

## Nusantara Islam and Pancasila

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Many theories<sup>2</sup> on the coming of Islam to Nusantara, one of them said that Islam was first accepted by the native rulers and people along the Northern part of Sumatra, in beginning of the second half of the 7th century, which Srivijaya rulers played an important role in trade between the Middle-East and China. Srivijaya dynasty ruled more than 500 years till in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century power shifted to Malay Peninsula, Srivijaya former dependency. The capital of Sumatra then moved from Palembang to Jambi. Sumatra monopolized the intermediate trade as a centre for the products of South East Asia, the Middle East, India and China until it was destroyed by Majapahit, the Buddhist king of Java.<sup>3</sup>

Azyumardi Azra<sup>4</sup> said that Islam in the first stage that came to Indonesia was Islam that coloured by the tasawuf ( mystism in Islam) doctrine that easy to absorber and adopted the cultural, customs and religious heritage of local resident, and hence the shape of Islam is the peaceful, harmony and admitted the diversities of Indonesian people, either in races, languages, cultures, religions or other elements

After Indians traders the second attempt to influence Indonesia was made by Mongol emperor Kubilai Khan who arrived in the beginning of 12<sup>th</sup> century along with the Arab traders who introduced Islam in the Malay world. The Malay peninsula and the Indonesia archipelago played an important role in early commerce between the Indian Ocean and South sea. Trade between East and West helped to shape Malayan history and pave Islamic characteristics to societies in many states of South East Asia, especially in Malay peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago.<sup>5</sup>

The old name of the archipelago was “Nusantara” which means “the middle islands”. Later during the Dutch rule it was named as the “Dutch East Indies”. The name Indonesia is composed of two Greek words “Indus and Nesus” means “see and Islands”, even today the Indonesian people call their country by the familiar name “Tanah air kita”.<sup>6</sup> Therefore Islam that came to the South Asian countries, especially to Nusantara was Islam culturally and politically different to the Arab Islam. In these places Islam has been taken the acculturation of the native cultures and their customs and adopted to the habit and cultural traditions of the local residents, and hence Ahmad Burhani Najib named it as the Nusantara Islam.<sup>7</sup> In this point he described the different between Arab Islam and Nusantara Islam.<sup>8</sup>

### Nusantara Islam and Ideology of Indonesian State

Indonesia is the largest archipelago in the world. According to the Indonesia Naval Oceanographic office, the total number of Islands is 17,508.

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<sup>2</sup> For more information on the theories of the coming of Islam to Nusantara, see AzyumardiAzra (Penyunting), *Perspektif Islam di Asia Tenggara*, (Jakarta, YayasanOborIndonedsia, 1989), pp.vi, and 1-40.

<sup>3</sup> Sya’banH.Muhammad, *Islam in Indonesian Politics*, (New Delgi, Ajanta Books International, 1999), p.4

<sup>4</sup> AzyumardiAzra (Penyunting), *Perspektif Islam di Asia Tenggara*, ( Jakarta, YayasanOborIndoneia, 1989), p.xv

<sup>5</sup> Sya’banH.Muhammad, *Islam in Indonesian Politics*, (New Delhi, Ajanta Books International, 1999), p.3

<sup>6</sup> *Dialogue Today, Indonesia: A Country of Dreams, Dynamism and Brighter Tomorrow*, (New Delhi, Akbar Road 4, 1989), p.11

<sup>7</sup> Ahmad BurhaiNajib, see *Sindo Newspaper*, Friday, March 3, 2017, p.6

<sup>8</sup> For more information about the different between Arab Islam and Nusantara Islam, see *Sindo, Newspaper*, Friday 9, March 2017, p.6

The archipelago is on the junction of two oceans, the Pacific and the Indian and bridges two Continents, Asia and Australia. This strategic position has always influenced political and economic life of the country.<sup>9</sup> Indonesia is the largest number of Muslims in the world. Nevertheless, the Republic of Indonesia is not an Islamic state, nor it is secular state since all citizens are expected to believe in God, each in accordance with the teaching of his or her own religion, and think and act in conformity with this belief. The Muslim community is the largest among the various religious communities within Indonesian society, while the other religious communities are Protestant, Roman Catholic, Hindu<sup>10</sup> and Buddhist. Actually there is also Sikh minority, primarily in Medan and Jakarta.<sup>11</sup>

Pancasila<sup>12</sup> pronounced Panchaseela is an Ideology and philosophical basis of the Indonesian state. Pancasila consist of two Sanskrit words, 'panca' meaning five, and 'sila' meaning principle, It comprises five inseparable and interrelated principles. They are; Belief in the due and only God, Just and civilized humanity, The unity of Indonesia, Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the consensus arising out of deliberations and Social justice for all the people of Indonesia.

