

# “STATE AND RELIGION IN INDONESIA: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS FROM THE DUTCH COLONIAL ERA TO THE PRESENT”

Wasino<sup>1</sup>, Fitri Amalia Shintasiwi<sup>1</sup>, Moh. Solehatul Mustofa<sup>1</sup>, Endah Sri Hartatik<sup>2</sup>, Nur Fatah Abidin<sup>3</sup>

1. Faculty of Social Science, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia

2. Faculty of Cultural Science, Diponegoro University, Semarang, Indonesia

3. Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia

Main Correspondence: [wasino@mail.unnes.ac.id](mailto:wasino@mail.unnes.ac.id).

## ABSTRACT:

Religion and state in Indonesia had very long historical experiences. Religion can be seen as an essential factor that determines the rise and fall of states. This article would like to analyze the relation between religion and state in Indonesia from the Dutch Colonial era until the present. A historical and sociological analysis would be used as an approach to explain the relation and contestation between religion and state in Indonesia. The findings of research show that the Dutch Colonial Government had destroyed the relationship model of the traditional and theocratic states to be a secular model by separating religion and state in a political institution. About two centuries, the Colonial Government in Indonesia separated the management of religion by the state and was handed over to the religious institutions. In the new state, religion emerged to be the most important part in the state management managed by the ministry of religion affair.

## Keywords:

Dutch Colonial, Indonesia, relationship model, new state, religion, management.

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## INTRODUCTION

Religion can be posited as an essential factor of social and political dynamic in Indonesia because it is related to the history of social relationships between religion and politics. In this regard, the state's attention towards religion becomes extremely necessary. Such conditions have very long sociological and historical backgrounds. According to the history of Indonesia, the relationship between religion and state has experienced progress and setbacks. In traditional countries, religion has become the basis of a state. The royal states, at the time of the development of Hinduism and Buddhism, were formed because of the religious values. The oldest inscriptions about the kingdom which existed in Kalimantan, West Java, and Central Java, show that the state was built on "religious ideology", both Hinduism and Buddhism. As a consequence, the constitution ruled the stem from the teachings of Hinduism and Buddhism. Then, it continued until the glory of traditional kingdoms, such as the Sriwijaya Kingdom in Sumatra and the Majapahit Kingdom

in Java.<sup>1</sup> Since then, religion became an important basis in the state management followed by a religious bureaucratic structure that took place from the center to the village. The interconnectedness between religion and the state facilitated the management of the people because it was conceived that a king was an incarnation of a certain God. It was reflected in the symbols of worship created under the king's name, statue of the God, and the worship place. Structurally, in such state and religion relationships, there was no conflict between the state and religious groups because the state played a role as the manager of religion.<sup>2</sup>

When Islam entered Indonesia since the 7<sup>th</sup> century and developed in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the

<sup>1</sup>Coedes, G., et al., *Kedatuan Sriwijaya* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 1989)

<sup>2</sup>Poesponegoro, M.D. and Notosusanto N. (Ed.), *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia II* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1984). See also Rahardjo, S., *Peradaban Jawa: dari Mataram Kuno Sampai Majapahit Akhir* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 1995), 51-211.

pattern of relationship between state and society changed. In society, there were Muslim minority groups which had to be accommodated by the traditional state. It was because many of these minority groups were merchants who had international networks. Their presence had to be protected by the state, for example Majapahit. In its development, Islamic community gradually developed and turned into a political power. The development started from areas far from surveillance, for example Aceh which was marked by the establishment of Perlak and Samudera Pasai Kingdoms, and in areas which were close to the center of power after the period leading up to the glory of Majapahit. On the north coast of Java, there were the centers of Islamic political power such as in Gresik, Bonang, and most importantly, Demak. Then, the centers of political power became the basis for the formation of Islamic countries.<sup>3</sup>

The transition from the Hindu-Buddhist-based government to the Islamic government did not actually change the pattern of relationship between state and religion. The new Islamic countries have also become theocratic countries. The king or sultan represented himself as the God's representative. In the case of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom, the founder of the empire clearly stated himself as "*Khalifatullah Sayidin Panata Gama*" (the representative of Allah, a Sayid who managed religion). As a representative of God, he carried out the will of God, so that people must submit to the orders of the ruler included in the religious world. For the sake of the implementation of religious activities, the Javanese kings had an institution to deal with the religious field, namely "*Kaum*" or "*Ngulama*" group. Islamic law was the basis in the

management of the kingdom, even though values derived from the Buddhist and Hindu periods were applied. The state tradition reflected religious traditions which were the acculturation and syncretism between Islamic and pre-Islamic values as seen in the "*Grebeg Sekaten*" ceremony in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and the Surakarta Empire. That is an event that commemorates the birth of the Prophet Muhammad S.A.W.<sup>4</sup>

Since colonialism, religion-based traditional countries have increasingly been marginalized. They were politically eliminated because they lost the war and accepted the agreement as countries that were defeated and should be subject to the Dutch colonial government. As a result, the historical map of the relationship between the state and religion had changed because the way to manage religious communities had also changed. How the process of change works and how it will affect the country's management of religion after Indonesia's independence becomes an interesting topic to discuss.

