



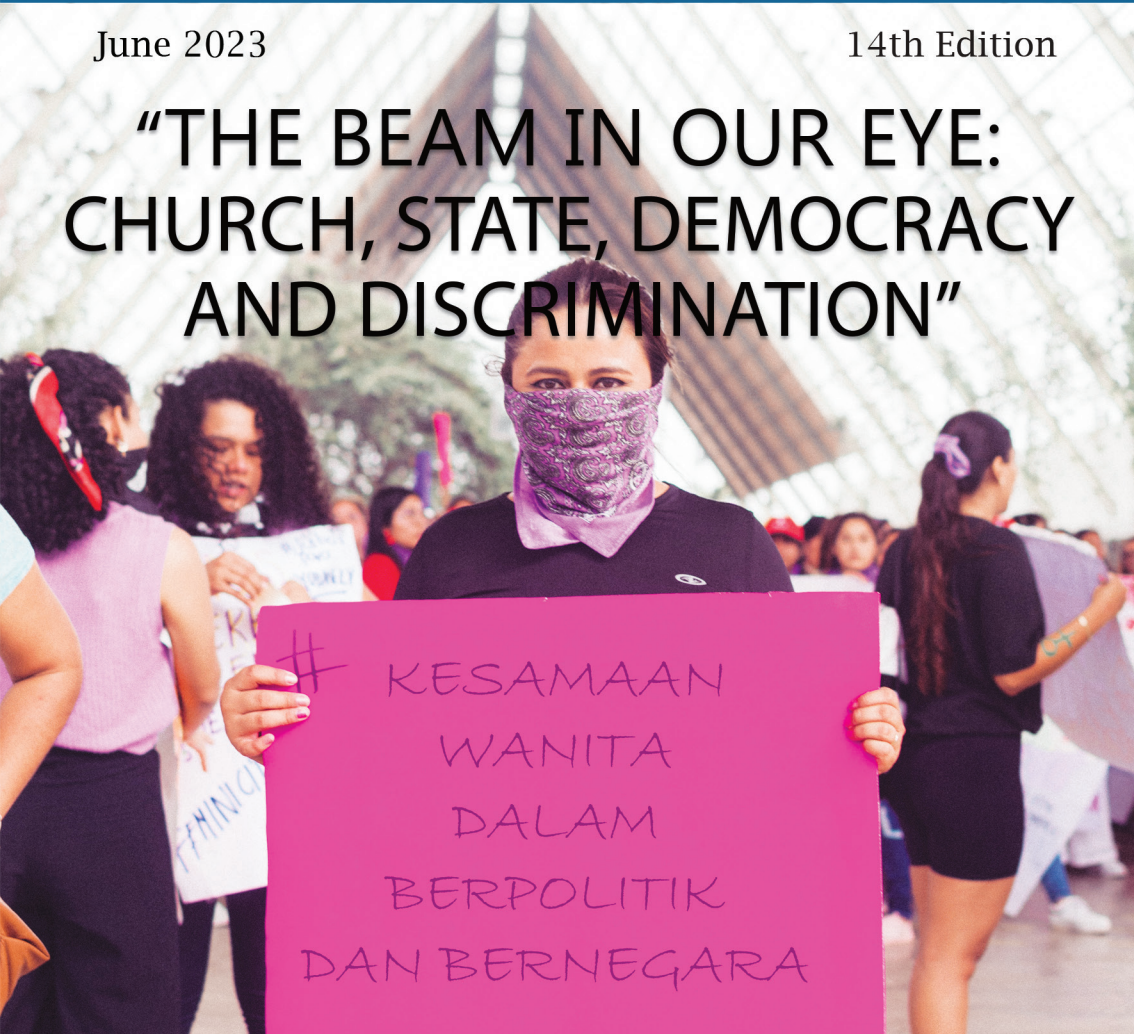
# Mission Sparks

Academic Journal of Asia Region

June 2023

14th Edition

**“THE BEAM IN OUR EYE:  
CHURCH, STATE, DEMOCRACY  
AND DISCRIMINATION”**



# KESAMAAN  
WANITA  
DALAM  
BERPOLITIK  
DAN BERNEGARA



# Mission Sparks

Academic Journal of Asia Region

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

Dear Readers,

The Mission Sparks 14th edition is brought to you with the theme “The Beam in Our Eye: Church, State, Democracy and Discrimination.” This theme is taken based on the theme of UEM general assembly 2022: “The Beam in our Eye: Discrimination in Church and Diaconia (Matthew 7:3)” which will be the main theme within the UEM family until the next UEM general assembly.

The articles in this edition will be presented to you bilingual with the hope that Mission Sparks journal can reach more readers. In this edition we bring you 3 (three) writers:

**Mangisi S.E. Simorangkir** wrote about “Separation of Religious Power and State Power by Martin Luther”. He elaborated “Teachings of the Two Kingdoms of Martin Luther” or “Two Kingdoms Doctrine” and its problem of unification and separation of religious power and state power. He gave examples in the Old Testament and New Testament and the fact after the time of Jesus that the church continued to struggle over its relationship with the state. He added in the history of the churches in Indonesia, during the *Zending* period, the period of the struggle for independence, and the period after independence that the relationship between the church and the state has always been a complicated issue. In his comprehensive work examining Martin Luther’s thoughts about the separation of religious power and state power he underlined that Martin Luther’s thoughts have encouraged Christians to do their best in society and to be responsible citizens. He ended his article by underlining the importance to separate religious and state powers.

The second writer in this edition is **Oinike Natalia Harefa** who wrote on topic “Liberating Christian Mission Education: A Critique of Traces of Discrimination, Racism, and Colonialism in Education in

Indonesia.” In her article she analyzed Christian mission education based on the perspective of postcolonial feminism. She elaborated the contribution of a postcolonial feminist perspective for the Mission education to challenges hegemony and power relations in the education system that discriminates against marginalized people, especially women. She criticized the Christian mission education which is still trapped in the colonial standard model which shows an unequal binary relationship between “center” and “periphery”, women and men, Western and non-Western, educators and students. She argued that the mission education is the practice of freedom as a way of life that follows the values taught by Christ. Her article offers to liberate Christian mission education by presenting the struggle of Nias women in obtaining education.

**Uwe Hummel** brought a topic on “The role of Indonesian Churches in National Elections in The Context of Multiple Parties and an Islamic Majority Population.” In his articles he elaborated the general situation of Indonesia and the role of churches in preparing general election 2024. He started by presenting Indonesia as a consolidated democracy, religious context of churches in Indonesia and general election as well as political parties and its candidates. He underlined the importance of churches in Indonesia to play a role in the upcoming election campaign by revise their theologies concerning politics. He also suggested churches in Indonesia to train their church members for general election so that the churches could make a priceless contribution to a successful national elections in Indonesia.

Enjoy reading!

Dr. Dyah Ayu Krismawati – Chief Editor



# PEMISAHAN KEKUASAAN AGAMA DAN KEKUASAAN NEGARA MENURUT MARTIN LUTHER

*Mangisi S.E. Simorangkir*

## PENDAHULUAN

Pada abad pertengahan, seorang reformator bernama Martin Luther mengemukakan gagasannya tentang pembagian kekuasaan. Gagasan tentang pembagian kekuasaan tersebut, kemudian, dikembangkan oleh dua orang filsuf politik Barat: John Locke (1632–1704) dan Charles Montesquieu (1689–1755).

Martin Luther, yang bernama lengkap Martinus Luther, membagi kekuasaan ke dalam dua kelompok: kekuasaan agama dan kekuasaan negara; sedangkan John Locke dan Montesquieu—yang kemudian dikenal sebagai tokoh demokrasi modern, membagi kekuasaan ke dalam tiga bagian. John Locke memperkenalkan prinsip-prinsip pemisahan kekuasaan dengan “*checks and balances*”, sedangkan Charles Montesquieu membagi kekuasaan ke dalam tiga pilar: eksekutif, legislatif, dan yudikatif.

Walaupun mereka bertiga mempunyai perbedaan pandangan, tetapi mereka sependapat bahwa monopoli kekuasaan bertentangan dengan prinsip-prinsip demokrasi dan berpotensi melanggar kebebasan manusia. Bagi Luther, yang terpenting adalah bagaimana agar manusia dapat hidup bebas, sejahtera, mandiri, dan tidak ada satu orang atau satu kelompok pun yang berhak dan diberi hak memonopoli kekuasaan.

Pemikiran tentang pemisahan kedua kekuasaan itu dirasakan sangat penting oleh Martin Luther ketika itu, karena kekuasaan



agama (dalam hal ini gereja) sudah terlalu jauh mencampuri urusan-urusan negara. Bagi Luther, kedua kekuasaan itu mempunyai bidang tugas yang berbeda, walau diyakininya ada hal-hal yang memberikan tanda bahwa keduanya mempunyai kesamaan dan keduanya perlu bekerja sama. Sekadar contoh, menurut Luther kedua kekuasaan itu sama-sama diciptakan oleh Allah demi ketenteraman dunia dan bahwa keduanya sama-sama bekerja demi kedamaian dunia. Oleh karena itu, pada titik-titik tertentu, keduanya bisa bersinggungan dan bekerja sama.

Konsekuensi dari pemisahan kekuasaan agama dan negara adalah bahwa rohaniwan tidak perlu ikut memegang kekuasaan politik di dalam negara. Sebab, rohaniwan mempunyai tugas yang berbeda dengan politikus. Kekuasaan agama diatur oleh Kitab Suci, sedangkan kekuasaan negara diatur oleh undang-undang (UU) dan peraturan-peraturan perundang-undangan lainnya. Akan tetapi, kedua kekuasaan itu diberikan oleh Allah sebagai tanda kasih-Nya kepada dunia, dan tidak dapat dijadikan alasan bagi para rohaniwan untuk terlibat dalam kekuasaan negara.

Pemikiran Martin Luther itu kemudian dikenal luas sebagai "Ajaran Dua Kerajaan Martin Luther" (selanjutnya disingkat dengan ADK), atau di dalam bahasa Inggris dikenal sebagai "*Two Kingdoms Doctrine*" atau "*Zwei Reiche Lehre*" di dalam bahasa Jerman. Di dalam tulisan ini, kata "kerajaan" diganti dengan kata "kekuasaan." Hal itu dapat ditempuh, mengingat bahwa kata "kerajaan" dalam tulisan-tulisan Martin Luther sering juga diganti dengan kata "*Macht*" (kekuasaan) yang sepadan dengan "*power*" dalam bahasa Inggris. Sementara itu, kata "gereja" kami ganti dengan kata "agama", karena gereja ketika itu dapat dikatakan agama abad pertengahan, walau tidak persis selalu sama pengertiannya dengan gereja di dalam tulisan Martin Luther. Gereja bisa berarti gedung, kerohanian, persekutuan orang Kristen, dan pengikut Yesus.

Dalam sejarah, masalah penyatuan dan pemisahan kekuasaan agama dan negara bukanlah barang baru. Jika kita telusuri ke belakang, kedua kekuasaan itu sering berlomba untuk menjadi yang terbaik dalam hal memerintah. Bahkan, di dalam Alkitab, kita dapat menemukan masalah itu. Semula pemimpin umat Tuhan adalah Musa, yang dipilih langsung oleh Allah (teokrasi), tetapi kemudian diganti dengan para hakim-hakim dan terakhir oleh raja. Jadi, di dalam Alkitab, ada perubahan pola pembagian kekuasaan. Salomo menerima kekuasaan dari tangan ayahnya, Daud (monarki-

oligarki). Ada masanya, di dalam Perjanjian Lama (PL), di mana kedua kekuasaan itu disatukan dan juga dipisahkan. Namun, di dalam Perjanjian Baru (PB), Yesus mengajarkan pemisahan kedua kekuasaan itu. Ayat yang digunakan oleh Martin Luther sebagai landasan untuk pemisahan kekuasaan agama dan negara itu adalah ucapan Yesus dalam Matius 22:21, “Berikanlah kepada Kaisar apa yang wajib kamu berikan kepada Kaisar dan kepada Allah apa yang wajib kamu berikan kepada Allah.”

Sesudah masa Yesus, gereja terus bergumul mengenai hubungannya dengan negara, bukan saja karena penganiayaan gereja, tetapi juga kemudian karena gereja menjadi agama resmi. Sebelum diakui sebagai agama yang merdeka, kekristenan ditekan luar biasa. Akan tetapi, setelah diakui, gereja berkembang menjadi institusi agama yang haus akan kekuasaan. Dalam sejarah gereja-gereja di Indonesia, baik pada masa *zending* (masa pekabaran Injil), masa perjuangan kemerdekaan, maupun masa sesudah kemerdekaan, hubungan gereja dengan negara selalu merupakan persoalan yang rumit. Hal itu nyata juga pada upaya keterlibatan orang Kristen dalam proses pembentukan negara Indonesia. Bahkan, sampai pada masa kini hubungan gereja dengan negara (baca: hubungan kekuasaan agama dan kekuasaan negara) di Indonesia masih bermasalah. Adanya perusakan dan penutupan rumah ibadah secara paksa, dan pelaksanaan perda-perda bernuansa agama adalah buktinya. Seandainya kekuasaan agama dan negara di Indonesia dipisahkan secara jelas, perusakan dan penutupan rumah ibadah secara paksa dapat diperkecil, sebab kekuasaan negara akan dapat mengontrol kekuasaan agama secara adil.

Pemikiran tentang pemisahan kekuasaan agama dan kekuasaan negara sudah pasti mendapat tantangan dari pihak yang ingin mempersatukannya, maupun dari pihak yang ingin memanfaatkan kekuasaan agama sebagai kendaraan untuk mendapatkan kekuasaan politik. ADK Martin Luther juga mendapat tantangan yang sangat keras pada masanya, terutama dari pihak gereja resmi dan dari para penguasa. Sesudah Perang Dunia II, ADK Martin Luther memperoleh cacian dari berbagai pihak, sebab ajaran itu dikaitkan dengan kekerasan Nazi pada Perang Dunia II. Para pengkritik ADK Martin Luther menuduh bahwa Gereja Martin Luther di Jerman telah membiarkan pemerintah Nazi bertindak semena-mena, dengan alasan bahwa gereja tidak boleh mencampuri urusan negara berdasarkan teori pemisahan kekuasaan agama dan kekuasaan negara itu. Namun, mereka yang

membela ADK Martin Luther berpendapat bahwa gereja yang membiarkan pemerintah yang kejam itu didasarkan pada penafsiran yang salah atas ADK Martin Luther. Di sini kita berjumpa dengan tugas teologi sebagai sebuah ilmu yang menangani masalah secara baru, kritis, dan kontekstual. ADK Martin Luther adalah jawaban terhadap persoalan pada abad pertengahan di Eropa, atau dengan kata lain, pemikiran itu adalah suatu pemikiran yang kontekstual, yang harus disesuaikan dengan keadaan di negara-negara lain. Di Indonesia, hubungan agama dengan negara yang telah diatur dalam UUD 1945 juga memperoleh tantangan dari pihak yang ingin menyatukan kedua kekuasaan itu.

### **TINJAUAN HISTORIS-DOGMATIS ADK MARTIN LUTHER**

Dalam tinjauan historis ditemukan bahwa gereja (agama) abad pertengahan menganggap bahwa dunia ini kotor. Oleh karena itu, para rohaniwan mengasingkan diri di dalam biara-biara dan tidak menikah agar terhindar dari dunia yang kotor itu. Namun, sebaliknya, agama ketika itu berusaha untuk menguasai dunia dengan jalan merebut kekuasaan dunia melalui hak-hak istimewa rohaniwan. Ketika itu raja-raja di Eropa harus mendapat restu dari Paus GKR (Gereja Katolik Roma). Bahkan, kaisar Karel V dari Spanyol, yang membawahi daerah-daerah di Eropa, mendapat restu dari Paus. Bagi Jerman, negara kelahiran Martin Luther, hal itu adalah sebuah bentuk penjajahan. Itulah sebabnya, perlawanan Martin Luther terhadap gereja ketika itu dipandang juga sebagai perlawanan kepada penjajah. Namun, Martin Luther tidak mau terjebak dalam heroisme sempit yang menempatkan perjuangannya hanya sebatas nasionalisme Jerman. Martin Luther ingin memperjuangkan kebebasan manusia secara universal.

Zaman kelihatannya berpihak kepada perjuangan Martin Luther. Perjuangannya didukung oleh pencerahan (*Aufklaerung*), penemuan benua baru Amerika, penemuan teknologi baru seperti mesin cetak yang mempercepat penyebaran tulisan-tulisannya, maupun teori Copernicus yang menyatakan bahwa pusat jagat raya adalah matahari—bukan bumi. Gerakan yang dilahirkan Martin Luther sejak dia memakukan 95 dalilnya di pintu Gereja Wittenberg pada tanggal 31 Oktober 1517, untuk melawan kesewenang-wenangan *status quo* di tengah masyarakat, mendapat sambutan luas dan telah memberikan fondasi yang kuat bagi peradaban dunia seterusnya.

