TRANSFORMATION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAUCRACY SYSTEM IN INDONESIA: *SIYASAH DUSTURIYAH* APPROACH FROM THE COLONIAL ERA TO THE REFORM ORDER

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ABSTRAK
This study aims to analyze the transformation of bureaucracy in Indonesia from the colonial era to the reform era using the Siyasah Dusturiyah approach. It employs a qualitative descriptive method with a content analysis approach to examine relevant texts and literature. The research identifies four distinct periods in the history of Indonesian bureaucracy: the Dutch colonial era, the old order, the new order, and the reform era. During the colonial era, the political bureaucracy functioned as a means of societal control. The old order and new order shared similarities, with the Indonesian bureaucracy heavily influenced by the party political system, leading to factionalism and political machinery. Following the Reform Era, a significant anti-corruption movement emerged, driven by the strengthening of civil society. Nurcholish Madjid emphasized the importance of clear separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, proposing the concept of checks and balances to prevent power abuses and establish a balanced and accountable governance system. From the perspective of Siyasah Dusturiyah, seven principles serve as the foundation for transforming Indonesian bureaucracy, promoting fairness, effectiveness, and active societal participation in decision-making processes.
Keywords: Transformasi, Birokrasi Politik, Kolonial-Reformasi, Siyasah Dusturiyah, Nurcholish Madjid

INTRODUCTION

The Greek adage defines humans as political beings (zoon politicon) who possess a life purpose, which is to worship and devote themselves to Allah, as explicitly stated in Surah Adh-Dhariyat/51:56 of the Qur'an وما خلقت الجن والإنس إلا ليعبدون, in order to attain happiness in this world and the Hereafter (Qur'an, Surah Al-Baqarah/2:201) ومنهم من يقول ربنا ءاتنا في الدنيا حسنة وفي الآخرة حسنة وقنا عذاب النار. The aspirations cannot be achieved individually due to their lives being bound to an institution called the "state" (Rahman, 2006; Harun Nasution, 1998).

Due to the close connection between "humanity" and the "state," Al-Farabi equates the concept of "*al-Madinah al-Fadilah*" (the Virtuous City) with the "body of a human being." This statement implies that the goodness or badness of a state depends on the qualities of its head of state or leader. Therefore, from Al-Farabi's perspective, the head of state should possess intellectual excellence, which must be accompanied by good moral character. However, it is also essential for the people to be proactive in creating an excellent state, thereby demonstrating synergy between the moral conduct of government officials and the obedience of the people.

The existence of a "state" is a necessity in human life to achieve "order" and realize the "common interests" within society. The state is an integration of political power within a society that has the authority to regulate human relationships and maintain order in society. As an organized entity within a specific territory, the state can legitimately impose its power over other power groups and establish common goals for collective living (MBudiardjo, 1982). With the presence of the state and its institutions, they can enforce collective desires for the sake of the common good and welfare (Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun, 1406).

The transformation of the political bureaucracy system is a significant phenomenon in the development of a country. In Indonesia, this transformation can be traced throughout its history, from the colonial period to the era of Reform Order. During the colonial period, the Indonesian political bureaucracy system was dominated by Dutch power, which had a major influence on the country's political structure and processes. However, with the end of colonial rule and the establishment of Indonesia as a nation, significant changes occurred in the political bureaucracy system. The Reform Order period was also a crucial time in the transformation of the political bureaucracy system in Indonesia. After several decades under the authoritarian New Order leadership, Indonesia underwent major political changes in 1998. These changes brought new hope for the Indonesian political bureaucracy system, with reform efforts aimed at creating a more transparent, accountable, and participatory governance system. These efforts need to be accompanied by educational and cultural religious understanding transformations to achieve harmony in national life (Syamsuar et al., 2019).

This study aims to examine and analyze the transformation of the political bureaucracy system in Indonesia from the colonial era to the Reform Order. It will investigate the changes in the structure, processes, and dynamics of the political bureaucracy system. By conducting a historical analysis and comparing the colonial period, the New Order, and the Reform era, this research seeks to understand the evolution of the Indonesian political bureaucracy system and its impact on the country's political development. Furthermore, it will explore Nurcholish Madjid's insights on governance systems to realize a Madani society, characterized by openness, egalitarianism, and tolerance based on transcendent ethical-moral values derived from divine revelation (Ilma & Alfian, 2020). Additionally, this study will examine the principles of political bureaucracy using a siyasah dusturiyah approach to establish an ethical foundation for an ideal bureaucracy system. The findings of this research are highly relevant to comprehending the existing bureaucracy system in the Indonesian government. They are expected to provide fresh perspectives on the transformation of the political bureaucracy system, Madani governance, and the principles of just bureaucracy management, ultimately offering policy recommendations to enhance the quality of governance in Indonesia in the future.

