

Notes

Notes Introduction

1. See Leo Suryadinata, Evi Nurvidya Arifin and Aris Ananta, *Indonesia's Population: Ethnicity and Religion in a Changing Political Landscape* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2003), 104.
2. The census of 2000 shows that the Christians are 87.67% in East Nusa Tenggara; 75.51% in Papua; 69.27% in North Sulawesi (excluding Gorontalo); 50.19% in Maluku (excluding North Maluku); 31.40% in North Sumatra; 34.01% in West Kalimantan; 17.32% in Central Kalimantan; 17.20% in Central Sulawesi; 13.83% in East Kalimantan; and 9.40% in South Sulawesi. See Suryadinata, Arifin and Ananta, *Indonesia's Population*, 115-6.
3. See Martin van Bruinessen, "Global and Local in Indonesian Islam" *Southeast Asian Studies* Vol.37 No. 2 (September, 1999), 158-175.
4. The often cited example of adat-Islam conflict is the matrilineal custom in Minangkabau, West Sumatra, versus the patrilineal orientation of Islamic law. See Taufik Abdullah, "Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau" *Indonesia* No. 2 (1966), 1-24.
5. The Javanese comprises 41.71% (83.8 million) in 2000. See Suryadinata, Arifin and Ananta, *Indonesia's Population*, 31-2.
6. Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (New York: Free Press, 1960).
7. See Adolf Heuken, *'Be my Witness to the Ends of the Earth!'" The Catholic Church in Indonesia Before the 19th Century* (Jakarta: Cipta Loka Caraka, 2002).
8. See Th. Van den End and J. Weitjens, *Ragi Carita 2: Sejarah Gereja di Indonesia 1860an – Sekarang* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1989).
9. Gavin W. Jones, "Religion and Education in Indonesia" *Indonesia* (October, 1976), 19-56.
10. Huub J.W.M. Boelaars, *Indonesianisasi: Dari Gereja Katolik di Indonesia Menjadi Gereja Katolik Indonesia* trans. R. Hardawiyana (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2005), 139-44; 162-66.
11. Since 1987, MAWI has become KWI (Konferensi Wali Gereja Indonesia – Indonesian Bishops Conference) and since 1984, DGI has become PGI (Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja Indonesia – Indonesian Communion of Churches). See Chapter 3.
12. One of these studies is the last section of B.J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982) which provides an interesting survey of Muslim responses to Christianity, especially to the issue of mission in the late 1960s, while the responses of Christians to Islam are not discussed. Another study is Alwi Shihab's *Membendung Arus: Respons Gerakan Muhammadiyah Terhadap Penetrasi Misi Kristen di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1998). If one looks at the title of the book (originally a PhD thesis, Temple University, 1995), one would expect that the book extensively discusses the role of the reformist Muslim organization, Muhammadiyah, in opposing Christian missions in Indonesia. In fact, this is discussed only in the last chapter of the book. Another work is Ismatu Ropi, *Fragile Relation: Muslims and Christians in Modern Indonesia* (Jakarta: Logos, 2000). This book (originally an MA thesis at Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1998) gives a very short discussion of the Muslim responses to Christianity in Indonesia from the colonial period up to the Soeharto period. The most recent study is Fatimah Husein, *Muslim-Christian Relations in the New Order Indonesia. The Exclusivist and Inclusivist Muslims' Perspectives* (Bandung: Mizan, 2005). This book (originally a PhD thesis, Melbourne University, 2004) discusses Muslim-Christian rela-

- tions in Indonesia during the Soeharto period from the perspective of Muslim theological viewpoints categorized as 'exclusivist' and 'inclusivist'. In fact, the book mixes events and developments of the Soeharto period with those of the following period.
13. For instance, W. B. Sidjabat, *Religious Tolerance and the Christian Faith: A Study Concerning the Concept of Divine Omnipotence in the Indonesian Constitution in the Light of Islam and Christianity* (Jakarta: BPK, 1965). This study discusses Muslim and Christian theological views of religious tolerance from independence period to the early 1960s. Another study is Wendelin Wawer, *Muslims and Christians in der Republik Indonesia* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974). This study discusses Muslim-Christian relations in Indonesia since the colonial period up to the early years of the New Order (1969). Another is Karel A. Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam, Contacts and Conflicts 1596-1950* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993) in which he discusses how Christian missionaries perceived Muslims and vice versa during the Dutch colonial period and in the period immediately following Independence. The development during the Soeharto period is only discussed in the last chapter. The most recent study is Jan S. Aritonang, *Sejarah Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: BPK, 2004). He discusses the history of Muslim-Christian conflicts in Indonesia, covering almost 'the whole period', that is, from 1511 to 2003.
 14. My usage of the word 'discourse' is in line with, but perhaps narrower than, the definition given by Michel Foucault. For him, "the term discourse can be defined as the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation; thus I shall be able to speak of clinical discourse, economic discourse, the discourse of natural history, psychiatric discourse." See Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* Trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Book, 1972), 107-8. Thus, for Foucault, scientific disciplines are examples of what he means by 'a single system of formation.' In this study, the system of formation of the statements is not a scientific discipline but the nature of relations between Muslims, Christians and the State. In addition, the analysis of religious phenomena in terms of discourse and power relations is developed in particular by Talal Asad in his *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993); and *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam* (Washington: CCAS, Georgetown University, 1986).

Notes Chapter 1

1. See Donald Hindley, "Indonesia's Confrontation with Malaysia: A Search for Motives," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 4 No. 6 (June, 1964), 904-13.
2. Guy J. Pauker, "Indonesia in 1963: The Year of Wasted Opportunities," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 4 No.2 (February, 1964), 687-94.
3. J.A.C. Mackie, *Problems of the Indonesian Inflation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, Department of Asian Studies, 1967), 2; 41.
4. Mackie, *Problems of the Indonesian Inflation*, 81-91.
5. Rex Mortimer, *The Indonesian Communist Party and Land Reform: 1959-1965* (Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, No. 1, 1972), 31.
6. J.D. Legge, *Soekarno: A Political Biography* (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1972), 358-86.
7. For a more detailed account of Gestapu, see the studies quoted below.
8. For an analysis of these theories, see for instance, Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 101-125.

9. See W. F. Wertheim, "Suharto and the Untung Coup – The Missing Link", *Journal of Contemporary Asia* No. 1 (1970) 50-7 and his "Whose Plot? New Light on the 1965 Events" and Coen Holtzappel, "The 30 September Movement: A Political Movement of the Armed Forces or Intelligence Operation?" *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. 9 No. 2 (1979), 197-215 and 216-40.
10. Benedict R. Anderson and Ruth T. McVey, *A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965 Coup in Indonesia* (Cornell: Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, 1971) and their "What Happened in Indonesia," *The New York Review of Books* Vol. 25 No.9 (June, 1978).
11. Nugroho Notokusanto and Ismail Saleh, *The Coup Attempt of "September 30th Movement" in Indonesia* (Djakarta: Pembimbing Masa, 1968) and Sekretariat Negara RI, *Gerakan 30 September, Pemberontakan Partai Komunis Indonesia, Latar Belakang, Aksi dan Penumpasannya* (Jakarta: Sekneg, 1994). The last book is known as the 'Buku Putih' (white book).
12. Some scholars argue that the PKI was involved, but cannot clearly determine the degree of its complicity. Hughes wrote: "There is no question of course that the Indonesian Communist Party was up to its neck in the coup attempt. But still open to debate is whether the Communists planned the whole thing and gave the actual signal to jump, or whether the Communists jumped at somebody else's beckoning." See John Hughes, *Indonesian Upheaval* (New York: David McKay Company, 1967), 114. Crouch said: "While it appears clear that the PKI was indeed involved, the circumstances and extent of its involvement are still unclear." See Crouch, *The Army and Politics*, 101. In contrast, Legge argues that the PKI was "a leading partner in a limited plot designed to shift the domestic power balance in its favor and to improve its position without endangering its existence. It interacted with a group within the army – a group which had its own purposes and which is not to be regarded as composed of secret Communists or puppets under PKI control." Legge finally concludes that, "...an interpretation in terms of a major PKI involvement in a plot which also had elements of intra-army rivalry would seem to fit the main facts and be very credible." See Legge, *Soekarno*, 394-5.
13. The following historical account is taken from Donald Hindley, "Alirans and the Fall of the Old Order" *Indonesia* No. 9 (April, 1970), 40-2 and Lukman Harun, "14 Tahun Yang Lalu: Sekelumit Kenangan Dalam Pengganyangan Gestapu/PKI" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 280 and 281 (October, 1979), 10-15 and 12-17. Lukman Harun's account is precious because he was involved in the events described.
14. For the account of the killings, see Hughes, *Indonesian Upheaval*, 152-194; Robert Cribb (ed.), *The Indonesian Killings, 1965-1966: Studies from Java and Bali* (Clayton: Monash University, 1990); Geoffrey Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), Robert W. Hefner, *The Political Economy of Mountain Java: An Interpretive History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 209-215; and Hermawan Sulistiyo, *Palu Arit di Ladang Tebu: Sejarah Pembantaian Massal Yang Terupakan (Jombang-Kediri, 1965-1966)* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2000). For the cases in Flores, see R.A.F. Paul Webb, "The Sickles and the Cross" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* Vol. 17 (1986), 94-112; and R.H. Barnes, "Fransiskus/Usman Buang Duran: Catholic, Muslim, Communist" *Bijdragen Tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde* Vol. 159 (2003), 1-29.
15. Martin van Bruinessen, *NU, Tradisi, Relasi-Relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 1994), 82-89.
16. Bruinessen, *NU, Tradisi*, 84. Boland discovered that the important Muslim reformist organization, Muhammadiyah, published a *fatwā* in *Suara Muhammadiyah* magazine, November 1965, that the extermination of the PKI is a religious duty and nothing less

- than a holy war (*jihād*). See B.J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 146. Hefner notes that, to form an anti-Communist alliance with the Muslims, the army organized military training for the HMI activists in Surabaya, Malang and other parts of East Java. See Robert. W. Hefner, *Civil Islam, Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 54-5.
17. An Australian journalist notes that, "at Jogjakarta, Roman Catholic students would leave their hostels at night to take part in the execution of truckloads of Communists already taken prisoners." See Hamish McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1981), 53; 102. W. F. Wertheim also notes: "According to reliable information which I got from an Australian colleague, in Indonesian Timor over 3,000 people have been killed – in this case not by Muslim extremists but by Catholic radjaks and large land owners allied to the military command." See his "Indonesia Before and After the Untung Coup" *Pacific Affairs* Vol. 39 no.1-2 (Spring-Summer, 1969), 123.
 18. Interview with Father Smartono, Jakarta, 15 December 2003.
 19. Interview with Daniel Dhakidae, Jakarta, 12 December 2003. Dhakidae was a student at a Catholic seminary in Flores and remembers that the students replied negatively to the army's invitation.
 20. Interview with a former Catholic activist, Yogyakarta, 12 January 2004.
 21. Viator Parera, "Membangun Jemaat Yang Rukun dan Memasyarakat" in Ignas da Cunha et. al, *Berpastoral di Tengah Badai, Potret Gereja Maumere 1956-1969* (Maumere: LPBAJ, 1999), 94-97. The main topic of the book is a description of the role of a priest, Hendrik Djawa, who worked in Maumere, Flores, immediately after the killings. Hendrik played a successful role as a peacemaker among the Catholics of different ethnic groups who, due to the tragedy of the killings, almost fought each other.
 22. For some cases in East Java, particularly Surabaya, see Jacob Walkin, "The Moslem-Communist Confrontation in East Java 1964-65" *Orbis* (Fall, 1969), 822-47.
 23. Rex Mortimer, *The Indonesian Communist Party and Land Reform: 1959-1965*, 48. To avoid the land reform law some Muslims gave their land as a pious trust to an Islamic school. See Lance Castles, "Notes on the Islamic School at Gontor" *Indonesia* No.1 (April, 1966), 36-37.
 24. See Robert R. Jay, "History and Personal Experience: Religious and Political Conflict in Java" in Robert F. Spencer (ed.), *Religion and Change in Contemporary Asia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), 143-164; and Clifford Geertz, *After the Fact: Two Countries, Four Decades, One Anthropologist* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 3-11.
 25. McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia*, 217.
 26. Besides Parliament (DPRGR), the members of the MPRS included other representatives of various categories, including the army.
 27. See "Ketetapan MPRS No: XXV/MPRS/1966" in Abdul Kadir Besar, *Himpunan Ketetapan-Ketetapan MPRS* (Jakarta: Pantjuran Tudjuh n.d.), 88-91
 28. For an analysis of Soekarno's ideological slogans, see Legge, *Soekarno*, 335-357. For an analysis of the NASAKOM, see Ruth T. McVey, "Nationalism, Islam and Marxism: the Management of Ideological Conflict in Indonesia" in Soekarno, *Nationalism, Islam and Communism*, Trans. Karel H. Warouw and Peter D. Weldon (Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, 1970), 1-34. This book is a translation of Soekarno's article published in 1926.
 29. Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, 207.

30. Compare with Roger K. Paget, "The Military in Indonesian Politics: The Burden of Power", *Pacific Affairs* Vol. 40 No. 3-4 (1967/1968), 307.
31. See "Ketetapan No: XXVI/ MPRS/ 1966 in Besar, *Himpunan Ketetapan*, 92-7.
32. See "Penjelasan Ketetapan MPRS No.XXV/MPRS/ 1966" in Besar, *Himpunan Ketetapan*, 91.
33. For instance, Abu Hanifah (a Muslim reformist leader) and J.W.M Bakker (a Catholic priest) took this view. Another Muslim reformist leader, Agus Salim, however, emphasized that 'Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa' should also mean that the state guaranteed the freedom not to believe in God. See Abu Hanifah, *Kedudukan Agama dalam Negara2 Modern dan Merdeka* (Yogyakarta: Kementerian Agama RI, 1948), 21; Rahmat Subagya [J.W.M. Bakker], *Pantjasila Dasar Negara Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Basis, 1955), 57-8; Agus Salim "Kementerian Agama dalam Republik Indonesia" in *Kementerian Agama* (Jakarta: Pertjetakan Negara, n.d.), 10-11; 14.
34. Interview with Harry Tjan Silalahi, Jakarta, 22 December 2003.
35. See "Ketetapan No.XXVII/MPRS/1966" in Besar, *Himpunan Ketetapan*, 101.
36. According to Saifuddin Zuhri, the Minister of Religion at that time, he insisted Soekarno should make the decree to oppose the Communist anti-religious agitation in the early 1965. See the anecdotes around this issue in Saifuddin Zuhri, *Berangkat Dari Pesantren* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1987), 507-9; 546-7. Perhaps, by the decree Soekarno wanted to maintain the Muslim support for him and to put himself as a balancer of the existing socio-political forces.
37. See "Penjelasan Atas Penetapan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 1 Tahun 1965 Tentang Pencegahan Penyalahgunaan dan/atau Penodaan Agama" reprinted in Weinata Sairin (ed.), *Himpunan Peraturan di Bidang Keagamaan* (Jakarta: BPK, 1994), 265-268. It should be noted here that the phrase 'recognized religions' (*agama yang diakui*) is not explicitly used in the decree. Moreover, it also does not prohibit other religions such as Shintoism, Zoroastrianism and Judaism from existing. Apart from the decree, the six religions were recognized by the state in the sense that they were accommodated by the Department of Religion. However, in 1979 Confucianism was dropped from the list of the recognized religions. Suryadinata observes that this was related to the assimilation policy of the New Order Government for the Chinese. See Leo Suryadinata, "Kong Hu Cuisme dan Agama Kong Hu Cu di Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian Awal" in Abdurrahman Wahid et al., *Konfusianisme di Indonesia: Pergulatan Mencari Jati Diri* (Yogyakarta: Interfidei, 1995), 198-201.
38. For the account of the Hindu revival, see M. L. Lyon, "The Hindu Revival in Java: Politics and Religious Identity" in J.J. Fox, *Indonesia: The Making of a Culture* (Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, 1980), 205-220; for the account of Confucianism, see Leo Suryadinata, "Confucianism in Indonesia: Past and Present" *Southeast Asia, an International Quarterly* Vol. 3 (1974), 898. In addition, many of the Karo people in North Sumatera converted to Islam. See Muhammad Husin Hitam's letter to the editor, "Surat Da'wah dari Atjeh" in *Pandji Masjarakat* No. 19 (October, 1967), 9-10. Similarly, according to a Muslim leader in Makassar, Saleh Putuhena, after the coup, the ex-PKI in Makassar tried to intensify their commitment to Islam. Interview with Saleh Puhena, Makassar, 15 December 2002.
39. Compared with the previous years, however, this increase was not spectacular. There was a 5.28% increase in 1964/65 and 5.60% in 1965/66. The percentage calculation is derived from the numbers provided in A.G. Baan, *Ichttisar Statistik Tentang Geredja Katolik di Indonesia: 1949-1967* (Lembaga Penelitian dan Pembangunan Sosial, 1968), Table 56.

40. Baan., *Ichtisar Statistik*, 11.
41. Anonymous, *Sedjarah Geredja Katolik di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Sekretariat Nasional K.M./C.L.C, 1971), 149. The book is one of the serials provided for Catholic Cadre Training.
42. Most of the ethnic churches, if not all, joined the DGI from the very beginning, while some other churches, especially the Evangelical and Pentecostal ones, joined the DGI later or remain outside. According to a survey held by the DGI, in 1972, the members of the churches outside the DGI comprise 10.42% of the total number of Christians in Indonesia. See F. Ukur and F.L. Cooley, *Jerih dan Juang: Laporan Nasional Survei Menyeluruh Gereja di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian dan Studi DGI, 1979), 94-114. In 1974, the Evangelical churches established their own organization, namely the Indonesian Evangelical Fellowship (Persekutuan Injili Indonesia, PII). The churches under the DGI were then considered 'ecumenical' in contrast to the 'evangelical' churches under the PII. See David H. Tulaar, "You Must Be Born Again: A Preliminary Study of Evangelicalism in Indonesia" (Masters Thesis, Faculty of Theology, University of Amsterdam, 1997).
43. T.B. Simatupang, "The Situation and Challenge of the Christian Mission in Indonesia Today" *South East Asia Journal of Theology* Vol. 10 No. 4 (1969), 22. For a comparative study of religious conversion of two ethnic groups, see my article "Religious Conversion in Indonesia: the Karo Batak and the Tengger Javanese" *Islam and Christian Muslim Relations* No.1 Vol. 12 (January, 2001), 23-38. It is noteworthy that some of the Chinese also converted to Christianity from Confucianism or Buddhism because they wanted to dissociate themselves from something that can be related to China and Communism. An Indonesian Chinese scholar told me that when he was a child, he saw that his father looked very sad with tears in his eyes when he was burning some of his religious books. When he became older, he eventually understood that his father was sad because the latter, for certain reasons, had to leave his 'Chinese' religious tradition and convert to Christianity (Interview in Surabaya, 7 January 2004).
44. Ukur and Cooley, *Jerih dan Juang*, 198. An American missionary of Baptist Church background claims that between 1965 and 1971, there were more than 2 million people in Java converted to Christianity. See Avery T. Willis, *The Indonesian Revival: Why Two Millions Came to Christ* (South Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1977). This figure appears to be exaggerated.
45. Interview with Gerrit E. Singgih, Yogyakarta, 15 October 2002.
46. Ukur and Cooley, *Jerih dan Juang*, 102-104.
47. Despite the importance of the case, B.J. Boland only mentions the Meulaboh case in passing. See Boland, *The Struggle of Islam*, 180; 231.
48. For an analysis of the development of these parties up to the immediate period after the coup, see Paul Webb, *Indonesian Christians and Their Political Parties, 1923-1966: The Role of Partai Kristen Indonesia and Partai Katolik* (Townsville: James Cook University, 1978). After the coup, the PKI was removed from the Parliament. With the power stipulated in Soekarno's Letter of 11 March 1966 and strengthened by the MPRS's decree No. IX/1966, in January 1967, Soeharto appointed 108 new parliament members, raising the total to 350. See, Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, 216.
49. See *Sinar Harapan*, 17 June 1967; *Kompas*, 19 June 1967. *Sinar Harapan* is a daily newspaper, appears in the afternoon, commonly associated with the Protestants. *Kompas* is a morning daily newspaper, commonly associated with the Catholics. However, a Catholic publication in 1971 resented that *Kompas* did not like to be considered as the voice of the Catholics anymore. See Anonymous, *Sedjarah Geredja Katolik*, 144. In fact,

- besides the 'liberal' Muslims, up to now many Catholic intellectuals, including some prominent priests, still often contribute their articles to *Kompas*.
50. PRRI is 'Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia' (Revolutionary Government of Indonesia), an anti-Soekarno uprising centred in Sumatra 1958-61.
 51. By 1973, there was an effort of the Muslims to revive the case, but again it failed to attract Government's attention. See Anonymous, *Christianization in Indonesia: A Preliminary Study* (Jakarta: Lembaga Islam Untuk Penelitian dan Pengembangan Masyarakat, 1980), 41-2.
 52. *Sinar Harapan*, 22 June 1967.
 53. *Sinar Harapan*, 27 June 1967. Likewise, a Muslim Aceh figure, Teuku Abdullah Basir, came to the *Sinar Harapan* office to ask the editor not to exaggerate the case. The editor replied that the case needed serious attention because it touched the principle of religious freedom. *Sinar Harapan*, 29 June 1967.
 54. *Sinar Harapan*, 14 June 1967. The speaker was Samuel S. Parantean, the secretary of the Body of Christian Worship Organizers (Badan Penyelenggara Kebaktian Kristen) in the student action committee Laskar Ampera Arief Rachman Hakim.
 55. There were 25 people from various Islamic organizational backgrounds who signed the Parliamentary Question. See *Kiblat*, No. 5 (August, 1967), 31. See also *Pandji Masyarakat* No.14 (July, 1967), 13. *Kiblat* and *Pandji Masyarakat* were two important Islamic magazines, managed by the reformist Muslims but the traditionalist Muslims were also among their subscribers.
 56. Interview with Harry Tjan Silalahi, Jakarta, 22 December 2003.
 57. See "Interpelasi Peristiwa Meulaboh, Kabupaten Atjeh Barat oleh Anggota DPRGR, JCT Simorangkir" Microfilm No. 2145/71, KITLV Library, Leiden. In Saifuddin Zuhri's autobiography, there is a reprint of Simorangkir's speech, but it is not complete. See Zuhri, *Berangkat Dari Pesantren*, 568-570. Saifuddin Zuhri made a few mistakes regarding the dates of events around the Parliamentary Question and did not mention Lukman Harun's Parliamentary Question at all.
 58. Aceh province was decided to be a special territory in Indonesia since 1959. One of the specialties is its 'Islamic' character. Aceh is often proudly labeled as 'the verandah of Mecca'. Boland observes that "for an Atjehnese himself, being an Atjehnese is equivalent to being a Muslim; it is simply inconceivable that a real Atjehnese could adhere to a religion other than Islam." See Boland, *The Struggle of Islam*, 174.
 59. The use of the phrase 'prologue to Gestapu/PKI' is in the original.
 60. According to *Sinar Harapan*, since 8 April there had been intimidations of the Christians in Southeast Aceh and on 17 April, the Council of Ulama of West Aceh demanded that Christian churches in Aceh to be closed. On 20 April there was an effort to destroy a Methodist Church but this was able to be prevented by the police. See *Sinar Harapan*, 9 and 13 June 1967.
 61. This is to be discussed below.
 62. *Interpelasi Peristiwa Meulaboh Kabupaten Atjeh Barat*. These questions are also fully quoted in Saifuddin Zuhri, *Berangkat dari Pesantren*, 568.
 63. See *Kompas*, 2 June 1967.
 64. See the full text of the speech, "Pidato Drs. Lukman Harun di Hadapan Sidang Pleno DPRGR Tanggal 21 Juli 1967 Sebagai Pendjelasan Mengenai Interpelasi Tentang 'Bantuan Luar Negeri Kepada Agama2 Atau Badan2 Keagamaan di Indonesia'", *Kiblat* No. 6 (August, 1967), 13-15.
 65. Lukman did not mention Buddhism and Confucianism here even though both were officially recognized by the Government. Perhaps, he considered them too small to be sig-

- nificant or because of their strong association with Chinese identity. Lukman, however, mentioned Balinese Hinduism. Perhaps he considered the latter an important religious minority and expected that the Hindu leaders also shared the fear of the Christian missionary activities.
66. See "Interpelasi Dalam DPRGR Tentang Bantuan Luar Negeri kepada Agama² atau Badan² Ke-Agamaan di Indoensia," *Kiblat* No.5 (Agustus, 1967), 25.
 67. In the original: "hal tersebut sangat menyusuk perasaan mereka." Saifuddin Zuhri, "Keterangan Pemerintah Tentang Peristiwa Geredja di Atjeh Barat" *Kiblat*, No.5 Vol.5 (August 1967), 16. The text of the speech is also printed in Zuhri, *Berangkat dari Pesantren*, 570-576.
 68. This may be a strong clue that the Christians who built the church in Meulaboh were people of Batak ethnic background. Most of the important Protestant leaders in Jakarta who spoke about the Meulaboh case were also Bataks such as T.B. Simatupang, A.M. Tambunan and J.C.T Simorangkir.
 69. "Keterangan Pemerintah Tentang Peristiwa Geradja di Atjeh Barat," 17. Emphasis added.
 70. For a complete text of Saifuddin Zuhri's response, see "Keterangan Pemerintah Sebagai Djawaban Terhadap Interpelasi Drs. Lukman Harun dkk Soal Bantuan Luar Negeri Kepada Agama² atau Badan² Keagamaan di Indonesia" *Kiblat* No.7 (September, 1967), 4-5; 9.
 71. See *Sinar Harapan*, 29 July 1967 and *Kompas*, 31 July 1967.
 72. See *Pidato Kenegaraan Pd. Presiden Republik Indonesia Djenderal Soeharto di Depan Sidang DPRGR, 16 Agustus, 1967* (Jakarta: Doa Restu, 1967), 25. Compare with the statement of the Indonesian Council of Churches on religious freedom in this period in S.A.E. Nababan, *Panggilan Kristen Dalam Pembaharuan Masjarakat: Laporan Konperensi Nasional Geredja dan Masjarakat* (Jakarta: BPK, 1986), 30.
 73. *Pidato Kenegaraan*, 26. Italics mine.
 74. *Pidato Kenegaraan*, 26.
 75. In response to Lukman's Parliamentary Question, the DGI was reported to state this argument. See "Pantjasila Milik Semua Agama" in *Kiblat* No.6 Vo. 15 (August, 1967), 11. I could not find the Christian original source (it seems from *Sinar Harapan*) quoted in the magazine.
 76. Interview with Harry Tjan Silalahi, Jakarta, 22 December 2003.
 77. The letter can be found in the documents of *Interpelasi Peristiwa Meulaboh*. For a published edition of the letter, see "Interpelasi JCT. Simorangkir dkk." *Ragi Buana* No. 44 (September, 1967), 26-27. For the account of the plenary session of the Parliament, see "Simorangkir dkk. Mundur" in *Pandji Masjarakat* No. 18 (September, 1967), 6.
 78. The whole text of the message is published in *Ragi Buana* No. 44 (September 1967), 32.
 79. For Lukman Harun's speech, see "Kesulitan Ekonomi Jg Diderita Rakjat Indonesia Dipakai Kristen Untuk Mengekspansi Ummat Islam" *Kiblat* no. 15 and 16 (January, 1968), 21-22 and 12-13;37.
 80. Perhaps, due to its unusual contents, Dachlan's speech was not published in the Muslim magazines but in the Catholic one. See the full text of Dachlan's speech under the title, "Menteri Agama Djawab: Pemerintah Jakin, Kegiatan Agama adalah Positif" *Peraba* (IV, September 1968), 6-8. For an expression of Muslim disappointment, see Rusjdi, "Nasib Interpelasi Lukman Harun dan Nasib Umat Islam" *Pandji Masjarakat* No. 33 (September, 1968), 3-4.
 81. *Kompas*, 4 October 1967.

