooted in his vision for a unified Muslim's community that transcended national and ethnic boundaries. He believed that the Ummah should function as a cohesive entity, guided by Muslim's principles, to address global issues and promote social equity. This vision

included a strong emphasis on integrating Islam values into all areas of life, from governance to education. Mohammad Natsir's approach also highlighted the importance of education and development as critical components for the advancement of the Ummah. He saw these elements as essential for empowering individuals and communities, thereby enabling them to contribute meaningfully to societal progress and to address the broader issues facing the Muslim world. In essence, Mohammad Natsir's views reflected a commitment to creating a harmonious and progressive Muslim society that remained faithful to its spiritual and ethical roots while actively engaging with the modern world.

Mohammad Natsir clearly founded his vision on the principle of unity. The collective strength of a united Ummah was essential for the advancement of Islam values and ensuring that Muslims could have a significant influence on global affairs. In his opinion, Muslims could more effectively face challenges and achieve their common objectives by promoting solidarity and unity. In addition to political unity, Mohammad Natsir's perspective encompassed spiritual and cultural unity. In order to withstand external pressures and internal divisions, he endeavored to establish a robust, harmonious community. He believed that this collective endeavor would not only bolster Islam's principles but also establish the Ummah as a potent and influential entity on the global stage. While advocating for unity, Mohammad Natsir was also addressing the necessity of strategic collaboration and mutual support among Muslim nations and communities. He aimed to establish a cohesive and resilient Ummah identity that could flourish in the contemporary world and comprise a broader geopolitical and social strategy.

The notion of Ummah unity Mohammad Natsir in Indonesia has had a significant influence on numerous individuals. However, interpreting Ummah's application in politics remains a challenging matter. Some political factions persist in promoting the implementation of sharia law, while others support pluralistic principles to unify a diverse society. Mohammad Natsir's political theory, emphasizing Muslim's unity, national unity, and a governmental framework that upholds diversity, significantly influenced the development of Muslim politics in Indonesia. His intellectual endeavor is relevant and a crucial element of contemporary political interaction. Although several decades have elapsed since Mohammad Natsir's period, discussions over the role of Islam in politics and social structure continue to this day. Various factions and

political leaders continue to strive to incorporate Muslim's ideals into the nation's framework. Perspectives on Islam's role in politics vary, ranging from proponents of the explicit implementation of sharia law to advocates for tolerance, diversity, and democratic principles in integrating Islam within Indonesia's dynamic sociocultural context.

3.2. Ummah and Nation

The notion of Ummah offers a mechanism to uphold the principles and standards of sharia law, ensuring the presence of a collective identity within a state that imposes rights and responsibilities on individuals who interact socially in pursuit of their common goal. Following the community's belief of the nation-state as a separate entity that integrates social norms into the entire community, and society has the right to take part in politics, which is acknowledged by community members so that they may support both individual and collective identities. These identities contribute not only to the political interests of individuals and communities but also to the welfare and interests of the Ummah in all its aspects. Furthermore, it helps all aspects of social society. Certain political philosophers and Western orientalist initially attempted to equate the term Ummah with the word nation or the word nation-state. However, they deemed this equivalence inappropriate and subsequently replaced it with the term "community." In addition, it is not appropriate to equate the term "community" with "Ummah" (Faqih, 2021: 21).

Globalization has led to an enhancement in the way people live through advancements in science, materialism, and technology. These factors contribute to individualism, which accentuates the social divide. The Western colonialists intended to spread civilization, dynamics, and the ideology of progress to the Indonesian people to align with the international developments in politics, economics, and technology. Muslim's nationalism representatives combine the concepts of a Ummah nation. The Muslim "nation" they envision is set up solely based on faith, without any other integrating principles like racial, linguistic, or territorial distinctions. Adhering closely to the arguments set by Muslim's scholars like; Hasan Al-Banna, and Yusuf Al-Qardhawy they support the notion of Ummah political unity and have thus appeared as proponents of the movement commonly referred to as pan-Islamism (Ahmed, 1975: 43-44).

Mohammad Natsir integrated politics with the goal of educating the nation and all Muslims within a framework that upholds justice and religious unity while embracing the cultural diversity of other societies. Education in Ummah politics is critical for its practical application. Mohammad Natsir's purpose is to educate to improve the quality and quantity of a more improved Indonesian nation and Ummah. In 1952, the Masyumi Party Congress reflected a battle through the ratification of many programs encompassing education, culture, economy, state, finance, social issues, foreign policy, and the liberation of West Irian. Within the context of education, Mohammad Natsir and Masyumi decided that formal and non-formal institutions, including schools, should integrate a proper balance between general science and Islam's sciences. They argue that adhering to a dichotomous mindset is detrimental to the well-being and existence of humanity. This harmony in a moral society will shape personality and character. The state has the resources to accomplish its objectives, as well as specific regulations, norms, and values that serve as its foundation. The community's physical and spiritual requirements shape the conditions for the establishment of a body or organization. Founded on the ideology of life, the state exercises power over its members and sanctions any violation of norms. Consequently, the state must possess the following principles: territory, people, government, sovereignty, constitution, and sources of law (Abdurrahim, 2023: 13).

Mohammad Natsir emphasized resolving current social and Muslim issues through the promotion of education and the emphasis on Qur'anic teachings. In 1950, the government mandated Muslims education in all schools in Indonesia as it transitioned from a secular nationalist state ideology. In the context of political inspiration, Islam education is effectively manifested as a da'wah that promotes virtuous conduct grounded in the principles of Islam, as delineated by Allah in the Qur'an, and endorsed by the Prophet Muhammad for the Ummah as caliphs on earth. According to Baidhaw, the critics of religious moderation further emphasize that this notion fails to fully reflect Indonesian religion's actuality and complexities. The concept of religious moderation fails to sufficiently encompass the diverse components of religion in the country, including ethnicity, culture, and socioeconomics (Baidhaw, 2010: 268-286). To preserve the independence and glory of the Ummah, Mohammad Natsir hopes that religious, social, and educational support will produce generations of Ummah who will subsequently pioneer the existence of Islam's values and norms that

support political progress in Indonesia. Furthermore, it hopes that this support will produce generations who will struggle for Muslim's nation, state, and religion.

Irrational elements that contribute to God's authority assert an important role in the human life, including fate, individual aspirations for a better life, and the advancement of civilization. Humans meet a range of varied cultures that offer practical advice, which is considered the destiny granted to all mankind by Allah. Islam asserts that God (Allah) is the central core of wisdom that decides the path of human life. Human plans need divine intervention in alignment with their intentions and actions. The Islam's concept of evolution is distinct from the secular Western doctrine of modernization and the Western definition of transformation presented during the Enlightenment. The Ummah's context involves an aspect of global Ummah populism that frames Islam opposing the West as a historic conflict. Despite what is perceived as a conflict between Islam and the Western, there are more attempts being emphasized, including the presence of pan-Islamism, which the Ummah aims to reestablish as an integrated entity. The Ummah aims to create solidarity and social cohesion around common interests. The Muslim moderate in Indonesia experiences conflicting sentiments towards current terrorism, alternating between support and rejection. Being part of the ummah will naturally unite the interests of the Muslim moderate on a global level (Jati, 2017: 35).

