STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 32, Number 2, 2025

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ISSN: 0215-0492 E-ISSN: 2355-6145

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 32, no. 2 2025

STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492; E-ISSN: 2355-6145) is an international journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, INDONESIA. It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular, and Southeast Asian Islamic studies in general, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines. All submitted papers are subject to double-blind review process.

STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (Decree No. 32a/E/KPT/2017).

STUDIA ISLAMIKA has become a CrossRef Member since year 2014. Therefore, all articles published by STUDIA ISLAMIKA will have unique Digital Object Identifier (DOI) number.

STUDIA ISLAMIKA is indexed in Scopus since 30 May 2015.

Editorial Office:
STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta,
Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan Barat, Cirendeu,
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Website: http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika

Annual subscription rates from outside Indonesia, institution: US$ 75,00 and the cost of a single copy is US$ 25,00; individual: US$ 50,00 and the cost of a single copy is US$ 20,00. Rates do not include international postage and handling.

Please make all payment through bank transfer to: **PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia,** account No. **101-00-0514550-1 (USD), Swift Code: bmriidja**

Harga berlangganan di Indonesia untuk satu tahun, lembaga: Rp. 150.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 50.000,-; individu: Rp. 100.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 40.000,-. Harga belum termasuk ongkos kirim.

Pembayaran melalui **PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, No. Rek: 128-00-0105080-3**

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Yudi Latif

Building the Soul of the Indonesian Nation: Mohammad Hatta on Religion, the State Foundation, and Character Building

Abstract: *Mohammad Hatta (1902–1980), Indonesia's first Vice President and co-proclaimer of independence, was also an intellectual statesman, economist, educator, and prolific writer. This essay explores Hatta's vision of nurturing the moral and spiritual soul of the nation—encompassing mental-spiritual development, national character, and public morality—through his writings and speeches on religion, statehood, education, culture, and nationhood from the 1930s to the 1970s. His religious outlook was substantive and inclusive, emphasizing shared values across faiths. This enabled a balanced view of religion's public role, transcending the dichotomy of 'integration' and 'separation', and anticipating José Casanova's and Alfred Stepan's concept of 'differentiation'. Hatta stressed character education and human capability as the foundations of a sovereign, just, and prosperous Indonesia based on* Pancasila. *His notion of progress—focused on improving quality of life and human capabilities through education and health—preceded the human development framework later developed by Amartya Sen. He emphasized the integration of intellectual excellence and moral integrity to build a dignified nation with a noble national character.*

Keywords: Mohammad Hatta, Religion, State Foundation, Character Building, Indonesia.

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i2.45220

Abstrak: *Mohammad Hatta (1902–1980), Wakil Presiden pertama dan proklamator kemerdekaan Indonesia, juga dikenal sebagai negarawan intelektual, ekonom, pendidik, dan penulis produktif. Tulisan ini mengkaji pandangan Hatta tentang upaya membangun jiwa bangsa—meliputi pembangunan mental-spiritual, karakter bangsa, dan moralitas publik—melalui karya dan pidatonya tentang agama, dasar negara, pendidikan, budaya, dan karakter bangsa dari 1930-an hingga 1970-an. Pandangan keagamaannya bersifat substantif dan inklusif, menekankan nilai-nilai universal lintas iman. Hal ini memungkinkan pemahaman proporsional terhadap peran agama dalam ranah publik, melampaui dikotomi 'integrasi' dan 'pemisahan', serta mengantisipasi konsep 'diferensiasi' dari José Casanova dan Alfred Stepan. Hatta menekankan pentingnya pendidikan karakter dan kapasitas manusia sebagai dasar Indonesia merdeka, adil, dan sejahtera berlandaskan Pancasila. Gagasannya tentang kemajuan—yang menekankan mutu hidup dan kapabilitas manusia melalui pendidikan dan kesehatan—mendahului kerangka pembangunan manusia seperti yang dikembangkan oleh Amartya Sen. Ia menekankan perpaduan antara keunggulan intelektual dan integritas moral demi membangun bangsa yang bermartabat dan berkarakter.*

Kata kunci: Mohammad Hatta, Agama, Dasar Negara, Pembangunan Karakter, Indonesia.

ملخص: محمد حتا (١٩٠٢–١٩٨٠)، نائب رئيس إندونيسيا الأول وأحد مؤسسي استقلالها، كان رجل دولة مثقفًا واقتصاديًا ومربيًا وكاتبًا غزير الإنتاج. يستكشف هذا المقال رؤية حتا لتعزيز الروح المعنوية والروحية للأمة – بما في ذلك التنمية العقلية–الروحية، والشخصية الوطنية، والأخلاق العامة – من خلال كتاباته وخطاباته حول الدين والدولة والتعليم والثقافة والوطنية من ثلاثينيات إلى سبعينيات القرن الماضي. كان منظوره الديني جوهريًا وشاملاً، مؤكدًا على القيم المشتركة بين الأديان. وقد أتاح ذلك رؤية متوازنة للدور العام للدين، متجاوزًا ثنائية «الاندماج» و«التفصيل»، ومتوقعًا مفهوم «التمايز» الذي طرحه لاحقًا خوسيه كازانوفا وألفريد ستيبان. شدد حتا على تربية الشخصية والقدرة البشرية كأسس لإندونيسيا ذات سيادة وعدالة وازدهار قائمة على البانشاسيلا. سبقت فكرته عن التقدم – التي ركزت على تحسين نوعية الحياة والقدرات البشرية من خلال التعليم والصحة – إطار التنمية البشرية الذي طوره أمارتيا صن لاحقًا. وأكد على تكامل التفوق الفكري والنزاهة الأخلاقية لبناء أمة كريمة ذات طابع وطني نبيل.

الكلمات المفتاحية: محمد حتا، الدين، أساس الدولة، بناء الشخصية، إندونيسيا.

Albert Einstein, in his writings published in 1918—three years before winning the Nobel Prize in Physics—speaks about how a scientist generates ideas.[1] He chooses not to limit himself solely as a scientist but also embraces all forms of creative thought. According to him, the greatest necessity is the ability to find the fundamental simplicity within complexity—a kind of simplification mechanism that serves as a frame of reference for understanding the essence of reality by disregarding distracting details to uncover the core substance. In Einstein's words:

> Man seeks to form for himself in whatever manner is suitable for him, a simplified and easy-to-survey image of the world and so to overcome the world of experience by striving to replace it to some extent by this image. This is what the painter does, and the poet, the speculative philosopher, the natural scientist, each in his own way (Friedman 2021, 6).

The concept of the 'image of the world' as expressed by Einstein is none other than what is known as a worldview *(Weltbild)*—an inclusive conception of the world, life, or reality, in whatever way is most essential for understanding and confronting the challenges of life. The significance of this worldview lies not only in shaping an individual's creative thinking but also in forming a creative generation that lives in the same era, nurtured by a shared cultural environment and the spirit of the times.

Furthermore, Einstein states that "Scientific thought is a development of pre-scientific thought." What he means by pre-scientific thought is, in essence, a worldview. A worldview itself grows from cultural soil—the environment in which a person is raised and where their mental and spiritual architecture is shaped in alignment with the spirit of their era. In other words, the cultural foundation and the zeitgeist that underpin a person's development significantly influence their worldview (Friedman 2021, 6–9).

It is in this context that we can begin to examine the worldview and the spirit of the time that shaped the personality and thoughts of Mohammad Hatta (1902-1980), a towering figure in Indonesia's independence movement who later became the country's first vice president. Hatta was an Indonesian political leader with many qualities: an intellectual statesman, religious-ethical leader, a public educator, and a prolific writer who significantly influenced the development of the nation's life.

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i2.45220

Hatta's writings on economic and political issues are well known and will not be the focus of this paper. However, as a religious-ethical thinker, he also produced numerous works addressing mental and spiritual development, public morality, and character building. This essay examines his views on these themes through an analysis of various writings and speeches concerning religion, the foundation of the state, education, culture, and national character—published over the course of approximately five decades (from the 1930s to the 1970s)—in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of his intellectual framework.

The references used in this paper prioritize primary sources that are directly related to the subject matter discussed in this paper. Secondary sources are employed insofar as they are closely related to the main topic of this paper or help clarify the arguments, articulation, and implications of Hatta's views. Consequently, many books that discuss Hatta or contain his works are not cited if they do not have strong relevance to the subject matter at hand. Conversely, many of Hatta's ideas and pioneering thoughts—which may precede or at least align with those of contemporary thinkers and schools of thought—are not included in the discussion if they do not directly pertain to the focus of this paper.

Hatta as a Religious-Ethical Man

The long journey of struggle among the founders of the nation in "discovering" Indonesia as a new national identity was, in a broader sense, aligned with their struggle to "discover" God. There were many different paths in seeking God. Some walked steadfastly on the path of God; some strayed in and out; some remained on the path despite its twists and turns; some entered through one path but also explored other ways; some try various paths before finding the right one to God; and some attempt to leave the path of God, though never completely.

Mohammad Hatta followed the path of God by continuously moving forward, even as the road twisted and turned. He was born in Bukittinggi on August 12, 1902, with the given name Mohammad Ibn 'Atta'. This name appears to have been inspired by Muḥammad 'Aṭā'i Allāh al-Sakandarī, the author of *al-Ḥikam*, a well-known Sufi (spiritual) book widely studied in Islamic traditional schools (*pesantren, surau, and the like*). Hatta came from a devout and relatively affluent family. His grandfather, Sheikh Abdurrahman (known as Sheikh

Batuampar), was the founder of Surau Batuampar (Payakumbuh), a renowned center for teaching the Naqshbandi Sufi Order (*Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah*)**.** His father, Hadji Muhammad Djamil, was a well-known young scholar *(ulama)* in his region, though he passed away at the age of 30 when Hatta was only eight months old. Hatta was then raised by his uncle, his father's eldest brother, Hadji Arsjad, who succeeded as Sheikh Batuampar, earning the title *"Tuanku nan Muda"* (The Young Master).[2]

Not far from the Hatta family home in Aur Tajungkang, there was the house and *surau* of a highly respected Islamic scholar, Sheikh Muhammad Djamil Djambek. Hatta recalls:

> It was he who guided my first steps on the path of Islamic knowledge. I learned to recite the Qur'an under the instruction of his students who had already completed the Qur'an multiple times and were appointed by him as "Senior Teachers". After that, to instill an understanding of Islam, he personally taught me (Hatta 1982, 6).

