

Modernization as the Basis for Democracy in Indonesia

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Abstract. The role of Islamic modernization as the basis of democracy in Indonesia. Against the backdrop of sensitive ethnic, linguistic, religious and geographic diversity, this country requires a wise approach to maintain unity and integrity. The author links democracy with the modernization of Islam, discusses the history of democracy in Islam, especially during the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, and links it to the concept of the caliphate. In the context of Indonesian democracy, research highlights restrictions on government action, tolerance, equality before the law, free elections, freedom of political parties, respect for people's rights, and respect for minority rights. This research criticizes the view that democracy only succeeds after an era of authoritarianism, while trying to raise public awareness about their role in maintaining democracy. The research discusses the risks of political Islamization in the democratic party in Indonesia. This is highlighted as a challenge to the modernization of Islam, where Islamic political parties are often misunderstood as sources of radicalism. However, research emphasizes that the modernization of Islam as a pillar of democracy must be directed at tolerance, social justice, and a positive relationship between Islamic religion and politics, without ignoring the risk of political Islamization which could damage democracy.

This research concludes that Indonesia needs a democratic approach based on Islamic modernization to achieve unity, tolerance and social justice. However, it is necessary to avoid the politicization of Islam which has the potential to damage stability and democracy.

Keywords: *Modernization, Democracy, Caliphate Concept*

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country that has many tribes, languages, tastes and religions. If you look at its geographical location, it also has thousands of islands. Indonesia's pluralism has the potential to be very sensitive in terms of friction between differences. If it is related to discussions in the Islamic religion, it teaches every Muslim community to maintain unity and unity, as well as brotherhood among others.

Indonesia is a country that adheres to a democratic system that has many religions, ethnicities and races that almost no other country has. This can be seen from the diversity of religions that exist and are recognized by Indonesia. However, what we need to be careful of is diversity that does not suppress the fanaticism of each group which will cause conflict between the nation's children. That this conflict between diversity will destroy the Indonesian state itself, because how can we compete with other countries if the people still don't care.

Muhammad Ardhi Razaq Abqa in the journal Actual Progressive Sociological Research gives the opinion that this can be properly monitored when the state system run by Indonesia is running well, namely a democratic system. Democracy according to Abraham Liclou is of the people, by the people, and for the people. Meanwhile, in general, democracy is a system used in several countries, including Indonesia. If we look at the history of democracy, which is a system of government for formulating policies carried out directly or indirectly, it is considered necessary to know how democracy is in several countries which can be said to be more advanced than Indonesia. (Muhammad Ardhi Razaq Abqa, 2020: 2-3)

Then, if democracy in Indonesia is linked to the modernization of Islam which was then developed into a pillar of democracy, it is necessary to first know the history of democracy in Islam, especially in policy and leadership elections. Historically, the Prophet Muhammad SAW was one of the perpetrators of democracy in Islam. This is proven by the formation of a system which was then compiled by Rasulullah SAW himself with the approval of the people present so that elements of democracy have existed for a long time. The system adopted was the caliphate system which was a system of state ideology that became positive law that was implemented at that time.

In realizing a social system that stands on equality to help each other, this is also part of Wasathiyah Islam. Public affairs can be formulated deliberatively and democratically. So that it is able to provide freedom of association and expression openly. Answering the social problems of the presence of religion will be a guideline for social change.

Harun Nasution explained that the caliphate as a democratic system used during the reign of the Prophet Muhammad SAW did not form a royal system, but the system was close to the short definition of democracy, namely of the people, by the people, and for the people. This can be seen from one of al-Rasyidin's khulafa, namely Abu Bakr, who was able to lead after the Prophet Muhammad SAW even though he had no blood relationship at all. (Zainuddin Ali, et al, 2017: 175-177)

The explanation above provides an illustration that since the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW the government system used has used a democratic system as in surah Al-mu'minun verse 52 as follows:

It means :

"Indeed, your Ummah is one Ummah, and I am your God, so fear Me." (QS Al-Mu'minun: 52)

Apart from that, in its history Islam used a system that was close to democracy, so in its development until now Islam has come with modernization in running a democratic state system, especially in Indonesia. In Islam, it is important to know that the concept of Islamic modernization is a moderate understanding of Islamic law with the mission of Islamic modernization being love that comes from rahmatan li-alamin.