METHOD

This research employs a qualitative descriptive method, specifically adopting a content analysis approach. The aim is to analyze and examine relevant texts and literature regarding the political bureaucracy system in Indonesia from the colonial era to the Reform Order. The researcher will identify and analyze the key themes and content within the data sources, focusing on literature related to the political bureaucracy system, Nurcholish Madjid's writings on Islamic governance, and literature on *fiqh siyasah dusturiyah*. The data sources include the Qur'an, Hadith, books, journals, newspapers, magazines, essays, and other relevant materials. The data will be analyzed descriptively, utilizing a deductive-inductive approach to answer the research questions and draw meaningful conclusions. The researcher will provide a comprehensive description and explanation of the findings derived from the analysis of the texts and literature, shedding light on the research topic.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Transformation of the Political Bureaucratic System in Indonesia from the Colonial Era to the Reformation Order

1. **Political bureaucratic system during the Dutch colonial period**

The Dutch colonizers left behind the Beambtenstaat. During the Dutch colonial era, government officials often referred to as tuan *ambtenaar* or *pangreh praja* tended to become compradors, spying on the community and serving as the hands of foreign interests in their own country. The bureaucracy during this time was used as a tool by the state to control the people, hence it was called Beambtenstaat or bureaucratic state (Ruth Mcvey, 1982). From the Dutch East Indies era until the end of Japanese occupation, the colonial-built bureaucracy had a dual role that was ambivalent and distortive. On one hand, the bureaucracy should have been a public servant acting as a mediator between the colonial rulers and the oppressed people. On the other hand, the bureaucracy also monitored, controlled, and spied on any politically-oriented activities of the society (Fatah, 1995).

Characteristics of the Beambtenstaat include using bureaucracy as a tool to control the activities, rights, and freedom of expression of the society. This is achieved through licensing institutions, surveillance, and the implementation of coercive sanctions such as imprisonment, fines, and confiscation. An example illustrating this is the story "Saijah and Adinda" by Multatuli, set in the Lebak Banten region, which vividly portrays the extensive control exerted by the colonial bureaucracy over the community, with the assistance of local collaborators. Under the pretext of tax violations, they would seize the buffaloes of impoverished peasant families who could not pay the tribute, even resorting to the killing of a defenseless elderly father in front of his own child (Syafuan Rozi, 2006).

This differs from British colonialism, which employed a system of direct rule by placing their own officials, while the Dutch colonial administration utilized a

bureaucracy composed of selected local individuals, specifically the priyayi aristocrats, to carry out their interests (indirect rule). The Dutch colonial government's model of using a hierarchical class of officials to control society has persisted and been emulated, as evident in the involvement of the bureaucracy and Korpri as instruments of power during the Golkar and New Order era to secure electoral victories (Syafuan Rozi, 2006).

During the Japanese occupation and the transition to parliamentary democracy, the position of pangreh praja within the bureaucracy underwent a shift, experiencing dynamic political tests. The traditional leadership and mediation role of pangreh praja faced competition from nationalist and Islamic leaders who were not particularly fond of the priyayi corps. Some privileges and salaries of native officials were reduced, although the Japanese administration still maintained the pangreh praja corps for administrative control and political oversight (Sutherland, 1983). The atmosphere surrounding pangreh praja/government officials during the Dutch colonial and Japanese periods could still be tolerated since Indonesia was still under their occupation. However, after gaining independence, when the nation was self-governed, and with its own funds, the recurrence of certain mentalities and behaviors among government bureaucrats is truly ironic.

Indeed, it cannot be denied that there have been advancements in various aspects of a sovereign state, such as education infrastructure, political infrastructure, an increase in the number of mosques, and an expansion of the civil service and military personnel. Indonesia is a strong and culturally rich country from a cultural and ethical standpoint. However, what about the existence and practices of government bureaucracy or public bureaucracy during the Old Order regime? The following description will present a scientific and empirical analysis.

