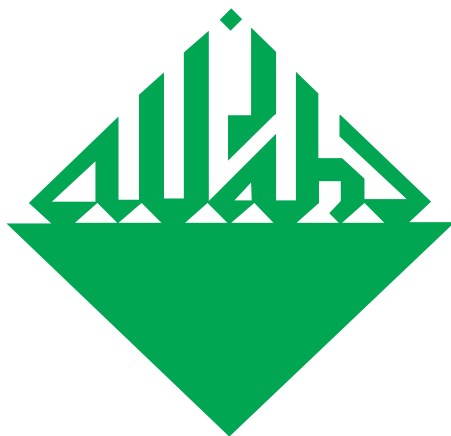


STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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Fostering Youth Dialogue, Encountering Diversity

Yudi Latif

The Religiosity, Nationality,
and Sociality of Pancasila:
Toward Pancasila through Soekarno's Way

Abstract: *Pancasila is the five principles of the Indonesian state's philosophical foundation. Its existence reflects the characteristics of Indonesia as a multicultural nation-state, one which has to absorb and transform all elements of the nation into a strong, permanent foundation, and a dynamic guiding principle. The five principles are viewed as the crystallisation of the core values and ideals of the nation, as idealised by the existing "trilogy ideology": religious ideologies, nationalist ideologies and socialist ideologies. All of the ideologies had been synthesized in order to find a common ground that realises the common good (al-maṣlahah al-āmmah) for the life of the nation. The history of the conceptualisation of Pancasila had been a long process featuring the "seeding" phase, "formulation" phase, and "commencement" phase. Each phase involves the participation of various actors and elements. However, in a joint work of the nation, one of the most prominent actors is Soekarno. To understand Pancasila, one needs to understand his life and thoughts.*

Keywords: Pancasila, Philosophical Foundation, Phases of Conceptualisation, Ideological Synthesis, Common Good.

Abstrak: Pancasila adalah lima prinsip dari dasar filsafat negara Indonesia. Keberadaannya mencerminkan karakteristik Indonesia sebagai negara-bangsa multikultural yang harus menyerap dan mentransformasikan segala elemen bangsa ke dalam suatu dasar yang stabil sekaligus bintang penuntun yang dinamis. Kelima prinsip tersebut dipandang sebagai kristalisasi dari nilai dan ideal pokok bangsa Indonesia sebagaimana diidealisasikan oleh “Trilogi ideologi” yang ada: ideologi berhaluan keagamaan, ideologi berhaluan nasionalis, dan ideologi berhaluan sosialis. Ketiga rumpun ideologi itu mengalami proses sintesis guna menemukan titik temu dalam rangka memperjuangkan kemaslahatan bersama dalam kehidupan bangsa. Sejarah konseptualisasi Pancasila merupakan lintasan proses yang panjang melalui “fase pembibitan”, “fase perumusan”, dan “fase pengesahan”. Setiap fase melibatkan partisipasi ragam aktor dan elemen. Akan tetapi, dalam karya bersama segenap elemen bangsa itu, salah satu aktor utamanya adalah Soekarno. Untuk memahami Pancasila perlu memahami kehidupan dan pemikiran Soekarno.

Kata kunci: Pancasila, Dasar Filsafat, Fase Konseptualisasi, Sintesis Ideologi, Kemaslahatan Bersama.

ملخص: البانشاسيلا هي المبادئ الخمسة من الأساس الفلسفي لدولة إندونيسيا. ويعكس وجودها خصائص إندونيسيا كدولة متعددة الثقافات يجب أن تستوعب وتحول كل عناصر الأمة إلى أساس ثابت ومبدأ توجيهي دينامي. والمبادئ الخمسة تعتبر بلورة للقيم والمثل الأساسية للأمة، وتعتبر مثالية من خلال «إيديولوجيات ثلاثية»: الإيديولوجية الدينية والإيديولوجية القومية والإيديولوجية الاشتراكية. وتم توليف هذه الإيديولوجيات الثلاث من أجل إيجاد أرضية مشتركة لتحقيق المصلحة المشتركة لحياة الأمة. إن تاريخ وضع مفهوم البانشاسيلا من عمليات طويلة تضم «مرحلة الإعداد» و «مرحلة الصياغة» و «مرحلة التصديق». وكل مرحلة تنطوي على مشاركة مختلف العناصر والجهات. إلا أن العمل المشترك لكل عناصر الأمة، واحد من أبرز ممثليها وهو سوكارنو. ومن هنا كان فهم البانشاسيلا يحتاج إلى فهم حياة سوكارنو وأفكاره.

الكلمات المفتاحية: البانشاسيلا، الأساس الفلسفي، مرحلة وضع المفهوم، التوليف الإيديولوجي، المصلحة المشتركة.

Each and every nation must have a conception of the fundamental idea of the state (*staatsidee*), and the fundamental idea of law (*rechtsidee*). In his speech to the United Nations on September 30, 1960, where he introduced Pancasila to the world, Soekarno brought to the inner awareness the importance of the conception and ideals for all nations: “The torrent of history shows clearly that all nations need a fundamental conception and ideal. If they do not have it, or if it becomes obscured and obsolete, then that nation is in danger. Our own Indonesian history shows that clearly, and so indeed does the history of the whole world” (Soekarno 1961, 137–38).

The fundamental conception of the state and the ideals of each nation-state have their own characteristics arising from the historical setting, socio-cultural conditions, and the shared values and dreams of the nation concerned. One of the characteristics of Indonesia as a nation-state is its vastness, breadth and diversity. This is a nation-state that binds more than five hundred ethnic and linguistic, religious, cultural and social classes in the space of 17,508 islands, extending from 6°08' N to 11° 15' S, and from 94°45' E to 141°05'W. With this spatial life and history, a nation needs a fundamental conception, adversity, strong will, and the capability to sustain the vastness, breadth and diversity of the essence of Indonesia.

Upon the vastness, breadth and diversity, the nation of Indonesian must formulate a fundamental conception of the state which can absorb and transform all elements of the nation into a strong, permanent foundation (“static table”), as well as into a dynamic, guiding principle (guiding star). The founders of the nation tried to answer the challenge for their nation by develop a conception of the “brotherhood state” (*negara kekeluargaan*), based on the spirit of mutual cooperation (“gotong royong”), as opposed to “the individual state” (*negara perseorangan*), as in the conception of liberalism-capitalism, or “the class-based state,” as in the conception of communism. In Soekarno’s words, “the state of Indonesia is not one country for one person, not one country for one class, however rich the class may be... But we are establishing a state of ‘all for all,’ ‘one for all, all for one.’” A united state that overcomes individual and group, which protects the whole of Indonesia as one nation, and the whole of the motherland, based on unity, by bringing about justice for all of the people of Indonesia.

In the spirit of brotherhood, the fundamental conception of the basic philosophy of the state is formulated by summarising the five main principles as the “common denominator”, “common ground”, and “common orientation” of the nation-state of Indonesia. The five main principles are called as *Pancasila*.

The idea of Pancasila as the philosophical foundation of the state did not instantaneously emerge and form completely prior to the independence of Indonesia. It was through the process of the Investigative Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence (*Badan untuk Menyelidiki Usaha-Usaha Kemerdekaan*, BPUPK). The history of the conceptualisation of Pancasila had been a long process, with a “seeding” phase, “formulation” phase, and “commencement” phase.

Each phase of the conceptualisation involved participation of various elements and actors. Therefore, Pancasila really is a joint enterprise of each and every one in the nation. However, it cannot be denied, that in the shared enterprise, one individual stood out as the key, and the most prominent person. He is Soekarno.

Soekarno (commonly called “Bung Karno”) is destined to become the embodiment and the utmost alchemy of Indonesia. In his veins, he had (almost) all streams of diversity of Indonesia. He revealed that:

“My grandfather inculcated in me Javanism and mysticism. From father came Theosophy and Islamism. From Mother, Hinduism and Buddhism. Sarinah gave me humanism. From Tjokro came socialism. From his friends came nationalism. To that I added gleanings of Karl Marxism and Thomas Jeffersonism. I learned economics from Sun Yat-sen, benevolence from Gandhi. I was able to synthesize modern scientific schooling with ancient animistic culture and to translate the end product into living, breathing messages of hope geared to the understanding of a peasant. What came out has been called—in plain terms—Sukarnoism” (Adams 1965, 76).

It is from his blood and soul, which contains the hybrid of Indonesia, that Pancasila is enabled to find its “earth” (base) and “sky” (ideas). In the essence of Pancasila, he lives the richness of Indonesia; it is the the earth on which he stands, the sky of Pancasila he holds. Soekarno stated:

“I fought for my nation since 1918 to 1945 *Weltanschauung* come to life. To build a nation of Indonesia, for the nation of Indonesia, for the nation to live based on humanity, towards deliberation and representation, for *social-recht-vaardigheid*, for the Almightyness. Pancasila is my living breathing fire in my chest for years” (Tito 1979, 8).

It can be said, Soekarno was and is the flesh and blood of Pancasila. From there, the seeds and fruit of Pancasila bear the history of his life. It is well studied that many lives contributed to Pancasila, as well as many actors who played their role towards the enshrining of Pancasila as the foundation of the nation. However, it is Soekarno who is the life of Pancasila. He is the way of it. He is the main actor of it. This work will try to trace the history of Pancasila through the course of Soekarno's life.

Seeding Phase

Surabaya is the starting place of Soekarno's political awareness. Upon enrolling in high school, Hoogere Burger School (HBS), at the age of 15 (1916), he lived in the home of the great Sarekat Islam leader, HOS Tjokroaminoto. In the house of the great teacher of most of the founders of the nation, Soekarno immersed himself in the world of reading and learning to digest the politics of nation through his encounter with various figures who later gave birth to various ideologies. All figures who split the road in the 1940s had been hosted for food in Tjokro's house, a sign of closeness, but also of a brain among equals. They are, among others, Musso, Tan Malaka, Kartosuwirjo, Abikusno Tjokrosjojoso, and Soekarno himself.

