

## WAN ABDURACHMAN'S ROLE IN FORMULATING THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE INDONESIAN STATE IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY 1956-1959 AD

Nurul Hidayati\*, Abd Rahman Hamid; Agus Mahfudin Setiawan; Uswatun Hasanah

State Islamic University of Raden Intan, Lampung, Indonesia

### Abstract

*This article discusses the role of Wan Abdurachman in formulating the foundation of the Indonesian state in the Constitutional Assembly from 1956 to 1959. The research employs the historical method, which includes four stages: heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The historical sources were obtained from the National Archives, the National Library, and the official website of the MPR RI. The findings of this study reveal that Wan Abdurachman was the most prominent Islamic figure in Lampung, who, since his youth, was active in nationalist movement organizations based on Islam (the Indonesian Sarekat Islam Party), which made it easy for him to connect with HOS Tjokroaminoto, who developed the ideology of Islamic socialism. This ideology was advocated as the foundation of the Indonesian state in the Constitutional Assembly. This is the important contribution of this study: that Tjokroaminoto formulated Islamic socialism during the national movement period, and Wan Abdurachman fought for it to become the foundation of the Indonesian state in the Constitutional Assembly.*

*Keywords: Wan Abdurachman; PSII; State foundation; Islamic socialism.*

### INTRODUCTION

The process of drafting Indonesia's foundational principles began in 1945 through the Investigative Body for Preparatory Work for Independence (BPUPKI). This body was established by the Japanese government on April 29, 1945, to explore and prepare plans for Indonesia's independence, including discussions on the nation's foundational principles (Heri Rohayuningsih, 2009. P.188). BPUPK convened on May 29, 1945, during which two ideological groups emerged: the Nationalist group and the Islamic group. The Nationalists emphasized the importance of a nation-state based on inclusivity for all citizens, irrespective of religion. Conversely, the Islamic group advocated for a state grounded in Islamic values, with the implementation of Sharia law for Muslims (Soraya, 2014).

On June 1, 1945, Soekarno proposed five foundational principles for the state: 1) Indonesian Nationalism, 2) Internationalism or Humanitarianism, 3) Consensus or Democracy, 4) Social Welfare, and 5) Belief in God with a cultural nuance (Yamin, 1959) (Hasanah & Budiarto, 2020). Soekarno also remarked that the proposed laws were provisional and that once Indonesia gained independence and the situation stabilized, a People's Representative Assembly would be formed to draft a more comprehensive constitution (Afidah, Ghofi, & Setiawan, 2023; Nasution, 2001).

As no consensus on the foundational principles was reached during the BPUPKI session, a special committee known as the "Committee of Nine" was formed before a one-month recess. This committee, chaired by Soekarno and including members such as Moh. Hatta, Moh. Yamin, A.A. Maramis, Abikusno Djokrosoejoso, Abdoel Kahar Moezakir, H. Agus Salim, K.H. Wahid Hasyim, and Ahmad Soebarjo, was tasked with drafting a foundational document. The committee produced the Jakarta Charter on June 22, 1945, outlining five principles: (1) Belief in God with the obligation for Muslims to practice Islamic law, (2) Just and civilized humanity, (3) The unity of Indonesia, (4) Democracy guided by the wisdom of deliberation/representation, and (5) Social justice for all Indonesians. These principles became the basis for the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, marking

\*Correspondance Author: [nrlhidayanti11@gmail.com](mailto:nrlhidayanti11@gmail.com)

Article History | Submitted: 14 June, 2024 | Revised: 20 December, 2024 | Accepted: 22 December, 2024 | Publish: 10 January 2025

HOW TO CITE (APA 6<sup>th</sup> Edition):

Hidayati, Nurul et al. (2025). Wan Abdurachman's Role in Formulating the Basic Principles of the Indonesian State in the Constituent Assembly 1956-1959 AD. *Juspi: Jurnal Sejarah Peradaban Islam*. 8(2), page.275-287

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.30829/juspi.v8i2.20587>

the initial emergence of Pancasila as Indonesia's foundational philosophy (Rohman et al., 2024.P.149).

On July 10, 1945, during another BPUPK session, disagreements arose regarding the phrase "Belief in God with the obligation to practice Islamic law for Muslims." While the Islamic group supported the phrase, the Nationalist group opposed it, arguing that it undermined national unity and could alienate non-Muslims (Wijiyanto & Sudrajat, 2019; Yamin, 1959). After extensive debates, it was agreed that the Jakarta Charter would serve as the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, which was subsequently adopted as the state constitution by the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) on August 18, 1945 (Fatkhur Rohman et al., 2024; Heri Rohayuningsih, 2009). The 1945 Constitution remained in effect until the 1949 Revolution, after which the Provisional Constitution of 1950 (UUDS) was introduced.