Meanwhile, from Hadji Arsjad, young Hatta often heard his grandfather's advice on the spiritual path:

> My grandfather always reminded us that the path to the Sufi Order (Tarekat) could only be taken by those with sufficient religious knowledge. The teachings of the Tarekat are the final key to religious education. The path must be followed step by step; it cannot be skipped over. To enter the Tarekat, one must truly understand that there is no compulsion in religion—lā ikrāha fī al-dīn—the path to God is about convincing others, and it begins with convincing oneself (Hatta 2011, 21)

Initially, Hatta was being prepared to become a religious scholar, with plans to send him to study at an Islamic school in Mecca, and later continue his education at Al-Azhar University in Cairo. However, fate led him down a different path. When Hatta was in the third grade at Inyik Djambek's People's School (*Sekolah Rakyat Inyik Djambek*), his uncle Arsjad planned to travel to Mecca and intended to take Hatta with him, as originally planned. However, his mother felt that Hatta was still too young and had not yet completed his Qur'anic studies. Thus, his journey to Mecca was postponed. Though initially disappointed, Arsjad, as a follower of the Sufi Order, eventually accepted it with resignation. *"We make our efforts,"* he said, *"but destiny has the final say."*

While continuing his studies at the People's School, Sheikh Djambek continued to rigorously teach Hatta religious studies, preparing him

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for the delayed journey to Mecca and Egypt. However, once again, before he could finish his schooling in Bukittinggi, fate took another turn, requiring him to move to Padang to attend a Dutch primary school (ELS) and later continue to the *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* (MULO)**,** a Dutch junior secondary school.

Fortunately, in mid-1918, the colonial government issued a regulation allowing MULO students to receive one hour of religious education per week. This gave Hatta the opportunity to study Islam under Hadji Abdullah Ahmad, a leading reformist scholar in West Sumatra. Hatta later recalls:

> Thus, my structured religious education resumed in a modern way after being interrupted for five years. Over the past year, I had also frequently attended incidental lessons at the home of Hadji Abdullah Ahmad (Hatta 1982, 40).

After completing his studies at MULO, Hatta continued to the *Prins Hendrik Handels School*, a senior secondary school specializing in economics, in Jakarta. In 1921, he departed for the Netherlands to study at the *Handels-Hoogeschool* (School of Commerce) in Rotterdam. With a strong spiritual foundation, he navigated the winding path from a small town in West Sumatra to the bustling metropolis of Jakarta, and eventually to the heart of European cosmopolitanism—all without experiencing the culture shock that might have weakened his convictions.

During school holidays, benefiting from the high exchange rate of the Dutch Gulden, Hatta often traveled to various cities in Germany, Austria, France, and Scandinavia. In Hamburg and Berlin, he attended operas and theater performances. In Vienna, he made sure to experience classical music concerts. Despite immersing himself in Europe's high culture, he remained steadfast in practicing his religious duties. Hatta recalls: *"As usual, I would wake up at 6:30 in the morning. During winter, I would sleep in until 7:00. After waking up and performing the Subuh prayer, I would begin my day by reading the newspaper" (Hatta 1982, 184).*

Even when Ir. Fournier and Ir. Van Leeuwen tried to persuade him to join the Theosophical Society, Hatta politely declined:

> I openly refused, explaining that I was committed to Islam. Ir. Fournier said that Islam was not an obstacle to being a Theosophist. 'Theosophy is not a religion,' he said, 'but rather a teaching, and Theosophy actually

> strengthens Islamic principles in achieving global brotherhood.' However, I still refused" (Hatta 1982, 150).

Hatta's firm commitment to his beliefs also meant he never had the courage to consume alcoholic beverages, which often made him the subject of teasing among his friends. He recounts an amusing incident:

> While in Hamburg, one evening, Dr. Eichele, Usman Idris, and I went to see an opera together. Before the performance, we had dinner at a restaurant. Dahlan Abdullah, Dr. Eichele, and Usman Idris ordered beer, while I ordered ice water. After the meal, when it was time to pay, Dahlan Abdullah laughed at me, pointing out that my drink—ice water—was actually more expensive than beer. The other two friends joined in laughing. At that time, every restaurant ordered beer in bulk, while ice had to be specially ordered from the ice factory each time. Refrigerators did not exist yet in those days (Hatta 1982, 150).

Although Hatta remained steadfast in his religious convictions, he maintained a broad and inclusive social network. While studying in the Netherlands and actively participating in the Perhimpunan Indonesia (Indonesian Association), he built close relationships with activists from diverse ethno-religious backgrounds—Sumatrans like Nazir Pamuntjak, Javanese like Subardjo and Gunawan Mangoenkoesoemo, Sundanese like Iwa Koesoema Soemantri, Eastern Indonesians like A.A. Maramis and Arnold Monotutu, and ethnic Chinese figures like Dr. Liem. He even engaged in discussions with left-wing activists such as Tan Malaka and Semaun.[3]

Hatta later extended his network to the international anti-colonial movement. He established a good relationship with Jawaharlal Nehru, a key figure in India's independence struggle. In 1930, Hatta, along with Nehru and two other European activists, was expelled from the League Against Imperialism and for National Independence, a Communist-oriented organization, on the grounds that they were accused of being reformists (Hatta 1982, 242–243).

With a foundation in Sufism, which emphasizes the inner dimension and ethical values of religion rather than its outward formalities, combined with his extensive reading and diverse interactions, Hatta became a steadfast yet inclusive Muslim. He once used a metaphor to describe his approach to faith: he did not want his religiosity to be like lipstick—highly visible but without any real impact. Instead, he aspired for it to be like salt dissolved in water—invisible, yet deeply felt by those around him.

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In his understanding of Islam, Hatta sought to simplify its essence from its complex teachings. To him, Islam meant peace—a complete surrender to Allah, the Creator of all things. "This means that our duty in this world is to fulfill God's commandments in order to build a just and virtuous society" (Hatta 1954; 1985; 2023).[4]

In building a (good) society, the two fundamental principles are justice and compassion. According to Hatta. Prophet Moses emphasized justice. The Jewish people are taught to uphold and preserve justice. "Read *De Tien Geboden* (The Ten Commandments), and you will see that their core focus is justice." After that came Prophet Isa (according to Islamic belief) or Jesus Christ (according to Christian belief) at a time when people were consumed by hatred and division. He taught them to practice love and compassion. "The essence of Prophet Jesus' teachings is love. Read, for example, the Gospel of John." Finally, Islam came with Prophet Muhammad, who integrated the teachings of justice and compassion. "He did not emphasize one aspect over the other but combined both." In Hatta's view, only when justice and compassion coexist can the world achieve peace. "The highest law in Islam is peace" (Hatta 2023).[5]

Guidance on how to cultivate justice, compassion, and peace is found in the Qur'an. In this context, Hatta sought to simplify the complex teachings of Islam according to the Qur'an, using Surah *al-Fātiḥah* (The Opening) as its core essence. According to him, *"The entire Qur'an is an explanation of what is embodied in the essence, which is Surah al-Fātiḥah."*

In his view, Surah *al-Fātiḥah* elevates the name of the Most Merciful God, reflecting a spirit of compassion for all of creation. This Surah also acknowledges that all praise belongs solely to God, the Lord of all worlds. Hatta notes: *"Thus, God is the Owner of this world, and this earth is merely given to us for a temporary time, a place for us to live, making it clear that this earth does not belong to us."* He further instructs*:*

> If we truly understand the meaning of "God, the Lord of all the worlds" then we should direct our lives in such a way that we improve the world, which is temporarily entrusted to us by God as a dwelling place. We will eventually leave it for future generations. God created this earth not just for us, but for all generations of humanity throughout time. Therefore, our task in this world is to improve God's earth.[6]

In our efforts to improve life on this earth, Hatta reminds the inhabitants of the earth of the necessity to always remain humble,

seeking help and guidance, and remaining free from arrogance that could lead us astray:

> The God we worship day and night is the one to whom we ask for help, to be guided to the straight path, and to be granted strength at all times to carry out our duties in society, asking to be kept away from the misguided path. If we truly ask, we must align our actions in this world with the attributes we praise in God, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate, and the Most Just. We must build a society based on love, cooperation, and brotherhood. This is the peaceful society that reflects the spirit of Islam. To achieve this, we must describe a standard of how society should be according to the teachings of Islam."[7]

Hatta as the Converging Point

With his ethical and inclusive approach to religion, Hatta became one of the most trusted figures in bridging opposing parties with diverse ideological identities during the preparations for the Proclamation of Independence and the founding of the Indonesian state—both conceptually and practically—especially in formulating the foundation of the state.

Conceptually, Hatta's most significant contribution lay in his groundbreaking thought that offered a way out of the dichotomous debate between those advocating Islam as the foundation of the state and those opposing it while still affirming the importance of a divine foundation. Amid the clash between these opposing camps, it was difficult to conceive an alternative model for the state-religion relationship beyond the dominant paradigms of 'integration' or 'separation'.