Martin Luther sedang melawan raksasa. Ketika itu, kekuasaan Paus (baca: kekuasaan agama) sangat kuat. Kekuasaan Paus didirikan di atas teologi yang dibangun sedemikian rupa agar kuasa itu langgeng. Untuk itu, Gereja Katolik Roma (GKR) mengembangkan satu pemahaman bahwa Paus adalah pengganti langsung dari Rasul Petrus, murid Yesus yang mengabarkan Injil ke Roma. Kelangsungan kekuasaan (suksesi apostolis) Petrus itu didukung oleh penafsiran teologis-politis yang sepihak dari Matius 16:19, yakni ucapan Yesus kepada Petrus, “Kepadamu telah Kuberikan kunci Kerajaan Sorga. Apa yang kau ikat di dunia ini akan terikat di sorga, dan apa yang kau lepaskan di dunia ini akan terlepas di sorga.” Itu berarti bahwa, Petrus memiliki kekuasaan agama dan kekuasaan negara sekaligus, sebab kalimat terakhir itu dianggap menjamin kedua kekuasaan itu berada di tangannya. Martin Luther menentang pendapat ini dengan berkata bahwa ucapan itu bukan kepada Petrus pribadi, tetapi kepada gereja yang “dibangun di atas batu karang.” Ini sebuah pelajaran, bahwa rohaniwan yang haus kekuasaan akan berusaha melegitimasi sepak terjangnya di bidang politik.

Kekuatan politik Paus yang berikut adalah pernyataan Gereja Katolik Roma (GKR) akan adanya hadiah Kaisar Konstantinus (*Donation of Constantine*) kepada Paus, yakni adanya dokumen penyerahan kekuasaan dari tangan Kaisar Konstantinus kepada Paus. Banyak pihak, termasuk Martin Luther, meragukan keberadaan dokumen itu, yang kira-kira sama dengan supersemar di Indonesia. Untuk menyikapi kesewenang-wenangan pencampuran kekuasaan agama dan kekuasaan negara, Luther memperkenalkan pandangannya melalui berbagai tulisan, antara lain tentang: kebebasan pribadi, kebebasan beriman, pemberontakan dengan kelemahan, pembatasan kekuasaan negara, dan nasihat untuk perdamaian.

## **1. Kebebasan pribadi**

Ada banyak salah pengertian dengan revolusi yang dilahirkan oleh Reformasi Martin Luther, yang memandangnya hanya sebagai serangan atas kesewenang-wenangan kekuasaan agama. Padahal, reformasi mencoba memancarkan agama melalui setiap aspek kehidupan, atau dengan meminjam istilah Max Weber, reformasi adalah askese (penyangkalan diri) yang bergerak di dunia (*innerweltliche Askese*), bukan askese yang mengurung diri. Reformasi bukan gerakan yang menekankan individualisme, tetapi mengutamakan perbaikan dalam

bidang sosial masyarakat dengan bantuan para warganya yang bebas dan yakin bahwa dia diberkati Tuhan. Hal yang terutama di dalam iman reformasi, dalam hal ini Protestan, adalah penegakan percaya diri yang berhubungan langsung dengan gerakan kebebasan politik dan perubahan sosial. Karena reformasi menghidupkan pesan individualistis agama, hal itu menciptakan dua kubu yang saling berseberangan, agama berhadapan dengan negara jika menekan.

Pada masa Martin Luther, agama, surga dan keselamatan bisa dibeli dengan uang dan dengan jasa baik. Hal yang dapat terjadi di mana saja di dunia ini dalam bentuk yang berbeda-beda. Gereja ketika itu memperjualbelikan apa yang dinamakan "*indulgentia*", yaitu surat penghapusan dosa. Kritik Martin Luther atas indulgensi pertama kali diungkapkannya di dalam 95 dalilnya yang terkenal itu. Dalam dalil ke-43, Martin Luther berkata bahwa "perbuatan baik" lebih baik daripada indulgensi. Pandangan ini menjadi jantung programnya, bahwa praktik kemiskinan, kepura-puraan (kemunafikan) dari para rahib yang berjalan meminta-minta (asketisme) adalah kemunafikan yang memperbudak, sehingga diperlukan penjelasan bahwa setiap orang Kristen bebas adanya.

Oktober 1520, Martin Luther memublikasikan karya tulisnya berjudul *Kebebasan Seorang Kristen (Martin Luther's Work, Vol. 31:333-377)*, yang berbicara tentang keselamatan sebagai hadiah dari kebebasan yang baru. Itu adalah kebebasan dari perbudakan kepada keselamatan yang dirindukan. Kebebasan itu diterima secara cuma-cuma dan secara cuma-cuma pula dapat dibagikan. Alasan lain penulisan karya ini adalah penolakan Martin Luther atas hukuman yang dijatuhkan oleh Paus kepadanya, yaitu bulla (surat kutukan) yang dikeluarkan oleh Paus Leo X pada 15 Juni 1520. Menurut Luther, tugas agama bukan untuk menghukum seseorang, melainkan untuk mengampuni dan membebaskan manusia dari segala bentuk penindasan.

Dalam tulisan ini, Martin Luther menguraikan peranan iman yang membenarkan setiap orang dan ketidakmampuan Taurat (peraturan agama) untuk menyelamatkan manusia. Iman yang benar adalah harta yang membawa keselamatan yang sempurna. Baginya, "perbuatan yang baik bukannya menjadikan orang baik, tetapi orang baik mengerjakan perbuatan yang baik. Perbuatan yang jahat bukan menjadikan orang jahat, tetapi orang jahat mengerjakan perbuatan yang jahat." Perbuatan baik terbit dari pribadi yang baik, "pohon yang baik berbuah yang baik" (Mat. 7:18). Buah tidak

membuahkan pohon, atau pohon tidak tumbuh di atas buah, tetapi sebaliknya; pohon membuahkan buah dan buah tumbuh di atas pohon. Kebaikan bukan sesuatu yang diatur.

Walaupun Martin Luther menekankan bahwa manusia itu bebas, dia mengaitkan tema kebebasan dengan kepatuhan kepada pemerintah. Jadi, Martin Luther tidak mengajak pengikutnya menentang pemerintah, hanya dia tidak setuju kalau pemerintahan agama dipadukan dengan pemerintahan sekuler. Dia mengunjuk sikap Kristus tentang pajak (Mat. 17:24-27). Kristus menyuruh Petrus pergi ke danau dan mengambil uang dari mulut ikan yang dikailnya. Kristus di sini menyebut diri-Nya dan orang-orang kepunyaan-Nya, anak-anak raja yang tidak membutuhkan sesuatu, tetapi secara sukarela dan patuh membayar pajak. Artinya, perbuatan pengikut-pengikut Kristus bermanfaat untuk kebenaran, bersifat bebas dan demi orang lain. Martin Luther memandang dari sudut yang sama dengan Paulus dalam Roma 13:1-7, yaitu bahwa orang Kristen seharusnya **tunduk kepada penguasa** dan bersedia mengerjakan tiap-tiap perbuatan yang baik. Dengan berbuat demikian, mereka melayani orang lain serta melayani penguasa, dan menaati kehendak mereka dengan bebas, dan berdasarkan kasih. Ketundukan kepada pemerintah di sini bukan ketundukan yang membabi buta, dan sejajar dengan itu, perlawanan kepada pemerintah yang salah menjalankan tugasnya. Namun, bukan perlawanan anarkis, melainkan perlawanan atau teguran yang didasarkan pada kasih.

## 2. Kebebasan beriman

Untuk memberi penjelasan kepada para penguasa bahwa kekuasaan agama telah melewati batas-batas wewenangnya, pada tahun 1520, Martin Luther menulis *Kepada Bangsawan Kristen (Martin Luther's Work, Vol. 44:117-217)*. Dalam tulisan itu, Martin Luther menentang keras pencampuran kekuasaan agama dan kekuasaan negara. Tulisan ini menjadi pertanggungjawaban politis dalam sejarah, karena Martin Luther menjadi simbol perjuangan untuk melepaskan diri dari eksploitasi kekuasaan lain. Dia memang membangkitkan rasa nasionalisme rakyat Jerman, walau bukan itu tujuan terpenting dari reformasi yang dilakukannya. Reformasi bukanlah masalah Martin Luther pribadi melawan tirani, kejahatan, penipuan, kecongkakan, dan kesewenang-wenangan. Martin Luther tidak mengandalkan nasionalisme sempit seperti yang dilakukan oleh para pemberontak pada masa Pemberontakan Petani pada tahun 1525, tetapi meng-

andalkan Kitab Suci. Perhatian Martin Luther adalah pada prinsip-prinsip teologis.

Tujuan reformasi Luther bukan kemenangan Jerman, tetapi pertobatan dan pembaruan manusia seutuhnya. Karena itu, tujuan Reformasi Luther mengecewakan gerakan kebangkitan nasionalisme Jerman. Martin Luther menolak disamakan dengan William Tell—pahlawan nasional Swiss yang melawan penjajah Austria, Joan of Arc—pahlawan nasional perempuan dari Prancis yang melawan Inggris, atau George Washington—pahlawan nasional Amerika Serikat. Martin Luther berjuang dengan mengandalkan kebebasan beriman.

Dalam karya ini Martin Luther mengembangkan tiga dasar ajaran politis reformasi: Pertama, *semua adalah rohaniwan*. Menurut Luther, adalah penipuan kalau dikatakan bahwa Paus, Uskup, imam-imam, dan para biarawan disebut sebagai makhluk rohani; sementara raja-raja, tuan, tukang, dan petani adalah makhluk duniawi. Bagi dia, semua adalah imam, dalam arti pelayan, tetapi tidak berarti seorang imam dapat menjadi politikus atau sebaliknya politikus menjadi imam. Yang dia maksudkan adalah, bahwa tugas seseorang di tengah dunia politik adalah sama dengan tugas seorang imam di bidang agama. Tidak seorang pun mau disepelekan karena perbedaan, kecuali karena jabatan. Seperti dikatakan Paulus dalam 1 Korintus 12:12-13, kita semua adalah satu tubuh, tetapi setiap anggota mempunyai tugas masing-masing, yang melalui itu setiap orang melayani yang lain. Pandangan ini biasa dikenal sebagai "Imamat Am Orang Percaya." Kedua, *semua berhak menafsir Firman Tuhan*. Martin Luther menentang pernyataan bahwa hanya kaum rohaniwan yang berhak menjadi penafsir Kitab Suci. Pikiran egois ini memengaruhi masyarakat dengan berkata bahwa Paus (pemimpin agama) tidak pernah salah dalam iman. "Jika hal itu benar, untuk apalagi Kitab Suci?" demikian tanya Martin Luther. Ketiga, *semua berhak memberi nasihat kepada rohaniwan*. Menurut Martin Luther, jika rohaniwan (dalam hal ini Paus) salah dan melawan Alkitab, berdasarkan Matius 18:15-17, "Apabila saudaramu berbuat dosa, tegorlah dia di bawah empat mata", adalah tugas kita menasihati.

### **3. Pemberontakan dengan kelemahan**

Gereja menganggap bahwa reformasi Martin Luther telah merobek-robek kekuasaannya. Karena itu, gereja menjatuhkan hukuman kepada Martin Luther. Isi hukuman itu ialah, siapa saja berhak menjatuhkan

tangan atasnya. Karena itu, Martin Luther disembunyikan oleh temannya, Raja Friederick Yang Bijak. Martin Luther diasingkan di Puri Wartburg dari 4 Mei 1521 sampai 1 Maret 1522. Selama masa absennya di Wittenberg, kota pusat pergerakan reformasi, kepemimpinan gerakan diambil alih oleh orang-orang yang memperkenalkan gerakan yang lebih cepat dari apa yang dipikirkan Martin Luther. Akibatnya, terjadilah kerusuhan. Karena itu Martin Luther memutuskan untuk keluar dari persembunyiannya secara rahasia dan datang ke Wittenberg dengan menyamar sebagai seorang kesatria berjanggut dengan nama samaran "Junker Georg". Dia tidak lama di Wittenberg, sebab kedatangannya segera diketahui oleh banyak orang. Itulah sebabnya, Martin Luther menulis *Nasihat yang Tulus kepada Semua orang Kristen (Martin Luther's Work 45:51-74)*.

Dalam tulisan itu Martin Luther sangat tidak setuju dengan makar dan pemberontakan. Martin Luther menunjuk berbagai ayat Alkitab yang mengatakan bahwa Allah akan menghancurkan kekuasaan jahat. Dalam keadaan yang rusuh itu, Martin Luther mengharapkan para penguasa dapat mengambil alih kendali ketenteraman masyarakat, dan juga berulang-ulang mengajak masyarakat untuk menghormati penguasa. Tidak ada makar yang pernah baik, bagaimanapun benarnya masalah yang diangkat oleh para pelaku makar. Martin Luther berkata bahwa dia di pihak mereka yang diancam dengan tindakan makar, terlepas dari ketidakadilan yang mereka lakukan; tetapi dia menentang mereka yang menimbulkan makar, terlepas dari keadilan tuntutan mereka. Sebab, tidak ada makar yang tanpa melukai orang yang tak bersalah.

Martin Luther juga menekankan bahwa Allah melarang pemberontakan. Allah menginginkan keadilan dan bahwa semua manusia berdosa, tidak ada yang sempurna, karena itu tidak perlu melakukan kekerasan apalagi melakukan pemberontakan bersenjata. Kristus memang melakukan pemberontakan, tetapi dengan kelemahan, suatu model pemberontakan yang perlu ditiru. Martin Luther juga merasa perlu membicarakan "pemberontakan" yang dia lakukan selama ini, karena dia melihat bahwa masyarakat seolah-olah bangkit memberontak karena dia telah lebih dulu memberontak. "Pemberontakan itu datang di luar kemauan saya, dan akan dilengkapi oleh Tuhan tanpa nasihatnya.", katanya. Karena itu, di dalam karya ini, dia menulis ucapannya yang terkenal itu, bahwa reformasi



bukan gerakannya sendiri, dan bahwa dia menolak menamakan para pendukungnya sebagai orang-orang Martin Lutheran.

Dia memang tidak menyinggung secara langsung pemisahan kekuasaan agama dan kekuasaan negara di dalam karya tulis ini, tetapi dia menekankan perlunya peranan pemerintah di dalam menciptakan keamanan di tengah masyarakat. Walaupun kerusuhan itu disulut oleh masalah agama, pemerintahlah yang harus bertanggung jawab menangani keamanan rakyatnya, bukan kelompok tertentu yang mengatasnamakan agama.

#### **4. Batas kekuasaan negara**

Kekuasaan negara terasa menentukan di dalam maju mundurnya reformasi, sehingga Martin Luther merasa perlu menulis secara khusus tentang batas-batas kekuasaan negara. Tulisan itu diberi judul: *Kuasa Duniawi: Sejauh Mana Harus Dipatuhi? (1523) (Martin Luther's Work Vol 45:75-129)*.

Pada tahun 1521 di Worms, Luther diperintahkan oleh kaisar untuk menarik tulisan-tulisannya. Martinus Luther menolak tegas perintah kaisar itu. Akan tetapi, beberapa penguasa mengikuti perintah kaisar dengan melarang warganya membaca buku-buku Martin Luther. Dalam keadaan demikian, Martin Luther diperhadapkan pada pilihan untuk bertindak memperkenalkan kembali pikiran-pikirannya dalam bidang politik. Dia berhadapan dengan kekuasaan negara, kekuasaan agama, maupun *ban* yang dijatuhkan oleh kekaisaran dan Paus. Martin Luther tidak bergerilya memakai senjata melawan para penguasa, tetapi memberi penjelasan teologis tentang apa itu sebenarnya kekuasaan. Paparan berikut akan menguraikan penjelasan teologis Luther tentang kekuasaan tersebut:

*Pertama: Kekuasaan negara berasal dari Allah.*

Kekuasaan itu ada bukan atas kehendak manusia. Oleh sebab itu “setiap orang harus takluk kepada pemerintah yang di atasnya, sebab tidak ada pemerintah, yang tidak berasal dari Allah” (Rm. 13:1; 1Ptr. 2:13). Kekuasaan negara dibutuhkan, karena tidak semua warga negara berasal dari satu agama dan pengikut dari agama yang sama, tidak semua warga negara adalah orang beriman. Karena itu, dibutuhkan Taurat atau peraturan, pedang dan raja (1Tim. 1:9). Allah menyediakan pemerintahan yang lain bagi mereka yang berada di luar Kerajaan Allah. Jika tidak, dunia akan kacau. Untuk menindak mereka yang hidup tidak baik, dan memuji mereka yang berbuat

baik, Allah mendirikan kekuasaan negara yang bekerja dengan kekuasaan duniawi. Bagaimanapun, tidak mungkin seseorang memerintah dunia ini dengan Firman Tuhan, sebab di dalam dunia bercampur aduk segala jenis manusia. Orang yang memerintah dunia dengan cara seperti itu akan sama seperti gembala yang menaruh serigala, singa, elang, dan domba dalam satu kandang dan berkata, "Tolonglah dirimu sendiri, dan baik-baiklah dan berdamai dengan yang lain. Kandang itu terbuka, ada banyak makanan. Kamu tidak perlu takut akan anjing dan pentungan." Domba memang akan memelihara damai, tetapi sekaligus membiarkan dirinya dimangsa. Jika demikian, mereka tidak dapat hidup lama, juga binatang buas tidak bisa bertahan.

Orang Kristen adalah warga negara yang tunduk kepada pemerintah di dalam kasih. Mereka melayani pemerintah bukan demi dirinya sendiri melainkan demi orang lain, agar orang lain itu terlindungi dan agar orang jahat tidak makin jahat. Maka, orang Kristen boleh memegang pedang (menjadi tentara), demi orang lain. Dalam Lukas 3, Yohanes Pembaptis tidak melarang tentara bekerja dengan pedangnya, tetapi dia meminta agar mereka mencukupkan diri dengan gajinya. Setiap orang harus setia pada panggilannya.