## THEORETICAL CONCEPT

According to the theory of the relationship between religion and state, the two extreme concepts were introduced, namely theocratic state and secular state. Theocratic state was based on religion. It means that the existence of the state used religious dogmas in ruling the government. The example of the theocratic state was the church and state system in Europe. This relationship was extremely dominant during "the Middle Ages in Europe". On the contrary, the second one was the secular state in which the relationship of religion and state was separated. State was ruled using the mundane basis, not the religious one. The secular states had emerged since the glory of Greece and Rome, and then were reborn during the Renaissance and Reformation in Europe. This last

<sup>3</sup>Mulyono, S., *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu-Jawa dan Timbulnya Negara-Negara Islam di Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005); De Graaf, H.J., *Kerajaan-kerajaan Islam pertama di Jawa: kajian sejarah politik abad ke-15 dan ke-16* (Jakarta: Grafiti Pers, 2005); Birsyada, M.I., Wasino, W., Suyahmo, S., and Joebagio, H. (2016). Pemikiran kewirausahaan keluarga Mangkunegaran. *Paramita: historical Studies Journal*, 26, no. 2 (2016): 174-185.

<sup>4</sup>Wasino, W., and Hartatik, E. S. Rice Policy in Java from Traditional Kingdoms to Dutch Colonial Time. *KnE Social Sciences*, (2019): 730-735; Lombard, D., *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya: Wasiran Kerajaan-Kerajaan Konsentris*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2000).

period created the strong national states which were separated from the church.<sup>5</sup>The separation of the relationship between religion and state emerged together with the society change in Europe from the Pope system and feudalism to a democratic state. While theocratic state also ruled religion, the democratic state had the religious institutions which ruled the religion separated from the state's business. Therefore, the state gave financial support to those religious institutions.<sup>6</sup> The next level of the secular state was a communist state. In a communist state, the state did not base itself on religion in ruling religious business. An example was Russian which separated state and religious business. However, Russian's constitution still respected the religious values due to its history and culture.<sup>7</sup>

## METHOD

This research used the historical method elaborated with the comparative sociology approach. Four stages were used as a part of the historical research, namely heuristic, critics, comparative analysis and historiography.<sup>8</sup> The historical sources were the secondary sources collected from the internet. The source criticism was based on the experts' credibility and the validity of information. In addition, the comparative analysis was referred to map the relationship of power and authority between religion and state during the various historical periods. Historical analysis is used to uncover facts about the object under study, historical analysis allows researchers to reflect on events

that occurred in the past.<sup>9</sup> Then, the historiography used chronological models and the analysis of the structure of power relations.<sup>10</sup>

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### Colonial Legacy

Fundamental changes in the management of religion conducted by the state occurred during the Dutch occupation. The state management that was synergistic with religion had changed. The Colonial State, whose supporters were Christian from the beginning, had separated the state interest from the religious interest, especially with the religion of the local population which was mostly Muslim, the religion which was not adopted by the Dutch rulers. In this new political map, the forces of the religious patron of the traditional elites had been eliminated after making resistance. Some of them submitted to the Dutch and became a "*priyayi*" class which was separated from the Islamic religious groups which later was called by Geertz as "*Santri*" group.<sup>11</sup> Since then, the relationship between the state and religion had been separated.

Religious social groups in Indonesia formed their own alliance to oppose the Colonial government. At the beginning of colonialism, this alliance was led by sultans, princes and royal families. Then after the Diponegoro War on Java (1825-1830), the forces of the aristocratic family, who led religious resistance, had been exhausted.<sup>12</sup> Outside Java, it survived until the twentieth century. It was marked by the end of the "Aceh War" in 1904.<sup>13</sup> Since the nineteenth century, Dutch government's power, which was

<sup>5</sup>Mircov, V. Types of Relationships the State, Religion, and Religious organizations in Europe an attempt to Develop A New Classificatio. *Annales FLB Belgrade Law Review*, 3, no. 1 (2016).

