

TOLERANCE VALUE IN THE DA'WAH OF MOHAMMAD NATSIR

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ملخص البحث

في جوهرها ، يجب أن تكون الدعوة فوق أركان التسامح ، أي إيصال الدليل الصحيح وعدم فرض عقيدة على الآخرين. التسامح بمعنى التسامح في الإسلام له مبادئ يجب الالتزام بها في أنشطة الدعوة. لقد فهم محمد نصير كخطيب هذا الأمر وأدركه حتى أنه في نشاطه الدعوي كان يقوم دائماً على القرآن والسنة وممارسات أصحاب النبي ويشير إليهما. يعتبر هذا البحث بحثاً مكتوباً يبحث فيه الباحث ويحلل ويدرس نشاطات محمد نصير الدعوية المسجلة في مؤلفاته وكذلك المؤلفات المتعلقة بهذا البحث. من نتائج هذه الدراسة يمكن الاستنتاج أن دعوة محمد نصير في مختلف المجالات مليئة بقيم التسامح ، بما في ذلك التسامح مع دعوة محمد نصير في العلاقات بين الأديان ، والتسامح مع دعوة نصير في السياسة. يجب على الواعظ ، سواء كان سياسياً أو بيروقراطياً أو طبيباً أو مدرساً أو عامّة في تنفيذ دعوته ، أن يشع دائماً بقيم التسامح أو التسامح الإسلامي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: قيمة التسامح, الدعوة, محمد نصير

Abstract

In essence, Da'wah must be upright above the pillars of tolerance, namely conveying the correct evidence and not imposing a belief on others. Tolerance in the sense of *tasamuh* in Islam has principles that must be upheld in da'wah activities. Mohammad Natsir as a preacher really understood and realized this so that in his preaching activities he was always based on and referred to the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah and the practices of the Prophet's companions. This research is a library research, in which the researcher searches, analyzes and studies Mohammad Natsir's da'wah activities recorded in his works and also the literature related to this research. From the results of this study, it can be concluded that Mohammad Natsir's da'wah in various fields is very full of tolerance values, including tolerance of Mohammad Natsir's da'wah in interreligious relations, tolerance of Natsir's da'wah in politics. A preacher, whether as a politician, bureaucrat, doctor, teacher or commoner in carrying out his da'wah must always radiate the values of *tasamuh* or Islamic tolerance.

Keywords: Tolerance value, M. Natsir, Dakwah

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A. Introduction

Tolerance is a nation's unresolved problem, since the era of independence until now after Indonesia's independence for 75 years, intolerance in the midst of society is still strengthening. Ease of intolerance is often addressed by one group to another group, one individual to another, even to acts of intolerance such as prohibition, dissolution and destruction and persecution. On the other hand, the redefinition of the meaning of tolerance is often carried out by individuals, community institutions and the government with the aim of creating a peaceful life. In this context, it is very urgent to see M. Natsir as a national figure, Islamic figure, preacher and at the same time a politician who is able to practice tolerance in his life. Mohammad Natsir is a figure who is known to be very tolerant in his life. He has a very good relationship with non-Muslim religious figures. For example, Natsir was close friends with IJ Kasimo, the former chairman of the Catholic Party during the Old Order era.

Apart from being an example, Natsir is also an Islamic figure who actively fights for the realization of a tolerant interfaith life in Indonesia. This can be seen from the efforts he did, both when he was an official in the government, and when he was outside the government as an ordinary person. Natsir explains a lot about the concept of tolerance in his lectures and writings. At least there are several speeches, sermons and books that he wrote specifically about tolerance and relations between religious communities. Both in politics and in society. In one of his writings he mentions "Without tolerance there is no harmony".

B. DISCUSSION

1. Brief Profile of M. Natsir

M. Natsir was born at the Alahan Panjang Carved Bridge, Solok Regency, West Sumatra on Friday, 17 Jumadil Akhir 1326H, to coincide with July 17, 1908 from a woman named Khadijah. His father was named Mohammad Idris Sutan Saripado, a lowly employee who had been a clerk at the Controller office¹ in Maninjau. In that place of birth, he passed his first periods of religious and intellectual socialization.²

Mohammad Natsir had a lot of associations with Islamic thinkers, such as Agus Salim, during the mid-1930s, Mohammad Natsir and Agus Salim always exchanged ideas about the relationship between Islam and the state for the future of the Indonesian government led by Soekarno.

One thing that is interesting in M. Natsir behind his positions and praised by everyone is his example of simplicity, and morality. M. Natsir is a polite, clean, consistent, tolerant, but steadfast person. M. Natsir lives in Indonesian times as if in a vicious, unbroken circle: leadership

¹ Came from Dutch language: Caontrolleur, is a government office ever been on Indonesia in the times Dutch East Indies. contrOliir was considered the supervisory coordinator of the Dutch government to the lowest level, in the Dutch East Indies government structure.