#### *Kedua: Kekuasaan negara itu terbatas.*

Kekuasaan negara sama sekali tidak dapat menjangkau jiwa. Jika kekuasaan negara mencoba menjangkau kehidupan jiwa dengan peraturan-peraturan, dia melanggar ketentuan Allah dan hanya akan merusak jiwa. Setiap orang bertanggung jawab atas imannya, dan dia harus memeliharanya. Percaya adalah urusan kesadaran masing-masing, sebab hal itu adalah pekerjaan kebebasan, di mana seseorang tidak dapat dipaksa. Sebaliknya, para Uskup dan Paus yang mencoba melangkahi perbatasan daerahnya, ingin menjadi penguasa dunia, juga melanggar ketentuan Allah. Dalam Kisah Para Rasul 5:29, Rasul Petrus berkata, "Kita harus lebih taat kepada Allah dari pada kepada manusia."

#### *Ketiga: Tugas penguasa adalah melayani.*

Bagaimana seharusnya seorang penguasa mempergunakan kuasanya? Jawabnya, penguasa harus bergantung sepenuhnya kepada Allah demi kepentingan orang lain, tidak boleh bergantung kepada kesenangan pribadi dan kelompoknya. Penguasa harus mengenal hukum dengan baik, sebab jika hakimnya lebih bijaksana dari dia, benarlah

apa yang dikatakan oleh Amsal 28:16, “Seorang pemimpin yang tidak mempunyai pengertian keras penindasannya.” Karena itu, hukum harus dipegang oleh penguasa erat-erat sebagaimana dia memegang pedangnya erat-erat. Karena hukum akan memuaskan hati semua orang dan hukum tidak akan memuaskan tuntutan satu orang atau satu kelompok saja, apalagi tuntutan kelompok yang tidak puas.

Penguasa harus memperhatikan rakyatnya dengan sungguh-sungguh, bukan hanya memikirkan bagaimana memerintah, melainkan bagaimana melindungi dan menciptakan damai bagi mereka. Menurut Martin Luther, tidak ada orang yang harus dipercaya oleh penguasa, walaupun pembantu terdekatnya yang paling bijaksana sekalipun. Sebab, penguasa adalah bagaikan seorang penunggang kuda yang harus mengontrol tali kekang. Bagi dia, hanya Allah penasihat yang terbaik. Penguasa harus menaruh minat penuh akan keadilan dan agar penjahat tidak “menginjak piring, ketika dia akan mengambil sendok.” Artinya, penguasa tidak mengabaikan kesalahan kecil, sehingga mengakibatkan kesalahan yang lebih besar.

Dalam tulisan ini, Martin Luther menyediakan landasan yang benar untuk hukum sipil dan peraturan, sehingga tidak ada yang sangsi bahwa hal itu berada di dunia oleh kehendak dan ordinasi Allah. Sekali lagi Martin Luther menekankan bahwa Allah adalah pendiri pemerintahan sekuler, bukan manusia, dalam rangka mencipta keadilan dan damai di bumi. Dalam hal ini kekuasaan agama dan negara bekerja sama untuk tujuan yang sama, yakni untuk menciptakan masyarakat yang damai. Allah memerintah dunia dengan menggunakan dua bentuk pemerintahan yang berbeda: yang rohani dan sekuler. Kekuasaan negara adalah milik Allah yang sekuler, berhubungan dengan kerajaan tangan-kiri atau kerajaan dunia. Kekuasaan ini membawahi seluruh manusia yang hidup di dalam dunia ciptaan Allah, apakah mereka percaya pada-Nya atau tidak. Sementara kekuasaan agama milik Allah yang rohani, yang berhubungan dengan kerajaan tangan-kanan atau kerajaan sorgawi. Kerajaan ini membawahi seluruh manusia yang percaya dalam Kristus dan hidup di bawah kekuasaan-Nya.

Pikiran ini sangat berguna bagi mereka yang hidup di tengah-tengah berbagai agama lain seperti di Asia. Melalui konsep ini, kita akan menyadari bahwa Allah memerintah seluruh manusia dari berbagai agama, dalam kerajaan-Nya yang duniawi melalui

pemerintahan duniawi. Allah tidak hanya memerintah di dalam gereja, di tengah-tengah orang Kristen. Allah berada di mana-mana (*omni presentia*), pun di tengah-tengah politik dan struktur negara yang dibentuk oleh manusia. Jika manusia akhirnya tidak menghargai pemisahan kedua kekuasaan itu, pada dasarnya manusia tidak mengakui bahwa kekuasaan adalah ciptaan Allah yang dipinjamkan kepada manusia.

Dengan penjelasan itu, tampak jelas bahwa tulisan ini adalah kritik Martin Luther kepada raja-raja yang ketika itu tidak hanya berkuasa di dalam negara, tetapi juga di dalam gereja. Mereka ingin menjadi raja atas kedua kekuasaan itu, di mana para raja dan pangeran turut menandatangani keputusan-keputusan teologis tentang konvensi gereja yang disusun oleh para teolog (mis. Konvensi Augsburg, 1530). Sejajar dengan itu, tulisan ini juga adalah kritik terhadap para rohaniwan yang ketika itu giat mencampuri urusan kekuasaan negara.

## 5. Nasihat Untuk Perdamaian

Sebenarnya, ada tiga tulisan Martin Luther dalam menanggapi Pemberontakan Petani yang meledak pada tahun 1525. Akan tetapi, dalam kesempatan ini, "*Admonition to Peace*", *Nasihat Untuk Perdamaian (1525) (Martin Luther's Work 4:17-43)*, yang akan diambil untuk mewakili ketiganya.

Menurut Luther, Pemberontakan Petani adalah masa yang paling tragis dalam sejarah reformasi. Sikap Martin Luther terhadap peristiwa ini sangat fundamental, karena menyangkut pikirannya tentang masyarakat, politik, dan negara. Melalui peristiwa itu, kita dapat melihat perkembangan gereja Jerman, khususnya dalam soal demokratisasi pemerintahan gereja dan hubungannya dengan pemerintah setempat. Persoalan sosial dari mana Pemberontakan Petani bangkit, sudah mempunyai akar yang jauh di belakang reformasi. Akar itu umumnya psikologis. Revolusi dan pemberontakan adalah produk kejiwaan, dan proses di mana ekonomi dan kondisi materiel melahirkan keadaan mental yang sulit dideteksi oleh sejarawan. Petani juga digerakkan oleh gagasan John Wyclif, reformator Inggris abad XIV, penganjur perlawanan nasional Inggris atas pemerintahan Paus GKR. Menurut Wyclif, gereja harus sederhana, miskin, dan miliknya lebih baik diserahkan kepada negara.

Ajaran Martin Luther ditangkap oleh masyarakat kelas bawah secara salah dan diberi tafsiran di luar maksud Martin Luther. Bagi mereka, reformasi berarti melawan institusi agama dan negara yang berkolaborasi, melawan kepalsuan biara, dan terutama membenci kekayaan gereja seperti anjuran Wyclif. Tokoh yang populer dalam barisan ini adalah Thomas Muenzer dan Balthasar Hubmaier. Mereka menyebut diri sebagai pembaru masyarakat dan gereja. Mereka percaya bahwa agama hanya dapat direformasi melalui penghapusan institusinya dan menciptakan sesuatu yang baru dan murni.

*Nasihat Untuk Perdamaian* terdiri dari 3 bagian: **Bagian pertama** dialamatkan kepada para pangeran dan raja. Martin Luther meminta mereka untuk berdamai dengan pemberontak dan memperbaiki taraf hidup para petani. Martin Luther terus terang mengatakan bahwa merekalah yang disalahkan atas pemberontakan petani. **Bagian kedua** dialamatkan kepada petani. Martin Luther mengakui bahwa apa yang ditulis oleh para petani dalam dua belas pasal tuntutan mereka adalah benar. Dia setuju bahwa mereka memang dihisap dan ditekan oleh penguasa. Walaupun demikian, mereka salah karena memaksa mengubah keadaan dengan kekerasan, dan karena mereka menyatakan bahwa Injil memberi mereka hak untuk melakukan kekerasan. **Bagian ketiga** ditujukan kepada raja dan petani. Martin Luther mengingatkan kedua belah pihak bahwa mereka sama-sama bersalah dan bahwa cara-cara mereka bukan cara orang beragama. Jika mereka terus berkonflik, kedua pihak akan kehilangan nyawa dan Jerman akan hancur. Martin Luther mengusulkan agar sebuah komisi yang bertugas mempelajari masalah dibentuk untuk mencari kesepakatan yang dapat disetujui oleh kedua pihak.

Untuk memahami tulisan ini lebih baik, kita perlu memperhatikan secara ringkas kedua belas pasal yang disusun oleh para petani sebagaimana disebut dalam subjudul, karya ini: "Jawaban Kepada Kedua belas Pasal Petani dari Swabia." Dalam pasal-pasal itu, para petani menuntut 12 hal, a.l.: agar kepada mereka diberi kekuasaan untuk memilih, menetapkan, dan memecat pendeta; memberi persembahan sesuai dengan kemampuan; bebas menangkap ikan dan binatang, bebas mengambil kayu untuk kebutuhan hidup; supaya kerja paksa dikurangi; tidak bersedia lagi ditekan dan diperas oleh siapa pun; dan supaya mereka bebas mengerjakan tanah dan berusaha.

Menurut Martin Luther, tuntutan para petani Jerman itu benar, tetapi pelaksanaannya di lapangan telah menimbulkan pertumpahan

darah. Sebagaimana telah disinggung di atas, Martinus Luther pertama-tama menyalahkan penguasa (para pangeran dan raja). Martin Luther berkata bahwa pemberontakan itu muncul karena kesalahan mereka, hati mereka sudah keras, mereka tidak berbuat apa-apa melainkan menguliti dan merampok rakyat agar dapat hidup senang dan pongah, sampai masyarakat miskin tidak mampu lagi menahannya.

Walau teguran Martin Luther cukup keras, dia masih mengimbuu penguasa untuk menyediakan tempat kecil bagi kehendak Allah. Martin Luther memberikan sebuah perumpamaan: "Kereta yang sarat dengan jerami harus memberi jalan bagi seorang pemabuk". Dengan perumpamaan itu, Martin Luther bermaksud agar penguasa meluluhkan hatinya. Sedangkan kepada petani, Martin Luther bermaksud menenangkannya dengan mengatakan bahwa penguasa yang tidak adil itu akan diturunkan oleh Allah. Dia juga membujuk petani agar sadar akan keadilan dan mengimbuu mereka agar memperhatikan nama mereka sebagai orang Kristen, karena nama itu berarti adalah orang-orang yang patuh kepada hukum ilahi, dan tidak mempermalukan nama Allah. Kepada para petani, Luther mengatakan: "Walaupun raja-raja itu jahat, tetapi hal itu tidak membenarkan pemberontakan dan pembunuhan. Jika kalian mempercongkak diri, Allah akan menghukum kalian." Martin Luther kemudian mengutip Roma 12:19, "jangan melakukan pembalasan, sebab itu adalah hak Allah".

Pemisahan kekuasaan agama dan negara (ADK Martin Luther) tampak jelas di dalam karya ini, di mana kekuasaan negara mendapat tempat yang sentral dalam menyelesaikan konflik dan berperanan penting dalam menyumbangkan kedamaian bagi masyarakat. Negara adalah pemegang kekuasaan yang mengatur kepentingan umum, seperti: keamanan, ekonomi pertanian yang adil, pemberian perlindungan bagi kaum petani, dan pembagian lahan pertanian yang berpihak kepada petani sebagaimana kelihatan di dalam kasus pemberontakan petani di atas. Tetapi, negara tidak memegang kekuasaan yang mengatur kepentingan kerohanian warga masyarakat.

## **IMPLIKASI POLITIS**

Pemikiran Martin Luther tentang pemisahan kekuasaan agama dan negara adalah pemikiran yang bisa ditemukan bukan hanya di dalam karya tulis di atas. Sebagaimana telah diuraikan di depan, tinjauan

historis dogmatis menolong untuk memahami bahwa pemikirannya yang berasal dari abad ke-16 itu punya makna pada abad ke-21. Walau sudah kita lakukan sepintas, hal tersebut dapat kita periksa ulang di dalam beberapa butir-butir pemikiran Luther di bawah ini.

Pemisahan kekuasaan agama dan negara memberikan penghargaan yang tinggi kepada ciptaan Allah, di mana pluralisme adalah cirinya yang terutama. Sebaliknya, monopoli kedua kekuasaan di satu tangan melawan kehendak Allah dalam penciptaan dan menolak pluralisme. Iman adalah pengharapan, yang melakukan perubahan dari kematian kepada kehidupan, yang menghantar masa depan manusia kepada kebangkitan. Pengharapan teologis-dogmatis ini sama sekali tidak dapat ditetapkan oleh kekuasaan negara. Karena itu, para raja harus legawa untuk menyerahkan urusan pengharapan akan masa depan sesudah kematian kepada urusan agama saja.

Karena Iblis tahu bahwa kekuasaan negara dan agama adalah sama-sama ciptaan Allah, dia terus berjuang menghancurkan kedua kekuasaan itu sampai akhir zaman. Itulah sebabnya, Martin Luther terbuka kepada kemungkinan lain, termasuk kemungkinan menggunakan kekuasaan negara sebagai alat Tuhan untuk menyampaikan maksud-Nya. Manusia yang berdosa, tetapi sekaligus dibenarkan (*simul iustus et peccator*), juga memberikan fondasi keterpanggilan untuk tidak ragu-ragu ambil bagian di dalam kekuasaan yang mengatur penyelenggaraan negara.

Saya pikir menarik juga untuk mencermati pemikiran Martin Luther tentang pemisahan kekuasaan agama dan negara ini dari sudut pandang etika. Memang, tidak sempat membahas pemikiran tersebut secara luas di sini. Namun, satu hal yang perlu digarisbawahi adalah bahwa pemikiran Martin Luther tentang pemisahan kekuasaan agama dan negara telah mendorong orang Kristen untuk berbuat yang terbaik di tengah masyarakat, karena mereka disuruh pergi ke dunia, tidak menjauh dari dunia dan mereka merasa terpanggil untuk menjadi warga negara yang bertanggung jawab. Sikap bertanggung jawab di dunia ini menyebabkan orang bekerja dengan rajin, hemat, dan jujur, yang dilihat oleh Max Weber sebagai awal dari kapitalisme. Dengan kata lain, reformasi protestan juga memberikan sumbangan untuk perkembangan ekonomi dunia.

Panggilan memasuki dunia itu tidak dilakukan dalam bentuk yang triumfalistik, tetapi sebaliknya di dalam *kenosis*, pengosongan diri, karena orang Kristen memikul salib setiap hari, berjalan dalam *Anfechtung*, yakni pergumulan iman, di mana suara hati menuntun

manusia hidup dalam keinginan bebas yang terikat, baik dalam kehidupan gerejawi maupun politik. Setiap pekerjaan adalah panggilan untuk mengasihi, termasuk mengasihi dunia dan negara. Justru pemisahan kedua kekuasaan akan menumbuhkan cinta yang jujur dari warga negara kepada negaranya, di mana setiap warga terpanggil untuk tunduk kepada kekuasaan negara atau sebaliknya, melawan jika kekuasaan negara itu melakukan tindakan yang tidak sesuai dengan kehendak Allah, Sang Pemberi kekuasaan itu.

## **PENUTUP**

Demokrasi langsung (*direct democracy*) ataupun yang tidak langsung (*indirect democracy*) hanya bisa efisien, jika elite politik dapat dikontrol oleh masyarakat yang pluralis. Masyarakat atau kelompok yang homogen akan dengan mudah memonopoli kekuasaan di tangannya, serta membiarkan dirinya memerintah tanpa kontrol. Plato, orang bijak dari Yunani purba itu, melihat politik sebagai hal yang tidak terpisahkan dari manajemen rumah tangga (*oikonomia*) yang kemudian kita sebut sebagai ekonomi, di mana semua sama-sama bertanggung jawab dalam menentukan jalan hidup negara-kota (*polis*) masa itu. Karena Plato membagi dunia ke dalam dua bidang, dunia materi dan realitas yang lebih tinggi, yang menjadi sumber kebenaran, keindahan, dan kebaikan, orang melihat adanya hubungan antara Plato dan Martin Luther. Bagi Plato, pembedaan ontologis ini perlu di dalam kaitannya dengan moral, karena hidup nyata adalah sumber pengetahuan yang benar bagi kebaikan tertinggi. Manusia terdiri dari dua dunia, yang material dan yang rasional. Manusia yang baik menjauhkan diri dari materi dan mengejar penyelidikan hakikat yang non-material. Senada dengan Plato, pemikiran Martin Luther tidak berhenti pada dualisme ontologis, sebab pemisahan kekuasaan adalah hal yang berkaitan dengan moral, di mana kekuasaan di-depersonalisasi. Dengan demikian, penguasa tidak akan memerintah atas kehendaknya sendiri, tetapi atas kehendak hukum yang dirumuskan oleh masyarakat. Hanya dengan pemisahan kekuasaan agama dan negara, partisipasi demokratis di dalam politik dapat terwujud dan pengejaran yang non-material ditetapkan oleh yang material.





# SEPARATION OF RELIGIOUS POWER AND STATE POWER BY MARTIN LUTHER

*Mangisi S.E. Simorangkir*

## INTRODUCTION

In the Middle Ages, a reformer named Martin Luther put forward his idea of division of power. The idea of the division of power, then, was developed by two Western political philosophers: John Locke (1632-1704) and Charles Montesquieu (1689-1755).