To break the deadlock, Hatta launched a critique, arguing that most of the arguments were unable to free themselves from the shadow of the issue of 'Kerk en Staat' (church and state), as found in the historical legal contexts of Western countries. The influence of this shadow led to the misconception that Indonesia was facing a dilemma of whether to establish or reject the separation between 'Islam and the State'. According to his assessment:

> "This view is wrong, because the relationship between "kerk en Staat" is different from the relationship between "Islam and the State". The "Kerk" and the "Staat" initially both had top-down organizations that governed the lives of the people. If there is a conflict between the "Staat" as the

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i2.45220

> state and the "Staat" as the "Kerk", both of which seek to govern the same people, it is not surprising. But between "Islam" and "the State" there is no conflict, because Islam is a religion, a guide for the soul, not a state. At most, it can be said in a somewhat paradoxical statement: "Islam is society." It has its sphere in society, but it does not have an organization like the church. Therefore, it is not "Staat" (Kusuma 2016, 626–627).[8]

Furthermore, he stated that in the history of Islam, there has never been a separation or conflict between religion (as the church) and the state, because Islam does not recognize the clergy. At most, the conflict occurs in the struggle for the position of head of state.

Even though religion and the state were not separate, the authority of the state and the authority of religion in Islam could be differentiated. Empirical reality shows that after the four prominent Islamic caliphs, the *Khulafā' al-Rāshidīn* (Abu Bakar, Umar, Usman, and Ali), the caliph was not the head of religion but simply the head of state, tasked with worldly affairs. When the center of Islamic power shifted from Medina to Damascus, a separation occurred between religious matters, which remained in Medina, and worldly matters, which were centered in Syria. Although the caliph often used religion as a tool for legitimizing his power. He then concluded that, in establishing a new state for Indonesia:

> We will not establish a state based on the separation between "religion" and "state" but we will establish a modern state on the basis of the separation between religious affairs and state affairs. If religious affairs are also controlled by the state, then religion becomes a tool of the state, and thus loses its pure essence (Kusuma 2016, 630).

Hatta's conclusion highlights the core issue in the relationship between religion and the state: the differentiation of their functions. Even though he had not found a more fitting term than "separation," his perspective on this relationship laid the groundwork for what would later be known as the differentiation theory. This theory was advanced by contemporary thinkers like José Casanova (1994) and Alfred Stepan (2005). These scholars challenge the conventional political theory that demands the privatization of religion by shifting the paradigm to recognize the importance of religiosity in the public sphere.

The core challenge, according to these thinkers, is that every religious tradition has a Janus-faced nature, meaning it contains elements of both reconciliation and violence, exclusivity and inclusivity. To address the negative effects of religion's involvement in public life, the relationship

between religion and state needs to find a new relational context beyond the frameworks of "separation" or "integration". This new relational context is called "differentiation".

According to Stepan, the framework of differentiation allows for the development of "twin tolerations" between the state and religion. Twin toleration refers to a situation where both religious and state institutions recognize the limits of their authority, thereby fostering tolerance for each other's functions. Democratic state institutions must be free, within the boundaries of the constitution and human rights, to make policies. In this context, religious institutions must not have constitutional prerogatives that allow them to impose public policy on a democratically elected government. On the other hand, individuals and religious commun ities should have full freedom to worship privately. As individuals and groups, they should also be able to express their religious values publicly within civil society and sponsor political organizations and movements (including political parties) within political society, as long as their actions do not violate the freedoms of others or undermine democracy and the rule of law. This situation should be upheld even when a nation has a state religion or church.

Thus, the concept of twin tolerations emphasizes the balance where both religion and state operate within their (proper) spheres, allowing for mutual respect and coexistence without overstepping their bounds. With differentiation between religion and state, both can carry out their respective public roles without dominating each other. This allows the influence of religion in public life, including politics, to remain present, but without direct control over the state. The state and religion can operate in their own realms, even though they can still interact in the appropriate space. This differentiation opens up opportunities for religion to have an influence in the public sphere without threatening the autonomy of the state, while the state can continue to develop democratic institutions in line with the constitution and human rights.

This concept of differentiation is highly relevant in the context of Indonesia, which states that Indonesia is neither a religious state nor a secular state *(bukan negara agama, bukan negara sekuler). Pancasila*, as the foundation of the state, seeks to maintain a balance between the state and religion. Indonesia does not want to become a religious state that prioritizes one religion or denomination over others, as this could lead to religious tyranny and undermine the pluralism of the nation.

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i2.45220

All religious groups in Indonesia must be treated equally, with no one being considered second-class citizens.

However, Indonesia is also not a secular state that disregards the role of religion in public life. The ethical and spiritual values contained within religion are still respected as the moral foundation of the state. The state is expected not only to provide religious freedom but also to protect and support the development of religious life as an important part of the spiritual and moral values of society. (In this way, Indonesia promotes the principle of harmony between religion and state in building a peaceful, just, and prosperous life for all its citizens).

On a practical level, Hatta— (endowed with integrity and moral authority)—played a pivotal role in overcoming the differences in stances regarding the formulation of the state's foundational principles—known as *Pancasila*—particularly during the drafting of the Constitution of independent Indonesia, which was later enacted as the 1945 Constitution (*Undang-Undang Dasar 1945*).

The idea of *Pancasila* first emerged during the first session of the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence (*Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan*, abbreviated as BPUPK),[9] which took place from May 29 to June 1, 1945. At the opening of the session, Radjiman Wediodiningrat, Chairman of the BPUPK, posed a crucial question to the assembly: *What should become the foundation of an independent Indonesian state?*

When it was Soekarno's turn to speak on June 1, 1945, in his effort to formulate the philosophical foundation of the state, he invited the participants to search for a point of agreement—a meeting ground:

> Let us together seek a unifying *philosophische grondslag*, a common *Weltanschauung* on which we all agree. I repeat—agree! One that Mr. Yamin agrees with, Ki Bagoes agrees with, Ki Hadjar agrees with, Mr. Sanoesi agrees with, Mr. Abikoesno agrees with, Mr. Lim Koen Hian agrees with—in short, one that we all agree upon as a common ground (Soekarno 1947).

Soekarno then proposed five principles that, in his view, represented a shared meeting point for all elements of the nation. These five principles were:

First: *Kebangsaan Indonesia* (Indonesian Nationalism). "All of you, both those called nationalists and those called Muslims, have agreed... We intend to establish a state of 'all for all.' Not for one person, not for

one group, whether aristocrats or the wealthy—but 'all for all'... The first foundation suitable for the Indonesian state is the foundation of nationalism."

Second: *Internasionalisme, atau Peri-kemanusiaan* (Internationalism or Humanism). "The nationalism we advocate is not an isolated nationalism, not chauvinism… We must move toward world unity, world brotherhood. We must not only establish an independent Indonesian state, but also contribute to the family of nations."

Third: *Mufakat atau Demokrasi* (Consensus or Democracy). "This foundation is consensus, representation, deliberation… We are building a state of 'all for all,' one for all, all for one. I am convinced that deliberation and representation are absolute conditions for the strength of Indonesia… Whatever remains unsatisfactory, let us discuss it through deliberation."

Fourth: *Kesejahteraan Sosial* (Social Welfare). "If we are to seek democracy, it should not be Western democracy, but a deliberative system that sustains life—a political-economic democracy capable of ensuring social welfare… Therefore, if we truly understand, remember, and love the people of Indonesia, let us accept the principle of *sociale rechtvaardigheid*—not only political equality, brothers, but also economic equality, which means the best possible common welfare."

Fifth: *Ketuhanan yang Berkebudayaan* (Civilized Godliness). "The principle of an independent Indonesia with devotion to the One Supreme God… whereby the fifth principle of our state is a civilized godliness—one that is rooted in culture, grounded in noble character, and committed to mutual respect among all."

These five principles, Soekarno called *Panca Sila*. "*Sila* means principle or foundation, and upon these five foundations, we shall build the eternal and everlasting state of Indonesia."[10]

Soekarno's speech on *Pancasila* was heroic, empathetic, weighty, coherent, and well-structured despite being delivered without a written script. It was so impressive that it received thunderous applause from the BPUPK members.

At the end of the first BPUPK session, the Chair formed a Small Committee tasked with drafting a formulation of the state foundation acceptable to both religious-nationalist and Islamic-nationalist groups, using Soekarno's speech as the main reference and supplemented by proposals from other BPUPK members. This Small Committee was

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also responsible for compiling members' suggestions to be discussed in the next session (July 10–17, 1945).

This official Small Committee, later known as the "Committee of Eight" (*Panitia Delapan*), was led by Soekarno and consisted of eight members: six representing the nationalist group and two representing the Islamic group. The members were: Soekarno, Mohammad Hatta, Mohammad Yamin, A.A. Maramis, M. Sutardjo Kartohadikoesoemo, and Oto Iskandardinata as the nationalist group; and Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo and K.H. Wachid Hasjim as the Islamic group.

In his capacity as Chair of the Small Committee, during the recess period, Soekarno undertook various initiatives that, by his own admission, were outside formal procedures. He used the occasion of the 8th session of the *Chuo Sangi In* (Central Advisory Council) held in Jakarta from June (18 to 21) to organize meetings related to the Small Committee's task. At the conclusion of these meetings on (June 22), Soekarno took another informal initiative: the formation of an unofficial *Small Committee of Nine* tasked with drafting *Pancasila* as the foundational philosophy of the state within a proposed preamble to the basic law (the constitution), which was also initially intended as a draft of the proclamation text.

The nine members were: Soekarno (chair), Mohammad Hatta, Muhammad Yamin, A.A. Maramis, Soebardjo (representing the nationalist group), and K.H. Wachid Hasjim, K.H. Kahar Moezakir, H. Agus Salim, and R. Abikusno Tjokrosoejoso (representing the Islamic group).

