

The Ideological Dialectic Between Islam and the State in the Formulation of Indonesia's State Principles: From Constitutional Compromise to Public Ethics

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ABSTRACT

The linkage between Islam and the state in Indonesia has been analyzed in terms of history, constitution, and politics. Nonetheless, prior research has considered BPUPKI, *Piagam Jakarta* (Jakarta Charter), and Constituent Assembly discussions as individual constitutional issues without understanding their interrelated ideologies. Therefore, this paper aims to explore the ideological negotiation between Islam and nationalism in the construction of Indonesia's state foundation through qualitative historical methodology of document analysis and political philosophy interpretation. Primary data includes BPUPKI and PPKI's discussion, *Piagam Jakarta*, and Constituent Assembly discussions with the help of secondary sources. The results demonstrate that the construction of the state foundation in Indonesia was an ideology-mediated process but not a constitutional one. *Piagam Jakarta* is the manifestation of constitutional compromise, whereas Constituent Assembly discussion represents the continuing reinterpretation of the relation between religion and the state in a pluralistic democracy. The author suggests the model of Indonesian Ideological Mediation that proves that the relationship between Islam and the state develops as a result of constitutional compromise, ideological mediation, and ethical transformation. Instead of instituting Islam as the basis of the state formally, the suggested model treats Islamic ideology as public ethics incorporated into Pancasila and constitutional democracy.

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the most controversial questions in the political history of Indonesia concerns the connection between Islam and the state. It has been thoroughly discussed in numerous studies, but most of these studies perceive this conflict as an issue of Islam vs. nationalism or religiousness vs. secularity (Nadirsyah Hosen, 2005; Nurdin, 2016). Such interpretation is rather oversimplified and fails to take into account the dialectics of the state formation process. On the contrary, discussions at the BPUPKI and PPKI conferences revealed that there was not just a conflict, but there was an ideological struggle about the source of legitimacy of the state in the conditions of social diversity. It should be noted that at this point, neither Islamic nor secular nationalists were on the opposite sides because they reached a kind of constitutional compromise. There have been several research findings showing that there has been a development of negotiation in terms of the relationship between religion and the state in Indonesia, considering the fact that various social and political actors who hold varied views concerning the foundation of the state are involved in such negotiations. In the case of a nation where Muslims constitute the majority of the population, the complexity of the matter becomes higher considering the fact that there is a debate concerning the incorporation of Islamic values within the state versus nationalism (Darojat, 2019; Hamidi, Asasriwarni, & Matondang, 2022). A historical examination of the formation of the Indonesian

state reveals that this debate has existed since the period leading up to independence, particularly during the 1945 sessions of the “Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (BPUPKI)”. That forum served as a space for the contestation of ideas between Islamic and nationalist groups regarding the philosophical foundation of the state to be established. Islamic groups viewed religion as having social and political dimensions that could serve as a source of values in state life, while nationalist groups emphasized the importance of a state foundation capable of accommodating the diversity of Indonesian society (Effendy, 2003; Kahin, 1952; Noer, 1987). Over time, this debate led to the formulation of Pancasila, which subsequently became the state’s foundation through a process of political compromise among various interest groups (Latif, 2011; Walukow & Pesik, 2025). One of the important stages in this process was the adoption of the *Piagam Jakarta* on June 22, 1945, which followed negotiations conducted by the Committee of Nine. The document is usually viewed as a political compromise between the aspirations of Islamic organizations and nationalist organizations in terms of setting the country's basic principles. The inclusion of the requirement to observe Islamic law for its followers may be interpreted as an attempt to incorporate religious aspirations into the formation of the Indonesian state (Anshari, 1976; Shalihah & Hozaini, 2022). Nevertheless, the amendment to this clause on August 18, 1945, in the form of deletion of seven words from the first principle proves to be a political adjustment in order to maintain the integrity of the nation. This historical event then became an important stage in the history of interaction between Islam and the state as it showed how religious identity and national integration were negotiated (Nadirsyah Hosen, 2005; Salehudin, 2018).

