

FRANZ MAGNIS SUSENO'S THOUGHTS ON RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

THESIS

Submitted to the Faculty of Ushuluddin and Humaniora

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Islamic Philosophy



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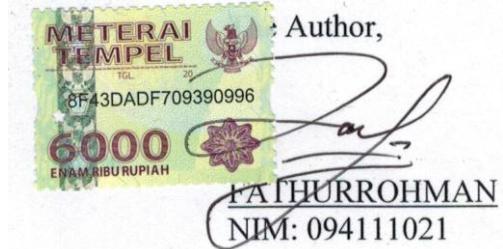
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DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis is definitely my own work. I am completely responsible for content of this thesis. Other writer's opinions or findings included in the thesis are quoted or cited in accordance with ethical standards.

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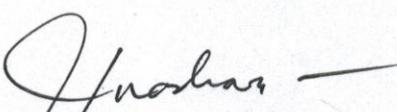
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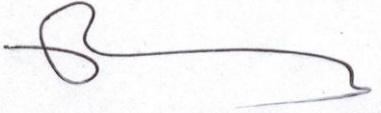
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MOTTO

Know yourself, to know your God¹

¹ Taken from famous statement of Islamic Scholar: مَنْ عَرَفَ نَفْسَهُ فَقَدْ عَرَفَ رَبَّهُ. Some Islamic Scholar have a different opinions that what is it hadits or not. An-Nawawi was explain that he have not validate as hadits from prophet, and Ibn Taimiyah was consider it to hadits *maudhu'*, while Zarkashi in his famous hadits, quote from Imam al-Sam'ani's statement said that is statement from famous Sufis called Yahya ibn Muadz al-Razi.

DEDICATION

For The One (in myself)

TRANSLITERATION

ENGLISH TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM CONSONANTS

A	ء	A	أ	A	أ
b	ب	-	؟	-	كـ
-	؟	s	س	l	ل
t	ت	sy	ش	m	م
ts	ث	sh	ص	n	ن
j	ج	dl	ض	h	هـ
-	؟	th	طـ	w	وـ
h	حـ	zh	ظـ	y	يـ
kh	خـ	'	عـ	-a ¹	ةـ
d	دـ	gh	غـ	2	الـ
dz	ذـ	f	فـ	1 (-at in construct state)	
r	رـ	q	قـ	2 (article) al- and 'l-	
z	زـ	k	كـ	3 (when not final)	

VOWELS

Long or	؟	ā
	و	ū
	ي	ī
Doubled	ءِءِ	iyy (final form i)
	وُوُ	uww (final form u), etc.
Diphthongs	ءَوَ	au or aw
	يَأَيَ	ai or ay
Short	---أَ	a
	---ُعَ	u
	---ِيَ	i

All *al ta'rif* (التعريف) written with “al” except if related with the word *dīn* or *al-asmā'* *al-husnā*. For example, *shihābuddīn*, *usūluddīn*, *abdullāh*, etc.

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All praise and thanks always we deliver unto Allah, the God of all Universe, for being finished this study after fourteen semesters, three deans, two rectors, two cheap of Departments and nine cheap of Student. Furthermore, May *salawāt* and *salām* always we convey be the last apostle, Muhammad peace unto him, his family and his *sahaba* who has taught wisdom and given *rahma* for all mankind, especially the Muslims.

Only with His help, this thesis can be finished although the writer believes that there is no perfect in this world, including this thesis. The title of it is “*Franz Magnis-Suseno’s Thoughts on Religious Pluralism*”. In process of finishing of the thesis, writer has many obstacles. One of it is writer has sick. Submiting this thesis was one years ago when the cheap of Theology and Philosophy Departement, maybe, was tired ask to writer to propose mini thesis.

Not intensively one year writer work this thesis, actually only last two mounts at home and a mount and half in KKN place, Pati. After Comprehensive Examination at October one year ago, writer was sick, almost three mounts writer did not worked the thesis.

So that many people has support to writer. Mr. Prof. Dr. Muhibbin, M.Ag., as the rector who built the writer under guidance of UIN Walisongo Semarang, together with the vise rectors; I, II and III.

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Finally, only unto Him, the writer surrenders. May this thesis be useful for '*Umma*, society, nation and country, especially for the writer and all readers.

Semarang, June 3rd, 2016

The Writer

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ABSTRACT

After more religions conflict in Indonesia, the author thinks need to raise this topic to be a research. Actually, conflict of inter-religion must be clear if all of Indonesian people understand about Pancasila, especially in first principle, and pluralism, because first principle is law basic of religions and believes in Indonesia. But, it is become problem until now because Pancasila is not understood by people.

Indonesia is the most plural country in the word. It is right. From Sabang to Merauke there are many ethnic, races, and many religions. Because of this, every citizen needs a plural ability to make a peaceful country. So, the pluralism is most important in this country, and must be ‘weapon’ of Indonesia to make plural state. There are latent problem that need to solve. We didn’t want to see this country to be broke because of intern conflict, whereas because of unity this country become independent. Franz Magnis-Suseno as a scholar, who “new comer” of Indonesian citizen, in his articles have many contributions about democracy, relationship inter-religion, pluralism and other. Whereas we know that Franz Magnis-Suseno not the origin of Indonesian people. According to author, this problem must be researched. Moreover in Franz Magnis-Suseno’s thought that he was not the origin of Indonesian people. But, his nationalism was more than them. In Franz Magnis-Suseno’s thought the relationship between “Belief in One God” and pluralism and the consequence of both in ethics is importance to find.

This is library research, in concern to Franz Magnis-Suseno’s thought in many his works as premier source. As seconder source to completing data, the author will take any source in books, journals and other which related with this topic. The data will be analysis with *critic-philosophic*. The analytical method will used is “hermeneutic” Martin Heidegger that the central description is “existential-ontology”.

With this analyze, will found that ontology of *Ketuhanan* (belief/divinity) in Franz Magnis-Suseno thought his pluralism is related with Belief in One God (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*) that was created by founding father of Indonesia. Than the consequence it, the ethics of nationalism, pluralism, and religious must be built in soul of citizens.

Talking about God, divinity, and plurality is close with freedom. In Franz Magnis-Suseno’s thought that Belief in God is an evidence of freedom in everyone. God is not leaving freedom, exactly with existing God, human being found the freedom of him. To the axiology, everyone in this country must appreciate other to belief in his religions. if it not realized, religious conflict in this country will grow up more and more, even with little provocation it will happened. Whereas founding fathers of this country create the first principle to be basic of religion, event not that only, first principle is foundation of four principles after it. If this uncovered, Pancasila unuseful again. So Religious Pluralism is very needed in this Country.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

Indonesia is heterogenic country that legalizes many religions. It regulate in Pancasila and Basic Ordinance 1945. In first principle of Pancasila, Belief in One God, become prime foundation of plural in Indonesia. In current decade pluralism was more spoken, because pluralism still in brunt. There are groups that will impose them ideology to people. And we were see inattentiveness of the country to the efforts.¹

In Pancasila, Indonesian people are legitimated agrees that in The Unity Country of Indonesian Republic (NKRI) all of Indonesian people have same obligation and human right, without discrimination on behalf of religions.² Agreement to decide five principles of Pancasila as Country's foundation in opening of UUD 1945, assured that Indonesia is own of Indonesian People, without discriminating ethnic and religion. Readiness Islamic representative to unprosecuted special position to Islamic religion in UUD 1945 –although they are majority in this country—enable to unity of Indonesian People from Sabang to Merauke.³

Determining five principles, Pancasila, make Indonesia as plural Country that considers a tolerance in everywhere. As religion, ethnic, nation, etc. this motives that had being appear slogan *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, event different but still the One,

¹ Franz Magnis-Suseno, “Pluralisme dan Reaktualisasi Pancasila”, Seminar of “Masa Depan Pluralisme Agama di Indonesia” in Setya Wacana Christianity University Salatiga at May 23rd, 2007.

² *Ibid.*

³ Franz Magnis-Suseno, “Pancasila 2010” *Kompas daily Newsletter*, edision: Augustus 10th, 2010. See also at Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Kebangsaan, Demokrasi, Pluralis: Bunga Rampai Etika Politik Aktual*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2015) p. 45-46.

Indonesia. This is goal that founding father⁴ of this country wish. Solidarity accompany people imposed to have modest with acknowledge how wide and depth is evident that had shown by all experience and development and how definite human to embrace all of it in whole and close comprehension.⁵ Because of it, need to explain clearly that Indonesia got basic principle which uniting all in “Belief in One God”, like was formulated in first principle of Pancasila⁶ and UUD 1945. From this case, was indicating that Indonesia is not a religious country but still give priority to religion in society.

If the first principle is a basic of deeply demeanor, it can be foundation of characteristic religion in Indonesia, all at once to be inclusive and spirit pluralism of people. *First*, since before Indonesia independent until now, this principle has most sensitive. It proven to be determine foundation of country, all side directly approve to Pancasila.⁷ But, when it will be formulate in sentence, formulation of first principle is most sharp and most pressing energy, think and emotion. In fact, next expansion, social fluctuation will be dangerous if treat in religion and conviction.

Second, inclusivity of this principle was proven to be each principle cannot be known exclusively free from other principles. Unity of this principle is integral unity.⁸ Where is every principle having meaning each other? Believe on Allah that was nothing without doing in brotherhood with other, even one nation and other, like principle of Just and Civilized Humanist. Get nothing belief in God was decelerated if human not appreciate each other, People’s power lead by the guidance of wisdom in

⁴ The Founding Father is they who his name contained in BPUPKI, 62 people. Read at Jazim Hamidi dkk., *Intervensi Negara terhadap Agama, Studi Konvergensi atas Politik Aliran Keagamaan dan Reposisi Peradilan Agama di Indonesia*. (Yogyakarta: 2001, UII Press) p. 114

⁵ Dr. P. Hardono Hadi, *Hakikat dan Muatan Filsafat Pancasila*, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1994) p. 105.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 105

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 105

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 106

common deliberation/representation. Unjust was completely removing all of religious value that declares by people, Social Justice for the whole Indonesian People. It is also for relation between first principle and other.

Need to realized that formulation of first principle also will be own people individually in thing have a highest value in scale of Indonesian people life. Also had been aware that conviction and individual belief most different one and other. So, generally formulation is impossible to touch faith aspect or belief completely and can gratifying each people completely.⁹

Belief in One God is a principle that Indonesian people have to one God, The One. In Islam, that called *Tauhid*. So, in formulation of Belief in One God, there is deep attitude about faith him selves and faith other people. With Belief, it content formulation spot of faith from each religion and belief.¹⁰ That formulation is not specializing one of them. “Belief” concept have meaning that general formulation and abstract until capable to load all meaning appropriate with religion and belief each other.

There is essence in first word in first principle, Belief, which is God essence. This essence is God as meaning of human reason as responsibility to humanity, based on philosophy, that human have to respect to God, loyal to God, glorified to God appropriate to religion and belief each religion.¹¹

Next word is “One God”. There is a mission of monotheism (*Tauhid*) included in this word. All Indonesian people have to admitting the One God. Glorify “The One, The Beautiful, and The Good, according to Plato. Although, according to

⁹ *Ibid*, h. 107

¹⁰ *Ibid*, h. 108

¹¹ Prof. Dr. Sunarjo Wreksosuhardjo, *Berfilsafat Menuju Ilmu Filsafat Pancasila: PADMONOBO Pembawa Amanat Dewata Mengajarkan Kesaktian*, (Yogyakarta: Penerbit ANDI, 2014) h. 72

Plato, is only effort to uniting all of evident and idea. Whereas those ideas in special level.¹² This is referring that have to a transcendent that recognize by Indonesian people appropriate each religion and belief, which is God. *Tauhid* is a prime in people faith in Islam. Recognizing God is prime requisite to have religion in Indonesia.

In Islam, *Tauhid* is become special discussion to learning religion. Because, important to recognize the One of God. An obligation to Islamic people to know about *Tauhid*. Its mean that belief in One God has to become prime principle in a nation or state.

Franz Magnis-Suseno in his works is discussed about God. One of his books that discussed about it is “*Menalar Tuhan*”. This book invites us to look up the Existence of God who was being lost buried under contemporary philosophy. More of them were not thinking about God. Moreover, in 20th centuries, some scholar was rejecting the existence of God. Like The Philosophy of Existence of God get lost from Philosophical discourse.¹³ God was not discussion object of Philosophy anymore. They more interest to think about humanity and his knowledge, language, society and culture. Since he settled in Indonesia, Franz Magnis-Suseno gave more contribution in thought of Indonesia. In a few years, Franz was more interest to discuss about democracy, Indonesia, pluralism, and etc. Franz like become contemporary scholar in Indonesia who will refer again and bring it up to Indonesia people about the important of God in nation context.

In Pancasila, Indonesian people in legitimate agreed that in this country all people are same, with obligation and right, without religion discrimination. Pancasila become problem solving, event first founding this country, what is Indonesia with Islamic foundation or nationality foundation. Indonesia with Belief in One God foundation and four other principles of political ethic and because of it have space to

¹² Hardono Hadi. *Op. cit.* h. 103

¹³ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Menalar Tuhan*, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2006) p. 19

all people.¹⁴ Principle of Belief in One God is different with four other principles. Because first principle is more focus in pluralism and Belief or religion. In his view, Franz Magnis-Suseno has opinion that pluralism as an important thing in complexity of Indonesian people. But, pluralism is not relativities. Pluralism often plow as become name to a view that all religion was same and don't judge own religion as a best religion then other.¹⁵

This research will open how relation between Beliefs in One God is and Pluralism in Indonesian Contemporary Scholar's thought, Franz Magnis-Suseno. Writer was choosing him, because he is a philosopher that –according to writer- very competent in discussing Pancasila for this era in philosophy's view.

B. RESEARCH QUESTION

- A. How is “Belief in One God” and Pluralism in Franz Magnis-Suseno’s thoughts?
- B. How is consequence relationship of “Belief in One God” and Pluralism in Franz Magnis-Suseno’s thought on ethics?

C. AIM AND SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

- 1. To know what is theology of Franz Magnis-Suseno’s thought on God.

¹⁴ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.* p. 105

¹⁵ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, p. 93

2. To know Franz Magnis-Suseno's thought in deciphering the relationship between Human and his God contained in Belief in One God.
3. To know how ethical state in Franz Magnis-Suseno's thought.
4. To know the consequence of Belief in One God and the ethic of religious, nationalist, and pluralism.
5. To know relation between "Belief in One God" and Pluralism in Franz Magnis-Suseno's view, in Ontology, Epistemology and Axiology
6. Enriching science, particularly in Pancasila, particularly the principle Belief in One God
7. Give knowledge of pluralism contained in principle Belief in One God

D. PRIOR RESEARCH

In an effort suggests that this study is a new thing, the author cite several previous studies that books or nearly equal.

First, Theologi Pluralisme (dalam perspektif Pemikiran Gus Dur) by Diyah Ayu Nurfitasari.¹⁶ In this thesis, she was discussing Pluralism just by one Figure, Abdulrahman Wahid as known as Gus Dur. As we know that Gus Dur is a figure of Indonesian Pluralism. More his book that discussing about Pluralism. According to Gus Dur, Pluralism is related with Nation's issue, political system, democracy, and Human Right issue. In this Thesis, she just discussing about Pluralism from Gus Dur. Event though, in this research (writer research) will be discuss about Pluralism from Franz Magnis-Suseno's view. It will be different, so different with Diyah's thesis.

¹⁶ Diyah Ayu Nurfitasari, *Theologi Pluralisme (dalam perspektif Pemikiran Gus Dur)*, (Skripsi, 2012)

Second, one study who discuss about Franz Magnis-Suseno is Akhmad Fauzan's thesis. His title is *Konsep Hak Asasi Manusia menurut Franz-Magnis-Suseno (dalam Perspektif Islam)*.¹⁷ As it title, this student of Ushuluddin Faculty of State Institute of Islamic Studies Walisongo who graduates at 1998, was discuss about Human Right from Franz Magnis-Suseno's view. According to him, Franz thinking about Human Right is affected by different concept and human right interpretation between people in the world. His thought is also influenced by religions rule believe. But the pattern of his thinking is directed to philosophy (Rationalism), or more specific. Including to political ethic, it is moral philosophy about political dimension in human life.¹⁸

This research is different from my research. Although we have same figure to researched, Franz Magnis-Suseno, but Fauzan's discusses is specific to Human Right, not offensive to Pancasila, especially first principle, Belief in One God.

Third, Konsep Franz Magnis Suseno dalam Kesadaran Moral (perspektif Islam).¹⁹ this is the title of Thesis wrote by Akhmad Fatkhuri, student of Ushuluddin Faculty who graduated at 1996. This research is pure discusses about moral awareness, reviewed from Franz views and Islamic Perspective. On his conclusion, Fatkhuri was contending that Franz views and Islam in Moral awareness concept isn't contradiction. Islam requires human to be good, and the barometer it is morality. It just different with Franz views in its source. Moral awareness according to

¹⁷ Akhmad Fauzan, *Konsep Hak Asasi Manusia Menurut Franz Magnis-Suseno (Perspektif Islam)*, Skripsi 1998

¹⁸ *Ibid.* h. 76.

¹⁹ Akhmad Fatkhuri, *Konsep Franz Magnis-Suseno dalam Kesadaran Moral (perspektif Islam)*, Skripsi 1996.

Franz sourced from conscience, while according to Islam is from revelation.²⁰

Fourth, one book that discuss Philosophy of Pancasila is *Berfilsafat Menuju Ilmu Filsafat Pancasila: PADMONOBO Pembawa Amanat Dewata Mengajarkan Kesaktian* by Prof. Dr. Sunarjo Wreksosuhardjo.²¹ This book discuss about Pancasila clearly, reviewed from philosophy, but not explicitly to first principle, Belief in One God. So, discussing firs principle in this book is very general. Beside it, this book isn't offending minority views and Indonesia outside views in interpreting principles of Pancasila like me.

Fifth, the thesis titled *Kritik Atas Ateisme (kajian filsafat ketuhanan Franz Magnis Suseno)* wrote by Masykur Alif, student of Ushuluddin, Religion, and Islamic Studies Faculty on Islamic State University Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. Although this thesis was discussing about goodness from Franz views, but from different viewpoint. Atheism is inclusive to individual. Goodness from view individual. It's not offend to it implication in Pancasila, first principle Belief in One God.

From those analyses, more periods research, as long as writer observation, it can conclude that this research is new. And hopefully can enrich the study about Franz Magnis-Suseno in different views.

²⁰ Akhmad Fatkhuri, *Konsep Franz Magnis Suseno dalam Kesadaran Moral (Perspektif Islam)*, Skripsi, 1996., h. 88

²¹ Prof. Dr. Sunarjo Wreksosuhardjo. *Op. Cit.*

E. METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

Methodology of research in collecting method used to discuss the subject matter according to the type of research.²² This research will be *qualitative* research. It does to focus research in object under study and the result not deviate from the methods used. Some method in this research is:

1. Type of Research

This research is included in *library research*, because the research is done by study of the literature, previous research, journal and other source in library.

2. Method of Collecting Data

Based on the type of research, the process of writing of the thesis is library research or analysis of literature means collecting data based on literature or theory from many books or journal which are related with the problem, then will be write, edit, classify, reduce and present of data.²³

To discuss the problems in this research, writer will use method or reasoning with two methods, that is:

The first step is reading, here the writer will use some books which are help in order to make easy to do, so it will be explain the source of data on this research. This research is talking about thought of Franz Magnis Suseno about Indonesia, God n Pluralism in his book, the sources of data are:

²² Tim penyusun Skripsi, Pedoman Penulisan Skripsi Fakultas Ushuluddin, ed. Dr. H. A. Hasan Asy'ari Ulama'I, M.Ag. (Semarang: Fak. Ushuluddin, 2013) h. 41

²³ Hadari Nawawi, *Metodologi Penelitian Bidang Sosial*, (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada Pers, 1991), p. 30.

- a. The primary source is the principle data of the research. So the writer uses some books of Franz Magnis Suseno as the primary data. The terms which contain Pancasila, pluralism, God, humanity, social, harmony of religion in Indonesia.
- b. The secondary data is the supporting data from the other side, no be founded directly from the research subject. So as the secondary data the writer used book except Franz Magnis Suseno's book that have related with the research, and other books which are support in this research.

The second step is classifying. It is classifying some books in each chapter according to content of chapter. The last is analyzing, after classifying of books then analyzed by interpreting method.

3. Analytical Method

To make perfect research need to use a methodology of analytics. The method of this research is qualitative method and the analytic will use *Hermeneutic* from Martin Heidegger that the central definition is “existential-ontology”. This methode, according to author, was appropriate with this topic, because in Heidegger’s theory that was explain about Being and Time (*Sein and Zeit*). It was sync with topic because this topic also will literate about God, as ontologically and then will expression in axiology.