The constitution of the Republic of Indonesia usually referred to as the 1945 Constitution, spells out the ideals and the goals for which independence was proclaimed on August 17, 1945, and defended thereafter, it reflects the spirit of unity for common goals and democracy built upon the age old concepts of GotongRoyong (mutual assistance), musyawarah (deliberation of representative), and mufakat (consensus).<sup>13</sup>

As a national ideology Pancasila was occupied by all concerned only after long and tedious deliberations. The both of government President Soekarno and Soeharto<sup>14</sup> have regarded political parties based on Islam as potential contenders for power capable of undermining the nationalist basis of the state. Primarily because of this, for more than four decades they have worked to contain and 'domesticate' Islamic parties. As a result, not only did leaders and activist of political Islam fail to make the state ideology and religion in 1945 (the eve of Indonesia's independence) and again in the late 1950s (during the Constituent Assembly debate over Indonesia's constitutional future) but also found themselves repeatedly labeled as 'minorities' and 'outsider' and thus political Islam had been constitutionally, electorally, bureaucratically, and symbolically defeated.<sup>15</sup>

When the position of political Islam appeared to be worsening, particularly following the New Order's manoeuvre to restructure Indonesia's political format, many of its leaders became increasingly reactionary. In the opinion of some observers of Indonesian political Islam, this was sign of the inability of Islamic political thinkers and activist to structure intelligent religious-political responses pertinent to this challenge.

<sup>9</sup> Department of Information, Republic of Indonesia, *An Official Handbook, Indonesia, 1977*, p.7

<sup>10</sup> The area of the Province of Bali is 5.633 sq km and its capital city is Denpasar. The population of the province is 2.856.000 (1933) and the religious followers are Muslims (5.22%), Protestant (0.58%), Roman Catholic (0.47%), Hindus (93.18%), Buddhist (0.55%). Bali island is one of the most favorite tourist destination of the country.

<sup>11</sup> HarsyaN.Bacntiar, *Indonesia's Society and Culture 1991*, paper presented at Australia-Indonesia Bilateral Conference on "Diverse Culture, Converging Interest" organized by RIAP, University of Sydney and CSIS, Jakarta, In Surabaya, Indonesia on 3-5 July 1994.

<sup>12</sup> Ahmad Soekarno is generally considered the formulator of the birth of Pancasila. Before its appearance in the Preamble of the present provincial Constitution, the five principles of Pancasila were also written into the preamble of the Constitution of the Federal Indonesian Republic as presented to the Round Table Conference at the Hague in the latter half of 1949, and into the constitution of the original Republic of Indonesia in 1945. (Ministry of Information, Djakarta, 1952).

<sup>13</sup> Department of Information, Republic of Indonesia, see above, pp.37-41.

<sup>14</sup> President Soeharto was born on 8 June 1921 in KemusuArjamulja, a small hamlet set amidst paddy fields near Yogyakarta, served as minor village official who regulated the flow of irrigation water to the fields. At the age of eight he was enrolled in the kocal primary school, but a year later his own father took him away to Solo, where young Soeharto's aunt looked after him. But in the same year, 1930, his aunt and her husband took the boy where Soeharto was enrolled in the third year of primary school, and his studies included learning to read the al-Qor'an. He also joined the HizbulWathan an Islamic Youth Movement in which nationalist ideas were inculcated as well. In order to attend intermediate school, he had to move again to home of another relative. There he came into contact with an Islamic religious teacher who was also a Jevanesemuystic. In 1990 he was admitted to the NCO school of the royal Netherlands Indies Army at Jombang, east Java. There he received his basic training became known as a model soldier. He resigned as the President of Indonesia on 21 May 1998 following big demonstrations by all university students in the country who demanded that he came down soon.

<sup>15</sup> Donald K.Emerson, "Islam and Regime in Indonesia: Who's Coopting whom?. A paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia, USA, August 1989.

