

PANCASILA, DEMOCRACY, AND NKRI BER-SHARĪ'AH IN INDONESIA: HOW CHRISTIANS SHOULD RESPOND AND PARTICIPATE

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Abstrak

Demokrasi, pluralisme, Pancasila dan kebebasan beragama menjadi topik perdebatan sengit di Indonesia karena ketiganya tidak melulu soal teori dan konsep tapi juga sangat memengaruhi kehidupan berbangsa. Terlebih lagi, tuntutan terhadap penerapan shari'ah di Indonesia dari sekelompok kecil Muslim terus berkumandang di Indonesia yang tentu saja juga menyangkut umat Kristiani yang merupakan warga terbesar ke dua di Indonesia. Artikel ini berupaya untuk mengaksi partisipasi umat Kristiani dalam kehidupan demokrasi dan Pancasila di tengah desakan penerapan shari'ah (NKRI ber-shari'ah) di Indonesia. Di dalamnya dikupas perspektif teologis bagi partisipasi Kristen di ruang publik, sejarah singkat desakan penegakan shari'ah dan Pancasila dan bagaimana seharusnya umat Kristiani meresponsnya. Artikel ini berkesimpulan bahwa umat Kristiani bisa memainkan banyak peran dalam proses demokratisasi dan penegakan Pancasila, khususnya melalui gerakan masyarakat sipil.

Kata Kunci: Demokrasi, Pancasila, Shari'ah, Umat Kristiani di Indonesia

Abstract

Democracy, pluralism, Pancasila, and religious freedom become a heated debate in Indonesia because they are not only theoretical and conceptual but also have a significant influence on many aspects of the nation's life. Moreover, the demand for the implementation of shari'ah from a small number of Muslim groups continues to echo in this country which, off course, concern also the Christians who become the second largest population in this country. This paper is an attempt to examine the Christians' participation in democracy and Pancasila amidst the demand for the implementation of shari'ah in Indonesia. It discusses theological perspectives for Christians' participation in the public space, a brief history of the struggle on shari'ah law and Pancasila, and how Christians have and should respond through civil society. The paper argues that Christians can participate in many ways in democratization and defending Pancasila in Indonesia through the channels of civil society.

Keywords: Democracy, Pancasila, Shari'ah, Indonesian Christians

INTRODUCTION

The issues of democracy, pluralism, Pancasila and religious freedom become hot topics to discuss from time to time in Indonesia because these are not only at the theoretical and conceptual discourse but they influence significantly into many aspects of the nation's life. They have been debated and challenged since the founding of Indonesia in 1945. Currently these topics have become the headline-news in media, for instance the discourse of removing Pancasila education (*Pendidikan Pancasila*) from school curriculum

and the Indonesian Islamic State (*Negara Islam Indonesia - NII*).¹

Many studies have been done in response to these issues. In a provoking title "Better Religious Studies Classes Are What We Need, Not More Pancasila" Yohanes Sulaiman, a researcher at the Global Nexus Institute, writes his article regarding the removal of Pancasila education issue.² The discourse of democracy, Pancasila and religious freedom in Indonesia mostly are discussed in the challenge of Islamic State and *shari'ah* law. From Islamic perspectives

¹ *Harian Umum Kompas* 6 May 2011, p. 1, 4.

² Yohanes Sulaiman in *Jakarta Globe* online 3 May 2011 (<http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/opinion/better-religious-studies-classes-are-what-we-need-not-more-pancasila/438751>), accessed on October 14, 2011.

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Zuly Qodir, a researcher from Centre of Security and Peace (*Pusat Studi Keamanan dan Perdamaian - PSKP*) and Muhammadiyah member, analyses “shari’ah fever” in Indonesia that manifested in the form of Islamic parties and *perda-perda shari’ah* (local regulations).³ Whereas Hartono Mardjono, a senior politician from *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP) puts forward the implementation of *shari’ah* in law, politics and the state.⁴

Christians also respond to *shari’ah* and religious harmony issues from Christian perspective, for instance Gatut Saksono from the Catholic Church and Olaf Schuman from the Indonesian Churches Communion (*Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia - PGI*).⁵ Saksono sees that the issue of *shari’ah* implementation is not the issue for Muslims but also for non-Muslims by giving some examples of the impact of *perda-perda shari’ah*. However, he does not give any conclusion regarding Christian thought towards *shari’ah* implementation. While Schumann discusses the problem of religious harmony in Indonesia particularly between Christians and Muslims in some aspects: politics, theology, culture, etc. In addition, Jan Aritonang also writes a very extensive survey on the history of Christians-Muslims relations dealing with the issue of *shari’ah* and Pancasila.⁶ However their discussions very little touch theological perspectives of Christians’ participation towards Islamic state and *shari’ah*.