Hermeneutic is a kind of philosophy that learns about meaning interpretation. The word hermeneutic comes from the Greek “*hermeneuein*” means interpret. It is associated with a Greek God, *Hermes*, regarded as messengers of the Gods to humans. Hermes is the messenger of the Gods in the sky for brings the message to humans. The association hermeneutic with Hermes in glance shows that there are three

elements that eventually became the main variable of human activity in the understanding, it is;

1. Sign, message or text that is the source or the material in the interpretation
2. Intermediary or interpreter
3. Delivery of the message by the intermediary to be understood and delivered to those who receive.

Some studies mentioned that the hermeneutic is the process of change of the something or situations from unfamiliarity to know and understand.²⁴ Understanding of hermeneutics is never separated from the three principal components that are the text, context and contextualization that it operates in an ideal synergistic in understanding, interpreting and conduct a new production of meaning in accordance with the contextual realities of space and time.²⁵ Here will be discussed in detail the terms that have meaningful of fear then will be interpreted according to the hermeneutic method.

F. ORDER OF WRITING

This thesis is divided to five chapters, where it will be related to other. First Chapter was explaining about Introduction, how this research will do, and what method that will use. In this chapter is also contented from background, the aim and significant of this research.

Second chapter will discuss about the divinity and pluralism in global perspective. In this chapter was explaining about religion and pluralism

²⁴ Fahrudin Faiz, *Hermeneutika Al-Qur'an: Tema-Tema Kontroversial*, (Yogyakarta: ELSAQ Press, 2005), p. 4

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 24

definition and also some theory of religion and more thought of pluralism? In specifically will discuss about God and Divinity.

Third chapter was discussing about Franz Magnis-Suseno and his thought about Religion, Pluralism, and Indonesian state, including to Pancasila and Divinity. In this chapter also will view how is Franz Magnis-Suseno was interpreting God and Human.

Fourth Chapter is analyzing Franz Magnis Suseno's thought about Religious Pluralism and ethic of human being as citizen, religious people and nationalist.

And Fifth Chapter is last discussion (epilog) of the thesis. This chapter will be conclusion about this research and recommendations.

CHAPTER II:

THE DIVINITY AND PLURAISME IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

A. The Meaning Of Divinity

The first principle contains an obligatory to merge with the essence of God is the basic thing to respect and comply with God. The realization is a man has to assume that God is the greater, do every Gods order etc. Five principles is not religion, so the worship, the way we pray, especially about the traditional ceremony and sacral must be surrendered to religion and the faithful.

We can see in the first principle and the consequence in the article 29 UUD' 45. It's hard to refuse, the formulation of "Belief in One God" (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*) as the last decision had been reached by Islamist politician. It is because the formulation is not contradictory, if not reflecting, *tauhid* (oneness of God) became the faith of Islam. But actually, the formulation has its own complexity. As Olaf Schuman said:

"Istilah 'ketuhanan' merupakan istilah yang sangat abstrak; bukan 'Tuhan', melainkan 'ketuhanan', suatu prinsip mengenai Tuhan, tetapi bukan Tuhan sendiri. Oleh karena itu, ia pun sangat sulit untuk diterjemahkan ke dalam bahasa asing. Dalam bahasa Inggris barangkali bisa diterjemahkan dengan istilah divinity, pasti bukan 'deity' atau 'God', dan dalam bahasa Jerman Gottheit atau Gottlichkeit, ia pun bukan Gott. Hanya teologi yang dapat menjelaskan dengan memberikan definisi mengenai apa yang dimaksudkan dengan ketuhanan itu secara nyata. Jadi, dengan rumusan sila ketuhanan diberikan ruangan luas yang sekaligus dilindungi oleh negara agar agama-agama yang diakui dapat menguraikan dan mengembangkan pemahaman mereka masing-masing mengenai Tuhan itu."

"The term 'divinity' is a term that is very abstract; instead of 'God', but 'divinity ', a principle about God, but not God himself. Therefore, it is very difficult to translate into foreign languages . In English, the term

may be interpreted as divinity, certainly not a 'deity' or 'God', and in German Gottheit or Gottlichkeit, he was not Gott. Only theology can explain by giving a definition of what is meant by that divinity is real. So, with the formulation of the principle of divinity given a spacious room that once protected by the state-recognized religions can decipher and develop their understanding of each of God's.¹

Perhaps it is true, only theology can give a definition of what constitutes "divinity," but spacious room that was opened by the formula, in history, it is more often scene of struggle of political interpretation rather than a theological discussion. For some Islamist politicians, the formulation was seen as a symbolic step is very important because it accepts the principle of monotheism of Islam as the ideological foundation of the state. Not only listed in the first principle of Pancasila, the formulation was also part of UUD'45, particularly Article 29 paragraph (1): "The State based on Belief in One God (*Negara berdasar atas Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*)".

In *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* explains the word of "ke-Tuhan-an" or divinity in the first principle is to show the characteristic of God or everything that has relationship with Him.² While, Prof. Dr. Sunarjo Wreksosuhardjo in his book clarify, the prefix of (*ke*) and the suffix of (*an*) bring out the main word become an abstract noun. So, the word of divinity is

¹ Taken from Aritonang, *Sejarah Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia), 2004, pg. 256. Boland himself translating it as *Belief in the One and Only God* to first principle of Pancasila, with note that formulation of first principle of Pancasila "not necessarily a 'concept of God according to Islam that released from religious dogma', but more than it was a neutral and general concept of God, that give space to everyone to worship, without become indifferent in religious issues." Look at Boland, B.J., *Pergumulan Islam di Indonesia 1945 – 1970*, (Jakarta: Grafiti Pers), 1985, pg. 41.

² *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*.

an abstract basic thing, its contain necessity or demand and a reference in mutual accord with God.³

The essence of God accord to Sunarjo, is an understanding of mind as a responsibility to God, based on ratio/philosophy, and it means a man should respect and eulogize to God, exalt to religion and faithful of every human.⁴ Based on human ratio, the essence of God is divided into six, they are: (a) *Causa Prima*, the first cause of everything; (b) Controller of nature rule; (c) the arch of nature; (d) everlasting, never nothing, and the exist is a must (he can't never not being); (e) Almighty, The Great Perfect, The Power, The Perfect, The Good, and (f) must be respected and obeyed.

In other words, although Islam as a holistic system that is not accepted as the basis of the state, at least essentially teachings, namely monotheism, has become the foundation upon which the Republic of Indonesia was established. With it, the concept of "*secular state*" very eerie and haunting politicians Islam categorically been denied. But at the same time with that, the concept of "state religion" participates rejected.⁵ Later, while serving as Minister of Religion in the New Order regime, Prof. Dr. Mukti Ali formulates sentences that are well known on the subject:

"Indonesia telah memilih jalannya sendiri. Indonesia bukanlah negara teokratis, dan juga bukan negara sekuler. Dasar negara kita, Pancasila, sudah benar dengan menegaskan negara ini berdasarkan

³ Prof. Dr. Sunarjo Wreksosuhardjo, *Berfilsafat Menuju Ilmu Filsafat Pancasila; Padmonobo Pembawa Amanat Dewata Mengajarkan Kesaktian* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit ANDI, 2014), h. 71

⁴ Prof. Dr. Sunarjo Wreksosuhardjo, *Ibid.*, h. 72

⁵ Bahtiar was quoting from Hatta's statement in this case. Accepting this monotheistic formulation of Pancasila was give him explanation that "the escape way... from every obligation, as a Muslim orthodox and child of *Ulama* (a scholar of Islam), to agree with Islamic State." Look at Bahtiar Effendy *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Paramadina), 1998 pg. 91.

Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa. Hal menunjukkan bahwa Indonesia merupakan negara multi-religius. Tetapi, agama (Islam), dalam bentuknya yang resmi, bukan dasar negara ... tidak dijadikan sebagai agama negara. Namun demikian, pemerintah akan merumuskan suatu prinsip-prinsip operasional bagi pembangunan agama, yang diperuntukkan kepada semua komunitas beragama di Indonesia, dalam rangka melindungi, membantu, mendukung dan membina semua bentuk kegiatan keagamaan.”

“Indonesia has chosen his own path. Indonesia is not a theocratic state, and also not a secular state. Foundation of our country, Pancasila, it is correct to assert this country based on God. It shows that Indonesia is a multi-religious country. However, the religion (Islam), in an official form, not the foundation of the state ... not serve as the state religion. However, the government will formulate operational principles for the development of religion, which is applied to all religious communities in Indonesia, in order to protect, help, support and foster all forms of religious activities.”⁶

B. Divinity In Philosophical Perspective

A concept that is usually considered to be characteristic of everything religious is the concept of supernatural.⁷ A Supernatural is order of matters that are beyond the ability of human understanding; the supernatural is the world of mystery, which cannot be known or can be arrested intellect and senses absorbed. Then religion becomes a sort of speculations regarding everything that exists outside of science or common sense in general.

⁶ Quoted from Ali Munhanif, “Prof. Dr. A. Mukti Ali: *Modernisasi Politik-Keagamaan Orde Baru*”, in Prof. Dr. Azyumardi Azra and Drs. Saiful Umar, MA (editors), *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI: Biografi Sosial-Politik* (Jakarta: INIS, PPIM and Depag RI), 1998, pg. 299. Italicize text addition. The formulation of Indonesia as “not religion and secular state”, thought, maybe, the correct statement not coming from Mukti Ali, it was prevent popular and, can said, be most opinion accepted in Christian figure, such as T.B. Simatupang, W.B. Sidjabat, Eka Darmaputera, and other.

⁷ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms Of The Religious Life*, translated by Insyak Ridwan Muzir (Jogjakarta:IRCiSoD, 2011) pg. 49

1. They Talk About Religion

Some philosopher discuss about God and religion. Due to speak of God and religion in terms of philosophy, unusually separated from the theories that have already exist.

According to Spencer, cited by Durkheim, a religion whose teachings contradict each other, secretly agreed that the world and everything in it and everything surrounding it is a mystery that needs explanation; further, it is still of a quote from Spencer, "religions are basically lists of "belief in something that Eternal which are beyond the intellect".⁸ Meanwhile, according to Max Muller, he viewed religion as "an attempt to understand what is incomprehensible and to disclose anything that cannot be disclosed a craving for something that is not limited."⁹

Obviously feeling played by the feeling of mystery not be things that are not important in certain religions. Without cultivated, faith by itself has been matched with science and philosophy; and in some exposures, should quarrel with the current times that day, and always misunderstood by other thinkers of his time. Thus, it seems to be too hasty if we express an idea into a subject that overshadowed the experience of time, which is an essential element.

In any form, one thing is certain, that idea is very late to appear in the history of religions. This idea is not only stranger in a primitive society, but also people who have not yet reached a certain level of intellectual culture. Of course, when we see humans linking specific policies with the objects that are not significant or consider nature born of the principles of the most high made

⁸ Emile Durkheim , *Ibid*, h. 50

⁹ Emile Durkheim , *Ibid*, h. 50

of elements that are different from nature itself and which has capability to deny something which difficult to be conceptualized, then we can easily smell the mystery in ideas like this. In reality, explanations blinding us, the primitive society instead appears as the simplest matter in the world. Primitive people see it not as *Ultima ratio* (Last attempt) where intellect made her realize when stuck, but as the best way to know and understand anything that he observed around him.¹⁰ In his view, the rites that he is doing to increase soil fertility or the number of cattle which was maintained is not irrational, just as our view of the techniques that made agricultural experts for the same purpose now.¹¹ Similar things too much reviewed by Edward Burnett Tylor in his *Primitive Culture*.

Tyler proposed definition is religion as "belief in something spiritual."¹² According to him, only characteristic of every religion is belief in spirits of thinking, behaving and feeling like a human being. The essence of every religion, including mythology, is belief in animism that is something alive and has power that is behind something. Animism is the oldest form of thinking can be found in all human history.¹³ Ancient people first get an idea of religion with the same reasoning mechanism by reasoning that they apply in other aspects of life. They observed the workings of nature, and then try to explain what could happen. In other words, their real experience with death and dreams caused primitive society capable of reasoning for the first time a simple theory about their life that every life is caused by a kind soul or spiritual principle.

¹⁰ Emile Durkheim, *Ibid*, h. 51

¹¹ Emile Durkheim, *Ibid*, h. 51

¹² Daniel L. Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion*, Translated by Insyak Ridwan Muzir (Jogjakarta: IRCiSoD, Cet. II 2012) pg. 41

¹³ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid*, h. 42

They consider spirit as something very subtle, it has not a substance shadow of man with a very fine, thin and shadowy; he who gives life to the people where he was.¹⁴ Starting from this is then their reasoning by way of analogy and extension. If concept of spirit is able to explain the movement, activity and change in human experience, why not apply also to make sense of natural phenomena, such as vegetation, rivers, wind, animals and the planet??

Through reasoning, primitive society was finding their first form of religious. As their myths, religious instruction emerged from a rational attempt to explain the workings of nature.¹⁵ And from this perspective, everything is clear, that as the spirit moved men, then the "spiritual being" had been moving the universe. The word "*spiritual being*" (something spiritual) itself is used to swap the word "God", as the term is felt to be more inclusive to include ghosts and spirits. The word of *Spiritual being* must be understood as conscious subjects (consensus subject) that have the ability to exceed the abilities of ordinary people.¹⁶ This theory was also attended by James George Frazer who later developed this theory in his book *The Golden Bough*. Both of these thinkers conclude that religion in general is simply a matter of "intellectuals" mere. Religion is a system of thought that had once believed, but is now regarded as an error and absurd.¹⁷

While, Sigmund Freud assume that religion is a mistake. Religion is a superstition.¹⁸ But at the same time he saw religion as superstition is very interesting because it appears important questions about human. Why does human still believe in religion, even performed with earnest and profound,

¹⁴ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid*, h. 43

¹⁵ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid*, h. 43

¹⁶ Emile Durkheim, *Op. Cit.*, h. 57

¹⁷ Daniel L. Pals, *Op. Cit.*, h. 116

¹⁸ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.*, h. 98

even religion is a fallacy? If that religion is irrational, then why does human still need it? And why do people still hold it?

Freud dared to answer these questions with a good reason. He claimed that by using psychoanalysis will be able to find it. According to Freud, the behavior of religious people is similar to the patient's behavior of his neurotic.¹⁹ For example, both are the same emphasizes ceremonial form of doing things, and at the same feel guilty if not perform these rites perfectly. In both cases, the ceremonies were conducted also associated with repression of basic impulse. Psychological disorders usually emerge from the interest of sexual desire, whereas in religion as a result of distress themselves (to the "I" an), namely control of the instinct-ego. So, if sexual repression occurs in disorders of mental obsession with one's self, then the religion practiced by more the bias said as a mental disorder universal obsession.²⁰ This comparison is a key theme in all the writings of Freud on Religion. In his view, religious behavior is always akin to mental illness. Then the most appropriate concept to explain the religion is concepts that have been developed in Psychoanalysis.²¹

In commenting on the 20th century, a famous English poet, WH. Auden, said, "Today we are Freudian". This statement indicates the influence of Freud's ideas in almost every field of this century thinking. No exception to the field of religion. His analyze about the power hidden within the human personality has pushed not only for those who involve in the field of religious theory, but also for anyone who deal directly with religion itself, as theologians, pastors, and teachers to look down the surface of doctrine

¹⁹ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.*, h. 98

²⁰ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.*, h. 98

²¹ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.*, h. 99

whether adopted and unconscious to the bottom of the personality that shape and are shaped by religious beliefs.²² What is interesting is that although Freud's view of religion is unusually, but the Psychologist wants to adapt the views in a more sympathetic toward religion. Including Carl Jung, the adherent of Freudian.

For Jung, religion contains a set of imagination and ideas that are owned collectively by all humanity and expressed in mythology, *folklore*, philosophy and literature. Religion as part of such forms of expression using sources "collective unconscious" is not in the form of mental disorder neurotic, but as a healthy expression and the very essence of humanity²³. While other experts also conducted a study in the field of religion and psychology -like Freud and Jung- that produce many literature which is contain many theories and psychological therapies. Both perspectives have contributed greatly to the understanding of contemporary religious.²⁴

Freud's theory of religion is written actually follow this line of thought a German philosopher Feuerbach Ledwig. In his work, Feuerbach argued that religion is simply fixtures Psychological place we hang hopes and ideals to a supernatural force that we call "God", even though the actual process has implications for our own humiliation.²⁵

Feuerbach's theory is not explained about rational values or truths that are found by the believer in their religion, but rather describes the psychological mechanisms that create religious belief, regardless of right or

²² Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.*, h. 115

²³ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.*, h. 115

²⁴ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.*, h. 115

²⁵ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.*, pg. 116

wrong, rational or irrational of the religion. Feuerbach theory is contrary with Hegel's theory, and Feuerbach criticizes his theory.

According to Hegel, human consciousness, God reveals himself. Hegel's fundamental idea in general, understands this: people are thinking and acting according to the will or taste, but behind "universe of toh" to achieve its objectives. Although at the level of their own free and independent man, but through the independence of the spirit of the universe revealed himself.²⁶ By means of the decision and human efforts, the spirit can achieve its objectives. It is as if we are puppets, puppets are the awareness, understanding, and the will of its own, but the truth remains in the hands of the spirit of the universe, the puppeteer. So the spirits of the universe go round the perpetrators of actual history, but as if from behind the scenes. The human actors are not aware that they were masterminded by him.

The core idea of Hegel was the target of criticism Feurbach. According to Feurbach, Hegel distorts the reality. Hegel gave the impression of a real go round Allah (invisible), while humans (visible) just puppets. Yet the real undisputed is human. The human mind is not God, but God is the human mind.²⁷ For Feuerbach, the human senses cannot be denied, while the spirit of the universe only as the object of the human mind. Thus, Hegel, Feuerbach also denied claims that he is "lifted" into the rationality of religious philosophy. According to Feuerbach, philosophy spirit instead it was a victory against the rationality of religion, because it still is assumed for granted that God is the first, and the second one. That "god" Hegel called "the spirit of the

²⁶ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Menalar Tuhan*, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2006) pg. 65

²⁷ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 65

Universe does not alter that fact. So the core of the criticism is that the philosophy of Hegel, Feuerbach is really just a veiled religious belief²⁸.

Different argument comes from Karl Marx, the famous philosopher said that "religion is the opium of the people", which was originally agreed with the phrase Feuerbach, but Mark assumes that Feuerbach stop halfway. Yes, religion is a fantasy world where humans are looking for himself. But Feuerbach does not ask why people volunteered to imagination rather than manifest them in real life. Mark given the answer: Because real life, and that means: the structure of power in society, does not allow humans to realize the essence of wealth. Humans escape into the fantasy world because the real world oppressor.²⁹

2. Religious Society

There are two figures that is influenced by Franz Magnis-Suseno. Both of these figures are figures of socialist thinkers. That is the underlying thought that most of Frans Magnis many social background. They are Karl Max, his idea became a dissertation of Frans Magnis; and Emile Durkheim, a father of sociology, which also make an influence for Franz Magnis-Suseno.

In some of his articles, Frans Magnis raised many of the countries, religions and pluralism, but most of these thoughts are based on social awareness and response to social circumstances that seemed oppressive to the marginal and minorities. Include some religious denomination (beliefs) that are often met with resistance and even violence by other groups.

²⁸ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 65

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pg. 72

3. Karl Marx: Religion As An Alienation Form

a. About Marx

Karl Marx was a German social philosopher and originator of understanding which we now know the name of communism. Marx's writing throughout the 19th century only to be met by a minority of the scientists, and it was only circulated among his friends among members of radical groups. Even the public when it considers that the idea is far-fetched. In the last moments of his life, then people begin to gravitate towards mainstream thoughts. Starting from where its influence began to grow rapidly, as we have seen together. The world, the influence of Marx succeeded well in self-Vladimir Lenin, the main force behind the Russian Revolution in 1917. A revolution that shocked the world because it managed to destroy the Russian empire.³⁰

There are two things we need to consider before know more about Marx.³¹ First, as the founder of communism, he did not give a religious theory in detail, because the religious issue is only a part of the totality of his thought. For some time in the 20th century, Marxist idea-even the origin thought and the idea that has been combined with the thought of becoming a philosophy of government so on are set in various parts of the world.

The writings of Marx, for the communists, the same sacred gospel for Christians. Communism has a doctrinal system which cannot be interpreted arbitrarily, have a ceremony, and prominent figures sacred

³⁰ Daniel L. Pals, *Seventh Theories of Religion*, Translated by Insyak Ridwan Muzir (Jogjakarta: IRCiSoD, Cet. II 2012) p. 179-180

³¹ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.* p. 180

place of its own. He will also have figures of missionaries in just over 50 years has secured millions of followers around the world. Communism also has been carrying out a series of large-scale torture more cruel and vicious than the same events in medieval or war between religions. Communism not only have theories about politics, society and economics, but also permeated into the whole vision of human life. With the philosophical foundation of human position in the universe, an explanation of the history of the past was able to predict what will happen, in the future.