The discussions about the foundation of the state re-emerged during the Constituent Assembly meetings from 1956 to 1959. It turned out that the issue of the relationship between religion and the state had not yet been resolved in the aftermath of the country's independence. The Islamic parties reiterated the demand of making Islam the foundation of the state through constitutional means, while the nationalist parties reaffirmed the position of Pancasila as the foundation of the state because, according to them, it could represent Indonesia's diverse population (Feith & Castles, 1970; Nasution, 1992). In turn, these conflicting views triggered lengthy discussions, and at the end of them, the Presidential Decree was issued on July 5, 1959, and the Constitution of 1945 was restored. In terms of constitutional history, the situation at the Constituent Assembly proves that the relationship between Islam and the state in Indonesia is an ongoing process. Studies related to the interplay between Islam and the state in Indonesia have gone through several different avenues of inquiry. *Firstly*, the research on this issue has been concentrated mainly on constitutional and historical aspects of state-building processes, such as the discussion in BPUPKI, *Piagam Jakarta*, and the Constituent Assembly as major constitutional moments (Anshari, 1976; Feith & Castles, 1970). In spite of the fact that those studies have provided historical narratives, they treat the aforementioned events as individual episodes of constitution-making and rarely consider their continuity in terms of an ideological process. *Secondly*, there is another research direction that focuses on the transformation of Islamic political ideology from a formal understanding of Islam to its actual involvement in democratic processes. Effendy (2011), Hefner (2000), and Menchik (2016), for instance, illustrate the process of gradual transition of Islamic political discourse towards public ethics, civil Islam, and religious nationalism. In this regard, one can conclude that these studies managed to prove the development of the discussed ideas in modern Indonesia but paid very little attention to their historical and constitutional background. More recent researches have examined the relationship of Islam and Pancasila in contemporary political discourse (Badrun, Sujadi, Warsah, Muttaqin, & Morganna, 2023; Ichwan & Slama, 2022).

Although the reinterpretation of state ideology in changing political environment is emphasized in these researches, they are more concerned with contemporary developments in discourse and less interested in the ideological process that was the result of the BPUPKI, the *Piagam Jakarta*, and the Constituent Assembly in forming a special pattern of Indonesia's religion-state relationship. All these researches share three major shortcomings. *Firstly*, they examine the BPUPKI, the *Piagam Jakarta*, and the Constituent Assembly as independent events or processes of ideological negotiation, whereas in reality they were the processes of ongoing ideological negotiation. *Secondly*, they ignore the interaction of Islamic interests and nationalism as the dialectic tool for constitution making. *Thirdly*, they failed to understand how all these consecutive negotiations contributed to creating a particular pattern of Indonesia's religion-state relationship. Through a historical inquiry on the ideological dialectic between these three crucial events – the discussions in BPUPKI, the *Piagam Jakarta*, and the Constituent Assembly – this study attempts to answer these research gaps. Instead of considering these events separately, this paper provides the model of Indonesian Ideological Mediation, whereby Indonesia's relation between religion and the state is seen to develop through constitutional compromises, ideological accommodations, and ethical transformations. In doing so, the present analysis makes an important contribution to the field in that it brings together constitutional history, political philosophy, and Islamic political theories in one comprehensive analytical framework. With this understanding, the research questions for the present study are as follows. *First*, how has the ideological dialectic between the Islamic and the nationalist movements shaped the formulation of the state foundation in Indonesia through BPUPKI, the *Piagam Jakarta*, and the Constituent Assembly? *Second*, how has the process of constitutional compromises transformed the relationship between Islam and the state into a model of public ethics rather than ideological confrontation? And *third*, what model can explain the peculiar pattern of the religious-state relationship in Indonesia as an alternative to the secular-theocratic dichotomy.

2. METHODS

This research has been done using a qualitative research design in which the historical approach is used to explore the ideological dialogue between Islam and nationalism as far as the making of state principles of Indonesia. Qualitative historical research method has been chosen because this research tries to construct meanings, ideas, and dialogues in relation to the constitutional debate. This kind of research makes it possible to interpret political ideas in their own socio-political context and their evolution during different periods of constitution making. This method seems suitable for this research since the making of the state ideology of Indonesia is not only a series of history but also an ideological dialogue that requires interpretation of historical data. The documentary research method was used in this project since the main item for analysis is constitutional documents, meeting minutes, political speeches, and historical documents related to the debate about the relationship between Islam and the state. Documentary research helps in analyzing political ideas in the authoritative documents of history without retrospective distortion caused by politics at present. The primary sources were chosen on the following grounds: (1) they should be authentic in nature, i.e., they must be official documents and constitutional documents of the period being analyzed; (2) they should be directly related to the debates on the formation of the foundations of the Indonesian state; and (3) the primary sources must be significant from the point of view of ideological opposition in relation to the issue of religion and the state. The secondary sources include journal articles, books, constitutional research and historical literature, which were written in the recognized academic publishing houses. Documents have been selected using purposive approach. The criteria for inclusion was whether the document talks about the debate related to the constitutional issues regarding the role of Islam, Pancasila, nationalism, constitutional

compromise, and the relationship between religion and state during the sessions of BPUPKI, drafting of *Piagam Jakarta*, PPKI, and Constituent Assembly debates. Documents that do not contain debate related to ideologies and only contain discussion on political events have been excluded. The analysis comprised of five steps.

