

# RE-READING THE RELATION BETWEEN RELIGION AND THE STATE IN INDONESIA

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Religion and the true state have one common in goal. Peace and prosperity for nation—from country, even from religion to its adherents. But in its development, there are many disagreements over how the state and religion should be, separated or united, this becomes a problem. Departing from the issue—to review again, this study focused on the existence of religious and state relations in Indonesia. Trying to integrate An-Naim's secular state approach communicative democracy and public sphere of Jurgen Habermas, with an integrative-descriptive study method. The result of the study indicate the fact that from beginning of Indonesian history since its name is still archipelago—nusantara, the state as a political community never separated from the religion. Religion and the state always sit side by side. Each other need each other. The state can indeed stand alone without religion, but does the state able to run well without the values of morality taught in religion? Certainly not. This study found that there are values of the universality of religion which can be transformed into a value in the law adopted in order to achieve the common goal—pancasila and the 1945 constitution as an example as well as proof.

**Keywords:** religion, country, secular state, public sphere

## Introduction

Each country has its own history concerning its relationship with the religion held by the majority of its population. No exception in Indonesia, if we re-read our history—before the name of Indonesia is used as the name of a country and a nation that wants independence from the Netherlands. Indonesia is still called the *Hindia Belanda* (Indesneerlandaises)—a name for our nation—then, before Mohammad Hatta introduced a new name for the *Hindia Belanda*. It was this name that Hatta brought to the Democratic Congress in Bierville on August 15, 1926.<sup>246</sup> He introduced the name of Indonesia as a homeland as well as talking about the importance of freedom for the country for world peace.<sup>247</sup> From here then the name of the *Hindia Belandano* longer used to call our nation. Indonesia as a title and a name used after the congress until now.

All religions in the world contain rules and procedures on how to coexist in a community—not least Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia. The beginnings of religious consciousness and the desire to govern relationships to achieve common goals

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<sup>246</sup>Mohammad Hatta. *Untuk Negeriku; Bukittinggi-Rotterdam, Lewat Betawi* (Jakarta: Kompas Media Nusantara, 2011), p. 264

<sup>247</sup>Mohammad Hatta. *Untuk Negeriku; Bukittinggi-Rotterdam, Lewat Betawi* (Jakarta: Kompas Media Nusantara, 2011), p. 266

are born together. When humans are aware of the reality outside of themselves—metaphysically, humans are also searching for patterns of how to build a peaceful common life.

Religion according to Anselm Von Feuerbach in whatever form he appears, is a human necessity. Therefore, according to him, the role of religion is crucial in every life, and without human religion can not live perfectly. It is fundamental in human life, that there is something very natural in the human self that is often called instinct or *fitrah* for religion.

In line with what Hegel says in his *History of Philosophy*, He said, something like this; religion is born after humans believe that there is a power outside of the human self that themselves can not control it.<sup>248</sup> If it refers to what the ancient Greek philosopher Anaximandros (610-540 BCE) said, nature according to him is infinite, unimaginable, unequal to nature. He calls this infinite with apeiron.<sup>249</sup>

Even in Islam, long before Muhammad was born, we believe as a historical truth—it is also mentioned in the Qur'an—that Ibrahim began his search for God against something called Hegel as a power outside a human. It's just that there is no historical evidence to mention when exactly Ibrahim lived. Probably long before Anaximandros and other ancient Greeks who ever lived. It is difficult to trace the facts scientifically when it is clearly apparent. Plagued by a lack of manuscripts or even nothing to say about Ibrahim's life in sources other than Al-Quran, plus a very long time span. All that can be done is by guessing and gathering historiographic evidence—perhaps with it can get closer to the truth.

Apart from that, the history of religions in human life goes hand in hand with its political reality—because politic is the result of thought and culture. Religion and culture can not be separated. Talk about a culture is also talk about the religion.

Take the example in this case Christian. In the context of the Christian life, in Matthew 22:21 it said, "Give to the emperor what you ought to give to the emperor and to God what you ought to give to God."<sup>250</sup> This statement can be interpreted as a proof of the concern of messages religion in regulating human relationships with its king—the political context—implies explicitly separating religion and state, the religion represented by the

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<sup>248</sup> G.W.F. Hegel. *Filsafat Sejarah*. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2007). Tranlated in the original version on the title "*The Philosophy of History*" published by Dover Publication Inc., 1956.