Second, because the philosophy of Marx very spacious scope. So, the portions offered on the "theory" of traditional religion were very small and not a core part of all thoughts. Marx view was very influential in the modern world, especially among the people who embrace communism. Even in the many writings Marx, no one specifically and systematically addressed the issue of religion. Indeed, Marx often raised the question of religion in most of his books, but it is only in the form of indirect, by commenting on religion in general. The consequence is, we have to approach Marks thinking in a different way than we use to approach the thought of another theoretician.

In his Communist Manifesto mark saying that since humans first emerged on the surface of the planet, they are not motivated by the "big ideas", but more driven by material needs, needs that make them survive. This is the first fact that using that materialists in viewing history.³²

³² Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.* p. 187

For Marx, history is an arena of conflict.³³ In contrast to Hegel, Marx said that Hegel was right when it considers that the alienation and limited movement rooted in the history of ideas and not on the reality of material life³⁴. According to Marx, alienation is something that is constructed and the actual. Human actions alone caused them alienated. And of course, there alienation which "placed" on purpose to others - including those ideas alone but the truth is people who become the real owners. That alienation is most real and is a major source of human misery.

In religion, God is always worshiped and obeyed, but all of it is "belongs to" man. In philosophy, Hegel gives compliments to the Absolute, but it should be addressed to the man who had worked hard toil for life. Even up to the political life, according to Marx, Hegel made the same mistake, because looking at governance in the modern State as an expression of an idea Absolute most visible, with the conclusion conservative that the whole society should undo the wishes and their personal interests for the sake of the interests of kings and rulers.

But, why does the human choose the way and give all of the greatness and obedience to God? It was not because there really is no god or ruler should be obeyed, but because there is something wrong in the human mind -in point of our consciousness. Humans suffer from self-

³³ It was Marx response to Hegel argument that, generally, rejected. But, although have a denial to Hegelian idealism, Marx still accepting Alienation or idea of history movement through conflict processes from Hegel. The different is Marx was put it (thesis and antithesis) in materialism and makes it as the centre of his argument about human history. Look at Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.* p. 192

³⁴ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.* p. 192

alienation, a separation that is very far from the human nature we should have.³⁵

b. Critical Religion of Marx

Discussing about matters including the ideology and the superstructure, finally will escort us to talk about religion. The essence of Marx in this context is very surprising when examined closely, Marx sometimes talk about religion in the saying that good at all, but on other occasions, turned very rude and cruel. According to him, the religion at all is an illusion. Fear is an illusion premises very painful consequence. Religion is the most extreme form of ideology and the real -a belief system whose main purpose is to provide a reason and the laws so that the entire structure of society can be run in accordance with the authorities' determination. In fact, religion is highly dependent on economic conditions, because none of the doctrines and religious beliefs has independent values. Although the doctrine of a religion different from other religions, but the specific forms that exist in various societies ultimately depends on one thing, namely the social conditions of life are surely also depend on the strength of the material that could set the community wherever and whenever.³⁶

Marx said that the belief in God or gods is the epitome of disappointment over the defeat in the class struggle. Such reliance is disgraceful attitude that must be removed, even by coercion. In some figures of his time, Marx was famous hardest on told about religion. Actually, Marx rejection of religion is a different side to the intellectual

³⁵ Marx explaining about alienation in *Economic and Philosophical Manuscript*, T.B. Bottomore (ed.) see also Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.* p. 222

³⁶ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.* p. 201

campaign onslaught everyone to expose the evils of religion. Then Marx adds that the core of his criticism of religion (God) was because there is man who creates religion, not religion (God) created man.³⁷

C. Law And Protection Of The State Religion In Indonesia

1. A Long History Of The First Principle

Since ancient times up to the gate (independence) Indonesia, the archipelago has gone through thousands of years of influence of local religions, (about) the 14th century the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism, seven centuries of Islamic influence and 4th century Christian influence³⁸. The strong religious share in the formation of the Indonesian nation, making large current bias founders of this nation does not envision public space empty of God. Since the decade of the 1920s, when Indonesia was envisioned as a political community together, overcoming the cultural community of ethnic and religious diversity, the idea of nationality cannot be separated from the Godhead³⁹.

Agoes Salim makes a critique to the idea of European-style nationalism that marginalizes God:

Atas nama tanah airnya masing-masing, kita lihat bangsa Eropa merendahkan derajat segala bangsa luar Eropa, bagi meninggikan derajat bangsa-bangsa Eropa atas segala bangsa luar Eropa... Atas dasar perhubungan yang karena benda dunia dan rupa dunia tidaklah akan dapat situmbuhkan sifat-sifat keutamaan yang perlu untuk mencapai kesempurnaan. Atas dasar keduniaan yang bersifat benda,

³⁷ Daniel L. Pals, *Ibid.* p. 203

³⁸ Yudi Latif, *Negara Paripurna, Historitas, Rasionalitas, dan Aktualitas Pancasila*, edition V (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2015) p., 57

³⁹ Yudi Latif, *Ibid.*, 67

dan ikhlas dan tawakal, yang sampai menyabilkan nyawa. Sebab benda dan rupa dunia habis gunanya, apabila nyawa sudah tiada. Maka sebagai dalam tiap-tiap hal yang mengenai dunia kita, demikian juga dalam cinta tanah air, kita mesti menunjukkan cita-cita yang lebih tinggi daripada segala benda dan rupa dunia, yaitu kepada hak, keadilan dan keutamaan yang batasnya dan ukurannya telah ditentukan oleh Allah SWT.

On behalf of their respective homeland, we see Europeans debasing all the nations outside Europe, to ennable the nations of Europe against all the nations outside Europe ... On the basis of nexus for the world and the objects in such a world is not going to be able to grow the nature of the primacy of the need to achieve the perfection. On the basis of the mundane nature of things, and sincere and trust, which can stabilize the soul. For such objects and the world runs the point, if the life was gone. So as in everything about our world, as well as the love of the homeland, we must demonstrate the ideals higher than all things and in such a world, that is, to the right, justice and virtue are boundless and its size has been determined by God.⁴⁰

Responding to such criticism, Sukarno wrote in Indonesia (August 12, 1928) to imagine the Godhead as the basis for distinguishing between a European and Indonesian nationalism:

Nasionalisme kita adalah nasionalisme ke-timuran dan sekali-kali bukanlah nasionalisme ke-baratan yang menurut perkataan C. R. Das adalah suatu nasionalisme yang menyerang-nyerang suatu nasionalisme yang mengejar keperluan sendiri. Suatu nasionalisme perdagangan yang menghitung untung atau rugi. Nasionalisme kita adalah nasionalisme yang membuat kita menjadi "perkakasnya Tuhan" dan membuat kita hidup dalam roh.

Our nationalism is the nationalism to-easterlies and in no nationalism to Westerners who think the words of C. R. Das is nationalism that attacks a nationalism that is pursuing its own purposes. A nationalism trade calculates profit or loss. Our nationalism is the nationalism that makes us become "the vessels of the Lord" and make us live in spirit.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Agoes Salim written in *Fajar Asia* (no.170/tahun 1928), look at Yudi Latif, *Ibid.*, h. 67

⁴¹ Two years ago (1926) Soekarno has wrote also essay in *Indonesia Moeda* Magazine with title, "*Nasionalisme, Islamisme, dan Marxisme*", that idealizing synthetic of that ideologies by unity of

In fact, a Tan Malaka, in his capacity as a communist leader, has a high concern to reconcile between communism and Islamism. Until the end of Japanese colonial rule, the grouping of the main political forces on the lines split the amount into what is commonly referred to as "national groups" and "Islamic groups"⁴². Both of these groups agree in view the importance of the values of the Godhead in independent Indonesia, but the odds of the relationship between the state and religion. Islamic groups argued that "the state" cannot be separated from "religion".

However they differ in the relation of state and religion, there is no rejection of the values of the Godhead. On the one hand, there is a view that wants Islam as the state, while on the other hand, there are (many) a view which rejects the idea of the Islamic State. However, rejection of the Islamic state and its support for the separation of state and religious affairs, did not rule out making basic Godhead⁴³.

The difference of views between the two groups, except for differences of movement, to a certain extent reflects differences in environmental knowledge (*epistemic community*). Those who voiced the idea of an Islamic state, primarily from Islamic educational environment that is less in touch with the discourse of modern nations and nationalism, citizenship (*civic nation*). Referral they put forward the traditions of political glory of Islam, with a tendency to align the interpretation of history between

nationality, as a mirror of aspirations from more leader of movements at the time. Look at Yudi Latif, *Ibid.*, h. 68

⁴² That mention, although arbitrarily (because Islamic group also unless nationalism), is commonly used in political discourse at the time. Some writer like Endang Saifudin Anshari, avoid to using that term, than change it to “secular nationalism” groups versus “Islamic nationalism”.

⁴³ Yudi Latif, *Ibid.*, p. 71

the religious community and the political community.⁴⁴ While those who advocate the separation of state and religion, generally derived from western educational environment heavily influenced by European modernism –at a time when secularism resonates strongly, to less understanding of nature religion (especially Islam).

The divergent views require that Muhammad Hatta and Soerkarno take the middle road with alternative solution conceptually and practically. Hatta launched the criticism that most arguments are not able to take his eyes from the shadows of the issue of '*Kerk en Staat*' (church and state) as found in the history of western countries. The influence of the shadows that bring imitation as if Indonesia were faced with the question of whether to be or reject held separation between "Islam and the state".

Furthermore, he pointed out that in the history of Islam, it is not known separation or conflict between religions (as a church) with the state, because Islam does not recognize priesthood. At most, a conflict occurs in the struggle for the post of head of state. Although church and state separate, state authorities and religious authorities of Islam indistinguishable. In fact, suggests that the leader after khalifa al-Rasyidin not the head of religion, but merely the head of state to develop world affairs. The removal of Islamic power center of the Medina to Damascus, there was a separation between the religious affairs that lived in Medina and the affairs of the world, based in

⁴⁴ Reference as Islamic states that make them difficult to take alternative model in relation of state and religion. Islamic state that independent early like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Afghanistan, take Islam as definition of state. Is consummating to Islamic Nation or even though make islam as religion of state? Turkey with his radical-secularism is exception in Islamic world that look like ideally model to Islamic leader in Indonesia.

Syria, although the leaders often use religion as an instrument of legitimacy to power.⁴⁵

Sukarno tried to bridge the gap between the two parties in the institutional design. In a speech on June 1, when outlining what he called a "*philosofische grondslag*", he did not support the idea of Islam as the state, but provide opportunities for Islamic groups to organize themselves politically that will affect political decisions in the legislature⁴⁶. Moreover, one of the principles of the five states of the basic philosophy which he called Pancasila, is the principle of "Lordship" which he put in the five precepts⁴⁷.

In his description of the principle of Divinity, Soekarno said:

Bukan saja bagsa Indonesia ber-Tuhan, tetapi masing-masing orang Indonesia hendaknya ber-Tuhan. Tuhan sendiri yang Kristen menyembah Tuhan menurut petunjuk Isa Al-Masih, yang Islam menurut petunjuk Nabi Muhammad s.a.w., orang Budha menjalankan ibadahnya menurut kitab-kitab yang ada padanya. Tetapi, marilah kita semuanya bet-Tuhan, Hendaknya Negara Indonesia ialah negara yang tiap orangnya dapat menyembah Tuhan dengan cara yang leluasa. Segenap rakyat hendaknya ber-Tuhan secara kebudayaan, yakni dengan tiada “egoism-agama”. Dan, hendaknya negara Indonesia satu negara yang ber-Tuhan!

Not only for Indonesia, but each person should have God. His own God. That Christians worship God according to the instructions of Jesus Christ, which according to the instructions of Islam Prophet Muhammad, Buddhists worship run by the books available to him. But let us all bet-God, Should the State of Indonesia is a country that every person can worship God in a way that freely. All the people should be

⁴⁵ Yudi Latif, *Ibid.*, p. 73

⁴⁶ Yudi Latif, *Ibid.*, p. 74

⁴⁷ The order of principles of Pancasila in Soekarno's speack is: 1. Indonesian Nationalism, 2. Internationalism or humanity, 3. Consensus or democracy, 4. Social Welfare, 5. Divinity (Belief in One God).

godless culture, i.e., with no "egoism-religion". And, Indonesia should believe in one God.⁴⁸

Most group of Islam objected to the laying of the divine principle in the last principle, because looking at the sequences in the priority scale. But it was described by Ruslan Abdoelgani, that the order of the precepts on Sukarno's speech was only following the systematic explanations. Even thought, "Mention at the end it should be defined as something that lock in the power of the four basic" before. "the first principle as the core of Pancasila"⁴⁹.

Then, nine committee⁵⁰ assigned to reconcile the views of the two parties concerns the basic state. This committee getting formulate and approve a draft preamble, which is then signed by each member of the Committee of Nine on June 22. By Soekarno draft preamble is named "Preamble", by Muhammad Yamin called "Jakarta Charter" and by Soekiman Wirjosandjojo called "Gentleman's Agreement".⁵¹

The draft preamble reflects a compromise effort between Islamic groups and nationalities. The intersection between the two tied in the third paragraph is: "In the grace of Allah Almighty and be urged by the noble desire..." this paragraph reflect the views of groups that base their national struggle for the grace of God. The tip led to the passage to the final compromise, which contains the basic formulation of the country based on the principles of Pancasila. Islam is not used as the basis of state (and the religion of the state), but there is a change in the governance of Pancasila sort of

⁴⁸ Yudi Latif, *Ibid.*, p. 75

⁴⁹ Look at speaking text by Roeslan Abdoelgani on Constituent Assembly Session (*Sidang Dewan Konstituante*), in Erwin Kusuma and Khairul (2008:27-53).

⁵⁰ Nine Committees or Small Committee made by Soekarno informally, there are 9 members, 5 people from nationalises and 4 members from Islamises.

⁵¹ Yudi Latif, *Ibid.*, p. 77

arrangement proposed Soekarno on June 1. The principle of "Belief" (*Ketuhanan*) moved from the last to the first principle, coupled with the phrase, "with the obligation to run the Islamic shari'ah for adherents" (*dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya*).⁵²

According to Mohammad Hatta, with the change in the position of this divine principle, state ideology has not changed accordingly, it actually strengthen the political of this country and get a strong moral foundation. Thus, the moral fundamentals form the foundation of political fundamentalism⁵³.

The formulation of the Jakarta Charter received a sharp response from Latuharhary. He has objected to the "seven words" as the clause of the Godhead. He expressed concern for the future, especially for other religions, because the basic state seven words very partial to a group that is Islam.

Problems have seven words to be very complicated, when in a large meeting Designers Basic Law states led by Sukarno on 13 July, again sticking⁵⁴. Some of the proposed re-emerged, especially on the 14th of July, which makes the meeting more heated. Ki Bagus Hadikusumo who sued to abolish the word "to its adherents" because it means that in one country will be two rules, one for Muslims and one for non-Islamic⁵⁵. But, it was denied by Soekarno because that it is not Islam also forced to run the Islamic Shari'a perhaps. Until the trial ended on July 17, 1945, those polemics have not found a way out.

⁵² This clause, than called "seven word"

⁵³ It is second until fifth principles, look at Yudi Latif, *Ibid.*, p. 78

⁵⁴ This is triggered by KH. Wachid Hasyim's statement who propose "*Presiden ialah orang Indonesia asli yang beragama Islam.*" (President is originally Indonesian who Muslim)

⁵⁵ Behind "*Ketuhanan, dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat islam*" (Belief, with liabilities run to its adherent)

On August 18, 1945, Independence Preparatory Committee Indonesia chooses Soekarno Hatta Mohammad becomes a President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia. At the same time approved the manuscript of PPKI Jakarta Charter as an opening of UUD 1945, except for the "seven words" behind the principles of Deity crossed out and then replaced with the word "One God"(*Yang Maha Esa*). Thus, the word is "Belief in One God" (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*). In other hand, in Article 6, paragraph 1 becomes: "President is origin of Indonesian people", no added words of "Muslim". As well as premises of article 29, paragraph 1 becomes: State based on Belief in One God ", without the seven words.⁵⁶

With the write-off of the "seven words", the fifth main ideas preamble, which privileges the Moslem population, are also omitted from the explanation of the preamble in UUD 1945. Thus, the country returned to the idea of a unitary state that transcends individual and group understanding.

2. Indonesia, Islam And State Ideology

Indonesia is a country where there is only one religion that developed and slanting the history. But, talking about the problematic relationship between religion and state, first we have to talking about Islam in particular. There are several reasons why this could be done. First, the simplest reason, Islam is the religion followed by "majority" of the Indonesian and therefore it has the most significant role in every battle or operation of power here. This position –as "the religion of the majority"– has become one of the important arguments for the efforts of Islamic politicians in the fight for their aspirations, even it poses many problems, both at the level of statistical data was never clear and the more complex issues: representation. That is, the

⁵⁶ Yudi Latif, *Ibid.*, p. 83

extent to which politicians Islam does represent the interests of the people, and not personal interests? How, in fact, the term *ummah* which is the basis of Islamic political thought should be understood? Just like any other religion, Islam is not perceived as a single entity. Perception, and as a result of interpretation, Islam singly -what is often referred to as the view "essentialism" which has been criticized by many parents will simply trap people into perspective "monolithic" in the understanding of Islam.

The second reason is because the historical experience of Islam in Indonesia. If, for example, compared with other religions, especially Christianity (Catholic and Protestant), Islam inherited the experience is very different. The more so in the context of the history of colonialism that influence -and even determine- second encounter "heavenly religions"⁵⁷ here. It is undeniable that Christianity comes along with Western colonialism, bringing the perspective and prejudice, and sentiments that grow in the West about Islam, or "pagan religions" others, and at least share in the colonial policy in its development efforts. While on the other hand actually appeared as a religion Islam colonized peoples who are trying to free themselves from the shackles of colonialism.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ The term of "heavenly religion" (*agama samawi*) author used actually in quotation mark. This is because dichotomy between *agama samawi* and *agama ardhi* until now never accepted scientifically.

⁵⁸ Actually characterization is like this most sampling more thing that most complex in encounter history of both *agama samawi*. This is not place to explain all of complexity, although it was very unconscious that almost all issues inter-religion, especially Islam with Christian in Indonesia, is very determinate by the background of its history that must be examined. To complexities history read Pdt. Dr. Jan S. Aritonang, *Sejarah Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gunung Mulia), 2004, that give full explanation about it in almost 5 centuries; Clasical Works Karel Steenbrink, *Kawan Dalam Pertikaian: Kaum Kolonial Belanda dan Islam di Indonesia (1596–1942)* (Bandung: Mizan), 1995, give explanation with authentic documents about the way of Islam and other religions that taken by new comer and Netherland missionary; other Literature which help to understanding this history, especially for Islam and christen in Java, is Masrur Ch. Jb., *The History of Java: Sejarah Perjumpaan Agama-Agama di Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz), 2004. European arrival in

The differences of this experience history emerge some consequences. in Kahin works, he wrote:

Agama Muhammad bukan saja merupakan mata rantai yang mengikat tali persatuan, melainkan ia juga merupakan simbol kesamaan nasib (ingroup) menentang penjajah asing dan penindas yang berasal dari agama lain.

Muhammad's religion is not only a chain of lacing unity, but it is also a symbol of the fate of similarity (*in-group*) against foreign invaders and oppressors who come from other religions.⁵⁹

In other words, the struggle for independence was perceived by the Muslims as a struggle for liberation not only the nation from colonialism foreign countries, but also liberate their religion of "oppressors coming from other religions".⁶⁰ These sentiments gained strong momentum when put in a

fact not only business but also have political interest, rejected by *santri* (Islamic student). Beside of harm of economy also will disturbing political will that building up. Both can't to get compromise to release them will each other. Because way to attacking "bangsa kafir". (pg. 49) its mean that a tension was starting from meeting the both of this culture was beginning.

⁵⁹ Quoted from Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Paramadina), 1998, hal. 62-63. This book was give historical detail mapping to this term. While Colonials, in his classical works, give same notes that "to Indonesian people, Islam is functioned to identity centre, to be a symbol of self-separateness and attack to Christian leader and foreign." Look at Harry J. Benda, *Bulan Sabit dan Matahari Terbit: Islam Indonesia pada masa pendudukan Jepang*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya), 1980, pg. 32.

⁶⁰ In this situation, actually Christian people were in difficult choices. They usually get privilege from *Zending* and parts of government bureaucracy are simpatico to him. Relation of "patron-client" that hierarchies thus form hierarchical social character as a religious group that is subordinate to the colonial powers, both in the religious and political dimensions. Compliance as a "slave" to "master" more color relations among Christian missionaries in the future. Such circumstances make it difficult for the Christians when they are faced with a political choice for independence from the Dutch colonizers. The laity is much easier to distance the government power and authority *zending*, compared with the pastor and his assistants who work in the ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Their many political movement influencing by position, interests and hierarchical relationships with workers who *zending* full power to Christians Indonesia, both in terms of religious thought, funds and personnel. See also Th. Sumartana "Agama, Politik dan Negara

historical context of the time, especially the harsh reality that the civilization of the Islamic world, which in the past grew rapidly and peaked brilliant, when it was sunk so deep, fell under Western colonialism which incidentally is (or claim themselves as) Christian civilization⁶¹.