CHRISTIANS AND PARTICIPATION IN THE PUBLIC SPACE

As almost all world religions have diversity, under the umbrella of Christianity also there are many groups that differ to each other in their theological perspectives, mainly because each

³ Zuly Qodir, *Islam Syariah Vis-à-vis Negara*, (Yogyakarta, Pustaka Pelajar: 2007)

⁴ Hartono Mardjono, *Menegakkan Syariat Islam dalam Konteks Keindonesiaan*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1997).

⁵ Gatut Saksono, *Dialog Wacana Syariat Islam dan Sumbangan Pikiran orang Kristiani*, (Yogyakarta, Yabinkas: 2009) and Olaf Schuman, *Menghadapi Tantangan Memperjuangkan Kerukunan*, (Jakarta, BPK Gunung Mulia: 2004)

⁶ Jan Aritonang, *Sejarah Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta, BPK Gunung Mulia: 2005)

group has its own interpretation to the Bible. From thousands of churches in Indonesia, in a simple way they can be categorized into four major groups: Roman Catholic, Ecumenical, Evangelicals, and Pentecostals; although in the eyes of the state there are only two groups: the Catholic and the Protestant.⁷ All of these groups came to Indonesia from the western countries (North America and Europe). It means, in some extend their theological views are very much influenced by the western theology while there are some efforts in process to make contextual theology.

The first Protestant churches founded in Indonesia before the Indonesian independence was result of Dutch missions. They became the founding members of PGI (was DGI) in 1950 as the only national body represented the Protestant then. The members of these churches were those who involved in public in the early Indonesia. In his classic book “*Tanggungjawab Geredja dan Orang Kristen dibidang Politik*”, Notohamidjojo the principal of Satya Wacana University in 1967 described the biblical basis of Christian responsibility in politics.⁸ According to him, the very basic of Christian theology is God-centeredness: God is the motivation of and purpose for everything we do because God is the Creator and also the King of all creations.⁹ The Kingdom of God is central in biblical message that should be proclaimed to all nations.¹⁰ Because God is the King of all creations, God is the King of every sphere of life, including the state

⁷ Based on the national body of these groups: Catholic: KWI (*Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia*), Ecumenicals: PGI/DGI (*Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja Indonesia*), Evangelicals: PGLII/PPI (*Persekutuan Gereja dan Lembaga Injili Indonesia*) and Pentacostals: PGPI (*Persekutuan Gereja Pentakosta Indonesia*). Ecumenicals, Evangelicals and Pentacostals in Indonesia can be considered as Protestants. Besides these four major groups there are many minor protestant groups. Major and minor is defined based on membership. Although some evangelical and pentacostal churches became newer members of PGI, most of PGI members are ecumenical. Ecumenical and Evangelical have their international bodies where PGI and PGLII are also affiliated to: World Council of Churches (WCC) for Ecumenicals and World Evangelical Alliance (WEA) for Evangelicals.

⁸ Notohamidjojo, *Tanggungjawab Geredja dan Orang Kristen dibidang Politik*, (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1969).

⁹ Colosians 1: 16

¹⁰ Matthew 24: 14

and politics. The law of God's Kingdom as summarized by Jesus Christ in the "Love Law" should be applied in the whole world and in every aspect.¹¹ The church as people of God is called and chosen to proclaim this message.¹² It means that Christians are also called to be present in politics. Besides, the Bible recognizes government as God's agency to present God's Kingdom in the world.¹³ Notohamidjojo seems mixed up the meaning of "church". He did not clearly differentiate "universal church" from "local or institutional church". On the one hand, the biblical verses that he quoted about church actually refer to "universal church" not church as institution. On the other hand, he said that the church should be responsible in politics through prayer, pastoral, prophecy and teaching and not as political party.¹⁴ This statement seems referring to "institutional church" that in Indonesia is considered as mass organization. A Christian political party in fact is church in "universal church" sense but it is not "institutional church".

In other classic book titled "*Partisipasi Kristen Dalam Nation Building di Indonesia*"¹⁵ written in 1968, W.B. Sidjabat from DGI/PGI showed similar theological perspective that Christians should be present in all aspects of life: in politics, culture, education, health, and economic. Unfortunately, in those two books, there was no discussion about Pancasila, religious freedom or Christians' response to Islam in that period while as I will discuss later, during that period there were some religious conflict cases so that the government facilitated *Musyawahar Antar Umat Beragama* in Jakarta. It seems that Christian leaders at that time were more concerned about nation building than religious conflicts.

¹¹ Mattew 22: 37-40, "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind... You shall love your neighbor as yourself. On these two commandments depend all the Law and the Prophets."

¹² 1 Peter 2: 9-10

¹³ Roman 13: 1-7

¹⁴ Notohamidjojo, *Tanggungjawab Geredja*, p. 65-66.