Firstly, the collection of documents from the period in question and their chronological classification as related to the BPUPKI meetings, the *Piagam Jakarta*, the PPKI debates, the Constituent Assembly debates, and other political events. *Secondly*, careful reading of the documents for the emergence of themes, constitutional arguments and ideological position of the Islamic and nationalistic players. *Thirdly*, theme coding through thematic categorization of the information obtained based on such topics as constitutional legitimacy, Islamic goals, nationalism, political compromise, public morality, and constitutional change. *Fourthly*, interpretation of the identified themes through an interpretive-critical approach to both explicit constitutional arguments made in historical documents and implicit ideological assumptions underlying them. *Fifthly*, integration of the results obtained from various time periods into a coherent narrative of the development of religion-state relations in Indonesia. The interpretive-critical methodology entailed both the interpretation of history as well as critical political philosophy. In the process of interpretation, there was no use of ideology-based interpretation of the meanings intended by historical agents but instead the meaning was interpreted in terms of socio-political circumstances. The critical analysis involved the identification of ideological structures, constitutional reasoning, and politics behind constitutional bargaining. The methodological framework allowed the research not only to describe the history but also to explain how constitutional bargaining slowly transformed into a particular model of relationship between religion and state in Indonesia. Several measures have been undertaken to strengthen the credibility of the results. *Firstly*, source triangulation was done through the comparison of constitutional documents with current studies of historical events as well as their analysis by scholars. *Secondly*, theoretical triangulation was accomplished by using perspectives of constitutional history, Islamic political theories and political philosophy in interpreting the historical data. *Thirdly*, internal consistency was kept when comparing the arguments used in different periods of constitutionalism in order to maintain consistent ideological interpretations. Lastly, an audit trail was kept throughout the process of analysis of the data in terms of the criteria for document selection, coding and analysis.

Table 1. Primary Sources Used in This Study

Primary Source	Type of Document	Reason for Selection
Proceedings of the First BPUPKI Session (29 May–1 June 1945)	Official constitutional record	Documents the initial ideological debates concerning the philosophical foundation of the Indonesian state.
Proceedings of the Second BPUPKI Session (10–17 July 1945)	Official constitutional record	Explains the constitutional drafting process and negotiations concerning state principles.
The Piagam Jakarta (22 June 1945)	Constitutional document	Represents the principal constitutional compromise between Islamic and nationalist groups.

Proceedings of the PPKI Session (18 August 1945)	Official constitutional record	Records the constitutional amendment removing the seven words from the first principle of the Piagam Jakarta.
Proceedings of the Indonesian Constituent Assembly (1956–1959)	Parliamentary debates	Demonstrates the continuation of ideological contestation over the relationship between Islam and the state after independence.
Presidential Decree of 5 July 1959	Constitutional document	Marks the constitutional resolution of the Constituent Assembly deadlock and redefines the constitutional status of the Jakarta Charter.
The 1945 Constitution (Original and Reinstated Version)	Constitutional text	Serves as the principal constitutional framework for analyzing the institutionalization of religion–state relations.

Table 2. Major Secondary Literature

Literature	Contribution to the Study
Kahin (1952)	Historical background of Indonesian nationalism
Deliar Noer (1987)	Islamic political movements
Bahtiar Effendy (2003; 2011)	Transformation of Islamic political thought
Robert Hefner (2000)	Civil Islam and democratic citizenship
Yudi Latif (2011)	Philosophical interpretation of Pancasila
Menchik (2016)	Godly Nationalism
Assyaukanie (2011)	Constitutional democracy and Islamic politics
Nadirsyah Hosen (2005; 2019)	Constitutional interpretation of the Jakarta Charter

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION RESULTS

3.1 Ideological Contestation during the BPUPKI Debates

The analysis of primary constitutional texts proves that the arguments inside the “Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (BPUPKI)” were not simply divided into a conflict between religion and nationalism; instead, it was a matter of competing visions of political legitimacy. It is obvious from the official minutes that the major preoccupation of the delegates was to find a proper philosophical framework that would legitimize the future constitution of Indonesia (Kahin, 1952).