Getting political inspiration from the house of Tjokro, Soekarno began to learn about the organisation of the movement in Jong Java, the branch of Surabaya, first as secretary, and shortly thereafter as its chairman (Adams 1965, 42). His talent as a pioneer of personality who dared to make his own choice began to appear. Soekarno himself admitted: "Since high school I have been a pioneer. I fit into no pattern politically, which is, perhaps, why I am subject to much misunderstanding. My politics do not correspond to anyone else's" (Adams 1965, 76).

As a pioneering personality, his main message since he became active in organisation was the need to respect and uphold the nation's persona. In Jong Java, Soekarno surprisingly succeeded in introducing the usage of the *peci*, the black velvet cap that later became his mark, and in turn became the signifier of national identity. The main message on wearing this black *peci* is that one can not lead the masses if they do not enter into their environment. Wearing *peci* is a sign of willingness

to share the struggle of ordinary people who are also covering their head (Adams 1965, 51–52).

The embryonic thought that began taking form in Surabaya burst its cocoon in Bandung, where Soekarno became a full-fledged political fighter (Adams 1965). In 1921, Soekarno moved to Bandung to enter the first college in the country, *Technische Hoogeschool* (the forerunner of the Bandung Institute of Technology), when cool Bandung was warmed up into the centre of the intellectual movement.

In the early 1920s two of the three *Indische Partij* luminaries, Tjipto Mangunkusumo and Ernest François Eugène Douwes Dekker, returned from exile in the Netherlands and settled in Bandung; Tjipto had been isolated by the Dutch in the city since 1920, and Dekker arrived in 1922. These two elders effectively held mentoring roles in the discourse of the youth political movement. The presence of higher education institutions in this city also gave birth to a new public space, in the form of print media and various educated communities.

The presence of THS in Bandung was followed by the emergence of other universities in Jakarta, namely *Rechtschool* (RHS) in 1924 and *Geneeskundige Hoogeschool* (GHS) in 1927. Accordingly, several university student clubs began to appear in Indonesia. Most student clubs in the 1920s were directed at recreational activities, and were dominated by Dutch students. A good example of such a club is the *Corpus Studiosorum Bandungense* (CBS), which was established in 1920. However, outside the mainstream of recreation-oriented clubs, there had also been several study clubs among small groups of politically conscious students in Bandung and Jakarta, which became partner-student associations with overseas counterparts, forming a “national bloc”.

The rising tide of radical intelligentsia and political movements increased tension in the public sphere, involving clashes between intellectual-led civil societies versus the (colonial) state, as well as clashes of ideologies within the multifarious civil societies. When they realised they were enduring common difficulties because of economic malaise and political repression, intelligentsia with diverse ideological inclinations and social networks began to unite in a single historical calling: the struggle for political independence.

The will to independence necessitated the construction of a newly imagined community. This in turn required the invention of a new

code as a guide for the orientation of the national struggle and for the convergence of multiple-subject positions into what Gramsci called an 'historical bloc'.¹ In Laclau and Mouffe's view (1985, 67), Gramsci's notion of a historical bloc transcends the Leninist notion of political leadership within class alliance. In their view, Gramsci believed: 'Political subjects are not ... strictly speaking classes, but complex "collective wills," where the "collective will" is a result of the politico-ideological articulation of dispersed and fragmented historical forces'. The organic ensemble of ideas, beliefs, values and practices, and ideology, they add, provides the means by which the new historical bloc can be cemented; its intellectual-moral leadership articulated in the field of political contestation and its hegemony exerted over the rest of society. This removed the challenge of attaining unity among diverse subordinate groups from the field of class structure, and supplanted the principle of representation with the principle of articulation (Laclau and Mouffe 1985, 67-77).

By adding their concept of 'subject positions' to Gramsci's theory, Laclau and Mouffe move further by taking the idea of the historical bloc beyond the class concept. The concept of subject position assumes the existence of other points of antagonism and social contestation, as well as recognizing the multiformity and non-unitary character of the subject. Here, the subject is recognised as a multifaceted, detotalised, and decentered agent, constituted at the point of intersection of a multiplicity of subject-positions, between which there exists no *a priori* or necessary relation, and whose articulation is the result of hegemonic practices. Thus, the bloc in this context looks for multiple positionings, multiple determinations and multiple alliances, rather than for a single unifying principle or essence. For example, 'class,' in the context of orthodox Marxism.² Thus, we can argue that in the Netherland East Indies (NEI) between the 1920s and 1940s, intellectuals of diverse ideological inclinations and spatial positions shared a common ground in order to create an 'historical bloc' in their own right.

Early efforts in this historical self-invention were carried out by a nucleus of Indies students in the Netherlands. In the later part of the 1910s, the existing East Indies cultural association, *Indische Vereeniging* (IV, Indies Association, est. 1908),³ began to pay attention to political matters. The arrival of the triumvirate of IP leaders, Douwes Dekker, Suwardi Surjaningrat and Tjipto Mangunkusumo, as political prisoners

in 1913, had provided political inspiration for some of the IV activists. In 1916, this association already published a journal, *Hindia Poetra* (Indies Sons), as a medium for debating the political issues of the NEI.

The nationalistic fervour of Indies students in the Netherlands also flared following the arrival of new students from lower social backgrounds (in comparison to their predecessors), who were more politically aware because of their exposure to the early awakening movements in the homeland. The forerunner of these new politically aware students was a young revolutionary, Tan Malaka, who would become a legendary socialist (communist)-nationalist figure.

The presence of Tan Malaka heralded the emergence of the new generation of Indies students in the Netherlands, in the immediate post-war years,⁴ who were more or less influenced by Marxism. Most of these students had been well-known as leaders of social movements and student-youth organizations in the homeland and were largely from lower social status groups (Niel 1970, 223–24). Excellent examples of students from this milieu were the two Mangunkusumos, Gunawan and Darmawan (younger brothers of Tjipto, sons of a Javanese school teacher), as well as Mohammad Hatta and Sukiman Wirjosandjojo (sons of merchant families).

The highly educated people from this social milieu generally felt more insecure in their battle for upward mobility within the discriminative environment of colonial society. This feeling of insecurity engendered a kind of crisis of identity. For some, uprooted from their village or small town and plunged into the metropolitan super-culture of Batavia or Bandung, and then into the vortex of the cosmopolitan super-culture of Europe, there were problems of 'self-perception' (Ingleson 1979, 2–3). Attempts to cope with the combination of political repression and identity crisis became possible in the free European bourgeois public sphere of the Netherlands. In this public sphere they could interact with European political activists and became familiar with contemporary humanist thought. Moreover, these activists, from diverse ethno-religious backgrounds, were for the first time able to interact intensely with each other, resulting in a mutual understanding of common interests, and leading to the search for a new collective identity.

Aware of the discrepancies between the superiority of the colonial state and the inferiority of the colonized people, and recognising the

powerlessness of the national movements in the NEI due to lack of cohesiveness, these students tried to find a new icon for the construction of the national bloc. In this spirit, they felt strongly that the term (East) 'Indies' was inappropriate. It was not only an ambiguous term—because it might be confused with the well-known British 'India'—but also a colonial construction. For this reason, they began to promote a fresh term, 'Indonesia'.⁵

The reinvention of the term Indonesia reflected the struggle for self-construction. For the students it represented the basis for the making of a collective identity and the beginning of creating one nation. To highlight this shift in consciousness, the *Indische Vereeniging* (Indies Association) changed its name to *Indonesische Vereeniging* (Indonesian Association) in 1922, pioneering the use of the term (*Indonesische*, Indonesia) by a native association. The development of a new national consciousness, and the need to create a boundary between the colonizer and the colonized world, necessitated a change in the symbolic universe. This was reflected in this statement by Sunarjo's (a Leiden law student): 'I am disgusted with what the Dutch have done and I intend as soon as I return to the Fatherland to find a teacher who will try to remodel my very neglected Malay and Javanese, for they are in a very regrettable condition' (Ingleson 1979, 8–9).

The Indies students believed that to use Dutch words for the name of the association was now out of tune with the new Indonesian identity. To express the spirit of nationalism, the *Indonesische Vereeniging* (IV) was renamed again in 1924 using Indonesian (Malay) words, '*Perhimpunan Indonesia*' (PI, Indonesian Association), and its journal, *Hindia Poetra*, became '*Indonesia Merdeka*' (Free Indonesia).

The prominent personality among these protagonists of an Independent Indonesia was Mohammad Hatta (1902-1980). Imbued with the idea of independence and a national bloc, he and his comrades carefully watched the nationalist movements in the homeland and were dismayed by their fragility. Not only had they failed to create a strong mass based organization to challenge the Dutch but they were also trapped in a spiral of rivalries among themselves.

The disputes between the Islamic and communist intelligentsia both inside and outside the SI were unbridgeable (see below), and neither of two streams impressed most of the PI members either ideologically or strategically. For the more advanced students, with considerable

exposure to a secular education system, the SI tendency to increasingly stress its Islamic base was obviously dissonant with their habitus and life-world. On the other hand, despite the fact that most of them were ideologically socialists—attracted to a Marxist interpretation of colonialism as the child of capitalism—the Indonesian communists’ ideals and methods of class struggle, and the use of violence, were not shared by most PI members. For the students who came mostly from the historic ruling class and wealthy families, and for those with higher education who aspired to new elitist roles and status, the struggle for the new Indonesian imagined-community in class terms was *ipso facto* discordant with their ideals. Moreover, these PI intellectuals believed that the PKI tendency to use violence and popular uprisings prematurely would only result in a futile loss of Indonesian lives (Ingleson 1979, 10–13).

Having rejected the ideology of Islam and Communism, as well as ethno-nationalism, as the basis for an independent Indonesia, the PI came up with a new ideological conception that emphasized the primacy of the political goal of independence. This conception did not mean that the PI approach down-graded socio-economic questions. The majority of PI members also realized the multicultural nature of Indonesia and envisaged the future adoption of a federal state system in order to rescue the national *heteroglossia* from the iron cage of the centralized colonial state.⁶ For them, however, independence had to come first, and only a united Indonesia which put aside particularistic differences could break the power of the colonizers.