² Thohir Luth, *M. Natsir Da'wah Dan Pemikiranya* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 1999). h.22

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regeneration occurs, but bureaucracy and clean politics, better social welfare, are too far from reach. Natsir is as if the representative of a figure outside the circle. He is honest, sharp, firm with a humble attitude.³

During his childhood, M. Natsir spent a lot of time in the mosque, reciting the Qur'an and joking like any other child. However, education in the surau is not enough. Little Natsir really wanted to study in a modern school. He wants to enter the Dutch Hollandsch Inlandische School (HIS) Low School in Padang. This wish was not fulfilled because he was a lowly employee's son. Finally he entered private school⁴ HIS Adabiah in Padang. Here M. Natsir was entrusted to Makcik Ibrahim,⁵ even though he was only here for five months, little Natsir learned a lot about the simplicity of life.⁶ Then he was transferred to HIS in Solok, by his father he entrusted him to Haji Musa, a rich merchant in the area. He goes to school in the morning at HIS, in the afternoon at Madrasah Diniyah, and at night he learns the Qur'an and deepens Arabic. It was in Solok that he first learned Arabic and studied the jurisprudence law from Tuanku Mudo Amin which he did in the afternoon at Madrasah Diniyah and recited the Qur'an in the evening.⁷

Mohammad Natsir received a scholarship to continue his education at Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (MULO) and then joined youth associations such as Pandu Nationale Islamietische Pavinderij and Jong Islamieten Bond. After graduating from MULO, he then moved to Bandung to study at Algemeene Middelbare School (AMS) until graduating in 1930. From 1928 to 1932, he then became chairman of the Jong Islamieten Bond (JIB) Bandung.

He also became a teacher after receiving training as a teacher for two years in college. He, who had received an Islamic education in West Sumatra, at first deepened his knowledge of religion in Bandung, including in the fields of Qur'an interpretation, Islamic law, and dialectics. Then in 1932, Natsir studied from Ahmad Hassan, who would later become a figurehead of the Islamic organization "Persatuan Islam". The entry of Natsir into this Persis made him a critical person. Natsir does not like people who do not follow, that is, they accept religious knowledge without investigating their authenticity and legal basis. As for his introduction to philosophy, he made him a critical person but still adhered to the limits allowed by the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah.⁸

In 1957, Mohammad Natsir received the Nichan Istikhar (Grand Gordon) Star from the King of Tunisia, Lamine Bey for his services in helping the struggle for independence of the people of North Africa. Other international awards are Jaa-izatul Malik Faisal al-Alamiyah in 1980, as well

³ Tempo, *Natsir Politik Santun Di Antara Dua Rezim Seri Buku Saku Tempo: Tokoh Islam Di Awal Kemerdekaan* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2017). h.2

⁴ In KBBI, private means private or not for public; does not belong to the government, <https://kbbi.web.id/partikelir>

⁵ Makcik Ibrahim is not a proprietor, his income is barely enough, for his daily meals M. Natsir has to tighten his belt..

⁶ Hepi Andi Bastoni, *M. Natsir Sang Maestro Da'wah* (Jakarta: Mujtama Press, 2008). h.2

⁷ Luth. h.7

⁸ Hendra Gunawan, *M. Natsir Dan Darul Islam* (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 2000). h. 20

as awards from some popular scholars and thinkers such as Sheikh Abul Hasan Ali an-Nadwi and Abul A'la Maududi.⁹

In 1980, Natsir was awarded the Faisal Award from King Fahd of Saudi Arabia through the King Faisal Foundation in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. He obtained an honorary doctorate in Islamic Politics from the Lebanese Islamic Campus in 1967. In 1991, he then obtained two honorary degrees, namely in literature from the Malaysian National University and in Islamic Thought from the Malaysian Science University.

In addition, M. Natsir's character is recognized and chosen as the 100 great Muslim figures around the world in the XX century, in a book entitled, "100 Great Muslim Leaders of The 20 Century" published by the Institute of Objective Studies, New Delhi, 2005, an IIIT network in India. M. Natsir was chosen as the top 100 Muslim Muslim leaders in the 20th century along with King Abdul Aziz, King Faisal, Hasan Al-Banna and other national leaders, figures of freedom fighters, thinkers and writers as well as world educators.¹⁰ Mohammad Natsir died on February 6, 1993 in Jakarta, and was buried one day later.