Figure 1. Scene from the First BPUPKI Session to Discuss the Foundations of the State



Figure 2. A Scene from the Second BPUPKI Session Discussing the Constitution

These documentary sources point to two main orientations of ideologies. One is articulated by representatives of Islam, such as Ki Bagus Hadikusumo and Wahid Hasyim, who continuously maintained that Islam is an all-encompassing normative system involving religious and socio-political aspects. They presented their argument based on the constitution stating that the principles of Islam should be the basis of ethics and law of the state as it provides guidance not only on individual religious practices but also socio-political matters (Noer, 1987). In this respect, the articulation by BPUPKI can be regarded as the constitutional desire to include Islam in the state. The second orientation was presented by the nationalist delegates headed by Soekarno, who suggested the notion of Pancasila as a unifying constitutional structure that could incorporate the diversity of ethnic, cultural, and religious identities in Indonesia. The analysis of Soekarno's speech delivered on 1 June 1945 demonstrates that the idea of political legitimacy was understood in civic terms, in which the belief in God was just one component of the entire constitutional system of beliefs, along with man, unity, democracy, and social justice (Yamin, 1959). Thus, it can be seen from the document that the nationalists did not consider religion as a source of public values but rejected its institutionalization as a constitutional identity. Moreover, comparisons of these constitutional arguments reveal another crucial common goal pursued by both ideologies, namely the creation of a separate and united Indonesian state. While they disagreed on the normative foundation for constitutional legitimacy, none of the two positions called for the exclusion of the other one from the constitutional debate. The debate reveals attempts at the reconciliation of these conflicting constitutional goals through deliberation, which suggests that the process of negotiation was a part of the constitution-making procedure itself. This was further highlighted by the formation of the Committee of Nine (Panitia Sembilan), and through its deliberations, the *Piagam Jakarta* was issued on 22 June 1945. On the basis of documentary analysis, it is evident that the Committee was created in order to act as an intermediary institution between two constitutional ideologies instead of trying to prove dominance of one ideology over another. Hence, on the basis of documentation, it can be stated that ideological conflicts in the BPUPKI era evolved on the basis of constitutional accommodation.

3.2 The *Piagam Jakarta* as Constitutional Compromise

Based on document analysis of the *Piagam Jakarta*, the minutes of the Committee of Nine, the records of the PPKI meeting on 18 August 1945, and the Presidential Decree of 5 July 1959, it becomes clear that the *Piagam Jakarta* is not a constitution but a compromise between different constitutions. The documents do not indicate that the *Piagam Jakarta* was a constitutional victory of one side or the other, but rather show that it was an institution serving to reconcile constitutional aspirations (Mahendra, 1996).



Figure 3. The Atmosphere at the PPKI Session to Ratify the State Constitution

From the analysis of this case, it becomes clear that there are three major attributes of the constitutional compromise contained in the *Piagam Jakarta*: *Firstly*, there is the attribute of constitutional accommodation. It is because the constitution contains attempts at accommodating the Islamic constitutional aspiration by use of the phrase “the obligation to practice Islamic *sharia* for its adherents”. It is from the analysis of the deliberation of Committee of Nine that this provision was actually made as a result of a constitutional compromise so that cooperation could be maintained between the Islamic and the nationalists in the constitution making process (Boland, 1982). The second feature is that of constitutional limitation. By comparing the *Piagam Jakarta* with the text of the 1945 Constitution, it can be seen that constitutional accommodation was also limited politically. Removal of the seven words in the PPKI meeting changed the formulation of the first principle of the constitution without removing the concept of religion from the constitutional order altogether (Nadirsyah Hosen, 2005). Analysis of the constitutional texts reveals that there were limitations on accommodation as a result of the wider goal of preserving national unity despite the plurality of society in Indonesia. *Thirdly*, the characteristic of constitutional flexibility is evident. By comparing the constitution of 1945, debates of the Constituent Assembly, and the Presidential Decree on 5 July 1959, one can clearly see that the role of the *Piagam Jakarta* as a part of the constitution was flexible and could be interpreted differently during various political eras. Therefore, it cannot be said that the document operated only as a closed constitutional text, but rather as a constitutional text which constantly acquired new meanings depending on the current political situation (Feith & Castles, 1970).