According to the PI’s conception, the political goal of independence should be based on four principles: national unity, solidarity, non-cooperation, and self-help. *National unity* meant the necessity of setting aside particularistic and regional differences to form a united battlefront against the Dutch. *Solidarity* meant eliminating differences between Indonesians, while essentializing conflicts of interests between the colonizers and the colonized people—this conflict could be symbolized in racial terms (the brown versus the white). *Non-cooperation* meant the necessity of seizing independence through Indonesia’s own effort—as the Dutch would never grant it voluntarily. This necessitated ignoring offers of cooperation with the Dutch, for example, through participation in the ‘Peoples’ Council’ (*Volksraad*). *Self-help* meant the necessity of developing an alternative national, political, social, economic and legal

structure, deeply rooted in indigenous society, parallel to that of the colonial administration (Ingleson 1979, 5).

The PI's enunciation of the ideological principles, which were the basis of an independent Indonesia, was the beginning of an 'historical bloc'. The PI's conception of 'national bloc' as an historical bloc tended to emphasize the ensemble of multiple 'subject positions' that might include both class alliances and cultural (solidarity) alliances. In this conception, the project of an independent Indonesia needed to transform the commonality of Indies people from economic to moral-intellectual alliances, since the concept of class alliances was considered inappropriate to the situation in Indonesia, where class formation had never been the main basis of social incorporation.

The will to construct a national bloc could not, in fact, be built from scratch, but rather necessitated the incorporation of the previous ideologies of major political movements (parties). Thus, in spite of their disagreement with the aims of previous/existing political movements (parties), the PI ideological principle was by and large a further synthesis derived from its predecessors. *National unity* was the major theme of the *Indische Partij*, *non-cooperation* was that of the Communist political platform, and the *self-help* was that of the *Sarekat Islam*. *Solidarity* was the only the thread which linked these major themes.

To implement the PI's ideals in Indonesian society, its members recognized the importance of building a new, united nationalist party as a national body, which the radical nationalists of all political persuasions could join. The intellectual leadership of this national bloc was expected to be in the hands of the new generation of politically conscious, Western-educated intelligentsia. Because of their superior training, awareness of the nature of colonial oppression, and the ability to free themselves from 'colonial hypnosis,' the young intelligentsia were expected to take the initiative in awakening popular power and providing a theoretical basis for collective actions (Legge 1988, 23–24).

As a national body of this kind did not yet exist, the task of the PI members was to socialize the PI's ideas among Indonesian youth organizations and political organizations, as well as to promote student circles similar to the PI to provide cadres for the leadership of new nationalist movements. To create a network between the nationalist's brains-trust in the Netherlands and the political activists in the fatherland, former PI members who had returned to the homeland

were expected to play a role as catalysts in parallel with the distribution of the PI's publications, as mediums for exchanging ideas.

What enabled the PI's ideals to find fertile ground was the emergence of a fresh generation of university students, both in other overseas countries, and in the homeland. Following the PI appearance, Indies student associations in some other countries outside the Netherlands, such as in Egypt, India, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Japan, and even in the United States, began to rename their associations incorporating the term 'Indonesia' (*Biro Pemoeda* 1965, 46). Similar decisions were made in the homeland.

The experiences of Indonesian students in Egypt deserves attention in order to understand the incorporation of Muslim intellectuals into the Indonesian 'historical bloc.' In 1922, Indo-Malayan students in Cairo began to establish the Welfare Association of the Indo-Malayan students (*Djama'ah al-Chairiah al-Talabiyah al-Azhariah al-Djawah*, popularly called *Djama'ah al-Chairiah*). The leading figures of this association, among others, were Djanan Thaib, Mughtar Lutfi, Iljas Ja'kub and Mahmud Junus (of West Sumatra), Raden Fathurrahman Kafrawi (of East Java), Abdul Kahar Muzakkir (of Yogyakarta) and Othman Abdullah (of Malaya).⁷

Activists of this association also maintained contact with intellectual movements elsewhere, including with the Netherlands-based *Perhimpunan Indonesia*. Under the influence of these discourses and networks the association began to be obsessed with the idea of creating an historical bloc. Initially, it even imagined the unity of Indonesia and Malaya. To express this, it changed its name in 1927 to *Perkumpulan Pemoeda Indonesia Malaja* (*Perpindom*, Association of Indonesian-Malay Youth).

The *Perpindom*, however, did not last long. Indonesian students became more engaged in domestic political issues in the Indies. This was especially so following the failure of the Caliphate conferences in Cairo and Mecca, and following the communist uprising on the West Coast of Sumatra (January 1927), in which so many Muslim students of the Sumatra Thawalib were involved. A controversy arose concerning the extent to which the journal should engage directly with radical nationalist movements. This controversy provided the impetus for a split within the association notably between the Indonesian and Malay students. Following this event, the Malayan students left the association, while the Indonesian students came out with a

new association, '*Persatuan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*,' The Union for Indonesian Independence (Abaza 1999, 49; Thomas 1973, 32–34). This choice of name made the Indies (Muslim) students integral part of the creation of the historical bloc.

Furthermore, being disappointed with the value of Pan-Islamic ideas following the failure of the Caliphate conferences in Cairo and Mecca, two prominent figures of the Union, Ja'kub and Lutfi, returned home respectively in 1929 and 1931. On their return they took charge of this newly established party to make it attractive to many younger Minangkabau. Using the slogan of *Islam dan Kebangsaan* (Islam and [Indonesian] nationalism) the *Permi* established links with a nationalist party, *Partindo* (Ricklefs 2001, 190).

Like overseas student activists who had been obsessed with the idea of the national bloc, domestic student activists also shared the same ideal. In line with the movement of Indonesian overseas students, former activists of the IV/PI played important roles in the early formation of study clubs in Indonesia.⁸ The best known of the clubs was the *Algemene Studieclub* (ASC, General Study Club), that came into existence in Bandung in November 1926. An early figure in this Club seemed to be Iskaq Tjokroadisurjo, a former PI activist who had returned home in 1925. The most active promoters of the club, however, were the Bandung tertiary students, notably two engineering and architecture students from the THS, Sukarno and Anwari. Besides the involvement of former PI members and radical students in Bandung, this club had also been supported by the presence of the grand old nationalist mentor, Tjipto Mangunkusumo. In its formative stages, Iskaq became the inaugural chairman of the club. Later, Sukarno became the dominant personality of the Club.

A giant step in the creation of an historical bloc was the establishment of two political associations. The first was *Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia* (PNI, Indonesian Nationalist Association) in July 1927 with its aim to achieve Indonesian independence.⁹ This was followed by the formation of *Permufakatan Perhimpunan-Perhimpunan Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia* (Federation of Political Organizations of the Indonesian People, PPPKI) in December 1927.¹⁰ Attempting to create an all-Indonesian nationalism, this federation gave a new conviction to the nationalist leaders that a united Indonesian nation was possible, though the federation itself did not last long.

The emergence of the PNI and PPPKI stimulated activists of student-youth organizations to hold the Second All-Indonesian Youth Congress. Under the leadership of the PPPI, the Congress was held on 26-28 October 1928, and resulted in a monumental cornerstone in the formation of the historical bloc. This was the declaration of the so-called '*Soempah Pemoeda*' (Youth Pledge), which contained three ideals: one fatherland, Indonesia; one nation, Indonesia; and one language, *Bahasa Indonesia*.¹¹ Thus, despite the ongoing polarization between the secular and Islamic intelligentsia, as well as fragmentation both within the secular and Islamic intellectual community, there was a collective will to create a common historical bloc in the cause of achieving Indonesian independence.

Along the line of various domestic intellectual movements in the creation of a national-historical bloc, Soekarno had been the most prominent ideologist. In 1926, he wrote an essay in the journal of the ASC, *Indonesia Moeda* (Young Indonesia), entitled '*Nasionalisme, Islamisme dan Marxisme*' (Nationalism, Islamism and Marxism), idealizing the synthesis of those major ideologies for the sake of building the national bloc. This reflected the thinking of many members of the ASC.

In the essay, Soekarno emphasised that the movement of the Indonesian people had three traits: 'nationalistic, islamistic, and marxist.' These same ideas, he argues, are the spirits of movements in Asia. Towards unity, "to study, to seek the connection between the three attributes, is to prove that these three are not against each other in a colonial life. The three waves could complement each other and become a great, crushing wave. This is the obligation we all have to bear" (Soekarno 1964, 2).

In the year when Soekarno wrote the monumental essay, he began to gain mental maturity in three dimensions. He revealed that the year of 1926 was the year that he has maturity in three dimension: "Politically, Bung Karno was a Nationalist. Theologically, Bung Karno was a Theist. But Bung Karno had become a triple-headed believer. Ideologically, he was a Socialist" (Adams 1965, 75).

The first facet of the trinity was nationalism. In that year, he began to promote nationalism in a more egalitarian and broader sense, transcending itself from feudalism and ethno-centrism:

"In 1926, I began preaching guided nationalism. Previously, I had just left my listeners more conscious of nationalism than they had been before.

Now, I not only roused them, I directed them. I explained to them that the time had come when we required a new democratic society to replace the feudalism we've had for centuries ...

While I was educating my hearers to abolish the system of feudal lords, I went up a step further. Language. In the Javanese dialect alone, there were 13 grades, depending upon your station, and our archipelago spoke no less than 86 such regional dialects ... It must be that the Marhaen and the aristocrat may converse in the same tongue. It must be that a man from one island may be able to communicate with his brother on another island. If we who multiply like rabbits are to be one society, one nation, we must have one unified language – the language of new Indonesia” (Adams 1965, 72–73).

The second facet of the trinity was theism. Around 1926, he explained his thoughts and spoke on God. Even though Indonesia has a Islamic majority population, the Bung Karno's concept did not rest only on the God of Islam population. In times of doubt, he said, he did not see the Almighty as God for one individual only. According to his thinking, independence for humanity is also for independence on having religion (Adams 1965, 74).

The trials and tribulations in the life of Soekarno, ranging from the incompatibility of his marriage to Utari and the family responsibilities he had to bear after Tjokro's arrest in 1921, plus the hardships of his life as an activist of movement, seemed to imbue a solemn sensitivity towards the divinity. In the words of Im Yang Tjoe, “the human soul matures in tears. True, because with that kind of life, Soekarno's soul had become matured in grief. He is now much more concerned with spiritual things. Apparently, grief has opened his mind to seek peace from God” (Im 2008, 36).