In a context like that, in an attempt to display an alternative paradigm, and encouraged by the bitter experience of "secularism" imposed on Turkey, the famous slogan of Islam din wa huwa daulah can be understood more fitting. What would be offered by the motto is that Islam is not only a "belief" (the individual), but at once a social system that total and holistic. For some Muslims who adopt this, Islam offers solutions to all the problems of life. They, wrote Nazih Ayubi:

"percaya akan sifat Islam yang sempurna dan menyeluruh sehingga, menurut mereka, Islam meliputi tiga 'D' yang terkenal itu (din, agama; dunya, dunia; dan dawlah, negara). ... (Karena itu) Islam adalah sebuah totalitas yang padu yang menawarkan pemecahan terhadap semua masalah kehidupan. Islam harus diterima dalam keseluruhannya, dan harus diterapkan dalam keluarga, ekonomi dan politik. (Bagi kalangan Muslim ini) realisasi sebuah masyarakat Islam dibayangkan dalam penciptaan sebuah negara Islam, yakni sebuah 'negara ideologis' yang didasarkan kepada ajaran-ajaran Islam yang lengkap."

"believed to be the nature of Islam was perfect and complete so that, in their opinion, Islam covers three 'D' famous (din, religion; world; and dawlah, country). ... (Because of) Islam is a coherent totality that offers solutions to all the problems of life. Islam must be accepted in

Perspektif Agama-agama Abrahamik" in A. Munir Mulkhan dkk., *Agama dan Negara: Perspektif Islam, Katholik, Hindu, Budha, Konghucu, Protestan* Yogyakarta: Interfidei), 2002, pg. 130-131.

⁶¹ The encounter in the history of Islam and Christianity can be seen in at least two levels, namely the level of civilization and politics. At the level of civilization, both very productive meeting, is because from there each can learn from each other. The advancement of science in Islam in history is a product of this encounter. While at the level of political encounter, they more often are in an atmosphere of tension, wars, and so forth. Naively, the two models of the encounter has now been reduced to a political meeting. As a result, the encounter that is both intellectually (transfer of knowledge) is always in terms of political interests.

its entirety, and should be applied in the family, the economy and politics. (For Muslims this) the realization of an Islamic society envisaged in the creation of an Islamic state, which is an 'ideological state' based on the teachings of Islam were complete".⁶²

Or, in a more solid formulation of Rashid Rida, a reformer of Islam in the late 19th century, "Islam will not be fully alive as long as there is no state with a strong Islamic and independent, capable of implementing Islamic law"⁶³. This idea is very influential in the debate on Islam and the state in Indonesia, both in the pre-independence and afterward, when the crucial issue of the basis of an independent state discussed.

The author will not discover the twists lengthy debate it in detail. The debates have been studied in many works Raw history⁶⁴. In this thesis cited critical notes Bahtiar are worth listening to. The idea is as stated Mohammad Natsir, pupil Ahmad Hassan, the leader of the reformist organization Persis (Islamic Association), who saw the relationship between Islam and politics as an organic unity, in fact is only one interpretation of the relation. The problem, many experts and observers, including political actors who then stuck into perspective "monolithic" (a term borrowed Bahtiar of Mohammed Ayoub) to treat the idea as the only correct interpretation, and deny the fact

⁶² Quoted from Bahtiar Effendy, *ibid*, pg. 7.

⁶³ Quoted from B.J. Boland, *Pergumulan Islam di Indonesia 1945 – 1970*, (Jakarta: Grafiti Press), 2985, hal. 17. According to Panggalo, the belief that Islam is a religion that is closely associated with affairs of state, is a uniform view espoused Muslims around the world, including in Indonesia. He was quote from, example, Iqbal, Nurcholis Madjid, and Amien Rais ideas that explain "already from the beginning of Islam cannot possibly be separated from the political affairs of state".

⁶⁴ Beside of Bahtiar's dissertation and classical works by Boland also Benda, can also called Deliar Noer works, especially *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia, 1900–1942*, 8th edition (Jakarta: LP3ES), 1996; and *Partai Islam di Pentas Nasional* (Jakarta: Grafiti Pers), 1987. See also Anas Saidi (ed.), *Menekuk Agama, Membangun Tahta: Kebijakan Agama Orde Baru*, (Jakarta: Desantara), 2004, special in 4th chapter give explain about this term.

that Islam is a religion multi-interpretative, which opens up the possibility for multiple interpretations.

Dissertation Bahtiar it shows very well how the monolithic view dominated the various models of approach and an explanation of the relationship between Islam and the state in Indonesia. There, according to Bahtiar, "what is believed to be the indivisibility and political Islam is not understood in the sense of an ethical or moral, but more in the sense of scriptural", a form of Islam that is more legalistic-formalistic. Not surprisingly, political Islam "is seen as body politics, rather than as a unit of value"⁶⁵. In fact, a figure like Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta, for example, has been since the very beginning gives us the interpretation completely different, namely the emphasizes Islam as the foundation of moral and ethical rather than as a political category. That was in his early writings about Islam, Sukarno repeatedly appear as defenders of the idea of a more "secular", which emphasized the separation of Islam from the state, such as that attempted by the political elite in Turkey.

Soekarno believe that the unification of Islam with Islamic countries will only put the issues are complicated and can lead to stagnation of Islam. Because, if it became a part of the state, politics, Islam and vulnerable to be used as justification for worldly interests, for example, be a justification for the government of the dictator. The best course for the sake of Islam in such a context it is precisely by separating it from the state.

⁶⁵ See Bahtiar Effendy discussions, *ibid*, chapter II, pg. 21-58, the various approaches that had been there. According Bahtiar, "the key differences between those who want the development of Islam as a political categories and they are more put Islam as the foundation of moral and ethical, the whole attitude of the ideological and political they are, does not lie at the level of their piety, but in the way they interpret and understand the teachings of Islam. Therefore, although it must reject the idea of an Islamic state, people like Sukarno and Hatta are not less Islamic than their peers, fellow Muslims who sought to establish an Islamic state." *Ibid*, pg. 70

The clash of two perspectives, the so-called "Islamic nationalists" versus "secular nationalists", the clash of two perspectives, the so-called "Islamic nationalists" versus "secular nationalists"⁶⁶, was culminating in the push-pull determination of the most crucial issues ahead of independence, which is the basis of the state. Here, the controversy about the "Djakarta Charter" (a term of Muhammad Yamin, later known as the "Jakarta Charter"), which had become a gentlemen agreement between the two sides in the meeting BPUPKI (Investigation Agency Efforts Preparation of Indonesian Independence) dated June 22, 1945 but dropped because the controversial Mohammad Hatta lobby ahead of the ratification of the Constitution dated August 18, 1945, into a problematic legacy that has been constantly interfering. On the one hand there tireless efforts of politicians trying to push through Islam for the original formulation of the Jakarta Charter instead of first principle of Pancasila and placed in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution on the other hand, the continuous efforts of political attitudes that provoke suspicion on the Islamic state.

Without having to go into the details of this event on August 18, 1945 legendary, i.e., when the lobby Hatta managed to convince politicians to strike Islam controversial formulation of the seven words of the Jakarta Charter, "the

⁶⁶ The term "secular" should be treated with caution because, particularly in Indonesia, the term has connotations of meaning that can be misleading. First, the term is often used as a synonym for "atheist", "enemies of religion", particularly during the bloody turmoil of 1965. Second, the reason is more substantive, as reminded Robert Hefner, the basic meaning of "secularity", which is the separation between religion and the state, in Indonesia in fact never existed. Not just for the Islamists, but also non-Muslim groups. Therefore Hefner propose other names are judged more appropriate: nationalism, non-confessional, or multi-confessional. Look at Robert Hefner, *Civil Islam: Islam dan Demokratisasi di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Institut Studi Arus Informasi and TAF), 2001, pg. 78. Hefner said, "As well as his colleagues in most countries in the Islamic world, non-Muslim nationalists in Indonesia are less emphatic than the Western liberal concern with the privatization of religion. As Sukarno, they want religion occupies a dominant position in public life, though without giving a specific religion somewhere more special."

obligation to carry out the Shari'ah for adherents" (*dengan kewajiban melaksanakan syariat islam bagi pemeluknya*), and replace it with "all God's Almighty", some aspects should be mentioned because of the political impact is very fundamental to religious harmony in the future.

First of all, the formulation of the seven words of the Jakarta Charter itself opens up many possibilities for interpretation difficult compromised. Boland correctly when it showed that the formulation of the seven words is really a formula that is very loose, ambiguous, and full of vagueness. The formula led to a series of difficult questions. Is it more or less with the formulation of Indonesia is an Islamic country? Does that sentence has a content of law obliging the government to oversee the implementation of the obligations run by the Islamic Shariah adherents? Does that mean there will be a separate law, for example in the matter of marriage, inheritance, and the other for the Muslims? Or should be construed, with the formulation of the government with legitimacy to take care of even the worship of the Muslims, a problem which is also part of the "implementation of the Shari'ah" a Muslim? Or formula was simply an impulse of piety for Muslims?⁶⁷ But, if so, why it should be laid down as part of the Opening UUD'45? Or, perhaps,

⁶⁷ Compare comment Mohamad Roem: "Jakarta Charter applies only to the Muslims and do not reduce the freedom of other religious groups. Freedom to perform religious worship according to their individual belief is guaranteed by the state. If the Jakarta Charter was not included in the preamble (Preamble UUD'45) or in the decree, the remains of Muslims obligations under the Shari'ah. The obligation that is innate to each person who says he is a Muslim. The obligation is not in the sense of 'juridical' which carries legal consequences can be enforced, but in the sense of religious obligation. Depending on the consciousness of every Muslim." read Mohamad Roem, "*Lahirnya Pancasila*", Text Dies Natalis lecture at the Islamic University of North Sumatra, January 1969. Published in Haji A. Salim dan Mohamad Roem, *Ketuhanan YME & Lahirnya Pancasila*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1977, pg. 39.

the formulation was merely "empty skeleton as entertainment for the traditional orthodox"?⁶⁸

The blurring of interpretation was a big problem if we examine the debate over the terms of the President. In Small committee meeting Designers Constitution dated July 13, 1945, for example, H. Abdel Wachid Hasjim, chairman MIAI (Islamic Assembly A'laa Indonesia) went further. He proposed the addition to article 4 paragraph 2 UUD'45 (about President) the words "Muslim", and article 29 UUD'45 (about religion) is proposed to be amended so reads roughly "*Agama Negara adalah Islam*" (Religions state is Islam). Certainly by guaranteeing the independence of other faiths, the proposal was immediately rejected firmly by H. Agoes Salim, a leading Islamic figure of Sarekat Islam. He says:

"Dengan ini kompromi antara golongan kebangsaan dan Islam mentah lagi; apakah hal ini tidak bisa diserahkan kepada Badan Permusyawaratan Rakyat? Jika Presiden harus orang Islam, bagaimana halnya terhadap Wakil Presiden, duta-duta dan sebagainya. Apa artinya janji kita untuk melindungi agama lain?"

"With this, compromise inter-nationalist group and Islamist group was unripe again; is this can't give to Provisional People's Consultative Institution (*Badan Permusyawaratan Rakyat*)? If President must be Islamic people, how about Vice President, Ambassadors, etc., what is the meaning of our promise to protecting other religions?"⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Boland, *op.cit.*, pg. 29. Of course, all of the complications that have not considered the complexity of how to interpret the word "sharia law" itself, which still continues to be hotly debated in the literature of contemporary Islamic studies.

⁶⁹ See his record in Saafroedin Bahar, dkk (editors), *Risalah Sidang Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (BPUPKI) Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (PPKI)*, (Jakarta: Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia), 1995, pg. 224. It should be added, the lawsuit Agoes Salim received support from Prof. Dr. Prince Ario Husein Djajadiningrat, Indigenous Committee members and constitutional. He even suggested that article 4, paragraph 2 was abolished altogether, because "in practice of course, that being the President of the Indonesian Muslim". This proposal was accepted by the Small Committee Chairman, Ir. Sukarno.

Agoes Salim question was indeed striking heart of the issue being debated. If the formulation of the Preamble (originally called "Muqadimah") UUD'45 proposed document received Jakarta Charter, which states that would be built "based on: *Ketuhanan, dengan menjalankan syariat-syariat islam bagi pemeluknya*", then as a consequence president who led the country also, inevitably, to be a Muslim. Because, how can a country that is obliged to run the Islamic shariah is led by the president of the non-Muslims? But it also means that the entire government must be from Islamic circles, the vice presidents, ministers, ambassadors, and others. Then why not at once affirmed that Islam is a religion (official) state? But, if so, then what is the meaning of the promise to protect other religions?

We know that, thanks to Hatta lobbying, trial attention of Constitution (UUD) at Agust 18th, 1945, just a day after the proclamation echoed, reaching "changes paramount that unites nations" without turbulence and long debate, finally the trial was decide to strake out the seven controversial word of Jakarta Charter, and formulating first principle of Pancasila to become preamble of UUD 1945 as: "Belief in One God (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*)". Then, as a consequence, the contrary clauses must be removed. Because, about Precedential, the formulation is: "President is originally Indonesian" (*Presiden ialah orang Indonesia Asli*), and the sentence "who Muslim" crossed out. Hatta said:

"penetapan yang kedua: Presiden Republik orang Islam, agak menyinggung perasaan dan pun tidak berguna, oleh karena mungkin dengan adanya orang Islam 95% jumlahnya di Indonesia ini dengan sendirinya barangkali orang Islam yang akan menjadi presiden, sedangkan dengan membuang ini maka seluruh hukum Undang-Undang Dasar dapat diterima oleh daerah-daerah Indonesia yang tidak beragama Islam umpamanya yang pada waktu sekarang diperintah oleh Kaigun. Persetujuan dalam hal ini juga sudah didapat antara berbagai golongan, sehingga memudahkan pekerjaan kita pada waktu sekarang ini."

“Second decision is: President of Republic is Moslem, is hurt sentiment and out of use, maybe because of sum of Islamic people more than 95% in Indonesia it automatically, maybe, Islamic people will be a President, whereas with deleting this term, so all law od UUD can be accepted by all region in Indonesia that not Muslim, for example, that now time leaded by Kaigun. Decision of this term also could to gotten between varieties group, until make our duty easily now.”

Also in article 29th about religion was hardly changing, especially in 1st paragraph, the formulation is: “*Negara Berdasar Atas Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*” (the foundation of state is Belief in One God). While the addition words “*dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya*”(with obligation to executing Islamic Syaria to the followers) was crossed out.⁷⁰

Until now, effectiveness lobbying by Hatta and real reason why Hatta take that initiative is still mysterious unresolved. The history was more told by public. Afternoons after proclamation, Hatta was found by *Kaigun* (Japanese Navy) in order by Nishijima, maid Admiral Maeda. Bung Hatta was forgetting of the officer name,⁷¹ tell him that seven words in Jakarta Charter was deleted, so several regions in Eastern Indonesia would secede. Because of

⁷⁰ *Risalah, ibid*, pg. 415. In his testimony, as quoted Arita, Hatta recalled pre-trial meeting when he lobbied Islamic leaders that, like this: "So we do not rupture as a nation, we unanimously to eliminate part of the sentence that pierced the hearts of Christians and replace with Belief in One God." Look at Aritonang, *op.cit.*, pg. 255.

⁷¹ Hatta in his written testimony, *Sekitar Proklamasi 17 Agustus 1945*, (Djakarta: Tintamas), 1969, hal. 66-67 that quoted by Aritonang, *op.cit.*, pg. 254. Aritonang gave footnote regarding the information of historians from Maluku, Dr. I.O. Nanulaitta, delivered via Zakaria Ngelow, that the Japanese officer (which is still mysterious as Hatta "forgotten name") also met Mr. J. Latuharhary, Dr. GSJ Ratulangie, and I Gusti Ktut Pudja. Read also the article Zakaria Ngelow, "Islam and Christianity in Politics in Indonesia", contained in Balitbang PGI team (ed.), *Meretas Jalan Teologi Agama-Agama di Indonesia* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia), 2000, pg. 126. Compare with M. Syafi'i Anwar, "Catatan Kritis di Sekitar Piagam Jakarta: Seandainya Sejarah bias Diubah" in Zahra, Abu (ed.), *Politik Demi Tuhan: Nasionalisme Religius di Indonesia* (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah), 1999, pg. 140

it, in the next day Hatta and Soekarno call Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo, K.H. Wachid Hasjim, Mr. Raden Kasman Singodimedjo (chairman of *Barisan Keamanan Rakyat* who become additional member of PPKI), and Mr. Teuku Mohammad Hassan (Chairman of *Ichwanus Safa Indonesia*, member of PPKI) to short meeting before PPKI's sessions began. This meeting which launching the historical session but abounding annoying mystery.⁷²

Another factor that contributes in launch of Hattas lobby is the promise of holding elections as soon as possible. Islamic politicians are very confident, because Islam is religion which accepted by majority of Indonesian society, they would get ultimate victory. Then, after it, they will force them aspiration to matching Islam as state foundation. The slit to it was ever opened by Soekarno when propose Pancasila as state foundation, that repeatedly forced to *fair play* and ask all groups, especially Islam and Christian to "working hardness". So Soekarno repeatedly forced that UUD which made at the time is a "provisional constitution", a "Fast Constitution", a *revolutiegrondwet*. "Later", Soekarno's said in meeting at evening August 18th, 1945, "if we have being state in more serene situation, we reconvene MPR (People's Consultative Assembly) that can make more complete and more perfect Constitution."⁷³

⁷² Aritonang, *op.cit*, pg. 255 quoting allegations Endang S. Ansari, son of M. Isa Ansari, a prominent Masjumi that the testimony Hatta actually not true. According to Ansari, based on information Prawoto Mangkusasmoro, Wachid Hasjim not present at the meeting was historic because it was to East Java. Teuku Hassan was not involved in the formulation of the Jakarta Charter. Medium Kasman new Singodimedjo received an invitation in the morning, until not ready to face a very complicated issue being discussed at that time. See Endang S. Anshari, *Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945: Sebuah Konsensus Nasional tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia (1945–1949)*, (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press), 1997, especially page 51–53. While Bahtiar Effendy, *op.cit.*, pg. 91 noted the comment Isa Ansari himself, who accused the incident "a fraud committed against Muslims". For Anshary, "Genesis conspicuous history is perceived by Muslims as an 'legerdemain' is still a mist secret ... a political sieve to the ideals of Muslims."

⁷³ *Risalah*, *op.cit.*, pg. 426.

This promise would have been continuously prosecuted Islamic politicians in struggle that tireless to getting back the formulation of Jakarta Charter in the original position. Believe that Islamic parties would get ultimate victory in next election –Syahrirs cabinet promise in first election at beginning of January 1946- make they accepted proposal of Hatta compromise, so that State Republic of Indonesia can birth with UUD 1945 and Pancasila as we know, without seven words in Jakarta Charter. This event that in the next day, especially in Alamsjah Ratu Perwiranegaras era as Minister of Religion, was translated as “Pancasila is sacrifice and gift from Islam”.⁷⁴

Without willingness of Islam (read: Islamic politicians) to deleting seven words from Jakarta Charter, Pancasila and UUD 1945 as we know nowadays never exist. Even not that only, United States of Indonesian Republik (NKRI) never exist, because there are threat of secession from region of Eastern Indonesia that majority is non-Muslim (read: Christian).

3. Portrait of Religious Freedom in Indonesia

Long history of relation among religion (especially Islam-Christian) was setting in every decision of among religion relation in this state. Tension between the both, also between other religions in Indonesia, cannot escape from that history. Upheavals even ethno-religious conflicts are rife latter also cannot be separated from the steep road interreligious relations.

Friday morning, July 17th, 2015, when Islamic people in the world preoccupied to celebrating Ramadhan victory, suddenly stopped by sad news

⁷⁴ Read Masykuri Abdillah, “Alamsjah Ratu Perwiranegara: Stabilitas Nasional dan Kerukunan”, in Prof. Dr. Azyumardi Azra and Drs. Saiful Umam, MA (editors), *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI: Biografi Sosial-Politik* (Jakarta: INIS, PPIM, and Balitbang Depag RI), 1998, pg. 323 – 365.

of the violence against Muslims who were performing the ritual of Eid Fitri in Karubaga, district of Tolikara, Papua.