82. See "Fakta Sebab Musabab Peristiwa Makassar" in *Kiblat* No. 10 (October, 1967), 47 and *Pandji Masjarakat* No. 19 (October, 1967), 25. See also HAMKA, "Peristiwa Makassar" *Pandji Masjarakat* No. 20 (October, 1967), 3-4. For the Christians' disapproval of Mangunbahan's statement, see *Kompas*, 5 October 1967.
83. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam*, 230. The General Assembly was actually planned more than a year before in a meeting of the important leaders of the DGI in February 1966, in Sukabumi. For the records of the meeting, see *Tengoklah, Aku Djadikan Semuanya Baru*, Vol. 1 and 2 (Djakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen, 1967). The title of the book is the Indonesian translation of "Behold I make all things new" (Rev. 21:5). The word 'baru' (new) is certainly parallel with the idea of 'orde baru' (new order).
84. See *Peraba* No. 30 (25 October 1967), 5-7. This account is quoted verbatim in Wendelin Wawer, *Muslims and Christen in der Republik Indonesia* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974), 226-8.
85. *Kiblat* No. 10 (October, 1967), 48-9.
86. See "Persitiwa Makassar" *Duta Masjarakat*, 6 October 1967.
87. *Kompas*, 6 October 1967.
88. See "Pemberontakan thd Pantjasila" *Basis* No. 2 Vol. 17 (November, 1967), 62. In line with this criticism, Paget observed that "the local and regional military commanders (since replaced) did little to forestall or suppress them, and soldiers participated with the Islamic student organizations in some of the attacks." See Paget, "The Military in Indonesian Politics", 311.
89. See the editorial entitled "Itikad Baik Kita Semua" *Kompas*, 9 October 1967.
90. T.B. Simatupang, "Tjatanan Perjalan: Mengunjungi 4 Daerah dgn Tjiri jg Chas" *Ragi Buana* No. 45 (October, 1967), 9.
91. J.C.T. Simorangkir, *Manuscript Sejarah Parkindo* (Jakarta: Yayasan Proklamasi, 1989), 94-95.
92. See *Pandji Masjarakat* No. 20 (October, 1967), 5-6 quoting *Sinar Harapan*, 9 October 1967.
93. Olaf Schumann, "Suatu Pengamatan Tentang Hubungan Antar umat Beragama di Indonesia Dilihat dari Sudut pandang DGI" in J.M.Pattiasina and Weinata Sairin (eds.), *Gerakan Oikomene, Tegar Mekar di Bumi Pancasila* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1990), 276.
94. See Simatupang, "The Situation and Challenge", 25; and "Hasil-Hasil Sidang Lengkap DGI ke IV" *Berita DGI* (February, 1968), 30-1.
95. "Pesan Sidang Lengkap DGI dari Kota Makassar" *Ragi Buana* No. 47 (December, 1967), 19.
96. See T.B. Simatupang, *Membuktikan Ketidakbenaran Suatu Mitos* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1991), 241.
97. He was appointed to replace Saifuddin Zuhri on 11 October 1967, when the Makassar incident was still hotly discussed. Dachlan was among a few Muslim traditionalists who joined the Democratic League to oppose Soekarno's Guided Democracy, while Saifuddin was very close to Soekarno. For the biography of Dachlan, see Kamal Muchtar, "K.H. Mohammad Dachlan: Departemen Agama di Masa Awal Orde Baru" in Azyumardi Azra and Saiful Umam (eds.), *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI, Biografi Sosial Politik* (Jakarta: INIS, 1998), 245-67. For Dachlan's political role, see Bruinessen, *NU, Tradisi*, 75;90-91.
98. See *Kiblat* No. 14. Vol. 15 (December, 1967), 46-47.
99. C.A.O van Nieuwenhuijze, "Religious Freedom in Indonesia" *The International Review of Mission* Vol. 40 (1951), 99-100.
100. According to the account of the Christians, the draft of the Charter that was to be discussed in the Consultation contained four alternative formulations. It seems, all of

- them could be considered as either a support to the Christian position on 'religious freedom' or to the Muslim position on 'restriction of proselytization'. Muslim accounts of the Consultation usually did not refer to these alternative formulations, while the Christian accounts usually mentioned them as an entirely Government proposal. See L. Soebijat, "Kristen Katolik Jang Salah!?" *Peraba* (25 February 1968), 3; and "Tinjauan Mengenai Keputusan Menteri Agama Nomor 70 dan 77 Tahun 1978 dalam Rangka Penyelenggaraan Kebebasan Beragama dan Pemeliharaan Kerukunan Nasional" in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 455-6.
101. See "Sambutan Pedjabat Presiden Republik Indonesia" *al-Djami'ah*, No. 3 (May, 1968), 7-8 with slight alteration. All speeches in the Consultation are printed in this issue of the journal. *al-Djami'ah* is an academic journal published by the State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN) Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta. B.J. Boland made a summary of the speeches delivered in the Consultation, see, Boland, *The Struggle of Islam*, 234-237. However, he does not explore further the discursive strategies of the Muslim-Christian discourse.
 102. See "Pidato Sambutan Dr. A.M. Tambunan SH," *al-Djami'ah*, No. 3 (May, 1968), 19. Tambunan's speech was also published under the title "Dalam Agama Tidak Ada Paksa" in *Ragi Buana* No. 47 (December, 1967), 2-7.
 103. "Pidato Sambutan I.J.Kasimo" *al-Djami'ah*, No. 3 (May, 1968), 23-24.
 104. "Sambutan Menteri Nagara Kesra." *al-Djami'ah*, No. 3 (May, 1968), 9.
 105. "Pidato Sambutan K.H.Masjkur" *al-Djami'ah*, No. 3 (May, 1968), 33-34.
 106. "Pidato Sambutan Dr. H.M. Rasjidi" *al-Djami'ah*, No. 3 (May, 1968), 35-36.
 107. "Pidato Sambutan Dr. H.M. Rasjidi", 41.
 108. "Pidato Sambutan Dr. H.M. Rasjidi", 41.
 109. "Pidato Sambutan Dr. A.M. Tambunan", 20.
 110. M. Natsir, "Missi dan Zending Mendjadikan Umat Islam sebagai Sasarannya" *al-Djami'ah*, No. 3 (May, 1968), 45.
 111. "Pidato Sambutan I.J. Kasimo", 24.
 112. "Pidato Sambutan I.J. Kasimo", 26.
 113. This was related to the Muslim accusation of the Christian plan to Christianise Java in 20 years and Indonesia in 50 years. It initially appeared in 1963 in the Muslim magazine, *Suara Muhammadiyah* No. 25 (1963), 5. The magazine published a document allegedly produced by both Catholic and Protestant leaders in a meeting held in Malang, East Java, in 1962. The document stated that the Christians would use various ways to convert Muslims: through education, health care services, inter-religious marriage etc. The document is quoted at length in Wawer, *Muslims und Christen*, 219. When the Muslim-Christian tensions increased in 1967, this issue became hot again. It is noteworthy that, although the leaders of the mainstream Christians denied this accusation, some of them whom I interviewed recognised that there had been a few marginal Christian sects obsessed with Christianising Indonesia within a certain period of time.
 114. "Pidato Sambutan Dr. A.M. Tambunan", 22.
 115. "Pidato Sambutan Dr.H.M. Rasjidi", 42.
 116. The "la conquête du monde musulman" is a description of the Protestant missionary activities in the Muslim world. It attracted some Arab intellectuals and it was soon translated into Arabic by Muhib al-Din al-Khatib and published in *al-Muayyad* newspaper in Egypt under the title *al-Ghāra 'Ala al-'Ālam al-Islāmi*. The translation attracted a wider Muslim public in the Middle East and was therefore published in *al-Manār* in Egypt and *al-Ittihād al-'Uthmāni*, a newspaper published by the young Turk association, Jam'iyya al-Ittihād wa al-Taraqqi, based in Beirut. The whole translation and the Muslim

- polemics with the editors of *La Revue du Monde Musulman* were published in A. Le Chatelier, *al-Ghāra 'Ala al-Ālam al-Islāmī* (Cairo: al-Matba'a al-Salafiyya, 1350 H).
117. Muhammad Rasjidi, *Sidang Raya Dewan Gereja Sedunia di Jakarta 1975 Merupakan Tantangan Terhadap Dunia Islam* (Jakarta: Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, 1974), 26; 46; 52-4.
 118. Mohammad Natsir, "Suara Adzan dan Lontjeng Geredja 'Islam' Dalam Conferentie Zending 1938" in his *Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1969), 49. Rasjidi said that he read the third edition of the book, published in 1956. See Rasjidi, *Sidang Raya*, 52. Kraemer views Islam as a superficial religion that believes in a far away transcendent God. Moreover, in the tone of the Durkheimian sociology of religion, Kraemer said that Muslims are bound together by mechanical solidarity, which often hinders Christianization efforts. See his *Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1938) 215-26;353-365. For a summary of Kraemer's views, see Karel A. Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam: Contacts and Conflicts 1596-1950* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), 111-3.
 119. *Kiblat* No. 14 (December, 1967), 47. See also "Hasil-Hasil Musyawarah Antar Agama" *al-Djami'ah* Vol.7 (May, 1968), 47.
 120. Rosihan Anwar, "Prof. Dr. H.M. Rasyidi Pengungkap Gamblang Hubungan Antaragama di Indonesia" in Endang B. Ananda (ed.), *70 Tahun Rasyidi* (Jakarta: Hariam Umum Pelita, 1985), 156-157. In his personal account of the meeting, T.B. Simatupang said that the discussion was very emotional. As a Christian, he argued that he could not deny the command of Christian Scripture to spread Christianity to the whole world. Even if he and other Christian representatives were ready to sign the proposed agreement, it would not be followed by the Christian public because they knew that it was against Scripture. On this hot debate, a Muslim representative suggested that both Muslims and Christians could make a simple joint statement saying that they could accept what had been said by the President in his speech. Having realized that it was a 'clever' move, Simatupang rejected the suggestion by arguing that to accept the speech of the president was a bad culture of the Soekarno's Old Order! See his *Membuktikan Ketidakbenaran Suatu Mitos*, 243-4. It is noteworthy that similar disputes also occurred in inter-religious meetings at provincial levels. See for instance the cases in West Java in Jan Aritonang, *Perjumpaan Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 2004), 392-4; and Banjarmasin, in P.W. PII, *Kristenisasi di Kalimantan Selatan (Peristiwa 'Saloh' Dengan Rangkaian Sekitarnya)* (Banjarmasin: P.W. PII, 1969).
 121. See "Sekitar Musjawarah Kerukunan Agama" *Basis* No. 4 Vol. 17 (January, 1968), 123-4.
 122. HAMKA, "Musyawarah Antar Agama Tidak Gagal", *Pandji Masjarakat* No. 21-22 (December, 1967), 3-6.
 123. See "Menteri Agama K.H.M. Dachlan: Ada Jang Mau Ganti Agama Islam dengan Agama Mereka" *Antara*, 7 December 1967, reprinted in *Panji Masjarakat* No. 21-22 (December, 1967), 12.
 124. For the text of the Islamic groups' statement, see *Pandji Masjarakat* No. 21-22 (December, 1967), 34 and *Kiblat* No. 15 (January, 1968), 20.
 125. See "Sekitar Musjawarah Kerukunan Agama" *Basis* No. 4 Vol. 17 (January, 1968), 124.
 126. Article 18 is: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."

127. See Rahmat Subagya (J.W.M. Bakker), *Pantjasila Dasar Negara Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Basis, 1955), 51-4. See also J.C.T. Simorangkir and Ben Mang Reng Say, *Tentang dan Sekitar Undang-Undang Dasar 1945* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1975), 86-88.
128. For the account of the symposium, see *Kompas*, 15-19 June 1967.
129. See "Seminar Hak Azasi Manusia" *Basis* No. 3 Vol. 17 (December, 1967), 97. See also Eddy Damian (ed.), *Prasaran, Pembahasan dan Kesimpulan Seminar Hak-Hak Asasi Manusia di Bandung, The Rule of Law dan Praktek2 Penahanan di Indonesia* (Bandung: Alumni, 1968).
130. *Kompas*, 17 June 1967.
131. See T.B. Simatupang, "Sumbangan Agama Terhadap Hak-Hak Asasi Manusia" printed in his *Dari Revolusi ke Pembangunan* (Jakarta: BPK, 1987), 49-54. Likewise, in the Conference on Church and Society held in June 1967, the DGI asserted that, "the article on religious freedom in our Constitution should explicitly include the freedom to change religion responsibly." See Nababan, *Panggilan Kristen*, 30.
132. See Muhammad Rasjidi, "Kebebasan Beragama" *Kiblat* No. 7 (September, 1967), 19-21.
133. For a Muslim account of the deadlock, see "Tak Ada Pintu Untuk Pemurtadan Agama" in *Kiblat* No. 21 (April, 1968), 4-5; 50-51. For a Catholic account, see "Gagal ?? Berhasil ??" *Praba* (25 March 1968), 3-4 and "Piagam Hak-hak Azasi Manusia Didjungkir Balikkan!" *Praba* (25 April 1968), 5;12. For a thorough political analysis of the MPRS session, see Herbert Feith, "Suharto's Search for a Political Format" *Indonesia* No. 6 (October, 1968), 88-105.
134. See for instance, HAMKA, *Hak2 Azasi Manusia Antara Deklarasi PBB dan Sjari'at Islam* (Djakarta: Pandjimas, 1971), 9-12; 16-25. In addition, HAMKA could not also accept the article 16 of the UDHR that opens the door for inter-religious marriage. He said, Islam does not allow a female Muslim to marry a male Christian. See also Chapter 4.
135. Karel A. Steenbrink, "Christian Faith in an Indonesian Environment" *Exchange*, No.5 (1973), 19.
136. For an analysis of the political development concerning the reformist Muslim party during this period, see Allan A. Samson, "Army and Islam in Indonesia" *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 44 No.4 (Winter, 1971-1972), 551, note 8. See also his "Islam in Indonesian Politics," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 8 No. 12 (December, 1968), 1001-1017 and Kenneth Ward, "Some Comments on Islamic Reactions to Recent Developments in Indonesia" *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* Vol.2 No.2 (1968), 37-46a.
137. Yusril Ihza Mahendra, "Combining Activism and Intellectualism: The Biography of Mohammad Natsir" *Studia Islamika* Vol. 2 No. 1 (1995), 129. It seems to mean that the final goal of the *da'wa* is still to control the state. The difference is just that the Islamization of society should come before, rather than after, the Islamization of the state.
138. M. Natsir, "Fungsi Da'wah Dalam Rangka Perjuangan" in *Kiblat* No. 24 (May, 1968), 8.
139. Natsir, "Fungsi Da'wah", 9 :44.
140. Idham Chalid, "Operasi Dakwah" in *Kiblat* No. 24 (May, 1968), 45.
141. Parallel with the *al-Ghāra 'Āla al-Ālam al-Islāmī* cited above, the book is entitled *Ghāra Tabshīriyya Jadīda 'Āla Indūnisiyā* (New Missionary Invasion of Indonesia) published by al-Dār al-Kuwaitiyya, 1968. In the first edition of the book, the author was anonymous. The second edition, however, has a pseudonym: Abū Hilāl al-Indūnisiy, published by Dār al-Shurūq, 1984.
142. Simatupang, "The Situation and Challenge", 25.
143. Simatupang, "The Situation and Challenge", 15.
144. See his introduction to Anonymous, *Sedjarah Geredja Katolik*, 6-7.
145. See his "The Situation and Challenge", 24-25.

146. A.J.M. Pusposupadmo, "Harus Bagaimana? Panennja Melimpah, Pekerja Kurang" *Penabur* No. 13 (August, 1969), 196-7.
147. Steenbrink, "Christian Faith", 7-15.
148. In contrast, such a sympathetic attitude was hardly found among the Indonesian Muslim leaders. Boland observes that one of the few Muslims who had sympathy with the Communists' misery was the well-known Indonesian writer, Bahrum Rangkuti. See Boland, *The Struggle of Islam*, 144.
149. Nababan, *Panggilan Kristen*, 32-33.
150. See the document entitled, "Pernyataan Geredja Katolik di Indonesia Mengenai Beberapa Masalah Penting di Tanah Air." I thank Father Ismartono for giving me a copy of this document. As has been noted earlier, in Flores, 1966, there was opposition from a priest in the region to the army's operations against the Communist suspects. However, as an institution, the Catholic Church in the region could do nothing but wait a 'formal call' from Jakarta on this issue. In this regard, it seems that the Cardinal's call in 1969 was rather late. For this institutional reason, see John Prior, "Terobosan Pastoral Di Tengah Badai Zaman" in da Cunha, *Berpastoral di Tengah Badai*, 206-212.
151. Interview with Paul de Blot, Nyenrode, 22 July 2003. In contrast, Rasjidi claimed that a family of the prisoners told him that this kind of help would not be given unless the prisoner and his or her family converted to Catholicism. See "Pidato Sambutan Dr.H.M.Rasjidi", 38.
152. Aritonang, *Sejarah Perjumpaan*, 413-4. Aritonang, however, does not mention specifically what the socio-economic supports were.
153. None of the Muslim writings and speeches quoted above mentioned the term "Kristenisasi". Mohammad Natsir used the term "pengkristenan," while Lukman Harun used the clause "memurtadkan ummat Islam". I found an early example of using the term "Kristenisasi" in the title of a media report, "Ummat Islam Flores Timur Tolak Kristenisasi" *Kiblat* No. 10 (October, 1968), 20-1. The term "Kristenisasi" apparently has been more in usage since 1970s.

Notes Chapter 2

1. 1. See "Gudang SD. Katolik Dibakar" and "Geredja di Asahan Dibakar" *Peraba* (I September, 1968), 6. In October 1968, the same magazine reported that due to Muslim opposition, a plan to establish a new building for a Catholic foundation in Madiun was postponed. See "Berita dari Madiun: Badan2 Hukum Katolik Tak Punja Hak Hidup?" *Peraba* (IV October, 1968), 6.
2. See the interview in *Mimbar Demokrasi* No. 85 (May, 1969) reprinted in Muhammad Natsir, *Mencari Modus Vivendi Antar Ummat Beragama* (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1980), 22-4.
3. See "Tjatatan" and "Dirusak" in *Peraba* No. 16 (April IV, 1969), 1-3.
4. See "Catatan" and "Dirusak" in *Peraba* and also "Ekor dari Peristiwa Slipi" *Kiblat* No. 4 (July, 1969), 31.
5. See "Keputusan Bersama Menteri Agama dan Menteri Dalam Negeri No. 1/BER/MDN-MAG/1969 Tentang Pelaksanaan Tugas Aparatur Pemerintahan Dalam Menjamin Kertibatan dan Kelancaran Pelaksanaan Pengembangan dan Ibadat Agama oleh Pemeluk-Pemeluknya" in Weinata Sairin (ed.), *Himpunan Peraturan di Bidang Keagamaan* (Jakarta: BPK, 1994), 3-6.

6. See *Ragi Buana* No.69 (October, 1969), 38-40. The Muslim magazine, *Kiblat*, also published the text of the decree but without any comment. See *Kiblat* No. 10 (October, 1969), 38.
7. See "Memorandum" in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 443. Italic is original.
8. "Memorandum" in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 444-6.
9. For the texts of the telegrams and the letter, see Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 447-52.
10. For some examples of Muslim protests in West Sumatera, South Sumatera, Jakarta, West Java and Yogyakarta regions see Lukman Hakiem (ed.), *Fakta & Data Usaha-Usaha Kristenisasi di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1991), 79-85; 99-100; 134-41; 147-51; 160-1; 182-6.
11. See *Aula: Majalah Nahdlatul Ulama* (November, 1996), 21.
12. See Paul Tahalele and Thomas Santoso (Eds.), *Beginikah Kemerdekaan Kita?* (Surabaya: FKKS, 1997), 189. The Situbondo incident is discussed in Chapter 6.
13. Interview with Thomas Santoso, Surabaya, 7 January 2004.
14. Gerrit E. Singgih, "Contextualisation and Inter-Religious Relationship in Java: Past and Present" *The Asian Journal of Theology* Vol. 11 No. 2 (October, 1997), 257.
15. In his criticism of the decree, one of the leaders of the PGI, Weinata Sairin, said that according to some reports, Muslims had difficulties to establish a mosque in Bali (Hindu majority area) and East Timor (Catholic majority area). Interview in Jakarta, 19 December 2003.
16. Singgih, "Contextualisation and Inter-Religious Relationship", 258.
17. T.B. Simatupang, *Membuktikan Ketidakbenaran Suatu Mitos* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1991), 86-98;131-47;162-83. The disagreement occurred in a meeting between Soekarno and the army leaders, including Simatupang, on 17 October 1952 concerning Soekarno's move to remove A.H. Nasution from his position as the Army Chief Staff. For a short biography of Simatupang in English, see Frank. L. Cooley, "In Memoriam: T.B. Simatupang, 1920-1990" *Indonesia* No. 49 (1990), 145-52.
18. For his biography, see "Menjambut Hari Lahir Jang ke-70 dari Prof.Dr. S.T.G.Mulia" *Ragi Buana* No. 24 (January, 1966), 3-8; 86. For his biography leading to independence period, see Gerry van Klinken, *Minorities, Modernity and the Emerging Nation* (Leiden: KITLV, 2003), 68-81.
19. Simatupang, *Membuktikan Ketidakbenaran*, 14-17; 196-205.
20. Simatupang, *Membuktikan Ketidakbenaran*, 253.
21. "Rencana Untuk Sidang Raya WCC di Jakarta Ditegaskan Kembali" *Berita Oikoumene* Vol. 1 No. 9 (September, 1973), 4-5. Later the budget was increased to \$ 1,400,000, See *Berita Oikoumene* Vol. 2 No.8 (August, 1974), 3.
22. *Sinar Harapan*, 14 December 1973. See also "Dari Edinburgh ke Jakarta" *Berita Oikoumene* Vol.2 No. 3 (March, 1974), 1-5; "Karena Keunikan Saja" *Tempo* (20 July 1974), 7.
23. See T.B. Simatupang et. al., *Buku Persiapan Sidang Raya Dewan Gereja-Gereja Sedunia Tahun 1975* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1974), 11-41.
24. See "Berita dan Komentari" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 149 (April, 1974), 6-7.
25. See "PP Muhammadiyah dan Konferensi Dewan Gereja Sedunia" in *Suara Muhammadiyah* No. 10 (May, 1974), 3. For a complete text of the letter, see *Panji Masyarakat* No. 155 (July, 1974), 12.
26. *Suara Muhammadiyah* No. 7 (April, 1974), 1 and No. 15 & 16 (August, 1974), 7; *Panji Masyarakat* No. 153 (June, 1974), 31.
27. For the Malari affair, see Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1978), 312-17; Hamish MacDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1981), 136-40.

28. On the CSIS, see Chapter 3.
29. See Djarnawi Hadikusuma, "Kristenisasi di Indonesia: Kekuatan dan Kelemahannya", *Suara Muhammadiyah* No. 13, 14, 15&16, and 17 (July, August and September, 1974).
30. *Suara Muhammadiyah*, No. 13 (July, 1974), 13.
31. *Suara Muhammadiyah*, No. 13 (July, 1974), 14.
32. *Suara Muhammadiyah*, No. 17 (September 1974), 16.
33. Mohammad Natsir, "Sekali Lagi Kerukunan Hidup Antar Agama: Sumbangsih Untuk Prof. Dr. Verkuyl" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 129 (June, 1973), 16-18. The same article was also published in *Kiblat* Vol. 21 No. 3 (July, 1973), 18-20;32.
34. Muhammad Rasjidi, *Sidang Raya Dewan Gereja Sedunia di Jakarta 1975 Merupakan Tantangan Terhadap Dunia Islam* (Jakarta: Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, 1974).
35. The article, written by Barbara Howeel, was translated into Indonesian and published initially during the controversy on the marriage bill in *Abadi* newspaper, 5 October 1973, then in *Kiblat* No. 11 (November, 1973), 17-18 under the title, "Meningkatnya Kristenisasi di Indonesia." The same translation was published again during the controversy on the WCC Assembly in *Suara Muhammadiyah* No. 8 (April, 1974), 12;15;22. For a specific response to Howeel's article, see A. Hassan Purwo, "Washington Post dan Kristenisasi di Indonesia", *Suara Muhammadiyah* No. 12 (June, 1974), 11;17;24. Purwo claimed that before converting to Islam, he was an assistant to a Christian missionary. He argued that Barbara was a missionary journalist who often exaggerated the success of the Christian missions. Based on the statistics provided by the Indonesian Christian newspapers, *Sinar Harapan* and *Kompas* in 1971, Purwo said that Howeel's account of the conversion of millions of people to Christianity after the coup was an exaggeration. More interestingly, Purwo said that Muslims would not be jealous of the success of the Christian social institutions such as schools, universities and hospitals because Muslims would also enjoy the services of these institutions. It seems to me that Purwo's view was a reflection of the ambiguity of the Muslim discourse on Christianization: it was portrayed as a real danger but at the same time it was not really a successful project to be afraid of!
36. In contrast, according to Simatupang, the objection of the Western countries to the Assembly was because they were afraid that it would legitimise the position of Soeharto's Government that had oppressed the progressive groups in the country. See his *Membuktikan Ketidakbenaran*, 254.
37. Rasjidi, *Sidang Raya Dewan Gereja Sedunia*, 61-3.
38. Yusuf A. Puar, "Karir Internasional Natsir Dalam Muktamar dan Rabithah" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 242 (March, 1978), 12-13.
39. Rusydi, "Sidang Raya Dewan Gereja Sedunia di Indonesia dan Pengislaman Massal di Malaysia" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 155 (July, 1974), 10-12; Azkarmin Zaini, "Malaysia dan Masa Depan Kerjasama Islam" *Suara Muhammadiyah*, No. 15&16 (August, 1974), 13;28-9.
40. According to Shamsul A.B., some of these courses were held in Malaysia by the Indonesians. There were also a few groups "consisting mainly of potential leaders, went to Indonesia to attend courses of one month's duration." Shamsul said that he was one of them. The contacts with the Indonesians were very important at least to 1973. Since 1974 when the Malaysian Government started sending Malaysian youth to study abroad, especially in the English speaking countries, contacts with the Muslims of Pakistan, Libya, India, Iran and Saudi Arabia had significantly developed. See Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, "A Revival in the Study of Islam in Malaysia" *Man* Vol. 18 No. 2 (1983), 401.

41. See "90 Orang Indonesia Hadir Di Kongres Pekabaran Injil" *Berita Oikoumene* Vol. 2 No.7 (July, 1974), 2-3.
42. According to a press account, in his action, Hasyim Yahya was accompanied by two other persons. Hasyim Yahya was badly injured in a fight against an army guard, while the two others escaped. A servant named Sakimin was also killed in the incident. Constable (64 years) had arrived in Jakarta three weeks before after serving a congregation in Isfahan, Iran. For a more detailed account of the incident, see "Terbunuhnya Sang Pendeta" and "Direktur Bersandal Jepit" *Tempo* (13 July 1974), 48-50; and "Pendeta Anglikan Dibunuh di Jakarta" *Berita Oikoumene* Vol.2 No.7 (July, 1974), 4-5.
43. Simatupang, *Membuktikan Ketidakbenaran*, 254.
44. Rusydi, "Sidang Raya Dewan Gereja Sedunia di Indonesia", 10. See also "Berita dan Komentar" in *Panji Masyarakat* No. 155 (July, 1974), 12-13.
45. According to Adian, Hasyim Yahya referred to the QS 2:190-1 which enjoins upon Muslims to fight against those unbelievers who are fighting against them. See Adian Husaini, *Gereja-Gereja Dibakar: Membedah Akar Konflik SARA di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Dea Press, 2000), 109;13; and Interview with Adian Husaini in Jakarta, 23 August 2002.
46. Simatupang, *Membuktikan Ketidakbenaran*, 255-6.
47. "SR Dewan Gereja Sedunia Mungkin Tak Jadi di Jakarta" *Suara Muhammadiyah* No.15&16 (August, 1974), 7.
48. See "Rencana Sidang Raya DGD di Jakarta Dibatalkan" *Berita Oikoumene* Vol. 2 No.8 (August, 1974), 2-3.
49. Simatupang, *Membuktikan Ketidakbenaran*, 258.
50. "Pidato Presiden Tentang Agama" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 158 (September, 1974), 7.
51. "Berita dan Komentar" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 158 (September, 1974), 6.
52. "Sesudah Batalnya SR DGS Di Jakarta" *Suara Muhammadiyah* No. 17 (September, 1974),3.
53. A more detailed discussion on Mukti Ali is presented in Chapter 6.
54. See A. Mukti Ali, "Religions, Nations and the Search for a World Community" in his *Agama dan Pembangunan di Indonesia*, Bahagian III (Jakarta: Biro Humas Depag RI, 1973), 22-3.
55. See "Memorandum" in Mukti Ali, *Agama dan Pembangunan*, Bahagian III, 33; 37. It is also published in *International Review of Mission* Vol. 61 No. 244 (October, 1972), 407-16.
56. See Ali Munhanif, "Prof. Dr. Mukti Ali, Modernisasi Politik Keagamaan Order Baru" in Azyumardi Azra & Saiful Umam (eds), *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI: Biografi Sosial Politik* (Jakarta: INIS-PPIM, 1998), 306.
57. Interview with Mukti Ali, Yogyakarta, 28 September 2002.
58. *Sinar Harapan*, 1 July 1976 and "Setelah Presiden Ke Salatiga" *Tempo* (10 July 1976), 5-7.
59. Original: "Mengagamakan orang yang sudah beragama adalah munafik." See *Sinar Harapan*, 2 July 1976.
60. *Sinar Harapan*, 13 July 1976.
61. *Sinar Harapan*, 5 July 1976.
62. HAMKA, "Mengagamakan Orang Yang Belum Beragama, Munafiq?" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 204 (August, 1976), 5-8.
63. See Arne Rudvin, "The Concept and Practice of Christian Mission", 381 and Isma'il R. al-Faruqi, "On the Nature of Islamic Da'wa" *International Review of Mission* Vol. 65 No. 260 (October, 1976), 374-84; 391- 400. Theological debates following each of these papers are quite interesting.
64. Lamin Sanneh, "Christian Experience of Islamic Da'wa with Particular Reference to Africa" *International Review of Mission* Vol. 65 No. 260 (October, 1976), 410-23.

65. Muhammad Rasjidi, "The Role of Christian Missions, the Indonesian Experience" *International Review of Mission* Vol. 65 No. 260 (October, 1976), 425-38.
66. Rudvin, "The Concept and Practice of Christian Mission", 381.
67. See his "A Muslim Experience of Christian Mission in East Africa" in *International Review of Mission* Vol. 65 No. 260 (October, 1976), 442.
68. See *International Review of Mission* Vol. 65 No. 260 (October, 1976), 446.
69. See "Discussion on Religious Freedom" *International Review of Mission* Vol. 65 No. 260 (October, 1976), 447-8.
70. See "Discussion on Religious Freedom", 451.
71. See "Statement of the Conference on 'Christian Mission and Islamic Da'wah' Chambésy, June 1976" *International Review of Mission* Vol. 65 No. 260 (October, 1976), 456-9.
72. Ihromi, "Islam-Kristen Bertemu di Jenewa," *Berita Oikoumene* Vol. 4 (August, 1976), 30-1. See also Ihromi, "Hubungan Antaragama" in Endang Basri Ananda (ed.), *70 Tahun Prof. Dr. H. M. Rasjidi* (Jakarta: Harian Umum Pelita, 1985), 171.
73. See "Laporan Prof. Dr. H.M. Rasjidi Tentang Konperensi Meja Bundar Da'wah Islam dan Missi Kristen di Geneva Tgl. 26-30 Juni 1976" *Serial Media Dakwah* No. 35 (1976), 2-18.
74. R. William Liddle, "Indonesia 1977: The New Order's Second Parliamentary Election," *Asian Survey* Vol. 18 No. 2 (1978), 179.
75. See Julia D. Howell, "Indonesia: Searching for Consensus" in Carlo Caldarola (ed.), *Religions and Societies: Asia and the Middle East* (Amsterdam: Mouton, 1982), 530-4.
76. For the Muslim opposition see for instance, "PP Muhammadiyah: Tentang Rancangan GBHN dan Aliran Kepercayaan"; "Bung Hatta: Kata 'Kepercayaan' Penguat Kata 'Agama'; "Majelis Ulama Tolak Aliran Kepercayaan," in *Panji Masyarakat* No. 234 (November 1977). See also, "Tap MPR 1973 dan Tap MPR 1978" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 245 (April, 1978), 7. See also Chapter 3.
77. For the text of the official reasons of the Islamic party, PPP, to oppose P4, see "Alasan Penolakan Partai Persatuan Tentang Rancangan Pedoman Penghayatan Pancasila," *Panji Masyarakat* No. 237 (December, 1977), 54-8.
78. See Alamsyah's biography, Suparwan G. Parikesit and Krisna R. Sempurnadjaja, *H. Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara, Perjalanan Hidup Seorang Anak Yatim Piatu* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1995), 243-6.
79. Parikesit and Sempurnadjaja, *H. Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara: Perjalanan Hidup*, 247.
80. Accordingly, in 1979 a directorate was established in the Department of Education and Culture called "Direktorat Pembinaan Penghayat Kepercayaan" and its first director was Arymurthy, the leader of the Sumarah mystical group. See Paul Stange, "Legitimate Mysticism in Indonesia" *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* Vol. 20 No. 2 (1986), 91.
81. Certainly, there was personal rivalry among the leading Generals around Soeharto, especially between Alamsyah on the one hand and Ali Moertopo and Soedjono Hoemardani on the other. When Alamsyah was the Vice Chairman of the State Advisory Council, he had another rival: General T.B. Simatupang. The uneasy relationships between the two increased when Alamsyah became the Minister of Religion. Alamsyah claimed that T.B. Simatupang did not say hello to him for about seven years after he said to the public that Pancasila was a Muslim gift to the Indonesian state, while Hoemardani, since 1978 to his death never wanted to talk him. See Parikesit and Sempurnadjaja, *H. Alamsyah. Ratu Perwiranegara: Perjalanan Hidup*, 214-20; 283-4; 239; 307-11. See also Crouch, *The Army and Politics*, 306-8.
82. See "Keputusan Menteri Agama No. 44 Tahun 1978 Tentang Pelaksanaan Dakwah Agama dan Kuliah Subuh Melalui Radio" in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 69-70.