2. Manhaj and M. Natsir's Da'wah Movement

Islam is a religion of message and da'wah, the contents of which are good news and warnings to return humans to their nature. That was M. Natsir's expression in starting his explanation of what da'wah was.¹¹ Broadly speaking, it can be concluded that Natsir's concept of da'wah is as follows;

First, the meaning of da'wah according to Natsir, that da'wah is an obligation that must be borne by every individual Muslim and Muslimah, because da'wah is amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar which is an absolute requirement for the perfection and safety of people's lives. Da'wah is not a monopoly of Muslim scholars or scholars, but every individual because it is the innate nature of humans as social beings which is confirmed by revelation.¹² *Second*, the foundation of da'wah, which in Natsir's view the da'wah must be based on the revelation, the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet sallahu alaihi wasallam. *Third*, the purpose of da'wah, there are at least three points in the purpose of da'wah according to Natsir. Namely: Inviting or making humans live according to the Shari'ah, Inviting humans to return to their function of life as servants of Allah on earth and inviting humans to return to their essential life goals, namely to worship only Allah. *Fourth*, the task of da'wah, the task of the message of the apostles and the da'wah of the preachers is to bring together Fitrah human and divine revelation. So that a preacher must prepare mentally, knowledge and methods and adab da'wah. *Fifth*, the target of da'wah, M.

⁹ 'Mohammad Natsir', *Wikipedia*, 2020 <https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Natsir>.

¹⁰ Lukman Hakiem, *100 Tahun Mohammad Natsir Brdamai Dengan Sejarah* (Jakarta: Penerbit Republika, 2008). h.379 dan 374

¹¹ M. Natsir, *Fiqhud Da'wah* (Jakarta: Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia, 2017). h.1

¹² Natsir, *Fiqhud Da'wah*. h.121

Natsir in his preaching covers almost all aspects of life. Both the human relationship with God and the human relationship with each other. In social life, Natsir's da'wah includes politics, economy, education, culture, thought and Christianization.¹³

The movement or struggle of M. Natsir's da'wah can be traced since he was still in high school at Algemeene Middelbare School (AMS) Bandung. He is active in Islamic youth organizations, da'wah organizations and actively conducts religious discussions. In general, the Natsir da'wah movement can be stated as follows:

a. Da'wah Through Education

In essence, da'wah is an activity to educate people to experience changes in a more positive direction. So it can be concluded that an educator is also a preacher, who carries out God's orders to enforce al-amru bil ma'ruf wannahyu 'anil munkar.¹⁴ The purpose and basis of education according to Natsir is monotheism which is encapsulated in two sentences of the creed, which are the main points of freedom and spiritual strength, as well as the basis of human progress and intelligence. That the purpose of educating students is to make them meet the requirements of human life as summed up in the Word of God "Wabtagi fīmā ātākallāhud-dāral-ākhirata wa lā tansa naṣībaka minad-dun-yā....". and also so that students can fulfill their obligations as servants, namely only to worship Allah alone as the Word of Allah "Wa mā khalaqtul-jinna wal-insa illā liya'budun".¹⁵ Due to Natsir's concern for the world of education at that time, Dutch schools did not provide opportunities for Islamic students to study religion at school. So he founded the school "Islamic Education" (Pendis) which he managed himself for 10 years, namely 1932-1942 AD.¹⁶

b. Da'wah Through Mass Media

Natsir's da'wah activities through writing began when he was a student at AMS Bandung. When Natsir was in grade 5 AMS, he had written an analysis about "The Effect of Sugarcane Planting and Sugar Factory on the People of Java Island", the analysis written in Dutch was read out in front of the class which made the teacher and his friends stunned. Meanwhile, Natsir's first writing in the mass media was his response to the two sermons of Pastor Christoffel which were published in the Algemeen Indisch Dagblad Newspaper. As a preacher, Natsir was called to provide corrections to the two scholars who attacked Islam a lot. Furthermore, Natsir's writings

¹³ Safiin Mansur, 'Gerakan Dakwah M. Natsir Lewat Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII)', *Jurnal Adzikra*, 3.2 (2012), 17–30 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>>. h.20-24

¹⁴ Ali Maulida, 'KOMPETENSI PENDIDIK DALAM PERSPEKTIF M. NATSIR (Studi Analitis Pemikiran Pendidikan M. Natsir Dalam "Fiqhud Dakwah")', *Al-Fikri Jurnal Studi Dan Penelitian Pendidikan Islam*, 1.2 (2018), 39–46 <<http://jurnal.unissula.ac.id/index.php/fikri/article/view/3207>>. h.40

¹⁵ Adian Husaini, *Pemikiran & Perjuangan M. Natsir & Hamka Dalam Pendidikan*, I (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2020). h.13

¹⁶ Abdullah, *Dakwah Kultural Dan Struktural Telaah Pemikiran Dan Perjuangan Dakwah Hamka Dan M. Natsir* (Bandung: Citapustaka Media Perintis, 2012). h.141-142