2. The influence of the Old Order on the political bureaucratic system

The term "abdi dalem/punggawa" (referring to those who served within the pre-colonial royal bureaucracy, often occupied by *wong cilik*) was replaced with the term "pamong praja" (government officials/bureaucracy). In this context, it is relevant to illustrate the layered relationship between abdi dalem and priyayi, just as government officials come from various ranks, social groups, and levels. In its motto, government officials are referred to as "abdi negara," an expression that still carries the connotation of being oriented upwards, towards the rulers. This is similar to the characteristics of the royal bureaucracy or ambtenaar, which were more focused on the exercise of power or regime orientation rather than a service-oriented approach towards the public. Pamong praja or ambtenaar appears to emphasize its function as regulators, controllers, or oriented towards supervision rather than service-oriented (Priyo Budi Santoso, 1995).

During the Old Order era, the government bureaucracy was greatly influenced by political parties. This can be understood because every political party wants to win, and for that, they need a large number of followers. One of the targeted partisan groups, apart from the masses/public, is the civil servants, especially those holding

strategic positions in government institutions from the central level to the village level. These human resources are contested by political parties to win in every election. Therefore, according to Miftah Thoha, "efforts to seize positions in certain departments, especially in departments with significant financial and human resources, are programs of political parties that do not openly appear on the surface but represent the greatest interest" (Miftah Thoha, 2012).

During the inception of the Parliamentary Cabinet under the 1945 Constitution, political parties in the government exerted considerable influence over officials and government employees. This meant that if a department's leader belonged to a particular political party, it was almost certain that all subordinates would align themselves with the leadership of that department, aiming to secure votes for their political party. Regrettably, this scenario hindered officials and civil servants from providing optimal service to the public, leading to a failure in meeting the community's demand for effective and equitable services.

Perjalanan birokrasi pemerintahan Indonesia dari tahun 1945 sampai tahun 1955 (dengan interval waktu selama 10 tahun) masih terus dipertahankan dengan pola pelayanan yang pincang. Proses *sustainibility* ini bahkan sampai setelah pemilu 1955 dipertahankan hingga akhir masa Orde Lama. Hal ini tampak pada pernyataan berikut: "Setelah pemilihan umum 1955, gejala seperti itu semakin jelas. Tidak jarang terjadi suatu departemen yang dipimpin oleh menteri dari partai tertentu, maka seluruh departemen mulai dari tingkat pusat sampai ke desa menjadi sewarna politik menterinya" (Miftah Thoha, 2012). Pada masa Orde Lama, birokrasi cenderung terbelah menjadi faksi-faksi dan mesin politik bagi PNI, NU, Masjumi, PKI, dan lain-lain.

Furthermore, Miftah Thoha provides an example of bureaucratic politicization during the Old Order era, stating, "The Ministry of Home Affairs, led by a Minister from the PNI, resulted in everyone from ministry employees to village heads in Indonesia being affiliated with the PNI. Similarly, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, led by a minister from the NU party, meant that everyone, from the minister to officials in the ministry, down to the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) at the district level, was associated with NU. The PKI also infiltrated every level within each ministry, with even military figures being influenced by the PKI" (Miftah Thoha, 2012).

That was the description of the government bureaucracy in the Old Order era, which continued to exist until the end of the regime's power. It showed indications of being "sick," meaning it was afflicted or possessed by the disease of political parties, which, in reality, did not improve but became a dangerous "virus" for the state and Indonesian government. Towards the end of Sukarno's administration, it seems that the orientation of the bureaucracy had not changed because there was a "politicization of the bureaucracy" in the form of appointments or filling of positions in departments by political parties. The Ministry of Home Affairs was dominated by PNI members, the Ministry of Religion by NU, and so on. The politicization of the bureaucracy was so deep that recruitment and promotion in departments at all levels were primarily

determined by an employee's party loyalty. Professionalism and the performance of the bureaucracy at that time seemed to suffer because the entire organization itself became a political institution. So, did the deteriorated condition and practices of the public bureaucracy continue in the New Order era?

