

Soekarno's Political Attitude Towards the Masjumi Party 1957-1960 as a Learning Resource for History SubjectsZaini Muslim Ahmad¹**Abstract**

The purpose of this study was (1) to understand the political attitudes of Sukarno in overcoming political gridlock, (2) to understand the Party's attitude towards Soekarno Masjumi during Guided Democracy, (3) to know Masyumi's reaction to changes in Sukarno 'ss political attitudes. The research method is the historical method, which goes through the steps of heuristic, source criticism, interpretation, and writing of history or historiography. The results of the study concluded the following: (1) Soekarno's attitude in overcoming political gridlock was by issuing a Presidential Decree that was declared on July 5, 1959, back to 1945; the decree is also the starting point to show the passing of Sukarno's Guided Democracy as an authoritarian leader. (2) Party Masjumi, considered by Soekarno as a counterrevolutionary group, often gets 'castration of politics" and is finally dissolved by Presidential Decree No 7/1959 and Presidential Decree No.200/1960. (3) Party Masjumi responds to the changing political attitudes of Soekarno by always showing opposition to Sukarno's measures, policies, and leadership.

Keywords: *Soekarno's political attitudes, Masjumi Party*

Introduction

The world of politics is a world that struggles with the interests of power. There are many ways to gain or maintain power, from building coalition relationships to eliminating enemies considered dangerous. In the eyes of politicians, the assessment between partners and enemies could be more specific because everything can only be seen based on interests. An anonymous expression states that there are no eternal friends or enemies in politics but only eternal interests. This is also reflected in the political relationship between President Soekarno and the Masyumi Party. The Masyumi Party's close relationship with President Soekarno slowly began to weaken in early 1957, when President Soekarno took a change in orientation in assessing the running of the multiparty system in Indonesia, explicitly conveying his desire to establish one state party and bury the other parties (Suryanegara, 2010, p. 366). Soekarno considered the presence of multi-parties in the realm of Indonesian democracy to be a party disease, a disease that was worse than tribal and regional feelings, a disease that Soekarno indicated was causing the nation to

¹ *Prospective Teacher, Universitas Negeri Semarang , Zainimuslim200@gmail.com*

We always scratched each other (Karim, 1983, p. 140). Responding to the president's statement, Mohammad Natsir emphasized that as long as democracy still exists, so long will parties continue to exist (Noer, 1987, p. 354)

Method

The method used in this research is a historical method that examines and critically analyzes records and relics of the past (Wardah, 2014). This method solves problems by using data or relics of the past to understand events that occurred and to reconstruct past events imaginatively (Gottschalk, 1984, p. 18). The stages of the historical research method are as follows: Heuristics is an activity of collecting traces of the past (Alian, 2012). Source Criticism is assessing, testing, or selecting historical traces to obtain correct, original, and relevant sources to the discussed study (Sanusi, 2013). Interpretation is the stage for interpreting historical facts and comparing one fact with another to determine the meaning of the facts obtained to answer existing problems (Puji, 2015). Historiography is the process of synthesizing facts or the process of telling a series of facts in a historically critical, analytical, and scientific written form based on the facts that have been obtained.

Results and Discussion

Liberal democracy provides space for the dominant role of political parties in regulating government running due to the fragmentation of political parties in each cabinet based on coalitions that revolve around one or two large parties with several small parties (Azizah, 2014). However, in reality, the coalitions that are built are often less stable, and the political parties in the coalition do not hesitate to withdraw their support at any time, so the cabinet often falls due to cracks in the coalition itself (Hakiki, 2011). Even worse, political gridlock did not only occur in the parliament but also spread to the Constituent Assembly, namely that the members of the political parties who were members of the Constituent Assembly were unable to reach a consensus regarding the foundations of the state and the new constitution (Budiardjo, 1989, p. 70) The total number of members of the Constituent Assembly was 542 people, but not a single faction managed to reach two-thirds of that number to fulfill the procedures for establishing a valid Constitution. Pancasila, Islam, and Social Economy are the three names proposed as the future foundations of the Republic of Indonesia. Seeing political realities like this, Soekarno did not just stand idly by while cursing the situation.