In the context that the modernization of Islam leads to the unification of the Ummah with compassion. That compassion is meant to provide opportunities for all Muslims to be tolerant towards humanity. Of course, this is in line with the democracy used by Indonesia which uses love to create a democratic party whose results are beneficial for the community as the main actors in this democracy. The explanation above is what makes the author interested in developing Islamic modernization which seems to be included in the pillars of democracy and explains in detail the meaning of the pillars of democracy itself.

2. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Islamic Modernization in Indonesia

Khalid Rahman (2020) in social life in people of different religions also teaches us to keep doing good deeds. Social relations more broadly still uphold human honor. Various kinds of problems that hit the entire nation require change. Furthermore, Umi Sumbulah wrote that religious moderation/wasathiyah is understood by all levels of society in maintaining harmonious relations.

modernization means flexibility in the understanding of Islam and support for peaceful, tolerant, harmonious living, as well as recognition of minority communities. It is known that understanding Islamic modernization is a very interesting concept in Indonesia and even in the Islamic world. The modernization of Islam that has entered Indonesia is the right way to avoid burdening Indonesia with internal rebellions and threats. (Achmad Mukafi Niam: 29)

This was done as a form of effort to overcome radicalism and extremism in many Muslim countries, which will ultimately destroy religion and national and state life. So that in the future the state will no longer be used as an excuse for conflict. This modernization has been practiced in Indonesia which can be seen from 3 perspectives: (Masykuri Abdillah, 25 September 2019: 35-36)

1. Tolerance between citizens.
2. Accommodating to the state ideology and democratic system.
3. World development life.

In this understanding, it will realize the mission of Islamic modernization as explained previously and then strengthened by the content of the Al-Qur'an in surah Al-Anbiya verse 107 as follows:

It means :

"And we did not send you (Muhammad) but to (be) a mercy to all the worlds." (QS Al-Anbiya: 107).

The words of Allah SWT above explain that the modernization of Islam is on track to be practiced in Indonesia because of such a noble mission. If it is interesting from history that Islam in Indonesia is associated with an intolerant country because in history when many young people and children wanted to learn Islam it actually caused divisions, but the side that is not visible in history is that intolerance is only a small part in Indonesia. quite high tolerance, such as freeing up religious choices when Islam came, even though there were still some individuals who created divisions. (Michael Laffan, 2015: 248-249)

After reviewing that the modernization of Islam in Indonesia has a timely presence so that divisions between religious communities can be stopped, although it does not stop completely, but with the modernization of Islam which upholds tolerance as one of the main missions of the modernization itself. Religious modernization also brings justice because after tolerance it will definitely produce justice and

prevent religious people from selling verses of the Koran, as well as slandering fellow religious people. As Allah SWT says below:

It means :

"And believe in what (the Qur'an) I have sent down which confirms what (the Torah) is with you and do not be the first to disbelieve in Him. Do not sell the verses of the Qur'an cheaply and fear only Me." (QS Al-Baqarah: 41)

It means :

"And do not obey anyone who likes to swear and likes to insult." (QS Al-Qalam: 10)

From the two surahs above, it can be concluded that the impact of Islamic Modernization in Indonesia has brought many changes to Indonesian society, especially in the way of life as good citizens. Broader tolerance will bring goodness to all religious communities without abandoning traditions that are in line with Islamic teachings, including democracy which must be continuously accompanied to create a good democratic party.

Khamam (2022) the attitude of tolerance in the Medina charter has principles and aims to maintain, regulate the harmonization of human relations in togetherness which has been exemplified in Islam such as: forgiving prisoners, praying for hypocrites and giving forgiveness to the Kafirs who have expelled them. Tolerance in Islam is prohibited if associated with theological matters.

The modernization of Islam was also born from the lack of tolerance in Indonesia, where in this country tolerance should be born well. This is because many religious people, especially Muslims, always judge when there are different sects and this will always carry over to the momentum of the democratic party. Tolerance in Indonesia will end up being discriminatory if it is not prevented first, because the country will run peacefully if there is no division. Even though there are differences, don't let that lead to division, but that is what leads to unity.