3. Changes that occurred in the political bureaucratic system in the New Order era

The weakened bureaucracy and civil servants depicted during the Soekarno era (Old Order) persisted for a significant period of 22 years. This situation was further reinforced with the establishment of the New Order government, led by President Soeharto, and the dominance of his Golkar party. As part of the restructuring of the party system, the Golkar consolidation program was implemented at the beginning of the New Order. This program aimed to incorporate various societal segments, including economic, cultural, social, and defense organizations, in order to build political legitimacy (Ali Moertopo, 1982). The 1971 elections were successful in establishing political legitimacy through Golkar (R. William Liddle, 1992). However, these practices by Golkar inherently weakened the government bureaucracy, resulting in paralyzed civil servants and a disempowered community.

According to Azyumardi Azra's observations, "the weakness of civil society during the New Order era allowed corruption practices and the culture of 'doing as pleased' to spread from the elite level to the village level." This indicates the worrisome state of civil servants and the government bureaucracy. The deeply ingrained corruption was fueled by a biased and unhealthy implementation of the bureaucracy. Unfortunately, similar events repeated themselves during the New Order era, despite the lessons learned from the Old Order era. "During the New Order government, all government officials, from top to bottom, all the members of KORPRI (Civil Servants Corps) and their families, all members of the military (ABRI) and their families, and if possible, all Indonesian citizens, were required to join Golkar. The government bureaucracy became the bureaucracy of Golkar" (Ambar Teguh Sulistiyani, 2011). The government bureaucracy can no longer be seen as neutral, as expected by thinkers in this field (Miftah Thoha, 2012).

The Golkar consolidation program within the bureaucracy, initiated during the early years of the New Order, was systematically embedded within the government structure:

Initially, the issuance of Public Policy No. 6 of 1970 had extensive implications, conditioning civil servants to exclusively express their political aspirations through Golkar. This policy later became known as the 'monoloyalty' policy.

Subsequently, the monoloyalty policy was complemented by the enactment of Law No. 3 of 1975 concerning Political Parties and Functional Groups. This legislation also addressed the concept of the Floating Mass, limiting the activities of non-Golkar political parties up to the subdistrict level (Dati II). Golkar, identified by the New Order

as a non-partisan entity, remained unaffected by this restriction. Golkar could freely collaborate with village officials, RT/RW leaders, and Babinsa officers to garner support.

Moreover, the management of elections during the New Order was characterized by the substantial involvement of the bureaucracy, serving as both organizers (in the Indonesian Election Commission) and supervisory bodies. Additionally, the bureaucracy played a non-neutral political role aligned with the interests of specific political groups. This election management system also integrated significant roles and participation from the military (Eep Saefullah Fatah, 1995).

Thus, the placement of state officials within the bureaucracy, from the central government level in Jakarta to the villages, was predominantly held by Golkar. As a result, according to Miftah Thoha, "the government bureaucracy has been torn apart by the influence of political parties since the early days of the nation's introduction to political parties. And it became even worse during the New Order era." During this era, the government bureaucracy showed a total alignment with Golkar in almost every aspect. This can be seen through various work programs. An example is the "village improvement program, which was carried out and funded by government departments, being used as Golkar's promise, informing the funds and work programs that Golkar could use in election campaigns to make promises to the people" (Miftah Thoha, 2012).

Regarding the political power of PPP and PDI within the government bureaucracy, both political contestants "had no access to the government bureaucracy, so they couldn't make promises like Golkar, which could be 100% fulfilled" (Miftah Thoha, 2012). The state of the government bureaucracy, as depicted above, continued without significant changes. In fact, it worsened during the final periods leading up to Soeharto's downfall. From 1966 to 1998 (a 32-year period during the New Order regime), there were no indications of improvements towards bureaucracy neutrality. Consequently, due to the government bureaucracy's tendency to demand to be served rather than to serve the people, both the people and the private sector were always disadvantaged. The people's patience ran out, and the government did not respond to peaceful methods aimed at achieving positive change. Eventually, the people demanded reform, which culminated in the fall of the New Order regime in May 1998, with Soeharto stepping down and B.J. Habibie assuming power. Thus, Indonesia's journey began under the leadership of B.J. Habibie with the Reform Cabinet.

4. **Changes in the political bureaucratic system entered the Order of Reform**

Despite the rampant spread of corruption during the Reform era, to the point where even humanitarian funds were not spared from corruption, the strengthening of civil society opened up opportunities for the emergence of a significant anti-corruption movement (Karlina Helmanita et al., 2006).