As a person who claims that only he can give greatness to the Indonesian nation. Soekarno insisted on finding a solution to the existing political gridlock. Through the concept of

Guided Democracy, he criticized liberalistic Western Democracy, which made it unable to form a strong government that Indonesia needed to build the course of the revolution (Indrajat, 2016). Soekarno explicitly stated: The democracy that I desire for Indonesia is not a liberal democracy like that found in Western Europe. No! What I want for Indonesia is a guided democracy, a democracy with leadership. Guided democracy, guided democracy, something that is led, is still a democracy (Karim, 1983 , p. 141).

With the party system, we experience total gridlock. That is not healthy; it must be completely overhauled. This disease causes us always to scratch each other. Therefore, we bury all parties together (Karim, 1983, pp. 140-141). President Soekarno's statement received sharp criticism from Natsir, General Chair of the Masyumi Party, who replied: As long as democracy still exists, so long will the parties continue to exist, with or without government decisions. As long as there is party freedom, democracy will be upheld. If democracy is buried, democracy will automatically be buried, and over the grave, only dictators will rule (Noer, 1987, p. 354). According to the Masyumi Party, democracy is not just a way that can be changed at any time according to circumstances; democracy is a way or outlook on life. While responding to the political gridlock that hit parliament and the Constituent Assembly, the Masyumi Party thinks that implementing democracy is sometimes difficult and requires experience. It must also go through various trials, which are sometimes bitter. Therefore, the Masyumi Party does not blame the Liberal Democracy or multiparty system but instead emphasizes self-correction by political party figures who cause political gridlock. For this reason, Natsir emphasized That one of the conditions for democracy is that its supporters must use the party as a tool according to reasonable rules and that these supporters must honestly uphold the valuable values in life. Do not use tools instead as goals by trampling on life values (Noer, 1987, p. 354). Even though it received criticism from several parties, the idea of Guided Democracy was still embodied in the Presidential Concept, which was announced on February 21, 1957.

Concept In principle, the President contains three main things in it. First, a new leadership style and government system will be introduced, known as the Guided Democracy system. Second, proposing the formation of a cooperation cabinet that includes all party representatives in parliament, including the PKI. Third, the formation of a National Council comprised most functional groups (Sjamsuddin (ed), Chusnul Mar`iyah, 1988, p. 176). The President's conception then gave rise to pros and cons; parties such as PNI, PKI, Baperki 4, and Murba immediately supported it through printed statements, general meetings, sending delegations, etc. Meanwhile, religious parties, such as the Masyumi Party, NU Party, PSII,

and the Catholic Party, rejected it because they considered that the conception touched on fundamental problems related to the constitutional structure, which should be the authority of the Constituent Assembly (Rosidi, 2011, p. 199). The Guided Democracy regime made Soekarno finally conclude that steps to remove the Masyumi Party from the Indonesian political map must be prepared immediately. Soekarno felt the need to use "constitutional legal" methods and a little mixture of justifications from "revolutionary logic" to get rid of the party because, after all, the Masyumi Party was the largest Islamic party, which had the potential for sensitivity if it dissolved the party using methods that had no constitutional umbrella over it. At the end of the year, namely on December 31, 1959, President Soekarno issued Presidential Decree No.7/1959. This presidential decree is more directed at steps to get rid of the Masyumi Party.

This is indicated in Article 9, which states that the President, after hearing the opinion of the Supreme Court, can ban or dissolve a party that is carrying out a rebellion because its leaders participated in it or provided assistance. In contrast, the unofficial party blamed the actions of its members (Sjamsuddin (ed) Chusnul Mariyah, 1988, p. 198-199). The issuance of this Presidential Decree is a kind of time bomb for the Masyumi Party because after previously not being involved in the Working Cabinet, DPA, and National Planning Council, now the existence of the Masyumi Party in the national political arena is under threat. On the other hand, Soekarno also formed a revolutionary logic which he used to eliminate the existence of the Masyumi Party, namely by opposing the Masyumi Party's rejection of Nasakom's ideas towards the loss of loyalty to the principles and goals of the state, namely Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Soekarno stated: Who agrees with Pancasila must agree with Nasakom; Whoever does not agree with Nasakom does not agree with Pancasila! Now I add: Whoever agrees with the 1945 Constitution must agree with Nasakom; whoever does not agree with Nasakom does not agree with the 1945 Constitution (Ma'arif, 1996, p. 104). The Masyumi Party expressed its rejection of Nasakom's ideas using logic. The revolution above was indirectly brought to bear on the criteria as stipulated in Chapter IX Article 9 of Presidential Decree No.7/1959, namely attitudes contrary to the state's principles and objectives.