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were published in many magazines, including Defenders of Islam, An-Nur, Islamic Guidelines and Islamic Panji. Since 1936 Natsir has often had polemics with Soekarno through writings published by Panji Islam in series. The writings of M. Natsir which were scattered in various mass media between 1935-1941 were then collected in *Capita Selecta 1*, and in 1957 *Capita Selecta 2* was published again which contained a collection of speeches, freelance essays, sermons and Natsir's press interviews between 1950-1955.¹⁷ Natsir's da'wah through writing continued when he chaired the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council from 1967 to 1993, there were at least five da'wah publications, namely the magazine "Serial Media Da'wah" as a medium for preaching to scholars, the magazine "Suara Mosque" for general public consumption, "Friday sermon series" as material for sermons, "Friends" Magazine for children and "Da'wah Bulletin".¹⁸

c. Da'wah Through Politics and Government

Natsir's political da'wah activities began when he was active in Islamic youth organizations in Bandung such as the Jong Islamiten Bond (JIB), the Budi Utomo Organization and others. As for his direct involvement in practical politics in 1930 as a member of the Islamic United Party (PSI), then in 1938 he joined the Indonesian Islamic Party (PII) and became chairman of the Bandung branch of the PII. After the proclamation of Indonesian independence, Natsir focused his attention on politics as a member of the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP), even later being elected to the KNIP Workers Body and later becoming deputy chairman of the agency.¹⁹ Of course, in his political activities, Natsir was a preacher who was a politician, so that all of his political activities were always framed with Islamic values and carried out within the framework of Islamic da'wa. Here are some dMohammad Natsir's political preaching through the Parliamentary field, government field and community development field on the basis of "da'wah through political channels":

1. Strive for and fight for Islam as the basis of the state
2. Implementing Islam-based politics, for Natsir, the constituent must be free from pressures and open to each other in conveying ideas
3. Strive so that all matters concerning the interests of the life of the people are decided and resolved on the basis of deliberation.
4. Arranging the energy of an orderly people by awakening the inner and outer life, educating the nature, understanding, character, morals, and so on.
5. Striving for compulsory education for all citizens, at least following elementary school education, as for education in religious schools (madrasah and pesantren), it is considered that they have fulfilled the obligation to study.

¹⁷ M. Dzulfikriddin, *Mohammad Natsir Dalam Sejarah Politik Indonesia, Peran Dan Jasa Mohammad Natsir Dalam Dua Orde Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 2010). h.38

¹⁸ Moch. Lukman Fatahullah Rais, *Mohammad Natsir Pemandu Ummat* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1989). h.15

¹⁹ Dzulfikriddin. h. 25-27

6. Based on the basis of the state "God Almighty", Proposing religious education as a compulsory curriculum even though in the end it was opposed by the PKI and PNI parties because they were considered to impose religion on the people.
7. Reuniting the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia through the Natsir Integral Motion.

As for the integration of Political Leadership and Da'wah Mohammad Natsir in Historical Records based on "Politics through the Da'wah Pathway" is to place da'wah towards the authorities as a priority. To the authorities, he always preached by doing social support, social control, and social participant control. Downward he did *attarbiyah ash-shahihah*. Therefore, whatever happens in government, he always pays close attention. What is good he supports, which will destroy the ummah, will be corrected and improved by dialogue. Meanwhile, down, he educated the people. This is a balanced mix of the da'wah path of Mohammad Natsir as an Islamic politician and a political preacher. Mohammad Natsir is always looking for ways to fight for Islamic da'wah on earth.²⁰

d. Da'wah through the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council

Natsir realized that he and his friends were no longer given the opportunity by the New Order government to preach through practical political channels, so he reminded "Do not keep resting on your chin or grumbling on the side of the road. But we have to go into the non-political field, the field of fostering the spiritual and spiritual people".²¹ So on February 26, 1967 at the Al-Munawarah Mosque the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council was established, with the main program of regeneration and provision of preachers, research and publishing as provisions for preachers.²² In creating a strong preacher cadre, Natsir proclaimed three pillars of community development, namely: mosques, Islamic boarding schools and campuses. Through Islamic boarding schools, it is hoped that intellectual scholars will be born, from the campus there will be intellectuals who are scholars and mosques will give birth to congregations who are righteous and *muslih*, congregations who support the da'wah movement.²³

²⁰ Siti Nur Fadlilah, *KEPEMIMPINAN POLITIK DAN DA'WAH MOHAMAD NATSIR (Analisis History Kepemimpinan Politik Dan Da'wah Mohammad Natsir Tahun 1949-19993)*, Tesis Pada Program Pasca Sarjana Magister Ilmu Dakwah Universitas Islam Asy-Syafi'iyah (Jakarta, 2019). h.125-130

²¹ Lukman Hakiem, *Biografi Mohammad Natsir Kepribadian, Pemikiran Dan Perjuangan* (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 2019). h.518

²² Tiar Anwar Bachtiar, *Setengah Abad Dewan Da'wah Berkiprah Mengokohkan NKRI* (Jakarta: Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia, 2017). h. 88 dan 105

²³ Ujang Habibi, 'Model Pendidikan Kader Da'i Mohammad Natsir', *Jurnal Dakwah Risalah Merintis Da'wah Melanjutkan*, 1.2 (2018), 17–37 <<http://jurnal-stidnatsir.ac.id/index.php/dakwah/article/view/9>>. h.25

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3. Tolerance According to M. Natsir

To see Natsir's conception of tolerance, we can read it through his writings and speeches. Among them there were his speech in front of 15,000 people who attended the ocean meeting at Tanjung Karan:

