

# Islam and Pancasila in Constituent Assembly: A Historical Review

A. Rasyid Rahman

Hasanuddin University, History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Perintis Kemerdekaan Road Km. 10 Makassar, 90245, Indonesia

**Abstract:** *This study discusses Islam and Pancasila in constituents. In constituent assemblies, Islamic political parties have 230 seats, while other individuals 286 seats mean Islamic political parties have 45% of seats, whereas according to the 1950 Constitution, the enactment of the new constitution must support by 2/3 of the constituent members present. Without the support of other political parties, it is impossible for Islamic politicians to promote Islamic ideology as the basis of the state. Then there was an exciting debate about the basic types of countries that will be embraced by Indonesia. At that time there were three initial designs of the state, namely Islam, Pancasila and socioeconomic. But this third draft proposed by the Labor and Murba Party is supported only by a few members so that finally the debate is dominated by the ideology of Islam and Pancasila. This article presented in analytical descriptive by using literature review. Like most historical writings, this paper uses four stages of research. Four stages of this study are a sequential and interrelated part. The research stages are resource collection (heuristic), source critic, interpretation, and historiography. The result of the research shows that the primary proposal of Islamic state is supported by 230 votes, Pancasila 273 votes, and socioeconomic 9 votes. In the view of Islam Pancasila is a vague state ideology, so it can be interpreted differently its supporters. The debate on the basis of this country lasted until the last meeting on 12 June 1959 without producing a decision. Before the Assembly completed its task, this constituency was dissolved by President Soekarno by Decree 5 July 1959. Many analysts argue that this voter does not produce anything and is only a forum of political debate. All constituent activities reflect the real spirit of democracy, such as freedom of expression and a fundamental commitment to the constitution. Accordingly, the hypothesis that component event is the pinnacle of Indonesia's efforts to achieve constitutional government. In the debate is described as the culminations of efforts to achieve democracy in Indonesia, the Islamic group will eventually accept Pancasila after secular issuing. However, the compromise has not been made yet the president has issued a decree of 5 July 1959.*

**Keywords:** Pancasila, Islamic state, democracy, and Constitutional

## 1. Introduction

Indonesia is probably one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse of the world's major nations. According to [1], the diversity of Indonesian society is as follows: There are more than three hundred different ethnic groups in Indonesia, each with its own cultural identity, and more than two hundred and five different languages spoken.

To illustrate the plurality of Indonesian society and culture, the founders of the Republic announced in 1945 the national motto that reads *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity). This national motto formulated by Empu Tantular, a brilliant thinker, and poet who lived in the golden age of the Hindu Majapahit Kingdom (1293-1478). The ruler of the kingdom is the most massive Hindu kingdom in pre-Islam in Indonesia. This motto used with the aim of politics to maintain the unity of the nation and preserve the integrity of all the territory of the kingdom [2].

Thus, in politics. A political ideology becomes a dynamic prime Moyer in the life of a political organization or institution. as well as in the political life of a state or nation because it functions "to unite people in the political organization for effective political action." Furthermore, "the goal of ideology is to arouse feelings and incite action, and the power of an ideology derives from its capacity to capture the human imagination and mobilize and unleash human energies" [3].

The ideological clash between the two political forces (Islamic parties and nationalist groups) on the issue of

Islamic submission as the basis of the state philosophy greatly influenced Indonesia's democratic climate in the 1950s, while its impact still felt today. The debate over the fundamental problems of the state took place so violently that the Constituent Assembly was dissolved by President Sukarno in July 1959 in an attempt to create a political order known as Guided Democracy (1959-1965).

Regimes in the Middle East and their supporters in the West are reluctant to allow for Islamic politics to move and participate fully in national elections and parliamentary elections as they argue that if the movement gains access to policies and holds power, they will soon put an end to free competition [4]. It is because they fundamentally reject the principles of democracy and human rights which they perceive to be contrary to the *shari'a* and absolute sovereignty of God.