According to Kuntowijoyo. Politics supports a significant role in both executive and legislative institutions. This position's existence may strengthen the success of development interests with the ultimate purpose of creating improvement and awareness (Kuntowijoyo, 1997: 15). Islam revolves around the intertwined concepts of belief and statehood. The term is derived from Mohammad Natsir's ideology, defining it as having a ritual and an authority that shapes the ideals and conventions of the nation and state. Certain entities find this unacceptable due to the distant dynamics of thought involved. Others claim that Islam lacks a political nature, while asserting that it has a normative essence.

According to Wasisto Raharjo Jati, Ummah is essentially a political construct to refer to the politics-economics, and sociohistorical marginalized and discriminated against Muslim communities. These two contexts influence the emergence of populism among Muslims as a social mobilization strategy based on an asymmetrical alliance of social classes (Jati, 2017: 28). Due to most interpretations of the relationship between Islam

and the state referring to the concept of Ummah, which is also used in the western state, Mohammad Natsir's thinking is not demanding in its flexibility. Western thought constructs positive developments aligned with societal values and norms to advance the Ummah.

Human cognition shaped by social experience develops the concepts of state and nation into frameworks that regulate a nation. While there may be different perspectives regarding each other, the subject remains uncomplicated: the fundamental principle that unifies the entire system is justice. Mohammad Natsir's political program excluded any reference to the establishment of a Muslim state, despite the fact that the Masyumi party's charter of organizations addressed the issue. Instead, Mohammad Natsir merely advocated for the incorporation of sharia law into all state-run legal instruments in Indonesia. A particular notion of statehood of *tawhid*, which emerged from the diverse Asian background of *tawhid*. However, Mohammad Natsir's conception of *tawhid* pertained more to the notion of universal justice. Mohammad Natsir ultimately introduced the principles of *tawhid*, subsequently emerged as the state's basic foundations and refined justice. Mohammad Natsir's view of nationalism is proven through a correlation between the verse in the Qur'an and the concept of nationalism expounded in verse 13 of Surah Al Hujaraat:

يَأَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتَقَىٰكُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ.

O humanity! Indeed, we formed you into peoples and tribes from individuals, male and female, for you to become known to one another. Certainly, the most virtuous individual among you is the most prestigious in Allah's eyes. Allah is, in fact, Almighty and All-Aware.

In this verse, the Qur'an makes it clear that Allah created all mankind from a single mother and a single father and made them into a single brotherhood (Ummah). However, Allah separated them into distinct tribes, nations, races, lineages, and linguistic groups. The underlying divine wisdom. For instance, a family name could distinguish two individuals with the same name. It can also indicate the presence of close and distant relatives. On the basis of near and distant lineage, they can fulfill their Sharia rights. Determining the near and remote agnate heirs is imperative when

applying the law of succession or dividing a deceased individual. In summary, it is not considered pride or conceit to reference one's lineage for identification purposes (Qur'an.com, 2024).

From another perspective, Mohammad Natsir interprets the verse's significance as an inspiration for nations to encourage autonomous unity with the intention of mutual understanding. Natsir decided that Islam's teachings concerning the Ummah are formed of two sections: *Mu'amalah ma'allah* and *Mu'amalah ma'annaas* (The relationship to God and to human beings). Generally, the urgency of incorporating Islam's values into a government is necessary to generate beneficial effects for individuals and prevent any form of harm. It strives to establish justice and prevent all forms of discrimination among people. The objectives of an Islam's values align with those pursued by other conventional governments. Islam does not explicitly prescribe or explain the constitutional system when it comes to the concept of the state. However, it recognizes the presence of certain principles and ethics in the Qur'an. Muslim ideals encompass two dimensions of power: the spiritual dimension and the temporal dimension (Aziz, 2000: 10).

3.3. The Relevance of Muslim Democracy (Ummah) in Indonesia according to Mohammad Natsir

Mohammad Natsir expressed a fundamental disagreement with the western democratic system, instead proposing his own concept of theistic democracy, which supports a democratic system that follows religious principles. Mohammad Natsir viewed democracy to rectify and admonish leaders who impose injustice among other people and neglect to protect the rights of others, which deviates from the principles of justice. In Muslim political ideology, there exist distinctions between the notions of Muslim democracy and Western democracy. Indonesian Muslims generally recognize the concept of democracy. Muslims in general are increasingly accepting of democracy as a form of governance that is consistent with Islam's principles, which is the consequence of the expanding Muslims modernism movement. As outlined in the Medina charter, the principles of justice, equality, freedom, guaranteed protection, and other similar concepts established Medina as the essence of a democratic state (Misrawi, 2009: 306). The Prophet Muhammad and the companions of Khulafa Al-Rashidin, such as Abu Bakar Al-Sihiddiq r.a., Umar Bin Khatab r.a., Ustman Bin Affan r.a., and Ali Bin Abi Talib r.a., implemented democracy during the early stages

of the dissemination of Islam. After the Khulafa Al-Rashidin period concluded, the political expansion of Islam and the emergence of a caliphate system that restored the pre-Islam tradition of monarchical despotism led to a decline in democracy among Muslims (Fitriciada, 2005: 111). According to Suhelmi's, Islam demands that people adhere completely to Allah's divine laws, as defined in the Quran and the Prophet's Sunnah. Based on this point of view, Mohammad Natsir believes Islam to be irreconcilable with the principles of Western democracy (Suhelmy, 1999: 90).

Mohammad Natsir thinks about democracy has experienced a gradual transformation over an extended period. Consistent with the idea that the state is fundamentally an instrument to accomplish religious objectives, there is no definitive model for the ideal Muslim's state. According to Al Jabiri, the shura system initially functioned purely as a consultative process, without imposing any obligation on a leader to implement the outcomes of the discussion (Jabiri, 1994: 42). Alternatively, the concept of shura can be seen as flexible and adaptable, allowing for its interpretation within the framework of the modern democratic system, in line with the progress of present-day of the Ummah. To optimize democratic functioning, adherence to sharia principles and restraint from surpassing divine provisions are essential, represented by the notion of "Theistic democracy" (Natsir, 2000: 45). There are two reasons to explain, as follows: Islam rejects the Western concept of democracy, in which all political decisions are made solely by most parliament members. Parliamentary discussions in Islam address few matters. Furthermore, Islam is opposed to the concept of theocracy, which refers to a form of governance where a hierarchical system holds authority and regards the head of state as a god's representation of mankind. Hence, the concept of Muslim democracy has distinct features and qualities and should not be regarded as a complete merger of democracy and theocracy (Natsir, 1973: 75).