"Islam eradicates religious intolerance and enforces religious freedom and lays the foundations for the diversity of life between religions. Freedom to practice religion is a value of life, which is maintained by every Muslim and Muslim. Islam protects worshipping God according to their respective religions, both in mosques and churches". That was M. Natsir's speech. He added, "We Muslims call out to all our fellow countrymen of other religions, that this country is our common country, which we uphold for us together, on the basis of tolerance and tolerance, not for special groups. We cry out like Muhammad's call to fellow citizens of different religions, we are ordered to uphold justice and diversity among brothers".²⁴

From this speech by Natsir, it is very clear how he understood tolerance, namely *tasamuh* in Islam. For Natsir, the basis of tolerance is the Al-Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad and the practice of the companions in carrying out Islamic teachings in the interfaith life. Tolerance taught by Islam is not a tolerance that is passive but active. He actively respects and respects the beliefs of others. Active and willing to always look for points of similarity between various differences.

Islamic tolerance is upholding strong arguments about the truth but if it is rejected, it is not forced, because Islam has guidance to say what is contained in surah al-Kafirun verse 6:

لَكُمْ دِينُكُمْ وَلِيَ دِينِ

"To you your religion, and to me, my religion."

And also in Surah al-Baqarah verse 256:

لَا إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ

"There is no compulsion to (enter) religion (Islam) ..."

So the main principle of tolerance in Islam is not to impose religion, open itn accept other religious truths. The teaching of Islamic tolerance is not only contained in the text, but has been proven by its application in the life of the Muslim preacher. At the beginning of Islam, the tribes in the Arabian Peninsula converted to Islam voluntarily, because of arguments, because they were amazed at the person of the Prophet SAW, because of the concept of tauhid in Islam and so on.²⁵ This concept is what M. Natsir tries to put into practice in his da'wah activities in Indonesia.

Natsir reminded that inter-religious tolerance should not be interpreted as "The important thing is to be in harmony, do not bicker. And for that we neglect a little in religious matters". freedom of religion as guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution, is the freedom of every

²⁴ M. Natsir, *Capita Selecta 2* (Jakarta: Abadi, 2008). h.385

²⁵ Lukman, 'Memaknai Toleransi Dalam Menciptakan Kerukunan Antar Umat Beragama (Tela'ah Pemikiran Kerukunan Umat Beragama A. Mukti Ali)', *Jurnal Dakwah Risalah Merintis Da'wah Melanjutkan*, 3.1 (2020). h.55
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religious believer to be able to practice his religious teachings without being disturbed by "campaign" efforts of other religions.²⁶

4. Application of Tolerance Natsir in Da'wah

In this sub discussion, we will try to elaborate on how the implementation of Natsir's tolerance in his da'wah activities in various fields, especially his da'wah in the world of politics and the da'wah of inter-religious relations.

a. Tolerance of Natsir's Da'wah Inter-religious

Mohammad Natsir is a Muslim figure who actively preaches the realization of a tolerant interfaith life in Indonesia. This can be seen from the efforts he did, both when he was an official in the government, and when he was outside the government as an ordinary person. The da'wah of harmony between religious communities offered by Natsir is a da'wah that is full of values of tolerance and is far from da'wah that blasphemes, insults and disparages adherents of other religions. There are at least three da'wah steps taken by Natsir regarding relations between religious communities in Indonesia:

First, actively build Inter-religious dialogue, in various forums Natsir has been very vocal in voicing the creation of Inter-religious harmony.²⁷ As in the inter-religious congregation meeting on November 30, 1967, in this forum Natsir called for coexistence with mutual respect for each other's religious identities. Not making someone who has embraced a religion the target of apostasy, because that is the root of the problem of inter-religious tension. Natsir emphasized that in Islam itself there is a code of ethics, such as not being allowed to impose religion on others, that Islam does not regard Christians as heidens or animists who are not yet religious. Christians for Islam have their own position, namely as People of the Book. Natsir also called for care for the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as a joint State, not as a State for certain groups or certain religions.²⁸

Second, Proposing Modus Vivendi, as a form of tolerance for Natsir's da'wah in realizing inter-religious harmony, he proposes a modus vivendi Inter-religious in Indonesia. Modus vivendi is a mutual agreement between followers of other religions to coexist peacefully, which ensures diversity of life between religions, without betraying their respective religious beliefs.²⁹ The contents of this modus vivendi are: a) Good coexistence, mutual respect and upholding interfaith tolerance, b) All religions in Indonesia experience life, c) Realizing peace between people who

²⁶ M. Natsir, *Percakapan Antar Generasi Pesan Perjuangan Seorang Bapak* (Jakarta: Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia, 2019). h.94

²⁷ Bachtiar. h.326

²⁸ M. Natsir, *Islam Dan Kristen Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Bulan Sabit, 1969). h.191

²⁹ M. Natsir, *Mencari Modus Vivendi Antar Ummat Beragama Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia, 2005). h.13

have religious differences in Indonesia and the interests of national development.³⁰ Natsir believes that if this *modus vivendi* applies, many things can be done together by Christians and Muslims in the face of atheism and prevent the moral damage that has plagued society today, together to promote morals and character according to the character of the religious Indonesian society.³¹ Natsir as a Muslim is very optimistic that he can fulfill this *modus vivendi*, because in carrying out his da'wah obligations, Islam has a code of ethics such as not being allowed to impose religious beliefs on others, and also Christians in the view of Islam are People of the Book, not a heiden or animist society.