The elections held in September 1955 for the Council of Representatives of the People and in December 1955 for the Constituent Assembly of the Constituent Assembly shall be in charge of the drafting of a permanent Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. When this assembly had completed 90% of its duties, it dissolved by a presidential decree dated July 5, 1959, with one consideration that this meeting could not complete its task, ending with great disappointment for the Islamic Party.

This session of the Constituent Assembly runs smoothly except when discussing the fundamental issues of the state. The debate in this country has created two groups that have never reached a compromise in the assembly of teams that

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want Islam or Pancasila as contained in the Jakarta Charter and those who wish to Pancasila.

The Islamic parties, who supported Islam as the basis of the state, united and firmly defended Islam as the basis of the country, until the council sessions ended without any agreement between Islam and Pancasila. Therefore, the question arises: why do Muslims insist on defending Islam as the basis of the State, while election results do not win a majority to support their victory and no less important is why Islam must confront with Pancasila?

In this paper, the issues mentioned above are tried to answer concerning the theory of Islamic state according to the concept of the Muslims who are also involved in the debate in the Constituent Assembly. For that will explained in advance of the history of the Constituent Assembly, then continued with the reasons for the rejection of the Islamic group against Pancasila which started from the pimps of Pancasila that developed at that time. After that is discussed the ideas for the Islamic groups want to establish a state based on Islam (why should Islam).

## 2. Method

According to [5], historical research is a systematic process of seeking data to answer questions about the phenomena of the past to gain a better understanding of an institution, its practices, trends, beliefs, and issues in education. Also [6], historical research is a study that exclusively focuses on the past. This study attempts to reconstruct what happened in the past as completely and accurately as possible, and usually explains why it happened. In searching for data done systematically to be able to describe, teach, and understand the events or events that occurred some time ago.

Historical research is to understand the past and try to understand the present by past events or developments [7]. While [8], states that historical research to enrich the researcher's knowledge of how and why a previous event can occur and the process of how the past becomes present, in the end, is expected to increase the understanding of current circumstances and acquire a more rational basis for making choices in the present.

Primary data sources are data obtained from the story of the perpetrators of the event itself, and or witnesses who experienced the event. These sources can be original documents, reliefs, and past relics. Secondary data sources are data or information obtained from other sources that may not be directly related to the event; the cause may be books, records related to the development.

This article presented in analytical descriptive by using literature review. Like most historical writings, this paper uses four stages of research. Four stages of this study are a sequential and interrelated part. The research stages are resource collection (heuristic), source critic, interpretation, and histography. For the collection phase of the source, the research collects the writings of books, articles relating to the title of this paper. For that, researchers have combed into

some libraries both libraries in Makassar and libraries in Jakarta. To strengthen the information that researchers obtain from the source of writing, researchers also conducted interviews with some historians and observers of history. It is done to enhance the written sources that researchers get.

In analyzing the data will use three components of the analysis of the activities of interacting each other in data collection that is data reduction, data presentation and withdrawal conclusion and verification. These three actions allow for researchers to continue analyzing the data obtained during the research process.

## 3. Result and Discussion

The Constituent Assembly is an institution in which the representatives of the people sit down to draft a permanent constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia. This system is the result of the 1955 General Election. Based on the election result, the outcome of the election has resulted in four significant parties namely PNI, MASYUMI, NU and PKI, each with the number of seats 57, 57, 49, and 39. When combined as a whole, seats in the parliament as many as 115 and in the constituent as much as 228, while the total parliamentarian is 257 and the Constituent Assembly is 514 [9]. Of that number, it appears that the representation of Islamic groups is about 44%, less than half of the seats.

The Constituent Assembly found no significant difficulties in completing its duties, except when discussing the underlying problems of the country [9]. At the beginning of 1959, the Assembly has been able to achieve 90% of its work in less than 2.5 years [10].

When discussing the fundamental problem of this country: Islam or Pancasila, there was a very fierce debate that eventually led to the formation of two blocs that could not reach a compromise. In the Constituent Assembly at first, there were three drafts proposed to be the basis of the state. Yes: Islam, Pancasila, and Social Economics.