The presence of democracy in Indonesia and the multitude of participants engaging in it indicate a disregard for the importance of values. This poses an enormous threat since an uncontrolled democracy can inflict suffering on its citizens. Mohammad Natsir's disapproval of recognizing the theocracy and secularization system paves the way for the establishment of a Muslim's democracy based on sharia ideals. This system has the potential to thrive and benefit all individuals by ensuring comprehensive rights and justice, as commanded by God's power. The state and

democracy should refine and enhance the divine truths universally given to humanity, as Natsir said:

The state is not a final aim for us but rather an instrument through which the activities of the state are fundamentally and inherently interconnected within them. The aim is to achieve the greatest excellence in God's laws. Particularly in relation to our temporary existence and eternity. Regarding the concept of the afterlife (trans.) (Natsir, 1973: 78).

Mohammad Natsir's perspective emphasizes that the state serves a purpose beyond mere governance; it's a means to fulfill a higher, spiritual objective aligned with divine principles. He posits that the activities of the state should reflect and promote God's laws, guiding both individual and communal life towards moral and ethical excellence. This interconnectedness suggests that we should view earthly governance through the lens of its impact on our temporal existence and our preparation for the afterlife, highlighting a holistic approach to faith, society, and governance. In this view, the pursuit of justice, morality, and societal welfare becomes not just a civic duty but a spiritual endeavor with eternal significance.

The earlier assertion clarifies that the purpose of democracy is identical with the vision of the state, which guides political processes towards the establishment of legal frameworks and general sovereignty within the notion of governance that creates the implementation of God's laws related to everyone's existence and societal membership. Theocracy has no impact on the harmony of this lifetime and thereafter; rather, it elevates the sovereignty of the people to the highest priority. Mohammad Natsir defines ideology as a specific system of beliefs instead of merely an idea. He clarified the necessity for the state and religion to be unified, opting for democracy as a political system aligning with the principles of Islam. Mohammad Natsir proposed that Indonesia's state and governance structure need to be characterized as a "Democratic State Based on Islam." Mohammad Natsir at once explained that Muslims most prefer and benefit from democracy, as Islam thrives under a democratic system. The concept of theistic democracy, introduced by Mohammad Natsir as the foundation of the Islamic state, is significant due to its deviation from the traditional absolute monarchy system, which typically lacks possibilities for political participation and freedom (Irsandy, 2015: 5-15).

Due to the Ummah's paradigm of political articulation, the relationship between the Indonesian government bureaucracy and the Ummah tended to be unpleasant from the reform era until the end of the 1970s. During that era, Muslims engaged in political disputes through the lens of Muslim discourse; the issue now was the establishment of Islam as the state's guiding principle. Muslims noticed that this ran contrary to the government's objective of eradicating ideological conflicts between political parties and society (Kuntowijoyo, 1994: 87). During the reform era, there was little progress in the relationship between Muslims and the government. The reformation led to the liberation of religious practices within every Muslims. The notion of liberty and equal rights in shaping viewpoints really gives way to new obstacles. Reflection and substantializing in politics mean consciously and meaningfully pursuing political ideas and direction that put Muslim ideals at the center of daily social interaction. Therefore, it is advisable for Ummah to transform into cultural movements rather than political.

Theistic democracy is defined by principles that are in complete agreement with those of Western democracy, with a particular emphasis on the preservation of human rights, plurality, and liberty. The term "theistic" is derived from the Greek word "theos," which means "God." This contradicts atheism, which believes in one God. Therefore, it is possible to figure out that theistic democracy is a Muslim democracy, or a democracy founded on the principles of God (Sidik, 2006: 257). The people possess sovereignty as a result of God's directive. Mohammad Natsir believes that God is the most sovereign entity, exceeding all-natural sovereignties. Nevertheless, Mohammad Natsir argues that the implementation of popular sovereignty must adhere to sharia norms rather than transcend the bounds established by God (Wahyudi, 2016: 7). Therefore, Natsir views theistic democracy as a more profound structure, like the concept of shura in Islam. Mohammad Natsir contends that the concepts of shura, a process of collective decision-making in Islam, as demonstrated by the Prophet Muhammad SAW and his companions, reflect a stronger resemblance to the establishment of contemporary democracy. The Quran explicitly mentions that Muhammad Natsir's notion of shura is intended and stated as a fundamental component of Allah's holy word. Surah Al-Shura, verse 38:

And those who have responded to their lord and established prayer and whose affair is [determined by] consultation among themselves, and from what We have provided them, they spend (Islam, 2024).

Abu A'la al Maududi introduced the concept of theo-democracy, which shares similarities with Mohammad Natsir's perspective of theistic democracy. Theo-democracy is essentially a concept or term that combines the concept of theocracy with the concept of democracy. Nevertheless, this is not evidence that Al-Maududi embraced the concept of theocracy in its entirety. Al Maududi absolutely opposed the theory of the sovereignty of the people, which is the foundation of democracy, for two reasons. At first, he believes that God possesses the ultimate authority. The sole authority to establish laws is that of God. Humans have no right to create regulations. Secondly, elections every four to five years typically render the concept of citizen (Ummah) sovereignty meaningless. In the meantime, the government's regular tasks are under the control of a small group of individuals, who, despite acting in the name of the public, frequently oppress the citizens for their own benefit (Al-Maududi, 1984: 15).

However, an Islam's framework implements these principles. The concept of theistic democracy is relevant to contemporary democratic societies. Theistic democracy, by virtue of its principles, could prevent the implementation of democracy, which is destructive and violates human values. Nationalism often takes root within the Muslim world. The idea of Ummah is often applied in the context of nationalism. Muslim revivalist organizations consistently emphasize the importance of Muslims in their political views, despite the strong impact of nationalism on many Muslim countries and others. These initiatives assert that prioritizing the well-being of Muslims is not equivalent to neglecting other ethnic, linguistic, and geographical issues (Hasan, 2006: 314).

The political activities of Ummah Mohammad Natsir during the old regime era are clear in the program within the Masyumi party, and this acts as an indirect representation of the prevailing perspective on Indonesian democracy. Masyumi appeared as one of the political parties that got a substantial amount of support during the initial general election. Mohammad Natsir's implementation of Muslim's political through the Masyumi party involved incorporating the fundamental *shari'ah* principles, which are specifications in sharia law. Moreover, Mohammad Natsir advocated for the implementation of a Western government system in the Indonesian government that was considered beneficial, devoid of any negative or challenging effects, and consistent with Islamic education and the welfare of the people of

Indonesia. When integrated into the deliberation system (*shura*), the formulation of democracy rooted in Islamic values may exist as an efficient system of decision-making, provided the process runs in adherence to religious ethical principles.

3.3.1. The Principle of Muslim Democracy to the Ummah according to Mohammad Natsir

The Democracy's pragmatic characteristics, along with its ability to unify the rights of the people, essentially harmonizes this lifetime with the afterlife. Mohammad Natsir articulated a vision of Muslim democracy that sought to integrate Islam's principles with democratic governance. He believed that democracy should reflect Islam's values while promoting societal well-being. Democracies must adhere to the following four fundamental principles, provided they are important in constructing political systems and implementing sharia law (Natsir, 2001: 136).