Such inner change coincided with his encounter with various interfaith leaders. At that moment, Soekarno came into contact with Agus Salim (a leader of Sarekat Islam), Van Lith (a Catholic pastor), and spiritual ideas of Goethe and Tagore, who paid a visit to Java in 1927. Through direct and imaginary encounters with those characters, Soekarno discovered similarities and differences of view, which gave birth to his own conception towards the divine.¹²

Through this he explained that his conceptions towards religion were expanding. The inherited conception from Tjokro felt increasingly limited. He insisted that Tjokro's towards independence of the motherland was limited and confined, which can be understood through the lens of Islam (Adams 2011, 88).¹³

The third facet of the trinity was socialism. Around 1926 was the maturing phase for Soekarno as a socialist. Towards the case of socialism, he had his own stance. He did not want simply to copy socialism as it was theorised in the context of Western thought. On this subject, Soekarno describes his position as follows:

“Ideologically, he was now a Socialist. I repeat that. I became Socialist. Not a Communist. I did not become a Communist. I did not even become a camouflaged Communist. I have never become a Communist. There are still people who think Socialism is equivalent to Communism. On hearing the word Socialist, they cannot sleep. They jump and yell, “Aha, I knew it. That Sukarno fellow is a Communist!” No, I am not. I am Socialist. I am a Leftist.

Leftists are those who desire to change the existing capitalistic, imperialistic order. The desire to spread social justice is leftist. It is not necessarily Communistic. A person with such ideals is a leftist. He is not necessarily Communistic. Leftophobia, the disease of dreading leftist ideas, is a sickness I dread as much as Islamophobia.

Nationalism without social justice is nothingism. How can a miserably poor country such as ours have anything but a socialist trend? (Adams 1965, 75).

Soekarno’s socialism was not in accord with communism for at least two reasons. First, because he believes in democracy. Secondly, he can not incorporate the extreme concept of materialism because Indonesians think themselves as a God-fearing nation. In addition, Soekarno’s socialism also sought to contextualise socialism into the socio-historical realities of Indonesians, since the nation, he thought, has its own socio-economic basis and characteristics on production relations. Soekarno further stated:

“Hearing me speak on behalf of democracy, a youngster asked if I were a democrat. I said, “Yes, I am most definitely a democrat.” Then he said, “But I thought you were a Socialist.” I am,” I said. He tied it all up with, “Then you must be a Democratic Socialist.”

Perhaps that’s one way of labelling me. Indonesians are different from any other people on earth. Our socialism does not include extreme materialistic concepts, since Indonesia is primarily a God-fearing, God-loving nation. Our socialism is mixed. We draw political equality from the American Declaration of Independence. We draw spirituality from Islam and Christianity. We draw scientific equality from Marx.

To this mixture, we add the National Identity: Marhaenism. Then we sprinkle in “Gotong Royong” (mutual collaboration of shared togetherness)

which is the spirit, the essence of working together, living together, and helping one another. Mix it all up and the result is Indonesian socialism (Adams 1965, 75).

The contextualisation of Marxism-socialism into the social-historical reality of Indonesian-ness is necessary in order to bring about a deep-rooted and working socialism. In his essay “Nationalism, Islamism and Marxism,” Soekarno argued that Marxism itself underwent both tactical and theoretical changes. “For the new Marxist tactics, it is not against collaboration with Nationalists and Islamists in Asia.” Theoretically, according to him, “the theory of Marxism has changed too. It should be so!” Furthermore, Soekarno stated:

Marx and Engels were not prophets, who could set rules that apply for all ages. Theories must be changed, as times change; theories must be interacted to the change of the world, or else it become bankrupt. Marx and Engels themselves understood this; they themselves, in their writings, often expose changes on understanding or change as times change during their life. Do compare his opinions until 1847; compare his opinion on the meaning of ‘*Verelendung*’¹⁴ as meant in the ‘Communist Manifesto,’ with an opinion on the meaning of the word in ‘*Das Kapital*,’ - it immediately exposes to us the change in understanding or the change for even more beauty of the word ... That is true of the opinion of social-democrat Emile Vandervelde, in which he says that ‘revisionism’ does not begin with Bernstein, but with Marx and Engels (Soekarno 1964, 17).

In Soekarno’s view, the state of capitalism in Europe is different from the state of capitalism in Indonesia. In Europe, capitalism has grown, especially manufacturing capitalism, while here it is agricultural capitalism. In Europe, capitalism is industrial, while here it is mostly of plantations. Therefore, in Europe, the adverse effects of industrial-manufacturing capitalism gave birth to the proletariat; i.e. people who do not have the means of production. Here, agricultural-plantation capitalism produces the destitute peasants. In general, they still have the means of production (land, hoe and so on), but it is very limited, and the crops cannot meet the needs of their lives (Soekarno 1964, 256).

Taking that into consideration, Soekarno concluded that the concept of the socialist revolution that addressed the proletariat could not be fully applied in Indonesia. Coincidentally, according to his confession, when he was walking in the rice fields, in the village of Cigereleng, south of Bandung, he suddenly saw a man working on a piece of

land. When Soekarno asked whose land it was, whose hoe, whose hut and for whom the crop, the man replied: "I have it, and for me." In Soekarno's mind, "This man is not proletarian, but poor, like 95% of the Indonesian people." When Soekarno asked his name, the man replied, "Marhaen."¹⁵ This name, according to Soekarno's confession, inspired him: "Then all these poor Indonesians I call Marhaen, yes, the proletarian, non-proletariat, the laborers, the farmers, the fishermen, the carpenters, the employees, the little ones, all Marhaen" (Soekarno 1958, 25 Vol. 1). From then, Soekarno then called the Indonesian-style socialism with the term "Marhaenism."

In 1930, as Chairman of the Indonesian National Party (PNI) imprisoned in Banceuy prison (Bandung), penalised with subversive allegations, Soekarno had a moment of contemplation to conceptualise Marhaenism, which in its development became the foundation of the basic formulation of the state. He revealed:

"In my black tomb in Bantjeuj, the principle upon which our republic would someday be based had begun knocking at the door of my thought. I knew we couldn't found our nation on the Constitution of the United States of America. Nor on the Communist Manifesto. We couldn't borrow anybody's way of life, including Japan's Tenno Koodo Seishim, Divinity of the Emperor. Marhaenist Indonesia corresponds to no other concept. Year after year, I'd turned this over in my brain" (Adams 1965, 197).

After the Banceuy ending, then ending in Sukamiskin prison on December 31, 1931,¹⁶ Soekarno published a series of writings, published in 1933 called, "Mentjapai Indonesia Merdeka," "Marhaen dan Marhaenis," and "Marhaen dan Proletar." In these writings, Soekarno defined Marhaenism as the principle and way of struggle of Indonesian socialism based on the principles of "socio-nationalism" and "socio-democracy," which call for "the ending of capitalism, imperialism and colonialism." The socio-nationalism as he meant it is a spirit of nationality that upholds inward and outward humanity, "who does not seek themselves 'glory' or the glory of the country, but seeks the salvation of all mankind." The "socio-democracy" is a democracy that strives for social justice, which not only cares about civil and political rights, but also economic rights."A true democracy, striving for political and economic betterment, domestic betterment, and livelihood betterment" (Soekarno 1964, 175).¹⁷

In 1934, Soekarno was exiled to Ende, a remote part of the island of Flores, which gave him plenty of time to reflect upon and finalize the

conception of “socio-nationalism” and “socio-democracy” in a deeper sense of religious consciousness. Soekarno stated:

“In isolated, dull Ende, I had much time to think. In front of my house grew a *klavih* tree. By the hour, I sat against it and hoped and wished. Under its branches, I prayed and I thought about some day... Some day... It was the same feeling MacArthur had later. With every nerve cell throbbing in my whole body, I kept knowing that somehow-somewhere-sometime-I shall return. Only this patriotism still burning hot within my breast kept me alive” (Adams 1965, 135).

The atmosphere of alienation created a religious consciousness. At this moment Soekarno experienced a deepening and expanding of his religious understanding. First, he gained more time to explore religious thought (especially on Islam), which was possible because of the supply of religious books and correspondence with Islamic figures, especially Ahmad Hassan, leader of the Islamic Union (Persis). Secondly, he experienced an expansion of religious understanding thanks to his encounter with Catholic priests sympathetic to his struggle, which facilitated the space for activity, and the exchange of thoughts and extensive religious insights. The moment of encounter and exchange of thoughts raises an important question in Soekarno’s earlier conception of “Nationalism, Islamism and Marxism;” the position of his Hindu mother, and position of Catholic priests sympathetic to his cause. The stimulus of questions inspired Soekarno to develop a more open and tolerant conception towards divinity.

This deepening and expansion of religiosity then provides an additional dimension to the principles of Marhaenism. In addition to the “socio-nationalism” and “socio-democracy” principles he had formulated during his time in Bandung, the time of Ende contributed to the formulation of a “socio-religious” principle. At this point, the Pancasila content has found its initial form. Recalling this, Soekarno said: “In friendless Flores, spending incalculable hours under my private tree pondering, the actual formation of this God-send inspiration, which has since been termed *Pantja Sila* (five principles), came to me” (Adams 1965, 197).

In its development, pioneering ideas of protagonist intellectuals expressed in the public sphere during this seeding phase have their own footing; influencing contemporary thoughts and leaving a trail for the next generation. In the process of the exchange of thinking, horizontally in contemporary ideology and vertically in intergenerational

thought, each thesis not only gives birth to an anti-thesis, but also a synthesis. Then we will find, even when there is collision of inter-ideology, the character of Indonesia of all-pervading and cultivating, ultimately tends to transform the diversity of the tradition of thought into synthesis.

The deposit of thought as a result of historical struggle in the founders' memories of the nation makes it easier for them to respond to challenges in formulation of the basis of the country. By reshaping the collective memory back and sideways, to emphasise the similarities of life and dream towards independence, as well as the genealogical linkage and geopolitical unity, each proponent of one political stream understands the common ground that exists, so as to overcome their differences.

Therefore, a mutual exclusive (and somewhat alienating) categorisation between the "nationalist group" and the "Islamic group," with its derivative identification that one is called pro-Pancasila and the other counter-Pancasila, is actually an arbitrary categorisation. In fact, neither members of the nationalist group nor the Islamic group are monolithic; in each group there are always those who stand in the intermediate position (liminal), which acts as a connecting bridge. Substantively, the two groups have a broad common understanding.