Figure 4. File: Original Manuscript of the *Piagam Jakarta*

From the documentary evidence, one can infer that the constitutional status of *Piagam Jakarta* developed through constitutional instruments, rather than any particular conclusive resolution. Although the constitutional provision about Islamic law was not included in the constitution, further constitutional provisions like the Presidential Decree of 5 July 1959 have continued recognizing the importance of *Piagam Jakarta* in the constitutional tradition of Indonesia (N. Hosen, 2019). Generally, from the analysis of the constitutional documents, it is evident that the *Piagam Jakarta* was a constitutional instrument through which constitutional negotiation was preserved. From the analysis of the constitutional documents, it becomes clear that constitutional accommodation, constitutional limitation, and constitutional flexibility were the main features of Indonesia's constitutional compromise in the process of defining the state foundations.

3.3 Transformation during the Constituent Assembly

A review of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly (1956–1959), disputes over the new constitution, and the Presidential Decree No. 5/1959 indicates a certain change in the constitutional orientation of Islamic political ideals. Rather than reflecting continuity of the constitutional discussions of BPUPKI alone, the sources seem to indicate that a certain development in the position of Islam within the Indonesian constitutional framework is taking place. Initially, in the early constitutional discussions of the Constituent Assembly, the same attempt was seen to be made towards ensuring an Islamic basis to the constitution of the state. As per the records of the parliament, the representatives of the Islamic political parties held the view that the principles of Islam should be taken as the normative basis of the constitutional order. The constitutional legitimacy was therefore ensured by way of proposals for establishing formal relations between Islam and the state (Assyaukanie, 2011). It is shown from the analysis of the debates in the parliament that the proposals for the new constitution raised by the Islamic members of parliament emphasized universal principles of the constitution, which include the issues of justice, equality, welfare of the public, democracy, and the religious concerns. The documentary analysis also shows that the scope of the discussion on constitutionality widened from the issue of form of the constitution to the ethical concerns of the state and government. It is evident that there has been a change in the constitutional discourse where Islamic values appeared as constitutional values in the public space. Further, it is also shown from the above process that the constitutional institution of Islam did not come after the constitutional crisis but came in the form of the restoration of the Constitution of 1945 through the presidential decree on July 5, 1959. From the analysis of the constitutional transition, it is evident that the Islamic constitutional expectations were still considered through the *Piagam Jakarta* although the operational provisions of the state constitution did not provide any such recognition (N. Hosen, 2019). The comparison between the constitutional discussions of the BPUPKI and the Constituent Assembly indicates that there had been an evolution of the orientation of Islamic political discourse over time. Whereas the earlier constitutions had stressed the presence of Islam in the constitution, the later constitutions have increasingly been making use of terms that relate to the idea of justice, morality, and other ethical principles. This is not an evolution of the structure of the constitution, but rather an evolution of the discussions regarding the constitution. The implication of this is that the shift from one type of constitutional orientation of Islamic politics to another involves a transition from being a constitutional project to being an ethical project of Islamic politics.

3.4 Emergence of the Indonesian Ideological Mediation Model

From cross-document analysis of the BPUPKI, *Piagam Jakarta*, PPKI, debates in Indonesian Constituent Assembly, and Presidential Decree 5 July 1959, there is a repeating constitutional pattern that goes beyond any particular event in history. Instead of treating the mentioned events as discrete constitutional episodes, one may note the repeating pattern where an ideological debate is first held, then accommodation of the ideological debate through constitution follows, and finally the constitution is further developed based on the result of such ideological debate. According to the documentary evidence, the first stage in the above-mentioned model involves ideological contestation whereby the Islamic and nationalist actors expressed their differing constitutional sources of political legitimacy. The analysis of the proceedings of the BPUPKI shows that the constitutional debates involved the normative basis of the future state, whereby the Islamic actors stressed the role of Islam as a comprehensive constitutional system while the nationalists stressed the concept of Pancasila as an inclusive constitutional basis that could incorporate Indonesia's diverse population (Syarif, Japar, Maiwan, Hamzah, & Fadillah, 2024). The second stage involves constitutional mediation based on negotiated compromise. The analysis of the deliberations of the