¹⁵ W.B. Sidjabat, *partisipasi Kristen dalam nation Building di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1968)

As Indonesia was under the Dutch colonialism, I believe that in some extent the Dutch Reformed theology had influenced the Indonesian churches through their missions. One of the world-class theologians and politicians was Abraham Kuyper who once was the Prime Minister of the Netherlands in the early twentieth century. His view has influenced not only Ecumenicals but also Evangelicals (since there was no division between the two then). The other theologian that was also influential then was Carl F. Henry from America.

Despite the diversity, Christians in general have some core beliefs that characterized them as Christians that is the faith in Jesus as the Savior of sinful human being. Based on Jesus' teaching, everyone who believes in Him his/her life will be transformed to a new life and be saved.¹⁶ Besides personal transformation, Christians believe in social transformation as a product of personal transformation, because the root of all problems is sinful nature of human being. Therefore the gospel message is not only for individual transformation but also social transformation. Social action is not merely social but also spiritual.¹⁷ This theological view today still exists more among Evangelicals than Ecumenicals because of the influence of Henry.

The main critic towards Henry's theology is that he emphasized more on the Scripture as special revelation of God and tended to ignore natural law which is believed as God's general revelation or common grace. This critic has developed the Evangelical theology to consider and accept natural law as complement to the biblical principles.¹⁸ The consequence of this acceptance is that Christians open to any theories although they are not written in the Scripture, and this can be unique in every context. That is why Evangelicals (and most Christians) today accept and support the

¹⁶ Based on John 3: 3 and 1 Corinthian 5: 17

¹⁷ David L. Weeks "Carl F. Henry on Civic Life" in *Evangelicals in the Public Square*, pp. 134-135

¹⁸ J. Budziszewski, *Evangelicals in the Public Square*, pp. 50-51

concept of republic and democracy while there is no such thing written in the Bible.¹⁹ This principle also has made Evangelicals believe that the gospel is for every human being on the one hand, but on the other hand believe in pluralism because God has given each human being liberty, and there is no contradiction between the two.

Further, based on this liberty principle Abraham Kuyper insisted anti-uniformity and pleaded for “a free multiformity”. Kuyper’s concept on free multiformity was influenced by Alexis de Tocqueville’s view on “voluntary association” as a response to the danger of individualism resulted from liberty.²⁰ Kuyper said:

Nothing should be forced and nothing united which is not organically one. If there are people of good will who are one in mind and spirit, let them join together and courageously confess the faith of their hearts, but let them not claim any greater unity than that which is really their common possession.²¹

Kuyper’s theology has also tremendously influenced American Christians in response to the church-state relation and secularization issue. Based on the principles above we will understand why Indonesian Christians should be present in the public square and defend multiformity in the nation.

Besides this theology, there is other view that emphasizes more in individualistic pietistic spirituality. This view is against any involvement in social action and politics because it is considered as secular. This dualism view tends to separate spiritual life and secular life, and between the two spiritual life is the most important. Personal salvation and personal relationship with God are the

¹⁹ Democracy is in tune with the Bible because the Bible teaches that every human being is equal since God created human being equal in God’s image (Genesis 1: 26)

²⁰ John Bolt “Abraham Kuyper and the Search for an Evangelical Public Theology” in *Evangelicals in the Public Square*, p. 150-151

²¹ Quoted by Bolt in p. 151 from Abraham Kuyper, “Uniformity: The Curse of Modern Life” in *Abraham Kuyper: A Centennial Reader*, p. 39

emphasis of this theology. This kind of theology has discouraged Christians to participate in public square.

THE JAKARTA CHARTER: THE EVER-LASTING CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE

In this section I would like to discuss the struggle of the Jakarta Charter that has been present as old as the republic. In some degree Christians’ response to this issue has become Christians’ participation in Pancasila democracy. Because of the space limitation in this paper, I will only take some events in history to give general sense.

Sukarno’s Era

In the preparation of the Indonesian independence, Christians and Muslims were involved in some committees like BPUPKI, *Panitia Perancang UUD* and PPKI²². BPUPKI was formed by the Japanese in March 1945 with 62 members. From 62 members, 15 persons were representatives from Islamic²³ groups (Islamist), the rest are secular-nationalist included 3 Christians.²⁴ The discussion regarding the form of the state whether Islamic (*Negara Islam*) or united (*Negara Kesatuan*) was the hottest issue debated in BPUPKI. This debate did not come into any agreement and the topic of discussion shifted to Sukarno’s speech on 1 June 1945 about the state foundation (*Pancasila*). The issue of religion was mentioned deliberately in his speech. Sukarno appealed to the assembly that Indonesia should be based on Divinity (*Ketuhanan*) that all people could worship

²² BPUPKI= Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia, UUD = Undang-Undang Dasar; PPKI= Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia

²³ Islamic group is addressed to organizations that based on Islamic ideology and to establish an Islamic State or to apply shari’ah law as normative law. I will use “Islamist” to identify this kind of group. Those 15 BPUPKI members who are considered as Islamists: Abikusno Cokrosuyoso (PSII), KH. Ahmad Sanusi (PUI), KH Abdul Halim (PUI), Raden Syamsudin (PUI), KH Mas Mansur (Masyumi), Raden Ruslan Wongsokusumo (Masyumi), KH Masykur (NU), KH. Wachid Hasyim (NU), Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (Muhammadiyah), Abdul Kahar Muzakir (Muhammadiyah), Ny. Sunaryo Mangunpuspito (Aisyah), KH. Agus Salim (Penyadar), Sukiman (PII), AR. Baswedan (PAI), Abdul Rahim Pratalykrama (Residen Kediri)

²⁴ Aritonang, *Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam*, p. 235-236. The three Christians are Maramis (Minahasan), Latuharhary (Ambonese) and Parada Harahap (Bataks) (see http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daftar_Anggota_BPUPKI-PPKI)

their Lord freely and respect other religions. Because the debates between Islamist and secular-nationalist still had not come to an agreement, on 18 June 1945 out of 62 BPUPKI members were chosen 9 persons to be in special committee called “*Panitia Sembilan*” (Committee Nine) to draft the Preamble of the Constitution.²⁵ *Panitia Sembilan* came out with a compromise formulation called the Jakarta Charter, which the first principle says *Ketuhanan dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya*.

In the second assembly on 10-16 July 1945, the Jakarta Charter formulation was reported by *Panitia Sembilan*. Mr. Johannes Latuharhary, an Ambonese Christian, raised his objection regarding the seven words.²⁶ The disagreement was not only from Latuharhary, but also from some Javanese Muslims like Wongsonegoro and Husein Jayadiningrat.²⁷ However, finally the assembly decided the Jakarta Charter and the discussion moved to the government structure. The Islamist proposed kingdom with a *Khalifah*, but finally the majority agreed to have a republic with a president. Other tensions were on the proposal from the Islamist that the president must be a Muslim and the state religion is Islam. Sukarno in his speech on 16 July 1945 tried to mediate the debates and asked the assembly to accept the point of president must be a Muslim and to put the first principle of Jakarta Charter in chapter 29 verse 1 of the Constitution. Sukarno in front of the assembly deliberately asked Latuharhary and Maramis as non-Muslim members to accept this proposal as their sacrifice to the country. Finally, it was decided by the assembly. Most likely, Latuharhary and Maramis accepted this proposal because both of them respected Sukarno as their leader and sacrifice for the

sake of others is one of Christian teaching. Other possibility is because this formulation was already a compromise (middle way) between the two choices of Islamic vs. secular state.

After Japan was bombed by the USA, the Japanese formed PPKI on 7 August 1945 with 21 members (later became 27). From 27 people, 16 were former BPUPKI members, which only 2 were from the Islamist group: Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (Muhammadiyah) and KH. Wachid Hasyim (NU). Three members were Christians: GSSJ (Sam) Ratulangie (Minahasan), Johannes Latuharhary (Ambonese), and Yap Tjwan Bing (Javanese Chinese).²⁸ On 17 August 1945 morning Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed the independence of Indonesia. In the evening Sukarno and Hatta called four Muslim leaders²⁹ for an urgent meeting, asking to delete the seven words of the Jakarta Charter to accommodate objection from Christians. Finally, in relatively short time they agreed to change the first principle to *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* in order to keep the nation unity.³⁰ On 18 August, PPKI assembly accepted that proposal and also deleted the clause “must be a Muslim” from the requirement of president. Although in great disappointment, the Islamist leaders accepted this compromise with three considerations:³¹ (1) The Islamic group was aware the importance of the nation unity, especially in the context of Indonesia that was just founded; (2) “*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*” is in tune with the meaning of *tauhid* in

²⁸ http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daftar_Anggota_BPUPKI-PPKI, only Latuharhary was former BPUPKI member.

²⁹ Soekarno and Hatta talked to Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (Muhamaddiyah), KH. Wachid Hasyim (NU), Mr. Kasman Singodimejo, Mr. Teuku Mohammad Hasan after heard a message from Nishijima, assistant of Admiral Maeda. According to historian Dr. I.O. Nanulaitta, the Japanese soldier met Mr. J. Latuharhary and Dr. GSSJ Ratulangie. See Aritonang, *Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam*, p. 254

³⁰ Hatta said, “*Supaya kita jangan pecah sebagai bangsa, kami mufakat untuk menghilangkan bagian kalimat yang menusuk hati kaum Kristen itu dan menggantikannya dengan Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa.*” Quoted from Mohammad Hatta, *Sekitar Proklamasi 17 Agustus 1945*, (Jakarta, Tintamas, 1969) p. 56. See Aritonang, *Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam*, p. 255. According to Robert Hefner, it is the NU who proposed the words “*Yang Maha Esa*” see Hefner, *Civil Islam*, p. 42.