B. Democratic System in Indonesia

The democratic system in Indonesia is one of the basic values of state life, which means that democracy in Indonesia is the heart of the government system in Indonesia. One of the democratic practices carried out in the Indonesian democratic system is changes to the country's Constitution, namely the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which continues to be changed to obtain the right basic rules for the people. However, the changed constitution does not involve society as a whole but through the people's representatives who will convey the people's aspirations. (A. Dahlan Ranuwiharjo, 2000: 31-32).

After a brief description, it is necessary to carry out a redefinition of democracy itself, namely a form of government that formulates policies directly or indirectly, then determined by the majority vote of citizens who have the right to vote through an electoral forum. Then in the Indonesian democratic system democracy can be defined as follows: (Leo Agustino, 2009: 41-42)

1. Restrictions on government actions in providing protection to individuals and groups.
2. Tolerance of opposing opinions.
3. Equality before the law (*equality before the law*).
4. Free elections are followed by an effective representation model.
5. Freedom in determining political parties.
6. Respect for the rights of the people to express their opinions.
7. An attitude of respect for the minority rights of a person or group by prioritizing persuasion methods.

The democratic system in Indonesia has been neatly conceptualized, but sometimes many people feel that this democracy will always be successful when implemented post-authoritarianism. However, this public perspective is wrong because they are often unaware that the authoritarian regime that was built previously was deeply rooted in Indonesia. The community's way of thinking needs to be developed to elevate authoritarian thinking in the minds of community leaders. One of the most important things the public needs to know is that in the Indonesian democratic system, the process of selecting leaders requires something called public awareness.

The democratic party in Indonesia, on the scale of the presidential, legislative and regional head elections, must be of concern to the public as a determinant of the process of this democratic party. What needs to be understood is that the democratic party process must be in line with the Indonesian democratic system which contains the principles of direct, general, free and confidential as well as honest and fair. By examining the discussion of the Indonesian democratic system, it is very much in line with the modernization of Islam which is currently a pillar of Indonesian democracy. (Muhammad Izzatullah, et al, 2022: 2)

C. Islamic Modernization as a Pillar of Democracy in Indonesia

Democracy is a state system that is used in almost every country, one of which is America. This country, which is known for having the best democratic system, turned out to be a country that was immune to damage to democracy until the rise of President Donald Trump, who was known for his discriminatory attitude towards black people. This is because in its history American democracy has often been used as a political tool, in fact America has changed types of democracy many times until finally using liberal democracy. (Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblath, 2019 : 178-179)

However, the point of the repeated destruction of democracy in America is an example of how democracy does not care about religion in running a state system. The author tries to form a comparison that America is a developed country that looks good in its leadership and state policies, but is not successful in a democratic state system. This is because leaders in America use democracy to fulfill personal interests which causes authoritarian leaders to become discriminatory.

Religion should be a pillar in every country that uses democracy. As in Indonesia, whose democracy embraces the modernization of Islam as a pillar of democracy, some people still think that when Islam enters democracy it will form a radicalism movement. According to Noorhadi Hasan in the Shopist Journal, violence in the name of the Islamic movement has become a central point for Political Islam to enter discussions about the Islamic world. Islam entering politics has become synonymous with radicalism and terrorism. (Nazar Naamy and Ishak Ariyanto, 2021: 43)

This matter can be discussed again if we open up the history related to the modernization of Indonesian Islam, as stated by Agus Salim, which is basically interdisciplinary in nature. So it would be fitting to declare the beginning of democracy in Indonesia through the statement Modernization of Islam in Indonesia. Although, political contributions are Islamic oriented and at the same time Western educated. Agus Salim, who is a person with strong principles, provides western liberal and socialist thoughts, and supports progress, stability and tolerance. Every society will expect political thoughts from every Indonesian Muslim intellectual, because the government alone cannot fulfill the demands of every group. If the government only forces it, it will produce false things and false methods too. As in Surah Al-Baqarah verse 188:

It means :

"And do not eat the wealth among yourselves in a false way and (don't) bribe the judges with the intention that you can consume some of other people's wealth in a sinful way, even though you know." (QS Al-Baqarah: 188)

As explained above, Islamic modernization is a challenge, that democracy for some people will become radical when there is Islamic modernization in it. However, it is not true that democracy in Indonesia will be damaged when only politics through political parties maintains democracy in Indonesia. Meanwhile, it is known that one of the pillars of democracy, one of which is the media, has become intolerant of democracy in Indonesia.