83. For the Muslim responses to Alamsyah's moves, see "Masalah Da'wah Kembali Ke Departemen Agama" and "Da'wah dan Kuliah Subuh Lewat Radio Tak Perlu Izin," *Panji Masyarakat* No. 248 (June, 1978), 5-6; 9. See also, "Simakkan Alamsyah dan Langkahnya" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 257 (October, 1978), 10-13.
84. See "Jangan Bertepuk Sebelah Tangan (Wawancara Dengan Menteri Agama H. Alamsyah)" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 257 (October, 1978), 14-5.
85. See Parikesit and Sempurnadajaja, *H. Alamsyah. Ratu Perwiranegara: Perjalanan Hidup*, 264-5 and H. Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara, *Pembinaan Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama* edited by Djohan Effendi (Jakarta: Departemen Agama, 1982), 79-92.
86. "Keputusan Menteri Agama Republik Indonesia No. 70 Tahun 1978 Tentang Pedoman Penyiaran Agama" in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 50-1.
87. See "Keputusan Menteri Agama Republik Indonesia No.77 Tahun 1978 Tentang Bantuan Laur Negeri Kepada Lembaga Keagamaan di Indonesia," in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*. 56-9.
88. See "Menteri Alamsyah Menjawab" *Tempo* (23 September 1978), 54.
89. Ratu Perwiranegara, *Pembinaan Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama*, 59-60. This 'paternalistic' argument is also found in Muslim writings. See for instance, Muhammad Natsir, *Mencari Modus Vivendi*, 11;30-1.
90. See "Jangan Bertepuk Sebelah Tangan", 15.
91. See "Sebelum dan Sesudah Kedua Surat Keputusan Itu," and "Menteri Alamsyah Menjawab" *Tempo* (23 September 1978), 53-4.
92. See "Menteri Alamsyah Menjawab", 55. For a complete text of the MUI's statement supporting the decrees, see "Majelis Ulama Indonesia Dukung Keputusan Menteri Agama" *Mimbar Ulama* Vol. 3 No. 23 (September/October, 1978), 55.
93. See "Sebelum dan Sesudah Kedua Surat Keputusan Itu," 53. Because this is a descriptive statement, it is unclear whether HAMKA agreed with the fanatic position or not.
94. "Sebelum dan Sesudah Kedua Surat Keputusan Itu," 53.
95. See "Seputar Keputusan Menteri Agama No. 70 & 77 Tahun 1978 dan Prosesnya," *Berita Oikoumene* (November, 1978), 17-21. According to this report, before the issue of the decrees, Alamsyah had already explained in his speeches that religious propagation to people of different religion would be prohibited and that foreign aid for religious institutions would be controlled. He also invited religious leaders to come to a meeting on 30 June 1978; but one day before he cancelled it.
96. For the text of the press release, see "Siaran Pers DGI dan MAWI," *Kompas*, 16 September 1978 and "DGI dan MAWI Tolak SK Menteri Agama No, 70 dan No. 77 Tahun 1978" in *Berita Oikoumene* (16 September, 1978), 7. For the spread of the press release, see the report in "Seputar Keputusan Menteri Agama No. 70 & 77 Tahun 1978 dan Prosesnya," 19-20.
97. See "Pesan Sidang Istimewa BPL-DGI: Harus Dijaga Agar Kebebasan Tidak Bahayakan Kerukunan" *Sinar Harapan*, 21 October 1978 and reprinted in *Hidup* No. 41 (5 November 1978), 1124. See also "BPL-DGI Dukung Sikap Langkap BPH DGI – MAWI Mengenai SK Menteri Agama" and "Pesan Sidang Istimewa BPL-DGI 1978" *Berita Oikoumene* (November, 1978), 4-7.
98. See "Tinjauan Mengenai Keputusan Menteri Agama No. 70 dan 77 Tahun 1978 Dalam Rangka Penyelenggaraan Kebebasan Beragama dan Pemeliharaan Kerukunan Nasional" in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 453-76. See also T.B. Simatupang, "Catatan Tentang Kedua SK Menag" *Berita Oikoumene* (October, 1978), 3 and "Catatan Tentang Keputusan Menteri Agama No. 70/1978 Tentang Pedoman Penyiaran Agama" *Berita Oikoumene* (October, 1978), 16-17.
99. "Mengapa Mereka Resah?" *Tempo* (23 September 1978), 55-7.

100. Ihromi, "Kewajiban Essensial" *Sinar Harapan*, 27 September 1978. The article was reprinted in the Catholic magazine *Hidup* No. 42 (12 November 1978), 1147. See also Ihromi, "Respect for the Integrity of Another's Religion" *The South East Asia Journal of Theology* Vol. 14 No. 2 (1973), 61-3.
101. Muhammad Rasjidi, "Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 258 (November, 1978), 10-14. For Rasjidi's critical analysis of the Vatican Council II, see below.
102. See "Instruksi Presiden: Pelaksanaan SK No. 70 dan 77 Diteruskan" *Sinar Harapan*, 10 October 1978. See also "Instruksi Presiden Kepada Menteri Agama" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 257 (October, 1978), 7. This explanation was also broadcasted on TV and radio, see "Seputar Keputusan Menteri Agama No. 70 & 77 Tahun 1978 dan Prosesnya," 21.
103. See "Penjelasan Atas Keputusan Menteri Agama RI No. 70 Tahun 1978 Tentang Pedoman Penyiaran Agama" in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 52-55. See also an account of Alamsyah's speech to the Christians, "Bebas Pilih Atau Pindah Agama Karena Keyakinan Bukan Berdasarkan Bujukan" *Sinar Harapan*, 6 November 1978, reprinted in *Hidup* No. 44 (26 November 1978), 1208.
104. See "Penjelasan Atas Keputusan Menteri Agama No. 77 Tahun 1978 Tentang Bantuan Luar Negeri Kepada Lembaga Keagamaan" in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 60-62.
105. See "Siaran Pers Sidang MAWI 1978" *Hidup* No. 44 (26 November 1978), 1204-5. However, I do not find any Protestant source indicating a positive response to the explanations.
106. See "Tanggapan Terhadap Penjelasan Atas Keputusan Menteri Agama No. 70 Tahun 1978 Tentang Pedoman Penyiaran Agama," in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 477-82.
107. See "Tanggapan Terhadap Penjelasan Atas Keputusan Menteri Agama No. 77 Tahun 1978 Tentang Bantuan Luar Negeri Kepada Lembaga Keagamaan di Indonesia," in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 483-487.
108. Parikesit and Sempurnadajaya, *H. Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara: Perjalanan Hidup*, 265-6; and Ratu Perwiranegara, *Pembinaan Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama*, 68.
109. See "Keputusan Bersama Menteri Agama dan Menteri Dalam Negeri No. 1 Tahun 1979 Tentang Tatacara Pelaksanaan Penyiaran Agama dan Bantuan Luar Negeri Kepada Lembaga Keagamaan di Indonesia," in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 63-8.
110. Ratu Perwiranegara, *Pembinaan Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama*, 70-1.
111. See "Tanggapan DGI-MAWI Atas Keputusan Bersama Menteri Agama dan Menteri Dalam Negeri No. 1 Tahun 1979 Tentang Tatacara Pelaksanaan Penyiaran Agama dan Bantuan Luar Negeri Kepada Lembaga Keagamaan di Indonesia," in Sairin (ed.), *Himpunan Peraturan*, 488-99.
112. M. Rasjidi, "Kebebasan Beragama Menurut Islam," *Mimbar Ulama* Vol. 3 No. 27 (February, 1979), 9-26. The article was reprinted in a booklet form under a shorter title, *Kebebasan Beragama* (Jakarta: Media Da'wah, 1979).
113. See "Indonesian Churchman Speaks Out For Freedom of Religion," reprinted in Ahmad von Denffer, *Indonesia: Government's Decrees on Mission and Subsequent Developments* (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1979), II-2.
114. See Eduard Abel, "Religious Freedom Hits Indonesian Churches" and "Will Indonesia Resist Islamic Fanaticism?" in Denffer, *Indonesia: Government's Decrees*, II-3 and II-4.
115. See "Introduction" in Denffer, *Indonesia: Government's Decrees*.
116. A.G. Hoekema, "Indonesian Churches: Moving Towards Maturity" *Exchange* No. 21 (December, 1978), 6.
117. Hyung-Jun Kim, "The Changing Interpretation of Religious Freedom in Indonesia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 29 No. 2 (1998), 367.
118. Parikesit and Sempurnadajaya, *H. Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara, Perjalanan Hidup*, 279-80. Alamsyah was relatively successful in establishing good relations with the Muslims

- in the Middle East, especially Saudi Arabia. According to Sri-Edi Swasono, an economist who worked for Alamsyah as a staff expert, eight of ten projects proposed in 1980 to the Islamic Development Bank were approved. Swasono explained that this was primarily because of Alamsyah's successful lobbies with the important leaders in Saudi Arabia, including the King Khâlid Ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz and the Secretary General of the *Râbita*, 'Alî al-Harakan. In September 1981, Alamsyah was also successful in organizing an International Conference of Islamic Media in Jakarta sponsored by the *Râbita*. See Parikesit and Sempurnadjaya, *H. Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara, Perjalanan Hidup*, 282-4 and Sri-Edi Swasono, "Penegasan Pak Alamsyah: Pancasila Hadiah Ummat Islam," in Sempurnadjaya, *H. Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara 70 Tahun*, 61-4. In April 1981, the Indonesian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Teuku Mohammad Hadi Thayeb said to the press that there was no Christianisation in Indonesia. In May, 1981, *a-Mujtama'*, a Kuwaiti magazine, wrote that the statement was a lie because besides the two decrees of the Minister of Religion, the leader of the DGI, T.B. Simatupang recently said in a speech to a WCC meeting that the Indonesian Christians should develop good relations with Christian army officers and increase the number of Christian schools and hospitals in the country. See *al-Mujtama'* No. 529 Vol. 11 (19 May 1981), 29. Unsurprisingly, I found a copy of the *al-Mujtama'*s account in the appendix of DDII's *Taktik Baru Dalam Pekabaran Injil* (Jakarta: DDII, 1981).
119. See Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara, "Islam and Other Religions: a Case of an Inter-religious Life in Indonesia," *Dialog* Vol. 7 No. 14 (March, 1983), 10. There is no explanation when and where exactly the paper was originally presented, but it is mentioned in the body of the text that it was addressed to an international symposium.
 120. Ahmad von Denffer, *Indonesia: How Muslims Are Made Christians* (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1981); Ahmad von Denffer, *Indonesia: a Survey of Christian Churches and Mission Among Muslims* (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1981) and Rifyal Ka'bah, *Christian Presence in Indonesia: a View of Christian-Muslim Relations* (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1985).
 121. Rifyal Ka'bah, *Christian Presence in Indonesia*, 59. He refers to an article by Robert Erny, "Variety and Harmony Mark Fast-Changing Indonesia," *Pulse*, Vol. 19 No. 6 (March 23, 1984), 3.
 122. Mohammad Natsir, *Sekali Lagi: Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Media Da'wah, 1978), 69-70.
 123. See for instance, Lukman Hakiem (ed.), *Fakta & Data Usaha-Usaha Kristenisasi di Indonesia*, and H.M. Goodwill Zubir and Sudar Siandes (eds.), *Potret Gerakan Kristenisasi di Indonesia Versi Da'i LDK Muhammadiyah* (Jakarta: LDK PP Muhammadiyah, No Date).
 124. Jan S. Aritonang, *Sejarah Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: BPK, 2004), 434-5
 125. Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara, "Strategi Perjuangan Umat Islam di Bidang Hukum," in Amrullah Ahmad (ed.), *Dimensi-Dimensi Hukum Islam Dalam Sistem Hukum Nasional: mengenang 65 Th. Prof.Dr.Bustanul Arifin SH* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1996), 245.
 126. See "Bersedia Jadi WNI" *Berita Buana*, November 19, 1979, reprinted in Mohammad Natsir, *Mencari Modus Vivendi Antar Umat Beragama*, 69. In 1977, only 31.25% (500 out of 1600) ordained Catholic priests were Indonesians. In 1980, the figure changed to: 45.91% (770 out of 1677) were Indonesians. See Ahmad von Denffer, *Indonesia: a Survey of Christian Churches and Mission Among Muslims*, 13 and Alex Soesilo Wijoyo, "Kehadiran Gereja Minoritas di Tengah Mayoritas Muslim," *Ummat Baru* (1981), 393.
 127. Karel A. Steenbrink, "Indonesian Churches 1978-1984: Main Trends, Issues and Problems" *Exchange* Vol. 13 No. 39 (1984), 7.

128. On the foreign financial support for the DGI, see Frank. L. Cooley, *The Growing Seed* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1981), 236-7.
129. No case of door-to-door visiting is found in Lukman Hakiem (ed.), *Fakta & Data Usaha-Usaha Kristenisasi di Indonesia* and neither in a report of DDII, *Kristenisasi di Indonesia Tahun 1988-1990* (Jakarta: DDII, 1991). In Lukman's edited book, we find a case of distribution of Bibles in some schools in Jakarta by the Gideon International and another case of distribution of Christian brochures in a street of Padang Panjang city, West Sumatra. See pp., 77-8; 119-25. I only find one specific case of door-to-door visiting by Adventist missionaries, occurred in October 1979 in Malang. See "Polisi Lawang Tahan 3 Orang Yang Melanggar Etik Penyiaran Agama," *Pelita*, 13 October 1979 reprinted in Natsir, *Mencari Modus Vivend*, 77-8.
130. Steenbrink, "Indonesian Churches 1978-1984", 7. If we look at the text of the Attorney General's decision and its press release to ban the publications of the Children of God sect in Indonesia, we do not find any direct reference to either Alamsyah's decree on religious propagation or the joint decree. The rationale of the ban was not the sect's ways of propagation, but its teachings that allegedly promote free sex. See "Keputusan Jaksa Agung RI No. Kep-058/J.A/194 Tentang Larangan Peredaran Barang-Barang Cetakan Yang Memuat Ajaran Kepercayaan Children of God" and "Press Release Jaksa Agung RI" in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 273-8.
131. In one of his works, Ibn Taymiyyah said that some Muslims celebrated the birth of Muhammad as an *imitation* of the Christians who celebrated the birth of Jesus. For him, any imitation of non-Muslim religious practices is forbidden in Islam. Moreover, the imitation of the Christians also includes participation in their religious festivals, including Christmas. See Ibn Taymiyyah, *Kitāb Iqtidā al-Sirāt al-Mustaqīm, Mukhālafat Ashāb al-Jahīm* (Cairo: al-Matba'a al-Sharqiyya, 1907), 107;141. See also Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taimiya's Struggle Against Popular Religion With an Annotated Translation of His Kitāb Iqtidā al-Sirāt al-Mustaqīm, Mukhālafat Ashāb al-Jahim* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), 220;243.
132. See HAMKA, "Toleransi: Bukan Pengorbanan 'Aqidah" in *Panji Masyarakat* No. 142 (January, 1974), 32-4.
133. It is noteworthy that, according to Hasan Basri who was to become the General Chairman of the MUI (1985-1998), in the first meeting between the MUI's functionaries and Suharto in 1975, HAMKA tried to convince the president that the Muslim perception of the threat of Christianisation in the country was true. See Hasan Basri, "Catatan Kenangan Untuk Buya," in Solichin Salam (ed.), *Kenang-Kenangan 70 Tahun Buya HAMKA* (Jakarta: Yayasan Nurul Islam, 1978), 78-80.
134. The fatwa is already discussed by Steenbrink, "Indonesian Churches 1979 – 1984" 10-12; and Mohammad Atho Mudzhar, *Fatwas of the Council of Indonesia Ulama: A Study of Islamic Legal Thought in Indonesia 1975-1988* (Jakarta: INIS, 1993), 101-4; and Mohammad Atho Mudzhar, "The Council of Indonesian Ulama on Muslim Attendance at Christmas Celebration" in Muhammad Khalid Masud, Brinkley Messick and David S. Powers (eds.), *Islamic Legal Interpretation: Muftis and their Fatwas*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 230-41. For the original Indonesian text of the fatwa, see *Fatwa Majlis Ulama Indonesia Tentang Perayaan Natal Bersama* (Jakarta: Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, 1981). Steenbrink gave a very short discussion of the fatwa. Mudzhar discusses it in detail but does not pay serious attention to the voices of the Christians and neither to the view of the Muslims who opposed the fatwa. Finally, both Steenbrink and Mudzhar do not discuss further implication of Alamsyah's circular. My discussion below will fill this gap.

135. This important reason is unnoticed in the previous studies quoted above.
136. In his biography, Alamsyah tried to neglect his conflict with HAMKA and blamed an anonymous third party who allegedly provoked HAMKA to resign. Parikesit and Sem-purnadjaya, *H. Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara, Perjalanan Hidup*, 267-8.
137. See "Buya, Fatwa dan Kerukunan Beragama" *Tempo* (30 May 1981), 12-15.
138. The press release was published in *Berita Buana, Suara Karya* and *Kompas* dailies. It was also published in *Panji Masyarakat* No.324 (May, 1981), 9. In an interview with *Tempo* magazine, HAMKA said, "My hands were shaking when I had to withdraw it. People would certainly think that I am Satan. The ulama abroad will all certainly be amazed. Don't you think how bad I am?" See "Buya, Fatwa dan Kerukunan Beragama," 13.
139. HAMKA, "Bisakah Suatu Fatwa Dicabut?" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 324 (May, 1981), 7-9.
140. Mudzhar, *Fatwas of the Council of Indonesia Ulama*, 62.
141. See "MUI, Kisah Sebuah Jembatan" *Tempo* (30 May 1981), 15-17.
142. HAMKA, "Niat Yang Tulus" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 325 (June, 1981), 7.
143. Mohammad Roem, "Politik HAMKA" in Salam, *Kenang-Kenangan 70 Tahun*, 8-12.
144. HAMKA, "Ulama Pewaris Nabi-Nabi" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 326 (June, 1981), 7-8. This story is quite famous among the ulama in Indonesia. In 1994, I heard a similar story from Abdurrahman Wahid when he tried to defend his oppositional attitudes to the regime.
145. See "MUI, Jembatan Siapa?" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 326 (June, 1981), 12-16.
146. Martin van Bruinessen, "Indonesia's Ulama and Politics: Caught Between Legitimising the Status Quo and Searching for Alternatives" *Prisma, the Indonesian Indicator* No. 49 (1990), 61-3.
147. Certainly, it is misleading to say that the MUI only functioned to serve the interest of the Government rather than that of the umma. For a more recent and sympathetic study of the MUI and its fatwas, see Nadirsyah Hosen, "Behind the Scenes: Fatwas of Majelis Ulama in Indonesia (1975-1998)" *Journal of Islamic Studies* Vol. 15 No. 2 (2004), 147-79. Nadirsyah is the son of Ibrahim Hosen, the head of the Fatwa Committee of the MUI, 1981-2000 period.
148. See "Buya, Fatwa dan Kerukunan Beragama" *Tempo* (30 May 1981), 14. See also M. Amien Ely, "Bahaya 'Natalan Bersama' Bagi Pelajar-Pelajar Islam" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 327 (June, 1981), 53-4. In this article, M. Amien described the experience of his son who was instructed by a priest in a Catholic school in Ambon to act in a play for a Christmas celebration. M. Amien then explained his objection to the priest, and the latter finally agreed to free his son from that play.
149. Samudi Abdullah, "Tentang Perayaan Natal Bersama" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 325 (June, 1981), 54-5.
150. See "Buya, Fatwa dan Kerukunan Beragama", 13-4. In contrast, according to a Protestant minister, Gerrit E. Singgih, to burn the candle is also ritual. Interview with Gerrit E. Singgih, Yogyakarta, 16 January 2004.
151. Abdurrahman Wahid, "Fatwa Natal, Ujung dan Pangkal" *Tempo* (30 May 1981), 17.
152. In contrast, in his article published in December 2003, Wahid posed a scriptural argument. He said, because the Qur'an mentioned with high respect the miracle of Jesus' birth, the Muslims have to respect or even celebrate it regardless of the fact that the Christians believed that Jesus is the Son of God. See his, "Harlah, Natal dan Maulid" in www.gusdur.net (accessed 14 January 2004).
153. See "MUI, Jembatan Siapa?" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 326 (June, 1981), 12.
154. Iqbal Abdurrauf Saimima, "Ujung Pangkal Suara Cak Dur" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 326 (June, 1981), 14-15.

155. See *Monografi Kelembagaan Agama di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Departemen Agama, 1982), 21-35. See also "Amanat Menteri Agama dan Lain-lain pada Saat Pembentukan WMUAB" in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 506-17.
156. See "Keputusan Pertemuan Lengkap Wadah Musyawarah Antar Umat Beragama Tentang Peringatan Hari-Hari Besar Keagamaan," in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 518-521.
157. This also means that any agreement of the Wadah Musyawarah is not legally but morally binding. See article 6 number 2 of the "Pedoman Dasar Tentang Wadah Musyawarah Antar Umat Beragama," in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 23-6.
158. For the whole text of the letter, see Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 35-40.
159. See "Pokok-Pokok Pikiran DGI dan MAWI Serta Usul Penyelesaian Atas Masalah Yang Ditimbulkan Oleh Surat Edaran Menteri Agama Nomor MA/325/1981 Tanggal 2 September 1981 Perihal Penyelenggaraan Hari-Hari Besar Keagamaan," in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 522-7. See also the letter of the DGI and MAWI to the Commander of Security and Order, Admiral Sudomo, dated 23 October 1981 in *HAK Kerukunan* Vol. 3 and 4 No. 16, 17, 18 (September-November 1981, January 1982), 64-5.
160. The Minister of Education at this period was Daed Joesoef, a Muslim who worked with the Catholic intellectuals in the CSIS. See Chapter 5.
161. See "Tanggapan MAWI-DGI" *HAK Kerukunan* Vol. 3 and 4 No. 16, 17, 18 (September-November 1981, January 1982), 53-62. The same text is reprinted as "Tanggapan Atas Surat Edaran Menteri Agama Nomor MA/325/1981 Tanggal 2 September 1981 Perihal Penyelenggaraan Hari-Hari Besar Keagamaan," in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 528-36.
162. See newspapers' accounts reprinted in the Catholic magazine *HAK Kerukunan* Vol. 3 and 4 No. 16, 17, 18 (September-November 1981, January 1982), 34-53.
163. See "Mereka Menolak SE," 11-12.
164. Rusydi, "Mengembangkan dan Melindungi Akidah Ummat" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 337 (October, 1981), 12-13.
165. See "Mereka Menolak SE," 11-12.
166. For the text of the letter, see *HAK Kerukunan* Vol. 3 and 4 No. 16, 17, 18 (September-November 1981, January 1982), 68.
167. See "Pesan Natal Bersama DGI Dan MAWI Tahun 1981" *HAK Kerukunan* Vol. 3 and 4 No. 16, 17, 18 (September-November 1981, January 1982), 69-71.
168. The text of the joint statement was printed and distributed by the DDII. The text was also published in *HAK Kerukunan* Vol. 15 No. 86-87 (1994), 54.
169. "Umat Islam Diharamkan Ikut Natal Bersama," *Panji Masyarakat* No. 777 (December, 1993), 68-9.
170. See "Surat Natal Dari Istiqlal" *Tempo* (1 January 1994), 35.
171. See Chapter 6.
172. See *HAK Kerukunan* Vol. 3 and 4 No. 16, 17, 18 (September-November 1981, January 1982), 67. Hyung-Jun Kim who carried out research in a small village in Yogyakarta from 1992 to 1994 also observed that Muslims avoided sending an invitation card for a religious gathering to a non-Muslim. See his "The Changing Interpretation of Religious Freedom," 370-3 and his "Unto You Your Religion and Unto Me My Religion: Muslim-Christian Relations in a Javanese Village," *Sojourn* Vol. 13 No. 1 (1998), 62-85. The negative effect of the fatwa was also found among Batak people whose clan members consist of Muslims and Christians. Interview with Einar Sitompul, a minister of HKBP Church, Jakarta, 15 December 2003.
173. W.F. Wertheim, *Moslems in Indonesia: Majority with Minority Mentality* (Townsville: Occasional Paper No.8 of South East Asian Studies, James Cook University, 1980).

Notes Chapter 3

1. T.B. Simatupang, "Agama-Agama Dalam Pembangunan Negara Pancasila" in his *Dari Revolusi ke Pembangunan* (Jakarta: BPK, 1987), 157.
2. See C. van Dijk, *Rebellion Under the Banner of Islam: the Darul Islam in Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981).
3. Adnan Buyung Nasution, *The Aspiration for Constitutional Government in Indonesia: A Socio-legal Study of the Indonesian Konstituante 1956-1959* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1992), 10.
4. The complete Indonesian wording is "Ketuhanan dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya."
5. For the text of the Jakarta Charter and a small debate on related issues among the BPUPK members, see Muhammad Yamin, *Naskah Persiapan Undang-Undang Dasar 1945* Vol. 1 (Jakarta: Yayasan Prapantja, 1959), 154; 259; 261-2; 391-3.
6. Nasution, *The Aspiration for Constitutional Government*, 11.
7. For the minutes of the session of the PPKI, see Yamin, *Naskah Persiapan*, Vol. 1, 399-406.
8. Pancasila is a Sanskrit word that means five principles. The other four principles include just-civilised humanitarianism, Indonesian unity, democracy and social justice. In the Preamble of the Constitution of 1945, the term 'Pancasila' is not mentioned. It was Soekarno who introduced the term in his speech on 1 June 1945 at the session of the BPUPK. For the speech, see Yamin, *Naskah Persiapan*, Vol. 1, 61-81. The speech was originally without title but later in 1947, Soekarno published the speech entitled *Lahirnja Pantja-Sila* (Medan: Bin Harun, 1947).
9. On this debate see, Nasution, *The Aspiration for Constitutional Government*, 59-130; 313-98 and Ahmad Syafi'i Maarif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi Tentang Percaturan Dalam Konstituante* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985).
10. For the political development leading to the decree, see Daniel S. Lev, *The Transition to Guided Democracy: Indonesian Politics, 1957-1959* (Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, 1966), 257-277.
11. Original: "Piagam Jakarta tertanggal 22 Juni 1945 menjiwai Undang Undang Dasar 1945 dan adalah merupakan suatu rangkain kesatuan dengan konstitusi tersebut."
12. Andrée Feillard, *NU vis-à-vis Negara: Pencarian Isi, Bentuk dan Makna* Trans. Lesmana (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999), 122-123; 127.
13. See *Sinar Harapan*, 2 January 1966.
14. For the decree and the memorandum, see "Ketetapan MPRS No. XX/MPRS/1966 Tentang Memorandum DPR-GR Mengenai Sumber Tertib Hukum Republik Indonesia dan Tata Urutan Peraturan Perundangan Republik Indonesia" in Abdul Kadir Besar, *Himpunan Ketetapan-Ketetapan MPRS* (Jakarta: Pantjuran Tudjuh, 1969), 39-56.
15. See the studies by Nasution and Maarif quoted above.
16. Mohammad Dachlan, "Piagam Djakarta Sumber Hukum Mendjiwai UUD 1945" Part 1, *Kiblat* No.3 (July, 1968), 6-7.
17. Dachlan, "Piagam Djakarta Sumber Hukum" Part 1, 45. Similar argument is developed by Endang Saifuddin Anshari in his *Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945, Sebuah Konsensus Nasional Tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia (1945-1959)* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1997), 52-3. Originally an MA thesis at the Institute of Islamic Studies, Mc Gill University, 1976, this book is a comprehensive study of the Jakarta Charter from the perspective of a proponent. The first Indonesian edition of the book was published in 1981 by Pustaka Salman, Bandung.

18. The first sentence is, "We, the Indonesian people herewith proclaim the Independence of Indonesia." In its original: "Kami bangsa Indonesia dengan ini menyatakan kemerdekaan Indonesia." It should be noted here that the Jakarta Charter referred to by Roem is the whole draft of the Preamble of the Constitution of 1945, not specifically the seven words. See Mohammad Roem, "Pentjulikan dan Proklamasi" Part 3 *Kiblat* No.8 Vol. 17 (September, 1969), 22.
19. In contrast, Andr e Feillard argued that Wachid Hasjim was indeed present during the lobbying. Her view is based on an interview with Wachid Hasjim's wife and the accounts by Mohammad Hatta and Ki Bagus Hadikusomo. See her *NU vis- -vis Negara*, 39-41.
20. Prawoto Mangkusasmito, "Rumus Pantja Sila dan Sedjarah Singkat Pertumbuhannya" *Kiblat* No.2 (June, 1968), 6-7;46-48; and his "Beberapa Saat Yang Menentukan Dalam Sedjarah Kita" *Kiblat* No. 3 (July, 1969), 6; 48-9. The articles are reprinted in Prawoto Mangkusasmito, *Pertumbuhan Historis Rumus Dasar Negara dan Sebuah Proyeksi* (Jakarta: Hudaya, 1970), Chapter 1 and 2. Feillard observes that this argument was also taken by the NU in 1968. See her *NU vis- -vis Negara*, 135-6. Anshari also took this argument in his *Piagam Jakarta*, 22 Juni 1945, 52-3.
21. HAMKA, "Mengapa Mereka Masih Ribut? Mari Kita Berpahit-Pahit, Kaum Muslim Belum Puas Dengan Kemerdekaan Ini" *Pandji Masyarakat* No. 30 (1968), 3-5. The article is reprinted in his *Dari Hati Ke Hati Tentang Agama, Sosial Budaya dan Politik* (Jakarta: Panjimas, 2002), 310-18.
22. See "Pendapat Partai Katolik Tentang Piagam Djakarta" *Peraba* (I June, 1968), 3-4; 12. Sajuti Melik's article was originally published in the 'New Order's press' of Bandung, *Mahasiswa Indonesia*, April 1968 and reprinted in *Peraba*. See Sajuti Melik, "UUD '45 & Piagam Djakarta" *Peraba* (15 May 1968), 5-6.
23. See "Ada 'Strategi Bertahap' Kehebohan 'Piagam Djakarta'" *Peraba* (III July 1968), 6.
24. See "Beberapa Kesimpulan" *Peraba* (II June, 1968), 3-4.
25. Adam Malik's article was originally written on 1 January 1948. This article was reproduced in *Peraba* with some comments in brackets by the editor under the title: "Riwayat Proklamasi: Tidak Diambil dari 'Piagam Djakarta'" *Peraba* (II August, 1968), 6-7; 8. Despite the Jakarta Charter issue, the 'heroic' role of the youths in the Proclamation is also a controversial historical issue. Mohammad Hatta made some criticisms of such accounts in his *Sekitar Proklamasi* (Jakarta: Tintamas, 1969).
26. See "Pendapat Partai Katolik Tentang Piagam Djakarta".
27. The prominent Protestant politician J.C.T. Simorangkir and the Catholic, Ben Mang Reng Say later adopted this argument. See J.C.T. Simorangkir and B. Mang Reng Say, *Tentang dan Sekitar Undang-Undang Dasar 1945* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1975), 8.
28. Dachlan, "Piagam Djakarta Sumber Hukum," Part 1, 45. See also Kasman Singodimedjo, "Mengungkap Problem Hukum: Dekrit 5 Djuli 1959" *Kiblat* No. 20 (March, 1968), 9-10.
29. HAMKA, "Mengapa Mereka Masih Ribut?" 3.
30. Mangkusasmito, "Rumus Pantjasila," 47.
31. HAMKA, "Mengapa Mereka Masih Ribut?, 3. For the whole text of Soekarno's speech, see Yamin, *Naskah Persiapan*, Vol. 1, 653-702.
32. Daniel S. Lev noted that, "to avoid the interpretation that preambles are not binding, NU members stood in the Konstituante in May to insist that the obligation of Moslems to follow the Islamic law must be fitted into article 29 of the 1945 Constitution, dealing with religion." See, *The Transition to Guided Democracy*, 264. For the texts of A. Sjaichu's question and the government's answer, see Yamin, *Naskah Persiapan* Vol.1, 621.
33. Mangkusasmito, "Rumus Pantjasila," 47-8; Dachlan, "Piagam Djakarta Sumber Hukum Mendjawai UUD 1945," Part 2, *Kiblat* No. 4 (July, 1968), 16.