Third, persistence in socializing the Islamic concept of interfaith relations. This is the very high tolerance of Natsir's da'wah in relation to interfaith relations in Indonesia, he always avoids violence and incitement by the people in response to other religions that try to attack Islam. For Natsir, people of other religions cannot live side by side with Islam because they do not know Islamic concepts in interacting with other people. These other people do not yet know how much Islam exalts and respects the beliefs of other religions. On one occasion Natsir said that "There is a kind of fear of non-Muslims towards Islam related to religious freedom, even though it has been guaranteed by law, among members of parliament this fear has disappeared after the chairman of the Masyumi faction unfolded the Islamic stance on religious freedom, but concerns in society. about the attitude of the Muslim community towards religious freedom is still there, it is an obligation for us to try hard to eliminate these fears ".³² Therefore, on various occasions and moments, Natsir always conveyed the position of Islam towards adherents of other religions who were very tolerant. So we come across Natsir's various writings on the concept of Islam in interacting with non-Muslims, including a book entitled *Finding the Mode of Vivendi Between Religious Communities in Indonesia*, in which Natsir explains a proposal for rules of peaceful coexistence and also Islamic guarantees about tolerance, respect and respect people of other religions.³³ Another book, *The Relationship between Islam and Christianity in Indonesia*, contains a collection of Natsir's writings on the relationship between Islam and Christianity, such as: "Islam Eradicates Religious Intolerance and Upholds Religion", "The Diversity of Life Between Religions", *Code of Religious Tolerance* and others.³⁴ Even in his efforts to create religious harmony with other figures, Natsir sent a letter to Pope John Paul II calling on Pope John as the highest leader

³⁰ Indria Jami'atul Rohmah, *M. NATSIR DAN KRISTENISASI DI INDONESIA (Studi Tindakan M.Natsir Terhadap Gerakan Kristenisasi Di Indonesia Tahun 1965-1979)*, Skripsi Pada Fakultas Adab Dan Humaniora UIN Sunan Ampel (Surabaya, 2013) <<http://digilib.uinsby.ac.id/33333/>>. h.61

³¹ Syafi'in Mansur, 'PANDANGAN M. NATSIR TENTANG MISSI KRISTEN DI INDONESIA', *Aqlania Jurnal Filsafat Dan Teologi Islam*, 2.2 (2011), 137–52 <<http://repository.uinbanten.ac.id/id/eprint/3328>>. h.146

³² Natsir, *Capita Selecta* 2. h. 313

³³ Natsir, *Mencari Modus Vivendi Antar Ummat Beragama Di Indonesia*.

³⁴ Natsir, *Islam Dan Kristen Di Indonesia*.

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of Christianity to remind missionaries in Indonesia not to abuse diakonia (community service) activities. Natsir also called for tolerance, mutual respect and respect.³⁵

b. Tolerance of Natsir's Political Da'wah

In an interview conducted by Tempo journalist Agus Basri in 1989, when asked what had not been achieved in his life, Mohammad Natsir replied: *"What has not been achieved is the same as my wish when I was Prime Minister: people who are harmonious, have religion, have tasamuh, tolerance between one religious community and another."*³⁶

From Natsir's statement, it is very clear that his activities both in the political world and outside politics are the da'wah of Allah. And the da'wah that he did was da'wah that was full of values of tolerance, here is a summary of tolerance for Natsir's da'wah in politics:

First, Natsir's Tolerance of Pancasila

As the leader of the Masyumi Party, In carrying out the party's decision-making process, M. Natsir did not force his personal opinion to be used as a party decision. For example, regarding the party's views on a theme regarding the relationship between Islam and Pancasila, it has led to differences in views among Masjumi figures themselves. Dr. Hamka towards Pancasila from an Islamic point of view shows an image as if there is no difference between Pancasila and Islam. Meanwhile, according to Isa Anshary, he has attacked Pancasila with harsh words, he does not see any agreement between Islam and Pancasila, "a person who is deprived in faith wants to defend Pancasila."³⁷

In contrast to Hamka and Isa Anshary, Mohammad Natsir expressed a more tolerant view of Pancasila. He gave a lecture that discussed the relationship between Pancasila and Islam, Mohammad Natsir believed that the formulator of Pancasila, the majority of whom were Muslim, would not formulate something that was in conflict with Islam. Pancasila, said Natsir "is not something foreign to Islam".³⁸

In the midst of these different views on Pancasila, Mohammad Natsir, as the party leader, met to determine their official stance. After listening to various views, the agency decided to accept M. Natsir's view as the official stance of the Masjumi party. Although this cannot be separated from the essence of Natsir as the influential Chairman of the Party leadership, other Party Leaders also see it as a middle ground between the views represented by Hamka and Isa Anshary.