Therefore, despite the fact that their political agendas in the early years of Soeharto government (i.e. pressing for the legalization of the Jakarta Charter demanding the rehabilitation of the proscribed Masyumi and striving for direct involvement of the former Masyumi leaders in the newly establishment Parmusi) was rejected by the New Order, defenders of the past format of political Islam remained virtually unchanged making their orientation toward politics and religion practically rigid. Many have interpreted this persistently inflexible religious political behavior as an indication of their inability to relinquish their formalistic approach in politics.<sup>16</sup>

For the new Islamic intellectuals, the problems confronting political Islam do not rest on the formalistic and legalistic approach, but on the theological or philosophical dimensions of Islam. In their view these theological or philosophical underpinnings influenced and shaped the Ideas and practices of political Muslims, particularly those of the earlier generation Muslims Intellectuals. In his paper, “Keharusan Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam dan Masalah Integrasi Bangsa” (The Necessity of the Renewal of Islamic Thought and the Problem of Integration of the Islamic Community), Nurcholish Madjid has made the straight forward observation that Indonesian Muslim suffered from stagnation in religious thinking and had lost the “psychological striking Force” in their struggle.<sup>17</sup>

An important indication of this intellectually disarticulated Indonesian Islam, as, By Nurcholish Madjid was the inability of the vast majority of Muslims to differentiate values that are transcendental from those which are temporal, In fact, he further pointed out that the hierarchy of values is often the reverse, transcendental values are perceived as transcendental and therefore, without exception, valued as divine. As a result, in the realm of religiosity, Islam is viewed as equal in value to tradition, becoming Islamic implies being traditionalist.<sup>18</sup> The new generation of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals like Nurcholish Madjid, Abdurrahman Wahid, M. Dawam Rahardjo, Djohan Effendi, AdiSasono, Ahmad Syafi’ieMa’arif, Kuntowidjojo, Amin Rais,<sup>19</sup> to name only some of them, do not share the formalistic and legalistic pronouncement of the socio-political goals of Islam. On the contrary, they are more interested in issues, which will have a tangible impact on the well-being of the archipelago’s political community as whole. As reflected in the general contents of their writings, it is clear that they have put more emphasis on the themes that are inclusive and objective in nature. Furthermore, they also wrap their sociopolitical agenda in a language, which is understood and shared by Indonesian society at large.

With the fundamental premises in mind, the new Muslim intellectuals have campaigned for the more substantive-less symbolist nature of the Islamic political struggle In which programs rather partisan ideology of the Islamic political orientations, shifting focus away from structure and attempting to end the hostility between political Islam and the state. In the early of the twentieth century Islam had a certain meaning for Muslim community especially it meant hard endeavor for freedom from colonialist countries. It is inseparable part of Islamic resurgence seen in Middle East zone since eighteenth century and further unfolded in nineteenth century. As is well known, in nineteenth century almost all the countries built of whose population was Muslim started struggling for their countries freedom from western colonialist. In the twentieth century, they fought against colonialist through physical action. In the case of Indonesia, Indonesian people generally, and Muslim community especially, consolidated themselves into an adequate strategic and united movement until they became sole power feared by the Dutch colonialism.<sup>20</sup> Indonesian mainstream as a part of eastern nationalist movement, was in certain aspects contradictory to western nationalism. Indonesian nationalist movement era of colonia list was intended to respond to the situation in the country. Their aim was to reach independence and to organize Indonesian state according to the Indonesian’s people aspiration. Indonesian nationalism thus had a specific character, namely anti-colonialism and anti-Dutch.

In these periods, several national organizations were established. The first nationalistic mass movement was SI (Sarikat Islam, Muslim Alliance) founded in 1912 on the basis of Islamic thought. It grew rapidly and soon became a big organization and this organization later split into different Islamic organizations following internal conflict.

<sup>16</sup> Ahmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique, YasminHussain (ed), Readings on *slam in Soueth Asia Studies*, 1989, pp.165-170.

<sup>17</sup> Djohan Effendi and IsmetNatsir (ed), PergolakanPemikiran Islam, pp.1-193.

<sup>18</sup> NurcholishMadjid was president of WakafParamadina Foundation, member of alumni of IAIN SyarifHidayatullah Jakarta and Resercher Staff of LIPI.He was born in Jombang East Java, 17 March 1939.