34. Abdullah Sjahir, "Lagi Tentang: Piagam Jakarta" *Peraba* (III June, 1968), 6-7. Anshari later also takes this argument in his *Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945*, 136-7.
35. Dachlan, "Piagam Djakarta Sumber Hukum," Part 2, 16.
36. See "Negara Pantjasila Dirongrong: Pelaksanaan Piagam Djakarta Semakin Meluas" *Peraba* (II April, 1969), 5. In his article quoted above, T.B. Simatupang also hinted at these regional cases. See his *Dari Revolusi ke Pembangunan*, 157.
37. Samson, "Islam in Indonesian Politics," 1013.
38. The PMPI was an association of 36 Muslim youth organizations established in 1967 initially as a reaction to the Israeli-Palestinian war. See Feillard, *NU vis-à-vis Negara*, 133;136.
39. See *Kiblat* No. 4 (July, 1969), 25.
40. See "Natsir di UGM: Piagam Djakarta mendapat tepuk tangan dari mahasiswa jang pakai kudung..." *Peraba* (May 15, 1968), 5.
41. See *Peraba* (III July, 1968), 7.
42. HAMKA, "Pembahasan Dari Hal Intisari Undang-Undang Dasar 1945", dalam Solichin Salam (ed.), *Kenang-kenangan 70 Tahun Buya HAMKA* (Jakarta: Yayasan Nurul Islam, 1978), 279-80; Abdurrahman Wahid, "Kisah Sebuah Anak Kalimat" *Tempo* (7 November 1981) and reprinted in *Melawan Melalui Lelucon: Kumpulan Kolom Abdurrahman Wahid di Tempo* (Jakarta: Pusat Data & Analisa Tempo, 2000), 238-40.
43. See "Appeal Baru Presiden Suharto" *Kiblat*, No.23 (May, 1968), 4-5. Regarding the President's warning, *Kiblat* quoted *Angkatan Bersenjata*, 11 April 1968 and *Kompas*, 1 April 1968.
44. Andrée Feillard, *NU vis-à-vis Negara*, 131-2; 138.
45. See *Kiblat* No. 16 (January 1969); *Kiblat* No. 2 (June 1969), 26 and *Pandji Masyarakat* No.49 (December 1969), 16.
46. Hasbullah Bakry, "Problim Piagam Djakarta Bagi Umat Islam di Indonesia" *Peraba* (II June, 1968), 7-8.
47. See the interviews with him in *Kiblat* No. 8 (September, 1968), 19-22; No. 9 (October, 1968), 31-2; No. 11 (November, 1968), 46-7;50.
48. See "Sesudah Peringatan Piagam Djakarta Mau Apa?" *Kiblat* No. 4 (July, 1968), 19. The Majelis Ilmiah Islam was established in 1962 as an organization of experts to discuss the issues related to Islamic law. The Chairman was Hazairin, a professor of law at the University of Indonesia. Kasman Singodimedjo was the Vice Chairman and Saleh Suaidy was the General Secretary. Its members were about 50 persons. See M. Saleh Suaidy, "Sumbangan Pikiran Tentang Pembahasan Hukum Islam di Indonesia" *Kiblat* No. 1 Vol. 17 (June, 1969), 26.
49. Donald K. Emmerson, "Kesan Sebuah Perdjalan ke Sumatera: Pelaksanaan Unsur2 Sjar'iat Islam," *Kiblat* No. 9 (October, 1969), 24-29.
50. See "Penjembahan Berhala Diantjam 6 Bulan" *Praba* (25 March 1968), 4.
51. See "Pelaksanaan Piagam Djakarta Semakin Meluas" *Peraba* (II April, 1968), 5.
52. See *Suara Karya*, 16 June 1989; and "Peradilan Agama: Kebutuhan atau Kecemasan" *Tempo* (24 June 1989), 22-3.
53. Anshari collects nine different translations: (1) The Department of Information: *Belief in the One Supreme God*; (2) The Department of Religious Affairs: *Belief in God, the One*; (3) Muhammad Yamin: *Belief in the All-Embracing God*; (4) W.B. Sidjabat: *Divine Omnipotence*; (5) Harun Hadiwijuno: *The Absolute Lordship*; (6) R.M. Kafrawi: *The Being of Supreme Deity of Oneness*; (7) B.J. Boland: *Belief in the One and Only God*; (8) Justus M. van Kroef: *The Absolute Unity of God*; (9) C.A.O van Niewenhijze: *The Overlordship of God Who is Absolutely One*. Anshari himself preferred: *Belief in God Who is Absolutely One*. See his

- Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945*, 47 Note 8. In addition, T. B. Simatupang translates it: *One Godhead* and Eka Darmaputera: *One Lordship*. See T.B. Simatupang, "This is My Country" *International Review of Mission* 63 (July, 1974), 317; Eka Darmaputera, *Pancasila and the Search for Identity and Modernity in Indonesian Society: a Cultural and Ethical Analysis* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), 193.
54. HAMKA, *Urat Tunggang Pantjasila* (Djakarta: Pustaka Keluarga, 1952).
 55. Helmut Rosin, *Pantja-Sila* (Djakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen, 1951), especially, 16-37.
 56. Rahmat Subagya, *Pantja Sila Dasar Negara Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Basis, 1955), 49.
 57. Subagya, *Pantja Sila*, 34-5; 46-7; 55-7.
 58. Rosin, *Pantjasila*, 43.
 59. Subagya, *Pantja Sila*, 64.
 60. N. Driyarkara, "Pancasila dan Religi" reprinted in *Driyarkara Tentang Negara dan Bangsa* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1980), 60-1. The article was initially published in 1959.
 61. Driyarkara, "Pancasila dan Religi", 63. Italics in original.
 62. W.B. Sidjabat, *Religious Tolerance and the Christian Faith: A Study of the Concept of Divine Omnipotent in the Indonesian Constitution in the Light of Islam and Christianity* (Djakarta: BPK, 1965) 43; 74.
 63. See for instance, Prowoto Mangkusasmito, "Beberapa Saat Jang Menentukan Dalam Sedjarah Kita," *Kiblat* No. 2 (June 1968), 49; and Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban* (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1992), lxxxii-xcii.
 64. HAMKA, "Siapa Anti Pantjasila!" *Pandji Masjarakat* No. 4 (November, 1966), 3-4; 12. The same article is reprinted in HAMKA, *Dari Hati Ke Hati Tentang Agama Sosial-Budaya Politik*, 273-9.
 65. Syafruddin Prawiranegara, *Islam Sebagai Agama Perdamaian, Persatuan & Persaudaraan serta Pelindung Pancasila* (Djakarta: Ruhul Islam, 1967), 19.
 66. HAMKA, "Pantjasila Akan Hampa Tanpa Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa" *Pandji Masjarakat* No. 23 (January, 1968), 29.
 67. See an interview with Kasman, "Pantjasila Akan tetap Sakti Djikalau Diridhoi Allah" in *Kiblat* No. 11 (November, 1969), 55; and Mangkusasmito, "Beberapa Saat Jang Menentukan", 49.
 68. In fact, in Indonesia, the Christians also called God, 'Allah'. Nonetheless, Muslims usually pronounce the word 'Allah' with a thick emphasis on the double 'l' following the original Arabic pronunciation, while the Christians pronounce it with a thin 'l', perhaps originally because the western missionaries had difficulty to follow the correct Arabic pronunciation.
 69. HAMKA, "Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa" *Pandji Masjarakat* No. 23 (January, 1968), 3-5; and reprinted in HAMKA, *Dari Hati Ke Hati Tentang Agama Sosial-Budaya Politik*, 242-6.
 70. Nurcholish Madjid, "Selamatkan Pantjasila Agar Tidak Dipalsukan" *Pandji Masjarakat* No. 24 (January, 1968), 13.
 71. T.B. Simatupang, "Konstitusi dan Perundang-Undangan Dalam Negara Pancasila Yang Membangun" in his *Dari Revolusi ke Pembangunan*, 183.
 72. M. S. Pusposaputro, "Pantjasila dan Kebebasan Agama" *Basis* No. 9 Vol. 17 (June, 1968), 261-72.
 73. John Liku, "Pantja Sila Terhadap Objeksi" *Basis* No. 11 Vol. 18 (August, 1969), 358-67.
 74. Deliar Noer, *The Administration of Islam in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1978), 12.
 75. Noer, *The Administration of Islam*, 33.

76. See Azyumardi Azra, "H.M. Rasjidi BA: Pembentukan Kementerian Agama dalam Revolusi" in Azyumardi Azra and Saiful Umam (eds.), *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI Biografi Sosial-Politik* (Jakarta: INIS, PPIM, Litbang Depag, 1998), 8-10.
77. For the structure, see Noer, *The Administration of Islam*, 20.
78. B.J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 108-9.
79. C.A.O van Nieuwenhuijze, *Aspects of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesia* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1958), 236-43.
80. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam*, 110.
81. Wahid Hasjim, "Tugas Pemerintah Terhadap Agama" in H. Aboebakar (ed.), *Sedjarah Hidup K.H.A Wahid Hasjim dan Karangan Tersiar* (Jakarta: Panitia Buku Peringatan Alm. K.H.A. Wahid Hasjim, 1957), 873-77.
82. Jan S. Aritonang, *Sejarah Perjumpaan Kristen dan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: BPK, 2004), 289.
83. See Huub J.W.M. Boelaars, *Indonesianisasi. Dari Gereja Katolik di Indonesia Menjadi Gereja Katolik Indonesia* Trans. R. Hardawiryana (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2005), 128.
84. Aritonang, *Sejarah Perjumpaan*, 289-90.
85. Subagya, *Pantjasila*, 60-66. In an article published in Dutch, Bakker argued that from the very beginning, the Ministry was "a bulwark of Islam and an outpost for an Islamic State." See Boland, *The Struggle of Islam*, 106.
86. Wahid Hasyim, "Sekitar Pembentukan Kementerian Agama RIS" in *Kementerian Agama* (Djakarta: Pertjetakan Negara, no date), 3-8.
87. Sidjabat, *Religious Tolerance*, 50.
88. Sidjabat, *Religious Tolerance*, 51.
89. Sidjabat, *Religious Tolerance*, 60.
90. Abdul Aziz, "K.H. Muhammad Wahib Wahab: Kementerian Agama pada Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin" in Azra and Umam, *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI*, 193.
91. Muhammad Abdul Ghofur, "KH Saifuddin Zuhri: Eksistensi Agama dalam Nation Building" in Azra and Umam, *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI*, 222.
92. Anshari, *Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945*, 62, quoting KMA No.56/1967.
93. Pransa, "17 Agustus" *Peraba*, (August 11, 1968), 3-4. The last part of the article was reprinted in *Kiblat* No. 8 (September, 1968), 33.
94. See "Pegawai Dept. Agama Harus Djadi Pedjuang Islam" *Peraba* (IV August, 1968), 4.
95. See "Agama Islam Agama Negara?" *Peraba* (I September, 1968), 5.
96. Conversation with Steenbrink, 2004.
97. Moh. Bazor, *Departemen Agama?* (no publisher and date [probably 1969]), 7-24;40-42.
98. Veillot was a French ultra conservative who defended the rights of the Pope in Italy 1869-1870 when the Pope was expelled from his political power by the nationalist party of Victor Emmanuel.
99. See "Masih Perlukah Dept. Agama?" *Pandji Masyarakat* No.24 (January, 1968), 19-20.
100. See "Issue Menghapuskan Departemen Agama" in *Kiblat* No. 2 (June, 1968), 24-5;33.
101. Abu Hanifah, "Lampu Merah Buat Ummat Islam Indonesia" *Kiblat* No. 3 (July, 1968), 41.
102. T.B. Simatupang, "Pandangan Umum Terhadap Konsep Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara (GBHN) Yang Akan Datang," *Sinar Harapan* 14-15 May, 1981 and reprinted in T.B. Simatupang, *Iman Kristen dan Pancasila* (Jakarta: BPK, 1984), 155-67.
103. See Samudi Abdullah, "Tentang Teologi Pancasila: Catatan Untuk T.B. Simatupang" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 327 (June, 1981), 64-5; T.B. Simatupang, "Sama-Sama Menolak Teologi Pancasila" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 329 (July, 1981), 6. Both Muttaqien Darmawan's and Agus Matori's articles are quoted in this article.

104. Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 24.
105. See Simatupang's lecture delivered to a discussion organised by PMKRI in 1970 in his *Dari Revolusi ke Pembangunan*, 229-35. See also his lecture in the CSIS in 1986 in H.M. Victor Matondang (ed.), *Percakapan Dengan Dr. T.B. Simatupang* (Jakarta: BPK, 1989), 89-118.
106. Joop Beek, a Jesuit of mixed Dutch and Indonesian origin, was born in the Netherlands on 12 March 1917 and died in Indonesia on 17 September 1983. In 1935, he joined the Jesuit Order in Mariendaal (a House located in the small town of Grave, the Netherlands), and one year later was sent to Indonesia as a novice. He began his study at Giri Sonta, near Semarang and in the Ignatius College in Yogyakarta from 1939 to 1941. He was put in prison by the Japanese in July 1942 and released but then interned by the Indonesian Republic for seven months in 1946. He then went to Maastricht to study theology and was ordained a priest in 1948. From 1952 to 1956, he worked with students in Jalan Code, Yogyakarta. In 1957, in the same city, he started the student dormitory, Asrama Realino, where he worked until 1959. He worked at Gunung Sahari, Jakarta from 1960-1961, and at Jalan Kramat VII/25 school in Jakarta until 1974. From 1975 to his death, he worked at Gudang Peluru, Jalan Kepu Selatan, Jakarta. Beek took Indonesian citizenship sometimes in the 1970s. This biography is taken from David Bourchier, "Beek, Father Jopie SJ (Joop)" (no date and publisher). I thank Gerry van Klinken for giving me this valuable paper.
107. Interview with Paul de Blot, Nyenrode, 22 July 2003 and with Francis Wahono, a former Jesuit and a director of an NGO called 'Cindelaras' in Yogyakarta, 14 January 2004.
108. Interview with Paul de Blot, Nyenrode, 22 July 2003.
109. Hamish MacDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii, 1981), 102.
110. See Chapter 1.
111. See Leo Suryadinata, *Prominent Indonesian Chinese: Biographical Sketches* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1995), 216-17; and "Apa dan Siapa-Cosmas Batu-bara" in www.pdat.co.id/hg/apasiapa/html/C/ads,20030617-02,C.html (accessed 15 March 2005).
112. Interview with Augustine Prasetyo Murniati, Yogyakarta, 7 October 2002.
113. Promoedya Ananta Toer and Stanley Adi Prasetyo (eds.), *Memoar Oei Tjoe Tat* (Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1995), 317-18.
114. W.F. Wertheim, "Whose Plot? New Lights on the 1965 Events," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* Vol.9 No. 2 (1979), 206.
115. Quoted in W.F. Wertheim, "Indonesia's Hidden History of 1965: When Will the Archives be Declassified?" in Bob Hering (ed.), *Pramoedya Ananta Toer 70 Tahun: essays to honour Pramoedya Ananta Toer's 70th year* (Den Haag: Yayasan Kabar Seberang, 1995), 301. For the whole interview in Dutch, see Henk Maasen and Paul Ophey, "Aad van den Heuvel over the best bewaarde geheimen van Azië: De speler die de Wayang-poppen manipuleerde" *Indonesia Magazine* (July-August, 1993), 12-15. In 1991, Van den Heuvel published a novel entitled *Het Stenen Tijdperk* in which he discloses some hidden activities of Beek in a pseudonym, Herman Sloot.
116. Interview with Paul de Blot, Nyenrode, 22 July 2003.
117. McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia*, 102.
118. Brian May, *The Indonesian Tragedy* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), 238. See also Heru Cahyono, *Pangkopkamtib Jenderal Soemitro* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1998), 37.
119. Interview with Paul de Blot, Nyenrode, 22 July 2003; McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia*, 102.
120. A tape recording of this interview (in Dutch) is registered as KMM 526 in the Katholiek Documentatie Centrum, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen University. I thank Karel A.

- Steenbrink for locating and transcribing this source and sharing its content with me. This source hereafter is referred to as Mathilda Maria van Thienen.
121. Confidential interview, Yogyakarta, September 2002.
 122. Richard Tanter, "Beek, Father J. van. SJ" Appendix 1 of his "Intelligence, Agencies and Third World Militarization: A Case Study of Indonesia" (PhD. Thesis, Monash University, 1991). The brutality in the training is also confirmed by my informants. The sanctions given to those who could not fulfil their assignments were very hard: one said that he was tightened on a chair and put in a dark room and a snake (probably not poisonous) was put on his shoulders; another said that he was tied without clothes except his underwear and mud was poured onto his body and then he was kept there for the whole night while mosquitoes freely bit him; another said that she was confined to a room without food for three days. Interviews in Yogyakarta, September and October 2002.
 123. Mathilda Maria van Thienen.
 124. See "Cosmas Batubara: Pater Beek Bukan Agen CIA" in Tim ISAI, *Bayang-Bayang PKI* (Jakarta: ISAI, 1995), 43.
 125. Daniel T. Sparringa, "Discourse, Democracy and Intellectuals in New Order Indonesia: A Qualitative Sociological Study" (PhD Thesis, Flinders University of South Australia, 1997), 250-1.
 126. Interview with B. Suryasmoro Ispandrihari, Yogyakarta, 30 September 2002. See also his book, *Penampakan Bunda Maria, Counter Discourse Atas Hegemoni Gereja & Rezim Orde Baru* (Yogyakarta: KesAnt, 2000), 24. Suryasmoro Ispandrihari is a former khasebul trainee who later decided to leave the khasebul alumni network. It is unclear to me why he rebelled but I got the impression that it was because of internal conflict among Catholic activists. His book, which circulated in a very limited number of copies, is apparently the first Indonesian source explaining the khasebul programme to outsiders. His account of the khasebul might be exaggerated but my interviews with other Catholic activists (including one person who claimed that he was still active in the network) mostly confirmed Ispandrihari's account.
 127. Interview with Damai Pakpahan, Yogyakarta, 4 October 2002.
 128. Mathilda Maria van Thienen.
 129. Richard Tanter, "Beek, Father J. van. SJ".
 130. Interview with a former Jesuit, Francis Wahono, Yogyakarta, 14 January 2004.
 131. There was a series of books on Kursus Kader Katolik (Catholic Cadre Courses) published in the early period of the New Order. For the khasebul level, the books include the following titles: *Kursus Berpidato* (public speaking) *Teknik Berdiskusi* (techniques of discussion) *Metode Tiga Tahap* (three-stage method), *Aksi Propaganda* (propaganda action) and *Sel dan Tatakerdjanja* (cell and its work). By this period, students at the Catholic seminaries who were not khasebul trainees could also read the books because they were available in the library. Confidential Interview, December 2003.
 132. Anonymous, *Sel dan Tatakerdjanja* (Kursus Kader Katolik, Sekretariat Nasional K.M. Gunung Sahari 88, Djakarta V/3, 1968), 5-9.
 133. Anonymous, *Sel dan Tatakerdjanja*, 13-14; 26-37; 49-49-74. General Soemitro, the former Operational Commander for Restoration of Security and Order (Pangkopkamtib) in the early 1970s said: "It is also mentioned in a document that this group [Beek's] has networks in all sub-districts in Java, namely through an information bureau. Thus, if Jakarta wants to blow up an issue, then in a wink of the eye, the information has already reached Surabaya." Cahyono, *Pangkopkamtib Jenderal Soemitro*, 35-6

134. Interview with Paul de Blot, Nyenrode, 22 July 2003. In his recent article, Batubara also hints at the importance of the report of the khasebul alumni. See Cosmas Batubara, "Pemikiran dan Pandangan Harry" in Hadi Soesastro, J. Kristiadi and Arief Priyadi (eds.), *Budi dan Nalar: 70 Tahun Harry Tjan Silalahi* (Jakarta: CSIS, 2004), 106.
135. The list of the codes is revealed in Ispandrihari, *Penampakan Bunda Maria*, 73-5. For example, 'Pak Nurman' is a code for 'Nahdlatul Ulama,' and 'mBak Sis' for 'CSIS.'
136. Tanter, "Beek, Father J. van. SJ".
137. The term 'khasebul' has been changed into 'madha' an acronym for 'mawas diri harian' (daily introspection). Interview with B. Suryasmoro Ispandrihari, Yogyakarta, 30 September 2002 and 12 January 2004.
138. Interview with Damai Pakpahan, Yogyakarta, 4 October 2002. Ispandrihari, *Penampakan Bunda Maria*, 23, note 5.
139. Interview with Andry Kristiawan Sutrisno and B. Suryasmoro Ispandrihari, Yogyakarta, 14 October 2002.
140. May, *The Indonesian Tragedy*, 159. Jenkins notes: "At the time of the 1977 general elections, Suharto received Ignatius Joseph Kasimo, Frans Seda and several other leaders of the former Catholic Party. Before the group was seated the president is said to have declared: 'Our common enemy is Islam!'" See David Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals: Indonesian Military Politics 1975-1983* (Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1984), 29.
141. Suryadinata, *Prominent Indonesian Chinese*, 216-17.
142. McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia*, 36.
143. McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia*, 101; Jenkins, *Suharto and His Generals*, 56-9.
144. Cahyono, *Pangkopkamtib Jenderal Soemitro*, 36-7.
145. Tanter, "Beek, Father J. van SJ".
146. For a detailed account of Sekber Golkar and its transformation, see Leo Suryadinata, *Military Ascendancy and Political Culture: A Study of Indonesia's Golkar* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1985), Chapter 1 and 2; David Reeve, *Golkar of Indonesia: An Alternative to the Party System* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1985), Chapter 5 and 6.
147. Quoted in Wertheim, "Indonesia's Hidden History of 1965", 301.
148. May, *The Indonesian Tragedy*, 238.
149. Interview with Paul de Blot, Nyenrode, 22 July 2003.
150. In 1971, Cosmas Batubara was a member of the Central Executive Board while Jusuf Wanandi was Deputy Secretary General. In 1973-1978, both of them were at the Central Executive Board: Wanandi was Secretary General for General Matters and Planning and Batubara was Secretary for Organization and Education. In 1978-1983, Batubara was secretary and member of the Supervisor's Council and Wanandi was Deputy Treasurer. In 1983-1988, Batubara was secretary and member of the Daily Board of the Supervisor's Council and Wanandi was in the Department of Foreign Relations of the Central Executive Board. For a complete list of Golkar's leadership in this period, see Suryadinata, *Military Ascendancy*, 147-54.
151. Cosmas Batubara is of Batak origin while Beek's other prominent students are Chinese. Perhaps this was the reason why only Batubara became one of Soeharto's ministers, while Jusuf Wanandi and Sofyan Wanandi were only appointed as members of the Parliament (DPR) and the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). While Jusuf Wanandi was more active in intellectual discourses at the CSIS, Sofyan Wanandi was more active in business and known as one of the Chinese conglomerates in Indonesia. In 1978, another student of Beek, Harry Tjan Silalahi was appointed to be a member of the State

- Advisory Council (DPA). There is another prominent Catholic who held some important ministerial positions, that is, J.B. Sumarlin. He worked for ten years (1973-1983) as the Deputy of the Head of the Body of the State Development Planning (Bappenas) and at the same time was the Minister of Empowering State Apparatus (Menpan). From 1983-1988, he was the head of the Bappenas and at the same time the Minister of the National Development Planning. It seems, however, Sumarlin was not counted as an ally by Beek's group. Sumarlin was one of the 'Berkeley Mafia', that is the economists who graduated from the University of California and led by Widjojo Nitisastro and became the economic team of the Government. According to Soemitro, the CSIS group disliked and wanted to replace Nitisastro's group in 1970s, but did not succeed. The economist of the CSIS was Panglaykim, a professor of economics of Chinese descent at the University of Indonesia. Cahyono, *Pangkopkamtib Jenderal Soemitro*, 84-6; and "J.B. Sumarlin Mengabdikan di Pusat Kebijakan Ekonomi" in www.tokohindonesia.com/ensiklopedia/j/jb-sumarlin/index.shtml (accessed 15 March 2005).
152. Interview with Harry Tjan Silalahi, Jakarta, 22 December 2003. See also Harry Tjan Silalahi, "CENTER Lahir dari Tantangan Jaman" in *CSIS 20 Tahun* (Jakarta: CSIS, 1991), 18; 20-1.
 153. Harry Tjan Silalahi, "ThinkTank" in *Sekar Semerbak, Kenangan Untuk Ali Moertopo* (Jakarta: Yayasan Proklamasi, CSIS, 1985), 334-41.
 154. On another occasion, Soemitro also mentions two Chinese businessmen who probably funded the CSIS: Nyo Han Siang, the boss of the AK Building, Jakarta and Liem Bian Khoen (Sofjan Wanandi). See Heru Cahyono, *Pangkopkamtib Jenderal Soemitro*, 36; 43; Ramadhan K.H., *Soemitro (Mantan Pangkopkamtib) Dari Pangdam Mulawarman Sampai Pangkopkamtib* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1994), 253.
 155. Julius Pour, *Benny Moerdani: Profil Prajurit Negarawan* (Jakarta: Yayasan Keuangan Panglima Besar Sudirman, 1993), 302-4.
 156. See "Setelah Malari Benny Datang," *Forum Keadilan* No.2 (May 13, 1993), 15.
 157. Cahyono, *Pangkopkamtib Jenderal Soemitro*, 37.
 158. Another Christian thinker, Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464) reformulated this idea further by developing a doctrine of 'universal harmony' in which he explained the harmonious hierarchy of the cosmos based on a Trinitarian configuration. See Nicholas of Cusa, *The Catholic Concordance*, Trans. Paul E. Sigmund (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
 159. Daniel Dhakidae, *Cendekiawan dan Kekuasaan Dalam Negara Orde Baru* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2003), 616-35.
 160. Dhakidae, *Cendekiawan*, 656-7.
 161. Interview with Paul de Blot, Nyenrode, 22 July 2003.
 162. For comprehensive and critical study of Soepomo's speech on the integralistic state, see Marsillam Simanjuntak, *Pandangan Negara Integralistik: Sumber, Unsur dan Riwayatnya dalam Persiapan UUD 1945* (Jakarta: Grafiti, 1994).
 163. Simanjuntak, *Pandangan Negara Integralistik*, 52-3.
 164. Donald J. Porter, *Managing Politics and Islam in Indonesia* (London: Routledge, 2002), 30-3.
 165. BP7 is 'Badan Pembinaan Pendidikan Pelaksanaan Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila' (The Body for Supervising the Education on the Implementation of the Guide for Internalisation and Actualisation of Pancasila).
 166. Krissantono (ed.), *Pandangan Presiden Soeharto Tentang Pancasila 2nd Edition* (Jakarta: Yayasan Proklamasi, CSIS, 1976), 52; 60.

167. See P-4, *The Guide to the Living and Practice of Pancasila and GBHN, The Broad Outlines of the State Policy* (Jakarta: Yayasan Proklamasi, CSIS, 1978).
168. Ali Moertopo, *Strategi Kebudayaan* (Jakarta: CSIS, 1978), 61-3.
169. A.M.W. Pranarka, *Sejarah Pemikiran Tentang Pancasila* (Jakarta: CSIS, 1985), 356-61.
170. Interview with Husein Umar, Jakarta, 22 October 2003.
171. The full text of Pranarka's article entitled "Secara Kulturil Nasionalisme Adalah Dalil Dasar Sejarah Indonesia" is reprinted in Muhammad Rasjidi, *Strategi Kebudayaan dan Pembaharuan Pendidikan Nasional* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1980), 44-57.
172. Pranarka, "Secara Kulturil", 48.
173. Pranarka, "Secara Kulturil", 55.
174. Rasjidi, *Strategi Kebudayaan*, 24; 29-30.
175. Rasjidi, *Strategi Kebudayaan*, 33.
176. Rasjidi, *Strategi Kebudayaan*, 28; 34-5;39.
177. Soebagijo I.N. "Dari Saridi ke Rasjidi" in Endang Basri Ananda (ed.), *70 Tahun Prof. Dr. H.M. Rasjidi* (Jakarta: Pelita, 1985), 77.
178. Interview with Agustine Prasetyo Murniati, Yogyakarta, 7 October 2002.
179. McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia*, 102.
180. McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia*, 102.
181. Bourchier, Beek, "Father Jopie SJ (Joop)." According to Soemitro, General Soetoepto Jowono, the head of BAKIN in the early 1970s once asked the Vatican to remove Beek from Indonesia and this was successful but only for a short period. Soemitro, however, does not clearly specify how long and when exactly Beek was removed. Cahyono, *Pangkop-kamtib Jenderal Soemitro*, 34-5.
182. Interview with Daniel Dhakidae, Jakarta, 18 December 2003 and with B. Suryasmoro Ispandrihari, Yogyakarta, 30 September 2002. According to Ispandrihari, Mangunwijaya once translated 'khasebul' into 'khasebol' an acronym for 'khalwat serba boleh' (literally means 'all is permissible retreat') to imply that the ideology of the khasebul is 'the end justifies the means.'
183. Interview with Francis Wahono, 14 January 2004.
184. Interview with St. Sunardi, Yogyakarta, 2 October 2002.
185. Interview with Father Ismartono, Yogyakarta, 5 October 2002.
186. Interview with Paul de Blot, Nyenrode, 22 July 2003.
187. Email communication, 23 September 2002.
188. Interview with Father Ismartono, Yogyakarta, 5 October 2002.
189. Confidential Interview, September 2002.
190. Interview with Andry Kristiawan Sutrisno, Yogyakarta, 14 October 2002. He said that, when he graduated from the Martoyodan Middle Seminary, Yogyakarta, he was advised by a priest on not joining the khasebul. He then followed the advice.
191. Confidential Interview, Jakarta, December 2003.
192. For a discussion on Muslim responses to the regulation, see Faisal Ismail, *Islam and Pancasila: Indonesian Politics 1945-1995* (Jakarta: Litbang Depag, 2001), Chapter 3.
193. For an English translation of the letter, see Syafruddin Prawiranegara, "Pancasila as the Sole Foundation" *Indonesia* No. 38 (October, 1984), 74-83.
194. The new 'P' refers to 'Persekutuan' (Communion) as differentiated from the old 'D' that refers to 'Dewan' (Council). The official explanation of this change is to develop ecumenism among the Protestant churches. See the text of PGI's Constitution, in Weinata Sairin (ed.), *Himpunan Peraturan di Bidang Keagamaan* (Jakarta: BPK, 1994), 372-92.
195. Aritonang, *Sejarah Perjumpaan*, 440-2.