Therefore, the modernization of Islam emerged as a pillar of democracy in Indonesia because it prioritizes tolerance as Quraish Shiab said that "Muslims with each other are like buildings that strengthen each other or a kind of one body" (Haidar Bagir, 2012: 141). It is very clear that perfect tolerance will give birth to quality democracy in Indonesia. Modernization of Islam is the best way to establish tolerance in democracy.

As one of the pillars of democracy, Islamic modernization is an effort to reduce divisions between religions. So that a peaceful democracy will be created. So that later it will form *ukhuwah Islamiyah* between Muslims and other religious communities. This is in line with the words of Allah SWT as follows:

It means :

"And do not be like those who are divided and dispute after clear information has come to them. And they are the ones who will suffer a heavy punishment." (QS Ali-Imran: 105)

The classical period of Islam is an illustration that when democracy is open and takes Islam as one of the pillars, it will produce open democracy and give birth to modern social and political concepts. So the nature of this view will be egalitarian and participative. So it will be in line with the Prophet's example. As well as the example of the wise caliphs.

When modernizing Islam as a pillar of democracy, it will lead Indonesia to social justice for all Indonesian people as the ideals of the preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia so that in carrying out democracy Indonesia always adheres to the principle of independence related to justice. This is done to prevent socialist-communist groups from using justice as a bridge in obtaining structural justice, including corruption, collusion and nepotism. Therefore, Islamic modernization is present in democracy to provide justice for all Indonesian people. (Abdurrahman Wahid, 2006: 168-171)

Then next, the modernization of Islam as a pillar of democracy should be a good relationship between Islam and politics but not to form Islamic parties so that religious stability is not interfered with things that can damage religion. It can be seen from now that the emergence of many Islamic parties has caused concern for society. This also happened during the New Order era, not only parties but also the birth of Islamic organizations. However, this is actually a form of religious modernization but the biggest fear is that when more and more Islamic parties emerge, it will make Islam a bridge for those who use it for personal interests. The Islamic parties that have emerged to this day will clearly use religion as the strongest bulwark to achieve their interests.

Until now, Islamic parties have very different aims to stand with Islamic organizations which actually operate in Islamic sharia and to preach this is a form of the pillar of Indonesian democracy, namely religious modernization. However, if Islamic parties will make various forms of modernization that were originally intended to unite, they will create divisions not only between religions, but even between Muslims as well. (Bahtiar Effendy, 2011: 433-436)

The emergence of Islamic parties makes the views of people of other religions become a suspicion of the birth of Islamization politics in the democratic party process in Indonesia. Democracy in Indonesia is indeed closely related to power politics, however, the presence of Islamic modernization will become a barrier and prevent the birth of political elite interests without division. Islamic political parties that are present will only be selling religion without being seen. This is because it is very clear that there are still many Muslim people who are ignored and ignored by Islamic parties. However, when an Islamic party has problems, the people they will look for are Muslims even though that has nothing to do with it. So Indonesian democracy is good with the pillar of Islamic religious modernization but not with Islamic parties.

3. CONCLUSION

From the explanation above, Indonesia is a democratic country that is almost successful. However, if it does not have strong pillars it will destroy democracy. Then in its development there is what is meant by the modernization of Islam. What is meant is the modernization of Islam which was born from the lack of tolerance in Indonesia, where in this country tolerance should be born well. This is because many religious people, especially Muslims, always judge when there are different sects and this will always carry over to the momentum of the democratic party.

The democratic system in Indonesia has been well conceptualized, but sometimes many people feel that this democracy will always be successful when implemented post-authoritarianism. However, society's perspective is wrong because they are often unaware that the authoritarian regime that has been built previously is deeply rooted in Indonesia. So it is very dangerous if left unchecked and not immediately prevented.

Modernizing Islam as a pillar of Indonesian democracy is an effort to reduce divisions between religions. So that a peaceful democracy will be created. So that later it will form *ukhuwah Islamiyah* between Muslims and other religious communities. However, it is necessary to understand that Islamic modernization is sufficient as a pillar, because there is no need for an Islamic party on a social basis, it has been proven that until now Islamic parties only look after their interests.

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