Formulation Phase

After the Allied forces succeeded in occupying various places in the country marked by the occupation of Jayapura (April 1944), Biak (May 1944), and Morotai (September 1944), the Government of Japan felt the need to persuade the leaders of Indonesia in order to gain support. To that end, on September 7, 1944, Japanese Prime Minister Kuniaki Koiso expressed his historical promise that Indonesia would be granted "future independence." However, the promised format of independence was unclear as to whether it covered the entire territory of the Indonesian archipelago occupied by Japan, or only part of the territory.

It is worth noting that the Japanese occupation of Indonesia was divided into three areas of government. First, the 25th Army Military Administration (Army Twenty-fifth), with its territory covering Sumatra and the central government in Bukittinggi. Secondly, the 16th Army Military Administration (Sixteenth Army), with its territory covering Java and Madura, and the administrative center in Jakarta.

Third, the Second Naval Military Administration (Second South Fleet), with its territory covering Sulawesi, Kalimantan and Maluku, and its administrative center in Makassar.

In Japan's initial draft, independence would be provided through two stages: first through the Investigative Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence (BPUPK), which in Japanese was called Dokuritsu Junbi Cusakai; then followed by the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for Independence (*Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan*, PPPK), which in Japanese was called Dokuritsu Junbi Inkai. BPUPK's task was to investigate independence, while the task of drafting and forming the Constitution resided with the authority of PPPK. But this scenario was changed because of the courage and creativity of the nation's leaders, who managed to break from the boundaries of formality.

As a follow-up to the promise of independence, BPUPK began to work. The first for formation was BPUPK Java-Madura on April 29, 1945, chaired by Drs. K.R.T. Radjiman Wediodiningrat. Meanwhile, BPUPK Sumatra was formed on July 25, 1945, chaired by Muhammad Sjafei (founder of INS/Indonesisch Nederlansche School Kayutanam), a week after the end of the proceeding of BPUPK Java-Madura. Because the formation of BPUPK Sumatra is late, in the last days nearing the defeat of Japan, it did not result in substantial documentation. As for the territory under the Navy in the eastern part of Indonesia, there had no time to form BPUPK.

The membership of BPUPK Jawa-Madura (including 1 Chairman and 2 Vice Chiefs) was originally 63 people, later increased to 69 people. Among these 69 people, there was one Japanese man (Itibangase Yosio), who became one of the Vice Chiefs. Although it was called BPUPK Jawa-Madura (hereafter referred to as BPUPK), because Java is the center of the movement and residence of political leaders from various islands in the country, its membership reflected the diversity of ethnic and religious origins. The membership of BPUPK was classified into five groups: the movements group (cross-ethnic and religious), the Islamic group, the bureaucrats (heads of the bureaucracy), the royalty (kooti), the *pangreh praja* (resident, regent, mayor), Chinese descent (4 persons), Arab descent (1 person), and Dutch descent (1 person). Not all members of BPUPK were men, there were also two women (Mrs. Maria Ulfa Santoso and Mrs. R.S.S. Soenarjo Mangoenpoespito).

The first proceeding period of BPUPK was opened on May 28, 1945 and began meeting on May 29 to June 1, 1945. At the beginning of the proceeding, Dr. Radjiman Wediodiningrat, as the Chairperson of BPUPK, posed a question to the hearing on what would become the basis of an independent Indonesia. Prior to Soekarno's speech on June 1, more than 30 speakers had already put forward their views. From those various views, there was some references to one or more principles that intersect with the values of Pancasila.

The importance of the value of God Almighty as the foundation of the state was referred to by, among others, Muhammad Yamin, Wiranatakoesoema, Soerio, Soesanto Tirtoprodjo, Dasaad, Agoes Salim, Abdoelrachim Pratalykrama, Abdul Kadir, K.H. Sanoesi, Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo, Soepomo and Mohammad Hatta. The importance of humanitarian values has been claimed by, among others, Radjiman Wediodiningrat, Muhammad Yamin, Wiranatakoesoema, Woerjaningrat, Soesanto Tirtoprodjo, Wongsonagoro, Soepomo, Liem Koen Hian and Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo.

The importance of the value of unity was expressed by, among others, Muhammad Yamin, Sosrodingrat, Wiranatakoesoema, Woerjaningrat, Soerio, and Soesanto Tirtoprodjo, A. Rachim Pratalykrama and Soekiman, Abdul Kadir, Soepomo, Dahler, and Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo. The importance of the value of deliberative democracy was referred to by, among others, Muhammad Yamin, Woerjaningrat, Soesanto Tirtoprodjo, Abdoelrachim Pratalykrama, Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo and Soepomo. The importance of the values of justice/social welfare was stated by, among others, Muhammad Yamin, Soerio, Abdoelrahim Pratalykrama, Abdul Kadir, Soepomo and Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo.¹⁸ Thus, it seemed clear that, substantively, the values contained in the five principles of Pancasila were carried by both those of nationality and Islam.

However, the notion of the "foundation of the state," as it was posed by the Chairman of BPUPK, seemed to be perceived differently by the speakers. For Muhammad Yamin, the notion of "foundation" was interpreted as the sociological-political basis of the state's existence. So what he meant as the basis of the state also included "state defense," "moral values of the state," "territory of the country," "citizen and son-daughter of state," "governmental structure," and even "land rights." In addition, explicitly or implicitly, Yamin also mentions the importance

of the principle of divinity, humanity, unity, deliberation, and justice/welfare as state fundamentals. The problem is, in the categorisation as it was put forward by him, not all the principles that he referred were qualified as the foundation of state. In its categorisation, “deliberation,” “representation,” and “wisdom” (“rationalism”) were referred to as “foundations” (“the foundation of the three”). Meanwhile, “nationality,” “humanity” and “welfare” were referred to as “principles.” Elsewhere, “representatives” are classified as “streams.” While on the “the divinity of God,” it was not clear where he might want to be classified. As a result, the number of principles as the foundation of the state put forward by Yamin was not five, while the basic notion of the state itself was not clearly defined.

In Soepomo’s statement, the principles of divinity, humanity, unity, deliberation and justice/welfare were referred to only implicitly in his account of the flow of the integralistic state of mind. In Soepomo’s explanation, the notion of “foundation,” was meant in the context that “our country must be based on an integralistic school of thought (*Staatsidée*), also in the context of the foundation of “citizenship” and “of the system of government.” As a result, the foundation of the state as it was presented by Yamin and Soepomo was not precisely in the sense of a “philosophical foundation” (*Philosophische Grondslag*).¹⁹

In any case, these views provided important inputs for Soekarno in formulating his concepts. These inputs, combined with ideological ideas he had been developed since the 1920s, and his historical reflections, crystallised in his speech on June 1, 1945. In his monumental speech, Soekarno responded to Radjiman Wediodiningrat’s request for the Indonesian “foundation” of the State in the sense of a “philosophical foundation” (*Philosophische grondslag*) or “worldview” (*Weltanschauung*), with its well organised, solid and coherent explanation, albeit with a textless speech.

In a speech of June 1, 1945, Soekarno called “that we should seek approval, seek consent”:

“We are together looking for the unity on *Philosophische grondslag*, looking for a ‘*Weltanschauung*’ which we all agree on. I say again, agree! The brother Yamin approves, to which Ki Bagoes approves, to which Ki Hadjar approves, which brother Sanoesi approves, which Abikoeno’s brother approves, whose brother Lim Koen Hian approve, in short we all seek one modus”.

Then, he proposed five principles which he considered to be the common denominator of all elements of the nation. The five principles are:

First: the nationhood of Indonesia

Both brothers and sisters who are called the nationalists here, as well as the brothers called Muslims, have all agreed ... We want to establish a state of 'all for all.' Not for one person, not for one class, either the aristocracy or the rich, but 'all for all' ... "The first foundation, which is necessarily good for the foundation of the State of Indonesia, is the foundation of nationhood."

Second: Internationalism, or humanity.

The nationhood we advocate is not a solitary nationhood, not chauvinism ... We must go to the unity of the world, the brotherhood of the world. We not only have to establish an independent State of Indonesia, but we must also embrace the family of nations.

Third: Deliberation, or democracy.

This foundation is on the basis of collaborative interaction, the basis of representation, the basis of deliberation ... We establish the state of 'all for all,' one for all, all for one. I am convinced that the absolute condition for the strength of the State of Indonesia is deliberation, representation ... What has not been satisfactory, we should talk about it in the deliberations.

Fourth: Social welfare.

If we seek democracy, it should not be Western democracy, but a life-giving deliberation, *politiek economische democratie*, capable of bringing about social welfare ... So if we really understand, remember, love the people of Indonesia, let us accept this *sociale rechtvaardigheid* principle, that is not only the equality of *politiek*, my dear brothers, but also on the economic field; we have to create equality, meaning common prosperity at its best.

Fifth: The God Almighty that culturally we have faith in

The principle of an independent Indonesia with devotion to God Almighty ... That the fifth principle of our country is the belief in God Almighty, with noble character, with deep respect towards each other.

These five principles are called Soekarno with Panca Sila. "Sila means the principle or the foundation, and on that five foundations we established the State of Indonesia, eternal and perennial." Soekarno's speech about Pancasila was so heroic, empathic, weighty and coherent, that it received a rousing welcome and a roar from members of BPUPK: Approval by acclamation.

At the end of the first proceeding, the Chairperson of BPUPK formed a small committee tasked with drafting a Basic State formula

that could be approved by national-religious and national-nationalist groups, following Soekarno's speech as the main ingredient, plus a proposal from other BPUPK members. The small committee was also tasked with collecting proposals of the members to be discussed during the next session (10-17 July 1945). The officials of the small committee consisted of eight people (Committee of Eight) under the leadership of Soekarno. Six representatives of the nationalist group and two representatives of the Islamic group: Soekarno, M. Hatta, M. Yamin, A. Maramis, M. Sutardjo Kartohadikoesoemo, Oto Iskandardinata (nationalist group), Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo and K.H. Wachid Hasjim (Islamic group).