<sup>6</sup>Mueler, D.C., The State and Religion. *Review of Social Economy*, 16, no.1 (2012)

<sup>7</sup>Toron, J.M. & Durham, W.C. *Religion and the Secular State: National Reports* (Washington DC: The International Center for Law and Religion Studies, Brigham Young University, Provo-Utah, 2010), 1-34

<sup>8</sup>Wasino & Hartatik, E.S., *Metode Penelitian Sejarah: dari Riset hingga Penulisan*. (Yogyakarta: Magnum, 2020)

<sup>9</sup>Wasino, Hartatik, E. S., & Nawiyanto. From royal family-based ownership to state business management: Mangkunegara's sugar industry in Java from the middle of the 19th to early 20th century. *Management & Organizational History*, 14, no. 2 (2019): 167-183.

<sup>10</sup>Lukes, S. *A History of Sociological Analysis* (London: Heinemann, 1979).

<sup>11</sup>Geertz, C. *The Religion of Java*(London: University of Chicago Press, 1960)

<sup>12</sup>Carey, Peter, *Takdir: Riwayat Pangeran Diponegoro 1785-1855* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2014)

<sup>13</sup>Alfian, T.I., *Perang di Jalan Allah* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1987).

based in Java, had succeeded in conquering all symbols of Islamic power. The "secular" state had been successfully established. In this position, religious groups which were originally subjected to Islamic rulers switched to the opposition forces. These religious groups were generally based in rural areas. The leaders of religious groups consisted of *kyai*, *haji*, and Quran teachers. In a number of places, they became the defenders for farmers to resist the oppression of the colonial state. The messianism movement that developed at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries showed a new pattern of relationship between hostile states and religions.<sup>14</sup>

This changes in the relationship between state and religion during the Colonial period had resulted in a new segmentation in Colonial society, especially in Java. The state was associated as an organization which was friendly to Islam, a religion adopted by most local people. The state was managed by the two social groups, namely white people at the top level and by "priyayi" at the lower middle level. They worked in a colonial country which was said by informal elites such as religious leaders, who were also the leaders of Islamic boarding schools in rural areas, to be oppressing the people.

The Dutch colonial government realized the strength of the religious groups which owned an entity, namely a new power within the state. For this reason, the government tried to find the way that the group did not oppose the colonial government. In 1866, the colonial government established the *Department van Onderwijs, Eredienst en Nijverheid/OEN* (Ministry of Education, Worship, and Craft Industry). This establishment was based on the *Koninklijk Besluit* (Royal Decree) on 21 September 1866.<sup>15</sup> This department became the basis for the formation of the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia after Indonesian independence. Through this department, the colonial government wanted

to regulate the religious activities in the colonized area. The department provided support for the activities of the adherents of religions such as Christianity, Catholicism, Islam, and others.

The management of religion conducted by the state had strengthened in the early twentieth century. This was due to Christian Snouck Hurgronje's advice in dealing with the Aceh War. The state had to manage and to support religious activities in terms of worship and social life as well as separated them from ideological and political activities. In this way, the Dutch Indies state would get support from the people of the Dutch East Indies who were mostly Moslem. The position of the department of religious affairs was intensified so that the services for the construction of worship place and the delivery of pilgrimage to Mecca became a part of colonial state duties. In addition, the implementation of religious law was specifically managed and separated by colonial law, especially concerning marriage, divorce, reconciliation, and so on.<sup>16</sup>

Although the colonial state had tried to manage religion, the hostility of Muslim people towards the colonial state was unstoppable. The presence of the Islamic mass organization namely Sarikat Islam in 1912, which was the new change of Sarikat Dagang Islam, showed the existence of a new force based on religion in fighting the state. Under the leadership of Haji Oemar Said Tjokro Aminoto, Sarikat Islam became a very extraordinary political force against the colonial government. Through Sarikat Islam, the aspirations of Muslim people with various sects can be voiced.

The pattern of the movement of Sarikat Islam was considered to endanger the existence of the colonial state. It was because Sarikat Islam was a political organization which mobilized people in its activities, especially after the emergence of the Sarikat Islam Merah which later turned into *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (Indonesian Communist Party) in 1920. The Dutch colonial

<sup>14</sup>Kartodirdjo, Sartono, *Ratu Adil* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1984).