Martin Luther, whose full name is Martinus Luther, divides power into two groups: religious power and state power; while John Locke and Montesquieu—who later became known as figures of modern democracy, divided power into three parts. John Locke introduced the principles of separation of powers by “*checks and balances*“, while Charles Montesquieu divided power into three pillars: executive, legislative and judiciary.

Although the three of them have different views, they agree that the monopoly of power is contrary to democratic principles and has the potential to violate human freedom. For Luther, the most important thing is how humans can live freely, prosperously, independently. No person nor group has the right and is given the right to monopolize power.

The thought of separating the two powers was felt to be very important by Martin Luther at that time, because religious power (in this case the church) had interfered too much in state affairs. For Luther, the two powers had different fields of work, even though he believed there were things that indicated that the two powers had something in common and that both needed to work together. For

example, according to Luther, the two powers were both created by God for the sake of world peace and that both of them worked together for world peace. Therefore, at certain points, the two can intersect and work together.

The consequence of the separation of religious and state power is that clergymen do not need to share political power in the state. This is because clergymen have different duties from those of politicians. Religious power is regulated by the Holy Scriptures, while state power is regulated by law (or constitution) and other statutory regulations. However, these two powers were given by God as a sign of His love for the world, but this did not become a reason for clergymen to get involved in state power.

Martin Luther's thoughts later became widely known as the "Teachings of the Two Kingdoms of Martin Luther" (hereinafter abbreviated as TTK), or in English known as the "*Two Kingdoms Doctrine*" or "*Zwei Reiche Lehre*" in German. In this text, the word "kingdom" is replaced by the word "dominion." This can be done, considering that the word "kingdom" in Martin Luther's writings is often replaced by the word "*Macht*" (power) which is equivalent to "power" in English. Meanwhile, we replaced the word "church" with the word "religion", because the church at that time could be said to be a medieval religion, although it did not always have the same meaning as the church in Martin Luther's writings. Church can mean a building, spirituality, fellowship of Christians, and followers of Jesus.

In history, the problem of unification and separation of religious power and state power is not something new. If we trace back, the two powers often compete for the best to become the government. In fact, in the Bible, we can find that problem. Originally the leader of God's people was Moses who was directly chosen by God (theocracy), but was later replaced by judges and finally by the king. So in the Bible there is a change in the pattern of distribution of power. Solomon received power from the hands of his father David (monarchy-oligarchy). There was a time in the Old Testament (OT) when these two powers were both combined and separated. However, in the New Testament (NT) Jesus taught the separation of the two powers. The verse used by Martin Luther as the basis for the separation of religious power and state power is Jesus' words in Matthew 22: 21, "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's."

After the time of Jesus, the church continued to struggle over its relationship with the state, not only because of persecution by the church, but also later because the church became the official religion. Prior to being recognized as an independent religion, Christianity was under tremendous pressure. However, once recognized, the church developed into a power-hungry religious institution. In the history of the churches in Indonesia, both during the *zending* period (the time of preaching the Gospel), the period of the struggle for independence, and the period after independence, the relationship between the church and the state has always been a complicated issue. This is also evident in efforts to involve Christians in the process of forming the Indonesian state. Even today, the relationship between church and state (read: the relationship between religious power and state power) in Indonesia is still problematic. The existence of vandalism and forced closing of houses of worship, and the implementation of regional regulations with religious nuances are proof of this. If religious power and state power in Indonesia were clearly separated, then the destruction and forced closing of houses of worship could be minimized, because state power would be able to fairly control religious power.

The idea of separating religious power and state power is sure to be challenged by those who wish to unite them, as well as those who wish to use religious power as a vehicle to gain political power. Luther's TTK also received very tough challenges in his time, especially from the official church and from the authorities. After World War II, Luther's TTK received criticism from various parties, because his teachings were associated with Nazi violence during World War II. Critics of Luther's TTK alleged that the Martin Luther Church in Germany had allowed the Nazi government to act arbitrarily, arguing that the church should not interfere in state affairs based on the theory of the separation of religious and state powers. However, those who defend Luther's TTK argue that the church that allowed the cruel government was based on a wrong interpretation of TTK Martin Luther. Here we meet the task of theology as a science that deals with problems in a new, critical and contextual way. Luther's TTK is the answer to problems in the Middle Ages in Europe, or in other words, the thought is a contextual thought, which must be adapted to conditions in other countries. In Indonesia, the relationship between religion and the state that has

been regulated in the 1945 Constitution also faces challenges from those who want to unite the two powers.

## **LUTHER'S TTK HISTORICAL-DOGMATIC REVIEW**

In a historical review it was found that the medieval church (religion) considered that this world was dirty. Therefore, the clergymen seclude themselves in the monasteries and are not married to avoid this filthy world. But, on the contrary, religion at that time tried to dominate the world by seizing world power through the privileges of the clergy. At that time, the kings in Europe had to get the blessing of the Pope (RCC or (Roman Catholic Church)). In fact, the emperor Karel V of Spain, who oversaw areas in Europe, received the blessing of the Pope. For Germany, the country where Martin Luther was born, it is a form of colonialism. That is why, at that time, Martin Luther's resistance to the church was seen as a resistance to the invaders. However, Martin Luther did not want to be trapped in narrow heroism which placed his struggle only as German nationalism. Martin Luther wanted to fight for universal human freedom.

Time seems to be on the side of Martin Luther's cause. His struggle was supported by enlightenment (Aufklaerung), the discovery of the new continent of America, the invention of new technologies such as the printing press which accelerated the spread of his writings, as well as the Copernicus theory which stated that the sun was the center of the universe—not the earth. The movement that was born by Martin Luther since he nailed his 95 propositions at the door of the Wittenberg church on October 31, 1517 to fight against the arbitrariness of the status quo in society, received wide acclaim, and has provided a strong foundation for world civilization onwards.

Martin Luther is fighting giants. At that time, the Pope's power (read: religious power) was very strong. The power of the Pope is founded on a theology which is built in such a way that this power lasts. For this reason, the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) has developed an understanding that the Pope is a direct substitute for the apostle Peter, a disciple of Jesus who preached the Gospel to Rome. Peter's continuity of power (apostolic succession) is supported by a one-sided theological-political interpretation of Matthew 16:19, namely Jesus' words to Peter, "And I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven.". This

means that Peter had religious power and state power at the same time because the last sentence was considered to guarantee that both powers were in his hands. Martin Luther opposed this opinion by saying, that the speech was not directed to Peter personally, but to the church which is “built on the rock.” This is a lesson that clergymen who are hungry for power will try to legitimize their activities in the political field.

The following political strength of the Pope is the statement by the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) that there is a gift from Emperor Constantine (*Donation of Constantine*) to the Pope, namely that there is a document handing over power from the hands of Emperor Constantine to the Pope. Many parties, including Martin Luther, doubted the existence of the document, which is roughly the same as *Supersemar* in Indonesia. To address the arbitrariness of mixing religious power and state power, Luther introduced his views through various writings, including about: personal freedom, freedom of faith, rebellion with weakness, restrictions on state power, and advice for peace.

## **1. Personal freedom**

There is much misunderstanding with the revolution brought about by the reformation of Martin Luther, who saw it as an attack on the arbitrariness of religious power. In fact, reformation tries to radiate religion through every aspect of life, or by borrowing Max Weber’s term, reformation is asceticism (self-denial) that moves in the world (*innerweltliche Askese*), not asceticism that shuts itself down. Reform is not a movement that emphasizes individualism, but prioritizes improvement in the social field of society with the help of its citizens who are free and believe that they are blessed by God. The most important thing in the reformed faith, in this case Protestantism, is self-confidence that is directly related to the movement for political freedom and social change. Because the reforms enlivened the individualistic message of religion, it created two opposite camps, religion facing the state when suppressed.

In the time of Martin Luther, religion, heaven and salvation could be bought with money and goodwill. Things that can happen anywhere in the world in different forms. At that time, the church was trading what was called “*indulgensia*”, namely letters of expiation for sins. Martin Luther’s criticism of indulgences was first expressed in his famous 95 theses. In the 43rd postulate, Martin Luther said

that “good works” are better than indulgences. This view became the heart of his program, that the practice of poverty, pretending (hypocrisy) of the monks who begged (asceticism) is hypocrisy that enslaves, so that an explanation is needed that every Christian is free.

October 1520, Martin Luther published his writings entitled Freedom of a Christian (Martin Luther’s Work, Vol. 31:333-377), which spoke of salvation as a gift from the new freedom. It is freedom from slavery to salvation that is longed for. Freedom is freely received and freely shared. Another reason for writing this work was Martin Luther’s rejection of the punishment imposed by the Pope on him, namely the bulla (curse letter) issued by Pope Leo X on June 15, 1520. According to Luther, the duty of religion is not to punish someone, but to forgive and liberate humans. from all forms of oppression.

In this article Martin Luther describes the role of faith which justifies everyone and the inability of the Torah (religious regulations) to save humanity. True faith is the treasure that brings perfect salvation. For him, “good deeds do not make people good, but good people do good deeds. Bad deeds do not make people bad, but bad people do bad things.” Good deeds come from a good person, “a good tree bears good fruit” (Matt. 7:18). Fruit does not bear trees, or trees do not grow on fruit, but vice versa; trees bear fruit and fruit grows on trees. Kindness is not something that is regulated.

Although Martin Luther emphasized that man is free, he linked the theme of freedom with obedience to government. So, Martin Luther did not invite his followers against the government, only he did not agree if religious government was combined with secular government. He pointed to Christ’s attitude regarding taxes (Matt. 17:24-27). Christ told Peter to go to the lake and take the money from the mouth of the fish he had hooked. Christ here calls Himself and His own, sons of kings who need nothing, but voluntarily and dutifully pay taxes. That is, the actions of Christ’s followers are useful for the truth, are free and for the sake of others. Martin Luther saw from the same angle as Paul in Romans 13:1-7, namely that Christians should submit to authority and be willing to do every good deed. In doing so, they serve others as well as those in authority, and obey their will freely, and out of love. Submission to the government here is not blind submission, and parallel to that,

resistance to a government that is doing its job wrong. However, it is not anarchist resistance, but resistance or rebuke based on love.

## **2. Freedom of belief**

To explain to the rulers that religious power had crossed the limits of its authority, in 1520, Martin Luther wrote *To Christian Nobility* (Martin Luther's Work, Vol. 44:117-217). In that article, Martin Luther strongly opposed the mixing of religious power and state power. This writing becomes a political responsibility in history, because Martin Luther became a symbol of the struggle to escape from the exploitation of other powers. He did awaken a sense of nationalism in the German people, although that was not the most important goal of his reforms. Reformation was not a matter of Martin Luther personally fighting tyranny, crime, deceit, arrogance, and arbitrariness. Martin Luther did not rely on narrow nationalism as practiced by the rebels during the Peasants' Uprising in 1525, but relied on Scripture. Martin Luther's concern was with theological principles.

The goal of Luther's reforms was not a German victory, but complete human conversion and renewal. Because of this, Luther's reform goals disappointed the movement for the rise of German nationalism. Martin Luther refused to be equated with William Tell – a Swiss national hero against Austrian invaders, Joan of Arc-French female national hero against England, or George Washington-United States national hero. Martin Luther struggled by relying on freedom of faith.

In this work Martin Luther developed three basic teachings of political reform: First, all are clergy. According to Luther, it is fraud to say that the Pope, bishops, priests and monks are called spiritual beings; while kings, lords, artisans, and farmers are worldly beings. For him, all are priests, in the sense of servants, but that does not mean that a priest can become a politician or that a politician can become a priest. What he meant was that one's duties in the world of politics were the same as those of an imam in the field of religion. No one wants to be underestimated because of differences, except because of position. As Paul said in 1 Corinthians 12:12-13, that we are all one body, but each member has their own task, through which everyone serves others. This view is commonly known as the "Universal Priesthood of Believers." Second, everyone has the right to interpret God's Word. Martin Luther opposed the statement that only

clergymen had the right to be interpreters of Scripture. This selfish thought influences society by saying that the Pope (religious leader) can never go wrong in faith. “If that is true, what are the Scriptures for?” asked Martin Luther. Third, all have the right to give advice to clergy. According to Martin Luther, if a clergyman (in this case the Pope) is wrong and goes against the Bible, based on Matthew 18:15-17, “When your brother sins, be damned to him under four eyes.”, it is our duty to advise.

### **3. Rebellion with weakness**

The church considered that Martin Luther’s reforms had torn his power to shreds. Because of this, the church sentenced Martin Luther. The content of the punishment is that anyone has the right to drop their hands on him. Because of this, Martin Luther was hidden by his friend, King Frederick the Wise. Martin Luther was exiled in Wartburg Manor from May 4, 1521 to March 1, 1522. During his absence in Wittenberg, the city center of the reform movement, the leadership of the movement was taken over by people who introduced a movement that was faster than what Martin Luther had in mind. As a result, there was a riot. Because of that Martin Luther decided to come out of hiding in secret and came to Wittenberg disguised as a bearded knight under the pseudonym “Junker Georg.” He was not long in Wittenberg, for his arrival was soon known by many. That is why Martin Luther wrote Sincere Counsel to All Christians (Martin Luther’s Work 45:51-74).

In that writing Martin Luther strongly disagreed with treason and rebellion. Martin Luther pointed to various Bible verses that say God will destroy the powers of evil. In this chaotic situation, Martin Luther hoped that the rulers would take control of the peace of the people, and also repeatedly asked the people to respect the rulers. No treason is ever good, however true the issues raised by the plotters are. Martin Luther said he was on the side of those who were threatened with acts of treason, regardless of the injustices they had committed; but he opposes those who stir up plots, regardless of the justice of their claims. Because, there is no treason without hurting innocent people.

Martin Luther also emphasized that God forbids rebellion. God wants justice and that all humans are sinners, no one is perfect, therefore there is no need to commit violence let alone carry out armed rebellion. Christ did rebel, but with weakness, a model of



rebellion that needs to be imitated. Martin Luther also felt the need to talk about the “rebellion“ that he had been carrying out so far, because he saw that society had risen in rebellion because he had rebelled first. “The rebellion came against my will, and will be completed by God without his counsel,“ he said. Thus, in this work, he wrote his famous statement, that the Reformation was not his own movement, and that he refused to name his supporters as Martin Lutherans.

He did not directly mention the separation of religious power and state power in this paper, but he stressed the need for the government’s role in creating security in society. Even though the riots were sparked by religious issues, it is the government that must be responsible for managing the security of its people, not certain groups acting in the name of religion.

#### **4. Limits of state power**

State power was decisive in the progress and fall of reforms, so Martin Luther felt the need to write specifically about the limits of state power. The article was entitled: *Earthly Power: To What Degree Must It Be Obeyed?* (1523) (*Martin Luther’s Work Vol 45:75-129*).

In 1521 at Worms, Luther was ordered by the emperor to withdraw his writings. Martinus Luther firmly rejected the emperor’s order. However, some rulers followed the emperor’s orders by banning their citizens from reading Martin Luther’s books. Under these circumstances, Martin Luther was faced with the choice to act to reintroduce his thoughts in the political field. He faced state power, religious power, as well as banning imposed by the empire and the Pope. Martin Luther did not use weapons to go against the rulers, but gave a theological explanation of what power really is. The following exposure will describe Luther’s theological explanation of this power:

*First: State power comes from God.*

Power does not exist by human will. Therefore “everyone must submit to the government above him, because there is no government that is not from God“ (Rom. 13:1; 1 Pet. 2:13). State power is needed, because not all citizens come from one religion and followers of the same religion; not all citizens are believers. Because of this, we need Torah or regulations, swords and kings (1 Tim. 1:9). God provides another government for those who are outside of God’s Kingdom. If

not, then the world will be chaotic. To take action against those who live badly, and to praise those who do good, God established a state power that operates with worldly power. However, it is impossible for someone to rule this world with the Word of God, because all kinds of people are mixed in the world. One who rules the world in such a way will be like a shepherd who puts a wolf, a lion, an eagle, and a sheep, in one pen and says, "Help yourselves, and be kind and at peace with others. The cage was open, there was a lot of food. You don't need to be afraid of dogs and clubs." The sheep will indeed maintain peace, but at the same time allow itself to be devoured. If so, they couldn't live for long, nor could beasts survive.

Christians are citizens who submit to the government in love. They serve the government not for themselves but for the sake of others, so that other people are protected and so that bad people don't get worse. So, Christians may hold a sword (to become soldiers), for the sake of others. In Luke 3, John the Baptist does not forbid soldiers from working with his sword, but he asks that they be content with his wages. Everyone must be faithful to his calling.

*Second: The power of the state is limited.*

State power is by no means able to reach the soul. If state power tries to reach the life of the soul with regulations, then it violates God's provisions and will only damage the soul. Everyone is responsible for his faith, and he must maintain it. Believing is a matter of individual conscience, because it is a work of freedom, in which one cannot be coerced. On the other hand, bishops and popes who try to overstep their borders, wanting to become rulers of the world, also violate God's provisions. In Acts 5:29 the apostle Peter said, "We must obey God more than men."

*Third: The duty of the ruler is to serve.*

How should a ruler use his power? The answer is, rulers must depend entirely on God for the benefit of others, must not depend on personal and group pleasures. The ruler must know the law well, because if the judge is wiser than he is, then what Proverbs 28:16 says is true, "A ruler who does not have a hard understanding oppresses him." Therefore, the law must be held by the ruler as tightly as he gripped his sword. Because the law will satisfy everyone's heart and the law will not satisfy the demands of just one person or one group, let alone the demands of dissatisfied groups.

