

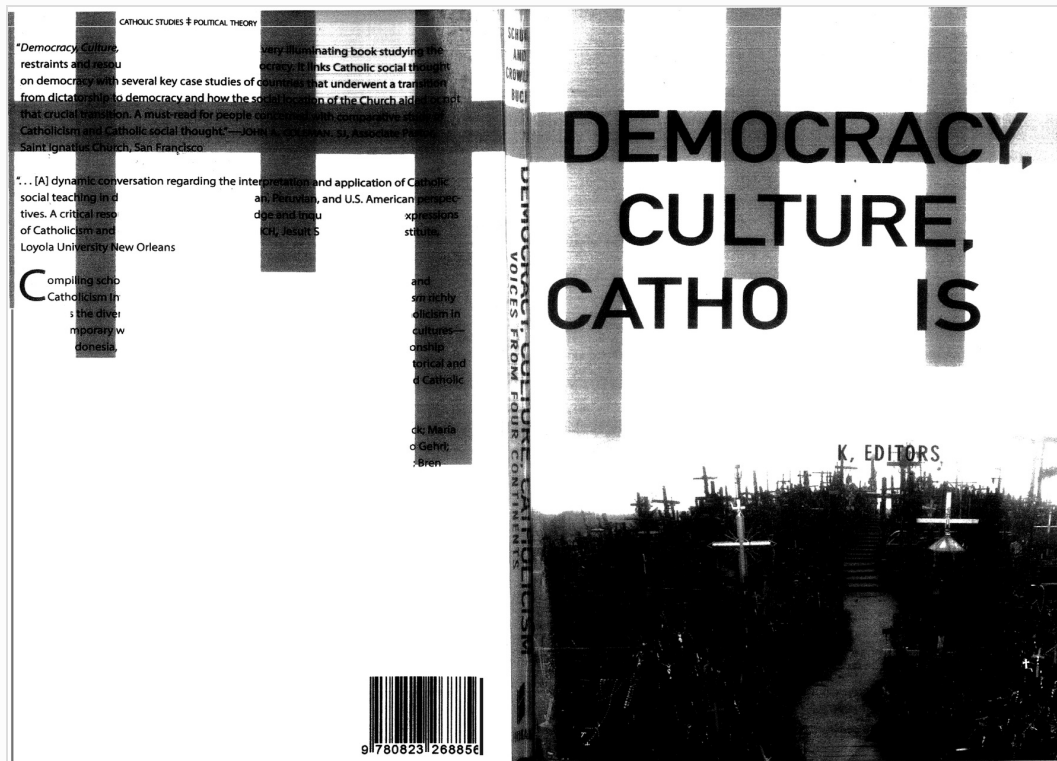


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File name: democracy_culture.rev.pdf
File size: 5.53M
Page count: 11
Word count: 5,791
Character count: 32,807
Submission date: 30-May-2018 12:07PM (UTC+0700)
Submission ID: 970186092



Democracy, Culture, Catholicism: Voices from Continents

by Fx. Baskara T. Wardaya

Submission date: 30-May-2018 12:07PM (UTC+0700)

Submission ID: 970186092

File name: democracy_culture.rev.pdf (5.53M)

Word count: 5791

Character count: 32807

"*Democracy, Culture, and Catholicism* is a very illuminating book studying the relationship between democracy and Catholicism. It links Catholic social thought on democracy with several key case studies of countries that underwent a transition from dictatorship to democracy and how the social location of the Church aided or not that crucial transition. A must-read for people concerned with comparative studies of Catholicism and Catholic social thought."—JOHN A. COLEMAN, SJ, Associate Pastor, Saint Ignatius Church, San Francisco

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Compiling scholarship from across the world, *Democracy, Culture, and Catholicism* explores the diverse ways in which Catholicism has shaped and been shaped by different cultures— from the Philippines to the United States. The book's historical and theoretical analysis of Catholicism's role in the development of democracy is a rich and timely contribution to the field.