The bureaucracy following the resignation of President Soeharto is situated at a crossroad between the efforts of those who aim to maintain the perpetuation of

bureaucratic polity, and those who advocate for the establishment of reforms, political impartiality, and bureaucratic professionalism. A new direction or model for bureaucratic reform needs to be designed to support democratization and the formation of clean and good governance, characterized by the growth of rational governance, transparency in various public affairs, inter-departmental competition in service delivery, enforcement of the rule of law, and regular public accountability.

Insight of Nurcholish Madjid on Civilizational Government

Nurcholish Madjid distinguishes between government and leadership. According to him, government "refers more to the system," while leadership "refers to individuals" (Nurcholish Madjid, 2004). Madjid differentiates these two terms because during the old order under the leadership of Sukarno-Hatta, Soekarno himself tended to equate them, despite their different epistemological foundations. Government is an organization that possesses the authority to create and enforce laws and regulations within a specific territory. Hence, Yusny Saby equates government with rulers, and government, from Yusny Saby's perspective, is a "network of power distribution with a controller" (Budiman, 2008). In the application of laws, the Muslim community requires a leader who reflects their values. It is projected that if such a leader emerges, they will be followed by officials/bureaucratic leaders in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Leaders like that were said to have emerged during the classical Islamic era in Medina, as suggested by Asghar Ali Engineer in one of his writings:

> "… The people of Medina longed for someone who could restore the city, which was in ruins due to the war. Prophet Muhammad came to fulfill this task. However, it was not an easy task. He had to proceed with utmost caution. In this city, there was no established government. Therefore, he took steps to establish such a government by imposing sanctions on various elements of the Medina community. He even enacted a law to address the situation" (Asghar Ali Engineer, 2000).

This reflects the ethical foundation laid by Prophet Muhammad, aiming to establish the spirit of *al-furqan*, which is the clear distinction between what is right (*haq*) and what is wrong (*batil*). However, according to Nurcholish Madjid, it is perceived that "it has not been fully internalized by all citizens" of Indonesia's Muslim community. Naturally, if the spirit of al-furqan is not internalized, it will have a negative impact on public servants (Nurcholish Madjid, 1999a).

Speaking about governance, nowadays almost all countries are closely associated with the theory of the separation of powers known as "Trias Politica" (Haris Munandar, 2005). This theory serves as a normative principle where powers should not be concentrated in the same space to prevent the abuse of power by those in authority (Nurcholish Madjid, 2004). Consequently, as Miriam Budiardjo stated, "the fundamental rights of citizens are better ensured." Similar to Miriam Budiardjo, Nurcholish Madjid also emphasizes "the importance of political institutionalization where each component recognizes a clear division of labor and interrelation in order to achieve checks and

balances." When the division of power within governance does not occur properly, in accordance with their respective proportions, it can lead to chaos and deceit towards the people through respected institutions, as written by Nurcholish Madjid:

> "The framework of the separation of powers, perhaps, cannot be fully realized in its pure form. However, modern political experiences show that the convergence or overlapping of roles and authorities among administrative, legislative, and judicial institutions will create opportunities for various forms of political manipulation" (Nurcholish Madjid, 2004).

To eliminate political manipulation, Nurcholish Madjid proposed a concept of "checks and balances mechanism," which must be directly related to the dynamics of work relationships and authority among the executive, legislative, and judicial institutions. According to Nurcholish Madjid, a democratic socio-political system "requires a clear and distinct division of labor among these three institutions." His opinion aligns with other experts in constitutional jurisprudence who state that "disorder in the division of labor among these three institutions in our country is currently one of the sources of corruption and forms of political misconduct due to ignorance and immaturity" (Nurcholish Madjid, 2004).

By adopting the concept of checks and balances, Nurcholish Madjid argues that each institution should oversee and limit the powers of one another to prevent abuse of power and ensure the establishment of a balanced and accountable governance system. This also contributes to efforts to minimize political manipulation that can harm society and impact the integrity of state institutions. In the context of Indonesia, the implementation of this concept is considered crucial to strengthen the political bureaucracy system, reduce corruption, and promote more transparent and accountable political practices. With a deeper understanding and awareness of the importance of clear and distinct division of labor among these institutions, it is hoped to create a more stable and integrity-based political system. (Murad & Rizki, 2023; Syamsuar Basyariah, 2012).