Rulers must pay serious attention to their people, not only thinking about how to govern, but how to protect the people and create peace for them. According to Martin Luther, no one should be trusted by the authorities, even the wisest closest aide. Because the ruler is like a horseman who must control the bridle. For him, only God is the best adviser. The ruler must take his full interest in justice and that the criminal does not “step on the plate, when he is about to take the spoon.” That is, the ruler does not ignore small mistakes, resulting in bigger mistakes.

In these writings Martin Luther provides the correct foundation for civil laws and regulations, so that no one doubts that they are in the world by the will and coordination of God. Once again Martin Luther emphasized that God is the founder of secular government, not human, in order to create justice and peace on earth. In this case religious power and state power work together for the same goal, namely to create a peaceful society. God rules the world using two different forms of government: a spiritual one and a secular one. State power belongs to God who is secular in relation to the left-handed or worldly empire. This power overlies all human beings living in the world created by Allah, whether they believe in Him or not. While religious power belongs to God who is spiritual, which is related to the right-handed kingdom or the heavenly kingdom. This kingdom oversees all humans who believe in Christ and live under His dominion.

This thought is very useful for those who live in the midst of various other religions such as in Asia. Through this concept, we will realize that God rules over all people from various religions, in His earthly kingdom through worldly governments. God does not only reign in the church, among Christians only. God is everywhere (*omni presentia*), even in the midst of politics and state structures formed by humans. If humans finally cannot appreciate the separation of the two powers, then basically humans cannot recognize that power is God’s creation that is lent to humans.

With that explanation, it seems clear that this paper is Martin Luther’s criticism of the kings who at that time were not only in power in the state, but also in power in the church. They wanted to be king over both powers, in that kings and princes co-signed theological decisions on ecclesiastical conventions drawn up by theologians (eg the Augsburg Convention, 1530). Parallel to that,

this paper is also a criticism of the clergy who at that time actively interfered in the affairs of state power.

## 5. Advice For Peace

Actually, there are three writings of Martin Luther in response to the Peasants' Revolt that exploded in 1525. However, in this opportunity, "*Admonition to Peace*", *Advice For Peace* (1525) (Martin Luther's Work 4:17-43), which will be taken to represent all three.

According to Luther, the Peasants' Revolt was the most tragic period in the history of the Reformation. Martin Luther's attitude towards this event was very fundamental, because it involved his thoughts on society, politics and the state. Through this event, we can see the development of the German church, especially in terms of the democratization of church government and its relationship with the local government. The social problems from which the Peasants' Uprising arose, already have roots that go far back in reform. The root is generally psychological. Revolutions and rebellions are products of the psyche, and the processes by which economic and material conditions give rise to mental states that are difficult for historians to detect. Farmers were also moved by the ideas of John Wyclif, a fourteenth-century English reformer, an advocate of British national resistance to the rule of Pope RCC. According to Wyclif, the church must be simple, poor, and its property is better left to the state.

Martin Luther's teachings were wrongly captured by the lower classes of society and given interpretations outside of Martin Luther's intent. For them, the reforms meant going against the collaborating institutions of religion and state, against monastic falsehoods, and especially against the riches of the church as Wyclif advocated. Popular figures in this lineup are Thomas Muenzer and Balthasar Hubmaier. They call themselves reformers of society and the church. They believe that religion can only be reformed by abolishing its institutions and creating something new and pure.

*Counsel for Peace* consists of 3 parts: The first part addresses princes and kings. Martin Luther asked them to make peace with the rebels and improve the lives of the farmers. Martin Luther frankly said that they were to blame for the peasant uprising. The second part is addressed to farmers. Martin Luther confessed that, what was written by the farmers in the twelve articles of their demands was true. He agreed that they were exploited and pressured by the

authorities. However, they are wrong for forcing things to change by force, and because they claim that the Bible gives them the right to use violence. The third part is addressed to the king and peasants. Martin Luther reminded both parties that they were both guilty and that their ways were not the ways of religious people. If they continued to conflict, both sides would lose their lives and Germany would be destroyed. Martin Luther proposed that a commission to study the problem be formed to seek an agreement that could be agreed upon by both parties.

To understand this article better, we need to look briefly at the twelve articles written by the peasants as mentioned in the sub-heading of this work: "*Answers to the Twelve Articles of the Farmer from Swabia.*" In those articles, the farmers demand 12 things, namely: that they be given the power to elect, appoint and fire pastors; give offerings according to ability; so that they are free to catch fish and animals, free to take wood for their subsistence; so that forced labor is reduced; no longer willing to be pressured and extorted by anyone; and that they may be free to work the land and work.

According to Martin Luther, the demands of the German peasants were true, but their implementation on the ground had caused bloodshed. As mentioned above, Martinus Luther first blamed the authorities (princes and kings). Martin Luther said that the rebellion arose because of their mistake, their hearts were hardened, they did nothing but skin and rob people, so they could live happily and arrogantly, until the poor could no longer endure it.

Even though Martin Luther's rebuke was quite harsh, he still appealed to the authorities to provide a small place for God's will. Martin Luther gave a parable: "A cart loaded with hay must give way to a drunkard, ". With that parable, Martin Luther meant that the authorities melted his heart. As for the farmers, Martin Luther intended to appease them by saying that the unjust ruler would be brought down by God. He also persuaded the peasants to be conscious of justice, and urged them to heed their name as Christians, because that name means those who obey divine law, and do not dishonor God's name. To the farmers, Luther said: "Even though kings are evil, that does not justify rebellion and murder. If you are arrogant, Allah will punish you." Martin Luther then quoted Romans 12:19, "take no vengeance, for it is God's right."

The separation of religious power and state power (Luther's TTK) is evident in this work, in which state power has a central place in resolving conflicts and plays an important role in contributing peace to society. The state is the holder of power that regulates public interests, such as: security, a fair agricultural economy, providing protection for farmers, and dividing agricultural land in favor of farmers as seen in the case of the peasant rebellion above. However, the state does not hold the power to regulate the spiritual interests of citizens.

## **POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS**

Martin Luther's thoughts about the separation of religious power and state power are ideas that can be found not only in the above writings. As explained earlier, a dogmatic historical review helps to understand that his thoughts originating from the 16th century have meaning in the 21st century. Even though we have done this in passing, we can re-examine this in the following points of Luther's thought. .

The separation of religious power and state power gives high respect to God's creation, in which pluralism is its main feature. On the other hand, the monopoly of both powers in one hand is against God's will in creation and rejects pluralism. Faith is hope, which makes a change from death to life, which brings the future of humanity to resurrection. This theological-dogmatic expectation in no way can be determined by state power. Because of this, the kings had to be relieved to leave matters of hope for the future after death to matters of religion alone.

Because Satan knows that state power and religious power are both creations of God, he will continue to fight to destroy these two powers until the end of time. That is why Martin Luther was open to other possibilities, including the possibility of using state power as God's tool to convey His intentions. Humans who are sinful, but at the same time justified (*simul iustus et peccator*), also provide the foundation for being called to not hesitate to take part in the powers that govern the administration of the state.

I think it is also interesting to examine Martin Luther's thoughts about the separation of religious power and state power from an ethical perspective. There is no time to discuss these thoughts broadly here, but one thing that needs to be underlined is that Martin Luther's thoughts about the separation of religious power

and state power have encouraged Christians to do their best in society, because they were told to go out into the world, not to stay away of the world and they feel called to be responsible citizens. Being responsible in this world causes people to work diligently, thriftily, and honestly, which Max Weber saw as the beginning of capitalism. In other words, Protestant reform also contributed to the development of the world economy.

The call to enter the world is not carried out in a triumphalistic form, but on the contrary in *kenosis*, self-emptying, because Christians carry their cross every day, walking in *Anfechtung*, namely the struggle of faith, where conscience leads humans to live in free will that is bound, good in ecclesiastical and political life. Every job is a call to love, including loving the world and country. The separation of the two powers will precisely foster honest love from citizens for their country, where every citizen is called to submit to state power or vice versa to fight if that state power takes actions that are not in accordance with the will of God, the Giver of that power.

## **CLOSING**

Direct democracy or indirect democracy can only be efficient if the political elite can be controlled by a pluralist society. Homogeneous societies or groups will easily monopolize power in their hands, and allow themselves to rule without control. Plato, the wise man from ancient Greece, saw politics as inseparable from household management (*oikonomia*) which we then call economics, in which all were equally responsible for determining the course of life of the city-states (*polis*) of that time. . Because Plato divided the world into two areas, the material world and a higher reality which is the source of truth, beauty, and goodness, one sees a connection between Plato and Martin Luther. For Plato, this ontological distinction is necessary in relation to morals, because real life is the true source of knowledge for the highest good. Man consists of two worlds, the material and the rational. The good man keeps away from matter and pursues investigation of immaterial nature. In line with Plato, Martin Luther's thought did not stop at ontological dualism, because the separation of powers is something related to morality, where power is depersonalized. Thus, the ruler will not rule on his own will, but according to the will of the law formulated by the community. Only with the separation of religious and state powers can democratic

participation in politics be realized and the pursuit of the immaterial is dictated by the material.

## **ABOUT THE AUTHOR**



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# **PENDIDIKAN MISI KRISTEN YANG MEMBEBAHKAN: SEBUAH KRITIK ATAS JEJAK DISKRIMINASI, RASISME, DAN KOLONIALISME DALAM PENDIDIKAN DI INDONESIA**

*Oinike Natalia Harefa*

## **ABSTRAK**

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis pendidikan misi Kristen berdasarkan perspektif feminisme pascakolonial. Pendidikan misi membutuhkan kontribusi perspektif feminisme pascakolonial yang menantang hegemoni dan relasi kuasa dalam sistem pendidikan yang mendiskriminasikan orang-orang terpinggirkan, khususnya perempuan. Pendidikan misi Kristen yang masih terjebak dalam model standar kolonial menunjukkan hubungan biner yang timpang antara “pusat” dan “pinggiran”, perempuan dan laki-laki, Barat dan non-Barat, pendidik dan peserta didik. Sebaliknya, pendidikan misi adalah praktik kebebasan sebagai cara hidup yang mengikuti nilai-nilai yang telah diajarkan oleh Kristus. Pada akhirnya, artikel ini menawarkan untuk membebaskan pendidikan misi Kristen dalam konteks khusus, yakni perjuangan perempuan Nias dalam meraih pendidikan.

Kata kunci: pendidikan misi, feminis pascakolonial, patriarki, kolonialisme, perempuan Nias.

## PENDAHULUAN

Di era kolonialisme, pendidikan merupakan bagian dari kegiatan misi Kristen. Di masa kini, pendidikan misi Kristen masih mewarisi jejak-jejak kolonialisme yang bertentangan dengan nilai-nilai esensial kekristenan, seperti kesetaraan, keadilan, dan pembebasan. Ada beberapa bentuk manifestasi dari jejak kolonial. Yang pertama adalah rasisme. Rasisme telah memperkuat gagasan keunggulan budaya Barat, yang memberikan kontribusi signifikan terhadap sistem pendidikan di masa lalu, sekarang, dan masa depan.<sup>1</sup> Kedua, sistem pendidikan yang membungkam siswa untuk mengekspresikan minatnya. Ketika “suara” siswa tidak ada, mereka dikecualikan dari pengambilan keputusan tentang pendidikan mereka. Perempuan lebih sering merasakan diskriminasi ini. Ketiga, kurikulum pendidikan yang hanya menawarkan pengetahuan tetapi tidak berdasarkan minat siswa. Jejak kolonial tersebut menimbulkan ketidakadilan, diskriminasi, dan objektifikasi naradidik dalam sistem pendidikan.

Istilah pascakolonial dipahami dalam berbagai cara. Dalam artikel ini, penulis menggunakan definisi yang dikemukakan oleh Letty M. Russel yang memahami pascakolonialisme sebagai semua aspek dari proses kolonial, yakni sejak awal kontak kolonial hingga dampaknya yang dirasakan saat ini di negara jajahan maupun di negara yang menjajah.<sup>2</sup> Sebagai sebuah pendekatan, pascakolonialisme menganalisis, mengkaji, dan merekonstruksi berbagai kontradiksi antara retorika kolonial dan neo-kolonial dalam diskriminasi budaya, politik, ekonomi, dan agama yang dialami oleh masyarakat yang pernah terjajah. Pada studi pascakolonial, ada kebutuhan akan kesadaran sifat destruktif rasisme dan kelas sistemik yang telah melanggengkan neo-kolonialisme. Selanjutnya, ada kepedulian terhadap penggunaan “hak istimewa kulit putih” untuk memfasilitasi transformasi sosial pada kemajuan masyarakat lokal. Tujuan ini diikuti oleh pemberian modal intelektual, sosial, dan finansial untuk mengistimewakan individu dan komunitas yang terpinggirkan untuk mengarah pada transformasi.

Walau demikian, ada harapan untuk membentuk relasi yang baru. Misalnya, “*work from the margin*” memungkinkannya yang

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<sup>1</sup> J. Willinsky, *Learning to Divide the World: Education at Empire's End* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

<sup>2</sup> Letty M Russell, “Cultural Hermeneutics : A Postcolonial Look at Mission,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 20, no. 1 (2004): 24.

terpinggirkan berbicara dan mengangkat suara mereka dalam studi pascakolonial. Gayatri Spivak berpendapat bahwa keilmuan Barat telah mengabaikan keragaman, heterogenitas, dan identitas kelompok subaltern.<sup>3</sup> Berdasarkan analisisnya terhadap posisi perempuan India, Spivak menyimpulkan bahwa subaltern tidak boleh berbicara. Misalnya, kelompok yang tertindas atau terpinggirkan secara politik tidak mampu menyuarakan perjuangannya. Demikian halnya juga dengan penekanan pada keterlibatan melalui “persahabatan pascakolonial” sebagai model yang membawa lebih banyak pemahaman dan urgensi untuk bekerja sama mewujudkan perubahan sosial pascakolonial di dalam dan di luar ranah akademi.

Dalam bidang pendidikan, perspektif feminisme pascakolonial berguna dalam menganalisis konstruksi dominasi kolonialisme dalam sistem pendidikan yang ada.<sup>4</sup> Tujuan utamanya adalah menawarkan penilaian ulang dan eksplorasi dampak luas kekuasaan kolonial dan patriarkal pada pendidikan misi. Pendekatan ini juga mengkritisi pola relasional dari “pusat” ke “pinggiran”. Secara khusus, lensa feminis pascakolonial menyoroti diskriminasi perempuan dalam pendidikan misi.

Artikel ini disusun menjadi tiga bagian. Bagian pertama adalah pendidikan misi dari lensa feminisme pascakolonial. Pada bagian ini penulis mengulas pemikiran para ahli tentang pendidikan misi dan membahas kolonialisme dan patriarkalisme dalam pendidikan misi. Bagian kedua adalah pembahasan pendidikan misi pada konteks Indonesia, khususnya di Nias, berdasarkan lensa feminis pascakolonial. Bagian ketiga adalah pendidikan misi pembebasan yang meniru cara Yesus mengajar para murid. Tulisan ini berguna bagi pendidikan misi di Indonesia. Argumen penulis adalah perspektif feminis pascakolonial tentang pendidikan misi mengkritik kolonialisme dan patriarkalisme dan menawarkan pendidikan yang membebaskan bagi yang terpinggirkan, secara khusus perempuan.

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<sup>3</sup> Gayatri Spivak, *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

<sup>4</sup> L Crossley, M. and Tikly, “Postcolonial Perspectives and Comparative and International Research in Education: A Critical Introduction,” *Comparative Education* 40, no. 2 (2004): 147–156.

## PENDIDIKAN MISI DARI LENSA FEMINISME PASCAKOLONIAL

Semua pendidikan Kristen bersifat misional. Namun, istilah “pendidikan misi” diperlukan sebagai koreksi terhadap pendekatan pendidikan kristiani yang telah kehilangan dimensi misinya dan hanya menekankan hubungan pribadi dengan Tuhan dan pembentukan karakter rohani yang hanya memiliki sedikit perhatian pada masalah sosial seperti ketidakadilan.<sup>5</sup> Pendidikan misi Kristen menonjolkan hubungan intim dengan Tuhan sebagai misionaris awal, yang merupakan titik berangkat penemuan identitas misioner seseorang. Hubungan dengan Tuhan ini berkembang melalui perhatian aktif kepada orang lain. Dengan demikian, pendidikan misi menekankan bagaimana orientasi kepada sesama merupakan buah karya Roh Kudus. Pendidikan misi juga merupakan pembinaan spiritual yang lebih dari sekadar sarana untuk mendapatkan kedamaian dan kebahagiaan batin, tetapi memupuk cinta kasih satu sama lain.

Dalam konteks umat Kristen mula-mula, pendidikan Kristen berarti “cara hidup”. Pemahaman ini tertera dalam *Didache* yang berisi pesan-pesan kristiani menyerukan “cara hidup” (*The Didache*, 6:3–25). “Cara hidup” yang dimaksud adalah ajakan kepada semua orang untuk “hidup menurut teladan dan ajaran Yesus”.<sup>6</sup> Jika kekristenan dipahami sebagai jalan hidup, pendidikan Kristen adalah pendidikan menuju jalan hidup itu.