Edited by Maria Victoria Gehrke and John A. Coleman, SJ

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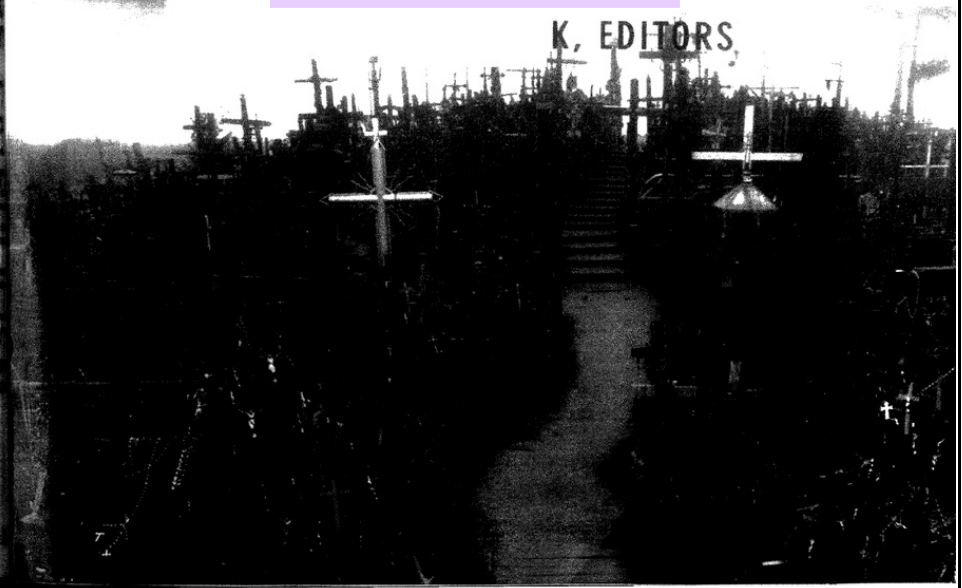
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SCHOEN AND CROWLEY
DEMOCRACY, CULTURE, AND CATHOLICISM
VOICES FROM FOUR CONTINENTS

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Democracy, culture, Catholicism : voices from four continents / edited by Michael J. Schuck and John Crowley-Buck. -

First edition.
pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-82 32-6730-9 (cloth : alk. paper) -

ISBN 978-0-8232-6885-6 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Democracy-Religious aspects-Catholic Church.
2. Christianity and culture. I. Schuck, Michael Joseph, 1953- editor.

BX1793.D38 2016

261.7088'282-dc23

2015017363

Printed in the United States of America

18 17 16 5 4 3 2 1

First edition

In loving memory of four colleagues

Christina Handayani, PhD

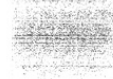
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2

Catholics in Indonesia and the Struggle for Democracy

Baskara T. Wardaya, SJ

Colonized for over 150 years and gaining independence only after World War II, Indonesia is relatively new to the idea and practice of democracy. In the first two decades of Indonesian independence, democracy was difficult to put into practice because the country was undergoing a transitional period from being a colonial territory to an independent nation. Under the threat of domestic rebellion and the impact of the Cold War, Indonesia tried to democratize; but it never fully succeeded.

Beginning in the mid-1950s, Indonesia was ruled by an authoritarian government that paid only lip service to democracy. This facade was used to cover its political and economic interests. It is interesting to note how, as explained in Ariinas Streikus's earlier chapter in this volume, similar causes and effects were at work during Lithuania's 1926 slide into authoritarian government. Only after the fall of authoritarianism in 1998 did Indonesia gain the freedom necessary to begin making democracy a reality. As in earlier periods, this attempt has faced many challenges.

As in the case of Lithuanian Catholics, Indonesian Catholics have participated in Indonesia's struggle for democracy. A major difference between the two, however, is that Indonesian Catholics are a very small religious

minority. Nevertheless, the history of this participation has had a powerful impact on both the self-understanding of Indonesian Catholics and the strength of the Indonesian Catholic Church. To grasp the main lines of the story of Catholicism and democracy in Indonesia, a sense of the country's broad historical context is needed.