<sup>249</sup>Harun Hadiwijono. *Sari Sejarah Filsafat Barat I* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Kanisius, 1998), p. 17

<sup>250</sup>*Alkitab* (Jakarta: Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia, 2011)

word "God" and the state with the word "emperor". Emphasize to the Christians to put one between them in their place. Apart from the explicit message of the separation of both, the statement indicates since before, the Lord through Jesus had long spoken about religion and state.

The same thing happened to Islam when Muhammad was born and after a while became a leader in Medina. He thought about the power of the state in his leadership, formulating and applying his religious understanding—his teachings—into a positive law in the various policies it takes. Despite his policy of unifying messages between religion and the state, it clearly affirms that Islam, from the very beginning of its arrival—historically left traces of the relation between religion and the state inseparable.

If the Bible carries the message of separation—in the sense of conferring boundaries between religion and state, while Muhammad brings a message unity of religion and state, then where is the truth that we must apply today? What about in Indonesia?

In the *Nusantara*—before a country with an Indonesian name exists—we know many kingdoms. Many kingdoms in Java that still survive today we can call only two; Kasunanan Surakarta and Kasultanan Yogyakarta—although previously there was also Singasari, Mataram Kuno, Majapahit, Demak, and Pajang, which is now just a story. Through the two kingdoms that still survive until now can be traced evidence that there is a close relation between religion and the state so obvious.

Interestingly noted, J. Mardimin in the book *Mempercakapkan Relasi Agama dan Negara; Menata Ulang Hubungan Agama dan Negara di Indonesia*, stated that there are two evidences to enable the kingdom in Java to be said to have a close relation with religion that can not be separated. First, the existence of places of worship in the environment of power centers. He also added;

If we do landscaping power centers in both kingdoms—Surakarta and Yogyakarta, we will see very clearly the closeness of the relation between religion and the state. Around Kasunanan Surakarta palace, if we position ourselves in the Palace and facing north, in front of us there are mosques, churches and klenteng. To the left of the square there is a grand mosque, straight ahead there is Purbayan Catholic church, and to the southeast of the Purbayan Catholic church there is an old pagoda-which according to the story is the oldest temple in Surakarta. Interestingly, if drawn a straight line where the palace mosque and other places of worship become the vertex, then the lines will form a triangle wake up. And draw it again if the straight lines in the shape of the triangular wake is coupled with the palace building, it will form a resembling a sailboat with the palace as his stomach. The entire landscape shapes a sketch of a sailing ship heading west. It is not too

clear whether the direction of the ship is in the direction of Ka'bah or not. The same pattern we can see also in Kasultanan Yogyakarta.<sup>251</sup>

Second, it can be seen from the titles of the kings. In the Javanese literature it is mentioned that, in the time of Mataram, kings used the titles of "Panembahan", "Sunan", and "Sultan", followed by the phrase "senopati ing ngalaga, sayidin panatagama, khalifatullah" (warlord warrior representative or messenger of God). These two things are a bit more reinforcing the argument that religion is always close to the state—if it does not want to say can not be separated.

In other parts of the world, in the West, the Roman empire in the dark ages-around the 10th to 15th centuries—legitimized all forms of royal policy as the demands of God, in the name of religion (the church). Government policy prohibits its people from expressing opinions that are inconsistent with what is implied by the church—kingdom. The societal phenomena that could undermine the authority of the church which in this case also holds the authority of the state is definitely paralyzed. It also shows that the influence of religion is indispensable to the power-state. History proves there the state goes on the basis of the will of the church.

In the same hemisphere, at different times, in Germany around World War II-Hitler separated the territory of religion and the country far away by declaring that the state dealt with state affairs, and the clergy dealt with the affairs of religion without any party of the two interfering in one to another. The state takes care of the state, and the church takes care of the church alone. Then what happened was more than 6 million innocent people became victims of Hitler's cruelty of power.