The representatives of Islam in the Constituent Assembly tried to follow the government's proposal but did not want to accept the 1945 Constitution without modification. They proposed an amendment to re-enter into the 1945 Constitution seven missing words: "With the obligation to observe the *shari'a* of Islam for its adherents." On May 29, there was a vote on an amendment submitted by Islamic leaders but was rejected by a majority of 268 to 210 in its first election. When voting once again, as a result of a mistake, the number of opposing votes is 265 against 21 who agree [11].

With the re-enactment of the 1945 Constitution, the proposed Islamic foundation is automatically rejected by a decree, not through a democratic deliberation. As already mentioned above. The Constituent Assembly until its last session did not reach an agreement with the state, Pancasila or Islam.

### 3.1. Because of the Rejection of Pancasila.

The stance of the Islamic group in the Constituent Assembly to take Islam as the basis of the state and not accept

Pancasila may be due to the interpretation of the "blurred" and artificial understanding of the people to Pancasila [12].

In its original form, according to Soekarno, the divine principle lies in the last sequence of the five precepts, the first of which is the Indonesian Nationality. For Soekarno, Pancasila can be blackmailed eventually into *Eka Sila*, the Gotong Royong, God, has disappeared. The Communist Group strongly supports this Pancasila. The Communists want to go. Further, that is to change the precepts of the Supreme God into the freedom of religion, in which the name of God no longer called. This communist factor is one of the main reasons why Islamic representatives in the Assembly have a sharp suspicion of the true intentions of the Pancasila supporters because they allow the communists to interpret such a divine precondition [12].

As a Christian, Mononutu strongly opposed the basis of Islam to the Indonesian state. In his opinion, this will result in the occurrence of colonialism, spiritual for minority groups. As a Christian, it is understandable why he rejects Islam as the basis of the state. But his interpretation of Pancasila from a Christian point of view has invited suspicion from the representatives of Islam. In the eyes of Islamic representatives, this means that Pancasila is open to interpretations. In other words, the color of Pancasila is entirely relative, depending on the philosophy of one's life [13].

Indeed, according to the general opinion of the Islamic community in Indonesia, only Islam among the religions of the world that establish monotheism in a pure sense. Other religions such as Christianity are among the sects of Monotheism, but the doctrine of the Trinity has obscured the nature of Monotheism. The representatives of Islam in the Indonesian Independence Committee did not imagine then that everyone in Indonesia, including Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, even Communists of the later period would claim to be the Supreme Deity, at least formally [10].

In addition to the blurred and artificial interpretations of people to Pancasila, the view that Pancasila has many shortcomings can also be a reason for the Islamic group's rejection of Pancasila. Sutan Takdir of the socialist group declares that it is an exaggeration to regard Pancasila as the philosophy of the state because not only is its sovereignty heterogeneous, but also Pancasila itself is not free from the contradictions within itself. All of its principles are not a logical unity and unity, but they lie dormant. Before the final elections even say that Pancasila is just a collection of different ideas to appease all classes in meetings. Islamic representatives greeted this somewhat negative expression of destiny. If Pancasila remains as it is with its dashing sila, it will be difficult for him to claim the basis of the state philosophy. His position is at best only as a political agreement for various ideological streams as by some constituent members [10], [14].

In the eyes of the representatives of Islam, the teachings of Islam are far superior to be used as the guidance of a state life when compared with Pancasila or any ideology philosophy. If Pancasila consists of only five precepts, then "Islam is all *sila*, including two Pancasila. So, *Pancasila*

cannot compare with Islam. Pancasila is human-made, Islam is God's creation, "Kasman Singodimejo [10], said.