Historical Background

¹ Prior to the arrival of Western colonial powers, the area currently known as Indonesia was a vast archipelago made up of politically independent or loosely connected feudalistic sovereignties.¹ Each of these sovereignties kept its own traditions regarding politics, culture, language, and beliefs. In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese arrived as the first European colonists. They came after capturing Malacca in 1511 and continued their quest for spices in the eastern part of Indonesia. The islands in the cluster were called the Spice Islands or the Moluccas.

Following Portuguese, Dutch explorers arrived in the Indonesian ports in 1595. In 1602, Dutch merchants established the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie [VOC]). Three years later the company defeated the Portuguese in the Moluccas and took control of the area's spice trade. In a short time, the VOC exerted economic control over Indonesia's commercial centers. When the VOC went bankrupt in 1799, control of the islands was assumed by the Dutch colonial government. For the next 150 years, the Indonesian islands were a Dutch colony.

In March 1942, at the height of their power during the Second World War, the Japanese army took over the Dutch East Indies. The Japanese forces easily defeated the Dutch and absorbed all Dutch colonial possessions. The Dutch colonial government fled to Australia and formed a government-in-exile. Following the Japanese surrender on August 15, 1945, Indonesia proclaimed independence. Instead of returning to the precolonial feudal system of government, the Indonesian leaders declared that the new nation would be a democratic republic formed of the entire former Dutch East Indies. Sukarno became the first president.² The Indonesian leaders declared that the new republic would be based on a commitment to five fundamental values: belief in one God, a just and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, democracy guided by the inner wisdom of unanimity, and social justice. They called this unifying philosophy "Pancasila."³

Despite this declaration of independence by the Indonesian people, the Dutch government-in-exile sought to reclaim and recolonize Indonesia after the Japanese surrender. This attempt met the fierce resistance of

² Catholics in Indonesia and the Struggle for Democracy

Indonesian freedom fighters. Over the next four years, a bloody conflict waged between the Indonesians and the Dutch colonialists. On December 27, 1949, the Dutch conceded defeat and officially acknowledged Indonesian independence.

As president of the new republic, Sukarno was overwhelmingly popular and revered by Indonesians. In foreign policy, the president was very critical of the developed capitalist nations of the West. In the midst of Cold War tensions, he urged the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa to take neutral positions toward the United States and the Soviet Union. Soon, Sukarno's anti-capitalist rhetoric and Cold War neutrality were viewed as a threat by anti-Communist circles in Indonesia and around the world. The United States feared that a left-leaning Indonesia would become an ally of the communist bloc and spread communism over Indonesia and other parts of Southeast Asia.

This latter circumstance incited anti-Communist military and civilian groups to launch a brutal anti-Communist purge in 1965 with covert support from Western nations.⁴ More than half a million Indonesians were killed during the purge. Many more were imprisoned and exiled. This bloodbath became known as the 1965 Tragedy. In its aftermath, Sukarno's political power diminished until he was pushed from power and replaced in 1966 by military general Suharto.⁵

Suharto's regime was authoritarian and militaristic. As an indication of his intention to reverse Sukarno's policies, Suharto called his government the "New Order." The name was meant to suggest that the new government under Suharto would be better than the "old" style of President Sukarno's rule that was considered inefficient and Communist leaning. As it began to carry out its task of governing the country, however, the New Order government under Suharto demonstrated undemocratic ways of ruling the nation and was gradually subservient to the economic and political interests of many Western governments, especially the United States.⁵ Pancasila remained the state ideology, but it was used mainly as a political tool to suppress critical voices against the government. This point is well illustrated by Budi Susanto in his chapter on the role of *kethoprak* performances in the process of democratization. As Pancasila became co-opted by the powers that be, *kethoprak* sought to subvert this dominating tendency by offering alternative means for performing social and political democratization in the face of political totalitarianism and widespread human rights violations.