³¹ Aritonang, *Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam.*, p. 255

²⁵ The members of *Panitia Sembilan* were 5 from secular-nationalist camp: Sukarno, Hatta, Ahmad Subarjo, Muh. Yamin, Maramis and 4 from Islamist camp: Abikusno (SI), Abdul Kahar (Muhamadiyah), Wahid Hasyim (NU), Agus Salim (PI). Maramis is a Christian but considered as part of secular-nationalist.

²⁶ The problematic seven words are: “*dengan menjalankan syariat Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya*”. Latuharhary considered that words as discrimination to other religions.

²⁷ Fatimah Husein, *Muslim-Christian Relations in the New Order Indonesia*, (Bandung, Mizan: 2005), p. 74

Islam; (3) The Islamic group hopes for a general election would be held six months after the Proclamation. They were confident that they would win because the majority of Indonesia is Muslim. If they win, they could change the constitution later as mentioned by Sukarno.³² If the third consideration is true, then it was a great faith of the Christians to finally decide to be part of Indonesia with a possibility of change in the future. However, I am doubt that was what Sukarno meant in his speech because the decision to have multi political party was not decided by PPKI. Conversely, on 22 August 1945, PPKI agreed to have one single political party to unite all political powers which was PNI. It means that there would be no plan to form Islamic political party.³³

Nevertheless, some Islamist leaders felt betrayed for they had discussed and agreed the Jakarta Chapter in BPUPKI.³⁴ The attempt to establish an Islamic State continued to occur in many ways from formal political means to the radical rebellion. One significant rebellion was DI/TII/NII³⁵ rebellion by S.M. Kartosuwiryo and Kahar Muzakkar. Kartosuwiryo proclaimed the founding of NII on 7 August 1949 and claimed himself as the *Imam* of NII. In the draft of NII Constitution, non-Muslim was totally excluded and forbidden to hold any government role.³⁶

The formal political means was expected from general election 1955. Two years before the election, on 11-15 April 1953 the *Ulamas* held a *Muktamar* to prepare *Dustur Islamiyah* (Islamic Constitution) with a conviction that the Islamist parties would win the election. They announced a fatwa that it was *haram* for Muslim to vote for non-Islamic party. However,

³² This conviction was based on what Sukarno said, "Nanti... dalam suasana yang lebih tenteram, kita tentu.... dapat membuat UUD yang lebih lengkap, lebih sempurna."

³³ The Islamic political parties were formed because of Maklumat Pemerintah X/1945 on 3 November 1945 which allowed and encouraged to form as many political parties as possible. It was not the demand from Islamist groups but because of the threat of Alliance's accusation that Indonesia applying facism so that it will put Indonesia in difficult position in global context.

³⁴ Hefner, *Civil Islam*, p. 42

³⁵ DI= *Darul Islam*, TII= *Tentara Islam Indonesia*, NII= *Negara Islam Indonesia*

³⁶ Aritonang, *Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam.*, p. 295

the result of the election was a shock for the Islamic parties that they could not win the majority votes as they expected confidently.

From 1953 to 1959 there were never ending debates again in *Konstituante* on whether Islam or Pancasila would be the foundation of the state in the process of making the Indonesian new Constitution. Christians were part of Pancasila defender together with the nationalists. Another hot issue that debated in *Konstituante* was regarding religious freedom. The Islamists argued that non-Muslims would be protected as *dhimmi* in observing their religious practices. For Christians, it means that non-Muslims were considered as lower class and not equal. Masyumi proposed that the new Constitution would prohibit religious conversion. The Christians argued that based on chapter 18 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everyone has the right to choose and change his/her religion.³⁷

These long debates finally forced Sukarno to issue a Presidential Decree on 5 July 1959 to dismiss *Konstituante* and to be back to the 1945 Constitution and began the Guided Democracy that later brought Sukarno to be long-life president. In the fifth paragraph of the Decree, Sukarno said "We believe that the Jakarta Charter 22 June 1945 was the spirit of (*menjiwai*) the 1945 Constitution and was integrated (*suatu rangkaian kesatuan*) to that constitution".³⁸

Suharto's Era

When Suharto became the new president, the Islamist group expected that they could be given more opportunity than they got from Sukarno, but disappointingly Suharto marginalized them from power arena. Suharto even forced all organizations, including religious ones, to take Pancasila as the sole basis (*asas tunggal*).

³⁷Article 18 of Human Rights Declaration: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance"

³⁸ Ign. Gatut Saksono, *Dialog Wacana Syariat Islam*, (Yogyakarta: Yabinkas, t.th).