In summary, in an ideal-normative sense, government bureaucracies, wherever they may be and at any level, are demanded imperatively to uphold the principles of rationality and professionalism as the foundation of their actions and ways of functioning. These fundamental values are conveyed as a fundamental message in the holy scriptures, which require Muslims to be able to operationalize them. Nurcholish Madjid concludes by stating that:

> "Throughout its religious teachings, Islam does not desire anything except for the collective goodness. The measure of goodness is the universal humanity that encompasses fellow living beings within a broader environment. The universal teachings of Islam provide Muslims with a foundational ethical framework to guide their choices and decisions in life, including specific socio-political aspects that are

considered to be most supportive of their efforts to achieve their aspirations, namely the well-being for all" (Nurcholish Madjid, 1993).

According to Nurcholish Madjid, it can be argued both normatively and empirically that governance, in general, is inseparable from Islam as a religion since its inception. However, historical conflicts or divisions between Islam and governance, as well as between religious scholars and rulers, are deviations from the true principles of Islamic teachings. Nurcholish Madjid emphasizes the need to distinguish between religion and governance, while acknowledging their interconnectedness. In Nurcholish Madjid's perspective, he observes that the government has not been able to treat the Muslim community fairly. It is undeniable that Islam has the largest number of followers. This reality carries significant and closely intertwined consequences, which include:

> "The first consequence is that the government is obligated to pay attention to the aspirations of Indonesian Muslims, which are a significant aspect of our societal system. Neglecting the interests of Indonesian Muslims would go against the current reality and thus be highly dangerous. The second consequence is that Muslims bear a tremendous responsibility for nurturing society. This responsibility goes beyond mere fervent commitment; they are required to acquire high levels of expertise, both in understanding Islamic teachings themselves and in understanding the modern Indonesian context in terms of time and space" (Nurcholish Madjid, 1997).

To effectively restructure the division of governmental tasks and prevent corruption, Nurcholish Madjid suggests involving the issue of the quality of consciousness and awareness among the actors involved. Furthermore, there needs to be a sense of duty and devotion to the nation and state. According to Nurcholish Madjid, this requires a solid foundation of trust, legitimacy, and self-assurance among the actors in accepting their state authority. He recommends this approach to avoid despotic, autocratic, and totalitarian governance patterns, and instead advocate for a reflection of the governance of Prophet Dawud, who administered justice among people (Nurcholish Madjid, 2004), as contained in the Qoran surah Sad/38:26:

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ياداود إنا جعلناك خليفة في الأرض فاحكم بين الناس بالحق ولا تتبع الهوى فيضلك عن سبيل الله إن الذين يضلون عن سبيل الله لهم عذاب شديد بما نسوا يوم الحساب

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"O David! We have surely made you an authority in the land, so judge between people with truth. And do not follow ˹your˺ desires or they will lead you astray from Allah's Way. Surely those who go astray from Allah's Way will suffer a severe punishment for neglecting the Day of Reckoning."

Taking into account Nurcholish Madjid's opinion above, the existence of good governance is needed by the Indonesian society in order to implement and uphold a state that is beloved by Allah, and this necessitates a clear job description, meaning a division of work between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Since the

Qur'an and Hadith do not specifically mention a governmental system, the following section will explain the principles of good governance. The theology of development adopted by Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, and their colleagues, as mentioned by Dawam Rahardjo, aims to bridge the gap between the Muslim community and the government.

The *Siyasah Dusturiyah* Approach in the Transformation of Indonesia's Political Bureaucracy

Prophet Muhammad pioneered and set an example for humanity in building a civilized society (a society with values and ethics) by reforming the socio-cultural aspects of the Yathrib community, which lacked ethical values and disregarded individual rights, resulting in a chaotic societal order. This fundamental change led by Prophet Muhammad, according to Nurcholish Madjid, guided the Yathrib community towards a civilized societal order (madaniyyah), where people were obedient and compliant to the teachings of faith (al-Din), manifested through the supremacy of law and regulations (Nurcholish Madjid, 1999b). This endeavor by Prophet Muhammad is also referred to as a process of raising awareness and bridging divisions by seeking and actualizing Allah's guidance, thus transforming the Arab society into a civilized society. This process can be considered relatively lengthy, as Prophet Muhammad dedicated approximately twenty-three years of his life to this cause (Safwan Idris, 1999). Therefore, building a just and corruption-free government is a long-term endeavor, similar to the one undertaken by Prophet Muhammad during the establishment of civilization in the city of Yathrib.