President Suharto himself used a variety of ruthless means to stay in power. For him democracy was merely a formality and was never a true

principle on which his government was based. With regard to the presidential elections, for instance, there was indeed a presidential election every five years, but in each of these elections Suharto made himself as the only presidential candidate. If there were any other potential candidates he either would discourage or pressure that person so they would not run for president. As a result, for thirty-two years in every presidential election Suharto was always "elected" president.

In the face of such a political situation religious groups—including the Catholic ones—could not do much to change the situation for fear of political consequences. On the eve of the 1997 presidential election, however, there were some acts of resistance against the government's policies among some Indonesians, including Catholics. In a pre-Easter pastoral letter signed by the Indonesian Bishop Conference, the bishops bravely stated that if Catholics felt that the existing political parties were not representing their choices and they decided not to cast a vote, they would not commit sin.⁶ Despite such forms of resistance, Suharto won the 1997 presidential election.

Suharto's autocratic and ruthless government came undone during the deepening Asian economic crisis of the mid-1990s and the rising student riots against the Suharto regime. As the economic crisis reached Indonesia in 1997, a growing number anti-New Order movements spread, spearheaded by university students in major cities across Indonesia. In the capital Jakarta, demonstrations against the government often turned violent and a number of demonstrators were killed. By the spring of 1998 Suharto and his New Order government were in a politically difficult position, and in May of 1998 he was forced to step down.

The period of political upheavals preceding the fall of Suharto was known as *Reformasi* (Reformation). At that time, most Indonesians (especially university students) sought to reform the country into a functioning democracy with citizen participation, social and economic justice, and elimination of government corruption. This was a period of high expectations. Indonesians expected that with the departure of President Suharto's undemocratic and militaristic New Order government the Indonesians would have more freedom and would live under true democratic principles, including greater participation of the people in the political affairs of the nation. They also expected that the new government would guarantee the people's freedom of speech and the freedom of forming public associations.

In general, the fall of Suharto was indeed followed by significant growth of democracy in Indonesia. People had more freedom of speech and had

greater participation in the nation's politics. Presidential elections, which during the Suharto years were done through a representative system under tight control of the government, were now carried out through a direct and open election system. In each of the elections the candidates were no longer merely one but several. The media, which used to be under a strong control of the government, was now guaranteed freedom to publish. People were also provided freedom to form political parties and other public associations.

At the same time, powerful anti-democratic forces continued to disrupt the democratization process. Within a few years after the fall of President Suharto, for example, politicians and groups that used to be the supporters of the former leader's undemocratic system of government began to re-emerge in the country's political scene. Golkar or Golongan Karya—the powerful political party that was used by Suharto to stay in power—gradually reassembled and grew in membership.

Meanwhile, the freedom of speech and freedom of association were often used by radical religious groups to attack religious minorities. In 1999, barely one year after Suharto's downfall, one such religious group attacked another in the province of the Moluccas. The communal violence that followed resulted in the deaths of thousands of people from both sides of the conflict. Similar communal violence took place between Muslim and Christian groups on the island of Celebes, also causing many deaths, especially among the Christians.

In recent years, in certain areas of Indonesia, there have been attempts to implement *Sharia* (Muslim) bylaws, which are a challenge to the nation's democratic principles. At the same time, any efforts to address Indonesia's past human rights abuses have always been blocked by former perpetrators of the abuses and their supporters, many of whom were also supporters of Suharto's undemocratic New Order government.⁷

Indonesian Religion and Catholicism

Indonesia's seventeen thousand islands contain hundreds of ethnic and sub-ethnic communities with diverse cultural and religious traditions. For centuries, each of these communities maintained their traditions in almost complete isolation. The coming of religious missionaries and traders from the West and the Middle East challenged these traditions. In the face of this challenge, many Indonesians abandoned their traditional beliefs and embraced the new religions. Some of this change was due to force; some was due to the appeal of new religious ideas. At the same time, some people

retained their native religions and did their best to adapt to changing circumstances.

The first of the major "new" religions that came to Indonesia was Hinduism. This was brought by traders from India around the fourth and fifth centuries.¹ Shortly thereafter, these same Indian traders and immigrants brought Buddhism, making it the second oldest organized religion in Indonesia. At nearly the same time, a new group of traders and immigrants from China began introducing Confucianism to Indonesia.