<sup>19</sup> Alfian Muhammad, The Political Behavior of a MuslimModernist Organization under the Dutch Colonialism, GadjahMada University Press, Yogyakarta, 1989,pp.10-50.

<sup>20</sup> NurcholoishMadjid, “KeharusanPembaharuanPemikiran Islam danMasalahIntegrasiUmmat”, Islamic Research Center, Jakarta, 1970, pp.1-12.

After the division of SI, mainly two Islamic movement represented the puritan Muslim part of the anti-colonial resistance, Muhammadiyah and NU (Nahdlatul Ulama, or Cleric Awakening). Muhammadiyah organization founded in 1912 in the town of Yogyakarta Central Java, was usually regarded as modernist, while NU was described as orthodox. One of The aims of Muhammadiyah was the reformation of Islamic thought in the country and it has Called upon the people to return to the Qur'an and Sunnah, interpreted suitably to adjust to Contemporary realities. Even the aims of NU were to defend the Islamic tradition as has been developed in Java.<sup>21</sup> In order understand the nationalism which has growth and flourished in the country, it is important to understand the mind of people. It meant aspiration to become independent citizens. In other words it placed interest of the nation above that of the individual.<sup>22</sup> In other word all activities of a member of society within and without, should be measured by the norm whether they would bring the benefit or loss to the country. There are various definitions of nationalism. One of them was given by Hans Kohn as following: nationalities are product of living forces of history, and therefore fluctuating and never rigid. They are groups of the utmost complexity and defy exact definition. Most of them possess certain objective factors distinguishing them for other nationalities like common descent, language, territory, political entity, customs, tradition and religion. But it is clear that none of these factors are essential to the definition of nationality.<sup>23</sup> Quoting Stanle Been, Nurcholish Madjid identified five elements of nationalism, namely; loyalty to the nation, its implication in political field is inclination to attach more importance to national interest, especially when the national interest is in conflict with other interests, more attached to specific interests of the nation, defend of national civilization, and nationalism is political and anthropological theory that insisted that human beings, naturally, were divided into various nations.<sup>24</sup> Nurcholish Madjid marks out the basic attributes and nationalistic criteria as follow; that nationality manifests as state, nationality as linguistic and cultural unity, as manifestation of togetherness for specific goals (especially for Africa and Asia nationalism was struggle against colonialism), as manifestation to determine our destiny (Palistinationalism is the latest instance).

Based on the criteria, Nurcholish Madjid, identified the model of Indonesian nationality as the integration of state territory, common language, constitution and state philosophy, government system (administration bureaucracy) which covered the entire mother land, military troops as safeguard of order and security, and economic development experiment pragmatically, plus political experiences in the past.<sup>25</sup> Deliar Noer while talking of nationalism, distinguishes between nationalism of pre-independence era and post- independence one. During struggle, nationality is a way of thinking, and of the viewpoint regardless of the differences of races, religions and regions. Hence, nationalism should ethnic sentiments, similarities of physique and skin colors as also simila rities of languages and religions.<sup>26</sup>

Further, nationalism rejected all that was western, particularly in political field, at least endeavoring to minimize its influence. In education system rooted in the country's own culture like Taman Siswa (Student Park), Pesantren<sup>27</sup> or Classical Islamic Boarding School. and educational institutions founded by freedom fighters. In economic field, nationalism appeared in self -reliance, confident of own capability and rejected any dictation by foreign countries, and hard -working till it could non depended on western or other economic aid.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> NurcholishMadjid, "KeharusanPembaharuanPemikirann Islam danMasalahIntegrasiUmmat", Islamic Research Center,Jakarta, 1970, pp.10.

<sup>22</sup> M.RusliKarim, HMI MPO DalamKemelutModernisasiPolitik di Indonesia, Mizan, Bandung, 1977, p.21

<sup>23</sup> SlametMulyono, KesadaranNasional Dari NasionalismesampaiKemerdekaan, Jakarta, 1986. P.4

<sup>24</sup> Quotee from NugrohoNotosusanto, MenegakkanKawasanAlmamater, UI Press, Jakarta, 1983, p.84-85

<sup>25</sup> NurcholoshMadjid, Islam KemodernandanKeindonesiaan, Mizan, Bandung, 1987, p.37

<sup>26</sup> DeliarNoer, Islam, PancasilaIdanAsas Tunggal, YayasanPerkhidmatan, Jakarta, 1983, p.21