³⁵ M. Natsir, *Surat Kepada Paus Yohanes Paulus II* (Jakarta: Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia, 1989). h.9

³⁶ Agus Basri, *Mohammad Natsir, Politik Melalui Jalur Da'wah* (Jakarta: Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia, 2019). h.41

³⁷ Yusril Ihza Mahendra, *Modernisme Dan Fundamentalisme Dalam Politik Islam* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999). h.136

³⁸ Natsir, *Capita Selecta 2*. h.203

But Natsir also reminded that no matter how compatible Pancasila and Islam exist, it does not mean that: "Pancasila is Islam" or "Islam is Pancasila". The two remain different, Natsir said Islam, is broader than the "five precepts" in the Pancasila, the five precepts "only describe part of the teachings of Islam".³⁹ From the above information shows that no matter how much Mohammad Natsir is a tolerant and moderate Islamic figure, with his ijtihad 'accepting' Pancasila, he still stands firmly in his principles about the essence of Islam which cannot be represented by Pancasila. For Natsir, Pancasila can be used as the state ideology as long as its interpretation is in accordance with the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah.⁴⁰

Second, Natsir's Tolerance of Islam as the Foundation of the State

Even though Natsir said "Pancasila is not foreign to Islam, and it is not against the Al-Qur'an." However, in the constituent sessions in 1955, Natsir was the most persistent person in fighting for Islam as the basis of the State, not Pancasila.⁴¹ Then is Natsir no longer tolerant of Pancasila? Of course not because for Natsir Pancasila should not be used as a tool to prevent other parties - including the Islamic group - from fighting for the State Foundation which they consider better, as long as that group struggles for it in ways that are legal and democratic.

Pancasila is actually taken from the thousands of principles contained in Islam, so that if an Islamic State is formed, Pancasila will be preserved and will be nurtured along with other principles.⁴² Thus, Natsir's acceptance of Pancasila after independence until 1955 was a stage in struggling for an Islamic State constitutionally, as long as the essence and essence of all the precepts contained therein were fulfilled adequately and implemented appropriately.⁴³

Islam cannot be separated from the state. Natsir considers that state affairs are essentially an integral part of the Islamic treatise. The state is a medium or tool used to make rules in accordance with Allah's orders. So, through state power, Islamic values can be upheld. Because the state has the authority to make, implement and enforce the rules. Natsir emphasized that the pattern of the Islamic state is against arbitrariness or an authoritarian regime, in Islamic governance prioritizing the principle of deliberation in the context of how to actualize the values that have been regulated in the Al-Quran and Hadith.⁴⁴

No matter how hard Natsir was in fighting for Islam as the basis of the State, when he failed, Natsir did not impose his will, together with his friends they still declared their loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia. This means that Natsir did not support the establishment of a rival

³⁹ Mahendra. h.137

⁴⁰ Gunawan. h. 22

⁴¹ Mhd Alfahjri Sukri, 'Islam Dan Pancasila Dalam Pemikiran Mohammad Natsir', *Alfuad: Jurnal Sosial Keagamaan*, 3.1 (2019), 82–96 <<https://doi.org/10.31958/jsk.v3i1.1490>>. h.92

⁴² Natsir, *Capita Selecta 2*. h.408

⁴³ Sukri. h.90

⁴⁴ Bismar Arianto, 'Kiprah Natsir Dalam Memperjuangkan Negara Islam Indonesia', *KEMUDI: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 2.02 (2018), 104–26 <<http://ojs.umrah.ac.id/index.php/kemudi/article/view/761>>. h.110-111

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state by Kartosuwiryo and his friends. This included Daud Bereueh and Abdul Qahhar's efforts to assist Kartosuwiryo by establishing DI / TII Aceh and DI / TII South Sulawesi. Although Masyumi and DI / TII both want to establish an Islamic state in the form of a Republic.⁴⁵

Third, Integral Motion as Evidence of Natsir's Tolerance Attitude.