Another major religion that came to the Indonesian archipelago during the precolonial period was Islam. Like Hinduism, Islam was brought by traders from India, China, and the Middle East. The religion began to spread rapidly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁸ Today, Islam is the most widely practiced religion in Indonesia. With 87 percent of the Indonesian population declaring themselves Muslim, Indonesia is the largest Muslim-majority country in the world.

Along with the arrival of Portuguese colonists in the sixteenth century came Catholic missionaries. One of these missionaries was Saint Francis Xavier, a Spaniard and one of the first members of the Jesuit Order. Xavier arrived in the Moluccas in 1546.⁹ When Xavier left in 1547, Dominican missionaries continued where he left off, working on nearby islands such as Flores. In 1574, Muslim rulers expelled the Portuguese and forcibly converted or killed all Catholics in the northern parts of the Moluccas.¹⁰

Those Catholics who survived Muslim aggression in 1547, and subsequent years of Muslim rule, further suffered when the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) took over the islands in 1605. Under VOC rule, Catholic priests were either expelled or executed and the Catholic laity was forced to convert to Protestantism.¹¹ With the collapse of the VOC in 1799 and the subsequent legalization of Catholicism in the Netherlands, Dutch Catholic missionaries re-entered the colony.¹² On the large island of Java, however, Catholic missionary activity did not resume until 1898. At that time, a mission site was established in the small town of Muntilan, located about thirty kilometers north of Yogyakarta.¹³

The Muntilan mission site was led by Dutch Jesuit priest Frans van Lith. At first, the mission did not go well. There were few converts to Catholicism.¹⁴ However, in 1904 four Javanese village leaders came to van Lith and asked for instruction in the Catholic faith. Van Lith agreed and by the end of the year the four leaders were baptized along with over 170 of their fellow villagers. This baptism triggered a wide interest in Catholicism in Java and other islands. By 1940, the growing number of Indonesian Catholics had their first native bishop, Albertus Soegijapranata, SJ.

With the Japanese defeat in World War II and Indonesia's declaration of independence in 1945, Catholics gradually resumed their faith-based activities. These early years of independence were not easy. Dutch colonists were combating the Indonesian freedom fighters, while many Indonesians associated Catholicism with the Dutch, as it was clear from Indonesia's history that many missionaries who brought Catholic faith to Indonesia were Europeans. The hatred toward the Dutch (and Europeans in general) was often expressed by attacking both native Catholics and foreign missionaries. Father Richardus Kardis Sandjaja, a Javanese Diocesan priest, and a Dutch Jesuit by the name of Herman Bouwen SJ, for example, were attacked and murdered in Muntilan by a group of Muslim youth who considered these Catholic figures as a symbol of continuing Dutch presence in postcolonial Indonesia. Muntilan, the town where these two Catholic figures were killed, was significant: it was the twentieth-century "birthplace" of Roman Catholicism in Java.

After the Dutch recognized Indonesian independence on December 27, 1949, and Sukarno acquired power, Catholics enjoyed relative freedom. This was partly because President Sukarno kept an open mind to all religions (his parents were Muslim and Hindu). Though the regime's philosophy of Pancasila encouraged belief in one God, this was always understood within the context of Indonesia's rich religious pluralism. In fact, Sukarno's government officially acknowledged six religions: Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Islam, Protestantism, and Roman Catholicism.

Good relations between Sukarno and the Catholics continued throughout most of his presidency and the period saw rapid growth in the Catholic population outside their usual areas of eastern Indonesia. The population was also enhanced after the massacres of 1965 when many Indonesians joined Christianity, including the Catholic Church, to avoid being labeled communist.¹⁵

The situation for the Catholics in Indonesia changed when General Suharto came to power at the end of 1965. Under Suharto, the freedom of Roman Catholics became more limited, as the Indonesian government began to control the number of European missionaries who could come to Indonesia and, by government's control of religious foreign aid, intended to support Indonesian Christian communities, including the Catholics.