Beginning in 1960, the parliamentary conflict with Soekarno came to the surface when the parliament strongly opposed the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget Plan (RAPBN) proposed by the government (Pratiwi, 2016). The Masyumi Party and PSI were provocateurs in the boycott of the RAPBN. Soekarno did not lose his mind in carrying out all his intentions, with the consideration that as long as the composition of the parliament was not sterilized from opposition elements or, in other words, was not Nasakomized, then during that

time, the government's policies would be hampered (Hermayati, 2012). So it was based on these considerations that Soekarno took the position in conveying his will to ratify the RAPBN by taking the harsh method of dissolving parliament based on the results of the 1955 elections (Soyomukti, 2010, p. 159). On March 5, 1960, President Soekarno issued Presidential Decree No.3/1960 concerning the dissolution of the DPR due to the 1955 general election (Budhiati, 2013). The president's reason for dissolving this government institution was on the basis that the DPR resulting from the 1955 general election did not fulfill the expectations of mutual assistance to the government and was not by the spirit and spirit of the 1945 Constitution, Guided Democracy and the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia dated 17 August 1945. This was because of the current composition of the DPR, Which resulted from the 1950 UUDS.

On July 21, 1960, President Soekarno invited figures from the Masyumi Party to the Bogor Palace. The following week, the meeting continued again at the Merdeka Palace, namely to fulfill the president's invitation, who asked for written answers to the questions asked by the president to the Masyumi Party. in connection with the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 7/1959, which was promulgated at the end of 1959. Apart from the Masyumi Party, three PSI figures were invited to address the same problem (Siregar, 2013). The delegation from the Masyumi Party was represented by General Chairman Prawoto Mangkusasmito and General Secretary Yunan Nasution (Ghazali et al., 1998; Haidar, 2013). Relying on the results of summoning representatives of the Masjumi Party to the palace and seeing from their attitude, they continued to argue strongly against the government. Soekarno considered the Masjumi Party to be nothing more than a stubborn force that would only hinder the course of the Indonesian revolution.

According to Soekarno's revolutionary logic, Masyumi no longer deserved to live and had to be sacrificed for the sake of the revolution (Ma`arif, 1996, p. 54). Right on the day of the celebration of the anniversary of independence, namely 17 August 1960, based on Presidential Decree No. 7/1959 Article 9, coupled with the stipulation of Presidential Decree No. 200/1960, which in its consideration stated that in the interests of the safety of the state and nation, it was necessary to disband the Masyumi Party because the party had committed rebellion. The government decided to disband the Masjumi Party, including its sections/branches/branches throughout the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. This attitude of self-dissolution takes into consideration all the consequences that must be faced if the Masyumi Party remains steadfast in its refusal to disband itself, namely that it could result in massive arrests of members and sympathizers of the Masyumi Party throughout the

country, and this does not guarantee that there will be no physical resistance. So, with a big heart, to protect the people's safety from more risky harm, the Masyumi Party on September 13 decided to disband itself (Sumanto, 2016).

Conclusion

In Guided Democracy, Soekarno did not provide the slightest space for the Masyumi Party to be involved in government. Masyumi Party representatives were not included in the Working Cabinet, DPA, and National Department, then followed by Soekarno's action in dissolving the DPR as a result of the 1955 Election in March 1960 and the announcement of the formation of the GR DPR in June 1960 in which not a single Masyumi Party representative was included as a member. DPR. The climax was that the most prominent Islamic Party ultimately had to be dissolved through Presidential Decree No.7/59 and Presidential Decree No.200/60. This was more due to his persistence in fighting for democratic rights against a tyrannical system and as a consequence of the attitude of his leaders, who always showed vocal opposition to Sukarno. Even though it was finally disbanded, the Masyumi Party has left behind an example of an *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* attitude, which is always consistently implemented by taking all the risks it faces.