Suddenly our memory was remind to human tragedy around 15 years ago, when Ambon and Poso was smoulder.⁷⁵ More information of Tolikara tragedy was invited reactions of Moslem in Indonesia. Destructively is news that attacking to churches in regions in Indonesia. Some groups was fomenting hated to gather the strength to deploy in Tolikara.

With this, central government, with some ministries intervene directly take over the whole rehabilitation. Began with refugee until building mosques and stalls that on fire. Central government was tending to ignore local government of Papua and Tolikara. Nevertheless, quick act of central government to resolve Tolikara not be imperials. Central government and some groups of Islamic charity which come was only focus to Islamic refugees. Event thought, in the same time, 11 people still injured by bullet in them bodies, even until 6th day after shooting. One dead, and a hundred Tolikara's people get political traumas causes of shock down security.⁷⁶

For more time, Papuan people must accept the fact that any disagreement involving them, it becomes legitimate to deal with weapons and repressive actions by the state. What has shown by central government in rehabilitation of Tolikara is ignoring principles of justice and humanity actually promoting wider structural conflict in Papua.

On Tuesday, October 13th , 2015 clashes and arson *Undung-Undung* (small church) in Singkil, Aceh. This action was no single incident, but it was incident series of incidents including event at 1978. It was same problem,

⁷⁵ <http://www.wahidinstitute.org/wi-id/indeks-berita/305-membaca-kasus-tolikara.html>
downloaded at May 7th, 2016 23:51

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*,

about worship house that haven't legalized, because until now, in Singkil never have religious conflict. The same also repeated at 2001, that have an agreement that resulted in an agreement to be house of worship and *undung-undung* in certain region.⁷⁷

Not to mention the emergence of streams, considered, new lately often in question and lead to new conflicts. Cases are still warm in talking about is the *Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia* (JAI) Bangka were asked to move by the local Regent because they are troubling the people and rejected by people around.⁷⁸

The Wahid Institute report says practice of intolerance along year 2013 experienced by religious minorities, such as Ahmadiyah, the Christian community, and those accused of heresy, there were 245 cases.⁷⁹ Religious conflicts that frequently (and even always) are used as a background any policies relating to interfaith relations, or more popularly called policy of religious harmony. This harmony of political policy is, according to the government, to resolve the matter of religious conflict in Indonesia. Based on the assumption that the government built it, then before peeling policies concerning religious harmony, it would be better if we trace first issue of ethno-religious conflicts that occur in the country along with a wide range of variables and factors.

⁷⁷ <http://www.wahidinstitute.org/wi-id/indeks-berita/321-catatan-dari-bentrokan-disingkil.html> downloaded at May 8th, 2016 0:00

⁷⁸ <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/news/2016/02/04/058742109/bupati-bangka-ultimatum-jemaat-ahmadiyah-segera-pindah>. 08 Mei 2016, 01:38.

⁷⁹ <http://www.tempo.co/> / Tuesday, April 15th 2014 / 05:39 downloaded at Sunday, May 8th 2016 01:03

This illustrates that the religious freedom in this country still blocked and away from the ideals of the Founding Father. Even the interpretation and an understanding of The first precept of Pancasila, Belief in One God, which was originally to have been taught to every generation of this nation since elementary school has not been penetrated with right in every society. It's as being '*homework*' for the implementers of government in this country to infuse with deeply an understanding.

Pluralism Indonesia also must be a key of all problems existing tribal and religious. As the country's motto is' *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*, unity in diversity.

Founding father of this country was already thinking far ahead, looking to the future of Indonesia became a big country with a variety of ethnic, racial, religious and cultural. So united in this motto and based on Pancasila.

4. Protection of Religion in Indonesia

It has been very clearly noted in Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945 about the protection of religion and belief in Indonesia. The first principle has been very explicit explained that every citizen must be godless one. On this basis, Indonesian state is not tied with any one religion, but with a purpose, which has one god believed each citizen of Indonesia.

D. A Controversial Pluralism

Talk about Pluralism, can not be separated from global grammar. pluralism itself is often misunderstood viewed all religions or beliefs was equally

true. If all religions are equally true, why does everyone want to be religious? why humans should embrace one religion? Let us browse for more on the notion of pluralism.

Pluralism often faces opposition, especially in Nusantara. Again because of the wrong perception in interpreting pluralism. The climax was a few years ago, the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) provides forbidden on religious pluralism and prohibiting Muslims adopts this. Because, according to MUI religious pluralism is understood that considers all religions are equal.⁸⁰

But Franz Magnis mean that pluralism is not an objective look into all religions are true or equally, because such is not pluralism, but relativism, Pluralism itself there must be an element of subjectivity, which still look at religion itself as the most good and right without denying the possibility of truth in other religions.

1. A Global Perception of Pluralism

In “*The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*,” word ‘plural’ was meaning as “*pertaining or involving a plurality of person or things*”. “Pluralism” mean “*a theory that reality consist of two or more independent element*”. And *Pluralitas* mean, “*state or fact of being plural*”.⁸¹

⁸⁰ This was explicitly and clearly stated in the decision MUI No.7/Munas VII/11/2005 date of July 29th 2005. MUI fatwa bases include the Al-Quran Surah Ali Imran verse 9 and 85; and reinforced by the Al-Kafirun paragraph 6. Look at Faisal Ismail, *Dinamika Kerukunan Antarumat Beraagama*, (Bandung: Rosdakarya, 2014). Pg. 16

⁸¹ Look at *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, 2nd edition (New York: Random House, inc., 1987), pg. 1490. This dictionary is the authoritative dictionary of international standards.

So, religious pluralism is an ideology or views on religious pluralism. Religious plurality is a necessity, and we are aware, knowing, and recognizes the plurality of religion in human life in this world.⁸²

Plural, Pluralism, and Plurality quoted from the dictionary of authoritative international standard above, no leads and converting the meaning of "equalize" all things (including equate all religions). Of quotations taken from the dictionary, it is clear that pluralism is actually used to show the diversity of human life.⁸³

It same with Religious Pluralism. Religious Pluralism doesn't necessarily equate all religions (of all religions is true). There is nothing wrong in religious pluralism. Therefore, religious pluralism should be accepted as an earthly reality that must exist and can be found in human life anywhere and anytime. Cultural pluralism and religious pluralism existed in this life and lasts in the history mankind and humanity until now. On the basis

⁸² In Islam has dijelasjan in Sura al-kafitun: 6 (for you your religion and to me my religion) is a sign and recognition that there are other religions dilluar religion of Islam embraced by humans. Can not be denied that the verse is a sign, recognition and affirmation of God in the Qur'an about their religious plurality. There is no doubt that God in His Word as mentioned in Surah al-nine rows verse confirms that He lowered din al-haq (right religion or the religion of Islam) to favor over other religions. God's statement about the existence of other religions (other than Islam) indicates a plurality of religions. In addressing religious plurality, the attitude of Muslims has been clear and final, which recognizes "the existence" (not "the truth") of religions other than Islam. Muslims perceive the plurality of religions on the basis of the principle: "you (the truth of faith) religion, and to me (the truth of faith) religion". Look at juga Faisal Ismail, *Ibid.*, pg. 18.

⁸³ For example, cultural pluralism, political pluralism, political pluralism, pluralism legal, or social pluralism. Cultural pluralism does not necessarily equate all kinds and cultural elements contained in people's lives. Puralisme art does not necessarily equate all forms and types of art. Political pluralism does not necessarily equate all (flow, understand, or ideological) political party.

of acceptance of the reality of that diversity, of all religions should respect, tolerance of one another.

Using Plural, Plurality and Pluralism words can aligned with modern, modernity and modernism; spiritual, spirituality and spiritualism; intellectual, intellectuality and intellectualism.

Plural is used when showing the inherent nature of something (eg: the plural society); Plurality is used when speaking of circumstances or facts that patterned plural (eg: cultural plurality); Pluralism used when talking about the diversity of ideology or thinking (eg: political pluralism, pluralism of thought, legal pluralism or pluralism philosophy). Thus, the core meaning of the word plural, plurality and pluralism is a plurality or diversity, not equalization.⁸⁴

The term of cultural pluralism is closely related to multiculturalism. Both terms have meaning and understandings are interrelated. Both have a sense complementary. In Cultural Pluralism containing multiculturalism, and in multiculturalism is containing Cultural Pluralism. In Cultural Plurality containing multicultural, and in multicultural is containing Cultural Plurality. It's also in Religion Plurality. In Religion Plurality, have meaning multi-religion, In multi-religion, have meaning Religion Plurality.

Multiculturalism is an ideology that appreciates to multicultural in society's life. *The random house dictionary of the english language* have definition that multiculturalism as: *The state or condition of being multikultural the preserfation of different cultures or cultural identities within a unified society, as a state or national.*⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Faisal Ismail, *Op. Cit.*, pg. 20.

⁸⁵ *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, *Op. Cit.* Pg. 63

Talk about pluralism, cannot be separated from human consciousness and freedom of thought. Being plural means to be aware free will and choose according to your heart to believe that the beliefs espoused it right. Before we talk of pluralism, would be much better if we know the freedom and the human will advance.

2. Consciousness, Rationality and Human Will

Consciousness Concept (*kesadaran*) has so far had a diverse understanding. Many leaders define it with different understanding. Quoting from Velmans, Takwin said that the contents of the term "consciousness" includes everything that we realize that we have experienced or intentionally leave traces in memory.⁸⁶ A consciousness also equalized with think or mind. Someone can say as thinking can also realizing, intentional or not can be regarded as a conscious condition.⁸⁷ With other word, this consciousness also closes for rationality as benchmark.

At other times Takwin also said that Consciousness is a mental faculty which give humans ability to understand the reality of free will that allows for various interpretations of reality.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Bagus Takwin, *Ibid.*, pg. 24

⁸⁷ When Hegel, Marx, or Marx said "not happy" (unhappy), "fake" (false), or "class consciousness" (class consciousness), they usually use iistilah "knowledge, thinking", "attitude, or" mentality " the relationship between the breakdown of Consciousness. Look Good Takwin, *Ibid.*, Pg. 24

⁸⁸ From the definition of consciousness, it is known there are two main aspects of consciousness, namely, (1) rationality as can to understand awareness aspects into reality; and (2) the free will that allows for their various interpretations of reality. Bagus Takwin, *Ibid.*, pg. 85

The ratio is often regarded as a faculty who occupied high-level in territory of human mental. Aristoteles, for example, looked at ratios as part of human soul that has the capacity to understand and manage human selves (*self-cognition or noesis noeisos*). However, nowadays many philosophers who avoid discussion of ratios in their philosophical thought, and even tend to ignore it. However, human rationality which results in ability to understand the various kinds of distinction becomes important in this study.

The term of rationality of plural that refers to all rationality concepts which said that human ability is understanding reality of plural. This kind of rationality was beginning from reception to existing plurality in the world, including plurality of opinion and result of human thought.⁸⁹ With this concept, rationality of human was seem capable to understanding plural and give various opinion which significantly different.

Concept of plural rationality usually equalized with rational pluralism. Concept of rational pluralism was refers to assuming opinion that using ratio carefully will avoiding human, both dogmatism or relativism, with founding and developing value and claim are *quasi-universal* or *relatively absolute* that can understood or implicated in various way of relation with diversity individual and cultural context.⁹⁰

Not all societies have various plurality religions. Maybe a society has more religions even particularistic religions. But, because of happen only little interaction inter-member of religion or never. This actual situation seems like isolated society –with his religion each other- than a pluralistic society.

⁸⁹ Bagus Takwin, *Ibid.*, pg. 155.

⁹⁰ Richard j. Bernstein, *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism*, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.

Competition is essentially interpretation from real pluralism. Religious groups must have mission, and because of that, every individual should be free to choose his religions.⁹¹

Maybe it is enough to some particularistic religion for consummating it in society, but, where are them have to devote in isolated social link, like caste, the competition never happen.⁹²

⁹¹ Rodney Stark, *One True God; Historical Consequence of Monotheism*, (Washington : Princeton University Press, 2001) pg. 329

⁹² Rodney Stark, *Ibid.*, pg. 330

CHAPTER III

FRANZ MAGNIS-SUSENO'S THOUGHT

A. Biography of Franz Magnis-Suseno

Name : Franz Magnis-Suseno, SJ.
Born at : Eckerdorf, Jerman, 26 Mei 1936

1. Educational Background

- Graduates of S1 and S2 in Philosophische Hochschule Pullach (1957-1960)
- Studying Javanese and Indonesian Language in Girisonta da Bara, Central Java (1961)
- Studying Theology in Theological Philosophy Institute, Yogyakarta (1964-1968)
- Graduates of S3 in Ludwig Maximilians Universitat, Munchen (1971-1973)
- Professor of Driyarkara School of Philosophy, Jakarta (1996)

2. Employment History

- Teacher of Religion in Senior High School of Kanisius, Jakarta (1962-1964)
- Ordained as a priest in Jesus Society, Yogyakarta (1967)
- One of founders Driyarkara School of Philosophy in Jakarta (1969)
- Lecturers of Driyarkara School of Philosophy in Jakarta (1969)
- Extraordinary Lecturers Doctoral Program/Environment Program, University of Indonesia (1990-now)

3. Organization History

- Chief Executive of Driyarkara Education Foundation (2008-present)
- Expert Council of Center Presidium of Indonesian Catholic Association (2014-2017)

4. Publication

- *Normstive Voraussetzungen in Danken Des Jungen Marx* (1843-1848) (Alber, 1975)
- *Javanische Weisheit Und Ethik. Studien zu Einer Ostlichen Moral* (Oldenbourg, 1981)
- *Kita dan Wayang* (Lappenas, 1982)
- *Etika Jawa dan Tantangan* (Kanisius, 1983) written with Drs. R. Reksosusilo CM.
- *Etika Jawa, Sebuah Analisa Filsafati tentang Kebijakan Hidup Jawa* (Gramedia, 1984)
- *Kuasa Dan Moral* (Gramedia, 1986)
- *Neve Schwingwn fur Garuda Indonesia Zwischen tradition und Moderne* (Peter Kindt, 1989)
- *Berfilsafat dari Konteks* (Gramedia, 1991)
- *Etika Dasar, Masalah-masalah Pokok Filsafat Moral* (Kanisius, 1975)
- *Etika Politik, Prinsip-prinsip Moral Dasar Kenegaraan Modern* (Gramedia, 1987)
- *Filsafat Sebagai Ilmu Kritis* (Kanisius, 1992)
- *Dalam Bayangan Lenin, Enam Pemikir Marxism dari Lenin sampai Tan Malaka* (Gramedia, 2003)
- *Menalar Tuhan* (Kanisius, 2006)

5. Apreciation

- Setyalencana Dwidaya Sistha of Minister of Defense (1986)

- Das Grobe Verdienstkreuz des Verdienstordens of Federal Republic of Germany (2001)
- Honor Sign 70th Anniversary of Independence of Indonesian Republic (2015)
- 5th Roosseeno Award for category of Social Sciences and Humanities (2015)

B. Overview of Franz Magnis-Suseno

Chance favors life is very rarely obtained by foreigners. That is, an opportunity to, in a very flexible, can be constantly in touch with Javanese people, as well as communicate with them without destroyed by authority relation between pastors and his people, or relation between the foreign experts from abroad with the indigenous people who are not experts. Franz Magnis-Suseno talks to all students in low Javanese language or common language.

In that college, he began to recognize the origin of Java. After more than a year, or precisely after four and half years in Indonesia since January 29, 1961, he experienced a culture shock. He felt Javanese People have establishment, communication, and way of looking at the problem, situation and so on, totally different. He was a bit shock and wondered in his heart, whether in such atmosphere can develop self-identity.

Fortunately, their relation among students, especially with Javanese student is nice, so that condition can be discussed within certain limits. He can surpass shocks crisis at once concluded was in the right place.

Everybody, basically accept him in one piece. The reception was confirmed with a positive attitude that is constantly shown by fellow colleagues Indonesian. In fact, Indonesia superiors in Jesus Society and Church repeatedly turn over key positions are full responsibility to him. He then decided to be Indonesian without feeling remorse.

He saw that the Javanese were polite and friendly. It is true; it's not just the outward appearance only. However, to those of Java at all times should not try to push them. Javanese are willing to cooperate as long as you won them. Respect freedom of Javanese to make their own decisions, do not push yourself or take advantage of the friendly attitude and their decency to gain a better position. Being patient respecting of others freedom, and trusted him, is simply best way to develop lasting relationships, positive, honest, and very satisfying to Javanese.

His perception of Javanese was developing.¹ The theoretical that she was looking for, among others, through the study of literature, anthropology, sociology, cultural history, including the study of classical Java literature of 18th and 19th century. His result is a book titled "*Javanische Weisheit und Ethik*", published by Oldenburg in 1981.

The book was, after being translated to Indonesian titled "*Etika Jawa*", published by Gramedia, sold well until it reaches 15.000 copies. To Franz Magnis-Suseno was many Javanese and then say that in it they can find something of their identity as Javanese. In fact, they continue, arguably for the first time they had seen in the distance, they could project themselves. Franz Magnis-Suseno aim for solid theoretical foundations and publish a book, it is meant to describe an "ideal type" of a "classical" Central Javanese. He then formulates type carve it in writing as well as figure.

In 1977 he was officially declared as a citizen of Indonesia, after seven years of waiting. His name was "Indonesianized" became Franz Magnis-Suseno, SJ. The event is an important step for him because pursued with full awareness. For him, being a citizen of Indonesia is not really meant a rejection of past German him that during the first 24 years

¹ Even a few years later, around 1975, he tried to find out what the theoretical basis of the experiences of empirical him in touch with Javanese, who was already lasted 14 years. Source: <http://www.tokohindonesia.com/biografi/article/285-ensiklopedi/316-cerita-indah-di-indonesia>.

are the formative years and the most decisive in his life. He did not mean and cannot take it off.²

Indonesian people reality did not expect him to be Indonesian or pure Javanese. He became very acceptable as a "*Kasman*", or former Germany. He was sure, everyone would not be able to enter a positive relations with the new world if the person has a relations goes wrong with his homeland, with his history, and with its own social life. An escape from the past is a poor guarantee for a positive future. Except, it was objectively scary and horrible so fervently need fresh start.

He was past Germany with everything included in it not as a burden to be entrenched in Indonesia. In fact, the more he felt a certain distance, including the emotional distance to events in Germany. Unfortunately, he had forgotten to mention since when he began to spontaneously identify himself as Indonesian when following the implementation of international sporting championships.³

1. A Germanist-Javanist Ethical

In 1973 he earned a doctorate in philosophy in Munich with papers on Karl Marx. Achieving that is to continue the line of specialization field of study that already he began almost 15 years earlier in Pullach, near Munich city. He has been interested in Critical Theory, Ethics and Political Philosophy. Ethics, more specifically the Political Ethics is the most basic areas of study for him.

Other themes, such as has he to say about the epistemological problems of quantum physics and the theory of evolution, must be

² *Ibid.*,

³ He mentioned again, precisely the combination of past Germany with a new identity that continues to grow inwardly for over 40 years, it has allowed him to contribute a specific and limited in Indonesia's efforts to build a humane future. The donation, which if seen in terms of philosophy and the Christian faith, is a form would be a good traveling companion who participated in the search direction of travel.

ruled out. With Ethics, there are goals that focus on the real challenges in a common life as in the social, political, and economic in Indonesia that has been outlined.

Some Germans who lived in Jakarta, particularly through the German Embassy are very familiar with Franz Magnis through the work of his book on "Ethics of Java". In Indonesia, book "*Etika Jawa*" and other publications, such as book "*Wayang dan Kita*" published by Lappenas 1983, in Jakarta, bringing their own impact Frans Magnis. For example, since published a book about a puppet on average each year he received an invitation and then participated in the puppet all-night.

However, if only he as a speaker to be impressed to say too much, or what it says arise everywhere, seems too often to say something even if not actually say anything. If it was so then, if there is an acquaintance said that lately why you give a lot of lectures, it is enough to know you should just rest for a long time ago. Alternatively, for two or three months of Franz Magnis limit ourselves to lectures about medical ethics or Javanese mysticism.

In the field of medical ethics or Javanese mysticism is never a time Franz Magnis have a strong reaction. In commemoration of Youth Pledge Day he was interviewed by the daily "*Kompas*" about the meaning and importance of Javanese culture in the life of Indonesia. Franz Magnis Opinion was published "*Compass*" apart with a great title, that the Javanese culture has a special significance for the unity of Indonesia. Various reactions appear pitched disagree and argue.⁴

In fact, two major newspaper "*Sinar Harapan*" (later to become the "*Suara Pembaruan*") and "*Merdeka*" specifically discussed in an editorial full. Both condemned the opinion of Franz Magnis as

⁴ *Ibid.*

something detrimental to national unity. Franz Magnis actually realized this before, that the themes are flung it is a theme of the most warm and can be offensive. But he was estimate the depth of emotion that will appear and strong tabuisasi about the matter.