<sup>15</sup>*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië/Dutch East Indies Gazette* Year 1866 No. 127

<sup>16</sup>Suminto, Aqib, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2006)

government carried out repressive actions by carrying out a ban on gathering and arresting the protesting figures. This has led to a decline in the development of religious organizations based on politics in the third decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Outside of Islamic political organizations, two religious-based mass organizations have emerged today, namely Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Muhammadiyah, which was established in 1912 together with the birth of Sarikat Islam, was an organization of the religious renewal. Muhammadiyah, which was established by Kyai haji Akhmad Dahlan in the Yogyakarta Sultanate Palace, realized itself as an Islamic renewal organization which had masses in urban areas with a focus on religious services implemented in the fields of education and social services, especially health. Nahdlatul Ulama was born next, in 1926 in Jombang, East Java by Kyai Haji Wahid Hasyim. This organization was based on Islamic boarding school and generally operated in rural areas. In contrast to Sarikat Islam, the Dutch colonial government was very accommodating to Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama. This was because these two organizations were not engaged in politics, but in social activities and worship.

Towards the end of the Dutch Indies government, Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama had supported the establishment of the Indonesian Islamic federation under the name of Majelis Islam A'la Indonesia or Majelis Agung Islam Indonesia, abbreviated MIAI. This organization was founded in Surabaya in September, 1937. This organization then received positive responses from other Islamic organizations to join.<sup>17</sup> After the appearance of Japan, MIAI was fully taken into account. It was because Japan wanted to get support from Muslim people. Therefore, this large religious organization was embraced by the Japanese Military Government in Indonesia. Its figures were embraced in order to succeed Asian Nationalism

mobilized to oppose the Allies, which in this case, Anti-Dutch Indonesia.<sup>18</sup>

Although Islamic figures who joined MIAI were embraced, the Japanese Military Government wanted to have the power to regulate Muslim people in its own way. Japanese Military Government formed an institution that managed religion. In 1943, the Japanese Military Government established the religious institution named *Shumubu* or The Office of Islamic Affairs. What attracted the head of this office was not a religious figure, but a Muslim leader named Professor Husein Jayadiningrat. The Office of Religious Affairs was also established in the residency areas starting April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1944. MIAI which was the legacy of the Dutch colonial was dissolved. A similar institution was formed under the name of Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Masyumi) on November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1943. Its figures were embraced by the Japanese military government. Similarly, they established active communication with Japan. On August 1<sup>st</sup>, 1944, Japanese military government reorganized Shumubu which put Masyumi figures into the main board of administration. Husein Jayadiningrat resigned as chairman and was replaced by a member of Masyumi, namely Kyai Haji Hasyim As'ari.<sup>19</sup>

### **Religions in New Indonesian State**

The relationship between religion and the state had been debated during the formation of the Republic of Indonesia. This can be seen in the process of establishing the foundation and the Constitution of the country. In a meeting of the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (BPUPKI) on May 29<sup>th</sup> to June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1945, the founders of the country, such as Sukarno, Muhammad Yamin, and Supomo had talked a lot about the role of religion in the state

<sup>18</sup>Wasino and Hartatik, E. S. Rice Policy in Java from Traditional Kingdoms to Dutch Colonial Time, 730-735.

<sup>19</sup>Benda, Harry, *Bulan sabit dan matahari terbit; Islam Indonesia pada masa pendudukan Jepang* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1980)

<sup>17</sup>Ricklefs, Merle Calvin. *Sejarah Indonesia Modern 1200-2008* (Jakarta: Serambi, 2008)

which was being formed. In essence, they argued that one of many aspects in the foundation of the state was God. It meant that the state which was being formed would place religion and belief in God as the important basis in a new country. The foundation of this state was later confirmed by Sukarno under the name *Pancasila* which placed the precepts of God as one of the foundations of the state.<sup>20</sup>

The results of the BPUPKI meeting were submitted to be processed and translated into the draft of the State Constitution and were delivered to Committee 9, the small committee. In that committee, the chairman was Ir. Sukarno. The members were Mohammad Hatta, Mr. Muhammad Yamin, Mr. Achmad Subarjo, Mr. A. A. Maramis, Abdul Kahar Muzakir, Agus Salim, Abi Kusno Cokro Suyoso. It could be seen that in the committee, the influence of Masyumi was very strong. This small committee held a meeting on June 22nd and resulted the basic formulation of the country known as the Jakarta Charter, as follows: 1) Divinity, carrying out Islamic Sharia for its adherents; 2) (according to) Justice and civilized humanity; 3) The unity of Indonesia; 4) (and) The democracy led by understanding wisdom among honorable representatives from the parliament house; and (and realizing) social justice for all of the people of Indonesia.<sup>21</sup>

On the one hand, Jakarta Charter was a special recognition towards the existence of Islam from the state which was being established. It was based on the rationalization that the majority of Indonesian populations were Muslims. However, this formulation became a risky point after Indonesia's independence. It was during the session of the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) on 18 August 1945 to establish the Constitution of

the Republic of Indonesia which in its opening, it was clearly stated that the basis of the state specifically included Islamic law. A figure from Eastern Indonesia, namely A. A. Maramis, conveyed to Mohammad Hatta that the representatives of Eastern Indonesia who were Christians, felt objected to the inclusion of the first precept "divinity by carrying out Islamic law for its adherents".