In his capacity as Chairman of the small committee, during the recess Soekarno undertook various initiatives, which he claimed were outside the framework of formality. He used the proceeding of Chuo Sangi In VIII (18-21 June)²⁰ in Jakarta to hold a meeting related to the task of the small committee. A total of 47 people were invited to attend the meeting (32 members of Chuo Sangi In who also concurrently members of BPUPK, plus 15 members of BPUPK who were not members of Chuo, but live in Jakarta), but only 38 people attended (see, Kusuma, 2004: 21). At the end of the meeting on 22 June, Soekarno took another informal initiative, forming a nine-member committee (as it was unofficially called), which was in charge of formulating Pancasila as the foundation of the state, in a draft of the preamble of the constitution that was originally prepared as a draft text for the proclamation. The nine people were: Soekarno (chairman), Mohammad Hatta, Muhammad Yamin, A.A. Maramis, Soebardjo (nationalist class), K.H. Wachid Hasjim, K.H. Kahar Moezakir, H. Agoes Salim, and R. Abikusno Tjokrosoejoso (Islamic group).

Out of Soekarno's respect towards the Islam group, the composition of the Committee of Nine was more balanced than the Committee of Eight (the official formation of BPUPK), which consisted of five representatives of the nationalist group (including Soekarno as mediator) and four representatives of Islamic groups (although the number of Islamic group representatives in BPUPK or in this meeting was less than 25 percent of the total members/meeting participants). The Committee of Nine was headed by Soekarno, which was formed in an effort to bring together the views of the two groups. As Soekarno acknowledged, "at first there was a difficulty in finding a convergence

between the two groups.” However, with a relatively balanced composition between the two groups, the committee succeeded in agreeing on the design of the preamble in which the Pancasila was formulated, which was then signed by each member of the Committee of Nine on June 22. By Soekarno, the design of the preamble was given the name “Mukaddimah,” by M. Yamin it was named the “Jakarta Charter,” and by Sukiman Wirjosandjojo called the “Gentlemen’s Agreement.”

The last paragraph of the Jakarta Charter contained a formula on the foundation of the state. After passing through the consensus, the June 1st version of Pancasila was improved in sequence and editorial. The phrase “Ketuhanan” (belief in God Almighty) was transferred from the last principle to the first. Furthermore, in response to aspirations of the Islamic group, this phrase was expanded with the following clause “dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya” (“with the obligation for the adherents of Islam to practice Islamic law”). This clause came to be known as “the seven words.”

The principle of ‘international humanity’ remains in the second principle, but its edition was refined to be a “just and civil humanity.” The principle of ‘Nationhood of Indonesia’ changed its position from the first principle into the third. It became “the Unity of Indonesia.” The principle of ‘Mufakat or democracy’ changed its position from the third principle to the fourth. It read “democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberation amongst representatives.” The principle of ‘Social Welfare’ changed its position from the fourth principle to the fifth. It read “Social Justice for all Indonesians.”

According to Mohammad Hatta, by changing the position of the principle of God Almighty from a concluding position to an opening position, ‘the ideology of the state does not change for it, but rather the state hereby solidifying its fundamentals, state and state politics have a strong moral basis.’ Thus, moral foundation becomes the basis of a political foundation. This change also contained important philosophical meaning, because by placing the God Almighty as the first principle, it can be interpreted that ontologically God is seen as first and ultimate. In addition, the editorial refinement of the principles also provided a significant qualification on the ideal nature and orientation contained in the principles of Pancasila. In the second principle,

internationalism (humanity) must be fair and civilized. In the third precept, the principle of nationhood must be unifying. In the fourth principle, the democracy must be rooted in people and deliberative, led by the wisdom. In the fifth principle, the welfare should be just and fair for all Indonesians.

The results of the Jakarta Charter and various proposals collected during the recess were reported and discussed during the second hearing of BPUPK (July 10-17, 1945). On reporting on the results of the small (official) committee on July 10, Soekarno realised that the meeting activities and the resulting formulations was not conforming formalities. It was not only on the unofficial place and the mechanism, but also exceeding its authority. According to the Japanese draft, the task of BPUPK was to investigate independence, while the task of drafting and determining the Constitution became the authority of PPKI. In his report Soekarno admitted:

All members of the small Committee are fully aware that the course of our proposed work is in fact a deviation from the *formaliteit*, deviating from the established rules of *formeel*, as it has been determined. But a member of the small committee said: What is the meaning of *formaliteit* in this booming age? What does *formaliteit* mean for such historic urgency (Kusuma 2004, 211).

The result of the formulation of the Jakarta Charter raises a sharp debate over the inclusion of the “seven words,” as the clause in the principle of God Almighty, with all its derivatives. The objection to the inclusion of “seven words” was not only coming from the nationalist, but also from the Islamic camp.²¹ For some nationalists, the inclusion of “seven words,” which contained special treatment for Muslims, was not suitable as basic law presiding over citizens as a whole. Nevertheless, the result of the Jakarta Charter formulation (with its “seven words”) lasted until the end of the second proceeding (July 17, 1945).

Commencement Phase

Although the existence of the “seven words” of the Jakarta Charter still survived until the end of the BPUPK proceeding, the acceptance was still a product of BPUPK Jawa-Madura agreement, not yet involving the agreement of representatives from all jurisdictions of Japan. Although there has been widespread consensus, and the draft of the Constitution has been agreed by all members of BPUPK on July 16, except for one

person (Muhammad Yamin), “below the surface” there seemed to still be an objecting sentiment. For some members, especially of the nationalist group, the inclusion of the “seven words” in the Jakarta Charter - which provides for a special treatment for Muslims - was unsuited for a basic law presiding over the citizens as a whole. Such a situation was the socio-psychological background at the “commencement phase” in the proceeding of the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (*Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan, PPPKI*).

After the BPUPK Jawa-Madura was dissolved, on August 7, 1945, the Japanese government granted approval for the establishment of the PPKI, including the names of the proposed members. The Preparatory Committee for Independence (*Dokuritsu Junbi Inkai*), which was unclear in the Japanese design (without the clarity of Indonesian designation), found its moment of historical truth by transforming itself into the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI). The committee was headed by Soekarno as Chairman and Mohammad Hatta and Radjiman Wediodiningrat as Vice Chairman, with a number of committee members who were there entirely on the proposal of Indonesian leaders. Officially, the PPKI was formed on August 12, 1945 after Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta faced General Hisaichi Terauchi, Marshal of Japan, who was in Saigon (Vietnam).

Membership of PPKI initially amounted to 21 people. Their membership background not only represented the Jawa-Madura region, but also included representatives from Sumatra and Eastern Indonesia. The background of the membership consisted of: 13 persons representing Jawa-Madura Island (including one Chinese), three representing the Sumatra region, five persons representing the Eastern part of Indonesia (two persons from Sulawesi, one person from Kalimantan, one person from Sunda Kecil/Bali -Nusa Tenggara, one person from Maluku).²² With membership criteria that was more accommodating of the regional reality, some key members of BPUPK, including members of the Committee of Nine such as Agoes Salim, Abdul Kahar Moezakir, Abikoesno Tjokrosoejoso, A. A. Maramis and Muhammad Yamin were not members of the PPKI.

At a meeting between the Chairman/Vice Chairman of the PPKI and the Japanese government (General Terauchi), Soekarno and Hatta originally suggested the possibility of the first PPKI meeting on August 25th. Towards the proposal, Terauchi invited the committee to decide

for themselves. Back home, given the rapid change and growing political pressure, the plan for the first meeting of PPKI was accelerated to August 16th. However, on that date Soekarno and Hatta were “taken” by the youths to Rengasdengklok. The next day, there was a proclamation of Indonesian independence, so the first proceeding of PPKI could only be held on August 18th. At that time, the atmosphere of soul and the political situation of Indonesia had changed dramatically, following the proclamation of Indonesian independence on August 17th. In an atmosphere of joy over Indonesian independence, some adjustments were made in the composition of PPKI. At Soekarno’s suggestion, six members were added: Achmad Soebardjo, Sajoeti Melik, Ki Hadjar Dewantara, R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema, Kasman Singodimedjo, and Iwa Koesoemasoemantri.

On August 18, 1945, PPKI elected Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta as the President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia. At the same time, the PPKI approved the document of the ‘Jakarta Charter’ as the preamble to the 1945 constitution, except the “seven words” behind the principle of God Almighty, which previously had given rise to the hottest controversy in the last session of the BPUPK trial. The “seven words” were crossed out and replaced with the word Almighty. So, as a follow-up of the deletion of the “seven words,” in the body of the 1945 constitution, approval was given to Article 6 paragraph 1: “President is a native Indonesian,” without the additional word, “Muslim.” Similarly, Article 29 verse 1 reads: “The state is based on the God Almighty,” without the “seven words” behind it.

Regarding the “seven-word” deletion, Mohammad Hatta had a very prominent role, as he admitted in his autobiography, *Memoir Mohammad Hatta* (1979). In the morning before the opening of the PPKI meeting, Hatta approached the Islamic figures²³ willing to replace the phrase “The God principle with with the obligation to enforce Islamic law for its adherents,” in the design of the Jakarta Charter, with the phrase “Belief in the God Almighty.” According to Hatta, replacement of the seven words was needed in order to maintain the unity of the nation, given the objections of the Catholics and Protestants in Eastern Indonesia.²⁴

In addition to the “seven word” deletion issue, the PPKI session on August 18th also agreed on the proposed editorial changes to the preamble design. The representative of the Lesser Sunda Region (Bali-

Nusa Tenggara), I Goesti Ketoet Poedja, proposed that the term “Allah” in the phrase “Atas berkat rahmat Allah Yang Maha Kuasa” (“On the blessing of Allah’s Grace Almighty”), in the third paragraph, be replaced by the term “Tuhan” (a designation of God in generic term used by almost all religions in Indonesia). The suggestion is probably because Allah’s designation is very typical of its associations with abrahamic religions (Islam, Protestant and Catholicism), so it is less inclusive for followers of the religions beyond that. Against the proposed changes there was no objection or refutation from anyone, including from the Islamic group. However, the agreement on the use of the word “Tuhan” instead of “Allah” does not appear in the Republic of Indonesia News II no.7, published on February 15, 1946. This is possibly due to a technical error in the atmosphere of the revolution.