Trying to sort through two options is equally difficult. Equally have no small consequences. So the problem is then, what is the best solution that can bridge between the choice of separating religion and state—which could end up similar to Hitler's time in Germany—with the option of uniting them with the possibility of abuse of power as in Rome—the legitimacy of religion against policy---state policy. This is a dilemma.

### **Relation Between Religion and The State in Indonesia**

In colonial times, the spirit of religion has an important role in mobilizing the masses, fighting injustice and reclaiming independence. This fact can not be denied by anyone. The only force that can compensate for the invaders is religious groups driven by

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<sup>251</sup>J. Mardimin. *Mempercapkan Relasi Agama dan Negara; Menata Ulang Hubungan Agama dan Negara di Indonesia*. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2011), p. xv-xvi

an ideology-Islam-as well as the similarities of taste and fate also have an effect on encouraging movements. It's a historical fact. That also there are other religious groups that also participate in taking the independence is true. But considering the majority of our population is Muslim, then I will discuss Islam only.

Islam became a hard power to conquer, it was recognized by Snouck Hurgronje-an Orientalist, anthropologist, and governor of the Dutch East Indies for Aceh. He once stated, "Not Islam as a religion I fear, but Islam as an ideology and a political movement." This clearly shows that politically, Islam as an ideology is the driving force toward liberation. For the single most important value in the spirit of Islam is liberation. Liberation from infatuation, liberation from injustice and arbitrariness. It has the same spirit and purpose as the state, freeing itself from colonialism. In accordance with the opening content of the 1945 Constitution the first paragraph which reads:

That freedom really is the right of all nations and, therefore, the occupation of the world must be abolished, for it is not in accordance with humanity and justice.

Here it is clear that what is said as humanity and justice becomes the meeting point fought by religion and the state. We also know that we have been taught from the beginning: "Let not your hatred of a people make you unfair. Be fair to all of you, for that is close to *taqwa*." *Taqwa* in a broader sense is evident in attitudes and deeds. So as a religion—in Islam, human behavior is a reflection of the devotion and Muslim faith. That is the reason why religion is always side by side with the state, the only reason is because it has the same purpose.

The influence of religion on this inseparable state in Indonesia brought its own problems before the Japanese occupation ended until the pre-independence period. Is the basis of the state of Indonesia will be based on Islam, or based on the principle of nationality. The question is whether Islam as an ideology should be formalized into a state ideology, considering that Indonesians are not only Muslims, or using nationality as a middle ground? This contradiction can be seen from the formation of two groups of political forces commonly called 'secular nationalist-nationalist groups' and 'Islamic-Islamic nationalist groups'. The Islamic group is incorporated in Masyumi, while the nationalist group belongs to the Hokokai Java.<sup>252</sup>

Long debates between several figures, between the religious and the state should not be separated from those who think that religion and the state still have their own space.

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<sup>252</sup>Yudi Latif. *Negara Paripurna; Historisitas, Rasionalitas, dan Aktualitas Pancasila* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2012), p. 69

Especially when discussing the first precepts of divinity. Hatta said religion exists in society<sup>253</sup>, but he is not an institution like a state or church in medieval Europe. So then the middle ground is chosen as the basis of the state, the basic state that can be unifying or bridging between Islamic nationalist groups and secular nationalist groups-Pancasila, in particular is seen by replacing the phrase "Deity with the obligation to enforce Islamic Shari'a for its adherents" the One and Only ". Not wanting to have the mention of Islam in the first precepts will be the trigger of conflict between groups. This is very much appreciated by Hatta, as he admits, in order to preserve the unity of the nation<sup>254</sup>—he persuaded the Islamic figures to agree to remove seven words in the first precepts devoted to the Islamic group, and it succeeded.<sup>255</sup>

In Soekarno's time, relations between religion and the state were clearly visible and regulated. This discourse is proved by the existence of article 29 of the 1945<sup>256</sup> Constitution (1) of the State based on the One Supreme God, and (2) The State guarantees the freedom of every citizen to embrace his or her own religion and to worship according to his religion and belief.

From the first article above contained the principle that the Indonesian nation is a religious nation, not a theocracy, or even a secularistic country. In the second chapter, guaranteeing the freedom of religion—that is, every religious people are free to embrace and worship according to their respective religious teachings,

Soon in Soeharto's time, B.J. Habibie, Megawati, and Susilo B. Yudhoyono religious issues concerning administrative areas such as facilities and infrastructure of Muslim communities are administered by the state.