Out of respect for the Islamic group, Soekarno ensured a more balanced composition in this Committee of Nine compared to the official BPUPK-formed Committee of Eight. The Committee of Nine consisted of five representatives from the nationalist group (including Soekarno as a mediator) and four from the Islamic group, despite the fact that Islamic representatives made up less than 25% of BPUPK members or participants in this meeting. Chaired by Soekarno, this committee was formed as an effort to reconcile the differing views of the two groups concerning the foundational philosophy of the state.

As Soekarno himself acknowledged, "At first, it was difficult to find common ground between these two groups." However, with a relatively balanced composition, the Committee successfully agreed upon a draft preamble that contained a revised formulation of *Pancasila*, which

was signed by all members on (June 22). Soekarno referred to this draft as the *Mukaddimah* (Preamble), Mohammad Yamin called it the *Jakarta Charter*, and Sukiman Wirjosandjojo later referred to it as the *Gentlemen's Agreement*.

The final paragraph of the Jakarta Charter contained the foundational philosophy of the state. After a process of consensus-building, the (June 1) version of *Pancasila* was refined in both structure and wording. The principle of *Ketuhanan (Godliness)* was moved from the fifth to the first position, with an added clause: "dengan kewajiban menjalankan syari'at Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya" (with the obligation for adherents of Islam to implement Islamic law)—later known as the "seven words".

In addition, the principle of *Internationalism or Humanism* remained in the second position, but the wording was refined to: "Kemanusian yang adil dan beradab" (Just and Civilized Humanity). The principle of *Indonesian Nationalism* moved from the first to the third position, reworded as *"Persatuan Indonesia"* (The Unity of Indonesia). The principle of *Consensus or Democracy* moved from third to fourth, with the revised formulation: *"Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan-perwakilan"* (Democracy guided by the inner wisdom of deliberation among representatives). The principle of *Social Welfare* was moved from the fourth to the fifth position, becoming: *"Keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia*" (Social Justice for all the people of Indonesia).

During the second BPUPK session (July 10–17, 1945), the formulation in the Jakarta Charter sparked intense debate, particularly concerning the inclusion of the "seven words" appended to the first principle on *Ketuhanan* (Godliness). Objections came not only from the nationalist group but also from within the Islamic group itself.[11] For some nationalists—such as Latuharhary from Maluku—the inclusion of the "seven words," which implied special treatment for Muslims, was seen as inappropriate for a constitution that applied to all citizens. Nevertheless, the formulation in the Jakarta Charter, including the "seven words," remained intact until the conclusion of the second session on July 17, 1945.

Even though the "seven words" survived the end of BPUPK deliberations, their acceptance was uneasy and, in fact, represented a consensus only among BPUPK representatives from Java and Madura. It had yet to include agreement from representatives across all Japanese-

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occupied territories.

Following the Proclamation of Independence on August 17, 1945, the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (*Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*, or PPKI) convened on August 18 to adopt the Constitution (the 1945 Constitution) and elect the President and Vice President. To preserve the unity of the newly independent nation—especially in light of the imminent arrival of Allied forces—Mohammad Hatta played a crucial role in persuading Islamic representatives to remove the "seven words," with the promise that related issues would be addressed later.

Thanks to Hatta's persuasion, the PPKI approved the *Jakarta Charter* as the preamble to the 1945 Constitution, with the exception of the "seven words" appended to the first principle. These were deleted and replaced with the phrase *"Yang Maha Esa",* so the first principle became: *"Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa"* (Godliness in the Oneness of Divine Goodness).[12]

As a consequence of this deletion, Article 6(1) of the Constitution was also revised to read: "The President shall be a native-born Indonesian," without any additional phrase such as "and a Muslim". Likewise, Article 29(1) was finalized as: *"Negara berdasar atas Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa"* (The state is based upon *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*), without the "seven words" attached.[13]

Mohammad Hatta played a central role in the removal of the "seven words" as he later acknowledged in his autobiography, *Memoir Mohammad Hatta* (1979). On the morning before the PPKI meeting opened, Hatta approached Islamic leaders and urged them to agree to replace the phrase "Ketuhanan dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat Islam bagi pemeluk-pemeluknya" (Godliness with the obligation for adherents of Islam to implement Islamic law) in the Jakarta Charter with the phrase *"Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa"*. This change, according to Hatta, was necessary to maintain national unity, given objections raised by Catholic and Protestant communities in Eastern Indonesia.[14]

In Hatta's view, the removal of the "seven words" did not negate the spirit of the Jakarta Charter. As he writes:

> At that time, we understood that the spirit of the Jakarta Charter would not be lost by removing the words 'Godliness with the obligation for adherents of Islam to implement Islamic law' and replacing them with *"Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*" (Hatta 1969, 28).

The formulation of the first principle—*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*—along with Hatta's accompanying explanation, raised concerns among certain groups, including the prominent Indonesian intellectual Soedjatmoko (1983). He argued that, without proper interpretation, such wording could tend to be biased toward Islamic monotheism. He was particularly concerned that this might marginalize non-theistic or polytheistic belief systems, and even exclude secular or pluralistic interpretations of the state.

Such criticism is understandable when viewed in light of the historical context of the political disputes that surrounded its formulation. However, Hatta's statement that the removal of the "seven words" did not negate the spirit of the Jakarta Charter must be properly understood. The spirit of the Jakarta Charter should not be interpreted as referring solely to those seven words. As previously explained, the term "Jakarta Charter" actually refers to the entire Preamble of the 1945 Constitution.

The formulation of the first principle should also be understood according to its original intent, in the light of Soekarno's June 1st speech—as previously explained.[15] Moreover, if the formulation of the first principle is considered apart from its historical context, the phrase *"Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa"* itself can, in fact, be interpreted as a statement that carries an inclusive meaning.

What this first principle emphasizes is not God *per se* but *the quality of godliness (divinity)*. It is often translated into English as *"belief in God,"* which is, in fact, an inaccurate translation. In the Indonesian language, the prefix and suffix "ke-an" when attached to a noun serve to form an abstract noun or quality adjective. For example, the word *ibu* (mother), when transformed into *keibuan*, conveys "motherliness"—the qualities or nature of a mother. Likewise, the word *Tuhan* (God), when transformed into *ketuhanan*, shifts in meaning to refer to "godliness" or the qualities of divinity.

The formulation of the First Principle is, in fact, somewhat awkward, as it does not convey a complete meaning. On the one hand, it uses the term *"Ketuhanan"* (godliness), which expresses an attitude of divine reverence. Yet it is not followed by any clarification as to what kind of godliness is intended. Instead, it is immediately followed by *"Yang Maha Esa"* (the One Supreme Being), which refers to a divine attribute, rather than describing the moral or spiritual quality of godliness itself.

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This phrasing may have been adopted as a political compromise to appease Islamic groups.

(Sukarno)'s original formulation on June 1st—*"Ketuhanan yang Berkebudayaan"* (Civilized Godliness)—was far clearer. The consequence of choosing the phrase *"Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*" is the absence of an explanatory element, which now needs to be filled by reviving the original intent of (Sukarno)'s speech. That speech emphasized the importance of a form of godliness that is civilized, broad-minded, and mutually respectful—serving as a moral foundation for unity among followers of all religions and belief systems.

Considering Pancasila as a form of "civil religion"—which will be further discussed later, and bearing in mind the original intent behind the substance of its First Principle, the inclusion of the phrase *"Yang Maha Esa"* following *"Ketuhanan"* can be understood in light of Pancasila's role as a point of convergence—rather than division—among the diverse existential and spiritual orientations of its adherents, while still allowing for interpretation within the framework of the One Supreme Being. Thus, the phrase *"Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa" is better understood and rendered as: "Godliness in the Oneness of Divine Goodness (Truth and Love)."*

In light of this understanding, the precise nature of "God" (whether monotheistic, polytheistic, deistic, pantheistic, etc.) belongs to personal belief and the domain of each religion or faith tradition. What *Pancasila*'s first principle demands in terms of public morality is that, regardless of one's conception of God, one is expected to manifest divine attributes in public life. The supreme divine attribute echoed across religions and belief systems is compassion—*raḥmān-raḥīm*, love, *shanti*, and similar values. If all religious and spiritual communities express such qualities in public life, they will achieve oneness *(keesaan)* in their pursuit of divine truth. This resonates with the slogan of civil religious doctrine inherited from the Majapahit Kingdom: *"Siwa, Buddha; Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, Tan Hana Dharma Mangrwa."* Shiva (Hinduism) and Buddha (Buddhism) may appear different, but they are one—because there is no duality in truth and purpose.[16]

Hatta's Concept of Pancasila as the Foundation of the State

The concept of differentiation finds its philosophical and moral foundation in *Pancasila*. Pancasila, as the philosophical foundation

of the state, worldview, and the ideology of the Indonesian nation-state, represents the simplicity at the core of the complex values that have developed in Indonesia. Although it was born as a product of deliberative-argumentative reasoning based on rationality and science, its fundamental values reflect the basic worldview of the Nusantara (pre-Indonesia) communities, shaped on cultural soil enriched by the values of religion, customs, and culture, along with new external values that can be integrated harmoniously with the long-established value base.

The fundamental worldview of the Nusantara is greatly influenced by religious perspectives, with religious scholars (teachers) being the most important cultural agents. P. J. Zoetmulder (1990) concludes that the philosophical tradition that developed in Indonesian society mainly concerns philosophy related to divinity. It is no surprise that even Soekarno, in explaining the material cause *(causa materialis)* of Pancasila, which he claimed to have derived from Indonesian cultural soil, expresses that its primary value source was rooted in religious values. Soekarno frequently states that in the effort to discover the "pearls" of the nation's soul, he had tried to dive deeply, penetrating the layers of the archaeology of civilization. "I have dug it from four layers: the pre-Hindu layer, the Hindu layer, the Islamic layer, and the Imperialist layer" (Soekarno 1958, 8–15).