New debates related to the management of religion conducted by the state began to emerge. Bagus Hadikusumo, a Muhammadiyah figure who was also a Masyumi figure, wanted Islamic Sharia to be included in the basis of the state because it would only regulate those who were Moslems. Meanwhile, A.A. Maramis threatened that Eastern part of Indonesia would withdraw from the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia if the words of Islamic law still existed in the opening of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Hatta proposed a term that covered all, namely by using the phrase "God Almighty". This term contained the meaning of Islamic values and, at the same time, covered other religions in Indonesia. Tengku Muhammad Hasan, a Muslim figure from Aceh, finally succeeded in softening the strong stance of Bagus Hadikusumo. And finally, a new formula in the Pancasila precepts as Hatta's proposal was agreed.<sup>22</sup> The state regulation concerning religion was specifically stated in the constitution of Indonesia. In the 1945 Constitution, article 29 was set specifically to regulate religion, namely: paragraph 1, the state shall be based upon the belief in the one and only God, and article 2, the state guaranteed all people to the freedom of worship, each according to his/her own religion or belief.<sup>23</sup>

The main problem in the case of religion in Indonesia was not only a matter of terms on the basis of the state, but also a matter of who managed the religion in the Republic of Indonesia.

<sup>20</sup>Sujono and Leirisa, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia, Zaman Jepang dan Zaman Republik*, (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2010): 128

<sup>21</sup>Ilyas. Islam dan Kebangsaan: Pergumulan dalam BPUPKI, PPKI, dan Piagam Jakarta. *Buletin Al Turas*, 26, no. 1 (2020)

<sup>22</sup>Sujono and Leirisa. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia, Zaman Jepang dan Zaman Republik*, 158-162

<sup>23</sup>Indonesia Government. (2020). *Indonesian Constitution of 1945 (Undang-undang Dasar 1945)*. Retrieved from <https://jdih.pom.go.id/uud1945>, at July 8, 2020.

On July 11th, 1945, in the BPUPKI meeting session, Muhammad Yamin had proposed that a special ministry related to religion should be formed later, namely the "Ministry of Islamic Affairs" which would provide guarantees to Muslim people in fulfilling religious services such as mosques, prayer rooms, and endowments. However, the proposal did not receive good responses from the participants of the meeting session. The re-establishment of the department of religious affairs was proposed by Subarjo at the PPKI meeting held on 19 August 1945. However, it was rejected. There were only 6 out of 27 members who agreed to the establishment of the department of religious affairs. In the debate, most of them argued that because the state was a nationality-based state, so that the state did not need a special ministry that regulated religion. Some figures wanted religious affairs to be handed over to the Ministry of Education. Meanwhile, Ki Hajar Dewantara, who later became education minister, suggested that religious affairs should be handed over to the Ministry of Home Affairs. In its implementation, in the early years of independence, religious affairs were mostly managed by the Ministry of Education.<sup>24</sup>

The failure to establish the department of religious affairs in the formation of the government cabinet of the Republic of Indonesia had disappointed Muslim people. This opened the opportunity for Islamic leaders to oppose the newly formed government, which had previously been disappointed in the agreement on the formulation of the foundation of the state. Nevertheless, the efforts of Islamic leaders to fight for the management of religion by the state had never stopped. Responding to the proposal of Islamic leaders, President Sukarno, in the BPKNIP meeting, gave a signal to the deputy presidential representative, Muhammad Hatta, to form a department of religious affairs. On June

3<sup>rd</sup>, 1946, the government stipulated the formation of the Department of Religious Affairs which was separated from other departments. Haji Muhammad Rasyidi (Muhammadiyah) was appointed as the first minister of religious affairs by President Sukarno and was announced through Radio of the Republic of Indonesia.