Thomas Groome menekankan bahwa tujuan Pendidikan Kristen adalah untuk membawa orang kepada Kerajaan Allah di dalam Yesus Kristus.<sup>7</sup> Menurut Groome, ada tiga unsur yang membentuk Pendidikan Kristen, yaitu: misional (menjadi berkat bagi sesama), formasional (pembinaan rohani agar serupa dengan Kristus), dan relasional (hubungan dengan Tuhan). Senada dengan Groome, Reggie McNeal percaya bahwa orang Kristen yang dewasa adalah ketika mereka menjadi makin serupa dengan Yesus dan menjadi berkat bagi dunia.<sup>8</sup> McNeal menekankan “orientasi lahiriah” dari

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<sup>5</sup> Christopher B. James, “Education That Is Missional Toward a Pedagogy for the Missional Church,” in *Social Engagement: The Challenge of the Social in Missional Education* (Kentucky: First Fruit Press, 2013), 145.

<sup>6</sup> T.H. Groome, *Christian Religious Education: Sharing Our Story and Vision* (New York: Jossey-Bass, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> R McNeal, *Missional Renaissance: Changing the Scorecard for the Church* (New York: Jossey-Bass, 2009).

karakter Yesus, yang memberikan dirinya kepada orang lain. Christopher James juga percaya bahwa pendidikan kristiani adalah bentuk kegiatan jamak dari komunitas Kristiani yang berusaha mendidik umat kristiani di jalan Yesus, yakni kehidupan yang dijalani dalam Kerajaan Allah.<sup>9</sup> Cara hidup ini berarti memupuk hubungan dan interaksi pribadi dengan Tuhan, menjalani pembinaan rohani serupa dengan Kristus, dan tindakan reorientasi untuk menjadi berkat melalui pembebasan bagi sesama.

Tantangan bagi pendidikan misi Kristen adalah bagaimana menerapkannya dalam konteks patriarki dan pascakolonial. Paulo Freire mengkritik dan menentang model pendidikan tradisional yang bersifat kolonial dan universal.<sup>10</sup> Elemen pendidikan yang digagas oleh Groome, McNeal, dan James hanya mungkin diterapkan di negara-negara bekas jajahan Barat dengan mengkritisi pengaruh kolonialisme dan patriarkalisme dalam pendidikan. Pendidikan dengan karakter kolonial dan patriarki menundukkan suara naradidik. Bagi Freire, sistem pendidikan seperti itu merugikan siswa karena mereka dikecualikan dan dibuat tidak terlihat dalam pendidikan arus utama. Selain itu, ideologi kolonial juga mempertahankan sistem pembagian kelas sosial yang memperlebar jurang pemisah antara yang berkuasa dan yang tidak berkuasa, termasuk antara pendidik dan naradidik. Dengan demikian, pendidikan yang bercorak kolonial telah gagal memberikan pendidikan yang membebaskan kepada para siswa. Akibatnya, sebagian besar sistem pendidikan di negara bekas jajahan Barat tidak berfungsi. Sistem pendidikan dengan pengaruh kuat kolonialisme dan patriarkalisme akan lemah dalam organisasi, pendidikan, kurikulum, kebijakan, dan perencanaan.<sup>11</sup>

Pendidikan misi Kristen bukanlah proses indoktrinasi. Sebaliknya, ia adalah proses pembebasan. Groome memperingatkan, “Segala bentuk manipulasi atau indoktrinasi adalah bentuk pendidikan yang buruk dan sangat kontra-produktif dengan tujuan pendidikan Kristen. Jadi, pendidikan misi bukan hanya pendidikan untuk misi tetapi pendidikan melalui misi.”<sup>12</sup> Dengan kata lain, pendidikan

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Paulo Freire, *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation*. (South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1985).

<sup>11</sup> A. Hickling-Hudson, A., Matthews, J and Woods, “Education, Postcolonialism and Disruption.,” in *Disrupting Preconceptions: Postcolonialism and Education*, ed. A. Hickling-Hudson, A., Matthews, J and Woods (Brisbane: Post-Pressed, 2004), 1-16.

<sup>12</sup> Groome, *Christian Religious Education: Sharing Our Story and Vision*.

misi tidak hanya dilihat sebagai hasil pemuridan, tetapi pemuridan adalah hasil dari pendidikan misi.

Untuk mencermati sistem pendidikan menuju pendidikan yang membebaskan, diperlukan perspektif feminisme pascakolonial. Menurut Kwok Pui-Lan, ada lima ciri kritik pascakolonial.<sup>13</sup> Pertama, kritik pascakolonial menantang bentuk universal interpretasi Barat dengan mengekspos kooptasi kepentingan imperial dan mendestabilisasi kerangka maknanya. Kedua, kritik pascakolonial melawan hegemoni dan memberi perhatian besar pada suara-suara yang tersembunyi atau dihilangkan. Ketiga, kritik pascakolonial menempatkan Alkitab dalam dimensi multi-iman dalam situasi dunia ketiga. Keempat, kritik postkolonial mendorong bahkan menyambut baik kontribusi dari kelompok marginal yang tidak sepenuhnya didengar. Kelima, kritik pascakolonial belajar dari dan berargumentasi dengan kerangka hermeneutika lain seperti pascamodernisme. Melalui kritik pascakolonial, orang-orang yang terpinggirkan diberi ruang untuk bersuara.<sup>14</sup>

Feminisme pascakolonial berkembang oleh kritik terhadap gerakan feminis di masa lalu. Bell Hooks, seorang ahli pendidikan pascakolonial, mengatakan bahwa gerakan feminis perlu mempelajari sifat gender, ras, dan kelas yang saling terkait untuk bergerak menuju reformasi dan revolusi.<sup>15</sup> Tulisan feminis diperlukan untuk berbicara kepada orang-orang dari semua latar belakang kehidupan. Tanpa kesadaran kritis ini, pendidikan dari perspektif feminis tidak dapat berlangsung. Gerakan feminis telah menciptakan perubahan positif yang mendalam dalam kehidupan anak-anak perempuan dan laki-laki, perempuan dan laki-laki, dalam masyarakat, dalam politik sistem imperialis, supremasi kulit putih, dan patriarki kapitalis. Kekuatan gerakan feminis adalah pembentukan lingkungan intelektual di mana telah berlangsung kritik dan pertukaran dialektis. Melalui gerakan feminis, kita mendengar suara para pemikir radikal, termasuk suara perempuan kulit berwarna, sehingga wajah teori dan praktik feminis berubah. Banyak perempuan kulit putih yang awalnya belum tercerahkan tentang masalah ini akhirnya meruntuhkan

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<sup>13</sup> Kwok Pui-lan, *Introducing Asian Feminist Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000).

<sup>14</sup> Gunjate Shital V., "Postcolonial Feminist Theory: An Overview," in *Proceedings of National Seminar on Postmodern Literary Theory and Literature*, 2012, 284.

<sup>15</sup> Bell Hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (London: Routledge, 2015).

tembok penyangkalan dan mulai memeriksa kembali bagaimana mereka berbicara dan menulis tentang gender di masa lalu. Bagi Hooks, tidak ada gerakan keadilan sosial dalam masyarakat yang mengkritik diri sendiri seperti gerakan feminis. Baginya, feminisme adalah perjuangan untuk mengakhiri penindasan seksis. Tujuan feminisme bukanlah untuk menguntungkan kelompok perempuan tertentu, ras tertentu, atau kelas perempuan tertentu. Feminisme juga tidak mengutamakan perempuan daripada laki-laki. Oleh karena itu, gerakan ini memiliki kekuatan untuk mewujudkan perubahan dengan cara yang berarti sepanjang hidup kita.

## **PENDIDIKAN MISI PADA KONTEKS NIAS, INDONESIA, BERDASARKAN LENSA FEMINIS PASCAKOLONIAL**

Pendidikan misi berkaitan erat dengan sejarah misi. Banua Niha Keriso Protestan (BNKP) adalah salah satu gereja yang tumbuh dari misi Barat di Kepulauan Nias, Indonesia. Berdasarkan perkembangan Indonesia, Kepulauan Nias masih tertinggal dalam bidang pendidikan. Upaya pendidikan di Nias sebelumnya di-prakarsai oleh para misionaris barat yang datang ke pulau ini. Para misionaris diutus oleh sebuah organisasi misi bernama Rheinische Missiongesellschaft (RMG), kini dikenal dengan United Evangelical Mission (UEM), untuk menjalankan misi ke Kepulauan Nias sejak tahun 1865. Para misionaris juga memperkenalkan peradabannya kepada masyarakat setempat. Mereka membantu masyarakat lokal lewat pendidikan, kesehatan, keterampilan, dan sanitasi. Di bidang pendidikan misi, para misionaris berkontribusi lewat pendirian sekolah-sekolah di Kepulauan Nias. Sekolah-sekolah yang didirikan oleh misionaris Barat adalah sekolah pertama sebelum munculnya sekolah baik di pemerintahan maupun swasta.

Penulis berkesempatan mewawancarai salah seorang dosen utusan UEM yang diutus ke BNKP, yaitu Sonia Parera-Hummel.<sup>16</sup> Penulis menanyakan kondisi pendidikan di Nias saat ia mengajar pada tahun 1995–2001. Parera mengatakan, “Saya mengamati bahwa orang Nias suka berdiskusi. Namun, umumnya perempuan Nias malu mengungkapkan pendapatnya. Dalam pengamatan saya, banyak perempuan Nias yang luar biasa cerdas dan kritis. Ada yang berdiam diri, mungkin karena mereka ditempa oleh

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<sup>16</sup> Wawancara dengan Sonia Parera-Hummel pada 29 September 2020 via email.

kehidupan yang keras dan kebiasaan yang tidak selalu berpihak pada mereka.” Selain itu, menurut Parera, tidak ada kurikulum yang dirancang khusus berdasarkan minat siswa pada saat dia mengajar. Ia mengatakan, “Setiap dosen mengajar sesuai dengan tugasnya. Banyak dari mereka hanya menyalin apa yang telah diajarkan di kampus lain. Saat itu belum ada pertemuan rutin untuk membahas kurikulum yang disepakati.” Berdasarkan informasi dari Parera, terlihat bahwa selama mengajar, siswa kurang vokal dalam mengekspresikan minatnya, terutama siswa perempuan. Hal ini sejalan dengan argumentasi Spivak bahwa kondisi perempuan pada masa kolonial dan pascakolonial masih belum mampu bersuara. Kurikulum pendidikan juga hanya menawarkan pengetahuan, tetapi tidak didasarkan pada kepentingan siswa. Cara berpikir kritis juga kurang berkembang dan kurikulum yang diajarkan hanya menyalin apa yang telah diterima oleh para pendidik selama mereka menjadi mahasiswa di kampus.

Perspektif feminisme pascakolonial pada pendidikan berkaitan dengan konteks latar belakang siswa. Budaya Nias mengandung patriarkalisme. Masyarakat Nias di Indonesia memiliki kesamaan dengan budaya Asia pada umumnya, yaitu mengedepankan filosofi harmoni. Perempuan Nias dalam filosofi kerukunan dituntut untuk patuh, santun, dan sabar. Hanya dengan karakter tersebut, perempuan dapat berperan dalam menjaga keharmonisan dalam keluarga dan masyarakat. Perempuan yang tidak patuh, santun, dan sabar dianggap sebagai pembuat onar bagi tatanan kerukunan. Di sisi lain, tuntutan karakter seperti itu tidak ada pada laki-laki. Oleh karena itu, filosofi harmoni dalam budaya Asia perlu dihadapkan pada persoalan ketidakadilan dan diskriminasi terhadap perempuan dalam sistem pendidikan.

## **MEMBEBAHKAN PENDIDIKAN MISI**

Pendidikan misi adalah praktik kebebasan. Oleh karena itu, sangat penting untuk mengevaluasi sistem pendidikan saat ini, terutama ketika berhadapan dengan ketidakadilan. Jejak kolonialisme terlacak di antara jalinan dominasi kekuasaan: rasisme, seksisme, klasisme, dan imperialisme. Oleh karena itu, kita perlu merevolusi nilai-nilai dominasi menjadi nilai-nilai keadilan dan perdamaian yang melampaui batas-batas manusia dan menghormati orang lain. Bell Hooks berkata, *“All of us in the academy and the culture as a whole is called to renew our minds if we are to transform educational*



*institutions and society, so that the way we live, teach, and work can reflect our joy in cultural diversity, our passion for justice, and our love of freedom.*"<sup>17</sup>

Menuju pendidikan misi yang membebaskan, kita dapat belajar dari teladan Yesus Kristus tentang bagaimana Ia mengajar murid-murid-Nya. Pertama, pendidikan misi membawa orang kepada Kerajaan Allah di dalam Yesus Kristus. Pendidikan misi dalam konteks pascakolonial belajar dari kegagalan sejarah pendidikan di masa lalu, ketika semangat kolonialisme dan patriarkalisme sangat dominan. Pendidikan misi mengikuti nilai-nilai kehidupan Yesus Kristus dan pelayanan-Nya bertujuan untuk membebaskan. Seperti yang tertulis dalam Lukas 4:18-19, "Roh Tuhan ada padaku, karena dia telah mengurapi aku, untuk membawa kabar baik kepada orang miskin; dan Dia telah mengutus aku untuk mengkhotbahkan pembebasan kepada para tawanan, dan sebuah penglihatan bagi yang buta, untuk membebaskan yang tertindas, untuk memberitakan tahun kasih karunia Tuhan telah tiba." Misi Yesus adalah untuk membebaskan dan memperjuangkan keadilan dan kesetaraan. Yesus membuka dirinya kepada murid-murid-Nya selama pelayanan-Nya. Yesus menunjukkan pengarahan diri kepada orang lain; bahkan Ia terbuka untuk belajar dari yang berbeda, seperti perempuan Kanaan (Mat. 15:21-28).

Yesus adalah seorang guru. Mengajar adalah panggilan hidup yang kudus. Setiap guru dipanggil tidak hanya untuk mentransfer informasi tetapi untuk berbagi perjalanan intelektual dan spiritual agar siswa dapat berkembang. Oleh karena itu, cara mengajar sangat penting dalam pendidikan misi agar setiap naradidik dapat belajar dengan giat dan senang. Melalui cara mengajar yang menarik ini, guru dapat menciptakan kondisi untuk pembelajaran yang akrab dan mendobrak batas-batas. Selain itu, seorang guru yang baik akan terus berupaya untuk aktualisasi diri sehingga ia juga tumbuh dan berdaya. Penting juga untuk mengevaluasi proses pendidikan dalam bentuk sistem perbankan pendidikan. Pendidikan misi seharusnya menjadi ziarah intelektual. Oleh karena itu, kegairahan menjadi hal yang penting dalam proses pembelajaran.

Dalam pendidikan misi yang membebaskan, sekolah menjadi tempat di mana semangat belajar itu ada. Sekolah dengan jejak kolonial menunjukkan hal yang sebaliknya, karena mengajarkan

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<sup>17</sup> Bell Hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (London: Routledge, 1994).

tentang ketundukan. Sekolah yang demikian lebih seperti penjara atau kurungan ketimbang menjadi tempat yang menjanjikan dan membuka kemungkinan baru. Kegembiraan dalam proses pendidikan juga sangat penting. Kegembiraan merupakan tindakan melawan kebosanan, ketidaktertarikan, dan sikap apatis yang kerap menyerang perasaan guru dan siswa. Kegembiraan ini terkait erat dengan eros. Sayangnya, para pendidik jarang membicarakan eros atau tempat-tempat erotis di dalam kelas. Banyak yang terlatih dalam konteks filosofis Barat, bahwa ada pemisahan antara tubuh dan pikiran. Seorang individu hanya memasuki sebagian area kelas jika hanya pikiran mereka yang hadir dan bukan tubuh mereka. Ketika eros hadir di kelas, cinta kasih akan mengikat dan menghubungkan guru dan siswa untuk berkembang bersama. Pikiran dan hati yang terbuka diperlukan agar kita dapat mengetahui dan melampaui batas-batas dari apa yang dapat diterima sehingga kita dapat berpikir dan melihat ke belakang, menciptakan visi baru, dan merayakan ajaran yang memungkinkan penerobosan batas, yaitu gerakan melawan, menentang, melampaui batas-batas. Gerakan ini menjadikan pendidikan yang membebaskan.

Kedua, pendidikan misi membuka ruang bagi yang selama ini terpinggirkan, termasuk perempuan. Pada masa-Nya, Yesus terbuka bagi perempuan dan juga mendengarkan pergumulan mereka, seperti ketika Ia mengajar Maria dan Marta (Luk. 10:38-42). Pendidikan misi yang membuka ruang bagi yang terpinggirkan mengakomodasi pengalaman iman multibahasa, pluralistik, dan secara radikal terbuka terhadap tantangan dan kemungkinan baru. Sumber-sumber teologi perempuan, khususnya perempuan Asia adalah pengalaman, dan pengalaman itu pun berbeda-beda dan beragam. Pengalaman perempuan adalah bagian dari pendidikan misi yang membangkitkan harapan untuk bertahan hidup, membebaskan dari penindasan, dan memperkuat solidaritas di antara perempuan.

Kritik terhadap gaya mengajar mencerminkan gagasan tentang satu norma pemikiran dan pengalaman, yang didorong oleh universalisme. Norma-norma tersebut harus ditransformasikan sehingga mencerminkan paradigma multikultural. Ini menawarkan peradaban Barat yang tidak terpusat. Ada tantangan bagi ruang kelas sebagai ruang dialog yang tidak dibangun berdasarkan ras, jenis kelamin, kelas, posisi profesional, dan berbagai perbedaan lainnya. Ruang kelas adalah tempat di mana siswa diberdayakan. Guru juga diberdayakan oleh interaksi dengan siswa.