<sup>27</sup> The Pesantren or Santri represents the Islamic element and with market life. Although most of the Javanese people consider themselves Muslim yet not all of them can be categorized as Santri. (See CT Niels Mulder, *Mysticism and Social Order in Suharto's Indonesia*, p.68). The tern is applied only to those who are different from those who are only nominally or statistically Muslim follow the tradition of the prophet Muhammad. The term also denoted awhile complex of social, charitable, and political Islamic movement. Within this group, however, Geertz sees further division between what he calls syncretic and puristic, popularly known as the conservative and the reformist modernist. The former, while basically loyal to the tradition of accomodations to state custom and are more than Santri not connected with making Islam more relevant to the modern condition.

<sup>28</sup> CT Niels Mulder, *Mysticism and Social Order in Suharto's Indonesia*, p.21-22

The essence and the substance of post independent nationalism, according to Deliar Noer, are stressed on the will and real action for life and survival as a sovereign nation.<sup>29</sup> Taking the basics of nationalism and its connection to Islam, Deliar Noer Insisted that nationalism could be based on religion (particularly Islam), because according to its history, Islam has played a nationalism function, namely acting as unifying force to the entire Indonesian people. If united the archipelago islands for centuries to Islamic lap, and could keep them united in the future. History has proved that the Muslim community, through them Islamic scholars has bravely stood as the spearhead of struggle for fighting the colonialism.<sup>30</sup> In line with the previous Deliar Noer's thesis, Harun Nasution discovers that in Indonesia Islam was a force that promoted the rise and growth of Indonesian nationalism, is was mainly Islam that created consciousness of belonging to the same group. Islam was a real identity. It was through Islam that different ethnic groups were united into the large comprehensive community; Islam was able to break the power of local nationalism.

According to Harun Nasution, in Indonesia, Islam became a motivating force and flag bearer of Indonesian nationalism. Islam alone created the awareness of unity and then became their identity. Islam reduced tribal primordial and parochial fanaticism and developed a national society.

### Conclusion

From the above treatise we come to the conclusion that the Indonesian Muslims who has been conducting their religious doctrines continuously and consistently means at once simultaneously they have practiced the Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian state, because the values of the Pancasila were the small part of the values of Islam and hence Nurcholish Madjidsaid that the values of Islam were not contradictory to the values of Pancasila.<sup>31</sup> Therefore the Religious defamation case of Ahokon last November 11<sup>th</sup>, 2016 in his speech in the Thouns and Islands (PulauSeribu) of Northern Jakarta was uncivilized action. He said that QS: Al-Maidah: 51 and its full text as the following:

*"Ye who believe, take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and protectors. There are but friends and protectors to each other. And he amongst you that turn to them (for friendship) is of them. Verily God guideth not a people unjust."*<sup>32</sup>

To Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), Jakarta Governor, that this holy verse of Al-Qor'an was artificial verse, not revealed from the God, it was only for making the Muslims stupid. His speech has been insulted the Muslims all over the world. The Case of the religious defamation of Ahok not only hated the Indonesian Muslims but also his barbaric speech was not suitable to the values of Pancasila that extremely respect to the Islam and all religions existed in Indonesian earth.

From the above treatise could be said that an Indonesian devout muslim who practiced pure Islamic values consistently at one time means he was practiced the values of Pancasila because the values of Pancasila are part of the values of Islam, and the culture of nusantara Islam is tolerance, peaceful and full respect to the minority communities who existed in Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Indonesian constitution. In other world, Islam is antiviolenace therefore the terrorists who used various violent actions to reach their goals are not suited to the pure Islamic doctrines, particularly nusantara Islam.

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<sup>29</sup>Deliar Noer, *Administrasi Islam di Indonesia*, Edisi Baru, CV Radjawali Untuk Yayasan Risalah, Jakarta, 1983, p.8

<sup>30</sup>Deliar Noer, *Administrasi Islam di Indonesia*, Edisi Baru, CV Radjawali Untuk Yayasan Risalah, Jakarta, p.9

<sup>31</sup> For more information about the relation of Islam to the values of Pancasila, see Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam Kemodernan dan Keindonesian*, (Bandung, Mizan, 1987).

<sup>32</sup>Holy Book translation and Commentary by A. Yusuf Ali, (Maryland, Amana Corp, 1989), p.260.

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