Since the time of Suharto, the Catholic population has fluctuated. According to the census on religions in Indonesia taken between 1971 and 2010, the percentage of Catholics in Indonesia between 1980 and 1990 increased from 2.98 percent to 3.58 percent of the total population.¹⁶ After 1990, the percentage went down. In the 2010 census, the total number of

Catholics was increasing, but their percentage within the whole population dropped to 2.91 percent. During the same period, the percentage of other Christian groups rose from 6.04 percent to 6.96 percent of the total population.

The decline in Catholic population may be due to the Catholic trend toward smaller families and a decrease in converts to Catholicism. Public attacks against Chinese Indonesians during the political upheavals of 1998 may be another reason. Many Chinese Indonesians are Catholic and their departure from Indonesia during the upheavals no doubt reduced the Catholic population in Indonesia. The fact that Catholics in recent decades are less nationally noticeable in Indonesia's political, economic, and social affairs could be yet another factor. The self-perception among certain Catholics that they are just a minority religious group and therefore should not rock the boat helps make Indonesian Catholics less prominent in the eyes of their fellow citizens.

¹ *Catholic Participation in the Struggle for Democracy*

In the period prior to the proclamation of independence, the Catholic role in the struggle for democracy was very limited. This is understandable because the number of native Indonesian Catholics was very small and most lived far from the center of the colonial administration in Java. The island of Flores, where most Catholics of the period lived, for instance, is located in the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago, far away from the colonial center.

After the proclamation of independence, Catholic participation in the democratic movement increased dramatically. Catholics like Agustinus Adisucipto and Ignatius Slamet Riyadi actively fought and died in the struggle to establish the Indonesian Republic.¹⁷ It was here too that strong leadership came from Bishop Soegijapranata. "When the town of Semarang became part of the Dutch-controlled territory, Bishop Soegijapranata moved his office from Semarang to Yogyakarta, the temporary capital of Indonesia. In so doing, he demonstrated his stand against the Dutch and his loyalty to Indonesia. "When the war of independence was over, Bishop Soegijapranata maintained close personal relations with President Sukarno. In 1963, Sukarno recognized Bishop Soegijapranata's important role in the struggle for independence by declaring him a national hero.

The early years of President Suharto's New Order government were marked by active Catholic participation in politics. In the second half of Suharto's rule, however, Catholic political activity waned. There are several

reasons that account for this decline: Suharto's growing authoritarianism; growing pressures from the Muslim community on religious minorities; and a declining interest among Catholics in the political process.

In the final days before Suharto was forced to resign, a brief period of Catholic political action occurred when large numbers of Catholic university students joined in the protests against the government. However, this did not stop the overall downward trend of Catholic participation in politics. In recent years, more and more Catholics have been retreating from political activity just as the Muslim community has become more politically outspoken. An interesting comparison exists here in relation to Lithuania's contemporary decline in Christian political participation, as noted in this volume's earlier chapter by Nerija Putinaite. Both declines are oddly occurring in post-authoritarian periods, yet the former context is one of heightened non-Christian religious activity while the latter context is one of heightened non-Christian secular activity. As in Lithuania, fewer Indonesian Catholic intellectuals are following political careers. The majority of Catholics have elected to work as non-political writers, artists, businesspersons, educators, journalists, and publishers.

Sadly, this is a time when Catholic participation in Indonesian democracy is sorely needed. "While Indonesia is considered one of the world's largest democratic nations, anti-democratic forces remain strong. Many of these forces originate from religious movements that commit violence against religious minorities.¹⁸ On February 6, 2011, for example, a group of about fifteen hundred people (mostly young men) attacked the small village of Cikeusik, Banten, in West Java, the name of their religion. Cikeusik is home to Muslims belonging to the Ahmadiyya community. Government officials were absent during the event.¹⁸ Two days later, three churches (one Catholic, two Protestant) were attacked by over one thousand people claiming to be Muslims. Meanwhile, in the city of Bogor, West Java, a Protestant congregation of the Taman Yasmin Church was denied the right to worship.¹⁹ A report produced by the Setara Institute—a non-government organization promoting social justice and religious tolerance—stated that since 1009 religious-based communal violence has been on the rise. In 2010 alone there were 216 known cases of human rights violations against religious minorities.²⁰