Post-Round Table Conference (KMB) in 1949 which marked the recognition of the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia by the Dutch, did not necessarily end the tragedy that hit the Indonesian people. The form of the RIS-federalistic State as a result of the RTC has led to divisions and strife between the nation's own children, conflicts between supporters and opponents of federalists everywhere. In the midst of the nation's chaos, Natsir appeared to resolve the conflict with his Integral Motion. A major nation problem can be solved by democratic means.⁴⁶ The concept of "tasamuh" or tolerance from Natsir is an inseparable part of the integral concept. Even though Natsir and his friends in the Constituent Assembly fought for a state ideology based on Islam, what he meant was a tasamuh and tolerant Islam, in accordance with the teachings of Islam itself.⁴⁷

However, behind the success of Natsir's Integral Motion there are efforts that are not cheap and not everyone can do it, with his efforts to diplomacy with a high tolerance attitude, M. Natsir's efforts have yielded fantastic results. Mohammad Roem noted how in his efforts to pave the way for Natsir's Integral Motion, Natsir spoke with the leader of the far-left faction, Ir. Sakirman from PKI and with the far right leader, Sahetapy Engel from BFO. When submitting the proposal for an Integral Motion in Parliament, M. Natsir tried to refrain from talking about federalism or unitarism, because according to M. Natsir the problem was not there.⁴⁸ For this brilliant achievement the main Christian PNI figure, Arnold Mononutu, gave very high appreciation to Natsir by saying; "Without Mohammad Natsir there would be no Unity of the Republic of Indonesia."

Of course Arnold's praise is very excessive, because for Natsir all of these are gifts from Allah, and what he did was a demonstration of his belief as a Muslim: *"And if there are two groups of those who believe go to war, you must reconcile the two! But if one violates the covenant against the other, let those who break the covenant fight it until it recedes back to God's command. If he has receded, reconcile the two according to justice, and let you be just; verily Allah loves those who act justly"* (Al-Hujurot: 6).

⁴⁵ Gunawan. h.37

⁴⁶ Lukman Hakiem, *M. Natsir Di Panggung Sejarah Republik* (Jakarta: Republika, 2008). h.103

⁴⁷ Roni Tobroni, 'Komunikasi Politik Mohammad Natsir', *Communicatus: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 1.1 (2017), 39–60 <<https://doi.org/10.15575/cjik.v1i1.1208>>. h.49

⁴⁸ Anwar Harjono, *M. Natsir Sumbangan Dan Pemikirannya Untuk Indonesia* (Jakarta: Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia, 1995). h. 20

This verse shows that there is an obligation in Islam to reconcile fellow Muslims who are at odds. And of course, in the process of uniting the ummah, a calm attitude and high tolerance are needed to be able to lobby political leadership elites who are clearly opposed to one another.

Fourth, Natsir's Tolerance of Political Opponents

In historical records, there are impressive things about M. Natsir's tolerance and good relations with his political opponents who have different views and ideologies. DN Aidit, a figure of the Indonesian Communist party, is noted as the enemy of Natsir's ideology. Aidit fought for the establishment of Communism in Indonesia, whereas Natsir wanted a State based on Islam. According to Yusril, Natsir often could not control his emotions when arguing with Aidit in parliament, "Pak Natsir said, I think he wanted to beat Aidit's head with a chair" but until the end of the trial there were no seats floating, even when he left the courtroom, Aidit often brought him a glass. coffee, then they chat intimately about their respective families. There were no harsh words or hostility even though they had a great debate before, even his behavior seemed as if nothing had happened. Because for Natsir "arguing may be hard, but not harsh".⁴⁹

In addition to opposing Aidit, in the parliament Natsir also faced figures from the Catholic Party and the Indonesian Christian Party, such as I.J Kasimo and A.M Tambunan. Kasimo and his friends insisted on defending Pancasila, while Natsir fought for Islamic ideology. After all, together with Aidit, Natsir was also close friends with them. Even when Natsir submitted his Integral Motion, they were the ones who stood up to support him. In addition, when Natsir was Prime Minister, Natsir embraced Christian figures in his cabinet.⁵⁰

Exemplary in politics like this should be the legacy of today's democratic political attitude. Differences in political and religious views do not interfere with friendship and brotherhood. Politeness and close friendship do not prevent them from arguing hard to defend their respective principles and ideologies.

C. CONCLUSION

Descriptions of the values of tolerance of M. Natsir's da'wah in various fields, show his sincerity and sincerity in fighting. From the above research, conclusions can be drawn about the values of tolerance of M. Natsir's da'wah as follows:

First, Natsir's tolerance is Islamic tolerance, namely tasamuh. This makes the concept of tolerating Natsir in carrying out his da'wah very clear, because it is based on the Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah as well as the Companions' practice of Islamic teachings.

Second, Islam is a way of life, the clothing of a Muslim's life, while the State is a tool for carrying out religion perfectly.

⁴⁹ Tempo. h.95-96

⁵⁰ Tempo. h.98

Third, the values of tolerance of Natsir's da'wah in the political field are acceptance of Pancasila on the condition that it is filled with things that are not contrary to Islam, fighting for Islam as the constitutional basis of the state and maintaining the integrity of the nation.

Fourth, the values of tolerance of Natsir's da'wah related to inter-religious relations are that he is active in building and participating equally in inter-religious dialogues, making suggestions as an agreement for coexistence between religions, and always eliminating misunderstandings that occur between religious adherents.

Fifth, Natsir always prioritizes the interests of the people and the common interest as a nation rather than personal or party interests, and does not highlight differences but always looks for common points.

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