The transformation of political bureaucracy is an important phenomenon in the development of a nation. In Indonesia, the history of political bureaucracy can be traced from the colonial era to the Reform era. Islam, as a religion that promotes justice, also provides guidance in building a just government. The principles of bureaucracy in the Qur'an and Hadith do not provide detailed instructions on the necessity of establishing an Islamic state or government based on Islamic teachings. Instead, only a few general principles are found as benchmarks for societal and governmental affairs. The Qur'an, for example, contains the following principles:

a. Allah created humans as leaders (khalifah) to govern and control the world, as mentioned in the Qur'an, Surah al-Baqarah/2:30, surah al-Nur/24:55, and surah al-Naml/27:62);

b. The obligation to uphold law and justice towards anyone (surah al-Nisa'/4:58, 105, and 135, surah al-Ma'idah/5:8);

c. The obligation to obey leaders in order to maintain the unity and solidarity of the community, as mentioned in Surah Ali 'Imran /3:118, and surah al-Hujurat/49:13);

d. The call to engage in consultation (musyawarah) in resolving collective issues, as mentioned in Surah Ali 'Imran/3:159 and surah al-Syura/42:38);

e. The equality and spirit of mutual assistance among one another, as mentioned in Surah al-Nisa'/4:1, surah al-Hujurat/49:10,13, and surah al-Ma'idah/5:2;

f. Defending the nation through warfare or striving to achieve peace with the international community and within one's own country, as mentioned in Surah al-Tawbah/9:38, surah al-Nisa'/4:89-90, and surah al-Mumtahanah/60:8;

g. Matters related to economy, administration, and trade, as mentioned in Surah al-Baqarah/2:198, 275 dan surah al-A'raf/7:85); dan

h. Human rights, including the right to life, property ownership, freedom of religion, and the right to association, as mentioned in Surah al-Baqarah /2:188, surah al-Nisa'/4:29, 32, and surah al-An'am/6:108).

In al-Hadith the principles of good governance are also stated, including the following:

a. The need for a leader, the responsibility of the leader towards his people and the reciprocal relationship between the leader and the people based on mutual love. Hadith of the Prophet stated:
   1) "*If there are three people, then appoint one person to be the leader*" (HR. Abu Dawud) (Abu Dawud, 1988b);
   2) "*Each of you is a leader and responsible for those you lead, a head of state leading the people, responsible for them, and a man is a leader of his household and responsible for them. Each leader is responsible for those they lead.*" (HR. Bukhariy dan Muslim) (Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, 1978);
   3) "*It is obligatory to obey leaders, except in matters of disobedience to God*" (HR. Bukhariy) (al Bukhari, 1992).

b. Principle of mutual assistance, especially towards the weak, as stated by the Prophet Muhammad:
   1) "*If any of us have an abundance of provisions, then let us give to those who are in great need.*" (HR. Abu Dawud) (Abu Dawud, 1988a);
   2) "*One's faith is not complete until they love others as they love themselves*" (HR. Bukhariy dan Muslim) (Bukhari, 1992).

c. The principle of freedom of expression, as stated by the Prophet Muhammad, who said:
   Three alternatives to prevent wrongdoing are: first, by authority (power), second, by advice (counsel), and third, by disapproval in the heart." (Reported by Ahmad bin Hanbal from Abu Sa'id al-Khudri):

من رأى منكم منكرا فليغيره بيده وإن لم يستطع فبلسانه وإن لم يستطع فبقلبه وذلك اضعف الإيمان (رواه أحمد ابن

حمبل).

"Whoever among you sees wrongdoing, let them rectify it with their actions. If they are unable to do so, let them rectify it with their words. And if they are still unable, let them rectify it within their hearts (by intending to change it). This is the lowest level of faith.."

d. The principle of equality before the law. In this case, the Prophet even said that:
    "If Fatimah bint Muhammad stole, her hands would definitely be cut off" (HR. Ahmad Ibn Hanbal) (Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, 1978);

e. The principle of appointing officials based on their abilities, not based on their desires, as the Prophet said:
    "Do not seek a position of authority, for if it is given to you upon your request, you will be burdened with its accountability. But if it is given to you without your asking, you will be granted the strength to fulfill it. If you have been appointed with an oath, and then you see someone else who is better suited for that position, then hand it over to that person and release yourself from the oath of office" (HR. Ahmad Ibn Hanbal) (Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, 1978);

f. Principle of brotherhood. The Hadith of the Prophet stated that:
    "A Muslim is a brother to another" (HR. Bukhariy) (Bukhari, 1992).

g. The principle of deliberation.