The Ministry of Religious Affairs took over the tasks of managing religion which were spread out in a number of ministries. The shifting tasks were in: (1) Ministry of Home Affairs (marital matters, religious courts, mosques and hajj affairs), (2) Ministry of Law and Human Rights related to the religious court, (3) Ministry of Education and Culture related to the problem of religious teaching in schools. After the establishment of the department of religious affairs in June 1946, the state played an important role in the formal management of religion in Indonesia. In every change in the government, since the Old Order until the reformation, this institution has become the voice of the government in managing religion in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia. The department that was originally established at the initiative of Islamic leaders and took care of the interests of Muslims had developed into an institution that managed all formal religions in Indonesia, but it did not take care of the other spiritual beliefs.<sup>25</sup>

Based on the history of the formation of Indonesia, the struggle for religious space in the constellation of the Republic of Indonesia was obvious. Islam would be placed as the main foundation of this newly established state by Islamic leaders. However, this effort faced resistance from minority religious groups voiced by figures from Eastern Indonesia who stated that the majority of populations in eastern part of Indonesia were not Muslims and felt the placement of one religious teaching in a single state would be a problem for them.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup>Fogg, K.W. The Ministry of Religion. In *Indonesia's Islamic Revolution* Retrieved from <https://www.cambridge.org/> at July 8(2020): 156-159

<sup>25</sup>Ropi, I., *Religion and Regulation in Indonesia* (Singapore: Macmillan, 2017)

<sup>26</sup>Benda, Harry, *Bulan sabit dan matahari terbit; Islam Indonesia pada masa pendudukan Jepang*

### State and Religion from New Order Era (1966-1998) to Present

The relationship between state and religion in Indonesia has reflected an ambivalent relationship. On the one hand, as a modern state, Indonesia wanted to separate religious matters from government affairs. However, on the other hand, Indonesia did not want to be labeled as a "secular" state. The trade-off in the conception of the relationship between state and religion colored the pattern of relationship between state and religion from The New Order era (1966-1998) to the Reformation era (1999 until today)

As a modern country, the foundations of state management, according to western world standards, were indeed recognized by leaders and government administrators in Indonesia. It can be seen that those who sat in government were those who have received western-style education that emphasized rationalistic bureaucracy and administration. Indonesia, which was also being developed, inherited the administration of the Dutch Indies which basically separated religious matters from government affairs.

The New Order under Suharto's militaristic administration was basically a "secular" government that separated religious matters from government affairs. It was based on Suharto himself originally from Javanese gentry world who tended to adopt a syncretistic Islamic religion. In addition, the supporting officials, who were mostly from the military and technocratic gentry, also followed the pattern of Suharto administration which placed religion in a non-central position. Moreover, the militaristic ideology, which was based on nationalist ideology, rejected the administration with either left (communist), or right (puritanical "religion of Islam") ideologies. However, Suharto did not want to be labeled as an anti-religious ruler. For this reason, the jargon developed was a state based on Pancasila democracy, a state which "fosters religion", was not "secular" and not "theocratic". Religious development was regulated by the government under the Ministry of Religious

Affairs. The minister of religious affairs was the government's "tool" to control the implementation of religious activities so as not to develop into a political force that opposed the Pancasila-based government.

Like the Dutch Indies government, the administration of Suharto separated religion as a political force and a social force. Religion, in political power, was simplified and fused into the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan) on January 5th, 1973. The development of this party was tightened with a label of a "right" winged party that opposed the "left" winged party which was a group of the Indonesian Nationalist Party (Partai Nasionalis Indonesia), Murba, PSI, and other non-religious parties. While, the Suharto administration's political party was "Golongan Karya" or Golkar, a political organization which was the extension of the military which did not want to be called a party. Meanwhile, religious organizations as the expression of worship received government's support in funding, but their movements were still monitored.

To ensure that there were no political forces and religious organizations that opposed the administration, the government has established the "single principle" of Pancasila as the ideology of political parties and religious organizations. To neutralize political parties, especially those with Islamic orientation, the government issued Law number 3 year 1985 on February 19th, 1985, which stated that political parties were obliged to include "Pancasila" as the only principle in their statutes and by-laws. And they were not allowed to list other principles but Pancasila.

Suharto wanted religious social organizations to also accept this single principle as the principle of the organization. He asserted that with a single principle for social organization, the meaning and role of religion in the life of the nation and of state would not reduce. This single-principle socialization received support from Minister of Social Affairs, Surono, who was a former military officer and one of Suharto's

trusted men. Similarly, the Minister of Religious Affairs, Munawir Sazali (NU) also socialized this principle in the working meeting of the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) on March 5th, 1984. To reinforce his argument, Munawir made an analogy that Pancasila is like a charter agreed upon in the Medina Charter.