3.3.1.1. Tauhid

The concept of tawheed, based on the principles of equality, justice, compassion, tolerance, and patience, represents the global unity of humanity as a single entity. Muslims can establish tawhid as the core framework of life, which serves as a fundamental guideline for the lives of society and the state. It allows them to derive ethical values, principles, and basic norms from Islam's teachings. As a life philosophy and guidance, Tawhid refers to the oneness of the praised God. Through one purpose, one creation, and one God common to all humanity, the rights of the Ummah are equivalent following the principles of tawhid, which provide the fundamental guide for Muslims who stand for the principal norms, ethical values, and moral standards of Islam's teaching. This also applies to society and state governance.

3.3.1.2. The Equality

Equality involves preventing any form of discrimination based on compliance with the law; there is a lack of authority among individuals. Thus, there cannot be privilege prior to the law, as the sovereign and the people occupy the same position. When looking at an individual, the principle of equality overlooks factors such as ethnicity, fanaticism, race, or genealogy.

3.3.1.3. Brotherhood

Encouraging brotherhood produces an empathetic disposition toward the members as human beings. Justice is an intrinsic value of humanity and an essential part throughout many spheres, including the personal, familial, and social spheres. It affects many aspects of society, the individual, and the family. According to Mohammad Natsir, justice must prove the state's foundation. Natsir argues that Islam has introduced justice across various domains, including the legal, social, and economic spheres. This justice recognizes humans as sovereign beings provided with authority. Human beings should be regarded as respectful and sovereign creatures.

3.3.1.4. Ijtihad (Effort)

To ensure adherence to the principles outlined in the Qur'an and Sunnah of the Prophet, political, legal, and economic policies must be formulated following these sources at least. In situations where *nash* (Quran and hadith) does not provide guidance for decision-making, *ijtihad*, *shura*, and *ijma'* are used to reach an agreement. According to Natsir, *ijtihad* is an imperative necessity, when it comes to opposing social change movements against Islam. According to Natsir, the notions of *ijtihad* and *ijma'* can be materialized in the form of a parliament formed of individuals elected by the entire populace when connected to the Qur'anic concept of *shura*. Representatives of the people, empowered by doctrinal principles, implement diverse policies through majority driven choices.

Furthermore, democracy strives to ensure that the government enforces divine laws about the individual and social aspects of human existence. Furthermore, Mohammad Natsir asserted that the basic principles of democracy are proper to function in alignment with the concepts of *ijtihad*, equality, brotherhood, and *Tawhid*. Mohammad Natsir eased the integration of Islam and liberal democracy, a concept that after gained significant traction in Europe and the United States, by integrating the principles of Islam doctrine into social and political existence in an ideological fashion. In line with his belief that the state is, in principle, an instrument to carry out the purposes wanted in religion.

Islam also adheres to the normative principle of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (Enjoining good and forbidding wrong), which involves the invitation of virtue and truth while preventing immorality. Adhering to this principle, Islam consistently keeps political

ethics with the aim of obtaining truth and kindness. Integrity and fairness demand accomplishment in every circumstance, including in the realm of politics. Natsir believed that the principles of Islam within the *shura'* (deliberation) system closely aligned with the start of contemporary democracy. Taking this into consideration, examine Parliament's presence as an embodiment of the implementer of deliberation. As a result, Mohammad Natsir believes that *shura'* (deliberation) decision-making is contingent upon religious ethical principles. Muhammad Natsir believed that democracy could lawfully figure out the formulation of state policy.

According to Mohammad Natsir, Islam holds more than just the interpersonal relationship between individuals and their god; it also includes the relationship between the people of the Ummah as a whole and the God they worship. Islam involves a system of being alive, an ideology, and a philosophy of life. Islam is a comprehensive doctrine that governs every aspect of human existence as well as the behavior of all living things in the universe, including welfare-oriented state affairs and Ummah politics. As a result, every Muslim is held accountable for every aspect about the collective community's welfare, the Ummah's cohesion. Muslims must defend the rights and responsibilities of the people through state politics, making it impossible for them to abandon Muslim ideology. Supporting Islam entails protecting Indonesia's sovereignty, state, and society (Natsir, 1957: 242-243).

Islam is a flexible religion that has proven its coherence since its inception during the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad SAW and continues to do so in modern times. Mohammad Natsir proposed the concept of theistic democracy, suggesting that the principles of Islam can coexist with secular laws based on reason, intuition, and experience. Islam then supplements these laws with its own revelation-based teachings (*wahyu*) (Fatwa, 2011: 246). Based on the concept of democracy, it is evident that Mohammad Natsir had no way to differentiate his ideas from religion and the holy principles he believed from the demographic Mohammad Natsir asserted that it is impossible for Muslims to separate themselves from politics. As individuals involved in politics, we are unwilling to deviate from our ideological beliefs, specifically Islam's ideology. In terms of ourselves, protecting Islam is inseparable from defending society, protecting the state, and protecting independence.

3.4. The Integration in Political Identity of Ummah according to Mohammad Natsir

Identity politics, influenced by political practices in different regions, is a global phenomenon that extends beyond local and national boundaries. Certain groups undoubtedly drive identity politics in each country and region, motivated by a desire for a better life, mutual comprehension, and a common destiny. The phenomenon has proliferated in tandem with the advancement of democracy in many regions around the world. Mohammad Natsir's involvement in supporting Islamic values within the Indonesian state system provides an indicator for the state of the Ummah, which shares a common identity. However, it is important to remember that this does not necessarily mean as a negative impact on Indonesia's unity and integrity. Identity politics, which revolves around the recognition of shared characteristics, frequently serves as the primary catalyst for political conflict, particularly in the context of power imbalances between dominant and subordinate groups or between majority and minority factions. In Indonesia, the prevailing liberal democratic belief, which reveres Pancasila above all else, views religion as a potential threat to the country's existing diversity, especially for religious minority groups (Lestari, 2018: 23).

Mohammad Natsir utilized the Masyumi party to promote the desires of the Ummah in spreading Islam's principles and perspectives to the larger society and to make sure individuals are not only liberated in a physical sense but also spiritually liberated through embracing the teachings of religion as a fundamental basis for their lives and identities, thus offering an overwhelming sense of purpose. According to Zahrotunnisa, the practice of politics of identity provides a significant threat to the true value of variety in Indonesia. Furthermore, she suggests that conflicts within the community are likely to persist. Identity politics has perverted the gradual development of national consciousness among the Indonesian people. Persistence in this situation could have a negative impact on the progress of developing Indonesia's identity, cohesion, and integrity. Recognizing and accepting the nation's multiculturalism establishes a sense of solidarity and integrity that strengthens the spirit of nationalism in all people (Zahrotunnimah, 2018: 104).

Despite these developments, Indonesia appeared as a participant nation in the promotion and encouragement of democracy and human rights. This contributed to the proliferation of identity politics, particularly in the aftermath of the regime change

from the new order to the old order. The sociocultural context of Indonesia, which is distinct from that of Europe, is an added factor that may account for the correlation between democracy and the rise of identity politics in the aftermath of the new order regime's downfall. Kuntowijoyo articulated the substance of human rights democracy, finding the following rights regulations (Kuntowijoyo, 1997: 117).