The fifth and last principle of his Pancasila. Belief in God. was formulated Soekarno in recognition of the reality that the Indonesian people were religious, no matter to which religion they belonged. This principle seems to have been intended by Soekarno as an acknowledgment of all the beliefs existing in the country. Apparently. He Thought that all religious groups would cooperate and that religious tolerance could achieve so that national unity and integrity would flourish in the atmosphere of an independent state. This principle, however, evoked different interpretations from scholars. Van Nieuwenhuijze, for instance, remarked that the notion of *Ketuhanan* (Belief in God) had a Muslim background. Though it was not necessarily unacceptable to non-Muslims [15]. However. The Muslim Nationalists, as we shall see later. Strongly objected to this principle. Of the active tenets that Soekarno offered in his conception of the Pancasila, we shall see more than that the fifth was the one most opposed by the Muslim Nationalists.

Regarding the superiority of Islam in a historical perspective put forward by Buya Hamka. The struggle to establish a state based on Islam, according to Hamka, has been a long-term goal of all Islamic movements in Indonesia since the 19th century. Buya Hamka names Pahlawan like Prince Diponegoro, Teuku Umar, Teuku Cik Ditiro, Cut Nya Dien, Sultan Hasanuddin, Tuanku Iman Bonjol, Prince Antasari and others who have fought against colonization to create a State based on Islam [10].

### 3.2. Why the country should base on Islam

For the Islamic group, the state must base on Islam or Pancasila which lists the seven words missing from the Jakarta Charter with the obligation to enforce Islamic law for its adherents. Why does the Islam want such things?

According to Natsir, minority religious groups have no reason to fear Islam as the basis of the state because Islamic teachings have perfect characteristics for the life of the state and society and can guarantee the diversity of life between various classes in the country with tolerance [13], but indeed the appeal this is hard to accept by non-Muslims.

The desire for the implementation of Islamic *Shari'a* correctly then gave birth to a desire of representatives of Islam in the Constituent Assembly to propose a country based on Islam. But why do they stand firm in that passion? Is a state based on Pancasila not going to fulfill that desire?

The answer to this may not release from the situation that developed at the time. As stated earlier, in the assembly, Pancasila interpreted with blurred interpretations. For example, people are arbitrarily positioning the Godhead in fifth order, while communist representatives are eager to convert it into the principle of freedom of religion and belief, where God's Pest is gone called again.

Seeing such a situation, it could be that the representatives of Islam feel pessimistic about the implementation of Islamic Shariah accurately in the state of Indonesia so that they

remain in the stance that Islam or Pancasila as stated in the Jakarta Charter serve as the basis of the country.

The firm stand on the part of Islam in this country's primary problem is due to various reasons. First: they see this issue as a matter they promised during the 1955 General Elections campaign. Their general theme is how to practice the religion in the state and society. According to them, this would be easy if the country based on Islam. Because of the promise of keeping them real, their stance in the constituency also based on religion and not just morals. Secondly, they see constituents as from where each group or faction needs to express their ideas and ideas. While others will not accept these models at least the obligation to deliver has been fulfilled [10]. It is hard to take that the Islamic group is so firmly established until the end of a constituent assembly if it only wants to express an idea. Thirdly, the Forum of Constituent is also seen by Islamic leaders as a form of *da'wah* to convey what exactly is meant by Islam about society and politics, and that *da'wah* is mandatory. Therefore Prawoto, who succeeded Natsir as chairman of *Masyumi*, did not immediately accept the suggestion from Mohammad Hatta to take Pancasila as the basis of the state. It will be there later, Prawoto said, but fighting for Islam as the basis of the country is an obligation [10].

#### 4. Conclusion

The re-enactment of Pancasila and the rejection of Islam as the basis of the state is not through liberal congregations but by a decree because as mentioned above, the Constituent Assembly until its last meeting has not reached an agreement by this country, Pancasila or Islam.

The historical experience of the Muslims to establish a state that ensures the implementation of Islamic law correctly and it will be easy if the country based on Islam. For that the representatives of Islam in the Constituent Assembly of Islam as the basis of the state and this proposal they still maintain as a counter against Pancasila. Their firm stance in defending Islam as the basis of this country may be due to the various interpretations given by multiple parties to Pancasila, which would not allow for the implementation of the Islamic *Shari'a*. Therefore, such matters would be the responsibility of the present generation as well as upcoming to finish it.

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