196. J.W.M. Boelaars, *Indonesianisasi: Dari Gereja Katolik di Indonesia Menjadi Gereja Katolik Indonesia* trans. R. Hardawiyana (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2005), 326-36.
197. The old 'MA' refers to 'Majelis Agung' (High Council), while the new 'K' refers to 'Konferensi' (Conference). The official explanation of this change was that the new Canon Law (introduced in 1983) did not mention 'Council' of Bishops but *Conferentia Episcoporum*. See Boelaars, *Indonesianisasi*, 332.
198. See Douglas E. Ramage, *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam and the Ideology of Tolerance* (London: Routledge, 1995).
199. Namely that 'Yang Maha Esa' is *tawhid* according to Ki Bagus Hadikusomo and therefore the Islamic law can be applied by the state. See Ahmad Azhar Basyir, "Hubungan Agama dan Pancasila," in *Peranan Agama Dalam Pemantapan Ideologi Negara Pancasila* (Jakarta: Badan Litbang Agama: 1984/1985), 41-44.
200. Achmad Siddiq, "Hubungan Agama dan Pancasila" in *Peranan Agama Dalam Pemantapan Ideologi Negara Pancasila*, 21-34.
201. Nurcholish Madjid's renewal movement is discussed in Chapter 6.
202. Nurcholish Madjid, "Pembahasan Atas Makalah K.H. Achmad Siddiq 'Hubungan Agama dan Pancasila'" in *Peranan Agama Dalam Pemantapan Ideologi Negara Pancasila* (Jakarta: Badan Litbang Agama: 1984/1985), 35-8.
203. See Mujiburrahman, "Islam and Politics in Indonesia: the political thought of Abdurrahman Wahid," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* Vol. 10 (October 1999), 339-352.
204. Ramage, *Politics in Indonesia*, 45-74.
205. On this regular Seminar, see Chapter 6.
206. Eka Darmaputera "Beberapa Catatan Sosio-Kultural Tentang Masalah Sekitar Identitas dan Modernisasi di Indonesia" in *Kumpulan Rekaman Hasil Seminar Agama-Agama Bidang Islam V dan VI* (Jakarta: Litbang PGI, no date). For his thesis, see Darmaputera, *Pancasila and the Search for Identity and Modernity*.
207. Eka Darmaputera, "Keadilan Dalam Pancasila: Suatu Analisa Budaya" in *Kumpulan Rekaman Hasil Seminar Agama-Agama Bidang Islam V dan VI* (Jakarta: Litbang PGI, no date).
208. See Mujiburrahman, "The Diaspora Church in Indonesia: Mangunwijaya on Nationalism, Humanism and Catholic Praxis" *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* No. 4 Vol. 38 (2001), 466-8.

Notes Chapter 4

1. Daniel S. Lev, *Islamic Courts in Indonesia: A Study in the Political Bases of Legal Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 54-5. For the text of the Law, see Hasbullah Bakry, *Kumpulan Lengkap Undang-Undang dan Peraturan Perkawinan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1978), 119-30.
2. Zaini Ahmad Noeh, "Perkembangan Setelah Undang-Undang Perkawinan", a supplementary chapter to Daniel S. Lev, *Peradilan Agama Islam di Indonesia: Suatu Studi Tentang Landasan Politik Lembaga-Lembaga Hukum* 2nd Edition (Jakarta: Intermedia, 1982), 327-9.
3. For the text of HOCl, see Weinata Sairin and J.M. Pattiasina (eds.), *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan Dalam Perspektif Kristen* (Jakarta: BPK, 1994), 391-411.
4. The following account is taken from Nani Soewondo, *Kedudukan Wanita Indonesia Dalam Hukum dan Masyarakat* (Jakarta: Ghalia, 1981), 86-96; Noeh, "Perkembangan Setelah Undang-Undang Perkawinan", 330-332; Sudargo Gautama, *Segi-Segi Hukum Peraturan Perkawinan Campuran* Revised Edition (Bandung: P.T. Aditya Bakti, 1996),

- 255-60. The last book was originally a PhD thesis submitted to the Faculty of Law, University of Indonesia in 1955. It is noteworthy that Nani Soewondo was a leading activist of women's rights and a member of the Committee; Zaini Ahmad Noeh used to be an official of the Ministry of Religion in the Islamic Court Section and Sudargo Gautama was a leading scholar of law in Indonesia.
5. Sudargo Gautama noted that on 11 February 1959, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), also proposed another marriage bill. Gautama, *Segi-Segi Hukum Peraturan*, 259. Maria Ulfah, Nani Soewondo, Zaini Ahmad Noeh and others did not mention this fact at all and this was, perhaps, because they wrote during the New Order. Moreover, it is unclear to me whether the PKI's bill was also included in the Parliamentary discussions. In any case, this obviously indicates that the legislation on marriage was a politico-ideological battlefield.
 6. To practice polygamy, the bill required the husband (1) to get permission from his early wife or wives; (2) to make a written testament that he must be just to his wives; and (3) to prove that he could fulfil their needs. In addition, the bill also stipulated that polygamy could be prevented by a written testament of a husband in the marriage contract. Soewondo, *Kedudukan Wanita Indonesia*, 98.
 7. Noeh, "Perkembangan Setelah Undang-Undang Perkawinan", 332.
 8. See Decree No. XXVII/MPRS/1966 on People's Welfare. The marriage law was mentioned in article 1, section 2 of the decree. For a full text of the decree, see Abdul Kadir Besar, *Himpunan Ketetapan-Ketetapan M.P.R.S.* (Jakarta: Pantjuran Tudjuh, 1969), 105-8.
 9. President Soekarno established the LPHN (Lembaga Pembinaan Hukum Nasional) on 30 March 1958. Structurally, the LPHN was under the Prime Minister's supervision, but later, since May 1961, it was under the Minister of Justice. On 26 August 1974, President Soeharto changed the LPHN into BPHN (Badan Pembinaan Hukum Nasional) and made it a unit of the Department of Justice. See Soewondo, *Kedudukan Wanita Indonesia*, 26-8.
 10. Noeh, "Perkembangan Setelah Undang-Undang Perkawinan," 333.
 11. Donald K. Emmerson, *Indonesia's Elite: Political Culture and Cultural Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), 228-9.
 12. See few quotations from the Bill of the Department of Justice in B.J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 167.
 13. Soewondo, *Kedudukan Wanita Indonesia*, 100-2.
 14. See "RUU Perkawinan, Aksi dan Reaksi" *Tempo* (8 September 1973), 7. Boland mentions a debate on polygamy but it is unclear whether this issue was the main reason for the deadlock. See Boland, *The Struggle of Islam*, 167-8.
 15. See "Sambil Menanti Undang-Undang Hawa" *Tempo* (30 June 1973), 50.
 16. See Hasbullah Bakry, "Kerjasama Islam-Kristen Perlu Ditingkatkan" *Kiblat* No. 7 (September, 1969), 24 and the account of Anwar Harjono's view in *Tempo* (30 June 1973), 50.
 17. Indeed, the editor of *Kiblat* noted that at that time, 13 factions (*fraksi*) in Parliament agreed, 2 abstained and 1 rejected the bill. See "RUU Perkawinan" *Kiblat* No. 8 (September, 1973), 46.
 18. Andrée Feillard, *NU vis-à-vis Negara: Pencarian Isi, Bentuk dan Makna* Trans. Lesmana (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 1999), 129-30, quoting the official text of the elucidation of the bill.
 19. Interview with Harry Tjan Silalahi, Jakarta, 22 December 2003.
 20. *Kiblat* reported that *Operasi* newspaper published the contents of the memorandum in five days consecutively, that is, from 14 to 19 April 1969. See *Kiblat* No.22 (April, 1969), 4-5. Later *Kiblat* also published the full text of the memorandum in May, while the Catholic weekly *Peraba* published it in July. See "Pokok2 Pikiran Fraksi Katholik Men-

- genai Rantjangan Undang2 Perkawinan Umat Islam," *Kiblat* No. 23 (May, 1969), 17-20; see also "Pokok-Pokok Pikiran Fraksi Katolik: Rantjangan Undang2 Ketentuan2 Pokok Perkawinan dan Rantjangan Undang2 Tentang Peraturan Pernikahan Umat Islam," *Pera-ba* (July I, 1969), 3-6. The memorandum was reprinted in Muhammad Rasjidi, *Kasus RUU Perkawinan Dalam Hubungan Islam dan Kristen* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1974), 34-9.
21. I used the plural word because the original title of the memorandum indicates that it was directed against the two bills, although its main target was clearly the Islamic marriage bill.
 22. This is a strong clue that the alliance between the Catholics and the Javanese *abangan* military officers was now well established.
 23. See "Katholik Mulai Praktekkan Adjaran Paulus 'Segala Sesuatu Halal Bagiku' (Korintus 6:12)" *Kiblat* No. 22 (April, 1969), 4-5 quoting anonymous Muslim views from *Operasi* and *Abadi* newspapers. See also the interview with Kasman Singodimedjo entitled "Untuk Ketertiban Masyarakat: Perlu Segera Dikeluarkan UU Pernikahan" *Kiblat* No. 1 (June, 1969), 21-23. Ki Urip Sekaten, "Wahai Ummat Pantjasilais: Waspadalah! Kaum Sekularis Penghalang Lahirnja Undang-Undang Perkawinan Ummat Islam di Indonesia," *Kiblat* No. 22 (April, 1969), 12-14; 26.
 24. Lev, *Islamic Courts in Indonesia*, 139-40.
 25. She was very much against polygamy and probably wanted to prevent her husband from imitating the previous President, Soekarno, who was polygamous.
 26. Arso Sosroatmodjo & Wasit Aulawi, *Hukum Perkawinan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1978), 22-4. Rachmawati S. "Kawin Cerai, Pengadilan dan KB" *Tempo* (30 June 1973), 47-8.
 27. There was no record of serious violence but several students were arrested. See "RUU Perkawinan: Sumpah Para Ulama" *Tempo* (1 September 1973), 6; "Demonstrasi: Ada 'Allahu Akbar' Dari Luar" *Tempo* (6 October 1973), 6-7; "RUU Perkawinan: Bumbu-Bumbu Masakan Baru" *Tempo* (13 October 1973), 6; "Demonstrasi: 13 Yang Bebas" *Tempo* (3 November 1973), 13; "Berita dan Komentar" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 137 (October, 1973), 6-7; "Berita dan Komentar" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 138 (November, 1973), 7.
 28. On these articles and their later amendments, see Muhammad Kamal Hassan, *Muslim Intellectual Responses to 'New Order' Modernization in Indonesia* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1982), 147-54. June S. Katz & Ronald S. Katz, "The New Indonesian Marriage Law: A Mirror of Indonesia's Political, Cultural, and Legal System" *The American Journal of Comparative Law* Vol. 23 (1975), 653-81; Nani Soewondo, "The Indonesian Marriage Law and Its Implementing Regulations" *Archipel* 13 (1977), 283-313.
 29. For a complete figure of the vote of all parties compared with the votes in 1955 elections, see B.B. Hering and G.A. Willis, *The Indonesian General Election of 1971* (Bruxelles: Centre d'Etude du Sud-Est Asiatique et de l'Extreme Orient, 1973), 15b. On the elections, see Ken Ward, *The 1971 Elections in Indonesia: An East Java Case Study* (Victoria: Monash University, 1974).
 30. Hamish McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1981), 108.
 31. HAMKA, "RUU Perkawinan Yang Menggoncangkan" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 134 (September, 1973), 4-5; 33; also published in *Kiblat* No. 7 (September, 1973), 9-10 and *Harian Kami* 24 August 1973. A summary of the article is given in Emerson, *Indonesia's Elite*, 231-2.
 32. See "RUU Perkawinan dan Ummat Islam" *Abadi*, 13 August 1973, reprinted in *Sekitar Pembentukan Undang-Undang Perkawinan Beserta Peraturan Pelaksanaannya* (Jakarta: Dirjen Hukum dan Perundang-Undangan, Departemen Kehakiman, 1974), 152-3.

33. There is a report that Muslim students insisted that Idham Chalid not compromise but reject the bill. See "Demonstrasi: Ada 'Allahu Akbar' Dari Luar" *Tempo* (6 October 1973), 6. Several students also came to Masjkur's house and tried to prevent him from attending the parliament session unless he promised that he would struggle for eliminating the articles of the bill contradicting the Islamic law. See Soebagio I.N., *K.H. Masjkur, Sebuah Biografi* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1982), 226-7.
34. Mukti Ali was under military protection from demonstrators during the controversy. See Feillard, *NU vis-à-vis Negara*, 192. In an article, Rasjidi later bitterly said that Mukti Ali "almost approved the secular marriage bill." See Muhammad Rasjidi, "Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam: Sebuah Tragedi" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 346 (January, 1982), 42-3. It is noteworthy that Mukti Ali was politically weaker than the previous Ministers of Religion. See Chapter 6.
35. *Panji Masyarakat* No. 135 (September, 1973), 7-8.
36. See M. Sanusi, "Demi Keamanan dan Suksesnya Pembangunan: Tarik Kembali RUU Perkawinan" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 135 (September, 1973), 6.
37. See for instance, "Rencana Undang-Undang Perkawinan" *Indonesia Raya*, 23 August 1973, reprinted in *Kiblat* No. 7 (September, 1973), 8 and Aminah Norman, "Dua Kepentingan Dalam RUU Perkawinan" *Indonesia Raya*, 4 September 1973, reprinted in *Sekitar Pembentukan*, 165-170.
38. McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia*, 134; Heru Cahyono, *Pangkopkamtib Jenderal Soemitro dan Persitiwa 15 Januari '74* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1998), 151-2. For the NU's role in the lobbying, see Feillard, *NU vis-à-vis Negara*, 192-7. For the involvement of the reformist Muslim leaders, see "Berita dan Komentar," *Panji Masyarakat* No. 137 (October, 1973), 5-7;34.
39. The content of the compromise is discussed below.
40. See the studies quoted in note 28.
41. Emerson, *Indonesia's Elite*, 228-45.
42. See for instance, June S. Katz & Ronald S. Katz, "Legislating Social Change in a Developing Country: The New Indonesian Marriage Law Revisited" *The American Journal of Comparative Law* Vol. 26 (1978), 309-20; Mark Cammack, Lawrence A. Young and Tim Heaton, "Legislating Social Change in an Islamic Society – Indonesia's Marriage Law" *The American Journal of Comparative Law* Vol. 44 (1996), 45-73.
43. Crouch, *The Army and Politics*, 313.
44. See "Khotbah Buat Negarawan dan Si Polan," *Tempo* (15 September 1973), 43.
45. See "RUU Perkawinan, Aksi dan Reaksi" *Tempo* (8 September 1973), 7.
46. Emerson, *Indonesia's Elite*, 239-40.
47. SARA is an acronym of *Suku* (ethnicity), *Agama* (religion), *Ras* (race) and *Antar-golongan* (inter-class). Based on the idea of political stability for the sake of development, the New Order Government prohibited people from talking about issues of conflict of SARA publicly. In terms of religion (Agama), the issues include the Jakarta Charter or Islamic State and Christianisation.
48. See "Berita dan Komentar" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 136 (October, 1973), 9.
49. See "RUU Perkawinan, Aksi dan Reaksi" *Tempo* (8 September 1973), 6-8. General Soemitro also believed that the bill was the work of the CSIS. See Cahyono, *Pangkopkamtib Jenderal Soemitro*, 40-1; 150. Husein Umar of the DDII had the same opinion as Soemitro. Nonetheless, Harry Tjan Silalahi of the CSIS denied any involvement in drafting the bill and pointed his finger at the CSIS group's rival in Golkar, the State Secretary, Sudharmono. Interviews in Jakarta with Husein Umar, 22 October 2003; and Harry Tjan Silalahi, 22 December 2003. On the CSIS, see Chapter 3.

50. See "Catholic Worker' Apa Kegiatan Orang Katolik di Indonesia" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 136 (October, 1973), 25.
51. This perception was implicitly stated in an article written by Natsir about two months before the controversy. Natsir wrote that in contrast to the Muslim minorities in India, Thailand and the Philippines who suffered from discrimination, the Christian minorities in Indonesia did not. "The Christian minority groups can live peacefully side by side with the Muslim majority and even they can take important positions in the Cabinet and state apparatus of both military and civil services of the central and regional governments. *They can become a Minister, a Governor of the Central Bank, a Commander of Armed Forces, a Commander of Regional Defence and Security, a Commander of a Military Division, a Commander of Military Resort, a Commander of Military District, and any position without discrimination. They can even lead and control the largest party and political faction in Indonesia, that is, Golkar, inside and outside the legislative body.*" See Mohammad Natsir, "Sekali Lagi 'Kerukunan Hidup Antar Agama': Sumbangsih Untuk Prof. Dr. Verkuy!" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 129 (June 1973), 16. Italics mine.
52. Rusydi, "Siapa Dalangnya?" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 138 (November, 1973), 8-9.
53. In his speech on 16 August 1973, the President asserted that in the state based on Pancasila "marriage is strongly related to religious and spiritual elements." See "Presiden Suharto: Perkawinan Sangat Erat Dengan Unsur2 Keagamaan dan Kerohanian" *Kiblat* No. 7 (September, 1973), 4.
54. This case and Rasjidi's article are to be discussed below.
55. Sum Ireng, "Siapa Konseptor RUU Perkawinan?" *Hidup* No. 48 (23 December 1973), 759.
56. See "Fokus Kita" *Tempo* (20 October 1973), 1.
57. George J. Aditjondro is actually one of the khasebul alumni but he is also among the earliest cadres who decided to leave the khasebul network. On khasebul, see Chapter 3.
58. See "Katolik: Bola Salju Mulai Menggelinding ?" *Tempo* (20 October 1973), 45-8.
59. There was a response to *Tempo's* coverage from Y.B. Mangunwijaya, a priest who was to become famous in the following decades. He wrote that some Catholic priests were unhappy with the report, but he suggested that whether it was partial or not (he thought it was), it was good for the Church to be more critical of herself. Using Kantian terms, he argued that the report only covered the 'phenomena' not the 'noumena' of the Church. See Y.B. Mangunwijaya, "Menangkap Tanda2 Tempo" *Peraba* (November 1, 1973), 6-7.
60. Sarmudi, "Perkembangan Pemikiran Baru Dikalangan Gereja Katolik di Indonesia: Usaha Mencapai Modus Vivendi Antara Islam dan Nasrani" *Panji Masyarakat* No.142 (January, 1974), 16-17.
61. Muhammad Rasjidi, "The Role of Christian Missions: the Indonesian Experience" *International Review of Mission* Vol. 65 No. 260 (October, 1976), 432.
62. Rasjidi, "The Role of Christian Missions", 435.
63. I use the word 'faction' here to refer to the Indonesian word 'fraksi' which means a political grouping in the Parliament. Since 1973 to the end of the New Order, there were four 'fraksi': PPP, PDI, Golkar and ABRI.
64. Hassan, *Muslim Intellectual Responses*, 151 quoting *The Jakarta Times*, 15 August 1973. The Muslims were certainly upset with Sugiharto's statement. It was reported that in Bandung, Muslim demonstrators said that the statement indicated that Golkar deceived the Muslim voters because in its campaign for the election, the party promised to develop religious values in the country. See "Berita dan Komentar" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 140 (December 1973), 8-9.

65. This is clearly a reiteration of the so-called 'reception theory' introduced by Dutch scholars, C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) and C. van Vollenhoven (1874-1933). The idea is that law should be 'indigenous' and foreign laws (Islamic and Western laws) can only become the law for the natives if they are already received into the indigenous one. The indigenous was nothing but *adat* (custom) that already existed among various ethnic groups in the country. The proponents of Islamic law opposed this theory, and one of them called it a theory of the Devil. See Lev, *Islamic Courts*, 196-8. Likewise, *adat* regulations were sometimes also in rivalry or even in conflict with Christian rulings on marriage. See John M. Prior, *Church and Marriage in an Indonesian Village: a Study of Customary and Church Marriage among the Ata Lio of Central Flores* (Bern: Verlag Peter Lang, 1987).
66. See the speeches of Golkar's speaker, Nelly Adam Malik, of the Minister of Justice Oemar Seno Adji and of the Minister of Religion, A. Mukti Ali in *Sekitar Pembentukan*, 43-52; 72-3; 131-6.
67. See his speech in *Sekitar Pembentukan*, 76-77.
68. See his speech in *Sekitar Pembentukan*, 102.
69. See his speech in *Sekitar Pembentukan*, 82-7. For Muslim arguments for legal differentiation outside Parliament, see Anwar Haryono, "RUU Perkawinan, Kesadaran Hukum dan UUD '45" published in *Abadi*, 27 August 1973 and *Kiblat* No. 7 (September, 1973), 7-8; Syafruddin Prawiranegara, "Komentor Atas RUU Perkawinan: Contolah Yang Baik Walaupun Darimana" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 137 (October, 1973), 11-13; Mohammad Hasan, "RUU Perkawinan dan Politik Hukum Pemerintah" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 138 (November, 1973), 24-6; and "RUU Perkawinan: Mencabut & Merubah" *Tempo* (22 September 1973), 8-9.
70. "Rencana Undang2 Tentang Perkawinan (I)" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 133 (August, 1973), 4
71. See "Menanggapi RUU Perkawinan" *Peraba* (October II, 1973), 3.
72. See "Mendesaknya: Kesatuan Hukum Perkawinan" *Peraba* (October III, 1973), 2;4-5; F.X. Sudiyono, "Mungkinah Unifikasi Undang2 Perkawinan" (I-III) *Peraba* (December I, II and III, 1973), 9, 8-9 and 8 respectively.
73. T.B. Simatupang, "Catatan Berhubung Dengan Rancangan UU Tentang Perkawinan" (a copy of this document is found in a dossier of Litbang PGI, Jakarta).
74. See *Abadi*, 10 December 1973; *Berita Antara*, 11 December 1973; "RUU Perkawinan: Yang Didrop & Dirubah" *Tempo* (15 December 1973), 6-7.
75. On the day of the ratification of the amended bill, the speaker of the PPP, Ali Yafie, said that it was truly based on Pancasila. See his speech in *Sekitar Pembentukan*, 212-15. In an interview he said: "The government bill was a copy of the Code of Civil Law on marriage inherited from the Dutch. The legal principle of the Code was that marriage is a civil event...However, what was finally accepted was a new principle, namely that marriage law for Indonesians is based on Pancasila in which religion is one of its determining factors. Therefore, article 2 states that marriage is valid if it is based on religion and then followed by registration. This was a new principle of the national law and in fact this principle is truly based on Pancasila." Interview in Jakarta, 14 December 2003.
76. Copies of the letters to these officials are found in a dossier of Litbang PGI, Jakarta.
77. The "Pokok-Pokok Pemikiran BPH-DGI dan MAWI" was published in *Kompas* and *Sinar Harapan*, 19 December 1973. This piece is reprinted in Rasjidi, *Kasus RUU Perkawinan*, 44-6; and Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 248-9.
78. This issue will be discussed further below. This problem was more explicitly stated in the DGI-MAWI joint letter sent to General Soemitro, dated 16 December 1973. The copy of the letter is found in a dossier of Litbang PGI, Jakarta. See also "Demi Perikemanu-

- siaan dan Ketertiban Hukum" *Sinar Harapan*, 19 December 1973, reprinted in Muhammad Rasjidi, *Kasus RUU Perkawinan*, 52-3.
79. It is noteworthy that in the meeting between the joint delegation of the DGI-MAWI and General Soemitro along with other state officials on 21 December 1973, it was reported that Soemitro was rather angry to hear that ABRI was accused of deviating from the Constitution and accommodative to the Jakarta Charter. This seems to indicate that for Soemitro, it was the Christians who made that accusation. (See Minutes of the meeting entitled "Risalah Pertemuan di Wisma Yani" found in a dossier of Litbang PGI, Jakarta).
 80. See "Para Penyusun UUD '45 Sudah Berikan Jalan Keluar" *Kompas*, 17 December 1973 reprinted in Rasjidi, *Kasus RUU Perkawinan*, 47-8.
 81. See "Mengapa Surat Kabar Ini Begitu Getol Mengenai RUUP?" *Sinar Harapan*, 17 December 1973 and reprinted in Rasjidi, *Kasus RUU Perkawinan*, 49-51.
 82. Original: "Perkawinan adalah sah apabila dilakukan menurut hukum masing-masing agamanya dan kepercayaannya itu dan/atau menurut perundang-undangan negara." A copy of the letter is available in a dossier of Litbang PGI, Jakarta.
 83. I found at least two copies of a public statement of the Christian students, one is a joint statement of the activists of the Catholic and Protestant students dated 19 December 1973 and another made by the leaders of Student Union of the Indonesian Christian University, dated 10 December 1973. Copies of the statements are found in a dossier of Litbang PGI, Jakarta. In addition, on 12 December *Sinar Harapan* published a similar statement by the "Komite Kesatuan Nasional Generasi Muda Indonesia" (United Committee of Indonesian National Youth). All of the statements demanded that marriage law should be consistent with the Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945, particularly article 29 that guarantees religious freedom and article 27 that stipulates equality before the law.
 84. See "Mudah-Mudahan Pengalaman Seperti Ini Tidak Terulang" *Sinar Harapan* 21 December 1973; "Hakekat RUU Perkawinan" *Kompas*, 22 December 1973 reprinted in Rasjidi, *Kasus RUU Perkawinan*, 55-9.
 85. See Kasman Singodimedjo, "UUD '45 Tidak Boleh Diselewengkan Dalam Pembuatan Perundang-undangan Apapun, Termasuk Pembuatan UUP" *Abadi*, 10 January 1974; reprinted in Rasjidi, *Kasus RUU Perkawinan*, 61-7.
 86. These events are indicated by the joint letter of the DGI and MAWI to the President, dated 12 December 1973, the DGI's letter to State Secretary, dated 7 March 1974 and another DGI letter to its members dated 5 March 1974; all are found in a dossier of Litbang PGI, Jakarta.
 87. The full text of the letter is reprinted in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 250-2.
 88. Original: "Orang tersebut dapat kawin menurut cara (salah satu cara) berdasarkan peraturan perundang-undangan yang berlaku sesuai dengan Undang-Undang ini."
 89. Original: "...maka sepanjang cara itu sesuai dengan peraturan perundang-undangan yang berlaku, perkawinan itu syah pula; dengan pengertian bahwa orang tersebut pada saat melangsungkan perkawinan memeluk agama sesuai dengan cara-cara perkawinan yang dipilihnya."
 90. Original: "...sepanjang perkawinan itu dilakukan menurut salah satu cara sesuai dengan Undang-Undang Perkawinan ini – tentunya yang dipilih/disepakati oleh kedua calon mempelai – maka perkawinan itu adalah syah."
 91. Muhammad Rasjidi, "Kristenisasi Dalam Selubung?" *Nusantara* 18 August 1973; *Abadi* 20 August 1973; and in his *Kasus RUU Perkawinan*, 9-14.

92. Sylvanus was 46 (or 40 in another account) years old while Kus Supiah was 22. Rasjidi also mentioned that Kus Supiah already had a beloved one named Abdullah Suwarna, a Muslim and young like her. In addition to Rasjidi's article, other minor detailed account of the marriage is taken from "Tradisi Keraton Sala Pecah" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 130 (July, 1973), 32.
93. Louis Gardet is a French priest, working in Cairo for a long time as an Islamologist. Perhaps, Rasjidi met Gardet when the former studied in France with Louis Massignon. Information from Karel A. Steenbrink through e-mail, 26 May 2005.
94. Muhammad Rasjidi, "Sekitar RUU Perkawinan: Bukankah Aku Telah Memperingatkan?" *Abadi* 22 and 24 December 1973; *Panji Masyarakat* No. 143 (January, 1974), 15-17 and his *Kasus RUU Perkawinan*, 22-29.
95. See the speeches of Teuku Muhammad Hasan and Asmah Syahroni in *Sekitar Pembentukan*, 95-6; 104.
96. Different Muslim opinions on the opposite case are discussed below.
97. See the speech of Tubagus Hamzah in *Sekitar Pembentukan*, 60.
98. *Sekitar Pembentukan*, 126.
99. *Sekitar Pembentukan*, 134.
100. For a discussion on the applicability of the Regulations on mixed marriage, see S. Pompe, "Mixed Marriages in Indonesia: Some Comments on the Law and the Literature," *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde* No. 144 (1988), 259-275 and S. Pompe, "A Short Note on Some Recent Development with Regard to Mixed Marriage in Indonesia," *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde* (1991), 261-272.
101. The Indonesian translation of the original Dutch text of the Regulations is available in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 387-90. For a study of the Regulations, see Gautama, *Segi-Segi Hukum Peraturan*.
102. The summary of the speeches was reported in *Sinar Harapan*, 24 December 1973.
103. Article 2 section 1 states "Marriage is valid if it is carried out according to respective religions and beliefs", and its elucidation is: "With this formulation of article 2 section 1, there is no marriage outside the laws of respective religions and beliefs as it is in line with the 1945 Constitution. The meaning of religious laws of respective religions and beliefs includes the laws applied to groups of religions and beliefs as long as they are not contradictory to or not differently stated in this law."
104. See her speech in *Sekitar Pembentukan*, 208-10; 220-1.
105. See "Bila Sri Ketemu Martinus (Dan Mau Kawin)" *Tempo* (5 January 1974), 5.
106. Eka Darmaputera, "Kawin Campur Dalam UUP" *Tempo* (19 January 1974), 38.
107. The full text of the letter is printed in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 253-4.
108. During the parliamentary debates, Feillard noted that the PPP tried to hinder the recognition of the marriage of the Aliran Kepercayaan by insisting the use of the word 'Tuhan' instead of 'Ketuhanan' in the wording of the Law but did not succeed. See Andree Feillard, *NU vis-à-vis Negara*, 196. See also "Bagaimana Aidit Kawin?" *Tempo* (5 January 1974), 6-7.
109. See Muhammad Rasjidi "Abangan dan Kebatinan Tidak Perlu Wadah di Dalamnya" *Abadi* 29 November 1973, reprinted in his *Kasus RUU Perkawinan*, 15-21.
110. For the Muslim-Christian discourse on *santri* and *abangan*, see Chapter 5.
111. See "Keputusan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 221a Tahun 1975 Tentang Pencatatan Perkawinan dan Perceraian pada Kantor Catatan Sipil Sehubungan Dengan Berlakunya Undang-Undang Perkawinan Serta Peraturan Pelaksanaannya" in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 308-10.