Committee of Nine and the *Piagam Jakarta* shows that the conflicting constitutional ambitions were negotiated rather than dominated ideologically. The later amendment of the first principle in the PPKI session illustrates that the constitutional accommodation could be adjusted institutionally in the process of constitution-making (Syarif, 2026). The third stage derived from the documentation evidence is the transformation of the constitution. By comparing the discussion in BPUPKI, Constituent Assembly and Presidential Decree of 5 July 1959, it can be noted that the Islamic political discourse had changed its direction from highlighting the importance of constitutional institutionalization to discussing Islamic values through constitutional principles that refer to justice, welfare of people, constitutional responsibility and unity of the nation. The presence of Islamic constitutional expectations can be found from normative re-interpretations during different periods of constitutional formulations (N. Hosen, 2019). The fourth stage observed from document analysis is the ethical institutionalization where the discussion on Islamic values continues to exist through constitutional principles as the guidance of public activities rather than constitutional provisions to regulate the organization of the state. Constitutional documents at different political periods show the same continuity of the recognition of religious values in the constitution but flexibility in terms of their constitutional expressions.

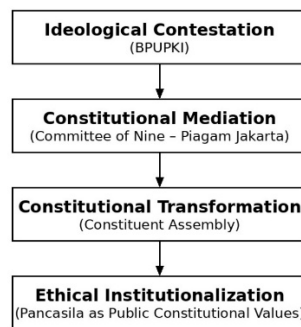


Figure 5. Indonesian Ideological Mediation Model Ideological Contestation

DISCUSSION

Why Did Constitutional Compromise Occur?

It becomes clear from the results that the constitutional compromise was not just a political choice, but a constitutional process required in order to reconcile competing arguments regarding the sources of legitimacy within the process of creating the Indonesian state. From the documents provided, it is possible to see that the Islamic and nationalist groups had different bases of legitimacy for their constitutional ideas, yet they both understood the need for the creation of a constitution that would be seen as legitimate within such a diverse society (Anshori & Abdurrahman, 2024). Constitution making in pluralist societies from the perspective of constitutional theory involves the need for an institutional set-up that will be able to accommodate various normative claims without threatening the legitimacy of the constitution itself. Constitutionalism in the modern era involves the development of both the institution of government and the formulation of a constitutional set-up that will gain political acceptability among various social groups (S & Miasiratni, 2026). Constitutional compromise, in this context, is part of the constitutive elements of constitution making since the legitimacy of the constitution lies on negotiation rather than ideological hegemony. The constitutional accommodation discussed above is a reflection of the constitutional principle that constitutional stability relies on the ability of constitutional actors to resolve conflicting normative claims within a common constitutional framework (Khaitan, 2018). These results may be explained using the idea of political legitimacy. According to Weber (2021) political power is only sustainable when it is accepted as legitimate by

its subjects. When Indonesia was developing its constitution, there was disagreement about legitimacy since the Islamic side relied on religious legitimacy as the source of the legitimacy of the constitution, while the nationalist side relied on the inclusiveness of the civil society as the source of the legitimacy of the state (Rofii, 2021). The countries after gaining independence face the task of building national unity but at the same time dealing with the differences of religion, ethnicity and culture. In this regard, the constitution-making process becomes a tool for integrating politics in which different groups come together to forge a shared constitutional identity (Anderson, 2006). Indeed, such an interpretation is supported by comparative constitutional studies that point out that in pluralistic societies, constitutional compromises tend to be the result of accommodation and negotiation as opposed to majority rule. Lijphart (1977) states that deeply divided societies tend to ensure constitutional stability through the establishment of structures which allow for power sharing and consensus building so that no political groups become permanently excluded from the constitution. Indeed, although Indonesia did not explicitly institute a consociational constitution, the findings show that constitutional negotiation served the same integrative purpose of allowing ideological rivals to engage in creating constitutional legitimacy. Moreover, constitutional compromise should not be seen as constitutional inconsistency or ideologically ambivalence. The available documents suggest that constitutional adaptability was one of the qualities of Indonesia's constitution-making. That adaptive quality is what makes constitutional allusions to the *Piagam Jakarta* persist in subsequent constitutional discourses regardless of any changes in constitutional construction. It is in this context that the constitutional compromise that is analyzed in the present work should be seen as an institution that helped to bridge contradictory normative aspirations, created political legitimacy, and allowed for nation building under a plural constitution. Constitutional compromise did not emerge as a short-term political settlement but was rather a constitutional framework where ideological plurality could coexist with the formation of a single Indonesian state (Bintang, 2025).