Clifford Geertz, in *Religion as a Cultural System* (1966), identifies two core elements of religiosity: worldview (the system of beliefs and worldview) and ethos (moral values, emotions, and motivations). The primordial religious worldview in Indonesia is characterized by *illuminationism*. Everything in this world is seen as pairs that identify, complement, and depend on each other, emanating from the same source.

Modern worldview, based on Aristotelian logic, rejects contradictory entities that recognize the truth on both sides of a conflict. However, in the primordial logic of Indonesian tribes, everything is seen as mono-dualism or mono-pluralism. The diversity *(bhinneka)* in essence can be seen as "oneness" *(tunggal ika).* All diversity that is interconnected is an emanation (illumination) from "The One" (God), which is independent.

With such a worldview, the cultural ethos of the Nusantara is adaptive, gradual, aesthetic, and tolerant. Differences are not something

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that must be rejected or merely tolerated as long as they do not pose a threat. On the contrary, differences should be joyfully embraced as part of the perfection of life, fostering a spirit of mutual absorption, sharing, and respect—*silih asih, silih asah, silih asuh* (mutual love, mutual honing, mutual care). All differences are processed aesthetically, leading to a situation of *silih wangi* (mutual exalting), celebrating the joy of living together.

As a principle and the common denominator *(titik temu),* common ground *(titik tumpu),* and common goal *(titik tuju)* for the life of a pluralistic nation, Pancasila contains a set of beliefs, symbols, and core values that can integrate all the diversity of Indonesia into a public moral community. From this perspective, Pancasila can also be described as a "civil religion" in the life of the nation and the state of Indonesia.

The term civil religion was popularized by American sociologist Robert N. Bellah, who borrowed it from French thinker Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In his article "Civil Religion in America" published in *Daedalus* in the winter of 1967, Bellah identified a collection of beliefs, symbols, and rituals that sanctify and institutionalize sacred elements in the collective (public) life of the United States, independent of traditional religion (church) and political institutions, but also not in competition (or conflict) with religion (church) or the state.

By quoting the inaugural speeches of U.S. presidents, Bellah noted that these speeches often invoke the name of God, which radiates a strong religious spirit in American society. However, the God invoked does not refer exclusively to the God of a particular religion or denomination, but rather to a universal God who allows followers of all religions and denominations to feel represented (and involved). In other words, God in the context of civil religion does not refer to any specific religion and does not contradict any religion (Cristi 2001, 1–2).

By synthesizing the views of various scholars, it can be concluded that the source of belief and morality for the formation of civil religion can have a dual face. The beliefs and values of civil religion can stem from traditional religious values (supernatural, denominational) that have been profaned (substantialized) into public morals by crystallizing and reconciling universal (ethics-spirituality) religious values that can be accessed across religions and denominations. They can also come from secular ideas (beliefs, values) that are elevated to a "sacred" level (sanctified together), thus becoming a public "religion" (or morality).

In Hatta's view, *Pancasila* as a civil religion contains both ethical and political fundamentals (*fundamen etik* and *fundamen politik*). The ethical fundamental is the principle of Godliness (*Ketuhanan).* The political fundamentals include humanism *(Kemanusiaan),* nationalism *(Persatuan Indonesia),* democracy *(Kerakyatan),* and social justice *(Keadilan Sosial).* In Sukarno's speech on Pancasila on June 1, 1945, the political fundamentals were prioritized, and the ethical fundamental was placed at the end—by placing nationalism first, followed by humanism, democracy, and ending with the principle of Godliness. Through the refinement of the Nine-Person Committee, which formulated the Jakarta Charter on June 22, 1945, and the ratification of the 1945 Constitution on August 18, the order was changed. The ethical fundamental (Godliness) was placed first, followed by the political fundamentals (Hatta 1966; 1977; 1979).[17]

According to Hatta, "As a result of the change in the order of those five principles, although the state ideology did not change with the alteration of the words, the political foundation of the state gained a strong moral basis." By placing the principle of Godliness in the first principle, "Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa (Godliness in the Oneness of Divine Goodness) is no longer just the basis for respecting each other's religion, but becomes the basis that leads to the path of truth, justice, goodness, honesty, and brotherhood.[18] With this, the state strengthens its foundation." Furthermore, "With a government policy that adheres to high morals, social justice for all the people of Indonesia is achieved" (Hatta 1977).

In Hatta's view, "The five principles complement one another." In other words, "Under the guidance of the first principle—the principle of Godliness—the five principles are bound together." He further explaines that *"Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa"* serves as the foundation that guides the nation's ideals, giving spirit to the effort to "foster harmony on earth" by "organizing everything that is true, just, and good". Meanwhile, the principle of *Just and Civilized Humanity* is a continuation of the actions and practices rooted in the preceding principle. He then emphasized that "this principle of humanity must be applied in social life. In all human relations, a sense of brotherhood must prevail."[19]

This sense of brotherhood must be proven in concrete life, first and foremost within the closest environment, among fellow citizens

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living in the same homeland, reflected in the national brotherhood (the unity of Indonesia) based on the spirit of *"Bhinneka Tunggal Ika"* (Unity in [20]Diversity). In managing the affairs and shared interests of the diverse nation, the governance of the state is developed through deliberative democracy that advocates participation and emancipation in the political field (political democracy), which intertwines with participation and emancipation in the economic field (economic democracy) to achieve social justice for all the people of Indonesia.

Hatta further reminds us that, "Pancasila in the 1945 Constitution is stated as a guideline to realize happiness, prosperity, peace, and freedom within the society and the state of an independent and fully sovereign Indonesia." Moreover, the purpose (mission) of the state government based on Pancasila is also explicitly stated in the fourth paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution: "To protect all the people of Indonesia and the entire Indonesian territory, and to realize the general welfare, educate the nation's life, and participate in the implementation of world order based on freedom, eternal peace, and social justice" (Hatta 1977).

Finally, Hatta emphasizes that, "With these principles as a guideline, in essence, our state government must not deviate from the righteous path to achieve the safety of the state and society, world order, and the brotherhood of nations." He then encourages us to, "Remember, the Republic of Indonesia is not yet based on Pancasila if the government and society are not yet able to obey the 1945 Constitution, especially if they have not implemented Articles 27, 31, 33, and 34. And also remember, that Pancasila is the contract of the entire Indonesian people to safeguard our unity as a nation. The younger generation today must not forget this and neglect it" (Hatta 1977).

This task, according to Hatta, is very heavy and demands the state to adhere to high and pure principles, which contain the spirit of dedication and obedience of the nation. He makes this clear when he says, "Without dedication and obedience, the ideals of becoming a happy, prosperous, peaceful, and independent nation will not be achieved in its perfection" (Hatta 1977).[21]

Hatta on Education, Culture, and Character Building

As a result, to realize the vision of an independent, united, sovereign, just, and prosperous Indonesia based on Pancasila, a great sense of

responsibility is required from both the government and the citizens. In Hatta's view, in the spirit of brotherhood grounded in Pancasila, all elements of the state should not only be adept at questioning their rights, but should prioritize the sense of responsibility to fulfill their obligations. The word "responsibility" frequently appears in almost all of Hatta's writings, which essentially remind us that:

> Indonesia, with its vast land, large areas, and scattered locations, can only be governed by those who possess the greatest responsibility and have a very broad outlook. This sense of responsibility will live in our hearts if we are able to live by first considering the interests of society, the safety of the nation, and the honor of the people. To develop this great sense of responsibility, we must educate ourselves with a love for truth and eternal justice. Our hearts must be full of lofty ideals, greater and longer-lasting than our own lives*"* (Hatta, 1985).[22]

To shape Indonesians in this way, the development of the body (physical) must be built on the foundation of the development of the soul. In this regard, Hatta offered a concept of development that was later further pursued by the Nobel Prize-winning economist from India, Amartya Sen. Sen criticizes the approach to development that overly emphasizes aspects of economic growth (GDP), per capita income, standard of living, and other macroeconomic indicators. For him, the key measure that should be prioritized is human development, in the sense of improvement in the quality of life. When discussing the quality of life, the main issue addressed is developing capabilities. And when talking about capabilities, the key words are 'education' and 'health'.

Sen defines 'capabilities' as a person's ability to perform valuable acts or achieve valuable states of being; it represents a combination of several alternatives that allow someone to do or become something. As a result, capabilities are opportunities and freedoms to achieve what a person reflexively sees as valuable (Sen 1993).

In Hatta's view, education as a process to strengthen the capabilities and quality of life of the Indonesian nation requires a transformation in the world of education and culture, particularly in schooling, from a colonial system to a "system of our own." He argues that "The educational system implemented in Indonesia by the Dutch East Indies Government was *'utiliteits-onderwijs,'* which means it provided education to Indonesian children according to what was needed by the colonizers." Such a schooling system was designed to solidify

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i2.45220

the supremacy of the colonizers and maintain a colonial mindset by providing students with, at most, low-level skills to become clerks, foremen, vaccinators, and the like (Hatta 1954).[23]

To break free from this mental slavery, Hatta says, "We must establish a new system that aligns with the needs of Indonesian society." In this new system, "We must prioritize education, not just teaching. Education comes first, teaching follows behind. Education shapes character, while teaching provides knowledge that can be used well by children who possess character" (Hatta 1954).

On various occasions, Hatta often reminds us that what is taught in the process of education is culture, and that education itself is a process of cultural cultivation. During the BPUPK session, it was Hatta who proposed that the articles on education and culture be placed together, which were later included in Articles 31 and 32 of the 1945 Constitution.