Strong reaction also never appeared in February and March 1990, when Franz Magnis publish an article series consists of four articles in a daily newspaper. Two first articles analyzes the implications of changes in international communism, to review the communist system is very critical. The third article is still relevant, discusses the theory of Karl Marx, the history of Marxism, and is also very critical even among his peers too negative. And at last or fourth article, Franz Magnis catapult view that socialism as the hope of salvation by the abolition of private ownership of the means of production is a view which is obsolete. Only, this time directed not to the strong reaction Franz Magnis but told the newspaper that received a written warning for having published something about Marxism.

Each lecture is always served Franz Magnis in speaking style "official". He must take into account, that on the next day, especially after large seminars, lecture material will be written in the form of a large sentence in newspapers. In fact, sometimes he was written in bold letters above the middle of the first page. In fact, the sentence according to Franz Magnis actually is a statement that has been so common, for example, "Social Justice should be embodied".

He actually felt embarrassed to see a sentence like it find big as if no special wisdom. Even if there really is not anything there, but since the sentence was actually read by everyone then so be it into a political issue. And people, like myself Franz Magnis, shown as a person who does have something to say.

In fact the real Franz Magnis has not ever got into trouble. However, if giving a lecture he would always pay attention to whether there is a press there or not. If there is, then he will confine himself to

reading the written text he had prepared carefully. In fact, if not, then usually Franz Magnis will often talk freely though still based on the text.

Franz Magnis understand among the world altogether Germany press would never find a scholars opinion in the news, especially in headline, unless opinion of politicians. It shows difference in the atmosphere of public disclosure. Franz Magnis-Suseno said in Indonesia, press can catapult views quite safely by not being involved directly; it's up to the reader to discover what is implicit in the express it.⁵

However press should always be careful because in seminars covered issues discussed openly. About it Franz Magnis said:

"Verily never know for sure whether the seminar as it was more in the form of the use of empty spaces, or whether we, the scholars only enliven a zoo, which was left to us, just so we still feel busy with something that seems important. Perhaps both are true."⁶

In various seminars Franz Magnis often experience a memorable event. That he was the only "foreigner" who invited any workshop. People really want to hear his opinion. In order to keep his opinion to be heard Franz Magnis know very well how to put yourself and place. For example, he was always present themselves as a *Kasman* or former Germany. So that, whatever their views and criticism of the state of Indonesia is not patronizing, not showing Franz Magnis know more, but participatory alone.

2. Father Dubbed *Kyai* Catholic

⁵ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Kuasa dan Moral*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1999) pg. 128

⁶ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 129

Franz Magnis claimed to be amazed and excited when seeing how open intellectual environment Indonesia. He is the "Father" of the Catholic dubbed by friends of Islam as "*Kyai Catholic*". He continues to be invited by the Islamic scholars to lecture lectures especially concerning ideology and modern philosophy.

Franz Magnis view among Muslim intellectuals, particularly of philosophy and religion student group is very interested in philosophy. Muslim intellectuals were aware, the first 500 years of Islam in the golden age has produced scholars and philosophers of world class, but then stalled. Renaissance (rebirth period) and the period of Enlightenment, has been orbiting the European (and later American) became the leader of the power of intellect of modern times. Muslim intellectuals believe Islam can only appear again as an intellectual force in the international arena if the philosophy and critical thinking bloomed back.

Franz Magnis had an interesting experience about it in 1989. He wrote an article about it critically in the daily "*Kompas*", shortly before Parliament to discuss Draft Law of Religious Courts. The article raises a very sharp reaction from the Islamists. Various responses articles were written by Islamic leaders, some of which raised the question of personal Franz Magnis. Friends Islam then told him, that the name of Franz Magnis has been touted in the morning sermons in mosques. In another distinct group that experienced, Franz Magnis name became taboo to mention even still applies today.

But two months after the incident Franz Magnis invited to the two-day seminar entitled "Persian Islamic Philosophy", at Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University in Ciputat. He received a very friendly manner. And when it breaks, young participants Islam appears to want to know immediately why Franz Magnis writing such articles. Debriefing takes place in an intimate setting and tolerant atmosphere can still be felt to this day. The article was discussed in a relaxed and

quiet, not settling for granted, have made Franz Magis happy. For him it is one of the clearest signs that in Indonesia, such as in the young Muslims, tolerance is not an empty formula.

As a Catholic priest and clergy, Franz Magnis-Suseno said throughout his work in Indonesia is only possible if based on faith. He said he was not romantic people who somehow fall in love just like that in Indonesia. He's also not a helper developing country. He felt compelled to help the church in Indonesia and provide testimony that was assigned to him. However, the testimony of faith that cannot be verbal and is not relevant to the case seeking adherents to the religion of their own.

He said the deal according to the Catholic faith of God's salvation is not tied to membership in the visible church. Testimony into a call of every Christian is not in the form of activities to get followers. Spirit of God himself will assign to anyone he opens his heart. Nor did he call someone to the knowledge of clear and happy about the love of God in Jesus Christ. Christian witness must be an effort that the love and justice of God presented in today's world, and it is up to anyone how wanted to respond.

According to him, the testimony should be given by the Church, as he saw a personal call him, is a testimony of love, peace, honesty, fairness, and trust in God's power without violence, manipulation, political power, persuasion, blackmail against the weak, boastfulness, etc. That is what is supposed to be witnessed by Christians through his life, he runs through the profession and work, and through the way he takes part in community life.

He had tried to do such things by placing a very limited expertise to the nature of devotion to peace, justice, and truth. This was what he preferred whenever explaining something, criticize, encourage, and meet other people. That's the most important thing for him when communicating with people of other faiths, even when he

criticizes the injustice, oppression and falsehood patterned ideological and political power.

Franz Magnis experience with Indonesia and with Indonesia people has made him optimistic about Indonesian future. It was, perhaps something to do with his faith as a priest of the Catholic clergy. He expects Indonesia, though not without a variety of difficulties, will be able to solve its problems.

C. Franz Magnis-Suseno, Democracy and Indonesia

Franz Magnis classified as very "in demand" to give lectures in seminars, if traced furthermore it appears that the presentation lecture he tends to increasingly get into the themes of political ethics. Like, "Ethics and Development", "Social Justice", "Pancasila as an Open ideology", and theme of Pancasila itself. Then, the themes concerning human rights and democracy, ideologies, development and ideology, social responsibility policy of the students, the youth and the future in Indonesia, the meaning of the Youth Pledge, social responsibility press, political and ethical challenges for Indonesia, and others. Among Catholics internal matter, any time he can give a lecture on the theme of Catholic social teaching, theology of liberation, or about new encyclicals of Pope and so on.

As the leading conference speaker and author of books and articles that are highly productive, Franz Magnis very understanding audience profile. Indonesian readers, for example, according to a description that demands careful, to feel, and fit with the circumstances all the more so in the climate of the New Order regime. Readers expect criticism emerged yet formed such that it does not appear as a criticism.

To meet it, Franz Magnis mentioned above need to be able to walk a narrow line to be able to talk about al-thing everyone knows such a way that they gain a new perspective, but without being too obvious meaning.

Appearance before the general elections in 2014 and then President of the epidemic makes a man from Germany is a concern of many people.

The reason, he wrote an open letter and quoted by many media. He was Franz Magnis-Suseno. Through social media, he also gets invective. His remarks judged to have blamed the Islamic militant support one of the presidential candidates. But Franz Magnis itself is not anti-Islam.

This man was born Eckerdorf, Germany has written numerous articles and books about the State, Pancasila, Pluralism and Democracy in Indonesia. According to him, Indonesia has become the third largest democratic country in the world. However, the fact still quite frequent violence in the name of religion. This Jesuit priest look, although fairly tolerant state and freedom of religion are still there, the attitude of the State allow violence weakened the rule of law.⁷

Professor of Driyarkara School of Philosophy explains, if returned to the base and philosophy of State, namely Pancasila: the first principle, Belief in One God. The implication is that no one should be discriminated against based on religious beliefs. The government's task now is to ensure freedom of religion to all, not only to the adherents of the six legal religions.

Franz Magnis is not only known as the clergy. In June 2014 ago, he was awarded a dedicated scholar of *Kompas*. Indeed it is not surprising if Franz Magnis has the spirit of learning. He was greatly admired and proud of his father. His father was a doctor in jurisprudence, a voracious reader; especially of history books are contemporary. His father also read theological literature. According to Franz, his father loved and feared as liked to argue.

Franz Magnis undergo a pleasant childhood in Eckerdorf, a village in East German territory. Then, after graduating from high school he entered the Order of the Society of Jesus. He first entered Indonesia in 1967. Lapse seven years later; he became a citizen of Indonesia.

⁷ _____, *10 Tokoh Kristen paling berpengaruh di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2014)

In Indonesia, Franz Magnis can do missions and involvement in the dynamics of nation and state. Until now, he had found the call of love in Republic of Indonesia.

D. Belief Such As Franz Magnis-Suseno

1. Reasoning Of God

Based on the ideas of Jean-Paul Sartre, Franz Magnis-Suseno, in relation of God and human freedom, said that with God, human freedom will never alienated from himself. Because, God has transcendence and immanence, which is different from the human dimension. God does not competing with humans. He did not work in the same dimension as human beings.⁸

It creatures, like a human being, are independent, and then he will increasingly depend on Creator. This means that, people receive existence from Him. The higher existence, so the more it depends on the creation of Creator, more he has an existence that is stronger, more able to act alone.

Who give themselves to God, do not worry about losing their freedom or be like a lifeless puppet that just played. Instead, he will experience the peak of its autonomy, an autonomy that is not arbitrary but is willing to accept responsibility.

In relation to faith, Franz Magnis said that faith can be rationally justified in two meanings: theologically and philosophically. In theological faith can be accounted for if appointed that what he believed and the life lived by faith that is in accordance with the source of that faith. So theology based on the revelation of the religion. Revelation is the source of truth. Because, every religion has a revelation of its own, each religion has its own theology as well. Accountability faith theologically occurs in the context of reflection

⁸ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Menalar Tuhan*, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2006)., pg. 210

and discourse of religious faith in the people concerned. People from the outside cannot enter because they do not recognize the religious revelation as the source of truth.⁹

Faith philosophical accountability is different. There are shown the rationality of faith like that. And it was done by means of reason. Reason may examine a belief or religion on some corners, for example, from the point of logical consistency: whether there is a conflict between the teachings of that religion? Then, from the point of knowledge about the world and society: for example, whether the doctrine of the creation of the world can be justified in terms of knowledge of the natural sciences of the universe, the development of life on earth, etc. Can also from the standpoint of inner experience. Existence of god as a philosophy was not based on a particular religious doctrine or revelation, but logically asks what can be said about the faith.¹⁰

2. Human Ethic

The first has to do before discussing ethics is the distinction between ethics with moral teachings. Moral teachings means that the teachings or advice in the form of rules and regulations written and said about how people should live and act so that he was a good human being. The source is directly from a variety of people with a certain position.

Ethic was different; it's not an additional source for moral teachings, but rather a philosophy or critical thinking and fundamental teachings and moral views.¹¹ Ethics is a science, not a doctrine. Ethics

⁹ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 22

¹⁰ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 23

¹¹ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Etika DasarMasalah-masalah Pokok Filsafat Moral*, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1987). Pg. 14

is to understand why we have to follow a certain moral teachings, or how we can take a responsible attitude to deal with a variety of moral teachings. In contrast to the moral just say that how we should live. So between these two terms are not on the same level.¹² Ethics are trying to understand why, or on what basis we should live according to certain norms. The resulting directly from ethics is not a favor, but a more fundamental understanding and critical.

There are two problems in the field of religious morality that – according Franz Magnis Suseno- cannot be solved without using ethical methods. *First*, the problem of command interpretation or law is contained in revelation. The problem does not lie in the corner of revelation, but on the human angle that should catch on. Humans are essentially limited to knowledge. Then he will never one hundred percent correctly understand meaning of God contained in revelation. Therefore, people can be mistaken in reading the revelation. Precisely concerning the wisdom of life, the experts of the same religion often different opinion about what is really required or forbidden in the book of revelation.

Second, how to respond, in terms of religion, the moral issue at the time of the revelation received yet contemplated. To answer this problem it requires ethics. Actually we should not be surprised that the religion also requires ethics. Ethics is human attempt to use reason and brain power to solve the problem of how he should live if he was going to be good. Reason is the creation of God and of course given to man to be used in a dimension of life. Revelation does not mean that we think could be rested. Someone is also expected to use gift. Do not let reason be excluded from the field of religion. That is why even

¹² Moral teaching can exampled with guide book, how we should tread our bicycle correctly, while ethics give us understanding about structure and technology of bicycle itself. Read Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 14

religious clans are expected to actually use ratios and methods of ethics.

3. Relation of Human and God

From God's perspective, there are three things that are revealed about human beings.¹³ *First*, human beings were created by God in his image. This means two things that humans cannot understand from himself alone. In everything that happened to him he came from God and has only been in existence since it remains supported by the will of God. Then there is only one who is entitled to demand something with absolute human, God. That was a first. While the latter that humans differ from other creatures in the world, human beings are created in God's image. Only man possessed the intellect and the will, conscience and freedom. Only humans are created so that life can and should be held accountable.

Second, human have sinned. Just because a human could be responsible, he could also be irresponsible. This means that human can do so sinful. Human recognition that he has sinned is a requirement readmission.

On another occasion, Franz said that it was not arbitrary attitude can be said to be responsible, because of the attitude and actions we take do not stand in the empty space, but we are all accountable to the values of humanity in fact, the task becomes our duty and to the expectations of people other. The attitude we take freely only sufficient if in accordance with the objective responsibility.¹⁴ Talking about responsibility cannot escape from freedom. In the context of society, we are given social freedom meant we were given the responsibility to fill the space of freedom that is

¹³ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Kuasa dan Moral*, (Jakatra: Gramedia, edisi revisi 2000). Pg. 14

¹⁴ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Op. Cit.* pg. 40.

meaningful. We can also decide something is not responsible. The basic moral principles of the discussion is whether the yardstick we use existential freedom responsibility, if we are under a heavy obligation to use our freedom responsibly.

Sometimes people refuse to be responsible with the argument that it would be restricted freedom. The argument is precisely reversed. Someone who refuses to take for responsibility was not making it more freely, but rather the opposite. People who are not responsible are the person who is not strong to do what is judged themselves as the best. So he is less freedom for himself. But existential freedom was faded.¹⁵

Third, human saved from mercy God. Franz Magnis in this case bears heavily on the Christian faith espoused, that according to the Christian faith says that God does hate sin, but do not hate the man of sin. In His mercy God opens the way back so that people can survive. God's compassion is the most basic fact of human life.¹⁶

More implication was taken from interpretation of human.¹⁷ *First*, if the man is the creation and the object of affection of God, then apply: respect for human dignity means while respecting all that mighty good fortune of Allah. And conversely, could not honor God if we rape –do arbitrarily against- human dignity. Any attempt to respect for human banging with respect to God, religious humanism, concern for the fate of all people without distinction of race, religion, nationality, and gender on the one hand and fidelity to religion on the

¹⁵ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 42

¹⁶ Referring to Pope John Paul II, *Redemptor hominis* (1979) (RH) nr. 12 Franz Magnis-Suseno said that for Christians, the love of God becomes visible in the human Jesus Christ. Then the human Jesus which also is the Word of God, the Christian is a human model intact. See also page 11. Franz Magnis Suseno, *Op. Cit.*, pg. 15

¹⁷ Franz Magnis Suseno just limit to five things. Franz Magnis Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 15

other hand is a misnomer. Humanism wants to break away from the recognition of God will be shallow, and religious comity release all people become violent. A religion that does not uphold the dignity of all men lost nobility itself, whereas if God aside, basic human dignity are also excluded.

Second, if all human beings were created by God and saved from the abyss of sin by God's mercy, then all people are equal before God. All equally creation, all equally sinners, all saved, not because of the greatness human himself, but because of God's mercy. And therefore all men are equal as human beings, equal in value. Thus, all forms of discrimination based on race, color, sex, language, religion, political beliefs, opinions different national origin, birth, the position is a direct violation of human dignity.

Third, because all men before God the same degree, then there is no person or group of people who simply entitled to retain someone else. That means that every human power over other human needs legitimacy. Actually, that is when man is said to be born free. It does not mean that man has the right to be left alone as they please, as if he had no obligations to the community that he is getting the existence thereof, livelihood, and education. But rather that there is no human power over man without borders.¹⁸ That every power needs legitimacy, then the direction is the primary responsibility from authorities to the people who gave mastery. All human beings are the same as the God of creation who sinned, containing a basic democratic ethos. Essentially there is no master and slave, king and subordinates, because there is only one God our God. That does not mean there should be no rule human over man, but that power must be legitimated interests and consent of the community, in other words, the state must be a state of law and power under community control.

¹⁸ H. Coing, *Granzuage der Rechtsphilosophie*, Berlin/New York 1976 pg. 211.

Fourth, Absolute authority that no human or human institution, another human being means also, that no person or institution has the right to rule anything against conscience is concerned. In his conscience, man realizes that he is the absolute responsibility towards God, and therefore there is no authority in the world to require anything against conscience.¹⁹

The specificity of man lies in reason and will, in the ability to listen to his conscience and in freedom. Therefore, humans, and only humans, open to God greeting. As it is, human is the only creature that is desired for its own sake by the Creator.²⁰ It does not apply to humans Abstract, but for every human being concrete, without discrimination.²¹ Human dignity requires that every person, without exception, should be respected in their human rights, must not be exploited. From there it can be deduced that if the community development by that sacrifice must be shared equitably.

Fifth, the fact that God has shown mercy to man, Franz Magnis-Suseno draw a basic norm that cannot be bargained at all, namely that human should never be tolerated, let alone caused, suffer if it can be prevented. Someone suffering must never be a means for the community or the country to gain an advantage. Progress is purchased with the suffering of others –even though the person does not mean or judged guilty- was dirty and nasty.

¹⁹ In This case Franz Magnis-Suseno take more from Konsili Vatikan II, lihat Franz Magnis Suseno, *Op. Cit.*, pg. 15

²⁰ Franzs quote was taken from Paus Johannes Paulus II, that human being was always treated as the goal of himself, he was never used only to next purpose. Franz Magnis Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 17

²¹ Abstract man mean that humans who do not have concrete goals and planing for the future, while the concrete human beings are human beings who have a handle and a clear purpose, including against his God.

E. Popularizing Pancasila

It should not happen in this country based on Pancasila. Because in accordance with the contents from the second principle of the Pancasila till to five –as I mentioned in the background that- all of which rests on the principle that the first, Belief in One God.

When we questioned the popularization of Pancasila, we are dealing with a problem that seems contradictory: on the one hand Pancasila had an outlook of the nation Indonesia: Pancasila is not imported from abroad, not an ideology devised by one of two clever people, but is a community-owned Indonesia itself as awareness and moral ideals. On the other hand, the community is still considered to be steeper Pancasila, which meant Pancasila has not become fully owned by Indonesia community. Apparent contradiction is Pancasila was owned by Indonesian community that is not owned entirely yet.²² Cannot be separated from one another problem, namely Pancasila is rooted in Indonesia since hundreds of years ago, but the formulation of new embodied the Bung Karno in 1945 - through a long process, matured by the history of the struggle of the Indonesian nation itself, by inspired by the ideas of the world.

It would be a truth if Pancasila is an outlook of the nation since hundreds of years as well as the formulation of a political philosophy that can only be born at a particular historical moment and formulated by a particular person. A worldview rooted in Indonesian culture. Pancasila, at that time, is not a formula. Outlook of the nation is always a whole, the value of values, ideals and views, habits: something that is internalized by all, but it certainly cannot be explained one by one according to its elements. Which for hundreds of years lived by the Indonesian nation is not short and abstract formulas, but a way of life.²³ The greatness of

²² Franz Magnis Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 114

²³ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 115. Two basic principle from Pancasila, such harmony and respect, which is a normative framework that determines the concrete forms of interactions, especially for the Javanese. The demands of the two principles that have always

Pancasila formulation lies precisely in the fact that the formulation of the 'laconic' it turned out to be adequate and can express briefly all subjects by all groups in Indonesia can be recognized again as hers.