After the G-30S PKI movement there were a mass killing of PKI members by military under Suharto's command. During and after the mass killing there were around two million people came to Christ. This conversion issue triggered the old tension.³⁹ This conversion issue related to the building of Methodist church in Meulaboh, Aceh in 1967. The local people and some Islamist leaders protested so that building was stopped by the local government. It continued by *Peristiwa Makasar*⁴⁰ in 1 October 1967 when a number of Muslim youth attacked and destroyed some church buildings, schools and Christian organization offices and hurt some Christian youth.

Responding to these conflicts, Suharto through the Minister of Religion gathered religious leaders in *Musyawarah Antar Umat Beragama* on 30 November 1967 in Jakarta. Both Christians and Muslims admitted that it was a divine calling to spread their religions, thus it needed *modus vivendi* in this plural nation. M. Natsir represented Islam accused that Christians' mission was planned to purge (*melenyapkan*) Islam from Indonesia, so that the only way to improve the relationship among religious groups is by prohibiting one's religion adherents became the aim of the mission of other religion. The Christian representatives led by T.B. Simatupang rejected those accusation and proposal, because it is not the goal of Christian mission to purge any religion, and it is a divine command to share the gospel to everybody and the whole world. Moreover, every human being has right to change his/her religion.⁴¹ In addition, Simatupang said even if he and other Christian representatives signed the agreement, it would not be followed by Christian community because it against the Scripture. As the result, there was no agreement in this point and increase the disappointment of Muslims side.⁴² The result

³⁹ Hefner, *Civil Islam*, p. 437 and Trisno, p. 127. Further discussion see Avery T. Willis, *Indonesian Revival*

⁴⁰ Aritonang, *Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam.*, p. 383

⁴¹ According to article 18 of Human Rights Declaration

⁴² Aritonang, *Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam.*, p. 391. Hamka commented cynically: "Bagi golongan Kristen, Kristen dan Katholik, musyawarah ini telah memberikan hasil yang sangat,

of this *musyawarah* had grown the tension as well as the seed of suspiciousness and distrust between two religions.

The attempt to revive the Jakarta charter in the 1945 Constitution also continued. NU and Parmusi⁴³ raised this demand to the MPRS General Assembly in 1968.

Post-Suharto's era

After the fall of Suharto, the attempt to revive the Jakarta Charter came back.⁴⁴ In the MPR General Assembly 1999 the Islamist parties voice out to amend 1945 Constitution including the Preamble with a hope to accept the Jakarta Charter. Interestingly, this time NU had different position and was not supporting this idea and even against it. This position was expressed by Nation Awakening Party (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa PKB*) that was founded by Abdurrahman Wahid as political vehicle for NU member. Abdurrahman Wahid had played significant role in transforming NU to be more pluralist. Finally, it was decided that Preamble of the 1945 Constitution (including Pancasila) cannot be changed at any cost. This decision was supported by both NU and Muhammadiyah as the two largest Muslim groups that in 1945 fought for Islamic State and the Jakarta Charter.

However, because in some level that decision was not satisfying the Islamist group, the attempt to revive Jakarta Charter still has not finished. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) for instance, publicly declares that democracy and Pancasila have failed and Indonesia should turn to Islamic state (*khilafah*) and *shari'ah* law.⁴⁵ This anti-democracy ideology has also influenced students and youth, for instance on 18 October 2009 there was an Indonesian Islam Student

sangat positif. Baru sekali ini, sejak Zending dan Missi dibawa oleh penjajah ke negeri ini, sampai sekarang zaman merdeka, mereka dapat mengatakan dengan terus terang di hadapan pemimpin-pemimpin dan pemuka Islam, ulamanya dan zu'amanya, bahwa mengkristenkan seluruh umat Islam ini adalah mission sacre mereka, kewajiban suci mereka...." (quoted from Panji Masyarakat no. 21, 1968)

⁴³ Parmusi was a new form of Marsjumi that was banned by Sukarno and Suharto.

⁴⁴ Aritonang, *Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam.*, p. 581

⁴⁵ <http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/tentang-kami/>, accessed on June 14, 2011.

Congress (*Kongres Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia - KMII*) that openly took an Oath to replace Indonesian Youth Oath (*Sumpah Pemuda*) in 28 October 1928. There are five points in this oath which basically rejected any secular system like democracy and will struggle for Islamic State and *shari'ah* law, as stated in point three of the oath:

*Dengan sepenuh jiwa, kami akan terus berjuang tanpa lelah untuk tegaknya syari'ah Islam dalam naungan Negara Khilafah Islamiyah sebagai solusi tuntas problematika masyarakat Indonesia dan negeri-negeri muslim lainnya.*⁴⁶

Based on Robert Dahl's historical observation, democracy and republic refer to the same meaning.⁴⁷ Using this lens, the debates in BPUPKI that finally decided to accept the Jakarta Charter with *shari'ah* Islam on the one hand but in other hand accepted republic with a president contradicted to each other. However, as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, Indonesian independence was by God's grace. It was also by God's grace that PPKI in only two days (compared to the long debates in BPUPKI) agreed to remove two things that were not in tune with democracy and equality: 1) the seven words of the Jakarta Charter and 2) the requirement that president must be a Muslim. PPKI's decision to delete the seven words was part of Christian's significant participation in the forming of Indonesia as a democratic state that recognizing civic political equality regardless majority or minority.