The processes of education and culture were expected to serve as a platform for Indonesian children to develop their capabilities through a system of independent learning and equal access, which could free them from mental slavery. In Hatta's view:

> Through education, we must ensure that Indonesian children are no longer misguided. So that they are freed from intellectualism that tells them to focus only on rank... Indonesian children must be educated to become creative individuals with initiative, youth who have aspirations to build their own society (Hatta 1954).[24]

To achieve this, the world of education and culture must be able to value the good heritage from the past while striving to preserve it, growing it upon the roots of traditional wisdom and the local genius of the Indonesian nation itself. At the same time, it must be dynamic and open to the development of ideas and best practices evolving around the world, with the ability to understand its vital essence, not just skillfully mimicking its outward appearance. Thus, we can become global citizens without losing our national identity.

In the First National Cultural Congress, held in Magelang (December 20-24, 1948), Mohammad Hatta, delivering a speech as Vice President, states: "The government of a country can only thrive when its culture is of a high level, because culture also influences the nature of the government. Culture must gradually grow stronger, because culture is the living creation of a nation." Regarding the importance of cultural

creativity, Hatta stated, "Culture cannot just be maintained; we must strive to transform and advance it, because culture, as a creation, as something that grows, can either disappear or progress."[25]

Hatta's concept of education and culture shares much in common with the thoughts of Ki Hajar Dewantara, a prominent figure from Taman Siswa educational movement, in his idealization of education and culture as processes for developing the intellect *(olah pikir),* emotions *(olah rasa),* willpower *(olah karsa),* and physical abilities *(olah raga),* which can give birth to good, true, and beautiful deeds. Through processes such as education and culture, it is hoped that (it) could build human capabilities that excels in knowledge (with broad insight and specialized expertise), skills (including hard skills, soft skills, and life skills), and character (Hatta, 1954).[26]

On the subject of character education, Hatta gives it special attention. In nearly all his writings on education, whether on general education, vocational schools, military schools, civil service, or religious education, he consistently emphasizes the importance of character education.[27] Even in his discussions about cooperative economy, he often reminds us that cooperatives are not just economic institutions, but also institutions for character education.

According to Hatta, cooperatives could serve as a means of education, as well as political and economic independence:

> Cooperatives educate the spirit of self-confidence, strengthen the will to act based on "self-help" and self-initiative. Through cooperatives, the people can gradually participate in building, progressing from small to medium-sized enterprises, and eventually to large-scale economic activities…Such cooperatives foster a spirit of tolerance—recognizing each other's opinions and a sense of shared responsibility…The spirit of Indonesian collectivism, which will be revived by cooperatives, prioritizes cooperation in a familial atmosphere among individuals, free from oppression and coercion." (Hatta 1982, 173-174).[28]

In relation to character education, Hatta emphasizes that in addition to continuing the effort of fostering national culture and self-confidence, the focus of national education in the post-colonial era must be placed on cultivating a sense of responsibility and specialized capabilities necessary for building society. He says:

> A sense of responsibility can be instilled in students if the primary goal of school education is to enhance morality and strengthen morale. It is not instruction that should come first, but education. Those who pay attention

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i2.45220

> to the development of the society around them—partly shaped by past upheavals—will understand why character building is crucial in this era. High moral values and strong morale are essential for students and young people. They will be entrusted with various positions and leadership roles in the state and society. Only those with high morality and strong morale can carry out the task of nation-building. The future of Indonesia lies in the hands of today's students and youth, who will assume leadership roles in the years to come. A lack of responsibility among them would mean the downfall of the nation (Hatta, 1954).[29]

Finally, he asserts that a person may possess "geniality" (the brilliance of original thinking) or "talent" (intelligence that has been nurtured and developed), but without good character, they cannot bear the responsibility entrusted to them. In Hatta's words:

> A person may be genial or talented, but without character and the will to serve their nation, their brilliance serves only as personal ornamentation, with no benefit to the public. Talent used solely for personal gain, for rank and pleasure, does not become a valuable asset for the people. At best, such individuals can only be a source of pride in that our nation has produced geniuses and talents. But for the people's movement, such individuals are either insignificant or of little use. The Indonesian people, who aspire to stand on equal footing with other nations in the world, need leaders of character above all else. Therefore, building character is what must be truly pursued (Hatta, 1954).[30]

Relevance of Hatta's Ideas to Contemporary Thought and Issues

By weaving together and reconstructing Hatta's writings and speeches from the 1930s to the 1970s—particularly regarding religious issues, the foundation of the state *(Pancasila),* education, culture, and national character—we gain a more comprehensive understanding of his concerns and conceptions regarding the development of the nation's soul.

His works radiate the enduring resilience of the Nusantara worldview intertwined with the zeitgeist of a cosmopolitan intellectual generation—broad-minded and independent in spirit—that eventually shape the ideals of the Indonesian state. These writings reflect sincerity in service, intellectual depth, and a visionary outlook that looks far into the past while envisioning the future. It is no surprise that, while some of his technical and detailed recommendations may be revisited, the essence of his ideas and moral messages remain powerful and highly relevant in addressing the challenges facing Indonesia and even the world today.

Hatta's moral message on the importance of prioritizing the spiritual essence of religion (ethical spirituality) rather than being confined to religious formalism and ritualism feels especially urgent in today's world, which is plagued by crises and violent religious expressions. The loss of faith in institutions has deepened, particularly when religion, which should nurture a sense of holiness, compassion, and care, often mirrors the despair and violence of the times manifesting in terrorism, hostility, and intolerance.

To overcome these crises, a nation not only requires institutional transformation but also a spiritual transformation that guides its people toward an ethical life filled with compassion. As emphasized by Karen Armstrong in *The Great Transformation* (2006), religion is not merely about what we believe, but more importantly, about what we do. Therefore, religion does not need to abandon its beliefs and rituals but must emphasize the importance of ethical commitment by placing morality and spirituality at the heart of religious life.

By emphasizing the ethical-spiritual foundation of religion, Hatta also anticipated the significance of religious ethos as a motivational force for progress and development. As explained from a Weberian perspective, belief-based motivation can serve as a strong foundation for shaping character traits such as work ethic, discipline, honesty, and humility. When this character formation aligns with the social capital provided by religious services and traditions of religious learning (reading the Holy Scriptures)—which then extends to a broader passion for learning about life (reading the "book" of the universe)—the deepening of religious faith can have a positive impact on economic and political development (McCleary and Barro 2019).

The focus on the cultural ethos as a driver of progress has re-emerged following the failure of development in several countries despite undergoing various economic and political transformations. In 1985, Lawrence Harrison from the Harvard Center for International Affairs published *Underdevelopment is a State of Mind: The Latin American Case*, which argues that in most Latin American countries, culture is the main obstacle to development. The importance of cultural variables in political development is also been demonstrated in studies by Robert Putnam (1993) and Ronald Inglehart (2000).

As indicators of development success shift away from macroeconomic measures such as GDP and per capita income toward more qualitative

variables—such as happiness indices—religious belief could play a crucial role. Through cross-country studies, Derek Bok, in his book *The Politics of Happiness* (2010), concludes that citizens with strong and positive faith tend to be more optimistic, healthier, more productive, and happier in their lives.

In addressing multicultural tensions, particularly in the relationship between religion and the state, Hatta also proposes a productive middle path that transcends both secularism (privatization of religion) and integralism (fusion of religion and state) through differentiation. The rigid proposition of "privatization," which seeks to remove religion from the public sphere, becomes a major obstacle in societies where religious obligations are seen as essential for solving social problems and fostering communal solidarity. As argued by Abdulaziz Sachedina, a professor of religious studies at the University of Virginia, while the "secularist model" aims to prevent the domination of one religion over others, it can also marginalize religious communities, potentially leading them to become militant, aggressive, or even separatist (Sachedina 2001).

David Hollenbach (1999) argues that any attempt to propose the separation of religion as a "normative objective" can be questioned. In his view, when religion is confined solely to the private sphere, public life suffers from a lack of deeper meaning that could foster loyalty and commitment among citizens. The resulting anomie can create a vacuum that invites fundamentalist forces to fill it, almost certainly without the values of civility and, quite possibly, with violence. In other words, relegating religion to the private sphere is counterproductive, as it may inadvertently create space for the rise of fundamentalism as a political force—one that cannot be countered by other, more civil religious discourses, which remain confined to the private domain.

In the Indonesian context, the historical trajectory of civic nationalism has not followed the path of secularization. Borrowing from Rupert Emerson's analysis (1960), in the European experience, the rise of (secular) nationalism coincided with the decline of religious influence. In other parts of the world, such as Asia, when nationalism "moved" and spread across these regions, religious issues also gained prominence.

In Indonesia, civil and political society did not initially emerge from market-based communities but from religious and ethnic communities. The path to civic nationalism was not achieved through secularism by

eliminating ethno-religious elements from the public sphere but rather by civilizing religious and ethnic communities so they could engage in public life peacefully and with dignity.

The middle ground proposed by Hatta has now found its justification. Many nation-states that have chosen the paths of strict secularism or religious integralism are struggling to navigate the complexities of religious diversity in the era of globalization. Even many developed countries are now clumsily reevaluating their approaches to multiculturalism. Several states have faced outright failure, resulting in neo-fascism, populism, expressions of anti-foreign sentiment, intolerance toward different beliefs and religious interpretations, and the desecration of religious symbols of other faiths.

At the same time, Hatta also reminds us that this conceptual solution must be consistently upheld in public policies that ensure unity and justice, and supported by the integrity of trustworthy state administrators. Long ago, Hatta had warned that Pancasila must not become mere "empty rhetoric"—abundant in words but lacking in action. To be effective, *Pancasila* must function as a *working ideology*, providing a paradigmatic framework for the development of values (mental-cultural realm), governance (institutional-political realm), and economic welfare (justice and prosperity realm).