Ideological Factors Behind the Constitutional Compromise

The constitutional compromise that emerged as a result of this research was affected by the interaction of different ideological paradigms that diverged in terms of sources of political legitimacy, but came together in respect of creating an independent Indonesian state. It has been found that political negotiations for creating a constitution were not only the result of political bargaining but also the attempt to come to terms with different ideological visions of the state (Achmad, Ramli, Armawansya, Wahyudi, & Mattulanreng, 2026). The ideological dynamics discovered through the analysis of documents show that the creation of constitutional compromise is a process of coexistence of different normative visions and common political goals. The first ideological component relates to Islamic political thought, whereby religion is seen as a holistic normative structure covering not only personal beliefs but also governance. In the framework of such thinking, political authority should be based on certain morals drawn from Islam, thus making the connection between religion and politics an inherent part of their relationship rather than an institutional separation. Islamic political tradition has viewed governance as an ethical responsibility, and political institutions were to ensure the prevalence of '*adl*, *maṣlaḥah*, and accountability in politics. Thus, constitutional ideals pursued by Islamic delegates implied their concern about incorporating the ethical standards into the constitution rather than seeking religious recognition (Masorong, 2025). The second ideology is rooted in the nationalist discourse that evolved as a result of the confrontation with the actual situation of cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity in the course of the anti-colonial fight. According to the leaders of the nationalist movement, the legitimacy of constitutionalism was based on the formation of a political community with civic identity that would be able to transcend all other identities without ignoring them. Within this interpretation, the constitutionality of the state was supposed to integrate

different communities on the basis of civic identity rather than through the domination of a particular ideological tradition. Anderson (2006) states that nation-building requires the formation of an imaginary political community whose members identify themselves as participants in the same national enterprise regardless of religious, ethnic, or cultural differences. Even though their ideological positions varied in terms of the foundations on which the state should be based, the results show that both ideologies were informed by a wider desire for national independence and constitutional stability. The documentary evidence reveals that the Islamic and nationalist factions had a common goal in preventing the fragmentation of the constitution in the move from colonialism to independence. This commonality operated as the point at which both ideologies converged and facilitated constitutional negotiations. While it did not negate ideological differences, it defined political priorities that made it possible for constitutional actors to distinguish between negotiable and non-negotiable norms (Yuliantri & Suwignyo, 2024).

Such an interaction of ideologies also mirrors a wider process of state formation, whereby constitutional institutions are created through an ongoing negotiation between different political players. As Migdal (1988) maintains, “the state is not a consequence of any one ideological enterprise, but of an ongoing series of interactions between social forces who want to establish the foundations of political legitimacy and authority.” In such terms, the document analysis provided within this research clearly supports the view of state formation as the process of ongoing negotiation. Indeed, the case study demonstrates that constitutional ideology of Indonesia was formed as a result of an ongoing negotiation process, rather than imposition of one constitutional ideology. Further, the results indicate that ideological compromise need not result in ideological homogeneity. On the contrary, constitutional negotiation allowed both Islamic and nationalist ideologies to retain their normative bases while working towards the same constitutional agenda. This case study demonstrates that constitutional legitimacy can be achieved through the institutional accommodation of diverse ideologies as opposed to the constitutional supremacy of one ideology over others (Ismail, 2018). This process accounts for the reason why constitutional negotiations have been able to remain dynamic despite different periods of political change while still maintaining constitutional continuity. From this perspective, the process of constitutional compromise that is identified in the findings can be understood in terms of four interrelated ideological aspects: normative Islamic commitment, inclusive nationalism, common constitutional goals, and institutional needs of state-building. It is the combination of these aspects that makes it possible to understand why the constitutional negotiation became politically feasible and constitutionally sustainable in the context of pluralistic Indonesia. These aspects should not be seen as independent ideological standpoints; rather, they are complementary to each other in terms of constitutional development (Damaitu, 2025).