Akhirnya, literasi politik feminis penting dalam gerakan feminis pascakolonial saat ini, meskipun bahan cetak praktis menjadi satu-satunya media ekspresi teoritis. Melalui program aksara feminis, perempuan buta huruf dari semua kelas, dan terutama mereka yang berasal dari latar belakang kelas pekerja dan miskin, dapat belajar membaca, menulis, dan berpikir kritis dan analitis menuju pendidikan misi yang membebaskan. Banyak ahli teori bahkan tidak memaksudkan gagasan mereka untuk menjangkau publik. Akibatnya, kita harus bertanggung jawab atas versi gagasan feminis yang dangkal dan salah arah yang berakhir dalam imajinasi publik. Belum terlambat bagi para aktivis feminis untuk menekankan literasi dan menyelenggarakan program pelatihan literasi bagi perempuan.

## **KESIMPULAN**

Pendidikan misi dengan perspektif feminisme pascakolonial menganalisis dominasi konstruksi kolonialisme dalam sistem pendidikan serta menawarkan penilaian ulang dan eksplorasi pada dampak luas kekuasaan kolonial dan patriarkal pada pendidikan misi. Pendekatan ini juga mengkritisi pola relasional dari “pusat” ke “pinggiran”, secara khusus bagi perempuan.

Pendidikan misi Kristen bukanlah proses indoktrinasi. Sebaliknya, ia adalah proses pembebasan. Pendidikan misi menekankan bagaimana orientasi terhadap orang lain merupakan buah karya Roh Kudus. Menuju pendidikan misi yang membebaskan, kita dapat belajar dari teladan Yesus Kristus tentang bagaimana Ia mengajar murid-murid-Nya yang menuntun pada Kerajaan Allah, berbagi perjalanan intelektual dan spiritualitas yang membebaskan, serta memberdayakan yang terpinggirkan menuju transformasi hidup.

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# **LIBERATING CHRISTIAN MISSION EDUCATION: A CRITIQUE OF TRACES OF DISCRIMINATION, RACISM, AND COLONIALISM IN EDUCATION IN INDONESIA**

*Oinike Natalia Harefa*

## **ABSTRACT**

This article aims to analyze Christian mission education based on the perspective of postcolonial feminism. Mission education requires the contribution of a postcolonial feminist perspective that challenges hegemony and power relations in the education system that discriminates against marginalized people, especially women. Christian mission education which is still trapped in the colonial standard model shows an unequal binary relationship between “center” and “periphery”, women and men, Western and non-Western, educators and students. On the other hand, mission education is the practice of freedom as a way of life that follows the values taught by Christ. In the end, this article offers to liberate Christian mission education in a special context, namely the struggle of Nias women in obtaining education.

Keywords: mission education, postcolonial feminist, patriarchy, colonialism, Nias women.

## INTRODUCTION

In the era of colonialism, education was part of Christian mission activities. At present, Christian mission education still inherits traces of colonialism, which are contrary to the essential values of Christianity, such as equality, justice and liberation. There are several forms of manifestation of colonial traces. The first is racism. Racism has reinforced the notion of superiority in Western culture, which has made significant contributions to educational systems in the past, present and future. Second, the education system that silences students to express their interests. When the “voice” of students is absent, they are excluded from making decisions about their education. Women more often feel this discrimination. Third, an educational curriculum that only offers knowledge but is not based on student interests. The colonial trail gave rise to injustice, discrimination and objectification of students in the education system.

The term postcolonial is understood in various ways. In this article, the author uses the definition put forward by Letty M. Russell who understands post-colonialism as all aspects of the colonial process, namely from the beginning of colonial contact to its impact that is being felt today in the colonized countries as well as in the colonizing countries. As an approach, post-colonialism analyzes, examines and reconstructs various contradictions between colonial and neo-colonial rhetoric in the cultural, political, economic and religious discrimination experienced by people who were once colonized. In postcolonial studies, there is a need for awareness of the destructive nature of racism and the systemic class that has perpetuated neo-colonialism. Furthermore, there is concern about using “white privilege” to facilitate social transformation for the betterment of local communities. This goal is followed by the provision of intellectual, social and financial capital to privilege marginalized individuals and communities to lead to transformation.

However, there is hope to form new relationships. For example, “work from the margin” allows the marginalized to speak up and raise their voices in postcolonial studies. Gayatri Spivak argues that Western scholarship has neglected the diversity, heterogeneity and identity of subaltern groups. Based on his analysis of the position of Indian women, Spivak concluded that the subaltern should not speak. For example, politically oppressed or marginalized groups are unable to voice their struggles. It is the same with the emphasis

on engagement through “postcolonial friendship” as a model that brings more understanding and urgency to work together for postcolonial social change within and beyond the realm of academia.

In the field of education, the perspective of postcolonial feminism is useful in analyzing the construction of colonial domination in the existing education system. Its main aim is to offer a reassessment and exploration of the broad impact of colonial and patriarchal rule on mission education. This approach also criticizes the relational pattern from the “center” to the “periphery”. In particular, the postcolonial feminist lens highlight the discrimination of women in missionary education.

This article is organized into three parts. The first part is mission education from the lens of postcolonial feminism. In this section the author reviews the thoughts of experts on mission education and discusses colonialism and patriarchy in mission education. The second part is a discussion of mission education in the Indonesian context, especially in Nias, based on a postcolonial feminist lens. The third part is liberation mission education which imitates the way Jesus taught the disciples. This article is useful for mission education in Indonesia. The author’s argument is that a postcolonial feminist perspective on mission education criticizes colonialism and patriarchy and offers liberating education for the marginalized, especially women.

## **MISSION EDUCATION FROM THE LENS OF POSTCOLONIAL FEMINISM**

All Christian education is missional. However, the term “mission education” is needed as a correction to the Christian education approach which has lost its mission dimension and only emphasizes a personal relationship with God and the formation of spiritual character which pays little attention to social problems such as injustice. Christian mission education emphasizes an intimate relationship with God as the initial missionary, which is the starting point for discovering one’s missionary identity. This relationship with God develops through active concern for others. Thus, mission education emphasizes how orientation to others is the fruit of the work of the Holy Spirit. Mission education is also a spiritual formation which is more than just a means to gain inner peace and happiness but fosters love for one another.

In the context of early Christians, Christian education means “way of life“. This understanding is stated in the *Didache* which contains Christian messages calling for “a way of life” (The Didache, 6:3–25). The “way of life” in question is an invitation to everyone to “live according to the example and teachings of Jesus”. If Christianity is understood as a way of life, then Christian education is education towards that way of life.

Thomas Groome emphasizes that the goal of Christian Education is to bring people to the Kingdom of God in Jesus Christ. According to Groome, there are three elements that make up Christian Education, namely: missional (being a blessing to others), formational (spiritual development to be like Christ), and relational (relationship with God). In line with Groome, Reggie McNeal believes that mature Christians are when they become more like Jesus and become a blessing to the world. McNeal emphasizes the “outward orientation“ of the character of Jesus, who gave himself to others. Christopher James also believes that Christian education is a form of plural activity of the Christian community which seeks to educate Christians in the way of Jesus, namely life lived in the Kingdom of God. This way of life means cultivating personal relationships and interactions with God, undergoing spiritual development similar to Christ’s, and reorienting actions to be a blessing through liberation for others.

The challenge for Christian mission education is how to apply it in a patriarchal and postcolonial context. Paulo Freire criticizes and opposes the colonial and universal model of traditional education. The educational elements initiated by Groome, McNeal, and James are only possible to be applied in former Western colonies by criticizing the influence of colonialism and patriarchy in education. Education with colonial and patriarchal characters subdues the voices of the students. For Freire, such an education system is a disadvantage to the students because they are excluded and made invisible in mainstream education. In addition, colonial ideology also maintains a system of social class division, thus widening the gap between those in power and those who are not in power, including between educators and students. Thus, colonial-style education has failed to provide liberating education to students. As a result, most of the education systems in former Western colonies are dysfunctional. An education system with a strong influence of colonialism and patriarchy will be weak in organization, education, curriculum, policies and planning.



Christian mission education is not a process of indoctrination. On the contrary, it is a process of liberation. Groome warned, "Any form of manipulation or indoctrination is a bad form of education and is very counter-productive to the goals of Christian education. So, mission education is not just education for missions but education through missions. In other words, mission education is not only seen as a result of discipleship, but discipleship is the result of mission education.

To examine the education system towards liberating education, a postcolonial feminist perspective is needed. According to Kwok Pui-Lan, there are five characteristics of postcolonial criticism. First, postcolonial criticism challenges universal forms of Western interpretation by exposing the co-optation of imperial interests and destabilizing their framework of meaning. Second, the postcolonial critique opposes hegemony and pays great attention to hidden or omitted voices. Third, postcolonial criticism places the Bible in a multi-faith dimension in a third world situation. Fourth, postcolonial criticism encourages and even welcomes contributions from marginal groups that are not fully heard. Fifth, postcolonial criticism learns from and argues with other hermeneutical frameworks such as postmodernism. Through postcolonial criticism, marginalized people are given a voice.

Postcolonial feminism developed by criticism of the feminist movements of the past. Bell Hooks, an expert on postcolonial education, says that the feminist movement needs to study the interrelated nature of gender, race, and class to move towards reform and revolution. Feminist writing needs to speak to people from all walks of life. Without this critical awareness, education from a feminist perspective cannot take place. The feminist movement has created profound positive changes in the lives of girls and boys, women and men, in society, in the politics of imperialist, white supremacist, and capitalist patriarchal systems. The strength of the feminist movement is the creation of an intellectual environment in which criticism and dialectical exchange have taken place. Through the feminist movement, we hear the voices of radical thinkers, including the voices of women of color, so that the face of feminist theory and practice changes. Many white women who were initially unenlightened on this issue eventually let down the wall of denial and began to re-examine how they spoke and wrote about gender in the past. For Hooks, no social justice movement in a society is as self-

critical as the feminist movement. For her, feminism is a struggle to end sexist oppression. Feminism's aim is not to benefit a particular group of women, a particular race, or a particular class of women. Feminism also does not prioritize women over men. Therefore, this movement has the power to effect change in meaningful ways throughout our lives.

## **MISSION EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF NIAS, INDONESIA, BASED ON THE LENS OF POSTCOLONIAL FEMINISM**

Mission education is closely related to mission history. Banua Niha Keriso Protestant (BNKP) is one of the churches that grew from Western missions in the Nias Islands, Indonesia. Based on Indonesia's development, the Nias Islands are still lagging behind in the field of education. Educational efforts on Nias were previously initiated by western missionaries who came to this island. Missionaries were sent by a mission organization called Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft (RMG), now known as the United Evangelical Mission (UEM), to carry out missions to the Nias Islands since 1865. The missionaries also introduced their civilization to the local community. They help local communities through education, health, skills and sanitation. In the field of mission education, missionaries contributed by establishing schools on the Nias islands. The schools founded by western missionaries were the first schools before the emergence of both government and private schools.

The author had the opportunity to interview one of the UEM delegates who was sent to BNKP, namely Sonia Parera-Hummel. The author asked about the condition of education in Nias when she was teaching in 1995–2001. Parera said, "I observed that Nias people like to have discussions. However, Nias women are generally shy about expressing their opinions. In my observations, many Nias women are extraordinarily intelligent and critical. There are those who remain silent, perhaps because they were tempered by a hard life and habits that were not always in their favor." In addition, according to Parera, there is no curriculum specifically designed based on students' interests when she teaches. She said, "Each lecturer teaches according to his duties. Many of them just copy what has been taught at other campuses. At that time there were no regular meetings to discuss the agreed curriculum." Based on information from Parera, it appears that during teaching, students are less vocal

in expressing their interests, especially female students. This is in line with Spivak's argument that the condition of women during the colonial and post-colonial periods was still unable to speak out. The educational curriculum also only offers knowledge but is not based on the interests of students. Critical thinking is also underdeveloped and the curriculum taught only copies what educators have received while they were students on campus.

The perspective of postcolonial feminism on education is related to the background context of students. Nias culture contains patriarchy. Nias people in Indonesia have similarities with Asian culture in general, by prioritizing a philosophy of harmony. Nias women in the philosophy of harmony are required to be obedient, polite and patient. Only with these characters can women play a role in maintaining harmony in the family and society. Women who are disobedient, polite, and patient are seen as troublemakers for the harmony order. On the other hand, such character demands do not exist in men. Therefore, the philosophy of harmony in Asian culture needs to be confronted with the problem of injustice and discrimination against women in the education system.

## **FREE MISSION EDUCATION**

Mission education is the practice of freedom. Therefore, it is very important to evaluate the current education system, especially when dealing with injustice. Traces of colonialism can be traced among the strands of domination of power: racism, sexism, classism and imperialism. Therefore, it is necessary to revolutionize the values of domination into values of justice and peace that go beyond human boundaries and respect others. Bell Hooks said "All of us in the academy and the culture as a whole is called to renew our minds if we are to transform educational institutions and society, so that the way we live, teach, and work can reflect our joy in cultural diversity, our passion for justice, and our love of freedom."

On our way to achieve a liberating mission education, we can learn from the example of Jesus Christ about how He taught His disciples. First, mission education brings people to the Kingdom of God in Jesus Christ. Mission education in the postcolonial context learns from the historical failures of education in the past when the spirit of colonialism and patriarchy was very dominant. Mission education follows the values of the life of Jesus Christ and His ministry of liberation. As it is written in Luke 4:18-19, "The Spirit

of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me, to bring good news to the poor; and He has sent me to preach release to the captives, and a vision to the blind, to set the oppressed free, to proclaim the year of the Lord's grace has come." Jesus' mission is to liberate and fight for justice and equality. Jesus opened Himself to His disciples during His ministry. Jesus showed self-direction to others; He is even open to learning from those who are different, such as the Canaanite woman (Matthew 15:21-28).

Jesus is a teacher. Teaching is a holy calling in life. Every teacher is called not only to transfer information but also to share intellectual and spiritual journeys so that students can develop. Therefore, the way of teaching is very important in mission education so that every student can study hard and have fun. Through this engaging way of teaching, teachers can create the conditions for intimate learning and breaking boundaries. In addition, a good teacher will continue to strive for self-actualization so that he also grows and is empowered. It is also important to evaluate the educational process in the form of the educational banking system. Mission education should be an intellectual pilgrimage. Therefore, enthusiasm is important in the learning process.

In liberating mission education, the school is a place where the spirit of learning exists. Schools with colonial traces show otherwise because they teach about submission. Such a school is more like a prison or confinement than a place of promise and opening up new possibilities. Joy in the educational process is also very important. Fun is an act against the boredom, disinterest, and apathy that often attack the feelings of teachers and students. This joy is inextricably linked with eros. Unfortunately, educators rarely talk about eros or erotic places in the classroom. Many are trained in a Western philosophical context, that there is a separation between body and mind. An individual only enters a portion of the classroom area if only their mind is present and not their body. When eros is present in the classroom, love will bind and connect teachers and students to grow together. An open mind and heart is necessary so that we can know and transcend the boundaries of what is acceptable so that we can think and look back, create new visions, and celebrate the teachings that make it possible to push boundaries, namely the movement that goes against and beyond boundaries. This movement makes education liberating.

Second, mission education opens space for those who have been marginalized, including women. In His time, Jesus was open to women and also listened to their struggles, such as when He taught Mary and Martha (Luke 10:38–42). Mission education that opens space for the marginalized accommodates a multi-lingual, pluralistic, and radically open experience of faith to new challenges and possibilities. The theological sources for women, especially Asian women, are experiences and those experiences are different and varied. The women's experience is part of mission education which awakens hope for survival, liberation from oppression, and strengthens solidarity among women.

Criticism of teaching style reflects the notion of a single norm of thought and experience, driven by universalism. These norms must be transformed so that they reflect a multicultural paradigm. It offers a decentralized Western civilization. There are challenges to the classroom as a space for dialogue that is not built on race, gender, class, professional position, and various other differences. The classroom is a place where students are empowered. Teachers are also empowered by interactions with students.

Finally, feminist political literacy is important in today's postcolonial feminist movement, even though printed material is practically the only medium of theoretical expression. Through feminist literacy programs, illiterate women of all classes, and especially those from poor and working class backgrounds, can learn to read, write, and think critically and analytically towards a liberating mission education. Many theorists do not even intend for their ideas to reach the mass public and as a result, we are held accountable for shallow and misguided versions of feminist ideas that end up in the public imagination. It is not too late for feminist activists to emphasize literacy and organize literacy training programs for women.

## **CONCLUSION**

Mission education with a postcolonial feminism perspective analyzes the domination of colonialist constructions in the education system and offers a reassessment and exploration of the broad impact of colonial and patriarchal power on mission education. This approach also criticizes the relational pattern from the "center" to the "periphery", especially for women.

Christian mission education is not a process of indoctrination. On the contrary, it is a process of liberation. Mission education emphasizes how orientation toward others is the fruit of the work of the Holy Spirit. Towards a liberating mission education, we can learn from the example of Jesus Christ—about how He teaches His disciples that leads to the Kingdom of God, shares intellectual and spiritual journeys that liberate, and empowers the marginalized towards life transformation.