112. Soebadio, *Perjuangan Untuk Mencapai*, 24-5; L.M. Gandhi, "Hukum Perkawinan Antar Agama Dari Masa Ke Masa" in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 141.
113. For this letter and other relevant letters from both the Minister of Religion and the Minister of Home Affairs, see Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 318-336.
114. The full text of the letter is printed in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 339-41.
115. For later reported cases, see for instance, "Mau Kawin Dipersulit" *Tempo* (30 December 1989), 15. See also John R. Bowen, *Islam, Law and Equality in Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 249.
116. According to Ali Yafie, when the bill was discussed by the Parliament, there was a hearing with the leaders of religions concerning inter-religious marriage and all of them said that such marriage was religiously prohibited. Interview with Ali Yafie, Jakarta, 14 December 2003.
117. See all of the documents related to this case in Gautama, *Segi-Segi Hukum*, 347-69.
118. See fatwas No. 297 and 376 in Abdul Aziz Masyhuri, *Masalah Keagamaan: Hasil Mukhtamar Dan Munas Ulama Nahdlatul Ulama* (Surabaya: PP Rabithah Ma'ahidil Islamiyah, 1997), 225-6; 339-41.
119. M.B. Hooker wrote: "In 1960 a fatwa repeated the well-known rule that a Muslim man might marry a *khitabiyya* [*sic*] – that is, a female Christian or Jewess whose ancestors had entered their respective religions before the Prophethood of Muhammad. The source cited is *kitab Asy-Syarqawi* II/237. However, in 1989 a fatwa decided the exact opposite, prohibiting inter-religious marriage *using exactly the same source of authority* (plus some others)." M.B. Hooker, *Indonesian Islam: Social Change Through Contemporary Fatāwa* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2003), 77. In fact, like my reading of the fatwa, Muhammad Ali also saw no difference between the two fatwas. See Muhammad Ali, "Fatwas on Interfaith Marriage in Indonesia" *Studia Islamika* Vol.9 No. 3 (2002), 11-13.
120. Atho Mudzhar, *Fatwas of the Council of Indonesia Ulama: A Study of Islamic Legal Thought in Indonesia 1975-1988* (Jakarta: INIS, 1993), 87.
121. Indeed, some important ulama argue that because most children are very close to, and educated by, their mothers, it is better to prohibit a Muslim man to marry a non-Muslim woman. Interestingly, some Indonesian Muslim intellectuals have used precisely the same argument to allow a Muslim woman to marry a non-Muslim man. See Zainun Kamal, "Kawin Antar Umat Beragama" and Siti Musdah Mulia, "Islam dan Pernikahan Antar Agama" in *Penafsiran Baru Islam Atas Pernikahan Antar Agama* (Seri KKA Paramadina ke-200, 17 October 2003).
122. The fatwa is dated 1 June 1980. It is later published in both Muslim and Christian publications. See for instance a booklet produced by the Indonesian Council of Ulama entitled *Tuntunan Perkawinan Bagi Ummat Islam* (Jakarta: MUI, 1986), 71-73; and Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 337-8.
123. Mudzhar, *Fatwas of the Council of Indonesia Ulama*, 86;89.
124. See "Keputusan Presiden RI No.12 Tahun 1983 Tentang Penataan dan Peningkatan Pembinaan Penyelenggaraan Catatan Sipil" in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 342-6.
125. See "Menguji Cinta di Depan Hukum" *Tempo* (1 November 1986), 54.
126. Jamal and Lydia got married on 30 June 1986. In fact, there were other similar cases before, such as marriages between: Tetty Kadi (Catholic) and Bawono Judo (Muslim);

- Emilia Contessa (Muslim) and Rio Tambunan (Protestant); Camelia Malik (Muslim) and Reynold Panggabean (Protestant); Bob Tutupoly (Protestant) and Rosmaya Nasution (Muslim). Thus, the Jamal-Lydia marriage was just another case that bothered the ulama concerned with the examples demonstrated by celebrities. See "Dari Kus Ondowiyah Sampai Camelia Malik" *Tempo* (1 November 1986), 56-8.
127. The letters are largely quoted and translated in M.B. Hooker, *Indonesian Islam*, 78-9.
 128. See R. Harmani Arioso, "Pelaksanaan Pencatatan Perkawinan 'Antar Agama' pada Kantor Catatan Sipil Propinsi DKI Jakarta" in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 102.
 129. For the texts of the Decision of the Head of the Civil Registry and the MUI-DKI's guidance, see "Seruan Majelis Ulama Indonesia DKI Jakarta Tentang Perkawinan Antar Agama" and "Keputusan Kepala Kantor Catatan Sipil DKI Jakarta, 1986" in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 376-84.
 130. "Menguji Cinta di Depan Hukum" *Tempo* (1 November 1986), 55.
 131. "Menguji Cinta di Depan Hukum", 56.
 132. "Menguji Cinta di Depan Hukum", 55.
 133. See "Buka-Tutup Pintu Kawin Campuran" *Tempo* (24 June 1989), 36-7.
 134. See S. Pompe, "A Short Note on Some Recent Developments", 261-272; and Bowen, *Islam, Law and Equality*, 242; 247-8.
 135. See John R. Bowen, "Legal Reasoning and Public Discourse in Indonesian Islam" in Dale F. Eickelman and John W. Anderson (eds.), *New Media in the Muslim World: the emerging of public sphere*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 83-97.
 136. See "Instruksi Presiden RI No. 1 Tahun 1991" in *Himpunan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan Dalam Lingkungan Peradilan Agama* (Jakarta: Departemen Agama, 2001), 313-4.
 137. In an interview with me, the former head of the Compilation project, Busthanul Arifin, said that he disagreed with the argument that the state should accommodate inter-religious marriage or otherwise, there will be a legal vacuum. For him, any legal vacuum is acceptable as long as it is in line with Indonesian culture. For instance, he said, there is a legal vacuum on gay marriage in Indonesia. Interview in Jakarta, 19 December 2003.
 138. Few cases like this are reported in *Tempo* (1 November 1973), 52; 57.
 139. See O.S. Eoh, *Perkawinan Antar Agama Dalam Teori dan Praktik* (Jakarta: Srigunting, 1996), 130-8.
 140. The DGI became PGI and MAWI became KWI by the mid of 1980s, see Chapter 3.
 141. See "Pengantar Singkat" and "Beberapa Catatan Pihak Katolik Mengenai Hasil Dialog PGI-KWI Tentang Kawin Campur" in KWI, "Dialog KWI-PGI Tentang Kawin Campur" *Hak Kerukunan* (Jakarta: KWI, 1987), 7; 117-18. See also Suharto, "Beberapa Segi Hukum Perkawinan di Indonesia Khususnya Perkawinan Campuran Antar Agama," and "Rangkuman Hasil Dialog KWI-PGI Tentang Perkawinan dan Kawin Campur" in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 92-3; 169-71.
 142. Interview with Father Ismartono, Jakarta, 15 December 2003.
 143. Interviews with Gerrit E. Singgih, Yogyakarta, 16 January 2004; Einar Sitompul, Jakarta, 15 December 2003; Weinata Sairin, Jakarta, 19 December 2003; all of them are important Christian theologians and ministers of the churches affiliated with the PGI. It should be noted here that according to J.L. Ch. Abineno, the General Chairman of the PGI, there are certain Protestant churches in Indonesia that considered marriage as a sacrament or semi-sacramental. See J.L. Ch. Abineno, "Peneguhan dan Pemberkatan Nikah" in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 26-8.
 144. Ukur also noted that other Civil Registry Offices still followed the old procedure while some others accepted both the old and the new procedures. See Fridolin Ukur, "Prob-

- lematik Pelaksanaan Perkawinan di Indonesia Dalam Pengamatan PGI" in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 12.
145. See "Instruksi Kepala Kantor Catatan Sipil DKI Jakarta" in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 385-6.
 146. For the reports on these consultations, see "Rangkuman Hasil Konsultasi Hukum di Wilayah-Wilayah Tentang Undang-Undang Perkawinan" and "Hasil-Hasil dan Kesimpulan Konsultasi Hukum Tentang Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan" in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 152-168.
 147. See "Ketetapan Sidang MPL-PGI Nomor 01/MPL-PGI/1989" in Sairin and Pattiasina, *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 146-51.
 148. Fridolin Ukur, "Problematis Pelaksanaan Perkawinan di Indonesia Dalam Pengamatan PGI" in Sairin and Pattiasina (eds.), *Pelaksanaan Undang-Undang Perkawinan*, 16.
 149. Interview, Yogyakarta, 16 January 2004. Einar Sitompul who is a minister of the biggest Christian Church in Indonesia, Huria Kristen Batak Protestant (HKBP) said that his Church also refuses to bless inter-religious marriages, even though he himself tried to develop a theological argument for accepting that sort of marriage. Interview, Jakarta, 15 December 2003. In contrast, Weinata Sairin, a minister of Gereja Kristen Pasundan (GKP) said that his Church blesses inter-religious marriages. Interview, Jakarta, 19 December 2003.
 150. Rufus Alexander Waney, "Missiological Dimensions in Inter-religious Marriages Between Christians and Muslims in Indonesia" (M Th. Thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1990), 111.
 151. Interview with Father Smartono, Jakarta, 15 December 2003. See also two articles by Piet Go OCarm, "Perkawinan Campur Menurut Kitab Hukum Kanonik 1983 dan Statuta Perkawinan Regio Jawa 1983" and "Penyeledikan Kanonik Kawin Campur" in *Dialog KWI-PGI Tentang Kawin Campur, Hak Kerukunan* (Jakarta: KWI, 1987), 37-50.
 152. Al. Purwahadiwardoyo, *Perkawinan Menurut Islam dan Katolik: Implikasinya dalam Kawin Campur* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1990).
 153. Lev, *Islamic Courts in Indonesia*, 10-12.
 154. See note 65 above.
 155. For a more detailed account, see Zaini Ahmad Noeh and Abdul Basit Adnan, *Sejarah Singkat Pengadilan Agama Islam di Indonesia* (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1983) Chapter 2; Tim Penyusun, *Kenang-Kenangan Seabad Peradilan Agama di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Departemen Agama, 1985), 25-45.
 156. Tim Penyusun, *Peradilan Agama di Indonesia: Sejarah Perkembangan Lembaga dan Proses Pembentukan Undang-Undangannya* (Jakarta: Departemen Agama, 1999), 36-59.
 157. For an analysis of the Law, see Mark Cammack, "Indonesia's 1989 Religious Judicature Act: Islamization of Indonesia or Indonesianization of Islam" *Indonesia* No. 63 (1997), 143-68.
 158. The Supreme Court supervises all courts. Thus, it is not distinctively religious, but some experts on Islamic family law are appointed as Supreme Judges there.
 159. Lev, *Islamic Courts in Indonesia*, 231.
 160. Feillard, *NU vis-à-vis Negara*, 394. See also Chapter 3.
 161. Effendy, *Islam and the State in Indonesia*, 149-51; 156-60.
 162. Cammack, "Indonesia's 1989 Religious Judicature Act", 168. See also his "Islamic Law in Indonesia's New Order" *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* Vol. 38 (January, 1989), 53-73.
 163. See "Sebuah RUU dengan Lapang Dada" *Tempo* (24 June 1989), 26; see also "RUU PA, dari Pak Harto sampai Victor Tanja" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 614 (June, 1989), 22-4.

164. See *Kompas*, 13 June 1989 in *Dokumentasi Klipping Tentang Rancangan Undang-Undang Peradilan Agama* (Jakarta: CSIS, 1989), 5.
165. In addition to the clippings collected in *Dokumentasi* quoted above, see Zuffran Sabrie (ed.), *Peradilan Agama dalam Wadah Negara Pancasila* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2001). This book contains twenty opinion articles and more than thirty press accounts and editorials on the bill.
166. S. Widjojo, "Peradilan Agama: Antara Negara Agama dan Negara Pancasila" *Hidup* No. 7 (12 February 1989), 28-9; 50; and "Kesaktian Pancasila dalam Tantangan" *Hidup* No. 10 (March 1989), 40-1 reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 97-108.
167. For more debates on Pancasila as 'the authentic ideology', see Chapter 3 and 5.
168. Franz Magnis Suseno, "Seputar Rencana UU Peradilan Agama" *Kompas* 16 June 1989 copied in *Dokumentasi*, 184-6 and reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 29-36.
169. See the following editorials of *Suara Pembaruan*: "RUU Peradilan Agama dalam Rangka Wawasan Nusantara" 17 March 1989; "Hanya Ada Satu Hukum Nasional" 28 March 1989; Pendekatan 'Ad Hoc' Dapat Timbulkan Keadaan Semrawut" 17 April 1989; all reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 257-65. See also *Dokumentasi*, 108-9; 210-11.
170. See *Kompas* and *Suara Karya* 13 June 1989; copied in *Dokumentasi*, 5-7. See also "RUU PA, Tiga Fraksi Tanpa Ragu" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 615 (June, 1989), 12-13; "Peradilan Agama: Kebutuhan atau Kecemasan" *Tempo* (24 June 1989), 22.
171. See *Suara Pembaruan* 17 May 1989 reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 221-5. See also "Ketetapan Sidang MPL PGI No. 03/MPL-PGI/1989 Tentang Sikap Gereja-Gereja Terhadap Rancangan Undang-Undang Peradilan Agama (RUUPA)" in Weinata Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan di Bidang Keagamaan* (Jakarta: BPK, 1996), 550-3. It is noteworthy that *Tempo* published a cartoon picturing different religious courts that were crowded by people whereas no body came to the civil court. See *Tempo* (4 February 1989), 9.
172. See "RUU Peradilan Agama dalam Rangka Wawasan Nusantara" *Suara Pembaruan*, 17 March 1989; "Pertanyaan Keenam Untuk Fraksi di DPR" *Suara Pembaruan*, 5 June 1989; and T.B. Simatupang, "Menyempurnakan RUUPA Demi Memantapkan Persatuan & Kesatuan Bangsa" *Suara Pembaruan* 29 June 1989; all is reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 182-90; 257-9; 273-6.
173. See *Media Indonesia* 4 July 1989; *Kompas* and *Pos Kota*, 5 July 1989 reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 229-38.
174. See *Kompas* and *Suara Karya* 5 July 1989 in *Dokumentasi*, 103-6. See also the editorial entitled "Dijamin Tidak Menjurus ke Piagam Jakarta" *Suara Pembaruan* 14 June 1989 reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 277-9.
175. For a complete text of the PGI's suggestions, see "Usul-Usul PGI Tentang Perubahan Terhadap RUUPA" in Sairin, *Himpunan Peraturan*, 554-7. All of the PGI ideas were also covered in T.B. Simatupang, "Menyempurnakan RUUPA Demi Memantapkan Persatuan & Kesatuan Bangsa" *Suara Pembaruan* 29 June 1989 reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 182-90.
176. See *Pelita* 6 July 1989 in *Dokumentasi*, 108. See also "RUU PA di Mata Victor Tanja" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 617 (July, 1989), 12.
177. See Victor Tanja, "RUU PA" *Editor* No. 48 (5 August 1989) reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 76-8.
178. The Muslim traditionalists of the NU seem to play more roles in political lobbying. It does not mean, however, they did not pay attention to the debates on the bill. The NU magazine, *Aula*, released at least two reports on how the bill was opposed by what it called "the enemies of Islam." See "RUU Peradilan Agama Maju, Datang Penghalang"

- Aula* (May, 1989), 51-6; "RUUPA Lahir Karena Tuntutan Sejarah" *Aula* (August, 1989), 24-8.
179. See "Dimana Toleransi Mereka" *Serial Media Dakwah* (August, 1989), 7-11; Rusydi, "RUU-PA, Kerukunan Agama," *Panji Masyarakat* No. 616 (July, 1989), 10-11; Michael Vatikiotis, "Islamic Courts Law to Test Religious Tolerance" *Far Eastern Economic Review* (8 June 1989) in *Dokumentasi*, 181.
 180. See "Menggugat Protes Naif" *Serial Media Dakwah* (August, 1989), 12.
 181. A. Dahlan Ranuwihardjo, "Negara, Agama dan Hukum: Sebuah Pendekatan Falsafi" *Pelita* June 21, 1989 reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 66-75.
 182. Muhammad Natsir, "Tanpa Toleransi Tak-kan Ada Kerukunan!" *Serial Media Dakwah* (August, 1989), 18-19 reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 120-5.
 183. Yusril Ihza Mahendra, "Catatan Buat Majalah Hidup" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 616 (July, 1989), 8-9 reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 114-9. It was also published under the title, "Sekitar RUUPA: Menjawab Mingguan Hidup" *Serial Media Dakwah* (August, 1989) 58-60.
 184. See an interview with him entitled "Dari Usaha Awal Pak Harto..." *Panji Masyarakat* No. 607 (April, 1989), 14-5.
 185. Yusril Ihza Mahendra, "Kedaulatan Negara dan Peradilan Agama" *Pelita* 27 June 1989 reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 42-9.
 186. Heru Santoso, "Seputar RUU Peradilan Agama Yang Berputar-putar" *Kompas* June 21, 1989 reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 37-41.
 187. Mahendra, "Kedaulatan Negara dan Peradilan Agama".
 188. Mahendra, "Kedaulatan Negara dan Peradilan Agama". See also Muhammad Hatta, *Sekitar Proklamasi 17 Agustus 1945* (Jakarta: Tintamas, 1969), 59-60.
 189. See "Si Bungsu Yang Ditunggu Bukan Hantu" *Tempo* (4 February 1989), 81.
 190. "Si Bungsu Yang Ditunggu Bukan Hantu".
 191. Mahendra, "Catatan Buat Majalah Hidup".
 192. See Chapter 3.
 193. See "RUU Peradilan Agama Mulai Digugat" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 607 (April, 1989), 15 and "Dimana Toleransi Mereka" *Serial Media Dakwah* (August, 1989), 9.
 194. Muhammad Rasjidi, "Seputar Rencana UU Peradilan Agama" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 616 (July, 1989), 27-31 reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 50-65.
 195. Joesoef Sou'yb, "BW dan RUU PA" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 618 (July, 1989), 26-7.
 196. Mahendra, "Catatan Buat Majalah Hidup".
 197. See "Pengadilan Serambi Milik Kita Bersama" *Tempo* (4 February 1989), 76.
 198. See *Kompas* and *Suara Pembaruan*, 27 June 1989; in *Dokumentasi*, 96;98.
 199. See *Merdeka* and *Pelita* 11 July 1989 in *Dokumentasi*, 116-7.
 200. Natsir, "Tanpa Toleransi Tak-kan Ada Kerukunan!"
 201. See *Antara*, 29 May 1989; *Suara Pembaruan* and *Berita Yudha*, 30 May 1989 in *Dokumentasi*, 72;92 -93. See also "RUU PA, dari Pak Harto sampai Victor Tanja" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 614 (June, 1989), 22-4. Later, Soeharto said a similar view when B.M. Diah, the leader of Yayasan 17 Agustus, met him. See *Pelita* 22. June 1989 in *Dokumentasi*, 76.
 202. See the text of Munawir Sjadzali's speech to Parliament, "Landasan Pemikiran Politik Hukum Nasional" *Pelita* 24 June 1989 in *Dokumentasi*, 36-8.
 203. For a complete text of Golkar and ABRI's views, see "Pemandangan Umum Fraksi ABRI: Rancangan Undang-Undang Perdilan Agama" *Pelita* 17 June 1989 and "Pendapat FKP atas RUU Peradilan Agama" *Pelita* 20 June 1989 in *Dokumentasi*, 14-18; 19-23.

204. Compare with the editorial of the ABRI's newspaper entitled "Peradilan Agama Tidak Merugikan Non-Muslim" *Angkatan Bersenjata* 23 June 1989 reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 314-7.
205. Ismail Saleh, "Wawasan Pembangunan Hukum Nasional" *Kompas* 1-2 June 1989 and "Eksistensi Hukum Islam dan Sumbangannya Terhadap Hukum Nasional" *Kompas* 3 June 1989 reprinted in Sabrie, *Peradilan Agama*, 165-181.
206. See "Pemandangan Umum Fraksi ABRI: Rancangan Undang-Undang Peradilan Agama" *Pelita* 17 June 1989; Munawir Sjadzali, "Landasan Pemikiran Politik Hukum Nasional" *Pelita* 24 June 1989 in *Dokumentasi*, 14-8; 36-8. See also "Dari Piagam Jakarta ke Wawasan Nusantara" *Tempo* (24 June 1989), 27-8.
207. See "Menunggu Lahirnya si Anak Bungsu" *Tempo* (24 June 1989), 30-1.
208. See Munawir Sjadzali, "Landasan Pemikiran Politik Hukum Nasional" *Pelita* 24 June 1989; "RUU Peradilan Agama Harap Diterima Dengan Lapang Dada" *Pelita* 26 June 1989 in *Dokumentasi*, 36-42.
209. See "Pemandangan Umum Fraksi ABRI: Rancangan Undang-Undang Peradilan Agama" *Pelita* 17 June 1989; "Pendapat FKP atas RUU Peradilan Agama" *Pelita* 20 June 1989; Munawir Sjadzali, "RUU Peradilan Agama Harap Diterima Dengan Lapang Dada" *Pelita* 26 June 1989 in *Dokumentasi*, 14-23; 39-42.
210. Article 49, section 1 of the bill states that: "Religious Court is assigned and authorised to investigate, decide on and settle cases in the first level among Muslims regarding: (1) marriage; (2) inheritance, last request and gift carried out according to Islamic law; (3) pious trust and charity." Then, the elucidation of article 49 states that an inheritance case would be under the authority of the religious court if the parties decided to follow Islamic law.
211. See *Pelita* 6 March 1989 in *Dokumentasi*, 88.
212. See "Telah Lahir si Anak Bungsu" *Tempo* (23 December 1989); "Gool...(R)UUPA" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 633 (December, 1989), 14.
213. Interview with Harry Tjan Silalahi, Jakarta, 22 December 2003.
214. See Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, *Muslim Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 83-4.

Notes Chapter 5

1. The articles of the debate are collected in Achdiat K. Mihadja (ed.), *Polemik Kebudajaan* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1948). See also an overview of the polemics in A. Teeuw *Modern Indonesian Literature* Vol.1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979), 35-8.
2. Mihadja, *Polemik Kebudajaan.*, 11-19.
3. Mihadja, *Polemik Kebudajaan.*, 35-41; 52-55; 100.
4. Mihadja, *Polemik Kebudajaan*, 136; 138.
5. It is noteworthy that in his exile in Banda Neira of Maluku islands, the Indonesian nationalist leader, Sutan Sjahrir, also wrote in his diary something about this issue. His view was in general similar to that of Alisjahbana: he saw the West had a very dynamic mentality, while the East was decadent. However, in his final remarks, he proposed universalism: "Why should we choose between being a slave and a master, why should we choose between the Capitalist West and the Slavish East? We should prefer one of them: we can reject both of them because they actually have to be and is being to be of the past." See his notes dated 31 December 1936 and 12 March 1937 in Sutan Sjahrir, *Renungan dan Perjuangan* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat and Djambatan, 1990), 157-60; 173-6.

- For Sjahrir, the universal here was apparently socialism (he was to be the leader of PSI, the Indonesian Socialist Party). Because Sjahrir wrote the statement in his diary during the exile, we cannot consider it as part of the polemics during the 1930s.
6. Mihardja, *Polemik Kebudayaan*, 42-51.
 7. In the polemics on culture, the leader of Taman Siswa, Ki Hadjar Dewantara, was also involved, but probably because he saw that Soetomo's arguments were adequate, he did not make more arguments against Alisjahbana. See Mihardja, *Polemik Kebudayaan*, 122-5. In fact, the link between Soetomo and Taman Siswa was not simply at the level of the idea. Soetomo was the founder of Boedi Oetomo in 1908, an organisation that was initially intended to improve the position of the Javanese aristocratic group but later developed to be a nationalist movement. Ki Hadjar was a member of Boedi Oetomo but he later left it. When Ki Hadjar established Taman Siswa, Boedi Oetomo presented their schools in Medan and Jakarta to the former. See Kenji Tsuchiya, *Democracy and Leadership: The Rise of the Taman Siswa Movement in Indonesia* Trans. Peter Hawkes (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 81-2.
 8. On Taman Siswa, see Ruth T. McVey, "Taman Siswa and the Indonesian National Awakening" *Indonesia* No. 4 (October, 1967), 128-49; Lee Kam Hing, "The Taman Siswa in Postwar Indonesia" *Indonesia* No. 25 (April, 1978), 41-59; and Tsuchiya, *Democracy and Leadership*.
 9. Both Soetatmo and Soewardi were members of the Selasa Kliwon society formed in 1921 by nine Javanese men for the purpose of spiritual training. The name 'Ki Hadjar Dewantara' reflects this spiritual outlook. 'Ki' was equivalent to 'Kijai', that is, a title for a person who discovered the hidden secret of mankind and religion; 'Hadjar' is equivalent to 'adjar' means to teach; and 'Dewantara' is 'dewa-antara' which signifies himself as "a teacher who mediates for God." Tsuchiya, *Democracy and Leadership*, 41; 63-4.
 10. See Ki Hadjar Dewantara, "Some Aspects of National Education and the Taman Siswa Institute of Jogjakarta" Trans. Ruth McVey *Indonesia* No 4 (October, 1967), 150-68.
 11. Tsuchiya, *Democracy and Leadership*, 66-7.
 12. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana *Perkembangan Sejarah Kebudayaan Indonesia Dilihat dari Jurusan Nilai-Nilai* (Jakarta: Idayu, 1975), 38. Alisjahbana became more appreciative to Islamic thought in his old age. See his *Pemikiran Islam Dalam Menghadapi Globalisasi dan Masa Depan Umat Manusia* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1992).
 13. Mohammad Natsir, *Cultuur Islam* (Bandoeng: Pendidikan Islam bg.Penjiaran, 1937).
 14. H.B. Jassin, *Angkatan 45* (Jakarta: Jajasan Dharma, 1951).
 15. For the full text of the declaration called "Surat Kepercayaan Gelanggang" dated 18 February 1950, see Asrul Sani, *Surat-Surat Kepercayaan* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1997), 3-4.
 16. Cf. Teeuw, *Modern Indonesian Literature* Vol. 1, 126-9.
 17. Kam Hing, "The Taman Siswa in Postwar Indonesia", 43-51.
 18. Tsuchiya, *Democracy and Leadership*, 211-15.
 19. Teeuw, *Modern Indonesian Literature* Vol. 2, 27-39. Teeuw, however, does not discuss the Islamic ideological discourse on culture.
 20. On LEKRA, see Keith Foulcher, *Social Commitment and the Arts: 'the Indonesian Institute of People's Culture' 1950-1965* (Clayton: Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1986).
 21. Pramoedya Ananta Toer, *Realisme Sosialis dan Sastra Indonesia* (Jakarta: Lentera Dipan-tara, 2003). It is originally a paper presented to a seminar in the University of Indonesia in 1963.

22. For the full text of the Culture Manifesto, see D.S. Moeljanto and Taufiq Ismail (eds.), *Prahara Budaya: Kilas Balik Ofensif LEKRA/PKI dkk. (Kumpulan Dokumen Pergolakan Sejarah)* (Bandung: Mizan-Republika, 1995), 160.
23. See "Musyawarah Seniman dan Budayawan Islam" *Gema Islam* Vol.1 No.1 (1962), 25-7 reprinted in E. Ulrich Kratz (ed.), *Sumber Terpilih Sejarah Sastra Indonesia Abad XX* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2000), 475-80.
24. See "Manifes Kebudayaan dan Kesenian Islam" *Gema Islam* Vol. 2 No. 45 (1963), 9 reprinted in Kratz, *Sumber Terpilih Sejarah Sastra*, 508-11.
25. HAMKA's romance, *Tenggelanya Kapal Van der Wijck* was accused of being a copy of the work of the Egyptian writer, Mustafa Lutfi al-Manfaluti, *Majdulin*. See Junus Amir Hamzah and H.B. Jassin (eds.), *Tenggelamnja Kapal Van der Wijck dalam Polemik* (Jakarta: Mega Book Store, 1963).
26. Moeljanto and Ismail, *Prahara Budaya*, 355.
27. Moeljanto and Ismail, *Prahara Budaya*, 355-412.
28. Kipandjikusmin, "Langit Makin Mendung" *Sastra* No.8 (August, 1968), 3-8. For its English translation, see Christine Deakin "Langit Makin Mendung: Upheaval in Indonesian Literature" *Archipel* No.11 (1976), 87-105.
29. Deakin, "Langit Makin Mendung", 85-6. Deakin also noted that the real name of Kipandjikusmin was Sudihartono.
30. For a collection of the articles on the controversy, see H.B. Jassin, *Polemik: Suatu Pembahasan Sastera dan Kebebasan Mencipta Berhadapan dengan Undang2 dan Agama* (Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1972).
31. Pransa Atmawidjaja, "Tuhan Tak Lagi Punja Maaf?" *Peraba* (II December 1968), 7.
32. Bahrum Rangkuti "Imadjinasi, Observasi dan Intuisi pada Tjerpén Langit Makin Mendung" *Pandji Masyarakat* No. 53 (March, 1970), 4-5; 26-7.
33. His defence in the court is published as H.B. Jassin, *Heboh Sastra 1968: Suatu Pertanggungan Jawab* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1970).
34. Jassin, *Heboh Sastra, 1968*, 29-30; 75.
35. HAMKA, "Sajang Rangkuti Tidak Hadir" *Pandji Masyarakat* No.53 (March, 1970), 5-7; 20-22; 26.
36. HAMKA, "Imadjinasi" *Pandji Masyarakat* No. 60 (July, 1970), 3-4.
37. Ali Moertopo, *Strategi Kebudayaan* (Jakarta: CSIS, 1978).
38. C.A. van Peursen's *Strategi Kebudayaan* was published in 1976 by Kanisius and BPK and republished by the Catholic Kanisius alone in 1988.
39. For the debates on this phrase, see Chapter 3.
40. Muhammad Rasjidi, *Strategi Kebudayaan dan Pembaharuan Pendidikan Nasional* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1980), 63-111.
41. To support this position, Rasjidi refers to the view of the Dutch scholar, C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936). See Muhammad Rasjidi, *Islam dan Indonesia di Zaman Modern* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1968).
42. In his autobiography written in the style of a novel story entitled *Emak*, Joesoef explains that he was born in Medan, North Sumatra, into a Muslim family. He says that his father is Acehnese but he does not explain the ethnic background of his mother (I got the impression that she is Malay). Besides studying religion in madrasah in the afternoon, his parents pushed him to study at the Dutch school. His uncle was an important nationalist activist and was exiled by the colonial Government to Digoel in the 1930s. His uncle and father preferred secular nationalism to Islam as the future ideology of Indonesia, and Daoad Joesoef follows their views. In this novel, Joesoef also shows his belief that the original religious attitude of the native is very tolerant. Joesoef was

- apparently approached a few years after the coup by the Jakarta Catholic activists when studying in Paris. Joesoef studied economics in Paris and obtained Docteur de l'Université in 1967 and Docteur d'Etat in 1973. Joesoef proudly says of that he is the first Indonesian awarded the degree of Docteur d'Etat. For his study, he received scholarship from the Ford Foundation and later from the CSIS. See Daoed Joesoef, *Emak* (Jakarta: Aksara Karunia, 2003) and "Siapa Daoed Joesoef" in Kadjat Hartojo, Harry Tjan Silalahi and Hadi Soesastro (eds.), *Nalar dan Naluri: 70 Tahun Daoed Joesoef* (Jakarta: CSIS, 1996), 674-6.
43. Daoed Joesoef, "Bapak Soedjono Hoemardani dan Metoda Tradisional Kontemplatif-Integralistik" in *Soedjono Hoemardani: Pendiri CSIS* (Jakarta: CSIS, 1987), 24-37.
 44. A.M.W. Pranarka, "Kasunyatan, Sangkan Paran, Kasampurnan: Mengangkat Pemikiran Bapak Soedjono Hoemardani dalam Studi Analitikal" in *Soedjono Hoemardani*, 48-80.
 45. A.M.W. Pranarka, "Relevansi Ajaran-Ajaran Ki Hadjar Dewantara Dewasa ini dan di Masa yang Akan Datang" in *Wawasan Kebangsaan, Ketahanan Nasional dan Wawasan Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: Lembaga Pengkajian Kebudayaan Sarjana Wiyata Taman Siswa, 1986), 1-31.
 46. The MUI's statement on the Catholic role is found in Ibrahim Madylao, "Tanggapan Terhadap Pokok-Pokok Pikiran Pembaharuan Pendidikan Nasional" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 286 (January, 1980), 11-14 quoting "Risalah Kronologis Peranan Dewan Majelis Ulama Indonesia dalam Masalah Pendidikan Nasional dan Libur Ramadhan." The "Risalah Kronologis" was previously published in the MUI's magazine, *Mimbar Ulama*, but it did not include the statement on the Catholic role. See *Mimbar Ulama* No. 31 (June, 1979), 29-34.
 47. Rasjidi, *Strategi Kebudayaan*, 111-15.
 48. KPPN, *Pokok-Pokok Pikiran Pembaharuan Pendidikan Nasional* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1979).
 49. For the MUI's general view of education and the full text of MUI's letter to the KPPN dated 15 November 1979 see *Mimbar Ulama* No. 37 (January/February, 1980), 49-61. See also, "Saran-Saran Majelis Ulama Terhadap Pembaharuan Pendidikan Nasional" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 285 (December, 1979), 12-15.
 50. Rachmat Subagya, *Agama dan Alam Kerohanian Asli di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Cipta Loka Caraka, 1979), 22-32; 212.
 51. Karel A. Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam: Contacts and Conflicts 1596-1950* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), 147.
 52. See Muhammad Rasjidi, *Islam dan Kebatinan* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1971); HAMKA, *Perkembangan Kebatinan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1971); and the polemics in Warsito S., Muhammad Rasjidi and Hasbullah Bakry, *Di Sekitar Kebatinan* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1973).
 53. This is also indicated by a correspondence between a Muslim and a Catholic intellectual. In 1995, the prominent Indonesian Muslim intellectual, Nurcholish Madjid, with reference to Steenbrink's remarks, questioned Franz Magnis-Suseno if there was such a conspiracy to separate Islam from the Javanese. Magnis-Suseno denied it and said that the interest in the Javanese culture among the Catholics was based on the Catholic theology of inculturation. In terms of dialogue, he said, most of the dialogues he attended were with Islam not with Javanism. (I received the copies of the letters from Steenbrink. I saw them for the first time circulating among students of the State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN), Jakarta in 1995).
 54. Abdurrahman Wahid, "Salahkah Jika Dipribumikan?" *Tempo* (16 July 1983) reprinted in his *Melawan Melalui Lelucon* (Jakarta: Pusat Data & Analisa Tempo, 2000), 62-4.