In addition to the “seven word” deletion issue, the PPKI session on August 18th also agreed on the proposed editorial changes to the preamble design. The representative of the Lesser Sunda Region (Bali-Nusa Tenggara), I Goesti Ketoet Poedja, proposed that the term “Allah,” in the phrase “On the blessing of Allah’s Grace Almighty,” in the third paragraph, be replaced by the term “God” (“God Almighty”). The suggestion was probably because God’s designation is very typical with the associations with abrahamic religions (Islam, Christianity and Catholicism), so it is less inclusive for followers of the religions beyond that. Towards the proposed changes, there is no objection or refutation from anyone, including from the Islamic group. However, the agreement on the use of the word “God” instead of “Allah” does not appear in the Republic of Indonesia News II no.7, published on 15 February 1946. This might be possible due to a technical error in the atmosphere of the revolution.

Closing

From the description above, it is clear that the conceptualisation of Pancasila has a long history. Each phase involves the participation of various actors and elements. In such a way, Pancasila is really a joint work of the nation. However, it cannot be denied that in the work together there are individuals who play an important role. One of the most prominent roles was played by Soekarno. Since the “seeding” phase, Soekarno had been actively pioneering in his thoughts towards the basic philosophy of Pancasila. It was his idea to synthesise

“nationalism, Islamism and Marxism,” which was conceptualised further into the principle of “socio-nationalism” and “socio-democratic,” as the principles of Marhaenism. In the phase of formulation, he was the first to conceptualize the foundation of the state in the context of the “philosophical foundation” (*Philosophische Grondslag*) or “worldview” (*Weltanschauung*), by crystallising it into five principles. He was also the first person to refer to the five basic principles using the term Panca Sila. In the process of completing the formulation of Pancasila, he led the “Committee of Nine,” which gave birth to the Jakarta Charter. In the process of integrating Pancasila into the constitution, he led the Basic Law Designing Committee. Finally, in the commencement phase of Pancasila, he led the PPKI.

Although the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia has been amended several times since August 18, 1945, all of the preambles across the iterations have always affirmed that an independent Indonesia should be structured on the basis of Pancasila, which contains five interconnected principles. In the series of constitutional amendments, formulation of the Pancasila has changed slightly, but the order of the principles was kept intact. In the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States of Indonesia (RIS), the formula is *ketuhanan yang maha esa* (the belief in god almighty), *peri kemanusiaan* (humanity), *kebangsaan* (nationhood), *kerakyatan* (peoplehood), and *keadilan sosial* (social justice)

As in the preamble of Undang-Undang Dasar Sementara (UUDS 1950), the formulation is *ketuhanan yang maha esa* (the belief in God Almighty), *kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab* (just and civilized humanity), *persatuan indonesia* (unity of Indonesia), *kedaulatan rakyat* (people’s sovereignty), and *keadilan sosial* (social justice).

Although the editorial arrangement of Pancasila changed, the principles (core values and ideas) of each principle are substantially unchanged. In terms of the order of Pancasila, Soekarno did not view the sequence of Pancasila principles as a matter of principle. In his explanation later in the book *Pantja-Sila as the Foundation of the Country*, volume IV-V (1958: 3), he states:

The usual sequence I use to refer to the five principles are: the belief in God Almighty; nationhood number two; just and fair humanity number three; people’s sovereignty number four; social justice number five. This is just a custom sequence. There are comrades who take other orders that are putting the principle of humanity as the second principle and the principle

of nationhood as the third principle. For me, I have no objections to reformulating the sequence.

In other words, the key of Pancasila is not the order and composition of the editorial, but on the core values and ideas of each principle of Pancasila, as described by Soekarno in the Speech of June 1, 1945. In the long history of the conceptualisation of Pancasila, it can be said that June 1st is its birthday. After hearing dozens of previous speakers trying to answer the request of BPUPK Chairman Radjiman Wedjodiningrat regarding the foundation of the State of Independent Indonesia, on that date Soekarno brilliantly transformed all views and experiences into five principles.

The five principles are viewed as the crystallisation of the idea and ideals of the nation's life and ideology, which would serve as the ideology of the nation-state, and can be positioned as the source of all legal or meta-legal sources that constitute the State's *Grundnorm* (fundamental norm). On that day, the five basic principles of the country were named Panca Sila. Since then, the number and principles of Pancasila has never changed.

However, to be accepted as the common ground in terms of the nation-state's philosophical foundation, worldview, ideology and fundamental norm, the Pancasila formulation needs a collective agreement through the formulation of the Jakarta Charter (June 22nd), and ultimately finalised through the process of commencement of the Constitution of the Proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia 1945, on August 18th. The final formulation of Pancasila as the foundation of a state which constitutionally binds the life of nationality and state is not the formula of the Pancasila version of June 1st or June 22nd, but the version of August 18th, 1945. This final formulation of Pancasila was inaugurated by Presidential Decree July 5th, 1959, to go back to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Based on the State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia no. 75 of 1959, the Pancasila formulation in the Presidential Decree is the same as the formula contained in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia on August 18th, 1945, as it registered in the news Republik Indonesia Year II no. 7.

Pancasila as the foundation of the nation-state of Indonesia has a strong historical-ontological, theoretical-epistemological, and ideological basis; has strong conceptual and visional insight. Historically,

the five principles of Pancasila is a synthesis of the diversity of beliefs, understandings and hopes flourishing in the life of the nation. The first principle is the synthesis of all religions and beliefs. The second principle is a synthesis of all transcendental social ideas and ideals. The third principle is the synthesised form of ethnic diversity (aspirations) into the national unity. The fourth principle is a synthesis of all the understandings of sovereignty. The fifth principle is a synthesis formula of all socio-economic justice.

The pillars of the five principles are mainly sustained by the mainstream “ideological trilogy”: religious ideologies; nationalist ideologies (nationalism); and socialist ideologies. These ideologies, despite their point of difference, find common ground in three basic principles: socio-religious, socio-nationalism, and socio-democracy. These three principles are united by a compassionate self-attitude to work together, mutual help and mutual respect. Bung Karno calls such a spirit, “gotong-royong” (mutual cooperation).

The ontological dimension refers to the “deepest meaning of structure” that becomes the essence of Pancasila, which makes the foundation of this country. The deepest structure of Pancasila is the will to find the common denominator, common ground, and common orientation in realising the common good (*al-maṣlahah al-‘āmmah, bonnum comune*) in a diverse Indonesian society.

All principles of Pancasila, along with their visionary derivations, are directed to the common good: an independent, united, sovereign, just and prosperous national life. For that reason, first of all, national unity must be fought by presenting a nation that protects the whole nation and the motherland. Towards national unity, the state wants to bring about social justice for all Indonesian people. Towards social justice, the state must be based on the people’s sovereignty in the deliberations of representatives. And it demands an ethical foundation, a spirit of the belief in God Almighty on a just and civil humanity. All these prerequisites are contained in the four main thoughts of the preamble to the 1945 constitution. In short, the five principles of Pancasila are mutually linked and complementary, which are to fulfill the ontological base of the framework of the public good.

This ontological dimension of public good is practiced at the epistemological level by knowing synthetically, which unites ideas into new ideas called Pancasila. Thus, the idea of divinity synthesises with

humanity, the idea of nationalism synthesises with democracy, the idea of social justice with humanity, and so on. This is what makes inter-principles in the five principles of Pancasila, which must be understood as a mutual unity. This synthetic thought process is not part of the political compromise between the various ideologies and the group that carries it, but is part of the Indonesian people's wisdom. Because we see reality as a cosmic unity, every element in it is always related (synthetic) to form a unanimity of life and view of life. These ontological and epistemological bases are the foundation for the axiological praxis of Pancasila, which is borne into the realm of belief, knowledge and action of individual citizens and social institutions in the life of the nation and the state.

The challenge that has to respond is the will to deepening the understanding, the affirmation of belief, and commitment to pursue the values of Pancasila in all layers and spheres of statehood and nationality. In understanding, believing and practicing it, it should be remembered that Pancasila is not only a static foundation, but also a dynamic guiding star, which must be responsive to the dynamics of the times. For that reason, Pancasila is always open to the process of enrichment and new interpretation, on the condition of paying attention to the basic spirit contained in it and its interconnection. This means that the openness of the filling and interpretation of each principle of Pancasila should remain under the framework of its core principles and the necessity to maintain its coherence with other *silas* (principles).

Pancasila is the foundation of the unity and direction of progress-happiness of the nation-state of Indonesia. As long as the nation is unable to realise the value of Pancasila in real life, it is also difficult for the Indonesian to achieve progress-happiness when they fight for it.