In the last few years this is a good time to see at a glance how the development of religious and state relations in Indonesia<sup>257</sup>—including the extent to which the state interferes in religious affairs. Given enough of the nation's problems on religion, ranging from the Gafatar group in Kalimantan, to the HTI (Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia) who fought for khilafah—which was recently dissolved by the government. The issue of HTI is not new among Muslims. And it's interesting to review

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<sup>253</sup>Yudi Latif. *Negara Paripurna; Historisitas, Rasionalitas, dan Aktualitas Pancasila* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2012), p. 73

<sup>254</sup>M. Hatta. *Memoir Mohammad Hatta* (Jakarta: Tintamas, 1982)

<sup>255</sup>Yudi Latif. *Negara Paripurna; Historisitas, Rasionalitas, dan Aktualitas Pancasila* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2012), p. 84

<sup>256</sup>Hamidi dan Husnu Abadi. *Intervensi Negara terhadap Agama; Studi Konvergensi atas Politik Aliran Keagamaan dan Reposisi Peradilan Agama di Indonesia*. (Yogyakarta: UII Press, 2001), p. 10

<sup>257</sup>I don't explain about NU or Muhammadiyah, cause they do not against a government.

## About Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia

Historically, Hizb ut-Tahrir is a transnational organization founded by Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani-an activist of the Islamic movement, judge and cleric in Palestine around 1953. Hizb ut-Tahrir was born in the midst of a global climate of Western dominance-France, Britain and elsewhere-in where the Islamic world united in the Ottoman Turks was scattered. Departing from the desire to restore the life of a state based on Islam (khilafah) coupled with the Israeli occupation of Palestine, has been a factor of the founding of this organization.<sup>258</sup> They reject and forbid all understandings that are inconsistent with the teachings of Islam, or in other languages there has never been a term in Islam-liberalism, nationalism, democracy, for example, according to them.

Hizb ut-Tahrir was brought into Indonesia by Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi from Jordan in the early 1980s who later developed it in Bogor. In Soeharto's period the motion was underground and still narrow, but in the reformation period-after Soeharto-the organization began to manifest itself.

In short, in early May this organization was dissolved by the government. This coverage is covered by various print media. There are at least three reasons the government disbanded this group; (1) HTI spread radicalism in the body of Muslims, (2) Fighting the ideology of khilafah as a substitute for Pancasila, (3) This group is disturbing the people / society.

If viewed from a scientific-objective perspective, only one justifiable reason-as something to worry about, is the reason for fighting the caliphate as a substitute for Pancasila. But this can not be a good reason for the government to then immediately dissolve the HTI without a good communication process. Given that in a democratic country, one of the most important elements that should not be abandoned is the process of communication<sup>259</sup>--the process of negotiation between two groups in reaching common ground and mutual agreement. There is no good communication process, that means there is no democracy. First, the government-in this case the state has missed this procedure. That is, however, the final conclusions of the government including dissolution can not

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<sup>258</sup>Zuly Qodir. *HTI dan PKS Menuai Kritik; Perilaku Gerakan Islam Politik Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Jusuf Kalla School of Government, 2013), p. 48

<sup>259</sup>Read F. Budi Hardiman in his introduction for *Agama dalam Ruang Publik; Hubungan antara Agama dan Negara dalam masyarakat Postsekuler Menurut Jurgen Habermas*, by Gusti A.B. Menoh (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2015), p. 20

be justified completely, because of the communication process left behind. There is no really urgent reason so that HTI deserves to be dissolved.

First, the matter of radicalism. Thinking HTI forbids everything that does not come from Islam, it may be natural for those who do not want to try to look beyond themselves- finally having the conclusion that what is outside of Islam is not true. They are blind to themselves, blinded by a strong hatred of something non-Islamic. Even Pancasila-was considered something forbidden. This is due to depart from negative logic-departing from a black-and-white, halal-haram perspective. So then as if the world can only be grouped into two, if not true then it is wrong. And so on. But in action, they never invite someone to enter the organization with violence. This is good news. Poor, narrow doctrine and hate speech can potentially lead to conflict and violence.