A few Indonesians Catholics have joined their fellow Indonesians in fighting against religious intolerance, but most have preferred to avoid any direct participation in democratic politics. This is an interesting development, particularly in light of the professed Indonesian national philosophy of Pancasila—already noted at the beginning of this chapter and more

directly discussed in the following chapter by Paulus Wiryono on *musyawarah*. Wiryono identifies Pancasila as bringing, and holding, Indonesians together through participatory governance, yet the contemporary situation in Indonesia seems to problematize this vision as participation in democratic politics becomes less and less pronounced. External pressures against such participation, it must be noted, are strong. The dominance of Islam in every aspect of the Indonesian society dissuades small religious minorities from speaking out. Many Indonesian Catholics prefer to direct their time and energy inward, focusing on local parish life, prayer, and sacraments.

As is well known, the Roman Catholic Church is not formally organized as a democratic institution. It is an institution with leadership granted from higher authorities and not from local people. Church decisions are validated by a clerical minority, not by the lay majority. With this long-standing structure, Catholic laypeople in Indonesia tend to look to the clergy for direction and endorsement in taking action for democracy in society. In the delicate social context of contemporary Indonesia, Catholic laypeople look for encouragement and support from Church authorities for active participation in democratic politics.

Although the Catholic population of Indonesia is less than 3 percent and a growing number of this minority are reluctant to assume active political roles in democratization efforts, there may be other ways for Indonesian Catholics to help their nation build democracy. For example, the Catholic community could be served if a research facility could be developed to record the history of Indonesian Catholicism and strategically discuss the best practices for community participation in Indonesian democracy. Such a facility could include programs to inspire Indonesia's Catholic youth and student organizations, rekindling their past enthusiasm for democratic nation building. In addition, a research facility could assist Indonesian Catholics in networking with Catholic communities facing similar challenges in other parts of the world, including the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America.

In recent years, a growing number of young Catholic Indonesians have been participating in the World Youth Day, an international gathering that is organized by the Catholic Church and is held every two or three years in different parts of the world. An international opportunity like this should be used by Indonesian Catholics to build networking with Catholics from around the world and to learn from them about how to be active participants in the democratic struggles in each of their countries. At the same time, the Indonesians could share their own experiences in the struggle to Catholics from other countries.

Conclusion

There is a marked difference in Catholic political participation in Indonesia from the period between 1945 to the early 1980s and the period between the mid-1980s to the present. In the earlier period, Catholics were very active in Indonesia's struggle for democracy. Despite their minority status, Catholics found that their Church leaders and their faith were sources of inspiration and energy for political engagement. In the later period, the public engagement of Indonesian Catholics has diminished. Due to external and internal pressures, Catholics have turned inward, focusing on spiritual life and matters internal to the Catholic community. At the same time, membership in the Catholic Church has waned.

Indonesian history suggests that the more active Catholics are in the struggle for democracy, the greater is the growth of Catholicism in Indonesia. In addition, the greater the Catholic Church grows in faithful leadership and faithful members in Indonesia, the more is provided for the growth of a religiously plural and culturally rich democracy in Indonesia. Learning from this lesson of history it is necessary that Indonesian Catholics begin to encourage each other to get involved as much as they can in the democratic struggle of their nation.