55. See Abdurrahman Wahid, "Pribumisasi Islam" Muntaha Azhari and Abdul Mun'im Saleh (eds.), *Islam Indonesia Menatap Masa Depan* (Jakarta: P3M, 1989), 81-96; and Mujiburrahman, "Islam and Politics in Indonesia: the Political Thought of Abdurrahman Wahid" *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* Vol. 10 (October 1999), 339-352.
56. Mujiburrahman, "The Diaspora Church in Indonesia: Mangunwijaya on Nationalism, Humanism and the Catholic Praxis" *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* Vol. 38 No. 4 (2001), 444-69.
57. Th. Sumartana, *Mission at the Crossroads: Indigenous Churches, European Missionaries, Islamic Association and Socio-Religious Change in Java 1812-1936* (Jakarta: BPK, 1994), 340.
58. The Minister of Education and Culture, Fuad Hassan, also presented a paper in the Seminar. This partly indicates that the Seminar was strongly supported by the Government. For the proceeding of the Seminar, see Muhadjir (ed.), *Evaluasi dan Strategi Kebudayaan* (Jakarta: Fakultas Sastra UI, 1987).
59. Soeharto, *Butir-Butir Budaya Jawa* (n.p., 1987).
60. Saya S. Shiraishi, *Young Heroes: the Indonesian Family in Politics* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1997).
61. See Robert W. Hefner, "Islam, State and Civil Society: ICMI and the Struggle for the Indonesian Middle Class" *Indonesia* No. 56 (1993), 1-37; R. William Liddle, "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: a Political Explanation" *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 55 No. 3 (1996), 613-34; Martin van Bruinessen, "Islamic State or State Islam? Fifty Years of State-Islam Relations in Indonesia," in Igrid Wessel (ed.), *Indonesien am Ende des 20 Jahshunderts* (Hamburg: Abera-Verlaag, 1996), 19-34.
62. Aswab Mahasin (ed.), *Ruh Islam dalam Budaya Bangsa* 5 Vols. (Jakarta: Yayasan Festival Istiqlal, 1995).
63. On the Mushaf Istiqlal, see Kenneth M. George, "Designs on Indonesia's Muslim Communities" *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 57 No. 3 (August, 1998), 693-713.
64. See Robert. W. Hefner's anecdote in his "Islamizing Capitalism: On the Founding of Indonesia's First Islamic Bank" in Mark R. Woodward (ed.), *Toward a New Paradigm: Recent Developments in Indonesian Islamic Thought* (Tempe: Arizona State University Press, 1996), 291-322.
65. Kuntowijoyo, "Konvergensi dan Politik Baru Islam" preface to Abdul Munir Mul Khan, *Run-tuhnya Mitos Politik Santri* (Yogyakarta: Sippres, 1992), ix-x.
66. This is quoted in his different papers. For his English paper, see Nurcholish Madjid, "Islamic Roots of Modern Pluralism: Indonesian Experiences" *Studia Islamika* No. 1 Vol. 1 (1994), 61, quoting Marshal G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* Vol.2 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), 551 in footnote.
67. On the Islamic educational institutions, see B.J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 112-23.
68. Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1986), 99.
69. Onny S. Prijono and A.M.W. Pranarka, *Situasi Pendidikan di Indonesia Selama Sepuluh Tahun Terakhir Bagian I* (Permasalahan) (Jakarta: CSIS, 1979), 161-2.
70. Quoted in Rasjidi, *Strategi Kebudayaan*, 113.
71. See KPPN, *Pokok-Pokok Pikiran*.
72. Rasjidi, *Strategi Kebudayaan*, 113-14.
73. See KPPN, *Pokok-Pokok Pikiran*, 12.
74. See the letter in *Mimbar Ulama* No. 37 (January/February, 1980), 59.

75. See Lukman Harun, *Muhammadiyah dan Undang-Undang Pendidikan Nasional* (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1990), 8-10.
76. On the Muslim efforts, see Muhammad Sirozi, *Politik Kebijakan Pendidikan di Indonesia: Peran Tokoh-tokoh Islam dalam Penyusunan UU No. 2/ 1989* (Jakarta: INIS, 2004).
77. See Ali Munhanif, "Prof. Dr. A. Mukti Ali: Modernisasi Politik Keagamaan Orde Baru" in Azyumardi Azra and Saiful Umam (eds.), *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI: Biografi Sosial-Politik* (Jakarta: INIS, PPIM and Litbang Depag, 1998), 313-15.
78. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madsarah, Sekolah*, 96-102; 233-39.
79. See Chapter 4.
80. Mukti Ali was not an NU figure and was close to the reformist Muslims of Muhammadiyah. When he was in office, he removed the NU figures from important positions in the Department. Mukti Ali's appointment and his removal policy were somehow related to the regime's efforts to eliminate the influences of the NU people who previously dominated the Department for more than a decade and to force them to be Golkar loyalists. See Munhanif, "Prof. Dr. A. Mukti Ali," 287-92.
81. Interview with Mukti Ali, Yogyakarta, 28 September 2002.
82. Muhammad Sirozi, *Politik Kebijakan Pendidikan*, 43.
83. This is probably one of the reasons why Jakarta and Yogyakarta IAINs are being transformed into the State Islamic University (UIN).
84. The major reference for this section is Lambert Kelabora, "Religious Instruction Policy in Indonesia" *Asian Survey* Vol. 16 No. 3 (1976), 230-48.
85. For the full text of the declaration, see Soegarda Poerbakawatja, *Pendidikan dalam Alam Indonesia Merdeka* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung 1970), 342-43.
86. Poerbakawatja, *Pendidikan dalam Alam*, 143. Kelabora provides a slightly different translation. See "Religious Instruction" 241.
87. Kelabora, "Religious Instruction", 242-3; Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah*, 93.
88. Kelabora, "Religious Instruction", 239;41. Italics original.
89. Kelabora, "Religious Instruction", 243.
90. Kelabora, "Religious Instruction", 244.
91. The Pancawardhana are (1) the development of love of nation and fatherland, and development of national, international and religious morality; (2) the development of intellect; (3) the development of the artistic emotions and feelings of awe and beauty; (4) the development of handicrafts; (5) the body development. The Pancacinta includes (1) love for the nation and country; (2) love for science and knowledge; (3) love for work and people who work; (4) love for peace and friendship amongst nations; (5) love for parents. See Kelabora, "Religious Instruction", 245. For the original Indonesian version of Pancawardhana, see Poerbakawatja, *Pendidikan dalam Alam*, 420.
92. Kelabora, "Religious Instruction," 246-7.
93. See the MPRS Decree No. XXVII/1966 in *Ketetapan-Ketetapan MPRS* (Jakarta: Departemen Penerangan RI, 1968), 109-12.
94. Normally 1 teaching hour was 45 minutes.
95. Poerbakawatja, *Pendidikan dalam Alam*, 381.
96. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah*, 92-94.
97. Kelabora, "Religious Instruction," 247.
98. For a general account of the MPR session, including the controversy on religion class policy, see "Dari Sidang 13 Hari di Bulan Maret" *Tempo* (31 March 1973), 5-10.
99. This is a free translation of "beriman dan bertakwa terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa."
100. Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam and the State in Indonesia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2003), 154-6.
101. Sirozi, *Politik Kebijakan Pendidikan*.

102. The PDI speaker in the parliament said, "Religion class was an obligation to be carried out meticulously, proportionally and responsibly." For the responses of Golkar and ABRI factions, see *Suara Karya* 9 September 1988; of PPP and PDI factions, see *Pelita* 12 September 1988 and *Angkatan Bersenjata*, 10 September 1988 in *Dokumentasi Klipping Tentang Undang-Undang Tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional* Vol.1 (Jakarta: CSIS, 1989), 29-30; 38-9.
103. See *Suara Karya* 25 August 1988 in *Dokumentasi Klipping* Vol 2, 49.
104. See the editorials, "Pendidikan Agama di Sekolah2" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 126 (May, 1973), 5-6; "Moral Pancasila" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 128 (June, 1973), 4-5; Sidi Gazalba, "Antara Moral Pancasila dan Agama" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 127 (May, 1973), 12-13.
105. See the text of the GBHN of 1973 in Arnicun Aziz (ed.), *Lima GBHN* (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 1994), 428; 430.
106. This is reported in "Yang Resmi Datang, Rezeki Hilang (?)" *Tempo* (4 October 1980), 19.
107. "Say: He is God, the One. God is the Absolute. He begets not, nor is He begotten. And there is none Like unto Him." (Q.S. 112: 1-4).
108. "Yang Resmi Datang, Rezeki Hilang (?)"
109. See some quotations of the PMP textbooks, in Samudi Abdullah, "Mengintip Buku PMP Yang Resmi" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 309 (December 1980), 45-7 and his "Mengintip Buku PMP Lagi" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 323 (May, 1981), 22.
110. See Muhammad Sulaiman & Murtadho Makmur, "Stemmotivering Fraksi Persatuan Pembangunan: Tinjauan Terhadap Buku Pelajaran PMP," *Panji Masyarakat* No. 329 (July, 1981), 40-3.
111. The article 29 of the Law, section 2 states that the curriculum of all levels of education must cover Pancasila Education, Religious Education and Civics Education.
112. See Joesoef, *Emak*, 232-7; 368-9.
113. Atho Mudzhar, "Religious Education and Religious Harmony in Indonesia," *Mizan* Vol. 1 No. 2 (1984), 16-25.
114. Rasjidi, *Strategi Kebudayaan*, 115.
115. See "Jawaban Menteri P&K Daoed Joesoef", 12-13.
116. Bachtiar's views were quoted in "Beberapa Komentar Tentang Panca Agama" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 287 (January, 1980), 15.
117. The reference for the following description of the views of Zakiah Daradjat and Daud Ali is "Beberapa Komentar Tentang Panca Agama", 15-19. The references for HAMKA's and Rasjidi's view are "Hamka Tak Setuju Konsep 'Panca Agama'", a reprint of *Merdeka*, 20 December 1979, and the interview with Rasjidi entitled "Penertiban Mata Kuliah Agama" in *Panji Masyarakat* No. 286 (January, 1980), 14-15 and HAMKA, "Panca Agama Bukan Kejutan" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 287 (January 1980), 6-8. For Deliar Noer's view, see his "Sekali Lagi: Masalah Pendidikan Agama di Perguruan Tinggi" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 293 (April, 1980), 10-13.
118. See "Alamsyah: Panca Agama Ide Gila" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 287 (January, 1980), 7.
119. See "Bantahan Menteri P&K tentang Panca Agama" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 287 (January, 1980), 19.
120. Saadoedin Djambek, "Libur Besar Dalam Bulan Puasa" initially published in *Dunia Madrasah* No. 31/32 (March/April, 1957) and later reprinted in the proceedings of the seminar on school holidays in 1975 entitled *Hari Libur Sekolah Bagian Integral Dari Kalender Pendidikan* (Jakarta: PB-PGRI, 1975), 55-6.
121. See Joesoef's speech to Parliament, "Jawaban Menteri P&K Daoed Joesoef Terhadap Pertanyaan Anggota DPR-RI Drs. Amir Hamzah" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 274 (July, 1979), 12.
122. See all the papers in *Hari Libur Sekolah*.

123. *Hari Libur Sekolah*, 103; 123-128.
124. See the text of the decree in Anonymous, *Pendidikan Agama dan Kaitannya dengan Libur Sekolah Bulan Puasa* (Jakarta: Mercu Baru, 1979), 81-92.
125. Rasjidi, *Strategi Kebudayaan*, 112.
126. Mahbub Djunaedi, "Bulan Puasa, Anak-anak Sekolah" *Tempo* (26 May 1979), 11.
127. Saifuddin Zuhri, "Pendidikan Nasional dan Pendidikan Agama" *Pelita* 9 May 1979 reprinted in Anonymous, *Pendidikan Agama*, 140-6. See also Saifuddin Zuhri, "Hari Depan Anak-anak Yang Didambakan Melalui Pendidikan Terpadu" *Mimbar Ulama* No. 31 (June, 1979), 20-8.
128. See *Pelita* 30 April 1979, reprinted in Anonymous, *Pendidikan Agama*, 113-4.
129. See Amir Hamzah, "Tanggapan Terhadap Pendirian Menteri P&K Daoed Joesoef Tentang Liburan Puasa" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 274 (July, 1979), 10-11.
130. See *Berita Buana*, 25 May 1979 reprinted in Anonymous, *Pendidikan Agama*, 93-5.
131. See *Pelita* 28 May 1979 reprinted in Anonymous, *Pendidikan Agama*, 185.
132. Ali Hasjmi, "Catatan Kecil tentang Daoed Joesoef" in Hartojo, Silalahi and Soesatro (eds.), *Nalar dan Naluri*, 29-31.
133. See "Jawaban Menteri P&K Daoed Joesoef", 12-13.
134. See *Pelita*, 5, 12, 17, 28, 29 May and 14 June 1979 in *Pendidikan Agama*, 150-90.
135. See Anonymous, *Pendidikan Agama*, 111-12. According to Joesoef, in that meeting, the Muhammadiyah leader, Kasman Singodimedjo said, "we will free our schools [in Ramadan] even though because of that, we do not receive subsidies." Having heard that, Joesoef replied, "Okay, I will review the subsidies." See "Jawaban Menteri P&K Daoed Joesoef" 12.
136. For the text of the letter, see Anonymous, *Pendidikan Agama*, 193-8.
137. See "Jawaban Menteri P&K Daoed Joesoef" 12.
138. See *Pelita* 9 May 1979 in Anonymous, *Pendidikan Agama*, 115-8. President Soeharto apparently supported Joesoef's policy and therefore, Alamsyah could do nothing to change it. Alamsyah seemed to be upset about this, and his relationship with Joesoef became worse when the latter refused to give permission for the Saudi Arabian Embassy to establish the Institute for Islamic and Arabic Studies in Jakarta. According to Alamsyah, Joesoef said that Muslims were already fanatics and if they studied at the Institute, they would become even more fanatical. A meeting was held between Alamsyah, Joesoef, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mochtar Kusumaatmaja, and the Minister of Social Welfare, Surono, to solve the problem. In the meeting, Joesoef still refused to give permission and Alamsyah was so angry that he hit Joesoef. The Institute finally was allowed to operate in Jakarta under the permission of the Department of Foreign Affairs not the Department of Education. See Suparwan G. Parikesit & Krisna R. Sempurnadjaja (eds.), *H. Alamsyah Ratuperiranegara, Perjalanan Hidup Seorang Anak Yatim Piatu* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1995), 269-71.
139. See *Berita Buana* 22 May 1979 in Anonymous, *Pendidikan Agama*, 160-3. See also "Libur, Tidak, Libur..." *Tempo* (2 June 1979), 8-9.
140. See "Memang Bukan Asbur" *Tempo* (7 July 1979), 48.
141. See "Pemutusan Subsidi Muhammadiyah: Kebijakan Yang Tidak Bijak" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 303 (September, 1980), 12-6. Joesoef, however, on one occasion affirmed but on another denied this policy. Later, Amir Hamzah from the PPP reacted to Joesoef's denial by showing evidence of the application of the policy to Muhammadiyah schools. See Amir Hamzah, "Tanggapan Terhadap Keterangan Daoed Joesoef" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 305 (October, 1980), 11-3. See also T. Mulya Lubis and Fauzi Abdullah (eds.), *Langit*

- Masih Mendung: Laporan Keadaan Hak-Hak Asasi Manusia di Indonesia 1980* (Jakarta: LBH and Sinar Harapan, 1981), 75-6.
142. See *Tempo* (16 June 1979), 6.
 143. In 1981, *Panji Masyarakat* lamented that the issue of Ramadan holidays seems to be forgotten and therefore, it tried to reaffirm the Muslim demand for a full Ramadan holidays. See "Libur Puasa: Menggugat Sebuah 'Kebijaksanaan'" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 329 (July, 1981), 13-15.
 144. Towa P. Hamakonda, the librarian of the UKSW, wrote *Pengantar Klasifikasi Persepuluhan Dewey*. Compared to this book, the content of the Guide was almost the same. See "Persandingan Antara P dan K dan Towa" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 315 (February, 1981), 14-5.
 145. See "Pedoman itu Tidak Ber-Pancasila" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 315 (February, 1981), 11-2.
 146. HAMKA, "Pedoman Perpustakaan SLTA" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 315 (February, 1981), 7-8.
 147. Soeleiman Fadely, "Kristenisasi Lewat Perpustakaan" *Aula* (March, 1981), 8-9.
 148. See "Lagi-Lagi Terkejut Oleh Olah Daoed" *Aula* (March, 1981), 6-7.
 149. See the text of the joint regulation in Poerbakawatja, *Pendidikkan dalam Alam*, 380-3.
 150. See elucidation of the MPRS Decree No. XXVII/ 1966 in *Ketetapan-Ketetapan MPRS* (Jakarta: Departemen Penerangan RI, 1968), 122.
 151. See Gavin W. Jones, "Religion and Education in Indonesia" *Indonesia* (October, 1976), 19-56; Paul Webb, *Indonesian Christians and Their Political Parties 1923-1966: The Role of Partai Kristen Indonesia and Partai Katolik* (Townsville: James Cook University, 1978) and Gerry van Klinken, *Minorities, Modernity and the Emerging Nation: Christians in Indonesia, a Biographical Approach* (Leiden: KITLV, 2003).
 152. Gatra reported that in 2002, many of the Christian private schools were among the top ten scores of the national school exam but there was only one Islamic private school among them. See "Bukan Ombak Penggoyah Iman" *Gatra* (21 June 2003), 42. The constant attraction of the Christian schools seems to indicate that their achievements in the previous years were not that different.
 153. Muhammad Natsir, *Sekali Lagi Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Dewan Dakwah Indonesia, 1978), 65-8 ; and interview with Husein Umar, Jakarta, 22 October 2003.
 154. Poerbakawatja, *Pendidikkan dalam Alam*, 383-7.
 155. See Chapter 1.
 156. See *Peraba* (III September, 1968), 2.
 157. Muhammad Natsir, "Sekali Lagi Kerukunan Hidup Antar Agama: Sumbangsih Untuk Prof. Dr. Verkuyl" *Kiblat* No. 3 (July, 1973), 19.
 158. It is reprinted in Mohammad Natsir, *Mencari Modus Vivendi Antar Umat Beragama* (Jakarta: Media Dakwah, 1980), 37.
 159. See Muhammad Rasjidi, "The Role of Christian Missions: the Indonesian Experience" *International Review of Mission* Vol. 65 No. 260 (October, 1976), 430.
 160. See point 3 of the "Statement of the Conference" *International Review of Mission* Vol. 65 No. 260 (October, 1976), 458.
 161. See "Laporan Prof. Dr. H.M. Rasjidi tentang Konferensi Meja Bundar Da'wah Islam dan Missi Kristen di Geneva Tgl. 26-30 Juni" in *Serial Media Dakwah* No. 35 (1976), 15.
 162. For the controversy see Chapter 2.
 163. Muhammad Rasjidi, "Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 258 (November, 1978), 14.
 164. See *Peraba* (III September, 1968), 2.
 165. See "Katolik: Bola Salju Mulai Menggelinding?" *Tempo* (20 October 1973), 48.

166. See Sarmudi, "Perkembangan Pemikiran Baru Dikalangan Gereja Katholik di Indonesia: Usaha Mencapai Modus Vivendi Antara Islam dan Nasrani" *Panji Masyarakat* No.142 (January, 1974), 16-17.
167. This case is reported in "Silakan Memilih Agama" *Tempo* (13 April 1985), 69.
168. See "Silakan Memilih Agama".
169. For a complete text of the decree, see Weinata Sairin (ed.), *Himpunan Peraturan di Bidang Keagamaan* (Jakarta: BPK, 1994), 316-23.
170. See "Kepercayaan adalah Kepercayaan" *Editor* No. 30 (19 March 1988), 44.
171. Original: "Tenaga Pengajar pendidikan agama harus beragama sesuai dengan agama yang diajarkan dan agama peserta didik yang bersangkutan."
172. Effendy, *Islam and the State*, 154-6; Feillard, *NU vis-à-vis Negara*, 394-6.
173. The chronology of the PDI's opposition and some relevant press reports were quoted at length in Harun, *Muhammadiyah dan Undang-Undang*, 72-88.
174. The article 28, section 2 stated that a teacher had to be qualified in teaching the subject, to be committed to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution and to believe and follow God's commandments.
175. See *Suara Pembaruan* 3 March 1989 and *Kompas* 8 March 1989 copied in *Dokumentasi* Vol. 1, 102-4. For a complete text of PGI's suggestion on this issue, see "Ketetapan Sidang MPL-PGI Nomor 02/MPL-PGI/1989" in Weinata Sairin, *Partisipasi Kristen Dalam Pembangunan Pendidikan Indonesia Menyongsong Milenium Ketiga* (Jakarta: BPK, 1998), 178-81.
176. See *Kompas* and *Suara Karya* 10 March 1989; *Suara Karya* and *Suara Pembaruan* 11 March 1989; *Suara Karya*, *Kompas* and *Suara Pembaruan* 14 March 1989 in *Dokumentasi* Vol. 2, 106-16. See also "Guru Agama Kembali Diributkan" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 606 (March, 1989), 12-3.
177. See "PP No.29/1990 Harus Ditinjau Kembali" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 698 (October, 1991), 71-4.

Notes Chapter 6

1. J.W.M. Bakker, *Piagam 'Nostra Aetate' Konsili Vatikan II: Tafsiran Zaman Kita, Zaman Dialog Antar-Agama* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1972), 102.
2. Bakker, *Piagam 'Nostra Aetate'*, 110-1.
3. Karel A. Steenbrink, "Patterns of Muslim-Christian Dialogue in Indonesia (1965-1998)" in Jacques Waardenburg (ed.), *Muslim-Christian Perceptions of Dialogue Today: Experiences and Expectations* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 105.
4. See Stuart Brown, *Meeting in Faith: Twenty Years of WCC Sponsored Dialogues* (Geneva: WCC, 1989); and Jutta Sperber, *Christians and Muslims: The Activities of the World Council of Churches* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000).
5. For instance, A. Mukti Ali made an account of the dialogue in Ajaltoun in his *Dialog Antar Agama* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Nida, 1970), 25-44; the dialogue in Broumana, 1972 in his *Agama dan Pembangunan di Indonesia*, Bahagian III (Jakarta: Biro Humas Depag RI, 1973), 39-48. Both Rasjidi and Ihromi made reports on the dialogue in Chambésy, Geneva in 1976. See "Laporan Prof. Dr. H.M. Rasjidi Tentang Konperensi Meja Bundar Da'wah Islam dan Missi Kristen di Geneva Tgl. 26-30 Juni 1976" *Serial Media Dakwah* No. 35 (1976), 2-18; and Ihromi, "Islam-Kristen Bertemu di Jenewa," *Berita Oikoumene* Vol. 4 (August, 1976), 30-1. T.B. Simatupang also made a report on the Muslim-Christian

- dialogue in Colombo in 1982 in his *Kehadiran Kristen dalam Perang, Revolusi dan Pembangunan* (Jakarta: BPK, 1986), 142-52.
6. Interview with Father Ismartono, Jakarta, 26 July 2002.
 7. For a study of the Indonesian evangelical movement, see David H. Tulaar, *You Must Be Born Again: a Preliminary Study of Evangelicalism in Indonesia* (Master Thesis, Faculty of Theology, University of Amsterdam, 1997).
 8. Interview with Th. Sumartana, Yogyakarta, 24 September 2002.
 9. Steenbrink, "Patterns of Muslim-Christian Dialogue", 78-112.
 10. This policy is, as many observers have commented, very similar to that which was recommended by C. Snouck Hurgronje. See Harry J. Benda, "Christian Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundation of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia" *The Journal of Modern History* Vol. 30 No. 4 (1958), 338-47.
 11. For the studies of the renewal movement, see B.J. Boland, "Discussion on Islam in Indonesia Today" in *Studies On Islam* (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company, 1974), 37-50; Muhammad Kamal Hassan, *Muslim Intellectual Responses to 'New Order' Modernisation in Indonesia* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1980); Fachry Ali and Bahtiar Effendy, *Merambah Jalan Baru Islam* (Bandung: Mizan, 1986); Greg Barton, *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia: Pemikiran Neo-Modernisme Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, Ahmad Wahib dan Abdurrahman Wahid* Trans. Nanang Tahqiq (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999); Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam and the State in Indonesia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2003).
 12. See Ahmad Wahib's account of the tensions among the HMI leaders in Djohan Effendi and Ismed Natsir (eds.), *Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam: Catatan Harian Ahmad Wahib* sixth edition (Jakarta: LP3ES and Freedom Institute, 2003), 144-74. See also A.H. Johns, "An Islamic System or Islamic Values? Nucleus of a Debate in Contemporary Indonesia" in William R. Roff (ed.), *Islam and the Political Economy of Meaning* (Berkeley: University of California, 1987), 254-80.
 13. His papers on the issue are published in Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Kemodernan dan Keindonesiaan* (Bandung: Mizan, 1987), 204-56. For the English translation of the papers, see Appendix A to D in Muhammad Kamal Hassan, *Muslim Intellectual Responses*, 187-233. For Madjid's personal account of the background of, and the controversies around, the Islamic renewal movement see Nurcholish Madjid, "The Issue of Modernisation among Muslims in Indonesia: From a Participant's Point of View" in Gloria Davis (ed.), *What is Modern Indonesian Culture?* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio Centre for International Studies, Southeast Asia Series No.52, 1979), 143-55.
 14. In 1953, Dachlan Ranuwihardjo invited President Soekarno to give a lecture on the concept of the national state in relation to Islam in the hall of the University of Indonesia and the President agreed. Madjid noted that, "the resolution of the discussion was in favour of Sukarno's concept; the HMI, or at least its president, Dachlan Ranuwihardjo, preferred the national state." See Madjid, "The Issue of Modernisation", 147. For Dachlan's invitation letter to Soekarno and the latter's lecture, see Soekarno, *Negara Nasion-al dan Tjita2 Islam* (Jakarta: Kementrian Penerangan RI, n.d.).
 15. Boland, "Discussion on Islam in Indonesia Today", 43.
 16. J.W.M. Bakker, "Sekularisasi dalam Pandangan Ummat Islam" *Orientasi* Vol. 5 (1973), 46-68.
 17. The Indonesian translation of the thesis was published in 1982. See Victor I. Tanja, *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam: Sejarah dan Kedudukannya di Tengah Gerakan-Gerakan Muslim Pembaharu di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1982).