Endnotes

1. This notion of an 'historical bloc' originated from Gramsci's understanding that the political moment in the making of collective will can be broken down into three stages. The first and most primitive moment, called 'the economic-corporative' stage, is a moment when members of the same category express a certain solidarity toward each other but not with other categories of the same class. A second moment is that in which solidarity of interests is shared by all members (categories) of a social class—but still purely in the economic field. The third moment, which Gramsci calls 'the most purely political phase,' marks the transcendence of the 'corporate limits of the purely economic class,' and the inauguration of a broader coalition that reaches out to 'the interests of other subordinated groups too.' This moment also marks 'the decisive passage from the structure to the sphere of the complex superstructure'. Gramsci used the term 'historical bloc' to describe the union of structure and superstructure in which an ensemble of ideas and values is shared by a number of social sectors (Adamson 1980, 160–61; Radhakrishnan 1990, 92).
2. For commentaries on Laclau and Mouffe's view of the historical bloc, see Radhakrishnan (1990, 93–94) and Yanarella (1993, 87–88).
3. It is worth noting that the *Indische Vereeniging* was not the only student association that was concerned with developments in the East Indies. There were also the Indies Chinese student association, *Chung Hwa Hui*, and the group of Dutch students who studied and were concerned about the East Indies, *Groeven van Indologische studenten*. In 1917, under the sponsorship of the Dutch *Ethici*, there had been an initiative to set up a federation of the three associations called '*Indonesisch Verbond van Studeerenden*' (The Federation of Indonesian students). This federation, however, only survived for five years due to unbridgeable differences in political orientation and interest (Blumberger 1931, 183–84).
4. In 1919 Gunawan Mangunkusumo and Sutomo (former founders of the *Budi Utomo*) arrived in the Netherlands and soon became mentors for their fellow junior students. At the same time, Nazir Pamontjak (a former activist of *Jong-Sumatranen Bond*), Achmad Subardjo Djojoadisurjo (a former activist of *Jong-Java*), and Alex Andries Maramis (a former activist of *Jong-Minahassa*) also arrived. In the following years, many more former student activists continued their study in the Netherlands, such as Hermen Kartowisastro, Iwa Kusuma Sumantri, Mohammad Hatta, Sukiman Wirjosandjojo, Gatot Mangkupradja, Darmawan Mangunkusumo, Sunarjo, Abdul Madjid Djojoadingrat, Sartono, Ali Sastroamidjojo, Setiadjit, and Sutan Sjahrir (Simbolon 1995, 321–29). Most of these students would play decisive roles both during the Independence movement and in the early decades of post-colonial Indonesia.
5. The word was actually a neologism, which was already used in ethnology and anthropological studies. Based on the term '*indu-nesians*', which was coined by a British scholar, George Windsor Earl, in Singapore in 1850 and popularised by his compatriot, James Richardson Logan, the word had initially been used to identify a particular geo-culture characterised geographically by the archipelago (*nusa* in Malay or *nesos* in Greece) and culturally by the term *Indic*. In the hands of the Indies students in the Netherlands and the progressive intelligentsia in the homeland, however, the term was reformulated specifically to refer to the particular politico-spatial context of the NEI and to provide a new political orientation for the nationalist movements. In Hatta's words: 'For us, Indonesia expresses a political objective, as it signifies hopes for a fatherland in the future, and to make it come true every Indonesian will struggle with all their effort and ability.' (Latif 2008, 172–73).

6. At the PI meetings on 7 and 28 March 1926, Sunarjo raised the issue of the form of a free Indonesian state. Hatta and the majority of students in Amsterdam preferred a federal state system because of the diversity of NEI cultures (Ingleson 1979, 12).
7. Started as an agency to further the social welfare of university students, by 1925 this association had distinguished itself by adopting increasingly radical views, critical of both Dutch and British colonialism. These radical views were affected by both the political developments in Indonesia and the increasing nationalist fervour in the Middle East. Early in the 1920s, Egypt itself was pounded by a wave of anti-colonial sentiment and constitutional change that gave rise to continual political ferment (Roff 1970, 74). The growth of radical views among the Indo-Malayan students found their medium for articulation in the emergence of the association's most influential monthly journal, *Seruan Azhar* (Call of Azhar). Produced from October 1925 until May 1928, the first director of this journal was Fathurrahman Kafrawi, who would become a prominent Muslim leader with NU affiliations.
8. The first study club in this context was the *Indonesische Studieclub* (ISC, Indonesian Study Club) with its magazine *Soeloeh (Ra'jat) Indonesia* (Torch of the Indonesian People). Established in Surabaya in July 1924, the founder and driving force of this study club was the well-known Sutomo, who had returned from the Netherlands in 1923. Aimed to promote the consciousness of Indonesia as a nation and a sense of socio-political responsibility among Western-educated Javanese, this club emphasized the practical value of the knowledge in seeking solutions for the nation's problems. The formation of the study club in Surabaya was contagious. The movement spread to other cities such as Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Batavia, Semarang and Bogor.
9. A year later, this association changed its name to *Partai Nasional Indonesia* (PNI, Indonesian Nationalist Party), the first political party led by intellectuals with a higher education.
10. This federation was composed of the PNI (represented by Sukarno and Iskaq), ASC (Sartono, Budiarto, Samsi), PSI (Sukiman and Sjahbudin Latif), BU (Kusumo Utojo and Sutopo Wonobojo), *Pasundan* (Oto Subrata, Bakri Surjaatmaja and S. Sendjaja), *Sarikat Sumatra* (Parada Harahap and Dachlan Abdullah), *Kaum Betawi* (M. Husni Thamrin), and ISC (Sujono, Gondokusumo and Sunjoto). The majority of the representatives in this federation were now obviously those with tertiary education.
11. The committees of the Congress were composed of representatives of the PPPI (Sugondo Joyopuspito), *Jong Java* (Joko Marsaid), *Jong Sumatra* (Muhammad Yamin), *Jong Batak* (Amir Sjarifuddin), *Jong Islamieten Bond* (Johan Muhamad Tjaja), *Pemoeda Indonesia* (Kotjosungkono), *Jong Celebes* (Senduk), *Jong Ambon* (J. Leimena), and *Pemoeda Kaum Betawi* (Rohjani).
12. For more on the substance of the direct and imaginary conversations between Soekarno and the characters, see Im Yang Tjoe (2008, 36–44).
13. However, Soekarno still maintain good relations with Tjokro. "Although between Pak Tjokro and I there is a big difference in politics, we personally still have a close relationship. The Asian nation has no difficulty in distinguishing ideology from humanity. When a nationalist named Haji Misbach attacked Mr. Tjokro slyly at a congress, I demanded him to apologize to my old friend. Haji Misbach finally expressed his regret (Adams 2011, 88).
14. In the latter sense, *Verelendung* is the process of the dissolution of the workers, as a result of the process of capital accumulation by employers (capitalists).
15. One suspected that Marhaen's name is actually an imaginary figure created by Soekarno as an acronym of three great socialist thinkers: "Marx, Hegel and Engels", shortened to "Marhaen".
16. From Banceuy prison, Soekarno was transferred to Sukamiskin prison. In the 1930

trials, the panel of judges handed him a sentence of 4 years in prison. Thanks to his defense known as “Indonesia Menggugat,” the case that ensnared him spread to the Netherlands. Many jurists of the land of the Windmills protested and criticised the punishment of Soekarno, which in fact was unfounded. All allegations can never be proved in court. On these protests, the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies changed his sentence to two years. As a result, December 31, 1931, he was released. Before he breathed the free air, there had been an article entitled “I Started a New Life.” The prison guard who released the BK to the gate of Sukamiskin prison asked, “Ir. Soekarno, can you accept the truth of these words? Is the master really going to start a new life?” BK immediately grabbed the door of freedom with his right hand and replied, “a leader does not change because of punishment. I went to prison to fight for independence, and I left the prison with the same thoughts.”

17. The term “socio-democracy” is borrowed by Soekarno from an Austrian Marxist theorist, Fritz Adler, who defined “socio-democracy” as “politiek economische democratie” (political-economic democracy). Adler’s phrase was often quoted by Bung Karno, that is, “the democracy we seek is not only political democracy, but we must also pursue economic democracy (Soekarno 1958, 9 Vol. 3-4).
18. For transcripts of statements and discussions of BPUPK members, see A.B. Kusuma (2004, 96–167).
19. For a critical note on the views and claims of Muhammad Yamin, and also on Soepomo’s statement, see A.B. Kusuma (2004, 11–16).
20. Given its increasingly shaky position, in late 1942, the occupying forces of Japan sought the support of the population in the colonies by plotting the granting of independence to Burma and the Philippines but did not mention the fate of Indonesia. Soekarno and Moh. Hatta protested, which the Japanese government responded to by giving Indonesian figures roles in government institutions. On September 5, 1943, Saiko Shikikan (Kumaikici Harada) issued Osamu Seirei No. 36 and 37 on the establishment of Chuo Sangi In (Central Advisory Council) and Chuo Sangi Kai (Residency Consideration Council). At the Session of Chuo Sangi In I, October 17, 1943, Soekarno was inaugurated as chairman, accompanied by two vice chairmen, namely R.M.A.A. Kusumo Utoyo and Dr Buntaran Martoatmojo.
21. For example, Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo, of the Islamic group, does not approve of the inclusion of “seven words” behind the word “Ketuhanan” (belief in the God Almighty). In his view, the inclusion of these “seven words” could lead to the ambiguity of the legal system in Indonesia. Therefore, he tends to choose only four words in the clause after the phrase “Ketuhanan,” namely “dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat Islam” (“with the obligation to practice Islamic law”); or all of the additional words behind the phrase “Ketuhanan” are deleted.
22. Initial membership of PPKI representatives of Jawa-Madura Island: Soekarno, Mohammad Hatta, Soepomo, Radjiman Wediodiningrat, R.P. Soeroso, Soetardjo Kartohadikoesoemo, K.H. Abdoel Wachid Hasjim, Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo, Otto Iskandar Dinata, Abdoel Kadir, Prince Soerjohamidjojo, Prince Poerbojo. In addition there is a Chinese ethnic, Yap Tjwan Bing. Representatives of Sumatra: Mohammad Amir, Abdul Abbas, Teuku Mohammad Hasan. Beyond the calculations of Japan, Mohammad Sjafei as Chairman BPUPK Sumatra did not enter. Kalimantan Representative: A.A. Hamidhan. Sulawesi Representative: GSSJ Ratulangi, Andi Pangerang. Sunda Kecil Representative (Bali-Nusa Tenggara): I Goesti Ketoet Poedja. Maluku Representative: Johannes Latuharhary.
23. Towards this event Hatta revealed that on the morning of August 18 he held a preliminary meeting with Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo, Wachid Hasjim, Kasman

- Singedimedjo and Teuku Hasan to negotiate the proposed changes (Endang Saifuddin Anshari 1983, 51; Hatta 1979, 57–59). Perhaps Hatta forgot that Wachid Hasjim was unable to attend.
24. Please note that prior to entering Jakarta, members of the PPKI representatives of Eastern Indonesia gathered previously in Tretes, East Java, on August 8–11, 1945, gave birth to an agreement to propose the removal of “seven words” from the first principle (E. Kusuma 2008, 640–41).

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2. Booth, Anne. 1988. "Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia: A Review of the Evidence." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19(2): 310–34.
3. Feener, Michael R., and Mark E. Cammack, eds. 2007. *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*. Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program.
4. Wahid, Din. 2014. *Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

Arabic romanization should be written as follows:

Letters: ' , b, t, th, j, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ, ʿ, gh, f, q, l, m, n, h, w, y. Short vowels: a, i, u. long vowels: ā, ī, ū. Diphthongs: aw, ay. *Tā marbūṭā*: t. Article: al-. For detail information on Arabic Romanization, please refer the transliteration system of the Library of Congress (LC) Guidelines.

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