As the formulation of Pancasila is a subsidiary a particular historical situation, and we can be grateful to those who succeeded in formulating a wealth of live view of the nation in such a precise formulation. In a situation in 1945, faced with the real possibility to establish a state Republik Indonesia Merdeka which would not be released, in consciousness, that independence would be realized through a long struggle, the soul, personality, outlook on life and ideals of all Indonesian people be used as a reflection and formulation of a sharp and precise in the description of the five precepts which took shape in the opening definition of the Act of 1945.²⁴

There are at least two things²⁵ that underlie why Pancasila remains to be promoted, on the one hand. On the other hand Pancasila has become the property and the view of life in Indonesia since hundreds of years ago. First, in the sense of willingness was to build a life together or national life on the basis of Pancasila. Thus, all parties are willing to not impose their own special view to the entire community.²⁶

Second, in the sense that the values, views, and expectations expressed in Pancasila and has been since normal internalized by society, now recognized, implemented and lived according to the implications for the common life of the Indonesian nation today. The personality of a

realized by the Javanese. See also Franz Magnis Suseno, *Etika Jawa, Sebuah Analisa Falsafi Tentang Kebijaksanaan Hidup Jawa*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, cetakan kesembilan 2003). Pg. 38

²⁴ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Op. Cit.*, pg. 115

²⁵ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 116

²⁶ This view is the view of each group, ethnicity, race, and ethnicity who were in Indonesia. Each group, there is no doubt, have aspirations beyond their respective national ideals contained in Pancasila.

nation and the values are internalized by society is not a static unchanging, but always evolving to deal with the challenges facing this nation in every age. This means that the Indonesian nation have always had to reassess her personality identity faced with new challenges. And therefore, the values are revealed dalam Pancasila is not necessarily entirely socialized by its implications at the present time. The situation now is a situation of Indonesia as a modern country that consists of many tribes, religions, cultures, and classes which gained independence in a struggle against the occupation that had not been dreamt yet at all.

The next question is, how to promote Pancasila? Answering this question, Franz Magnis-Suseno proposes some structural requirements.

Pancasila itself so that more can be lived thus increasingly determine patterns of national life with the people of Indonesia, the community would need to experience the values Pancasila. So Pancasila needs to be done consistently. People especially should be able to see the attitude Pancasila at their leader.

To create situations that support the carrying out of Pancasila, it's easier if we start from the obstacles which until now prevented the assimilation Pancasila optimally by the community. If obstacles were reduced or eliminated, the values Pancasila which actually can be experienced by the public and will increasingly internalized.

Franz Magnis see the three barriers to appreciation Pancasila, which should increasingly be removed to Pancasila trustworthy and adopted: (1) They are also allowed to take violations of Pancasila. (2) The various forms of fraud and corruption within the government apparatus. (3) Sometimes happened impression that the call for Pancasila is a cover to protect their own personal or group interests in society.²⁷

That Pancasila is still less internalized, does not mean that Pancasila less pronounced. Instead, there is a danger that the authorities,

²⁷ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Ibid...*, pg. 120.

especially at the local level, too much put on Pancasila words to justify the attitudes and actions that are less accountable.²⁸ For example, demand accountability, critics and press efforts to find out what really happened intercepted sake of Pancasila. Should be questioned whether all clauses, prosecuted or banned under the title "labor relations Pancasila" Pancasila is consistent with and not contrary to Pancasila instead? Do not get the impression that occurred among workers Pancasila is the same with the right of employers to pay less attention to labor rights and to escape from the threat of a strike. That strikes should only be a last means most workers would clear. But whether still in line with Pancasila if the right to strike at all would be eliminated, as well as a means of last resort, but in view of the many people who actually put order in the workplace, the right to strike is considered as the rights of the workers? Similarly, still need to be defined what is meant by democracy of Pancasila. Sometimes the impression that element of social control is inhibited in the name of Pancasila democracy. Presumably it helps if formulated and run with consequent that Pancasila democracy is democracy in accordance with the Basic Law in 1945 conducted a genuine and consistent.²⁹

F. Ethical Dilemma Of Religion And State

That the nature of the relationship between religion and state is able to determine the attitude of national security, need not be described at length. Many people, Indonesian society, deeply determined by their attitude by their faith, and the faith that depends on the religion they profess. Ability and toughness Indonesian nation to be able to ensure its survival to the glory of the nation and the country will degenerate if religious people do not fully feel attached to the country. And national

²⁸ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 122

²⁹ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 123.

development can only succeed if it has the support of religious people in Indonesia.

Modality between religion, the state and the demands of national development can be no dilemma is perhaps surprising, but we need to acknowledge the fact that it can be overcome. The other dilemma between ethical because it concerns people's hearts. The State does not only require observance of its citizens, but the support is based on a sense of loyalty and love, so support the liver. But the hearts of religious people are already clearly felt bound by the will and the call of God and by the norms of their religion. If between state and religion is a mismatch occurs, the heart of religious people will be confused, and it caused an ethical dilemma.³⁰ Franz tried to explain this to several reasons.

First, religious exclusivism. Exclusivism that was certainly a possibility and has several forms. Religion which will exclusively be easy to feel dissatisfied with the administration of the state, because the state recognizes plurality in society and thus did not meet the expectations of the group. Worse yet, if exclusivity is based on the opinion that other groups are not entitled to the same treatment.

Second, Puritanisasi Religion. Puritaisasi religion means that efforts to clean up the religious life of all the elements that are not derived from the asalihah religions. Purists often happens to religious revelation. The followers of these religions will come back to understand its origin to ensure that the still faithful to God's revelation. Each revealed religion must necessarily be true to the revelation of origin, but also can understand that the answer had faith to revelation is not separated from the language and culture of each epoch and nation. Although the religious groups loyal

³⁰ Faithful to the demands of religion is to deny God, and thus he felt guilty. While faithful to his religion meant she would feel guilty as a nationalist. But could he would choose either one alone. And because God is absolutely right to demand absolute obedience and the state does not, he will be faithful to the religion. If the dilemma was a long, long run he will be alienated from their own country. Check in Franz Magnis Suseno, *Ibid..*, pg. 100

to God's revelation, but the religious practices can be adapted to cultural values and age. It is often times want to be abolished by the puritans. Thus, as if the puritans wanted to be separated completely from the culture conditions and the age they live in today.

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Second, religious purification. Purification of religion means that efforts to clean up the religious life of all the elements that are not from the religious basis. Purists often happen to religious revelation.³¹ The followers of these religions will come back to understand its origin to ensure that the still faithful to God's revelation.³² Each revealed religion must necessarily be true to the revelation of origin, but also can understand that the answer had faith to revelation is not separated from the language and culture of each epoch and nation. Although the religious groups loyal to God's revelation, but the religious practices can be adapted to cultural values and age. It is often times want to be abolished by the puritans. Thus, as if the puritans wanted to be separated completely from the culture conditions and the age they live in today.

Third, Solidarity Dilemma. It is concerned with the international religious solidarity. What if international religious solidarity is very strong, then it can happen loyalty dilemma between religion and state, if

³¹ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 102

³² Distinguish between reflections back to the revelation and the purification of the religion is that contemplation is a limit ourselves to keep the human elements are no longer falsify the message of Revelation. While the purification of religion is an attempt to remove the human elements. See also Franz Magnis Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 102

the state takes a policy that is not in accordance with the expectations of the religious community.

Fourth, Compliance Dilemma. In contrast with the above third dilemma –which depend on specific situations- then potentially this dilemma is definitely there. This occurs when the demands of compliance between the two sides, religion and the state, as great and absolute. If the state passed a law that contradicts the norms of religion, or vice versa, then this dilemma will present itself.

Fifth, Ideological Authority. If the state is organized on the basis of certain ideological which must be adopted and enforce compliance of all its people. As ideology besides demanding compliance would also require trust. Though the authority belief is typical of religious authority. So the issue with the state ideology is also the problem of the relationship between religion and state.

Fortunately, Indonesian state ideology is Pancasila ideology, which is clearly the first principle mentioned in general –after a long debate- that the Indonesian people must godless one, the Almighty. The practical form in accordance with the culture of each region.³³

1. Religious Freedom in Indonesia

Responding to the Joint Decree (SKB), 1969, Franz Magnis-Suseno stated –in writing- that every decision of the government must reflect the Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945. Franz also confirmed that:

Kita harus memperhatikan dua hal. Undang-Undang dasar RI bukan hanya menegaskan sebagai hak asasi manusia kebebasan ‘setiap orang (untuk) memeluk agama dan beribadat menurut agamanya’ (pasal 28E ayat 1, Pasal 29 ayat 2) melainkan dalam

³³ Founding Father of Indonesia understands very well that this country is a diverse country that - each region - have their individual belief. This is presumably why the Indonesian motto Unity in Diversity. An explanation of the first principle can be seen in Chapter II.

*pasal 28 ayat 3 juga menyatakan ‘ hak (setiap orang) atas kebebasan... berkumpul.*³⁴

We have to observe two things. UUD 45 not only clarify as human right of freedom “everyone (to) belief in religion and pray as his religion” (article 28E paragraph 1, article 29 paragraph 2) but in article 28 paragraph 3 also clarifying ‘right of (everyone) to freedom ... assemble.

So the basic law of the Republic of Indonesia with clearly stated that every people have the right to assemble and worship according to his religion provisions. It also depends from approval of others. It must be acknowledged that the condition of the people demands it sought public support around. Goodwill of the neighbors is necessary in order to worship of it can run smoothly and positively.

However, in the record Franz, it should be noted miraculous things. The right of every people to worship should still be emphasized and disseminated in society. Of all the officials concerned demanded that they helped convince people that the local people to want to be open. Then, and most importantly, should no longer happen that some people just can block the construction of houses of worship. If the majority of the public expressed no objection, house of worship that obviously must be authorized and protected accordingly.³⁵

Which is often a misunderstood is able to be around the place of construction of houses of worship is only one or two families from the community, then the majority religious community to suspect that the establishment of houses of worship is one way to missionary.³⁶ It may be necessary that a much more vigorous to comprehend people that need their

³⁴ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Berebut Jiwa Bangsa, Dialog Perdamaian dan Persaudaraan*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2006). Pg. 362.

³⁵ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 362

³⁶ Example: the establishment of Christian churches in the middle of the Muslim majority, seemed to illustrate that the establishment is part of the spread of Christianity in the area, and vice versa.

freedom of religion or belief for each corresponding beliefs. In accordance with Belief in One God.

Freedom of religion says that every person has the right to determine whether and how he religious or not, to live according to religious beliefs themselves, to practice and communicate it to anyone else who would like to receive communications, to choose religious beliefs which he believed, to leave the old religion and the new religion that believed: for not discriminated according to their religion. Freedom of religion also said that 'freedom of religion or belief a person may only be restricted by law and only to the extent necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the rights and fundamental freedoms of others.'³⁷

Through his writings, Franz Magnis Suseno also said that the people throughout Indonesia plural could only remain united if all the components did want to be united. There may maintain national unity by force. However, all components will only want to be united if their identity is respected in Indonesia that one. People do not need to let go of the peculiarities of religion, culture, and tribal to be Indonesian. Indonesia is unity in diversity. Indonesia belongs to all its people, society with all kinds of multiplicity.³⁸

2. Be Plural Such As Franz Magnis-Suseno

Pluralism itself is not new Productions appearing in this modern age. Pluralism would appear in traditional society with various tribal, ethnic and religion coexistence in the same area.

³⁷ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Etika Politik*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1994) pg. 150-151

³⁸ Writing that was adopted from a paper presented by Franz Magnis in the National Seminar on "Masa Depan Pluralisme Agama Di Indonesia" organized by Student Senate of Theology Faculty of Setya Wacana Christian University, Salatiga, May 25, 2007. See also Franz Magnis suseno, *Kebangsaan, Demokrasi, Pluralisme; Bunga Rampai Etika Politik Aktual*, Jakarta: Kompas, 2015., p. 108

However, there are two elements that are typical in the traditional society of pluralism. *First*, it was dealt with on the basis of pluralism inequalities. Hierarchically structured society and all the elements therein, including those with a different culture or religion, have a place and a certain social standing in it. *Second*, pre-modern human insight that divides humanity into "our people" and "strangers". Which did not include indigenous communities, or the same religion they perceive as "foreigners".³⁹ As it was, they were well received, respected foreign guests, where they are assured. However, as a foreigner.

But in modern pluralism, the two elements change. As the implications from ideals of the French revolution of minorities and, in general, groups of multicolored according equal rights and obligations as citizens and human beings. In modern language: the basic rights of citizens and human rights apply to all charged with the same.⁴⁰

Demands made in common plague pluralism-not only social group pluralism, but pluralism, political beliefs, religion and moral-a challenge to the unity of the "nation" (which is a product of modern artificial). With other social groups demanding and seize equal rights, the traditional social order collapsed and the thrones of power whipped back. During the minorities accept their position abnormality, it not be a problem. But, as they demanded their rights to be given the same space to access the power possessed by the tribe, ethnicity or religion is dominant, then part of society which traditionally dominant in the order they are endangered.

To handle this kind of pluralism, society needs to develop psychic abilities and ethical-specific; the ability to coexist with the community that ethnic, tribal or other religions in a good and relaxed,

³⁹ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Kuasa dan Moral, Op.Cit.* pg. 35

⁴⁰ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 35

the ability to be tolerant, to respect the religious beliefs and different political, and including to feel solidarity towards compatriots as human beings, although perhaps including ethnicity, race or social class to another.

Mybe indonesia has, after all, better cards in order to manage her diversity than many other countries. Her people are still prepared and used to accept fellow indonesian of other culture or religious orientation and to live together with them. If indonesia succeeds in establishing a democratic and just political and economic system, the traumas of the Soeharto area and the dislocations by the modernization process will loos thei spell and traditional indigenous tolerance will get a chance assert itself.

But this will be happen if ideological tendencies too religious and other exclusivism are resolutely repulsed and corresponding learning processes are installed.

It should be completely clear that a plural nation like indonesia cannot stay together except she accepts her diversity. And this mean: indonesian society has, on principle, to be orgenized in an inclusive way. Thus in such as way, that all the different ethnic, religious, and cultural groups do not feel threatened in their spesific identities. The legal social system must make it posible for all communities to live according to their cultural and religious ideas, without them trying to force these ideas upon other. Precisely this is the meaning of Pancasila.⁴¹

And therefore, all endeavors to put the country under any exclusive, particular; secretarian way of life are venom for the country and must be repelled. For instance, tendencies in some districs to enforce religiuosly distinctive clothing on certain day in schools and offices run counter to the very unity of Indonesia and should not be tolerated by the central government. Tolerance for the diversity of

⁴¹ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Berebut Jiwa Bangsa, Dialog Perdamaian dan Persaudaraan.*, *Op. Cit*, pg. 150

Indonesians needs zero-tolerance towards all exclusivist ideologies, be they religiouse or otherwise.⁴²

In another opinion, Franz put forward an argument that pluralism in conjunction with the values of openness, peace, and tolerance should be the subject of a national campaign and more specifically in schools.

At school, children should learn early that there are difficult people with different religious orientation among them, and that this need nod threten their own religious identity. One of the main goals of formal education should be that children be helped early to accept othernes in their local environment.⁴³

The point is, how indonesia manages her pluralityb will be of crucial importance for her future. Indonesia cannot be kept unite merely by force. We should learn the lessons from Aceh and Papua. Decades of military suppression could not win over the heart of their people and never will. Thus Indonesia will only stay together if all her communities want to stay together. And this demands that they all feel accepted and respected. Thus there is no alternative: in order to succeed, Indonesia has to develop into an open, tolerance, inclusive society. Indonesia has to say yes to her diversity.⁴⁴

3. Pluralism is not Relativism

Pluralism and relativism is a different matter, but often people misidentified. In the view of Franz himself, as he writes in a variety of articles and books, Pluralism and Relativism is a much different thing. The difference lies in the subjectivity and objectivity offender.

⁴² Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 151

⁴³ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 150

⁴⁴ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 152

Therefore pluralism is essential for Indonesia. If the condemned pluralism, to say clearly what is condemned and what is not.

Istilah pluralism sering dibajak sebagai nama untuk pandangan bahwa semua agama sama saja dan jangan agama-agama masing-masing menganggap diri sendiri paling benar. Ini bukanlah Puralisme, menainkan Relativitas.⁴⁵

The term of pluralism usually pirated to name of views that all religion is same and don't be religions each other consider himself as best. This is not Pluralism, but Relativism.

Relativism more things being equal, there is no more correct than the other. But unlike the pluralism that considers that there should be the superiority of looking at things, although in reality there is no possibility of the truth from other things.

Relativism is contrary to the essence of all revealed religions. How can I trust something if I could not believe that I believe it is true? Relativism is precisely not pluralistic, and tolerant, because he demanded that religions relinquish the belief that they were right. Conversely, a pluralist just accepts that we have different beliefs. They each convinced of the truth to them, but the difference was not separate them because they believe that despite our different faith, we are united in the values we have in common.

That became a pluralist mind-set is that although he has his own religion, but he wills never demeaning religion and religious

⁴⁵Franz Magnis-Suseno, "Pancasila 2010", *Kompas* edition 10th August, 2010. See also Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Kebangsaan, Demokrasi, Pluralis: Bunga Rampai Etika Politik Aktual*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2015) p. 93.

beliefs of others, and he was willing to admit that other religions also have elements that are right and good.⁴⁶

Only people can be tolerant pluralists. Tolerance in the sense that he, in fact, is the acceptance excited over the fact that we live around people with beliefs and different religions. So pluralism would demand that freedom of religion and religious belief is guaranteed in the country's legal system.

⁴⁶ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.* h. 94.

CHAPTER IV

THE DIVINITY OF PLURALIST¹

“It is a fact that will longing religions coexist peacefully in Indonesia is in the hearts of many people”²

Indonesia as a pluralistic country should be an example for many countries in managing cultural diversity, ethnicity, or religion. Countries that stretches from Sabang to Merauke is intentionally slogan "Unity in Diversity" (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*) that covered all cultures, religions, ethnic groups, tribes in the stretch of this archipelago. For this reason, the meaning of tolerance and pluralism should be rooted and entrenched in Indonesian society. Not it only, education in Indonesia also have to reflect the meaning of tolerance and pluralism so as to create a peaceful life of the nation without any tribal enmity, as well as cultural and religious conflicts.

The fundamental values of Pancasila which are necessary to be none other than a willingness to accept each other in the uniqueness of each, so a willingness to respect and support diversity of nation and to continue to organize the life of this nation inclusively.

Then the actualization of Pancasila's values no other means actualizing the willingness of the entire community –that is: the people themselves, from Sabang

¹ Prior to our discussion of Franz Magnis-Suseno's Thoughts on Religious Pluralism, authors need to reiterate that this study is not a study on the basis of subjectivity by the beliefs of the author, however, with as much as possible the author tries to be objective by not referring the belief that the authors believe in, is not of religion Franz Magnis-Suseno believe. However, the author tries to translate it to a variety of considerations.

² Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Berebut Jiwa Bangsa, Dialog Perdamaian dan Persaudaraan*, (Jakarta: Kompas 2015) pg. 124

to Merauke and agencies/institutions/organizations within political parties, and civil society, especially religious organizations and other actualizing them– to receive the fact that Indonesia is a plurality, that is, to accept each other in the uniqueness of each.

Especially with the first principle of Pancasila which is most basic foundation of Indonesia. Belief in one God is unity of belief of Indonesian container needs to be interpreted with a broad meaning. Indeed, Indonesia has only one God who shall be worshiped by people. Only in accordance with implementation of worship and religious beliefs of each. That's why every Indonesian should be plural and tolerance between religions.

At least it becomes particularly relevant if dreams and hopes Franz Magnis-Suseno as in opening of this chapter will become a reality. Everyone yearn for peace without religious conflicts, political and cultural. Socio-cultural mosaic configuration in Indonesia with spread of ethnic and religion in such a way, according to Amal Tamril Tomagola, make region of Indonesia, especially in eastern Indonesia as a region highly vulnerable to conflict.³

Sampit cases –although not a religious conflict- also remains a fascinating conversation in this country. At least this is an illustration of how tolerance and

³ Poso - in Central Sulawesi - for example, a point centrum of several levels of geopolitical friction plates in East Indonesia. When we begin to Poso as sentrum point tectonic communal conflict, then at the local geopolitical slab circle in Poso, Christians who pinched and threatened from the south - Makassar - and from the North and West - Palu and Gorontalo. The same was felt by Christians in Toraja. Stepping wider exit towards slab broader geopolitical, Christians in Sulawesi as a whole from Toraja, Poso and North Sulawesi to Sangir Talaud feel besieged by a shaft that started since the Nunukan in Kalimantan crossed into Makasar, Gorontalo, North Maluku and continue to Moro region in the southern Philippines. By contrast, Muslims in Maluku feel themselves also besieged by a shaft triangle Manado, Ambon and Sorong. This keterancaman keterkepungan shadow and really felt as if a real good among laymen as well as a number of leaders of the two people. Read Moh. Soleh Isre (ed.), *Konflik Etno-Religius Indonesia Kontemporer* (Jakarta: Departemen Agama RI), 2003, pg. 49

pluraisme not been embedded in every Indonesian citizen.⁴ Moreover, legal protection and local government that can not protect –not to say that in practice legislation and legal framework created can not be implemented fully by implementing policies- to families of minority in certain areas.⁵

A. Ethics State

In introduction to this study, the authors had mentioned how Franz Magnis Suseno, as a philosopher and as a citizen, look to first principle of Pancasila, Belief in One God, and apply them in daily life. "Divinity" should be seen as a freedom of citizens to worship his God with a condition: the worship of God should be "The One", monotheism. This terms is 'the liberator ropes' of beliefs that exist in Indonesia. Binding but not ensnare, give a space of freedom to decide which path will be taken.