18. Tanja, *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*, 140;146;150;167-70; and Hassan, *Muslim Intellectual Responses*, 89-115. Greg Barton who wrote some years after Tanja (ironically without mentioning Tanja's thesis) also criticised Hassan on this point. See Barton, *Gagasan Islam Liberal*, 27-32; 547-97. However, if we look at the political background of Nurcholish Madjid's ideas, Hassan's description is quite fair. Moreover, unlike Hassan, both Barton and Tanja assumed that there was no significant difference between Madjid's view before and after 1970. Again, here Hassan's view was much more congruent with Ahmad Wahib's account that Madjid initially still saw Islam as an ideology by the time when Manshur Hamid, Djohan Effendi and Ahmad Wahib already opposed it. See Effendi and Natsir, *Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam*, 158-70.
19. Agussalim Sitompul, *HMI Dalam Pandangan Seorang Pendeta: Antara Impian dan Kenyataan* Second Edition (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1984). The first edition was published in 1982, the same year of the publication Tanja's book. The last part of the second edition contains more than 20 reprinted review articles most of them of Tanja's book and few of them of Sitompul's.
20. Sitompul, *HMI Dalam Pandangan*, 84-93.
21. Djohan Effendi, "Catatan Tentang Sebuah Tempat Transit" *Tempo* (3 April 1982), 77 reprinted in Sitompul, *HMI Dalam Pandangan*, 159-60.
22. The text of the letter published in Laksmi Pamuntjak and Agus Edy Santoso (eds.), *Tidak Ada Negara Islam: Surat-Surat Politik Nurcholish Madjid-Mohamad Roem* Second Edition (Jakarta: Djambatan, 2000), 38. The book contains correspondences between Madjid and Roem in 1983 when the former was studying in the University of Chicago. The correspondence can be read as a reconciliation between the young and the old generation of the Muslim reformist leaders.
23. For a short biography of Schumann, see Panitia Penerbitan, *Agama Dalam Dialog, Pencekahan, Perdamaian dan Masa Depan: Punjung Tulis 60 Tahun Prof.Dr. Olaf Herbert Schumann* (Jakarta: BPK, 1999), 497-503.
24. The 20th Seminar of Religions was held in 2000, and afterward the new leadership of the PGI did not pay attention to this programme anymore. In my interviews, the proponents of inter-religious dialogue among the Protestants were quite unhappy with this PGI's policy. Interviews with Th. Sumartana, Yogyakarta, 24 September 2002; and Martin Sinaga, Jakarta, 16 August 2002.
25. Among the invited speakers were Djohan Effendi, Harun Nasution, Nurcholish Madjid, Masdar F. Mas'udi and Abdurrahman Wahid.
26. This book was a textbook used in the State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN) all over the country. It was strongly opposed by the Muslim reformist leader and polemicist, Muhammad Rasjidi. See Harun Nasution, *Islam Ditinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya* Second Edition Vol. I and II (Jakarta: UI Press, 1979) and Muhammad Rasjidi, *Koreksi Terhadap Dr.Harun Nasution Tentang Islam Ditinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1977). Harun Nasution obtained his PhD in Islamic Studies at McGill University and when he came back home, he became the promoter of Islamic rational theology on the lines of Mu'tazila and Muhammad 'Abduh. See Saiful Muzani, "Mu'tazilah Theology and the Modernisation of the Indonesian Muslim Community: Intellectual Portrait of Harun Nasution" *Studia Islamika* No.1 Vol.1 (1994), 91-131.
27. Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), the Indonesian translation of his *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1973); and Harun Nasution, *Pembaharuan Dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1975). See Th. Sumartana's report on the first seminar entitled "Laporan Seminar Malang", and J. Garang's report on the second seminar enti-

- tled "Laporan Seminar Islam II" in *Kumpulan Rekaman Hasil Seminar Agama-Agama I-IV* (Jakarta: Litbang PGI, 1984).
28. See T.B. Simatupang, "Sumbangan Agama-Agama Dalam Negara Pancasila Yang Membangun" in his *Iman Kristen dan Pancasila* (Jakarta: BPK, 1984), 168-78.
 29. See Effendi and Natsir, *Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam*. For an analysis of the book see Johns, "An Islamic System or Islamic Values?", 254-80; and Barton, *Gagasan Islam Liberal*, 251-324. For a press account of the controversy, see "Catatan Harian Ahmad Wahib" *Tempo* (January 30, 1982), 50-5. For a sympathetic but critical review, see Abdurrahman Wahid, "Bak Tukang Batu Menghantam Tembok" *Tempo* (19 September 1981), 28-9 and his "Sekali Lagi Ahmad Wahib" *Tempo* (23 January 1982), 76. For an opposing view, see Muhammad Rasjidi, "Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam: Suatu Tragedi" *Panji Masyarakat* No. 346 (January, 1982), 42-3. The book became a controversy again in 1995 when *Republika*, commonly considered a Muslim newspaper, published some articles praising Wahib's ideas and this was in turn triggered strong protest from the Muslim hardliners of the DDII. See Robert W. Hefner, "Print Islam: Mass Media and Ideological Rivalries Among Indonesian Muslims" *Indonesia* No. 64 (October, 1997), 97-99; and Ahmad Sumargono, "Kontroversi dan Keanahan Pemikiran Ahmad Wahib" *Republika*, 11 April 1995.
 30. The MUI identified 26 unacceptable statements in the book. See "Masalah Buku Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam" *Mimbar Ulama* No. 73 Vol. 8 (August-September, 1983), 39-45.
 31. *Tempo* reported that only in three months, 5000 copies of the first edition were sold out while 10,000 copies of the second edition were sold out in a year. See "Catatan Harian Ahmad Wahib", 50. The sixth and most recent edition appeared in 2003.
 32. Effendi and Natsir, *Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam*, 39-41.
 33. Effendi and Natsir, *Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam*, 139.
 34. See Th. Sumartana, "Ahmad Wahib, Profil Seorang Pembaharu" *Tempo* (10 October 1981), 33 and Th. Sumartana, "Ikhtiar Ahmad Wahib: Sebuah Corak Reformasi dalam Islam" *Prisma* No.8 Vol. 10 (August, 1981), 82-8. See also the proceedings of the seminars in *Kumpulan Rekaman Hasil Seminar Agama-Agama Bidang Islam I-IV* (Jakarta: Litbang PGI, 1984).
 35. See Ismed Natsir, "Melacak Jejak Ahmad Wahib" in *Kumpulan Rekaman Hasil Seminar Agama-Agama Bidang Islam I-IV*.
 36. Information from Martin van Bruinessen based on his interview with Dawam Rahardjo.
 37. Barton, *Gagasan Islam Liberal*, 388-94. Later, in a speech in front of the Christian leaders in 1996, Wahid explained that he was regularly invited to give the lecture for the GKJW course over a period of more than seven years. See Abdurrahman Wahid, "Membangun Kebersamaan Hidup Beragama" *Aula* (November, 1996), 54.
 38. See J. Garang, "Laporan Seminar Islam II", page 4 in *Kumpulan Rekaman Hasil Seminar Agama-Agama Bidang Islam I-IV*.
 39. Martin van Bruinessen, *NU, Tradisi, Relasi-Relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1994), 108-29.
 40. See Chapter 3.
 41. Einar Martahan Sitompul, *Nahdlatul Ulama dan Pancasila: Sejarah dan Peranan NU dalam Perjuangan Umat Islam di Indonesia dalam Rangka Penerimaan Pancasila sebagai Satu-satunya Asas* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1989).
 42. For a more detail analysis of Wahid's concept of the relationship between Islam and the state, see Mujiburrahman, "Islam and Politics in Indonesia: the Political Thought of Abdurrahman Wahid" *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* Vol. 10 (October, 1999), 339-52.

43. See Abdurrahman Wahid, "Kata Pengantar" in Sitompul, *Nahdlatul Ulama*, 16-7.
44. In Indonesian, 'pembangunan' as a deliberate constructed act is sometimes contrasted with 'perkembangan' which renders the growth and flourishing aspect of development.
45. Ali Moertopo, *Dasar-Dasar Pemikiran Tentang Akselerasi Modernisasi Pembangunan 25 Tahun* (Jakarta: CSIS, 1972).
46. Hassan, *Muslim Intellectual Responses*, Chapter I and II.
47. The epithet 'Berkeley Mafia' was used by some critics to call Widjojo's group which consists of some graduates of the University of California, Berkeley. For the critics, the Berkeley mafia was prepared by the US to control Indonesian economic policies. See Hamish McDonald, *Suharto's Indonesia* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1981), 75-77.
48. See *Pidato Kenegaraan Pd. Presiden Republik Indonesia Djenderal Soeharto di Depan Sidang DPR-GR, 16 Agustus 1967* (Jakarta: Penerbit Doa Restu, 1967), 56.
49. For the text of his speech, see "Djend. Soeharto pada Konpernas Geredja & Masjarakat" *Ragi Buana* (July, 1967), 17-20.
50. See S.A.E Nababan, *Panggilan Kristen Dalam Pembaharuan Masjarakat: Laporan Konferensi Nasional Geredja dan Masjarakat* (Jakarta: BPK, 1968), 103-12.
51. Nababan, *Panggilan Kristen*, 15-8; 47; 79-80.
52. Dick Hartoko, "Membangun Masjarakat Modern" *Basis* Vol. 16 (1967), 333-8; 356.
53. See Chapter 3.
54. Hassan, *Muslim Intellectual Responses*, Chapter I, II and III.
55. In his diary, Ahmad Wahib wrote that since 1966, there was already controversy among the HMI activists whether modernisation was acceptable or not. Madjid's paper on "Modernisation is Rationalisation, not Westernisation" was an important reading material among the HMI activists in the late 1960s. On the other hand, Djohan Effendi and Manshur Hamid disagreed with Madjid's view and said, if modernisation implies westernisation, "What else could we do?" Madjid became more positive to the West after his two-month visit to the USA in 1968. He found that Islamic values were more practiced in the USA than in Indonesia. See Effendi and Natsir, *Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam*, 149-56; 161-70.
56. Ali Munhanif, "Prof. Dr. Mukti Ali, Modernisasi Politik Keagamaan Order Baru" in Azyumardi Azra & Saiful Umam (eds.), *Menteri-Menteri Agama RI: Biografi Sosial Politik* (Jakarta: INIS-PPIM, 1998), 290-2.
57. See Effendi and Natsir, *Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam*, 146-7.
58. Ahmad Wahib noted: "Mukti Ali's position as the guide of the discussion in the Limited Group was to bridge the gap between various conflicting ideas. He always stimulated our thought, clarified a problem and at the same time softened the formulations of ideas considered too strong." See Effendi and Natsir, *Pergolakan Pemikiran Islam*, 150.
59. See A. Mukti Ali, "Dialogue Between Muslims and Christians in Indonesia and Its Problems" in his *Dialoog Antar Agama* (Yogyakarta: Jajasan Nida, 1970), 43.
60. Munhanif, "Prof. Dr. Mukti Ali", 292.
61. A. Mukti Ali, *Religion and Development in Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Nida, 1971).
62. See A. Mukti Ali, *Agama dan Pembangunan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Dirjen Bimas Islam, Depag, 1971). According to this book, the lecture was delivered to (1) the Congress of the Indonesian Scholars of Economics Association (ISEI) on 15 October 1971; (2) the Orientation Programme of the Parliament members of Golkar and Military on 18 October 1971; (4) the week celebration of the Youth Oath in the auditorium of the Faculty

- of Economics, University of Indonesia, 24 October 1971; and (5) the Meeting of the DGI on 28 October 1971.
63. Mukti Ali, *Religion and Development*, 21.
 64. Mukti Ali, "Kehidupan Agama, Kerukunan Hidup Ummat Beragama dan Pembangunan" and "Dialog Antar Pemuka-Pemuka Agama" in his *Agama dan Pembangunan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Biro Hukum & Humas Depag, 1975), 62-72; 118-20.
 65. Interview with Mukti Ali, Yogyakarta, 28 September 2002.
 66. A. Mukti Ali, "Kehidupan Agama, Kerukunan Hidup Ummat Beragama", 70.
 67. Mukti Ali used an awkward English expression "agree in disagreement" that was later quite popular. In an interview with me, Mukti Ali proudly said that it took months for him to find this expression and that he deliberately used the English words to attract people's attention. Interview with Mukti Ali, Yogyakarta, 28 September 2002.
 68. Mukti Ali, "Kehidupan Agama, Kerukunan Hidup Ummat Beragama", 71.
 69. On the Muslim apologetic discourses, see B.J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 226-7.
 70. On the approach developed by Smith and others like him, see Mujiburrahman, "The Phenomenological Approach in Islamic Studies: An Overview of a Western Attempt to Understand Islam" *The Muslim World* Vol. 91 (Fall 2001), 425-449.
 71. See Mukti Ali's account of the Congress in his *Dialog Antar Agama*, 7-23.
 72. For a summary of Mukti Ali's comparative religion, see B.J. Boland, *The Struggle of Islam*, 206-11. For a survey of the development of the study of comparative religion in Indonesia, see Karel A Steenbrink, "The Study of Comparative Religion by Indonesian Muslims: A Survey" *Numen* No. 2 Vol. 37 (1990), 141-67.
 73. Djohan Effendi, "Dialog Antar Agama: Bisakah Melahirkan Teologi Kerukunan?" in Imam Ahmad (ed.), *Agama dan Tantangan Zaman* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 172-3. The article is a reprint from *Prisma* No. 5 (June, 1978), 12-7.
 74. Interview with Djohan Effendi, Jakarta, 29 August 2002.
 75. In his written account, Djohan mentioned the list of topics of the dialogues that are clearly related to the Government development idea. The topics include religious tolerance and harmony; ethical code on religious preaching and interaction; religious values and development; religious values in modern society; the roles of religious leaders in the development of society; religion and national defence; care for homeless children; religious guidance for the people in the transmigration area; religion and family planning; etc. See Effendi, "Dialog Antar Agama", 172.
 76. Djohan Effendi mentioned the following examples of the topics: (1) comparative study of four villages, each of them dominated by a certain religious group in East Java; (2) the role of religious leaders in social activities in a Muslim and a Christian village in Medan; (3) patterns of inter-religious relations in Toraja; (4) the role of mosques and churches in guiding the lives of their respective congregations in Bandung; (5) Temporary marriages and inter-religious marriages in East Kalimantan. See Effendi, "Dialog Antar Agama", 173-4.
 77. Steenbrink, "Patterns of Muslim-Christian Dialogue", 88.
 78. Effendi, "Dialog Antar Agama", 174.
 79. Effendi, "Dialog Antar Agama", 174-5.
 80. Interview with Djohan Effendi, Jakarta, 29 August 2002.
 81. Steenbrink, "Patterns of Muslim-Christian Dialogue", 87.
 82. Steenbrink, "Patterns of Muslim-Christian Dialogue", 89.
 83. Interview with Djohan Effendi, Jakarta, 9 July 2002.

84. Interview with Mukti Ali, Yogyakarta, 28 September 2002. This is in line with Djohan Effendi's remark that in the beginning, the dialogue programme was met with scepticism. See Effendi, "Dialog Antar Agama" 173.
85. In his speeches in 1974 and 1975, President Soeharto began to hint at the importance of holding an Inter-religious Consultation and to create the Body for Inter-religious Consultation. In a meeting of the Council of the Stabilisation of Politics and Security on 14 April 1976, the Minister of Religion received a letter from the Minister of Home Affairs explaining the basic thoughts on the creation of the Body. See Hasbullah Mursyid et.al., *Masalah Hubungan Antar Umat Beragama di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Proyek Pembinaan Kerukunan Hidup Beragama, 1979), 2-4.
86. Mursyid et.al., *Masalah Hubungan*, 5.
87. See Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara, *Pembinaan Kerukunan Hidup Beragama* (Jakarta: Departemen Agama, 1982), 45-54.
88. See Alamsyah Ratu Perwiranegara, "Wadah Musyawarah Antar Umat Beragama di Dalam Negara Pancasila" *Dialog* No. 9 Vol. 5 (October, 1980), 3. *Dialog* is an academic journal published by the Office of Religious Research and Development, Department of Religion. The journal was started in 1976 (during Mukti Ali's period) and still survives up to now.
89. Ratu Perwiranegara, "Wadah Musyawarah", 4.
90. Steenbrink, "Patterns of Muslim-Christian Dialogue", 95-6.
91. Interview with Mukti Ali, Yogyakarta, 28 September 2002.
92. Interview with Djohan Effendi, Jakarta, 29 August 2002.
93. The Forum eventually produced a document, dated 19 December 1983, on basic thoughts concerning Pancasila as the sole basis. In the basic thoughts, we can see some reservations rather than an explicit support to the idea of Pancasila as the sole basis. See the text of document in Weinata Sairin (ed.), *Himpunan Peraturan di Bidang Keagamaan* (Jakarta: BPK, 1994), 547-9.
94. Bakker, *Piagam 'Nostra Aetate'*, 111-3.
95. Eka Darmaputera, "Setelah Mukti Ali Menjadi Menteri" *Tempo* (June 2, 1973), 30.
96. Abdurrahman Wahid, "The Regional Context of Religious Cooperation: Implications of an Indonesian Case" *Dialog* No. 12 Vol. 7 (March, 1982), 42-3. The paper was originally presented to the 5th Seminar on Religion as a Field of Study organised by the Department of Religion in March, 1982.
97. Th. Sumartana, "Lagi: Tempat Agama" *Tempo* (2 February 1974).
98. Th. Sumartana, "Keadilan Sosial Lewat Agama?" *Tempo* (24 November 1973).
99. See F. Danuwinata, "Pergumulan Agama dengan Masalah Pembangunan"; S. Wismoady Wahono, "Messianisme dalam Perjuangan Petani: Tinjauan dari Sisi Kekristenan"; Th. Sumartana, "Teologi Pembebasan: Kepalan Tangan Sang Uskup"; and Y.B. Mangunwijaya, "Gereja Antara Yesus dari Nasaret dan Caesar" all are reprinted in Imam Ahmad (ed.), *Agama dan Tantangan Zaman*, 13-24; 276-330. F. Danuwinata's article was originally published in 1975, S. Wismoady Wahono's in 1977 and both Sumartana's and Mangunwijaya's in 1982.
100. See Ismid Hadad, "Pengantar Redaksi" *Prisma* No.1 Vol. 1 (November, 1971), 2.
101. Steenbrink, "Patterns of Muslim-Christian Dialogue", 107.
102. In this context, Rahardjo asked Daniel Dhakidae, an intellectual (a Catholic) who worked in the LP3ES, to translate Hassan Hanafi's article on 'theology of land' and publish it in *Prisma*. See Hassan Hanafi, "Pandangan Agama tentang Tanah: Suatu Pendekatan Islam" in Ahmad (ed.), *Agama dan Tantangan Zaman*, 91-112, a reprint from *Prisma* (April, 1984). For Rahardjo's appreciation of Shariati, see Dawam Rahardjo, "Ali Syari'ati:

- Mujahid Intelektual” in Ali Syari’ati, *Kritik Islam atas Marxisme dan Sesat Pikir Barat Lainnya* Trans. Husin Anis Al-Habsyi (Bandung: Mizan, 1983), 7-32.
103. Wahono Nitiprawiro, *Teologi Pembebasan: Sejarah, Metode, Praksis dan Isinya* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1987). The book was republished by LKiS in the year 2000 under the same title.
 104. Masdar F. Mas’udi, “Teologi Rasionalistik dalam Islam: Suatu Telaah Kritis Atas Teologi Mu’tazilah” and Moeslim Abdurrahman, “Wong Cilik dan Kebutuhan Teologi Transformatif” published in the proceeding of the seminar, M. Masyhur Amin (ed.), *Teologi Pembangunan: Paradigma Baru Pemikiran Islam* (Yogyakarta: LKPSM, 1989), 82-91; 153-61. It is noteworthy that Mas’udi is an NU activist while Abdurrahman is a Muhammadiyah activist.
 105. Moeslim Abdurrahman used the term “Islam Transformatif” (Transformative Islam) while Masdar F. Mas’udi used the term “Agama Keadilan” (Religion of Justice). See Masdar F. Mas’udi, *Agama Keadilan: Risalah Zakat (Pajak) dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1991) and Moeslim Abdurrahman, *Islam Transformatif* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1995).
 106. Mansour Fakhri, “Mencari Teologi Untuk Kaum Tertindas (khidmat dan kritik untuk guruku Prof. Harun Nasution)” in *Refleksi Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam: 70 Tahun Harun Nasution* (Jakarta: LSAF, 1989), 165-77.
 107. Asghar Ali Engineer, *Islam dan Pembebasan* Trans. Hairussalim HS (Yogyakarta: LKiS & Pustaka Pelajar, 1993); Kazuo Shimogaki, *Kiri Islam Antara Modernisme dan Postmodernisme: Telaah Kritis Atas Pemikiran Hassan Hanafi* Trans. Imam Aziz (Yogyakarta: LKiS & Pustaka Pelajar, 1993). The book includes the translation of Hassan Hanafi’s article “Mädzä Ya’ni al-Yasär al-Islämi?” (What is Islamic Left?).
 108. Conversation with Farid Wajidi, a former PMII activist and one of the founders of LKiS.
 109. In 1988 to 1993, three economic ministries were controlled by Christians: Radius Prawiro (Protestant) was the Coordinating Minister of Economy, Finance, Industry and Development; J.B. Sumarlin (Catholic) was the Minister of Finance; and Adrianus Mooy (Catholic) was the Governor of the National Bank. Among the Muslims, these three persons were often called ‘RMS’ (Radius, Mooy and Sumarlin) to remind one of the historical RMS (Republik Maluku Selatan), a secessionist movement led by Christians in South Maluku.
 110. Robert W. Hefner, “Islam, State and Civil Society: ICMI and the Struggle for the Indonesian Middle Class” *Indonesia* No. 56 (1993), 1-37.
 111. R. William Liddle, “The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: a Political Explanation” *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 55 No. 3 (1996), 613-34.
 112. Martin van Bruinessen, “Islamic State or State Islam? Fifty Years of State-Islam Relations in Indonesia,” in Igrid Wessel (ed.), *Indonesien am Ende des 20 Jahshunderts* (Hamburg: Abera-Verlaag, 1996), 19-34.
 113. See “Setelah ‘Kagum 5 Juta’ Itu Diumumkan” *Tempo* (27 October 1990), 28-32; “Setelah Breidel, Perlu Penyejuk?” *Tempo* (November 3, 1990), 26-30. See also Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 161-2.
 114. Hefner, *Civil Islam*, 112.
 115. M. Amien Rais, “Mass Media Islam: Save Our Soul” *Panji Masyarakat* No. 293 (April, 1980), 39-43.
 116. See M. Amien Rais, “al-Islām wa al-Nasrāniyya fī Indūnīsiyā,” *Studia Islamika* Vol. 2 No.1 (1995), 75-91. This Arabic article discusses some other typical Muslim resentment to the Christians such as aggressive missionary activities, expansion of Christian education and over-representation of the Christians in the Government and Parliament.

117. See "Membedah Jantung Monitor" *Media Dakwah* (December, 1990), 25-30.
118. See "Guncangan Baru Setelah 'Monitor'" *Tempo* (10 November 1990), 26-9.
119. See "Setelah 'Kagum 5 Juta' Itu Diumumkan" *Tempo* (27 October 1990), 28.
120. See "Angket, Boikot dan Istigfar" *Tempo* (27 October 1990), 32.
121. "Angket, Boikot dan Istigfar", 33.
122. See "Dialog Makin Perlu" *Tempo* (10 November 1990), 29-30.
123. "Dialog Makin Perlu", 30.
124. See "Angket, Boikot dan Istigfar" *Tempo* (27 October 1990), 33.
125. See "Setelah Breidel, Perlu Penyejuk?" *Tempo* (3 November 1990), 30.
126. The proceedings of the seminar are published in Soetjipto Wirosardjono et al, *Agama dan Pluralitas Bangsa* (Jakarta: P3M, 1991).
127. Franz Magnis-Suseno, "Kerendahan Hati Prasyarat Kerukunan Antar Agama" *Media Indonesia* 30 November 1990, reprinted in Wirosardjono et al, *Agama dan Pluralitas*, 128-31.
128. Franz Magnis-Suseno, "Islam 1990: Renungan Seorang Non-Muslim" *Tempo* (9 January 1991) reprinted in Wirosardjono, *Agama dan Pluralitas*, 131-33.
129. For an historical description of DIAN by its founder, see Th. Sumartana, "Sejarah Singkat, Visi dan Misi Institut DIAN/Interfidei" *Newsletter Interfidei* (Special Edition, 2000), 3-6.
130. Among the intellectuals were Abdurrahman Wahid, Djohan Effendi (both are Muslims), Daniel Dhakidae, Y.B. Mangunwijaya (both are Catholics), Eka Darmaputera (Protestant), Gedung Bagus Oke (a female prominent Hindu intellectual), Elga Sarapung (a female Protestant minister who was to succeed Th. Sumartana as the director of Interfidei) and St. Sunardi (a young prominent Catholic intellectual). Among the student activists who joined the Interfidei were Farid Wajidi, Hairus Salim, Ahmad Suaedy, Ciciek Farcha and Zuly Qadir.
131. Interview with Th. Sumartana, Yogyakarta, 24 September 2002.
132. Quoted in Elga Sarapung, "Narasi Kegiatan 10 Tahun Institut Dialog Antar-Iman di Indonesia (Institut DIAN/Interfidei)" *Interfidei Newsletter* (Special Edition, 2000), 37.
133. Abdurrahman Wahid, "Agama dan Demokrasi" in Ahmad Suaedy (ed.), *Spiritualitas Baru: Agama dan Aspirasi Rakyat* (Yogyakarta: Interfidei, 1994), 269-75.
134. Th. Sumartana, "Experimentasi Demokratisasi dari Agama-Agama: Sudut Pandang Kekristenan" in M. Imam Aziz, M. Jadul Maula, Ellyasa KH. Dharwis (eds.), *Agama, Demokrasi & Keadilan* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1993), 49-62.
135. For a study of this issue, see Masykuri Abdillah, *Responses of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals to the Concept of Democracy (1966-1993)* (Hamburg: Abera Verlag Meyer, 1997).
136. The result was published under the title *Anotasi 200 Buku Islam Karya Muslim Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Interfidei, 1997). I thank Farid Wajidi for his explanation of the background of this book.
137. Sarapung, "Narasi Kegiatan 10 Tahun.", 37-50; Sumartana, "Sejarah Singkat" 5.
138. Interview with Th. Sumartana, Yogyakarta, 24 September 2002.
139. Th. Sumartana, "SARA dan Integrasi Nasional ? Ketegangan yang Tak Pernah Padam" in A.E. Priyono, Stanley Adi Prasetyo and Olle Törnquist (eds.), *Gerakan Demokrasi di Indonesia Pasca-Soeharto* (Jakarta: Demos, 2003), 31. Th. Sumartana passed away on 24 January 2003 during an activity organised by a new NGO concentrating on democracy and human right issues called 'DEMOS' which published this book.
140. Information from Martin van Bruinessen.
141. The first collection of Madjid's papers presented in the KKA was published under the title: *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1992).

142. For the speech, see Nurcholish Madjid, "Beberapa Renungan Tentang Kehidupan Keagamaan untuk Generasi Mendatang" *Ulumul Qur'an* No. 1 Vol. 4 (1993), 4-24.
143. Franz Magnis-Suseno, "Nurcholish Madjid, Islam dan Modernitas" *Ulumul Qur'an* No. 1 Vol. 4 (1993), 36-44.
144. J.B. Banawiratma, "Tunduk Kepada Allah" *Tempo* (19 December 1992), 31. In contrast, the Protestant theologian, Einar M. Sitompul said that he could not accept Madjid's inclusive theology because it still implies Islam's superiority over other religions. Interview in Jakarta, 15 December 2003.
145. See Magnis-Suseno, "Nurcholish Madjid, Islam dan Modernitas", 36-44; and circulated copies of correspondences between Madjid and Magnis-Suseno in April and May 1995.
146. See Budhy Munawar-Rachman, "Kesatuan Transendental dalam Teologi: Perspektif Islam tentang Kesamaan Agama-agama" in Abdurrahman Wahid et al, *Dialog: Kritik & Identitas Agama* (Yogyakarta: Interfidei, 1993), 121-50. His articles on the similar topic are later published in Budhy Munawar-Rachman, *Islam Pluralis: Wacana Kesetaraan Kaum Beriman* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001).
147. Komaruddin Hidayat and Muhammad Wahyuni Nafis, *Agama Masa Depan: Perspektif Filosofat Perennial* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995).
148. Kautsar Azhari Noer, *Ibn al-'Arabi: Wahdat al-Wujud dalam Perdebatan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995). See also his "Memperkaya Pengalaman Keagamaan Melalui Dialog" *Ulumul Qur'an* Special Edition No. 5 & 6 Vol. 5 (1994), 104-17.
149. Interviews in Yogyakarta with Amin Abdullah, 8 October 2002 and with Munir Mulkhan, 12 October 2002. In the year 2000, through his position in the Majelis Tarjih, a section of the organisation that mostly dealt with fatwa, Amin Abdullah published a book on Qur'anic exegesis concerning inter-religious relations. The book contains an inclusive theological point of view that in turn made some Muhammadiyah leaders unhappy. Because of this, Amin Abdullah said that he was put on 'trial' in a meeting among the Muhammadiyah leaders. For the book, see Majelis Tarjih dan Pengembangan Pemikiran Islam, *Tafsir Tematik al-Qur'an Tentang Hubungan Sosial Antarumat Beragama* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka SM, 2000).
150. See his preface to *Ulumul Qur'an* No. 1 and No. 2 Vol. 1 (1989).
151. See "Sebuah Experimentasi Bernama 'MADIA'" in Martin L. Sinaga and Trisno S. Sutanto (eds.), *Meretas Horison Dialog: Catatan dari Empat Daerah* (Jakarta: MADIA, ISAI, 2001), 133-7. Trisno S. Sutanto (Catholic) and Martin L. Sinaga (Protestant) were activists of MADIA.
152. Wahid apparently had good relations with MADIA activists. He once hosted a meeting of MADIA and when he became President, MADIA activists could have easy access to him. Interviews with Kautsar Azhari Noer, Martin L. Sinaga and Trisno S. Sutanto, Jakarta, July 2002.
153. See Th. Sumartana, "Theologia Religionum" in Tim Litbang PGI (eds.), *Meretas Jalan Teologi Agama-Agama di Indonesia: Theologia Religionum* (Jakarta: BPK, 1999), 17-39. This book is the proceeding of the Seminar in question.
154. E.G. Singgih, "Hidup Kristiani dalam Masyarakat Keagamaan yang Bersifat Majemuk" in Tim Litbang PGI, *Meretas Jalan Teologi*, 100-21.
155. J.B. Banawiratma, "Mengembangkan Teologi Agama-agama" in Tim Litbang PGI, *Meretas Jalan Teologi*, 40-9.
156. Interview in Jakarta, July 2002.
157. C. Groenen, "Keselamatan Tidak Ada dalam Nama Lain (Daripada Nama Yesus) Manapun (Kis. 3:12)" *Gema: Jurnal Teologi Duta Wacana* No.47 (1994), 100-20.

158. See Hefner, *Civil Islam*, 190-2.
159. Hefner, *Civil Islam*, 193. See also "Semua Sama Susah"; "Wawancara Gus Dur: Umatmu Apa Mas?" in *Aula* (November 1996), 28-44.
160. Information from Martin van Bruinessen.
161. Tahalele and Santoso, *Beginikah Kemerdekaan Kita?*, 23-6.
162. Abdurrahman Wahid, "Membangun Kebersamaan Hidup Beragama" in *Aula* (November 1996), 45-65.
163. The FKKS gradually developed to be FKKJT (JT, Jawa Timur) covering the churches in East Java, and then finally became FKKI (I, Indonesia), covering the whole of Indonesia. Interview with Thomas Santoso, Surabaya, 7 January 2004; and Gerrit E. Singgih, Yogyakarta, 15 October 2002.
164. Before the Situbondo incident, on 9 June 1996, there had already been a similar attack on the churches in Surabaya city. According to Thomas Santoso, the secretary of the FKKS, when the Christians complained about the incident, the Regional Army Commander said to them that they had to keep silent because they were a religious minority. The commander also warned the media not to publish the Surabaya incident. Having become disappointed with the authorities, the Christians then attempted another way to make the incident known, that is, by faxing its information to 'a friend in the USA' who later published it on the internet. This strategy proved to be effective, and so when the Situbondo case happened later, the Government authorities became more cooperative. Interview with Thomas Santoso, Surabaya, 7 January 2004.
165. See Tahalele and Santoso, *Beginikah Kemerdekaan Kita?* The English version was entitled *The Church and Human Rights in Indonesia* (Surabaya: ICCF, 1997). Before launching the book to the public Tahalele who was one of Soeharto's family doctors, gave the book to the President, who appeared very surprised by it. The effect was that the Commander of the Armed Forces, Wiranto, invited its authors and some other Christian leaders to Jakarta to talk about the book. (Interview with Thomas Santoso, Surabaya, 7 January 2004). One of the shocking bits of information provided in this book is that the number of churches damaged or burned down in Indonesia sharply increased in the second half of the 1990s. See the following table quoted from Tahalele and Santoso, *Beginikah Kemerdekaan Kita?*, 39.

Churches Damaged or Burned Down in Indonesia (1945-1997)

Period	Number	Average per-year
1945-1954	0	0
1955-1964	2	0.2
1965-1974	46	4.6
1975-1984	89	8.9
1985-1994	132	13.2
1995-1997	89	44.5
Total	358	

166. Steenbrink, "Patterns of Muslim-Christian Dialogue" 101-2. For a sympathetic but critical account of the Conference in Jakarta, see E.G. Singgih, "Tema Kerukunan Umat Beragama di Dalam Diskusi Pakar Agama" in Panitia Penerbitan, *Agama Dalam Dialog*, 33-46.
167. Information from Karel A. Steenbrink.
168. Interview with Burhanuddin Daya, Yogyakarta, 9 October 2002.
169. Mohtar Mas'oeed, Muchammad Maksum and Moh Soehada (eds.), *Kekerasan Kolektif: Kondisi dan Pemicu* (Yogyakarta: P3PK UGM, 2000).
170. See Tim Peneliti, *Laporan Penelitian Kerukunan Antarumat Beragama* (Unpublished Report, 1997).