Secondly, about the idea of khilafah to replace Pancasila. This I think also departs from the mindset and the unwillingness to accept anything outside of Islam-whereas the substance of Pancasila does not contradict Islam at all. It's just that because this organization is dealing with a country that has been formed, it is indirectly fair if they consider the nationalism contained in Pancasila is jahiliyah. Because they think if not replace the ideology of the country, then the internationalism of Islam will not be realized.<sup>260</sup>

Third, concerning the public. I see, the symptoms that troubled the public did not really exist. To disquiet here is the state is troubling governments. Because the majority of Indonesians do not really understand the issues of religion and the state. And organizations that really dare to launch an offensive against the government are HTI. Regardless of whether this is driven by negative things such as khilafah or purely because of their concern for the problems of the country, the point is the government should not look at this eye. The antithesis that is often waged by HTI people should be a constructive critique-the positive and wisdom that can be taken. Because of how they are also our brothers, brother in religion, brother in humanity. It's just different understanding.

Differences in understanding of religion and how the state should often lead to conflict and conflict. Here-as people studying in the academic area on religious issues-we are required to be problem solvers. Being a driver to the government to be professional and neutral-must be a policy holder who does not contribute to igniting community misunderstandings. Does not make people look at the HTI people, so it does not cause a

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<sup>260</sup>Zuly Qodir. *HTI dan PKS Menuai Kritik; Perilaku Gerakan Islam Politik Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Jusuf Kalla School of Government, 2013), p. 119

more turbid situation. HTI people need to be made aware of, and this task is our duty as college students, because religion is not only a normative area, but it also holds history- and it can not be separated from the realm of humanity. Religious work is a work of humanity.

### **The Offer for Democracy in Indonesia**

The people should be sovereign. The people should rule themselves without giving up their power to any other institution.<sup>261</sup>

The people should rule themselves-this means that citizens not only accept or reject the outcomes of electoral decisions, but also exercise control over government decisions formed by elections. The message to be conveyed is the control over the representatives of the people here, so that the people are not only free to vote at the general election, and so on-as long as the life of the state demands roles and actions in the public sphere. The people here also mean religious people.

Within the framework of religious and state relations, Jurgen Habermas in his deliberative democracy affirms that in a country there must be a reciprocal process of communication between the policy maker and the policy-makers. In order to achieve mutual understanding.<sup>262</sup> Because if this is abandoned, we can be sure that the democratic process of a nation.

Back on the HTI issue, more than what Habermas has to say about communication, it is important to note that two reasons for radicalism, and disturbing society tend to be merely assumptions, since they have no basis and strong evidence to account for. The evidence that HTI runs da'wah by violent means, for example, does not yet exist. On the other hand, the reality that is happening is that HTI is accepted with a fair field among the common people. So then, seeing such facts is inversely proportional to the assumption-that is to say, the government's assumption that HTI is a radical-extremist group is not entirely true. So far, the state has no authority to dissolve its da'wah activities, nor establish a religious stream that is disturbing or distorting. Religious activities may be restricted or prohibited only if they have been proven to disrupt the life of a nation and a state-such as disturbing security, peace, order.

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<sup>261</sup>A classic thought about democracy. Read F. Budi Hardiman. *Demokrasi Deliberatif; Menimbang Negara Hukum dan Ruang Publik dalam Teori Diskursus Jurgen Habermas* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2009), p. 125

<sup>262</sup>F. Budi Hardiman. *Demokrasi Deliberatif; Menimbang Negara Hukum dan Ruang Publik dalam Teori Diskursus Jurgen Habermas* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2009), p. 13

Apart from the question that HTI does forbid many things and even wants to replace Pancasila with the ideology of khilafah it is true, should be wary-but this is the second problem. The first problem is, do not let that assumption then make the government is not professional and not neutral. New perspectives that should begin to be addressed and perhaps interesting to be reviewed in depth-try to look beyond them. I see, the growth and development of HTI who insist on striving-and so very sure of carrying what they believe to be the truth-so far into two factors: first, all organizations, everywhere, must live and grow to fight for their ideology. Within this framework, HTI grows and develops about how to broaden the reach of ideology and fight for it-irrespective of whether it is against the state or not. Second, social issues, gaps, corruption, conflict between groups, disputed governments, and government indecision. The whole of the second factor is something that the government must realize and see within. Perhaps, the second factor is the strongest factor which then makes HTI openly declare its resistance to the government. The solution to the government reflects deeply into himself, borrowing Habermas's term as "self reflective" is already worth trying. In order not only the government looked out, but also inwardly. Looked in both directions.