Although some people say that the number of those who still want Islamic state is small, the influence is not that small. It was reflected also in BPUPKI when there were only 15 out of 62, even when the leaders were secular-nationalist like Sukarno and Hatta they still had a big influence to bargain in the Jakarta Charter. The Islamists today still fight for it and its growing cannot be underestimated. However, the failure to change the 1945 Constitution

to accommodate the Jakarta Charter does not stop the effort to apply *shari'ah* in laws and regulations.

NKRI BER-SHARI'AH AND CHRISTIAN RESPONSES

Continuing the previous discussion, I will explore some laws and regulations that made during and after Suharto's order that in some degree have been influenced by Islamic interest and *shari'ah*. The first regulation issued was the Joint Decree of Minister of Religion and Minister of Domestic Affair (SKB No 1/1969) to control the church buildings especially in Muslim areas. According to Zuly Qodir, SKB No 1/1969 shows that control and involvement of the state is very strong towards religious life. This kind of regulation in fact creates more problems and conflicts as well as feeling suspiciousness between Christian and Muslims.⁴⁸

It continued with the Marriage Law (UU No. 1/1974). The draft of this law was shocking the Islamist group since there many were not in tune with Islamic law. According to HAMKA, the draft was from the Dutch and Christian Marriage law. He accused this draft was part of Christianization.⁴⁹ Finally, the Marriage Law 1974 was in tune with the *shari'ah*, but in the contrary it was not in tune for some Christian concepts.

Alamsyah Ratu Prawiranegara as Minister of Religion, in 1978 issued two Minister Decrees (no 70 and 77) to prohibit religious propagation to the adherents of other religion and foreign donation for religious activities were only allowed with government agreement. Both Indonesian Council of Churches (Dewan Gereja Indonesia - DGI) and Indonesian Bishop Conference (Majelis Agung Wali Gereja Indonesia - MAWI) rejected that decrees and his statement. According to Peter Polomka, this regulations were spirited by the Jakarta Charter.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ http://id-id.connect.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=157123937651882

⁴⁷ Robert Dahl, p. 17 He observes that the word "democracy" is from Greek *demos* and *cratos*, while the word "republic" is from Latin *res* and *publicus*.

⁴⁸ Zuly Qodir, *Islam Syariah.*, p. xii

⁴⁹ Panji Masyarakat no. 142, 1974 (quoted in Aritonang, *Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam.*, p. 412)

⁵⁰ Peter Polomka, *Indonesia Since Sukarno*, p. 184 quoted

The attempts to apply *shari'ah* continue in some *Undang-undang*, for instance: UU Wakaf No 41/1977, UU Peradilan Agama No 7/ 1989 and No 3/ 2006, UU Sistem Perbankan Nasional No 7/1992, 23/1999, UU Pengelolaan Zakat No 38/1999, and some laws that mainly to protect Muslims: UU Sistem Pendidikan Nasional No 20/2003, UU Anti-Pornografi, and many other laws are in waiting. Not only in national level, but even more in regional level through *Peraturan Daerah* (Regional Regulations) in not less than 22 kabupaten and city.⁵¹

The still in-pending-law that is very closely related to religion is the Religious Harmony Law (UU Kerukunan Umat Beragama) that still not discussed in the parliament. Based on the academic draft of this law (RUU KUB), Trisno Sutanto⁵² analyses the content and finds out that it does not build harmony (*kerukunan*) but harmonizing (*perukunan*). Some issues that he points out against religious freedom are: 1) religious propagation (chapter IV), 2) foreign aids for religious activities and organizations (chapter V), 3) Celebration of Religious holidays (Chapter VI), 4) The building of Worship Place (chapter VII), 5) Religious Education (chapter IX), 6) Inter-religious Marriage (chapter X), 7) Child Adoption, and 8) Religious Offends (chapter XII).⁵³ According to his analyses, this law is built on suspicious feeling (mainly to Christian mission).

As discussed above, Christian theology is in agreement with diversity, pluralism, or multiculturalism and against uniformity and individualism. In line with that theology, Christians supports the idea of democracy

in Husein, p. 188

⁵¹ For instance: Bulukumba, Cianjur, Tasikmalaya, Indarmayu, Garut, Sinjai, Gowa, Maros, Enrekang, Takalar, Lombok Timur, Pamekasan, Padang, Solok. Some of the Perda are: Perda Wajib Berbusana Muslim Kabupaten Solok No 6/2002, Perda Pencegahan Maksiat Provinsi Gorontalo No 10/2003, Perda Wajib Al-Quran bagi Siswa dan Pengantin Kota Solok No 10/2001, Perda Busana dan Pandai Baca Tulis AL-Quran Kabupaten Enrekang No 6/2005, quoted from Saksono, p. 117, 159

⁵²Trisno Sutanto, "Negara, Kekuasaan, dan "Agama": Membedah Politik Perukunan Rezim Orba" in Zainal Abidin Bagir, *Pluralisme Kewargaan: Arah Baru Politik Keberagaman di Indonesia Pluralisme Kewargaan*, (Yogyakarta: CRCS, 2011).