NOTES

1. The term "Nusantara" is commonly used to refer to the Indonesian archipelago prior to the Proclamation of Independence in 1945.
2. Like many native Indonesians, Sukarno has only one name.
3. *Pancasila* is a set of five principles agreed upon as the ideological foundation of the Indonesian Republic. See http://www.indonesianembassy.org.uk/aboutIndonesia/indonesia_facts.html.
4. I so often spelled "Soeharto."
5. Bradley R. Simpson, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.-Indonesian Relations, 1960-1968* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 207-48.
6. Kees van Dijk, *A Country in Despair: Indonesia Between 1997 and 2000* (Jakarta: KILV, 2001), 21-23.
7. See, for instance, Katharine McGregor, "Mass Grave and Memories of the 1965 Indonesian Killings," in *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia, 1965-68*, ed. Douglass Kammen and Katharine McGregor (Singapore: NUS Press, 2012), 245-62.
8. See M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 3-14.

9. See Karel Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia: A Documentary History, 1808-1900* (Leiden, Netherlands: KITLV, 2003), 6-7, and Ricklefs, *Modern Indonesia*, 25.

10. See Adolf Heuken, SJ, "Catholic Converts in the Moluccas, Minahasa and Sangihe-Talaud, 1512-1680," in *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, ed. Jan Siha Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2008), 68; and Azyumardi Azra, "1530-1670: A Race between Islam and Christianity?," in Aritonang and Steenbrink, *History of Christianity*, 19.

11. Steenbrink, *Catholics in Indonesia*, 7.

12. Robert Cribb, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1992), 72-73.

13. Aritonang and Steenbrink, *History of Christianity*, 695-703, and Frans Seda, "Simfoni Yang Tidak Pernah 'Rampung,'" in A. Budi Susanto, SJ, *Herta dan Surga* (Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Penerbit Kanisius, 1990), 62-77.

14. It was a common view among the Javanese that Catholicism was a religion of the colonists.

15. For conversion of many Javanese-Indonesians to Christianity during this period, see Robert Heffner, *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 113-15.

16. See United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs-Statistics Division, *Demographic Yearbook 1979* (Population Census Statistics) (New York: United Nations, 1980), 641, and Badan Pusat Statistik, "Penduduk Menurut Wilayah dan Agama yang Dianut [Population by Region and Religion]," in *Sensus Penduduk 2010*, by Badan Pusat Statistik (Jakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik, 2010).

17. Adisucipto (1916-1947) was an Indonesian air force pilot shot down by Dutch colonists during Indonesia's war of independence (1945-1949). Slamet Riyadi (1927-1950) was an Indonesian army officer killed during a military campaign to suppress a rebellion against the Indonesian government in the Moluccas islands.

18. See Philip Shishkin, "The Persecution of Indonesia's Ahmadi Muslims," *Newsweek*, February 13, 2011.

19. See Ismail Hasani and Bonar Tigor Naipospos, eds., *Negara Menyangkal: Kondisi Kebebasan Beragama/Berkeyakinan di Indonesia*, 10 [Government Denies: Freedom of Religion/Religious Belief Situation in Indonesia, 2010] (Jakarta: Pustaka Masyarakat Setara, 2010), x.

20. See Hasani and Naipospos, *Negara*, vi-x.

Musyawarah and Democratic Lay Catholic Leadership in Indonesia: The Ongoing Legacy of John Dijkstra, SJ, and Ikatan Petani Pancasila

Paulus Wiryo Priyotamtama, SJ

The postcolonial Indonesian farmers organization Ikatan Petani Pancasila was founded in 1954 by the Jesuit priest John Baptista Dijkstra, SJ. From this organization was born Bina Swadaya, a rural community development institution which became the largest NGO in Indonesia. The key figure in the development of Bina Swadaya was Bambang Ismawan. Since their respective beginnings, Ikatan Petani Pancasila and Bina Swadaya have trained lay Catholics to build democratic processes and structures into social movements under the inspiration of the philosophy of *musyawarah* (mutual dialogue). In order to develop a long-term strategy of Catholic lay formation in democratic leadership, it is important to understand what *musyawarah* meant for the founders of Ikatan Petani Pancasila and Bina Swadaya and how it might be communicated today.

Musyawarah and Local Democracy in Indonesia

Musyawarah (also called *tradisi berembung* or *rembug*) is a traditional Indonesian system of mutual dialogue, consultation, deliberation, and decision-making based on consensus.³ The word originates from the Arabic word

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