3.4.1. Ta'aruf (Knowing each other)

When we speak of ta'aruf, we are referring to dialogic communication in which no group is dominant over another. All individuals are expected to understand each other's interests for mutual comprehension. In a democracy, to prevent the violation of others' rights of others, all individuals must be aware of their common interests. Every person, through acquaintance, gets the same set of principles and standards as their fellow sentient beings on this planet. Furthermore, the provision of freedom for every individual serve as an additional indication of unrestricted support for human rights, which is crucial for the establishment of self-development that prevents colonization on the planet.

3.4.2. Shura (Deliberation)

In the principles of Islam's governance, shura, or deliberation, is a social and state principle that is an integral part of human existence. Deliberative institutions have the capacity to address all power-related issues. In addition, they should incorporate sharia-compliant principles into areas of governance, decision-making processes, and implementation strategies (Sukardja, 2012: 158). The deliberation system holds significant importance in the Prophet's implementation of state democracy prior to the Uhud war, which transpired in Makkah to combat the Quraysh infidels. During that period, prior to deciding whether to combat outside the city of Medina or remain within it, the Prophet engaged the Muslims in deliberation regarding the matter. Adherents of the faith conduct deliberation, ensuring it does not infringe upon the rights of God or His Messenger. Colonialism's protracted influence fragmented Islam, like the annals of Islam in Indonesia.

3.4.3. Ta'awun (Cooperation)

Talking about a political democracy, in accordance with the freedom that is not constrained by oppressive authority. The definition of Muslim democracy is a mechanism for fostering cooperation among citizens; it signifies "freedom for all,"

encompassing both economic and social freedom. The Indonesian nation is an individual and communal entity that progressively develops into one of the most robust and expansive political democracies. The notion of *Ta'awun* faces obstacles on a national level due to the evolution of the capitalist system and the global order. Pancasila appears as a practical alternative that holds the ability to ensure the smooth operation of the democratic system while eradicating economic dualism, nepotism, oligarchy, and oligopolies devoid of collusion and corruption. Therefore, the benefit of *Ta'awun* is its inherent propensity to promote mutual assistance in all good ways, particularly for those in material and moral need.

3.4.4. Maslahah (Benefit for Society)

When resolving issues related to Islam like the law of Islam, the soul, the intellect, progeny, and property, *Maslahah* serves as the fundamental principle. The divergent function of morals as a motivating factor that influences the organization and operation of state and national affairs. Putting community rights together with democratization is a duty that the sovereign must uphold because it gets around the limits set by social classes and doesn't care about the well-being of regular people when there isn't authoritarian authority.

3.4.5. 'Adl (Justice)

Productive justice and distributive justice are the two types of justice that support economic and social democracy, respectively, in a democratic society. Citizens are presumed to be entitled to compensation or welfare under the industrial concept, given that they have been, are, or will have been engaged in the production of society. The beneficiaries of distributive justice, which fulfills its function, are all citizens who fall into categories and are supported by the state in all manners. Employees of the respective company take part in productive justice, which is implemented by the organization itself through the distribution of ownership of its wealth. Because distributive justice is a possible goal within the capitalist system, transition societies place a premium on it. Pancasila holds that neither communism nor capitalism give social justice a high priority. Subsequently, the "Pancasilization" procedure ought to strive towards operational justice.

3.4.6. Taghyir (Transformation)

In essence, human beings are the subjects of history, not the universe, laws, or even gods. Cognizant individuals play a crucial role in effecting change. The goal of Indonesian history is to prove a Pancasila society, which gradually supersedes capitalist democracy until a paradigm shift occurs. Humans democratize incrementally and deliberately, even though everyone wishes change. There are three distinct types of change events: change that occurs gradually and methodically; change that occurs gradually; and change that occurs now.

Generally, the culture of a population is decided by the identity and tradition of its population in Indonesia. In Indonesia, many different cultures, traditions, and beliefs are currently widespread. According to Yeni Sri Lestari, Indonesia witnessed the emergence and consolidation of identity politics from the colonial era to independence. Sociopolitical similarities prevalent at the time could figure out the existence of identity politics during the implementation of state administration practices. Because of the identity relationship related to being a citizen of an independent nation, nationalism has become pervasive in contemporary society. During the period of colonialism in Indonesia, religion, in contrast to nationalism, formed the main measure of identity politics. The Indonesian people's constant struggle is inextricably linked to the Muslim-dominated Indonesian people's fight. As a result of the extensive Muslim struggle for Indonesian independence, a solid nationalistic sentiment has emerged; thus, Islam and nationalism can co-create a religious identity that is considered prominent within the state's system (Lestari, 2018: 22).

Muid Nawawi's perspective on the evolution of identity politics revolves around the visible consequences of demographic changes and rapidly evolving communication methods. According to Nawawi, this phenomenon has now escalated into a battle for dominance over different identities. Identity politics offers a mechanism that encourages unity within the Ummah rather than excluding individuals or groups with divergent perspectives. Identity politics serves as a critique of democracy. Irregularities arise when different identity forces compete for effect on behalf of their separate identities (Nawawi, 2019: 79-80). Political assumptions may produce a strong emotional impact on individuals, encouraging them to react strongly to offensive statements connected to their identity, even if those statements are not necessarily correct. The possibility for conflict in society arises from the utilization of political

identity methods by many people raises the possibility of conflict in society, which undermines the unity of the Ummah. The current interpretation of identity politics differs significantly from Mohammad Natsir's fundamental concept, which aimed to uphold Indonesia's national norms and principles as defined in the basic concept of Pancasila.

The practice of identity politics, shaped by democracy, has a positive impact that supports people's concerns. The significance of democracy depends on its ability to provide a stable and ideal framework for expressing ideas, ensuring freedom of expression, criticizing incorrect political systems and constitutions, promoting individual and social rights, and creating a sense of belief and activism among the people. The evaluation of identity politics extends beyond figuring out the presence of positive or negative norms or the presence of constructive or unconstructive elements. Identity politics tries to express and articulate a particular interest or concern. According to Sulaiman, within the domain of democracy, the sphere is forever accessible to all individuals who have a desire. Identity politics will continue to impact the political dynamics in society as long as the current system succeeds in adequately and impartially addressing the needs of different groups (Sulaiman, 2022: 192). Identity politics provides an instrument for the recognition and validation of a specific identity across society. Identity politics may increase the determination of individual community groups to assert their distinctiveness and preserve their existence.

Identity politics in Indonesia have developed and gained influence from the colonial era to independence. The sense of being equal citizens in a sovereign nation has led to a strong nationalist sentiment throughout the community, which manifests in their efforts to assert their identity within the framework of state governance. At that time, nationalism was not the primary criteria of identity politics in Indonesia. The dominance of Muslims among Indonesians has had a significant impact on the country's ongoing historical struggles. Muslims in Indonesia not only attempt to establish their religious identity as dominant in the state's order, but historical evidence demonstrates a longstanding coexistence and respectful interaction between nationalism and Islam in Indonesia. a to independence. The sense of being equal citizens in a sovereign nation has led to a strong nationalist sentiment throughout the community, which manifests in their efforts to assert their identity within the framework of state governance. At that time, nationalism was not the primary criteria

of identity politics in Indonesia. The dominance of Muslims among Indonesians has had a significant impact on the country's ongoing historical struggles. Muslims in Indonesia not only attempt to establish their religious identity as dominant in the state's order, but historical evidence demonstrates a longstanding coexistence and respectful interaction between nationalism and Islam in Indonesia.