⁵³ Trisno Sutanto, "Negara, Kekuasaan,," p. 136-137

which political equality becomes its core. As noted by Robert Dahl,⁵⁴ democracy is still in process and progress that so far hardly find an ideal democracy applied in any country. However, Dahl believes that democracy is a better system compared to others. He explores ten advantages of democracy compared to any alternative to it: 1) avoiding tyranny, 2) essential rights, 3) general freedom, 4) moral autonomy, 5) self autonomy, 6) human development, 7) protecting personal interest, 8) political equality, 9) peace-seeking and 10) prosperity.

Zainal Abidin Bagir⁵⁵ offers the idea of civic pluralism into Indonesian context to be one alternative in a pluralist democratic state. Pluralism means recognizing the diversity and giving a bigger room for all to participate. Civic refers to two things: the first is civil equality, where there is no discrimination as well as no uniformity; every group can be treated differently according to its uniqueness. The second is every citizen is required to participate as part of civil society. The issues of redistribution and also equal access to public square are very important. By putting civic pluralism above all identities, the main or dominant identity is not religion but civic. Thus, no religion could be the dominant power in the state and public space.

The role of civil society is very important to pressure the state not to issue such law and regulation that may create more problems. I believe the majority of Muslims in Indonesia are tolerant but unfortunately the elites have been taken by the Islamists and by their power they can issue such regulations. The making of laws and regulations with *shari'ah* nuance is evident. AS Hikam puts forward that religious group should develop their role in civil society rather than fight for power. Religious group should be agent of social empowerment through Non-Governmental Organizations

⁵⁴ Robert Dahl, *On Democracy*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

⁵⁵ Zainal Abidin Bagir "Keragaman, Kesetaraan dan Keadilan: Pluralisme Kewargaan dalam Masyarakat Demokratis" in *Pluralisme Kewargaan*, pp. 61-63 .

(NGOs).⁵⁶ In practical level, Fatimah Husein gives some examples of Christian participation in civil society by creating inter-religious groups like Interfidei/DIAN and MADIA.

CONCLUSION

Based on the divine calling, Christians should continue and never give up their participation in this nation. Christian should be active in promoting Pancasila, democracy and equality. The institutional Church should educate and empower their members to be involved in civil society. Hikam observes that many NGOs are not independent financially from the state so that they cannot function as social control. The Church that generally has been blessed financially should support those NGOs so that they can be freely to be counterpart of the state.

The institutional church itself actually can be considered as civil society. The church has members (some experts), facilities, and money that should be used to bless the nation and to pressure the state by its prophetic and moral voice. This is the implementation of the Love Law which is the core of the gospel message. To love the neighbors means to know them and interact with them. Christians should not waste the money only to build bigger church building for themselves but should be used for building bridges with Muslims. Every church should have a regular interfaith dialogue program. I imagine if Christians are 10 percent of Indonesian population, it means around 25 million. If one congregation in average has 500 members, it means there are 50.000 church organizations all over Indonesia. If every church has a regular interfaith dialogue, it will significantly change the nation. In addition, Komarudin Hidayat reminds us that interfaith dialogue should not end only in understanding and respect each other and live in harmony but it should move further to cooperation to build the nation together for common good to increase human dignity together.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ AS Hikam, *Demokrasi dan Civil Society*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1999), p. 146.

⁵⁷ Komarudin Hidayat "Kata Pengantar", in Olaf

The church should be a model for its members in applying democracy. Applying multiformity should be started within each institutional church. Unfortunately, most of the leaders of the church and Christian organization are authoritarian because they think they have spiritual power from God. They think that they are only responsible to God and not to the people. The transformation and democratization should start within the church. If Christians want the state to be more democratic and respect the diversity, it has to start within the church. The problem of *shari'ah*-spirited laws and regulation is not merely the problem of the Islamists but also in some degree caused by Christians' behaviors that threaten Muslims. Christianization issue has been a big threat because of misunderstanding, miscommunication and also misbehavior. Christians should not only blame others but practice self-criticism to be wiser in all conducts.

In short, there are many ways that Christians can do to participate in democratization process and defending Pancasila in Indonesia. Civil society is very significant and feasible means in Indonesia context today. It means there is no valid reason for Christian not to be involved. The presence and participation of Christians (and other religious groups) are necessary to form a democratic state and nation.[]

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