Political Implications of Constitutional Compromise

The results of this research show that constitutional compromise has political implications which go beyond the resolution of ideological conflict when constitutions are written. As such, the negotiated bargain between Islamism and inclusive nationalism is not only a constitution but it creates a political architecture for the evolution of the constitutional regime of Indonesia. These implications can be analyzed through four distinct aspects: constitutional stability, democracy, religious accommodation, and pluralism. The first implication deals with the issue of constitutional stability. The results show that the process of constitutional negotiation allowed ideologically different groups to be involved in the development of a constitutional framework without the necessity for ideological harmony. In terms of constitutional politics, stability is determined not only by constitutional arrangements but also by the readiness of political players to treat the established constitutional order as collectively legitimate (Yo, Wartoyo, Cheryl, & Maurent, 2025).

The constitutional arrangement found in this paper decreased the possibility of institutional fragmentation through the inclusion of ideological pluralism in the shared constitutional order. Secondly, there is an implication concerning democratic legitimacy. The documentary analysis shows that constitutional authority in Indonesia was created as a result of negotiation and not unilateral constitutional decision-making. This means that democratic legitimacy arose as a consequence of incorporating competing ideological viewpoints in the process of constitution-making and not because of the dominance of one political faction through election or ideology (Setiawan, Nearson, & Saputra, 2026). Legitimacy of a constitution becomes stronger if the constitutional norms are produced by a public deliberation which allows for mutual political recognition among the parties involved (Giuffré, 2024). This is exactly what happened in the constitutional process discussed here, whereby constitutional authority was built gradually through dialogue and negotiation. The third implication relates to the issue of religious accommodation within the constitutional framework. As seen from the results, constitutional negotiation has neither excluded religion from public debate nor established a constitutionally defined religious state. Rather, religious values have been accommodated within constitutional debates through principles that can guide public ethics without being institutionalized within the constitution. Scholars researching comparative religion and democracy have found that in stable democracies, religious values often find accommodation within constitutions alongside equal protection of constitutional rights for different religious groups (Gill, 2020). In this regard, the Indonesian constitutional experience can be seen as an example of accommodation of religion within public morality and politics but not through the constitutionally monopolized role of religion.

This research also indicates considerable implications for pluralistic governance. The process of constitutional compromise created the context of institutional arrangements in which the diversity of political ideas was possible in a unified constitutional order. Unlike the idea of ideological assimilation, the process of constitution-building acknowledged diversity as an inherent feature of political life in Indonesia. Pluralistic democracies need constitutional institutions that will be able to manage the balance between the collective identity of the nation and its cultural and religious diversity (S & Miasiratni, 2026). Constitutional progress in this study is consistent with this approach as it allowed different ideological currents to engage in politics within the same constitutional framework of equality of all citizens. Such political considerations also make it clear that compromise in the constitution entails the dynamic quality of adaptation going far beyond the time period during which it took place (Nwokora, 2022). Adaptation in response to changing political environments can be achieved through constitutional structures formed through negotiations as a means of meeting new social demands without destabilizing the constitutional structure. Such a dynamic feature enhances political resilience as it allows for constitutional adaptation without violating the basic principles of the state. Constitutional resilience is an essential feature of pluralist democracy since it enables constitutional structures to adapt to new political circumstances without facing constitutional crisis (Croissant, 2025).

4. CONCLUSION

As illustrated in this paper, the evolution of the relationship between Islam and the state in Indonesia is a process of ideological mediation and not the dominance of Islamic or nationalist ideologies. From an analysis of the documents relating to the constitutions, there is a clear process of ideological contestation, constitutional negotiation, political compromises and transformation of Islamic political theory from the constitutional into the ethical project within a pluralist democratic system. In light of the above findings, this paper suggests the Indonesian Ideological Mediation Model (IIMM) which explains the evolution of religion-state relations through the following six interrelated stages of ideological mediation namely ideological contestation, constitutional

negotiation, political compromise, transformation of Islamic politics, public ethics and pluralism democracy. The suggested model differs from the existing literature on the subject in that it offers an explanation of how constitutional legitimacy was created through the process of ideological mediation and not through the opposition between Islamic and nationalist ideologies. This paper is limited by the method used to study the qualitative historical documents in relation to the debate on constitutional issues from 1945 to 1959, with no analysis of the later application of constitutional ideas in future political eras. Thus, the Indonesian Ideological Mediation Model can only be seen as a theoretical construct resulting from an analysis of historical documents and needs to be validated empirically in the future. In the future, this can be done using comparative analysis of constitutional issues within other Muslim democracies, as well as using a mix of methods for studying ideological mediation in future plural societies.

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