Here, the *Siyasah Dusturiyah* approach is explored based on the sources of the Qur'an and Hadith, as explained above. These principles provide a foundation for the development of a just and effective political bureaucracy, as well as encouraging active participation of the community in decision-making processes. Implementing these principles will help achieve good governance that is oriented towards the public interest. Furthermore, the implementation of these principles in the transformation of the political bureaucracy can bring significant positive impacts. Among the principles that can be used as a reference in leading a just bureaucracy are: Leadership, emphasizing the importance of leaders who are responsible for their people. Responsible leaders prioritize the public interest and strive to establish a fair and transparent government. Mutual assistance, emphasizing the importance of helping one another, especially the weak. In the context of political bureaucracy, this principle can be implemented through government programs that provide protection and support to those in need.

Freedom of speech, this principle encourages active participation of the community in decision-making processes. In the transformation of political bureaucracy, it is important for the government to create a safe and inclusive space for people to express their opinions, engage in public policy, and provide feedback to the government. Equality before the law, this principle emphasizes the need for equality under the law. In the transformation of political bureaucracy, it is important to ensure

that the law is enforced fairly and that no one is exempt from legal accountability, including leaders and government officials. Appointment based on merit, this principle emphasizes the importance of appointing officials based on qualifications and competence, rather than personal preferences. In the transformation of political bureaucracy, it is important to implement objective selection and assessment systems in the appointment of government officials.

Brotherhood, this principle teaches the importance of fostering harmonious and supportive relationships among individuals. In the context of political bureaucracy, this principle can encourage collaboration and cooperation between the government, society, and the private sector to achieve common goals in building a better nation. Consultation, this principle promotes the practice of consultation and deliberation in decision-making. In the transformation of political bureaucracy, it is important to involve the community in decision-making processes through inclusive and participatory forums for consultation. By implementing these principles, the transformation of political bureaucracy can result in a more effective, transparent, accountable, and responsive government that caters to the needs of the society. These principles also support sustainable and inclusive development, as well as the creation of social justice and well-being for all people.

CONCLUSION

This study complements our understanding of the transformation of bureaucracy in Indonesia from the colonial era to the reform era. During the Dutch colonial government, the Indonesian bureaucracy had a dual role, which was to control society and spy on political activities. In the Old Order era, the political party heavily influenced the political bureaucracy system in Indonesia. Government officials and employees became targets of political parties in their efforts to gain power and influence. In the New Order era, the government bureaucracy was co-opted by the Golkar political party, weakening civil servants and rendering the public powerless. Corruption and nepotism were rampant. There was no significant change in the direction of bureaucratic neutrality during the New Order era. This era ended with the fall of the Soeharto regime in 1998. After the Reform era, the political bureaucracy system in Indonesia underwent changes. A massive anti-corruption movement emerged, driven by the strengthening of civil society. Despite progress in other aspects, during the period of political stability, the behavior of the government bureaucracy continued to repeat itself.

In this regard, Nurcholish Madjid expressed his views on the system of government. He emphasized the importance of differentiating between governance and leadership, as well as the need for a clear and distinct separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches in the political system. He proposed the concept of checks and balances to oversee and limit the power of these institutions in order to prevent abuse and ensure the establishment of a balanced and accountable system of government. The implementation of this concept is considered crucial to

strengthen the political bureaucracy system, reduce corruption, and promote more transparent and accountable political practices. Nurcholish Madjid also emphasized the importance of a sense of duty and dedication to the nation and state in carrying out governance.

If viewed from the perspective of *Siyasah Dusturiyah*, there are seven principles that serve as the foundation for the transformation of bureaucracy: the need for leaders who are responsible to their people, mutual assistance, freedom of speech, equality before the law, appointment based on capability, brotherhood, and consultation. These principles provide a basis for the development of a just and effective political bureaucracy, as well as encouraging active participation of the community in decision-making processes. Implementing these principles will help achieve good governance that is oriented towards the public interest.

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