Reference

- Alian, A. (2012). Metodologi Sejarah Dan Implementasi Dalam Penelitian. *Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Kajian Sejarah (Criksetra)*, 2(2).
- Anwar Sanusi, A. S. (2013). Pengantar Ilmu Ilmu Sejarah.
- Azizah, N. (2014). Dilema Demokrasi Liberal: Hambatan Normatif, Institusional Dan Praktikal Dalam Pemberlakuan Kuota Perempuan Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 2(2), 184-197.
- Budhiati, I. (2013). Quo Vadis Demokrasi Prosedural Dan Pemilu: Sebuah Refleksi Teoritis. *Masalah-Masalah Hukum*, 42(2), 268-273.
- Budiardjo, Miriam. 1989. *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta: Pt Gramedia.
- Ghazali, Z., Riama, E., & Said, Y. (1998). *Tokoh Pemikir Paham Kebangsaan Prawoto Mangkusasmito, Wilopo, Ahmad Subarjo*. Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan.
- Haidar, F. (2013). *Prawoto Mangkusasmito Dalam Perjuangan Politik Di Indonesia (1945-1970)* (Doctoral Dissertation, Universitas Negeri Jakarta).
- Hakiki, P. (2011). Sistem Pemerintahan Pada Masa Demokrasi Liberal Tahun 1949-1959.

Harian Suara Merdeka, Edisi Jum'at 30 Juli 1959

Hermayati, N. F. (2012). *Upaya Nasakomisasi Tni-Ad Dan Dampaknya Pada Situasi Politik Indonesia Tahun 1960-1967* (Doctoral Dissertation, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia).

Indrajat, H. (2016). Demokrasi Terpimpin Sebuah Konsepsi Pemikiran Soekarno Tentang Demokrasi. *Sosiologi: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Ilmu Sosial Dan Budaya*, 18(1), 53-62.

Karim, Rusli. 1983. *Perjalanan Partai Politik Di Indonesia, Sebuah Potret Pasang Surut*. Jakarta : Cv Rajawali.

Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia No. 75. 1959, Tentang Dekrit Presiden Republik Indonesia Kembali Kepada Undang-Undang Dasar 1945

Maarif, Ahmad Syafii.1996. *Islam Dan Politik ; Teori Belah Bambu Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin (1959-1965)*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press.

Noer, Deliar. 1987. *Partai Islam Di Pentas Nasional 1945-1965*. Jakarta: Grafiti Pers.

Pratiwi, S. E. (2016). Pembubaran Partai Politik Di Indonesia Pada Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin. *Avatar, E-Journal Pendidikan Sejarah*, 4(3).

Puji, R. P. N., & Ahmad, A. R. (2015). Gaya Belajar Dan Kemahiran Pemikiran Sejarah Dalam Pembelajaran Sejarah Di Peringkat Universitas. *Edusentris, Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Dan Pengajaran*, 2(3), 253-263.

Ricklefs, Mc. 2005 *.Sejarah Indonesia Modern*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press

Rosidi, Ajip. 2011. *Sjafruddin Prawiranegara Lebih Takut Kepada Allah Swt*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya

Siregar, I. F. (2013). Sejarah Pertumbuhan Dan Perkembangan Partai Masyumi (1945-1960). *Thaqafiyat: Jurnal Bahasa, Peradaban Dan Informasi Islam*, 14(1), 88-103.

Sjamsuddin, Nazaruddin (Ed). 1988. *Soekarno Pemikiran Politik Dan Kenyataan Praktek*. Jakarta: Cv Rajawali.

Soyomukti, N. (2010). *Soekarno Otoriter*. Yogyakarta: Garasi

Sumanto, A. (2016). Perkembangan Politik Partai Masyumi Pasca Pemilu 1955. *Risalah*, 1(3).

Suryanegara, Ahmad Mansyur. 2010. *Api Sejarah 2*. Bandung: Salamadani.

Wardah, E. S. (2014). Metode Penelitian Sejarah. *Tsaqofah*, 12(2), 165-175.Vbxn.