Starting from this view, should citizens entitled to appropriate religion beliefs without discrimination of any party. In fact, according to the author, enactment of 'legal religion' is also a limitation. The Liberator Ropes, as if tightened just to the religions was inaugurated, but beyond it there are very many religions or beliefs that have adopted by local citizens in certain areas since hundreds or even thousands years ago.

As a citizen, a person must be a nationalist and exercising its rights and obligations, mutual respect for fellow citizens, and does not interfere with or restrict freedom of others in worship, for religious or other beliefs that are different from us, you do not violate laws and regulations in force in country.

⁴ Fanatical tribalism and regionalism becomes very vulnerable to conflict

⁵ So long Dayak people receive the treatment they deem in violation of justice. They dumped as primitive people who do not need to be ignored. Finally, a small provocation is enough to create their anger overflowed. Read Franz Magnis Suseno, *Berebut Jiwa Bangsa, Dialog Perdamaina dn Persaudaraan*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2016) pg. 137

Discuss ethical issues –as it has been in previous section– not discuss moral issues, because it is very different.⁶ In discussing ethics of Stateless not mean what he should do as citizens, but how do we have to take a position as citizens and how we account for it.

In state certainly as citizens have certain corridors in exercising its rights and obligations in accordance with rules and legislation in force, as well as in conducting worship in accordance with religion and beliefs of each.

1. State and Religion

In foregoing discussion has been author mentioned that Indonesia is not a religious state, also not anti-religion, or country of adherents of a particular religion. The ideology of Indonesia is Pancasila nurturing every confidence that had divinity 'The One'.

State, should, plays a very important role in protection of religions. But often role of state is very weak.⁷ In addition to carrying out mandate of Pancasila and UUD 1945, role of state should foster public to accept each other. National leaders should have courage to call on Indonesian people to be willing to ensure the welfare, safety, and freedom of people of different religions.

If national leaders just do not have character to it, especially in local administrations have to deal with tension between religious groups. Many primordial conflict, not only religiously tinged, just

⁶ Look at chapter III

⁷ Very striking are the police do not really protect, but let violence in the name of religion occurred. And local administration immediately sided with the majority regardless of Pancasila, the Constitution, and applicable law. Read Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Kebangsaan, Demokrasi, Pluralis: bunga rampai etikapolitik aktual*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2015) h. 132

broke out because the local administration is not clever, not able, and with stupid they are siding with majority.⁸

Thus, state is obliged to respect religious freedom and to protect against any undermining, even if the country concerned with quality of religious life in society. The task of state is to ensure that religious freedom of parties does not harm others, depriving their rights, and disturbing public order. Freedom of religion does not give the right to show off in public attitudes that are contrary to the moral views most people. Similarly, religious freedom does contain the right to practice and proclaimed his faith but not to pass it in ways that are not fair.

In view of Franz Magnis-Suseno, if teachings of a religion is very exclusive, our dilemma is not resolved. But all the major religions in Indonesia, no matter how big difficulties relationship between them at times and in certain places, however vagaries of positive and negative communication during history of their existence, is actually not exclusive. Although they were all sure of himself and does not agree saying casually that "all religions are same", but they do not justify to impose themselves on the followers of other religions; they agreed that it was no use religion except as believed: they are willing to give life to rights of other religions; they are also willing to accept that society and state should be organized such that all religions can live as natural-fair, according to identity and to same degree. This fact sometimes we forget about being too influenced by a variety of practical difficulties and tensions. In my opinion, it is a fundamental willingness of capital which is very good for building

⁸ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 133. As the article entitled "Pluralism" and "Stab, then what else?" Franz Magnis-Suseno as passionate with anger over the government's impartiality, and the weakness of the government in handling cases related to violence in the name of religion.

community life together. So problem exclusivity need not actually exist.⁹

The same is probably also true of the so-called puritanical. Indeed, every religion must determine what role is given to local elements. And in every religion there are groups that are somewhat concerned about the dangers to religious purity and therefore being tough against the elements that are seen as harmful. However, there is also a greater emphasis that religion may not be accepted in the hearts of people except to answer the hopes and ideals of society in a specific cultural environment. Originally religion out of self, religion will understand that its members are human, and as humans they participate in a particular culture.

Franz Magnis confirms that for the issue of solidarity between people of one religion of the world he sees it as something positive. As a member of Christians are notoriously weak global solidarity, Franz saw admirably to sense of unity of hundreds of millions of Muslims in many countries are quite different as well. A solidarity between human beings beyond boundaries of country should not conflict with slightest sense of responsibility for their own people. The need for alignment between feeling of pride, love, and willing to sacrifice for sake of its own people, with feeling that all nations of the world is one of mankind who are responsible to each other and need each other. According to him, the religions can help in finding his brothers across the border of their own country and therefore contribute invaluable. Once again, neither the state nor the origin of religion to know yourself, can not be a dilemma but it will obtain the balance. And therefore he saw no reason why religious people can not love his country.

⁹ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Kuasa dan Moral*, (Jakatra: Gramedia, edisi revisi 2000). Pg. 104

2. State and Society

States have a crucial role to hang on the public of meaning of tolerance and pluralism. Because, according to the author, tolerance and plurality is a very important element and must be owned by people of Indonesia in view of Indonesia is very diverse, made up of various ethnic groups, cultures and religions that stretches from Sabang to Merauke.

Pancasila is final basis of Indonesia. With ideology of Pancasila, Indonesia is a country that is different from other countries, not liberal ideology like western countries, or religious ideology as the eastern countries, but Pancasila ideology as hallmark of this largest archipelagic country in the world. Not a short process in formulating, over many centuries ago, actual elements of Pancasila has become founding since country is still kingdom. Only formulation of a new literacy began towards independence. This has become necessary cultivation Pancasila's soul to entire of Indonesian people, that we should be proud of Pancasila which unites entire nation.

In trust context, first principle becomes protector of every religion in Indonesia. Not only that, four principles afterwards also hosts to this principle. Because of humanity, unity, democracy by promoting deliberation, and social justice should be based on faith in God.¹⁰

As already mentioned in previous chapter that education on tolerance and religious plurality in Indonesia should be done early in levels of formal and informal education. Because education is the

¹⁰ God in context of their respective religious beliefs. Not only religion 'formalized' in Indonesia, but including religions or local beliefs that developed in Indonesia.

starting gate for generation of people to know importance of mutual respect in a diverse country like Indonesia. The goal of this system is installed attitude in every citizen of Indonesia about importance of "Belief in One God" with true meaning and application are without diversion.

General meaning of Belief in One God is covering every confidence in Indonesian appropriate legal framework which is based on the precepts. Balance measure of religious freedom in Indonesia is not quantity of belief, not counting of minority and majority. It became an absolute provisions that need to be socialized, in hope that people in this country are not to be talkative and easily provoked with some issues that deliberately done by some persons just as interests of one group. Already quite "full" this country shaken by issues of class in name of religion.

If people of Indonesia already aware of tolerance and pluralism, authors believe that, religious conflicts will be lost. But will not be quite up there, which is embedded in the consciousness of each individual must also be awakened by a strong advance.

3. Statesman

Being a statesman is not a demand. However, with regard to ethics as citizens, everyone must be held accountable. In this regard, consciousness of each individual should be developed. Because of this consciousness are the main assets. Adherence to the country will become more wisdom when it starts with consciousness rather than vice versa by force or demands. Virtually every person who is born in a particular country does not directly have an obligation to abide and adhere to the country. But not everyone is aware of this. So from that nationalist consciousness must be reinvested to everyone.

Consciousness should start from willingness to carry out the duties and obligations. In this regard, Franz Magnis Suseno in his book *Etika Jawa* said that consciousness starts from conscience. Conscience claim to be an consciousness of what the obligations are dealing with concrete problems that it faces. Faced with public opinion and with demands of ideology, he became aware that he must not follow their moral opinion for granted, but must satisfy itself what is actually a liability in situation.¹¹

Conscience is our moral consciousness in concrete situations. In center of our personality which is called heart, we are aware of what is actually required of us. Although many parties who tells us what we must do, but our hearts are aware that ultimately only we know ourselves. So that we are entitled and also obliged to live in accordance with what we realize as a duty and responsibility. So morally, we finally have to decide for ourselves what will we do. We can not throw responsibility on others. We should not blindly follow opinions of role model, and should not be blindly obeyed ideological demands. Independently we must seek clarity about our obligations.¹²

If the emerging moral consciousness, it can not be separated with ratings and moral responsibility. Moral judgments is not just a matter of feelings, but of objective truth. If there is a debate moral opinion, we do not argue about our feelings, but rather about what is objectively becomes our duty and what is not. The fact that ratings-debated objectively moral judgment, then two sides is only one truth that must be accounted in a rational and objective. When we talk about nations, ideologies and responsibilities as citizens, we can not be

¹¹ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Etika Dasar, Masalah-masalah Pokok Filsafat Moral*, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1987). pg. 53

¹² Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 53

accounted just by feeling, because, as explained above, it must be justified objectively and rationally.

Faced with the problem of religion and belief, for example, the emergence of new beliefs conflict or conflict between religions is not just a matter it is good or not by one party, but by other considerations which support and be objective without favoring one of them. The debate should be there, however, as described above, there must be one that is justified and some accept willingly after going through these objective assessments.

Foundation in practice Pancasila "populist, led by inner wisdom of deliberations representative" has resulted in the Constitution which became an 'umbrella law' in act and determine something in interests of the state. And it should be a guideline in every citizen in performing its duty as a statesman.

B. Ethical Pluralism

Franz Magnis Suseno has its own definition of pluralism. For his pluralism is not humble willingness to trust others, even though he still considers the belief that he had faith as a true thing he is among the others, but he still accepts that there are still elements that are good and right in the beliefs of others.

A pluralist just accept that we have different beliefs. They each convinced of the truth to them, but the difference was not separate them because they believe that despite our different faith, we are united in the values we have in common.

That became a pluralist main-set is that although he has his own religion, but he will never demeaning religion and religious beliefs of

others, and he was willing to admit that other religions also have elements that are right and good.¹³

Only a pluralist can be tolerant. Tolerance is the acceptance excited over the fact that we live around people with beliefs and different religions. So pluralism would demand that freedom of religion and religious belief is guaranteed in the country's legal system.

Actually being the plural is a moral choice of each individual. But it must be stressed because it deals well with audiences, the lives of many people. Back again the plural is also not out of free or freedom. As stated understanding Franz Magnis Suseno above, if the drawn outline, that pluralism is to give of their freedom to believe trust that he believes.

Quoting from Franz Magnis Suseno opinion and not intended to limit, according to the authors of human freedom is divided into two elements. First, the existential freedoms or freedom of man to define himself. Second, social freedom or freedom received from others. It should be understood that this freedom is not free from any pressing terms, but free for what.

The difference between coercion and pressure on the one hand and the obligations and prohibitions on the other hand is the latter does not make us vulnerable. So it does not remove the obligation, but rather challenging existential freedom.¹⁴

Freedom is what later became the basis of each person is entitled to believe absolutely convinced what he considers the most correct and most suitable, of course, with a variety of considerations. At the same time, the obligation to respect others in fulfilling their liberty also hadus on hold

¹³ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Ibid.*, pg. 94

¹⁴ For example: even though someone has been forbidden to listen to music, but one can still hear it. So if someone still hear the music or not still depends on the person, so must he set yourself.

dear. That is why we need for tolerance and plurality in a pluralistic society like Indonesia.

C. Ethical Relationship Between Human and His God

Respect for religious freedom is not only the demands of ethics, but rather demanded by the nature of faith itself. People who believe in God know that all the outward attitude in the eyes of God is only worth so far revealed the attitude of sincere heart. That is why pressure in faith of belief also can not be justified when committed by religious leaders against members of their own religion. Demanded attitudes by God is essentially of mind or heart attitudes.

While outer attitudes only required as a vehicle for the inner attitudes, and that inner attitudes can only given freely if supported by faith. Therefore, it is right for the country against any attempt wearing it to undermine the religious freedom, not only because of religious freedom is the most important human rights but also for purity and good image of religions themselves. In same reason, everyone should not also forced to be religion. Freedom of religion also includes freedom to be unreligious. Forcing people to be religious when he does not like God is useless. People can not be forced to recognize God, at most he can be encouraged to open his heart. And this appeal will be successful, dignity of the atheist as free respected.

D. Divinity in Plurality

Examining Franz Magnis-Suseno's thinking about how should someone to be religious is original purpose of this study. Of course, departing from several manuscripts and works of him that has been popular.

Just an interesting example can be seen from the results of research by Agus Nurhadi, doctoral student of Sociology University of Gajah Mada, interreligious harmony in Ambarawa. One of the results of research suggests that, naturally among religious can live in harmony, without any significant conflict. They are very tolerant of other religions. Tolerant attitude can be seen from the public that they do not mind when people move other religions. They consider that religion is equally inviting people to do good. When there are people who convert because of marriage, they are not so disputed by religious leaders, parents, as well as their neighbors. Intermarriage is one form of religious tolerance. In Ambarawa, often intermarrying among religious.¹⁵

Another example is tolerance by the leaders of Pesantren Bali Bina Insani in Bali. Pondok Pesantren Islam at the center of the township's Hindu community could keep the issue of inclusiveness amid increasingly ensnare Muslims in the area after the first Bali bombings. But this Pesantren can survive and maintain good relationships with the environment, often do activities and respect each other and support each other in worship. Not that only, teachers at boarding is actually fourty persent of them are from Hindu teachers. They uphold mutual respect is not the ego of their class in featuring.¹⁶

Should that attitude have to be built in this plural country like Indonesia. Perhaps, as such as most regions already built on tolerance and pluralism. At the same time, in a different area that seems to be impossible, because the sentiments and ego each group have dominan. Moreover, it is not uncommon religious conflicts occurred in the eastern Indonesia, and remote areas.

¹⁵ Agus Nurhadi, "Kerukunan Umat Beragama dan Resolusi Konflik: Studi Kasus Umat Beragama di Ambarawa Jawa Tengah" in *Teologia*, Volume 16th, Number 1, January 2003, pg. 185.

¹⁶ Interview with head of Pondok Pesantren Bali Bina Insani Bali on March 23, 2016

CHAPTER V

EPILOGUE

A. Conclusion

As including in the first principle of Pancasila, “Belief In One God”, and UUD 1945, “State was based to Belief In One God”, is a great mark that Indonesia is a state that have God. It was not referencing to one religion. Because, with “Belief in One God” there are many religion can covered in this country. The decision of Ministry of Religion to legalized 6 religions as a religions of Indonesian Country is just little example for protecting a many religion in Indonesia. And other religion except six was categorized in social organization. Although, in fact it was believe or religions. But, it was not a problem to belief on them religion. Because every citizens has deserve to have belief or religion requisite basis on Belief in One God.

So that need to sense of ability to inter-society because of his belief. Because, disunity was susceptible to the plural state such as Indonesia, especially about belief and religion. So, to be aware of it, need for an understanding of pluralism and consciousness instilled in every individual in this country.

In this chapter, author tries to present three of these elements so that it becomes a delicious dish for the academic course. In relation between Belief in One God and pluralism, which the authors carefully through the works of Franz Magnis-Suseno, there are some points that need to be conveyed.

First, in author's thought, that founding fathers of Indonesia in relation to belief, not create a road to be taken by people to God of each, however they create a goal, without binding which road is chosen, must be

achieved and practiced by all people of Indonesia. With such, as it were, people of Indonesia are freed to embrace religion according their individual belief. However, within remit of belief in one god. This is in line with the thinking of Franz Magnis suseno who, in his book *Menalar Tuhan*, stating that with their belief in God is not limited human freedom.¹ Precisely with such identity of human beings increasingly realized. Why should in Godhead one? As discussed in chapter II that Prof. Dr. Sunarjo Wreksosuhardjo mentions that All God's principles that are abstract, shows the necessity/demand and a reference or guidelines to conform to the nature of God.² The depiction of God, in opinion of author, which is just a quick overview of human mind –which is limited- can capture the infinite. Basically all religions believe in one god only, if in the literature of philosophy and history is depicted about gods, especially in existence of god. The mentioning of God also varies. In the tradition of the ancient philosopher more often mention "God" as, the One, the Just, or Supernatural. Because, 'supernatural' cannot covered in human reason. In opinion of the author, based State supreme divinity one is for all citizens of Indonesia corresponds with the nature of God –the truth- only one, The One, although in the majority religion is interpreted in some form as gods or so.

Second, to do a citizen is to understand exactly what is contained in the first principle, so it does not become a boomerang plurality that is already neatly framed Pancasila. Freedom, as already mentioned in the previous chapter, is it absolutely necessary every human being, but the freedom as depicted Franz Magnis-Suseno, and authors agree that in a

¹ Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Menalar Tuhan*, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2006), h. 210

² Prof. Dr. Sunarjo Wreksosuhardjo, *Berfilsafat Menuju Ilmu Filsafat Pancasila; Padmonobo Pembawa Amanat Dewata Mengajarkan Kesaktian* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit ANDI, 2014), h. 71

freedom always contained responsibility. Responsibility is not a restriction of human freedom is precisely the responsibility; there will be a free man.³

Responsibility for freedom of belief in Indonesia is to be plural. Appreciate and respect fellow citizens who believe in different religions are an obligation for the nation of Indonesia. Being plural as well as keeping the unity of the State so that no more conflicts that occurs in the name of religion. It would, according to the authors, the reason why pluralism becomes necessary and required presence in Indonesia.⁴ If pluralism is embedded in the mind of every Indonesian citizen, a life of nation and religion becomes a necessity.

B. Recommendation

This study is only slightly contributing ideas for change in this country. Findings and ideas strung will not change without any further action to make changes. Therefore, at the end of the study, researchers gave some recommendations to the parties concerned by the results of this study.

1. Quoting Franz Magnis Suseno that for an understanding of Tolerance and Pluralism in Indonesia should be done as early as possible. Education about it can be done from Elementary School, or even the previous schools, of course, with a method in accordance with their respective levels. An element that is authorized for it is the Ministry of Education to create a

³ See the description in chapter III

⁴ The authors hope there is no longer a question of the form of pluralism. Because it is already described at length in previous discussions.

national curriculum how to instill the deepest understanding of Pancasila, especially the importance of Belief in One God.

2. The religious leaders should set an example as stakeholders the policies of a religious nature. Religious leaders should be a damper in the conflict, especially a religious conflict. Do not let the religious leaders become triggers for a split or muddy by provoking his followers. Religious leaders to be very central with regard to interfaith relations. The understanding of "divinity mighty one" should be understood very wisely by any religious leader, so egos of each religion does not dominate on the implementation *anfauhum li annas*.

C. End Notes

Still very much, the conflict in the name of religion that occurred in Indonesia, although not all of them truly religious conflict. Quite often such conflicts carried out by rogue elements in the interests of certain groups. It is necessary to plant understanding of the importance of religious humanist to all lines in the country.

The author feels sad all with a variety of violent conflicts in the name of religion is often the case in this country. Should have an understanding of the first principle ingrained early on to every citizen. If necessary, it is becoming a legacy which is mandatory for every new life that is born in the land which he said, quoting a song from Koes Plus, *Tanah Surga*.

The author realized, research is far from perfect, therefore the authors expect criticism and feedback for improvement. Hope it useful. []

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No.	Pendidikan	Tahun Lulus
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Training and Workshop

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1.	MAKESTA	SMP N 3 Reban Batang	PAC IPNU Reban	2004
2.	MAPABA	Kaliwungu Kendal	PMII Rayon Ushuluddin	2009
3.	Pelatihan Jurnalistik Mahasiswa	IAIN Walisongo Semarang	IAIN Walisongo	2009
4.	PKD	Boja Kendal	PMII KOMISARIAT Walisongo	2010
5.	Pelatihan Jurnalistik	Masjid Agung Jawa Tengah,	Suara Merdeka	2012
6.	Pelatian Pemuda Siaga Peduli Bencana	Banjarnegara	KEMENKES – KEMENPORA - BNPB	2008
7.	Training Broadcast	IAIN Walisongo Semarang	RGM One Fm	2009
8.	Workshop Keradioan	Boja Kendal	RGM One FM	2009
9.	Wokshop Jurnalistik	Bawang Batang	LPM IDEA	2009

10.	Workshop Etika Penyiaran Radio	Banyumanik Semarang	Litbang Kemenag RI	2015
11.	Training Keradioan	Rasika Semarang, Kaligawe Semarang	Radio Rasika Semarang	2012

Organisation

No.	Nama Organsasi	Jabatan	Tahun
1.	PR IPNU Desa Ngadirejo	Pengurus	2004 – 2006
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5.	LPM IDEA	Redaktur	2010 – 2011
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