Hatta also expresses his concern: *"Is there enough sense of responsibility to implement the nation's ideals and the state's objectives according to Pancasila?"* For that reason, he insisted on earnest efforts to bridge the gap between the ideals and realities of Pancasila. *"In daily life, Pancasila is often practiced only in words. Few Indonesians truly embrace Pancasila as a deeply rooted conviction in their hearts."* (Hatta 1977, 19–20).

All of this relates to the effort to build national character. The importance of character building, as emphasized by Hatta, has become even more relevant in Indonesia's current situation. Eight decades after independence, the nation has physically grown, both in infrastructure development and in the physical stature of its people. However, its spiritual development has been neglected—intellectual quality has dulled, and integrity of character has declined.

National development tends to ignore the fire and water of public virtue and well-being. The fire represents sound reasoning, while the water symbolizes noble morals. Without reason and morality, a nation loses both its guiding torch and the wellspring of its survival. Pleasure

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can be derived from electoral victories, promotions, increased wealth, rising popularity, and expanded influence. However, pleasure never knows satisfaction. True and lasting happiness can only be achieved by cultivating the soul and mind with moral purpose, enabling us to live a meaningful and virtuous life.

What is a good life? Aristotle, in his discussion of happiness (*eudaimonia*), explains that something is considered "good" if it fulfills its purpose. A good clock tells the correct time, a good dog guards its owner. A good human being is one who acts in accordance with sound reason. The uniqueness of humans as beings lies in their capacity for reasoning, which they use to investigate nature and their purpose within it. Thus, we can live a good life when we discover a moral purpose in developing and applying correct reasoning to act virtuously. In short, Aristotle asserts: act rightly and justly in accordance with your nature as a rational being, and life will be fulfilling.[31]

Indonesia's political development, however, appears to be wearing its clothes inside out. Democracy—ideally grounded in meritocracy and the deliberative power of reason—is instead practiced with a deficit of both achievement and rational argumentation. This erosion of public reasoning and competence is evident in the character and performance of political parties, state institutions, bureaucracies, and leadership candidates. As sound reasoning fades, nepotism resurfaces—favoritism towards family members without rational justification—undermining both the nation's democratic values and its foundational identity.

This crisis of public reasoning is inseparable from a deeper moral decline, reflected in the dominant language and behavior of political life. Politics today is increasingly driven by the questions "Who wins?" and "What's the benefit?"—rarely by "What is right?" or "Who is right?" While politics as a technique has advanced, politics as an ethical endeavor has regressed. The hardware of democracy—its procedures and formal institutions—may have been democratized, but its software—the culture and spirit of democracy—remains trapped in patterns of nepotism and feudalistic values.

Democratic governance has thus failed to yield a true meritocracy—a rule of the competent—and has instead drifted toward mediocracy—a rule of the mediocre. While expanded political participation represents a formal achievement, it has been accompanied by an equally expansive participation in systemic corruption and the plunder of natural

resources. With its ethical foundations eroded, state policy is often hijacked by opportunism, driven more by short-term gain than long-term responsibility—exacerbating social inequality and accelerating ecological degradation.

This short-termism, disconnected from a future-oriented ethical vision, has eroded the sense of responsibility that figures like Hatta consistently emphasized. It has given rise to what Simon Caney (2019) terms "*intertemporal anarchy*"—a condition that threatens both sustainability and justice across generations. This failing is reflected in Indonesia's rank of 72nd out of 122 countries in the *Intergenerational Solidarity Index* developed by Jamie McQuilkin and Roman Krznaric since 2019.

Hatta's perspective demonstrates his courage in asserting that, in the final analysis, the quality of character is the primary foundation of a nation's progress. His views are affirmed by contemporary thinkers, including Michael J. Bonnel (2009). According to Bonnel, a nation's prosperity is not determined by its age, natural resources, race, or nationality. Instead, the advancement and prosperity of a nation are more influenced by its way of life and national character.[32]

Similarly, Ray Dalio, known as the "Steve Jobs" of investment, in his book *Principles for Dealing with the Changing World Order* (2021), concludes that the path to a nation's success requires strong and capable leadership that offers an exceptional alternative system. Based on the experiences of developed countries, such a system begins with and is built upon strong education. This education should not only impart knowledge and skills but also cultivate strong character, civility, and a strong work ethic—values that are developed within schools, families, and communities.

According to Dalio, a quality education fosters a healthy respect for laws and regulations, social order, and a low level of corruption. It also promotes cooperation among diverse citizens to enhance productivity. Such an environment can drive the transition from producing basic goods to an economy based on innovation and new technologies. It encourages openness to the best ideas emerging worldwide, allowing workers, governments, and the military to learn and collaborate with an innovative spirit. As a result, a country becomes more productive and more competitive in the global market.

The importance of character as capital is underscored by Billy Graham in his famous statement, "when wealth is lost, nothing is

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lost; when health is lost, something is lost; when character is lost, all is lost."[33] This is why the nation's founders placed great emphasis on the importance of the "Nation and Character Building" program. Without strong character, all economic and political achievements remain temporary and vulnerable to the challenges of time.

Character not only determines the existence and progress of an individual but also the existence and advancement of a group, such as a nation. Like an individual, every nation must develop its own character, which grows from shared experiences, determination, and struggles. For Indonesia, national character must be rooted in the values of Pancasila, which serve as the foundation, essence, and guiding principle for the nation's development. The challenge lies in transforming *Pancasila*'s ideals into a national character through the reinforcement of conviction, deepening of understanding, and unwavering commitment to applying its values in all aspects of state and national life. This is the message of Hatta, which must always resonate in the hearts of every state official and citizen of Indonesia.

Through Hatta's writings on the development of the national spirit, we learn that a nation does not exist on its own but is built upon a foundation of beliefs and inner attitudes that must be nurtured and cultivated over time. Hatta frequently reminds us that Indonesian nationalism is a political construct that merges diverse identities into a unified national entity. Therefore, "to preserve it, every individual must strive with all their strength and ability" (Hatta 1998).[34]

To achieve greatness and nobility, the Indonesian people must continue to ignite the spirit of service and responsibility as Hatta once declares, "Wherever I stand on the land of my homeland, I live, and I rejoice. And wherever my feet tread upon Indonesian soil, there grows the seeds of the ideals stored in my heart" (Hatta 1998).[35]

Endnotes

1. The writing is titled *"Motive des Forschens"*, translated by Holton as *"On Einstein's Weltbild"*, Unpublished Manuscript, Harvard University (Friedman 2021, 420, 489).
2. Regarding Hatta's family background and the development of his religiosity, see, among others, the primary sources: *Mohammad Hatta: Memoirs* (1979, 1982), and its most recent edition, *Mohammad Hatta: Untuk Negeriku; Sebuah Otobiografi* (2011).
3. Regarding the diverse socio-cultural backgrounds of the social circles Hatta engaged with during his time in the Netherlands, see, for example, Robert Van Niel (1970: 224–225) and also John Ingleson (1979).
4. The quotation comes from the Eid al-Fitr sermon in Bukittinggi, August 18, 1947. It was published under the title "Khotbah Hari Raya", in the book *Kumpulan Karangan, IV* (Jakarta: Penerbit dan Balai Buku Indonesia, 1954). It was later republished under the same title in the book *Kumpulan Pidato, III* (Jakarta: Penerbit Inti Idayu Press, 1985). See also his lecture titled "Islam dan Pembangunan Masyarakat", organized by the *Badan Kontak Organisasi Islam (BKOI)* at the Sports Hall, Jakarta, on October 31, 1958. Published in *Kumpulan Pidato III*, and later republished in *Karya Lengkap Bung Hatta IX: Agama, Dasar Negara, dan Karakter Bangsa* (Jakarta, LP3ES, 2023).
5. See the essence of Hatta's lecture titled "Islam: Agama Berkeadilan Ilahi*"*, delivered at the Islamic Study Club, Yogyakarta, February 27, 1958. Recorded by Ahmad Basuni, an assistant at *Hikmah* magazine. Republished under the same title in *Hikmah* magazine, No. 8, Year XI, March 1958, and later republished in *Karya Lengkap Bung Hatta IX.*
6. See note 6
7. See note 5. "Islam dan Pembangungan Masyarakat" in Hatta (1985).
8. See Muhammad Hatta's speech at *Sanyo Kaigi*, May 31, 1945. This speech was published in RM. AB Kusuma's book, *Lahirnya Undang-Undang Dasar 1945* (Jakarta: Badan Penerbit Fakultas Hukum Universitas Indonesia, 2016).
9. It is worth noting that under Japanese occupation, Indonesia was divided into three administrative regions. First, the 25th Army Military Administration (Malaya and 25th Army) governed Sumatra, with its center in Bukittinggi. Second, the 16th Army Military Administration oversaw Java and Madura, headquartered in Jakarta. Third, the 2nd Naval Administration (2nd Southern Fleet) controlled Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and the Moluccas, with its center in Makassar. Accordingly, there was not a single BPUPK. The first to be established was the Java-Madura BPUPK, on April 29, 1945. This was later followed by the Sumatra BPUPK, formed on July 25, 1945. Meanwhile, no BPUPK was ever established in the eastern region. Although the draft of the state's foundational principles and constitution was solely the product of the Java-Madura BPUPK, the body's membership reflected the ethnic, religious, and social diversity of the archipelago—given that Java served as the center of nationalist movements and was home to many political leaders from across the Indonesian islands. For a more detailed explanation, see Yudi Latif (2020).
10. For a full account of Soekarno's speech on *Pancasila* delivered on June 1, 1945, see, among others, Soekarno (1947).
11. For example, Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo (a representative from the Islamic group), initially did not agree with the inclusion of the "seven words" following the word *Ketuhanan* (Godliness). In his view, the inclusion of these "seven words" could create ambiguity regarding the legal system in Indonesia. Therefore, he tended to prefer that only four words follow *Ketuhanan*, namely: *"Ketuhanan dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat Islam"* ("Godliness with the obligation to implement Islamic

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i2.45220

law"); or alternatively, that all additional words following *Ketuhanan* be removed altogether (Kusuma 2004, 328, 332, 333, 334, 413, 414, 415, 425).