3.5. The Relevance of Ummah and Mohammad Natsir Integral Motion in Indonesia

Mohammad Natsir's persistent attempts to defend the unity of the state of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) during the second Dutch invasion in 1948, through his extensive road shows across different regions of the Dutch colonial territory within the Republic of Indonesia, proved the individual as an obvious defender of the Republic of Indonesia. Mohammad Natsir's persistent efforts led to the widespread recognition of the "Mohammad Natsir Integral Motion." During an extensive journey, Mohammad Natsir conducted discussions with the leaders of the division states, encouraging them to reject the idea of a federal state set up by the Dutch and instead turn back to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as an independent and unified entity. Mohammad Natsir's great efforts to persuade the leaders of the Dutch-formed states through long journeys to different regions in the country provided favorable outcomes, as all states agreed to adopt the Integral Motion. Subsequently, Mohammad Natsir came to Jakarta with the purpose of convincing the parliamentary constituent council to approve his comprehensive idea.

An analysis of the political dynamics of Indonesia around the term of independence proves that the nation was the target of several violent interventions by those inside and outside. Preliminary dissolution is approaching because of two significant historical upheavals. The Darul Islam Movement/Indonesian Muslim Army (DI/TTII) was a pro Muslim movement that, from 1947 to 1962, struggled continuously to set up the Muslim state in Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which appeared in 1948 and 1965, was an added significant political movement that opposed religion and God. The instances of the PKI, the United States of America (USA), and the People's Republic of China (PRC) supported it, which gives it powerful influence. Islam and Natsir hold contrasting views on secularism. During the Constituent Assembly discussions, Mohammad Natsir conveyed to the Chairman of the general forum the imminent dissolution due to two significant historical upheavals. It is

necessary to determine whether to adhere to Islam, which is founded on God's sovereignty as the basis of the state, or to embrace secularism, which is based on human reason and the conviction that Allah SWT created humanity.

Mohammad Natsir highlighted the correlation between the expansion of atheism in Indonesia and secularism. During the contentious debate with Mohammad Natsir over the definition of ideology, Soekarno strongly advocated for the secularist concept proved by Kamal Attaturk in Turkiye. Instead, Mohammad Natsir attached the Islam's definition of ideology to Surah Az-Dzariyat verse 56:

وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونِ

"I did not create jinn and humans except to worship Me (Allah)" (Islam, 2024)

The objective for which Allah created jinn and humans and sent messengers is to call them to fulfill this mission. The goal is to worship Allah, which includes understanding Allah, harboring affection for Him, seeking His presence, and refraining from distractions. The attainment of these goals is contingent upon one's understanding of Allah, as the excellence of worship is predicated on knowledge and a holistic concept to Allah. As a servant's understanding of his master deepens, his worship will become increasingly flawless. The aim for which Allah created the jinn and humans is to load them with renege, and Allah did not create them out of necessity.

Mohammad Natsir argues that a Muslims existing in this world aspires to be the best servant of Allah by striving for achievement in this life and honor in the next. A Muslim in the realm between this world and the afterlife cannot separate from his ideology (Natsir, 1978: 46-47). Mohammad Natsir thoroughly clarified the concept of Muslim politics on multiple occasions. Islam encompasses more than its learning and practice of worship; it nonetheless addresses other aspects of human life that are precisely regulated in Muslim education, based on the fundamental principles of the Qur'an. The laws and principles given by Allah inherently integrate political life, social life, business, culture, and other aspects of society. Mohammad Natsir actively persuaded various levels of government in the Indonesian parliament in 1950 to exit the union state (RIS) set up by the Dutch and move towards the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), aligning with the proclamation signed on August 17, 1945. The parliament's support for Mohammad Natsir's efforts effectively removed the

Dutch's aspirations to keep sovereignty over Indonesia, leading to the straightforward establishment of the Republic of Indonesia.

Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion integrated significant national values and identity, providing a unifying force, and appealing to the diverse Indonesian population, which consists of many tribes, races, beliefs, ethnicities, and countries. Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion provides an important role in unifying and strengthening national unity by effectively transitioning from the federated Indonesian Republic (RIS) state system, which was set up by the Dutch colonists for their own interests, to the unitary state (NKRI). Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion encompasses national ideals and norms that possess the potential to enhance both national unity and the cohesion of cultural practices among different ethnic groups, eventually leading to a unified Indonesian custom and culture. The nation's unification efforts can lead to the automatic integration of its cultural norms of Mohammad Natsir.

“...In this context, I would like to propose the Integral motion to the government that is as follows: In the proceedings held on April 3, 1950, the Provisional House of Representatives of the United Republic of Indonesia recognized the pressing necessity of a comprehensive and pragmatic resolution to the repercussions of the rapid political developments of the past. Noting: The House of Representatives' motions and the voices of the people from the various regions as the conduit for these people's voices to dissolve the Dutch-made regions and incorporate them into the Republic of Indonesia...” (trans.) (Natsir, 1978: 8).

Mohammad Nasir emphasizes the urgent need for a comprehensive resolution to address the rapid political changes in Indonesia. He highlights that the Provisional House of Representatives recognized the importance of listening to the voices of the people from various regions. This included a push to dissolve the regions created by Dutch colonial rule and fully integrate them into the Republic of Indonesia, reflecting the people's desire for unity and self-determination. Mohammad Natsir's Integral motion serves as a call to action for the government to prioritize the aspirations of the populace in shaping the nation's future.

Indonesia as the countries of the archipelago played a crucial role in shaping with historical trajectory, leading to the establishment of the Republic as a unified nation.

During the colonization endeavors of foreign nations such as Europe and Asia, which subsequently gained independence and formed sovereign territories. Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion exists currently with the purpose of actualizing and reinforcing the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This gets evident when considering the historical development of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, which suffered through several periods of colonial occupation, declaration, colonial reestablishment, and the Dutch created union state concept that reached its status as a unitary state solidified by Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion. Hence, Islam's struggle for the advancement and progress of the Ummah globally, and Indonesia specifically, and for the Ummah as an entire community.

The purpose and vision of Mohammad Natsir's integral motion aim to advance the welfare of the ummah while implementing the existence of religion as the moral foundation of the nation in directing good politics and the pursuit of the people's welfare, rather than focusing exclusively on the existence of one religion. This means the entire Indonesian nation benefits from the general unity of the whole nation. While it had the largest Muslim majority, the Indonesian Ummah consisted of only 90% of the population at the beginning of independence, contrasting with other religions. Following the verses *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* "Indonesian Unity" and the value of diversity (different but still one) promoted in *Pancasila*, it is essential for non-Muslims to be granted security and welfare without regard to their religion, ethnicity, race, or faith, as dedicated Muslims. Based on a substantial quantity of evidence indicating that when Islam unifies, non-Muslim adherents can coexist in peace, tranquility, prosperity, and protection, it implements that the notion of Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion is additionally fundamental to the nation and state (from RIS to NKRI), but it must also be fundamental to Islam.

Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion, which aimed to set up a unified Indonesian state, represents an additional dimension of the Ummah's efforts to promote Islam within the framework of a *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (mercy for all the worlds) ideology. Mohammad Natsir never separated between believers of various faiths, including Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Konghuchu, and others. However, Mohammad Natsir proposed a unitary state for the entire nation of diverse religions. The Ummah principle, set forth by Mohammad Natsir to achieve unity and integrity for the entire Indonesian population, strengthens with the presence of a Muslim identity upholding

Islam's values and standards in every aspect of the nation and homeland. Subsequently, the Integral Motion of Mohammad Natsir appeared, which advocated for equal opportunity for non-Muslims on an international and state level, ensuring that Muslims never discredit them while in power and authority in the Republic of Indonesia.

Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion strategically aims to foster unity among the ummah within the jurisdiction of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Maintaining ideology is a challenging endeavor for Islam, even though it is an obligation because Islam promotes peace, justice, harmony, and a vision that benefits Muslims and non-Muslims. Hence, the conflict between Islam and Muslim ideology forms an inseparable perspective, given that one of the aims and targets of the Muslim struggle is to ensure the continuing existence of Muslim ideology as a religion of *rahmatan lil 'alamin*, a claim that is proved by global experience and granted by Allah SWT. It is critical to ensure that the Ummah, nation, and state continue to exist by sharia provisions, as this is the primary factor influencing the transmission of the system to future generations of nations and religions.

The presence of obstacles related to Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion affects the Ummah's comprehension and awareness of the historical context surrounding its establishment, particularly the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The Ummah's insufficient comprehension regarding the occurrences mentioned in Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion is inexorably connected to the implementation of the two regimes that formerly dominated the nation where Mohammad Natsir sacrificed for independence. Soekarno and Soeharto served as the first and second presidents of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, an entity proved by Natsir. Thus, Soekarno imprisoned Mohammad Natsir, and the Masyumi party, which he had governed throughout, was dissolved. Mohammad Natsir had previously been banned from leaving the country by Soeharto, even though it was for personal reasons.

This perspective prevents the Indonesian populace from understanding the historical context of Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion, although it was instrumental in liberating the Indonesian people from Dutch colonial rule. In 1948, when the Dutch tried to reclaim control of this nation during their second aggression and were unsuccessful in confronting the colonizers, they established states under their authority to form the United Republic of Indonesia. Subsequently, Mohammad Natsir proposed

the Integral Motion, which looked to attract the support of members of parliament from different groups and political parties to restore the Republic of Indonesia to the status of its 1945 proclamation as a unitary state (Adan, 2016: 133). Several factors contributed to the Ummah misinformation about Mohammad Natsir's integral motion:

- a. The insufficient number of books discussing Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion makes it difficult to find references to the research's history and function; so, neither the Ummah well as society have an advanced knowledge of Natsir's Integral Motion.
- b. Regarding the historical description of the Integral Motion, no longer have the Indonesian government or the Minister of Education published a national curriculum. In general, history guidelines discuss topics that include the period preceding Indonesia's independence, the period following the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia, and the nation's next period of development. Systematically providing students with these historical materials, the nation-building and historical comprehension aims of the educational institution are carried out. Even though it played a significant role in the history of the establishment of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, the government does not include knowledge of the historical significance of Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion in the historical education curriculum.
- c. There is a lack of interest among the Indonesian people in reading historical texts. A minority of the population disregards historical literature due to a lack of understanding of history's essence. The interest in reading about Indonesian history remains comparatively insignificant.
- d. The historical education of Indonesian society is generally insufficient, particularly for individuals with limited educational backgrounds. Non-students receive sporadic and insufficient historical education, resulting in a lack of community understanding, particularly concerning Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion.

The public's interest in history is decreasing. The lack of interest or concern that individuals have for history affects their understanding of the subject; whether the concern refuses to be directly resolved, it will affect their sense of nationalism (Kertapati, 2019).

A certain amount of the Ummah lacks comprehensive information about the conception of Muslim politics. In contrast to Muslim politics, which condemns such behavior and advocates for authority through moral methods, the ummah exclusively sees power-seeking legislators engaging in contested political practices. Ethical considerations hold priority over material gains in Muslim politics. In fact, Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion is a prime example of strategy in Muslim politics. Political harmony between Ummah and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia will become prominent when Muslim political parties can exist effectively in Indonesia. In the absence of Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion, the Union state system would have likely suffered, as the Dutch might have certainly re-colonized the Independent Indonesian state. Thus, through the integral motion that increases the value of Ummah unity, Muslims may find it challenging to positively implement Islam's values in the nation and state of Indonesia.

Mohammad Natsir endeavored to preserve Indonesia's unity during a pivotal period in its history. His late 1940s efforts were pivotal in countering Dutch attempts to disintegrate the newly independent Republic of Indonesia. After their initial expulsion from Indonesia, the Dutch returned in 1948 with the objective of reestablishing power and reorganizing the nation into a federal state, which they believed would facilitate governance and align more closely with their interests. This federal structure aimed to weaken the Indonesian Republic's cohesion by establishing multiple semi-autonomous republics under Dutch rule. Mohammad Natsir, dedication to the unity of Indonesia prompted him to undertake a comprehensive travel throughout the Dutch-controlled territory. His purpose was unequivocal: to convince the leaders of the disparate republics established by the Dutch to repudiate the federal model and reassert their loyalty to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

Mohammad Natsir, via his wide travels and compelling rhetoric, successfully garnered substantial support for the Integral Motion, a movement focused on reinstating the unity of the Republic of Indonesia. His endeavors culminated in a substantial political triumph when the leaders of the federal states consented to revert to the unitary state model. Mohammad Natsir's mission reached a pivotal juncture upon his return to Jakarta to make his case before the Indonesian parliamentary constituent council. His effective bargaining and persuasion led to the acceptance of the unitary state model and the dismissal of the Dutch's proposed federal state framework.

The Integral Motion's success was pivotal in securing Indonesian independence and forming a unified, sovereign Republic of Indonesia. Mohammad Natsir's commitment and strategic initiatives were important in influencing the political framework of the nascent sovereign nation, hence securing its stability and cohesion. Mohammad Natsir's Integral Motion is relevant to the contemporary politics of the Ummah. The existence of Mohammad Natsir's integral motion is a contributing factor to the value of Ummah unity. The Ummah has the capacity to unite and advocate for the implementation of Islam's values in the NKRI state. Furthermore, Ummah can strive to implement specific Islamic laws in Indonesia in a positive impact. The Indonesian nation allowed Muslims to advocate for the implementation of specific Islamic values they deemed beneficial.



CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The Ummah represents a socio-political construct aimed at fostering unity among Muslims while balancing worldly and spiritual matters, as articulated by Mohammad Natsir, who advocated for a Muslim democracy that integrates religious principles with governance. This vision emphasizes justice, social cohesion, and the importance of education in addressing contemporary challenges faced by the Muslim community. Mohammad Natsir's approach reflects a strategy where social control mechanisms through the alignment of policies with societal values and the promotion of beneficial initiatives can effectively reinforce social support. This strategy leverages cultural and religious values to enhance the legitimacy and acceptance of government actions, ultimately contributing to societal welfare.

Mohammad Natsir, a prominent figure in Indonesian history, was instrumental in implementing Islam's values within Indonesia's political framework. Mohammad Natsir a prominent scholar and leader of the Masyumi Party, advanced the notion that Islam's principles should influence the country's governance and societal norms. A variety of Muslim political movements and parties perpetuate his legacy by persistently advocating for the integration of Islamic values into modern Indonesian politics. Undoubtedly, a significant aspect of Indonesian society is the concept of Ummah, referring to the global community of Muslims united by their faith. It creates a sense of shared identity and purpose among Indonesian Muslims, which frequently results in a collaborative endeavor to resolve social, political, and economic issues. This unity is a powerful force that is changing the nation's sociopolitical landscape. In the diversified society of Indonesia, the interplay between Islamic values and the broader political framework presents both challenges and opportunities. The emphasis on Islamic principles can foster a robust sense of community and ethical governance.

Conversely, the harmonious coexistence of these principles with the need for pluralism and inclusion in a multi-religious society necessitates meticulous negotiation. Looking forward, there are opportunities for collaboration and dialogue that respect Indonesia's diverse demographic while upholding the values that Mohammad Natsir and others have championed. The establishment of more inclusive and cooperative governance, through endeavors to bridge the gap between Muslim ideals and broader societal

requirements, reflects the complex yet harmonious nature of Indonesia's national identity.

Pancasila, meaning "Five Principles," provides the foundational ideology of Indonesia. Mohammad Natsir's endorsement of Pancasila stemmed from his recognition of its ability to combine Indonesia's heterogeneous populace into a single national framework while simultaneously permitting the observance of Islam. Mohammad Natsir endorsed Pancasila as a comprehensive political approach to balance his Islam's principles with the practical demands of managing a diverse and pluralistic nation. He aimed to establish a compromise that would honor Muslim beliefs while engaging in the Indonesian republic's political structure by adopting Pancasila. Mohammad Nasir had a multifaceted interaction with Indonesia's political views. Despite his initial support for the concept of a Muslim state and his fervent support for Muslim ideas, he ultimately adopted Pancasila as Sukarno's official ideology.

The Masyumi party, founded in Indonesia in 1945, was indeed a significant political force, particularly in the context of the country's post-colonial development and its struggle to define its identity and governance. Here's how the party aligned with the purposes you mentioned:

1. Religious Purpose: Masyumi aimed to integrate Islam's principles into Indonesia's political and social fabric. The party's leadership, including Natsir, believed that Islam should guide both personal conduct and state policy. This meant advocating for laws and social norms that reflected Islam's teachings and values, helping individuals find a sense of purpose through their faith.

2. Statehood Purpose: The party sought to influence the formation and governance of the newly independent Indonesian state, advocating for an Islamic-based government system. Masyumi leaders envisioned a state where Islam's principles would play a central role in shaping policies and governance, thereby aligning state structures with their religious beliefs.

3. Nationality Purpose: Masyumi also focused on fostering a national identity rooted in Islam's values. The party aimed to strengthen national unity and coherence by promoting the link between being Indonesian and being Muslim. This included efforts to ensure that national policies and cultural practices resonated with Muslim principles,

thereby giving Indonesians a sense of purpose and identity that was both national and religious.

Masyumi's approach was to intertwine religious belief with state and national identity, striving to create a society where Muslim principles provided a comprehensive framework for personal and collective life. The Masyumi Party was essential in the early development of Indonesian democracy, promoting the incorporation of Muslim ideas within a democratic structure. Political repression and later shifts in the political landscape led to a decline in its direct influence, but today, we acknowledge its contributions to early democratic processes and its impact on Muslim political thinking in Indonesia.

The perspective of Natsir on democracy and shura is indicative of an advanced understanding of the ways in which traditional Islam's concepts can interact with contemporary political systems. The principle of shura, which is defined as mutual deliberation or discussion, is a critical component of Islam's governance. It emphasizes the importance of collective decision-making and communication among authorities and the community. Natsir's interpretation of democracy as comparable to shura emphasizes the adaptability of the shura concept, indicating that it can be in accordance with democratic principles. Within this framework, we can interpret democracy's emphasis on deliberation, representation, and participation as complementary to Shura's principles of collective decision-making and consultation. This interpretation, which embraces democratic principles, enables a form of democracy that upholds Islam's values.

The notion of "theistic democracy" further refines this concept by emphasizing that democratic processes are significant, but they should be based on the principles of sharia (Islamic law). This method promotes a democratic system based on divine principles, ensuring that governance is consistent with Islam's teachings. It aims to establish a system that is respectful of both democratic ideals and religious values, thereby balancing the necessity of upholding religious principles with democratic functioning. The ideal democratic system, according to this perspective, is one that operates in a transparent and inclusive manner while adhering to the ethical and legal regulations of sharia. This equilibrium enables a dynamic and adaptable governance model that aims to balance democratic engagement with religious adherence.

Muhammad Natsir's concept of theistic democracy indeed offers a distinctive approach to governance that blends democratic principles with Islam's teachings. Natsir, an influential Indonesian Muslim thinker and politician, proposed a model that aims to harmonize democratic values with the ethical and legal framework provided by Islam.

Mohammad Natsir's political views provided a substantial contribution to the evolution of Muslim political thought in Indonesia post independence. He emphasized that the state is an instrument for the implementation of Islam's values rather than an objective in itself. His pragmatic approach within the current political framework underscores the necessity for inclusive strategies in political transformation, emphasizing the intricacies of incorporating Muslim principles into contemporary governance.

The concept of Ummah in Indonesia is a collective Muslim identity that reflects the application of Islam's values in ensuring the nation's independence. Through developing a community that is in accordance with the principles of Islam, this shared identity encourages mutual support and cooperation among individuals. In order to reinforce social cohesion and strive for a just and prosperous society, Indonesian Muslims can unite to pursue common goals by acknowledging Ummah as a vital political identity. In addition to fortifying individual faith, this symbiosis also fortifies national integrity, establishing a basis for a prosperous state that is a reflection of Muslim principles.

Mohammad Natsir firmly correlated his political identity with the concept of Ummah, symbolizing the global Muslim community. He advocated for the development of a reliable Muslim identity that transcended national boundaries, thereby fostering unity among Muslims. Advocating for the integration of Muslim principles into social life and governance, his vision included both spiritual and political aspects. Mohammad Natsir's work also highlighted the significance of education and social reform within the Islam's framework. He was an important figure in the discourse regarding the role of Islam in Indonesia's national identity, promoting a harmonious balance between traditional Islam's values and modernity. In summary, his devotion to Islam, his conviction regarding the significance of the Ummah, and his aspiration for an Indonesia that would embrace its Islamic heritage while also integrating modernity influenced by Mohammad Natsir's political identity.

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