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# THE ROLE OF INDONESIAN CHURCHES IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF MULTIPLE PARTIES AND AN ISLAMIC MAJORITY POPULATION<sup>1</sup>

*Uwe Hummel*

## INDONESIA, A CONSOLIDATED DEMOCRACY

“Tanah Air” literally means Water-Land. It is the term some 281 million Indonesians affectionately call their home. Indonesia is the largest archipelago on earth, consisting of more than 17 thousand islands, spanning from the Indian Ocean in the West to the Pacific Ocean in the East, and from the South China Sea in the North to the Timor and Arafura Seas in the South, where it borders Australia. More than three quarters of the Indonesian territory consists of water.

Besides these vast geological parameters, the multitude of ethnics, cultures, languages and religions make general elections in Indonesia a very difficult undertaking. But, despite such significant obstacles, this Republic has developed into a vibrant kind of Presidential Representative Democracy based on the rule of law (*rechtsstaat*) and guided by the ideology of “Pancasila”. This state-philosophy, which was promoted by the founding father of Indonesia, Soekarno<sup>2</sup>, is based on five, mutually dependent principles: 1) The belief in one supreme God, 2) just and civilized humanity, 3) a united

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<sup>1</sup> This article is based on a paper submitted online by the author in the Indonesia Country Seminar, “INDONESIA GENERAL ELECTION AND THE FUTURE OF PARTNERSHIP” Wuppertal, on 6<sup>th</sup> May 2023.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Soekarno, *Dari Proklamasi sampai Takari*, Badan Penerbit Prapantja, Jakarta, 1965.



Indonesia, 4) democracy guided by wise consensus arising from the deliberations among the representatives, and 5) social justice for all the people of Indonesia.

During the past two decades, Indonesia has even come to meet the standards of a “consolidated democracy”.<sup>3</sup> This includes regular free and fair elections, proper transfer of power, steady economic growth, rather strong ethnic and religious consensus, as well as horizontal accountability between the executive branches of government, the legislature, and the judiciary.

Despite some restrictions and even violations in certain regions, it is indubitable that Indonesia’s governing institutions acknowledge core international human rights instruments. Indonesia signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948, ratified in September 1950)<sup>4</sup>, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966, ratified in May 2006), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966, ratified in May 2006), the International Convention on the **Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination or ICERD** (1969, ratified in July 1999), etc.

A very important gauge of consolidated democracies is a free press. Whereas Indonesian journalism, social media and blogs are quite free to critically scrutinize individuals and institutions that wield power, comments on certain issues, such as the role of the armed forces in Papua or religious authorities in Aceh, can be rather risky.

## **THE RELIGIOUS CONTEXT OF CHURCHES IN INDONESIA**

The majority of Indonesians are Sunni Muslims, most of whom are affiliated to two mass-organisations, namely Nahdlatul Ulama or NU (about 95 million members) and Muhammadiyah (about 60 million members).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Raja M. Ali Saleem, *A Comparison of Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia and Turkey*, RUMY FORUM Centre for Faith, Identity and Globalization, 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Indonesia declared independence on 17<sup>th</sup> August 1945. This, however was not acknowledged by the colonial power (The Netherlands). Only after a bloody colonial war, the Netherlands acknowledged the independence of the Republic of Indonesia in December 1949, after which Indonesia could become a full member of the United Nations Organisation.

<sup>5</sup> Ellyasa KH. Dharwis (ed.), *Gus Dur, NU dan Masyarakat Sipil*, LKiS

NU generally favours a more traditional kind of Javanese Islam which is rather moderate. It gives much leeway for Sufi mysticism (reverence for the *Wali Songo* and for the *Ulama/Kyai*), as well as to more modern aspects of the Indonesian way of life (e.g. inter-religious tolerance and pluralistic Democracy). NU is rather “kind” (*ramah*) towards religious minorities such as Shi’a Muslims (about one million followers), Hindus, Buddhists, and Christians. The NU-Youth-Movement (*Gerakan Pemuda Ansor*) is known to sometimes protect persecuted Christians. Lately, however, some NU cadre reject “Islam Nusantara” and tend to present themselves in a more exclusively “Arabic” way (e.g. Hijab and other Islamic attire).

Muhammadiyah rejects perceived syncretic practices of NU and promotes a more “reformed”—meaning literal—interpretation of the Al-Qur’an and Hadiths. Muhammadiyah puts much weight on individual Islamic formation and morality, social services for the poor, as well as formal western education. It leans towards a more exclusive, political Islam. It tends to be very intolerant towards Ahmadiyya Muslims (about 400.000 members), who are stigmatized as heretics and often persecuted. Occasionally, some cadre of Muhammadiyah take a rather intolerant attitude towards Buddhists and Christians too.

About 11% or 29 million Indonesians are registered as Christians, of which 8% belong to various Protestant Churches and 3% to the Roman Catholic Church. Only in a few provinces Christians form a majority (North Sulawesi, East Nusa Tenggara, and Papua), but there are also significant and influential Christian populations in other parts of Indonesia, such as North Sumatra, Flores, Kalimantan, Moluccas and Jakarta. Although Christians enjoy the same civil and political rights as Muslims, violence and coercion against Christians (and other religious minorities) do occur occasionally, such as the church demolitions and severe discrimination against Christians in Aceh Singkil-District (especially since 2015).<sup>6</sup> It seems that the much valued rule-of-law of the Indonesian Republic fails as soon as Sharia law is being implemented in a radical way.

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Yogyakarta, 1994.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Amnesty International, *Urgent Action: Christian Minority in Aceh under Threat*, 28.10.2015 (UA:244/15 ASA 21/2756/2015 Indonesia).

## GENERAL ELECTIONS IN INDONESIA

According to the Indonesian Constitution, democratic elections for the national and regional parliaments, the national regional representation (senate), as well as for the offices of governors, mayors, regents, the president and vice-president, should be held once every five years.<sup>7</sup>

The last General Elections were held in 2019. Joko Widodo (“Jokowi”) was elected president for a second period. He was supported by the Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), as well as some like-minded nationalist allies. Joko Widodo’s running mate, and subsequent vice president, was the Islamic cleric Ma’ruf Amin.

The next general election is schedule for 14<sup>th</sup> of February 2024. This is the actual election day, after which the votes will be counted until 15<sup>th</sup> February 2024 and then “recapitulated” until 20<sup>th</sup> of March. The final result will be announced by the Constitutional Court.

Presidential and vice-presidential candidates have to comply with some prerequisites<sup>8</sup>, such as minimal age of 40 and at least being a graduate of a senior high school or an equivalent qualification. He/she may not have been involved in either graft or treason, or convicted for an offence demanding a five years prison sentence. A decisive factor also is that the candidate has to be registered by a political party or a coalition of parties that make up 20% of parliament or 25% of the national vote.

In case the president and vice-president are not clearly elected by an absolute majority in the above-mentioned election, a second round will be held on 26<sup>th</sup> June 2024. In such a second ballot only the two presidential candidates who got the most votes in the first round, with their respective running mates for vice-president, will stand for election.

After the general election has been carried out successfully, the national parliament (DPR RI) and the regional representation (DPD/senate) will be sworn in on 1<sup>st</sup> October 2024. The president and vice-president will be sworn in on 20<sup>th</sup> October 2024.

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<sup>7</sup> The amendment to the Indonesian Constitution: Undang-undang Nomor 7 tahun 2017 (atau UU 7/2017).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Aryo Putranto Saptohutomo (ed.), “Syarat Capres-Cawapres 2024, Usia Minimal 40 Tahun hingga Latar Pendidikan”, Kompas.com 28.8.2022.

## **POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR CANDIDATES**

On 14<sup>th</sup> December 2022, the parties who will participate in the elections had been announced by the national election commission (KPU). These are seventeen parties of which nine currently are represented in the national parliament, and eight parties from outside the current parliament. Especially for the autonomous province of Aceh, another six local parties have been acknowledged by KPU. The same privilege was not granted to the Papua-provinces, which also have the status of “Special Autonomy”.<sup>9</sup> Based on the premise of “asymmetric decentralization”, the Constitutional Court ruled in 2020 that “local political parties were not part of the specialty of Papua”<sup>10</sup> (article 28 paragraph 3 of the Special Autonomy Law was subsequently scrapped by the national parliament).

Most observers of Indonesian politics predict that only three candidates can meet the requirements and have realistic chances of contesting the 2024 election for the presidency, namely Ganjar Pranowo, Prabowo Subianto and Anies Baswedan. Let’s focus on these three men for a moment:

- 1) Ganjar Pranowo (age 54), since 2013 governour of Central Java and a cadre of PDI-P. He comes from a low-income family in the Karanganyar Regency in Central Java. His father was a policeman and his mother ran a little store. After completing Senior High School in Yogyakarta, he studied Law at the Gadjah Mada University in the same city and involved himself in students politics. After graduation, Ganjar Pranowo worked for some companies in the gas and oil sector, before becoming a member of the national parliament (DPR RI) for PDI-P in 2004. He won re-election in 2009. As of 2013, he is the elected governour of Central Java. In the same year, Later, he got a Masters Degree in Political Science from the University of Indonesia in Jakarta.

Ganjar Pranowo is a proven democrat and nationalist, faithful to the principles of the Pancasila. As governor of Central Java he has shown a remarkable closeness to the common people and loyalty to moderate NU-Ulamas. Although some have accused

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<sup>9</sup> UU 21 tahun 2001.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Abdul Basid Fuadil and Zaka Firma Aditya, “The Indonesian Electoral System Development: Does Papua Need Local Parties?”, p. 11 (Conclusion). Center for Research and Case Analysis, The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, 2021.

him of involvement in corruption, this could not be proven. Conversely, he acts strictly in terms of anti-graft enforcement. Ganjar Pranowo is married to Siti Atikah Supriyanti, an academic who's parents and grandparents played a significant role in NU as leaders of Islamic boarding schools or Pesantren. Ganjar and Siti have one son.

On 22<sup>nd</sup> of April 2023, Megawati Soekarnoputri, former state president and general chairperson of the Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) has declared Ganjar Pranowo as the party's choice as presidential candidate. Some smaller parties such as Hanura<sup>11</sup>, PSI<sup>12</sup> and PPP<sup>13</sup> have already declared allegiance to Ganjar Pranowo as well. Current President Joko Widodo has publicly endorsed him. He thus has good chances of winning the election, though the choice of a vice-presidential candidate will be an important factor determining the outcome.

- 2) Prabowo Subianto Djojohadikusumo (age 71), a former General under the Suharto-regime and since 2019 Defence Minister in Joko Widodo's government. He comes from a rich family. His father served in ministerial positions under President Soekarno but then sided with the Permesta rebels<sup>14</sup>, which resulted in years of exile abroad. Subsequently, Prabowo attended a number of international schools and thus speaks fluent English, French, Dutch, and reportedly German.

During the Suharto-Regime (1966/1967-1998), Prabowo's family returned to Indonesia. Despite his father's Permesta background, Prabowo managed to attend military academy and became an officer. He subsequently married Suharto's

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<sup>11</sup> Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (Hanura), was founded by General Wiranto in 2006. He remained the leader of Hanura until 2016, after which Oesman Sapta Odang (OSO) took over as chairperson.

<sup>12</sup> Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI), a favorite of many young people and academics, was the first party that supported Ganjar Pranowo for becoming the presidential candidate. The decision was announced on 6<sup>th</sup> October 2022 with prior consultation with either Ganjar or PDI-P.

<sup>13</sup> Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), an Islamic Party, declared its support for Ganjar Pranowo on 26<sup>th</sup> April 2023, but then stated to still remain in a coalition with the Islamist PAN and the big Golkar Party (Koalisi Indonesia Bersatu/KIB). At the point of the decision of PPP, the KIB had not decided on a candidate yet.

<sup>14</sup> Permesta is an acronym standing for "Perjuangan Semesta" (Universal Struggle Charter). It was a rebel-organisation founded in March 1957, initially centred in Makassar, then Manado, and finally in West Sumatra.

daughter Titiek with whom he has one son. As a commanding officer in East Timor and Papua, Prabowo has allegedly been responsible for human rights violations. Right after Suharto's resignation from power in May 1998, Prabowo seems to have attempted a military coup against Suharto's successor, President Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie. For this he was discharged from office and later from the army. Prabowo then spent some years in Jordan before returning to Indonesia, successfully building up his businesses and founding a political Party (Gerindra) and twice unsuccessfully running for the presidency against Joko Widodo.

Prabowo is a nationalist proud of his military background. Although he does not seem to be very religious, he formed coalitions with Islamic fundamentalists (such as PKS) in the past. He is considered preferable to Ganjar Pranowo by Islamic fundamentalists such as Amien Rais (the leader of Partai Ummah). Prabowo rejected the suggestion, made by President Joko Widodo (who mentioned Prabowo first among seven possible candidates), to become Ganjar Pranowo's vice-presidential candidate.<sup>15</sup>

- 3) Anies Baswedan (age 54), an academic, short-term minister for education and culture in "Joko Widodo's" government and then governor of Jakarta (2017–2022). According to many serious media, Anies Baswedan performed poorly in both of his political positions. During the election rally for Jakarta Governor, Anies Baswedan sided with the extremist grouping Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) which launched a religiously and racially motivated smear-campaign against incumbent Christian Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama alias Ahok in 2016/2017.

For the 2024 bid for the presidency, Anies Baswedan was first endorsed by National Democratic Party (NasDem) in October 2022. In January 2023, both the right wing Islamic Party PKS and the Democratic Party of former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono declared their support for Anies Baswedan.

For Buddhists, Hindus, adherents of Chinese Religion, and Christians (Catholics and Protestants) a victory of Ganjar Pranowo would certainly be preferable, since he stands firmly on the ground of the Pancasila and the rule-of-law of the republic.

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. Justinus Paat, "Prabowo Doesn't Aim for Second Prize, for Now", Jakarta Globe, 23.4.2023.

He has proven to defend the rights of all citizens equally and to eradicate extremism (e.g. by threatening to expel religious hothead-teachers from public schools).

In the case of Prabowo, you can't be sure what will happen. I think he is an opportunist who can collaborate both with the Nationalists and with the Islamists, as long as he can be in power.

In case Anies Baswedan wins, however, he will most likely give more leeway to the implementation of Sharia-law on all levels, including the national level. Some nine out of 38 provinces in Indonesia have already implemented Sharia-law<sup>16</sup>, albeit most of them not as strictly as in Aceh. More areas under Sharia inevitably will lead to more discrimination against liberal Muslims, minorities, especially women and gay people.

## **THE ROLE OF CHURCHES**

So what can the role of churches be during the upcoming election campaign?<sup>17</sup> For certain, this cannot be the same in every region, town or village. It very much depends on local factors such as the percentage of the Christian population, cooperation between church and state-authorities (including police and military), the relations with the other religions, as well as whether the atmosphere is generally safe and calm, or not.

For a start, many churches in Indonesia should revise their Theologies concerning politics. In accordance with traditions of Protestant Piety (e.g. Pietism), many hold politics to be somehow 'dirty' and 'worldly'.<sup>18</sup> As a result, they refrain from political involvement. Lack of interest and awareness, however, not only leads to lower polls and participation by Christians, but it also leaves the political arena to often scrupulous actors who pursue agendas

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<sup>16</sup> Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, Riau, Jambi, South Sumatra, Bangka-Belitung, Gorontalo, and West Nusa Tenggara.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Mery L.Y. Kolimon, "Tugas Gereja dalam Penguatan Masyarakat Sipil", in: *Teologi Politik: Panggilan Gereja di Bidang Politik Pascaorde Baru*, OASE INTIM, Makassar, 2013 (Zakaria J. Ngelow, et al. eds.), pp. 223-230.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Andreas A. Yewangoe, "Visi Kristen Mengenai Politik", in: *Teologi Politik: Panggilan Gereja di Bidang Politik Pascaorde Baru*, OASE INTIM, Makassar, 2013 (Zakaria J. Ngelow, et al. eds.), pp. 91 ff.

that could destroy the social consensus and do not serve the real needs of the people.

Specifically concerning Papua, where I am stationed, the churches could conduct civic seminars on topics such as the programs of the parties, the civil rights and duties of citizens, as well as the proper procedures at the polls. This, however, is not possible everywhere. In places such as Jayapura, Merauke and Fak Fak it could be a viable option. But in violence-ridden towns and regencies like Wamena or Nduga it could get out of hand. Whereas political education by the churches, without incitement, is an urgent need (the churches have the trust of the people and the logistics even in the most remote places), it has to be done with great care. Church ministers and youth leaders should be trained for this.

The churches should, however, not allow politicians to use church facilities for campaign rallies. Church leaders should demand and enforce the neutrality of the clergy. In past elections many pastors have been co-opted by certain candidates to accompany their election teams. Shepherds who should lead their flocks in times of turmoil, left them alone. By siding with particular candidates, they actually cause divisions in their own congregations.

Another, very important task of the church before and during the elections must be 'cultivating the truth'. This applies not only to the purity of the Gospel, but also to worldly objectivity and reason. By teaching and training its members to distinguish soberly between facts and lies, particularly in the social media, the churches could make a priceless contribution. Fake news can not only mislead people to make detrimentally wrong choices at the ballot box, but also incite hate-speech and violence.

Finally, I believe that all citizens of Indonesia who love their *Tanah Air*, in particular Christians, should heed the advice of the Apostle Peter in the up-coming General Elections: "Those who desire life and desire to see good days, let them keep their tongues from evil and their lips from speaking deceit; let them turn away from evil and do good; let them seek peace and pursue it." (1<sup>st</sup> Peter 3:10-11).

Papua, 1<sup>st</sup> June 2023, Pancasila-Day



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