Particularly, the single principle in Islamic Organizations received various responses from religious organizations. In the 1983 National Conference, through acclamation, Nahdlatul Ulama accepted the "single principle" namely Pancasila. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah appeared to be very cautious and waited for the enactment of this single principle from the House of Representatives. On the other hand, the Islamic Student Association (HMI) accepted this single principle forcefully. Some accepted, and some refused. The group that refused this single principle formed HMI Penyelamat Organisasi (HMI MPO). Another organization that rejected this single principle was Indonesian Islamic Students. And Islamic figures who rejected this single principle were A.M. Fatwa and Sjafrudin Prawira Negara.

After the implementation of this single principle, state became an important force in managing religion. The minister of religious affairs was the important instrument in carrying out the government's message and accommodating the interests of religious groups. The Ministry of Religious Affairs also facilitated Indonesian Ulama Council so that it could become the pioneer of the government in issuing its fatwas. Fatwas communicated with the ministry of religious affairs were the determination of the beginning of Ramadan, the beginning of Syawal month and the implementation of the Eid al Fitr Prayers, determination of Eid al Adha, and so on. In addition, The Ministry of Religious Affairs was given the authority to organize the pilgrimage, starting from the determination of the quota, departure, to the organizer in the implementation of prayer in Mecca and Medina.

To obtain support from Muslim people, Suharto established Pancasila Muslim Charity Foundation. This foundation was funded primarily from the deduction of salaries of Muslim civil servants. It was a kind of forced *infaq*. This foundation channeled funds to build mosques throughout the country, even at the sub-district level. The "overlapping roof" architectural model resembled the Demak Mosque that was built by Islamic saints during the era of Demak Kingdom. The shape of the roof of the mosque contained a message for Muslim people to imitate the pattern of Islamization of the Wali Sembilan (9 Islamic Saints) who lived moderately and acculturated with the local culture.

During the Suharto era, all political and social-religious organizations could be controlled by the government. It was different from the Post-New Order era (the Reformation era). Islamic political parties obtained a new power in the realm of democracy that began with the occupation of the MPR building on May 20 and Suharto's resignation on May 21, 1998. Political parties which were the results of fusion during the New Order era namely Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party) still survived in a situation of the emergence of new Islamic parties. The parties were National Awakening Party (PKB), Justice Party (later changed to the Prosperous Justice Party), National Mandate Party (PAN), Crescent Star Party (Partai Bulan Bintang), and Indonesian Islamic Union Party (Partai Serikat Islam). The National Awakening Party (PKB) was established and developed from the body of Nahdlatul Ulama because its founder was Aburachman Wahid. The Justice Party (later changed to the Prosperous Justice Party) was born from hard-line Islamic circles. The National Mandate Party (PAN) was established from Muhammadiyah because it was founded by the former Chairman of Muhammadiyah, Amin Rais. Crescent Star Party (Partai Bulan Bintang) represented Masyumi. These Islamic parties played a role in the governance of the government during the reformation and competed with one

another as in the days of Parliamentary Democracy, Old Order era.

In managing religions in Indonesia, the government, in the reformation era, still depended on the Ministry of Religious Affairs as the pioneer to regulate and communicate with Islamic organizations in Indonesia which were getting stronger. These Islamic organizations were strong because they have bargaining power over political parties. For this reason, in the management of religion, the government used bargaining positions with religious mass organizations and political parties. The distribution of the duties between the minister of religious affairs and the minister of education always considered the strength of two major religious organizations, namely Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah.

To bridge the differences of understanding in the religious organizations, the government communicated with Indonesian Ulama Council. This institution, which has existed since the Suharto era, has become an important force, not only for socio-religious matters, but also for practical politics because its administrators were not only from religious organizations but also from political parties. The nomination of Kyai haji Ma'ruf Amin (from NU and the former PPP management) to be the vice president candidate along with Jokowi showed the strength of MUI as an important force during the reformation era. In addition, the issuance of MUI fatwa concerning Basuki Cahaya Purnama's (Ahok) utterance before the election of Jakarta governor showed the Islamic political game in the body of MUI.