12. The choice to render *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* as "Godliness in the Oneness of Divine Goodness"—rather than the more conventional "Belief in God"—will be explained in due course.
13. For a comprehensive overview of the preparation, formulation, and ratification of *Pancasila* as the foundation of the state, see, among others, Yudi Latif (2011).
14. It is worth noting that before arriving in Jakarta, the Eastern Indonesian representatives of the PPKI (Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence) first gathered in Tretes, East Java, from August 8 to 11, 1945, where they reached an agreement to propose the removal of the "seven words" from the first principle (Kusuma 2016, 640–641).
15. Referring to the original intent of Soekarno's June 1st speech is particularly important in light of the Communist Party's position during the Constituent Assembly debates (1956–1959). In their view, the phrase *"freedom of religion and belief"* was not only "more scientific" and "in line with lived experience and societal needs," but also "better reflected the original spirit of Soekarno's concept of Godliness—namely, a theism grounded in mutual respect." However, as Sakirman explained, if the principle of *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* truly did not entail coercion or imposition on any religion or belief—as had been the case during the first twelve years of the Republic—then, out of respect for both monotheists and polytheists who acknowledge a supreme power, and in the interest of ensuring the smooth progress of the Assembly, the Communist Party declared its willingness to accept Pancasila without any amendment. See Wilopo, *Tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia*, Volume I (1958). See also Kusuma & Khairul (2008: 269-342).
16. For further information regarding the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as it applied in the Majapahit Kingdom, see *Kakawin Sutasoma* by Mpu Tantular, written around the 14th century, in the version translated by Dwi Woro Retno Mastuti & Hastho Bramantyo (2009).
17. See *"Pancasila: Sebuah Pengertian"*, Hatta's speech at the Commemoration of Pancasila's Birth, June 1, 1977, at the Gedung Kebangkitan Nasional, Jakarta. Published in the book *Mohammad Hatta, Pengertian Pancasila* (Jakarta: Penerbit Idayu, 1977). See "Pancasila Harus Dipegang Teguh", Hatta's speech at a meeting in Pematang Siantar, November 22, 1950. Published in *Kumpulan Pidato III*. See *Pancasila Jalan Lurus*, published by *Penerbit Aksara Bandung, 1966*, and later republished in *Bung Hatta Berpidato, Bung Hatta Menulis* (Jakarta: Mutiara, 1979). See "Perkembangan Paham Pancasila", Hatta's speech at the Pancasila Seminar, May 22, 1967, at Hasanuddin University, Makassar. Published in *Pengertian Pancasila*. See "Pancasila dan Tiga Puluh Tahun Indonesia Merdeka". This document was written by *Panitia Lima*, chaired by Hatta, tasked with formulating an authentic interpretation of Pancasila. Published in *Uraian Pancasila* (Jakarta: Mutiara, 1977).
18. In Bung Karno's explanation of Pancasila on June 1, 1945, his main emphasis in explaining the principle of divinity was *"cultured divinity"*, a divinity that embodies noble character, mutual respect, and civilized conduct.
19. See note 18.
20. See note 18.
21. See note 18.
22. See "Membesarkan Jiwa Bangsa", Muhammad Hatta's speech on November 8, 1944. Published in *Mohammad Hatta: Kumpulan Pidato III* (1985).
23. See "Soal Pengajaran", from the minutes of the *Sidang Panitia Penyelidik Adat-Istiadat*

dan Tata Negara Lama, December 1942. Published in *Kumpulan Karangan IV* (1954).
24. See note 24. “Soal Pengajaran” in Hatta (1954).
25. See "Kebudayaan", Hatta's welcoming speech at the First Indonesian Cultural Congress in Magelang, 1948. Published in *Kumpulan Karangan IV*. See also "Ke Mana Arah Kebudayaan Kita", Hatta's speech at the Second Indonesian Cultural Congress in Bandung, October 7, 1951. Republished in *Kumpulan Karangan IV*, and under the title "Apa Artinya Kemakmuran bagi Indonesia" in *Kumpulan Pidato III*.
26. See "Perguruan Nasional", published in the book *Peringatan 30 Tahun Taman Siswa*, 1952. Republished in *Kumpulan Karangan IV*.
27. See *"Perguruan Dagang"*, excerpted from *Almanak Perguruan Taman Siswa, 1942*. Republished in *Kumpulan Karangan IV*. See also *"Sifat Sekolah Tinggi Islam"*, Hatta's speech at the reopening of *Sekolah Tinggi Islam* in Yogyakarta, April 10, 1946. Republished in *Kumpulan Karangan IV*. See also *"Sekolah Tinggi Dokter Hewan"*, Hatta's speech at the establishment of the Veterinary School in Bogor, March 29, 1947. Republished in *Kumpulan Karangan*. See also *"Pendidikan Perwira"*, Hatta's speech at the opening of the *Sekolah Staf dan Komando Angkatan Darat (SSAD)*, November 17, 1951. Republished in *Kumpulan Karangan IV*. See *"Akademi Polisi"*, Hatta's writing for the *Peringatan Ulang Tahun Perguruan Tinggi Kepolisian, 1952*. Republished in *Kumpulan Karangan IV*. All these writings have been republished in *Karya Lengkap Bung Hatta IX.*
28. See Hatta's more in-depth discussion on the role of cooperatives as an educational platform, among others, in *Membangun Koperasi dan Koperasi Membangun: Gagasan dan Pemikiran*. Published by *Pusat Kooperasi Pegawai Negeri Djakarta Rja* (1971) and republished by *Penerbit Buku Kompas* (2015). See also *Mohammad Hatta, Membangun Ekonomi Indonesia: Kumpulan Pidato Ilmiah*, compiled by I. Wangsa Widjaja & Meutia Farida Swasono (Jakarta: Idayu Press, 1985).
29. See note 27. *“Perguruan Nasional”* in Hatta (1954).
30. See "Karakter", first published in *Pemandangan* newspaper, 1941. Republished in *Kumpulan Karangan IV* (1954)
31. For further discussion on Aristotle's conception of happiness, see *The Right Side of History* by Ben Shapiro (2019).
32. Michael J. Bonnel, on his website (*www.mikebonnell.com*), wrote an article comparing the performance of wealthy and poor countries ("Rich and Poor Country"), concluding that the main factor distinguishing the two groups is attitude or character. A more detailed discussion can be found in Basri, F. & Munadar, H. (2009).
33. Quoted from *interPoem.com* (copyright, 2018) and *BrainyQuote* (copyright, 2001-2024).
34. See this quote in *Mohammad Hatta,* "Tentang Nama Indonesia", first published in *De Socialust*, No. 10, December 1928, and republished in *Karya Lengkap Bung Hatta I: Kebangsaan dan Kerakyatan* (Pustaka LP3ES, 1998).
35. See Bung Hatta's quote in his writing, "Di Atas Segala Lapangan Tanah Air Aku Hidup, Aku Gembira." First published in *Daulat Ra'jat*, No. 85, January 20, 1934, and republished in *Karya Lengkap Bung Hatta I* (1998).

 DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v32i2.45220

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Arabic romanization should be written as follows:

Letters: *'*, *b*, *t*, *th*, *j*, *ḥ*, *kh*, *d*, *dh*, *r*, *z*, *s*, *sh*, *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, *'*, *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.

ستوديا إسلاميكا (ISSN 0215-0492; E-ISSN: 2355-6145) مجلة علمية دولية محكمة تصدر عن مركز دراسات الإسلام والمجتمع (PPIM) بجامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية بجاكرتا، تعنى بدراسة الإسلام في إندونيسيا خاصة وفي جنوب شرقي آسيا عامة. وتستهدف المجلة نشر البحوث العلمية الأصيلة والقضايا المعاصرة حول الموضوع، كما ترحب بإسهامات الباحثين أصحاب التخصصات ذات الصلة. وتخضع جميع الأبحاث المقدمة للمجلة للتحكيم من قبل لجنة مختصة.

تم اعتماد ستوديا إسلاميكا من قبل وزارة البحوث والتكنولوجيا والتعليم العالي بجمهورية إندونيسيا باعتبارها دورية علمية (رقم القرار: 32a/E/KPT/2017).

ستوديا إسلاميكا عضو في CrossRef (الإحالات الثابتة في الأدبيات الأكاديمية) منذ ٢٠١٤، وبالتالي فإن جميع المقالات التي نشرتها مرقمة حسب معرّف الوثيقة الرقمية (DOI).

ستوديا إسلاميكا مجلة مفهرسة في سكوبس (Scopus) منذ ٣٠ مايو ٢٠١٥.

عنوان المراسلة:

Editorial Office:
STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta,
Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan Barat, Cirendeu,
Ciputat 15419, Jakarta, Indonesia.
Phone: (62-21) 7423543, 7499272, Fax: (62-21) 7408633;
E-mail: studia.islamika@uinjkt.ac.id
Website: http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي خارج إندونيسيا:
للمؤسسات: ٧٥ دولار أمريكي، ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٥ دولار أمريكي.
للأفراد: ٥٠ دولار أمريكي، ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٠ دولار أمريكي.
والقيمة لا تشمل نفقة الإرسال بالبريد الجوي.

رقم الحساب:
خارج إندونيسيا (دولار أمريكي):
PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia
account No. 101-00-0514550-1 (USD).

داخل إندونيسيا (روبية):
PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia
No Rek: 128-00-0105080-3 (Rp).

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي داخل إندونيسيا:
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ستوديا إسلاميكا
مجلة إندونيسيا للدراسات الإسلامية
السنة الثانية والثلاثون، العدد ٢، ٢٠٢٥

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