Furthermore, I also see the existence of HTI as an antithesis to the government, in line with what Jalaluddin Rachmat says, that Islam - in this case Muslims, should emphasize control over the ruler as a manifestation of the *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*. In this case if drawn to HTI, indirectly they have been and still are doing what Jalaluddin called as control. On the one hand he is right as an agent of control, on the other hand he is also not correct to impose khilafah ideology as the only true because Pancasila ideology is final. Nothing can change it, it must be realized-by HTI people in particular.

So with the above issues, it is interesting to hear what Habermas once said about the relationship of religion and the public sphere (state), as written by A. Sunarko in his article "Habermas Public Sphere and Religion": In an informal public space (outside parliament for example) religious parties according to Habermas should still be allowed to express his ideas in their own distinctive religious language.<sup>263</sup>

From there we can conclude that, in the public sphere, everyone must have a sense of mutual want to understand, good communication. As much as possible in the public-formal space, everyone must express his opinion with rational logic. One issue of religious

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<sup>263</sup>A. Sunarko. "Ruang Publik dan Agama menurut Habermas". In *Ruang Publik* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2010), p. 231

or religious groups is not able to express their opinions in secular language, it does not matter, they can still express it in their distinctive language. The important thing is how people in the public space try to understand what the religious people are saying.

Finally, about religion and the state, it should be religious people-especially Muslims aware that the affairs of religion and the state have their place. The state moves on the basis of the constitution, while religion moves on the basis of scripture. Within this framework, Habermas offers the solution that every religious person in the realm of formal and official public space must be able to translate their religious language into a secular language-which is readily understood and accepted by all circles. Perhaps it was because Habermas realized that mixing between the language of the state and the language of religion would lead to conflict, and vice versa. In line with what An-Na'im offers that the state must be a neutral institution-neutral institution<sup>264</sup>. An institution in which the individual's freedom to accept, reject, and change-ways to view religious teachings or a law. Because according to him also, religion is a privacy area of each person. Each other can not be forced.

Also Habermas added that at certain times it is permissible for them-religious parties-who are unable to translate their religious language into secular languages to express without being burdened by their own religious beliefs with distinctive religious language. This shows that Habermas indirectly wants to say that even if the state and religion have their place, it is not impossible between the two distinct spaces-public and private-to be dialogued and find common ground.

## **Conclusion**

Indonesia has the ideology as well as the principle of state and nation, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution-as a reference of various ethnic and religious views of life in Indonesia. This is evidence that shows the founding fathers of the nation once realized that the middle way between separating and uniting religion and state is the only way to be the best. Do not separate and unite, because both have their place. And at the same time need each other.

Finally, no matter how potential the conflict can be caused by religion, we as a nation should not be anti against religion, because from before Indonesia stood until now the role of religion can not be eliminated. Also, while on the one hand values in religion

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<sup>264</sup>Abdullah A. An-Na'im. *Islam and The Secular State; Negotiating The Future of Shari'a* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008)

play an important role in the establishment of Indonesia, but lest we confuse religious affairs with the state, this can not. Both have their place. In order to avoid conflict, as much as possible the religious and state affairs should be separated.

To the government, firstly, do not let the process of massively pancasila campaigns be born from our anti and hatred against HTI-the so-called radical group. But more than that all the process of re-actualizing the values of Pancasila in life must depart from the purity of heart-that we are still far from the hope of the founding fathers of the nation. That we should go back to history. After all, the groups we call radicals must be made aware of. That's what counts.

Second, the offer for democracy, the government must have the initiative to create a bridge that can build good communication between citizens and governments, between state institutions and religious groups, as Habermas has said that the core of democracy is communication-certainly with good communication.

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