Reformation also resulted in the emergence of a very controversial Islamic organization to this day, namely The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI). This organization was declared on August 17th, 1998 at al UMM Islamic Boarding School, Tangerang, West Java. This organization was founded by a number of ulema and habib who were pioneered by Rizieq Shihab, an ulama of Hadrami descent. In the FPI minutes, it was stated that the birth of this organization was based on several reasons: (1) the long pain

suffered by Indonesian Moslems due to human rights violations committed by rulers, (2) the existence of Muslim obligation to maintain the dignity of Islam and Moslem people, and (3) there was an obligation for Moslems to uphold *amar ma'ruf* and *nahi munkar* (historical minutes and the struggle of FPI).

Although it stands as a mass organization, FPI has a role in being an extra political parliamentary force and a pressing force against the government and social groups that are considered to be in conflict with Islamic values. The appearance of this organization was considered arrogant and vigilant. Its followers, however, carried out such actions in order to eradicate immorality which the government failed to realize.

To hold the power of FPI, Jokowi's government embraced the power of NU which was the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia. This organization has a security defense called the *Banser*. Through this youth organization, the power of FPI can be softened by the government. FPI also became an important force in gathering the resistance against Jokowi administration by initiating the 212 movement. This movement synergized with the opposition political parties, especially PKS and PBB to overpower Ahok who became the trusted person of President Joko Widodo. Their movements have succeeded in suppressing the judiciary and caused Ahok to be imprisoned for allegedly blasphemy.

The success of the 212 movement in overthrowing the incumbent governor of Jakarta will be maximized to realize broader interests, namely overthrowing President Jokowi. However, Jokowi administration put a damper on them by embracing Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah figures to support his policies to guarantee the security of Jakarta and Indonesia. The climax was the appointment of Ma'ruf Amin as a vice-presidential candidate in the April 17th, 2019 Election.

Furthermore, the "radical" religious organizations, which have been successfully

controlled in the Suharto administration era, began to show their existence. These organizations were Indonesian Islamic Propagation Institute (LDII), Qur'anic Interpretation Assembly, and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. The latter organization was finally dissolved by the government because it was considered endangering the existence of the Republic of Indonesia because it wanted to establish an Islamic state with a caliphate model.

The relationship between state and adherents of Islam experienced ups and downs. It is different with the relationship with non-Muslim religious communities which generally does not experience much dynamics. Minority religious groups such as Christianity, Hindu, Buddhism and Confucianism generally follow the pattern of harmonious relationship with the government, including with the ministry of religious affairs where its representatives also sit in the department.

The friction between religious communities often occurs, especially if it is related to ethnic differences, the issue of economic inequality, and politics. For this purpose, the government established the Religious Communication Forum (FKUB). This forum was formed in each district and city and received funding facilities from the regional government under the National Unity and Politics (Kesbangpol). In this forum, religious leaders carried out dialogue and intended to build harmony together with their people.

## CONCLUSION

Religions in Indonesia have political and social power. Therefore, the history of the state management of religion shows the existence of these two pillars. In a traditional state, the state has succeeded in uniting the management of religion in political and social terms. However, this changed after the emergence of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia which separated religious matters from government affairs. Religious groups appeared to be the government's opposition which

interrupted the Colonial Government for hundreds of years.

According to historical experience, the neglect of the management of religion generated Snouck Hurgronje doctrine which obliged the government to conduct religious arrangements by separating religion as social force and political force. Religion as a political force was suppressed in such a way, while religion as a social force was facilitated by the government. This model of relationship pattern existed in Dutch era and was eradicated by Japanese military government in Indonesia. At that time, the state embraced religion as both social force and political force. This pattern has given rise to a new national awareness based on religion among Indonesian next generation.

The awareness of religious nationalism became the stepping stone in determining the basis of a religion in a new state that will be established, namely Islam. However, this has caused friction with other religious social groups in the new state which was founded in early 1945. Finally, the solution was found in the form of editorial change on religious concepts in the first principle of Pancasila as the state foundation. Nevertheless, the desire for religion to become a pillar of state administration continued to strengthen during the Old Order era, especially during Parliamentary Democracy. Guided democracy was able to break these ideals and was strengthened during the New Order era which placed religious values under a single principle and limited religion as a practical political force.

The power of religion in politics was strengthened and reunited with social forces after the Reformation era. Indirectly, the strength of two prominent organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, was affiliated with religious-based political parties. Nahdlatul Ulama was affiliated with the National Awakening Party (PKB) and United Development Party (PPP). Muhammadiyah was more affiliated with the National Mandate Party (PAN). In addition, another more puritan social group which was

previously affiliated with Masyumi is now also included in Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and Crescent Star Party (PBB). The ruler, who has come from non-religious parties, must be able to play the pendulum of alienation between Islamic political parties and religious organizations in the management of religion in Indonesia.

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