The UUDS of 1950 contained several key provisions: first, the implementation of general elections as stated in Article 35; second, the election of members of the House of Representatives (DPR) and the Constitutional Assembly (Konstituante) as outlined in Article 1, Paragraph 2; and third, the Constitutional Assembly's responsibilities as specified in Article 134. The Constitutional Assembly, elected by the people, was tasked with drafting a new constitution that would serve as Indonesia's state foundation (Simorangkir, 1958).

In 1955, Indonesia held its first general elections, conducted in two phases: the first on September 29, 1955, to elect DPR members based in Jakarta, and the second on December 15, 1955, to elect Constitutional Assembly members based in Bandung. According to the 1950 Constitution, the Constitutional Assembly comprised members representing every 150,000 citizens. The assembly had 514 elected members from 34 political parties (Simorangkir, 1958.p.72).

On November 9, 1956, Wan Abdurachman and 15 members of the Indonesian Islamic Union Party (PSII) convened at the Homann Hotel, where Wan Abdurachman was appointed Chairman of the PSII faction in the Constitutional Assembly with membership number 368 (Hamid, 2024b). The Assembly was inaugurated by President Soekarno at Gedung Merdeka, Bandung, on November 10, 1956, coinciding with Heroes' Day (K.R.I., 1956). Wan Abdurachman played a significant role in drafting the nation's foundational principles and participated in debates to advocate for the PSII's ideological vision, which emphasized Islamic Socialism based on the Quran and Hadith.

This study builds upon five previous works on the Constitutional Assembly. Two key studies focus on the ideological debates: Ahmad Syafii Maarif (1985) explored the rivalry between the Pancasila and Islamic factions, while Adnan Buyung Nasution (2001) examined the constitutional drafting process. Additionally, three articles delve into political dynamics: Muhammad Ilham Gilang (2018) highlighted the role of Nahdlatul Ulama in advocating for Islamic principles, Asep Daud Kosasih (2021) analyzed Muhammad Natsir's thoughts on Islamic principles from the pre-independence era to the Constitutional Assembly period, and Dahimatul Afidah (2023) discussed the formulation of Indonesia's foundational principles between 1950 and 1959. While these studies emphasize the broader ideological debates, they do not focus on specific individuals. This research aims to fill that gap by examining Wan Abdurachman's role as the PSII Chairman in shaping Indonesia's foundational principles.

This study is driven by two factors. First, there is a lack of representation of Lampung figures in Indonesian history, with Wan Abdurachman receiving only a brief mention in "The History of the Independence Struggle in Lampung" (Lampung, 1994). Second, Wan Abdurachman's contributions as a PSII activist in drafting Indonesia's foundational principles are significant. This study seeks to fill this historical gap while providing new insights into an overlooked chapter of Indonesia's history.

The research seeks to answer three questions: (1) What was Wan Abdurachman's social background? (2) What were his concepts in formulating Indonesia's foundational principles? (3) What was his role in the debates within the Constitutional Assembly?

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research employs historical methodology, which comprises four stages: heuristics (source collection), source criticism (internal and external evaluation), interpretation (historical fact analysis), and historiography (historical writing). Primary sources were obtained from the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI), the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia, and the official website of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR RI). At ANRI, records include the biographies of Constitutional Assembly members from 1956–1959, lists of Assembly members, and collections of regulations related to the Assembly and its members from 1958–1959. The National Library houses three volumes of foundational principles debates and editions of the *Soeara PSII* magazine from 1940. On the MPR RI website, 13 volumes of Constitutional Assembly deliberation transcripts were accessed, covering sessions from November 10, 1956, to June 3, 1959. The next step involved source criticism, both external and internal. External criticism examined whether the sources were contemporary to the focus of this study, while internal criticism evaluated the relevance of the content to the research theme. Sources were then categorized into relevant and irrelevant groups to facilitate analysis. Following this, the data were interpreted, and the historical narrative was written (historiography). In historiography, the serialization method was applied, emphasizing three main aspects: chronology (the sequence of events), causality (cause-and-effect relationships), and an imaginative yet structured approach to make the narrative accessible and engaging for readers (Hamid & Madjid, 2011).

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Biography of Wan Abdurachman

Wan Abdurachman was one of the figures involved in the establishment of Indonesia's foundational principles, although his contributions remain relatively unknown among Indonesians. He was born on December 23, 1901, in Teluk Betung (ANRI, 1956). He was the grandson of Wan Abbas, a commander and Islamic scholar from the Trengganu Sultanate who migrated to Lampung in the 19th century. Wan Abbas married Salamah, the daughter of a *hulubalang* (traditional leader) in Pencak, and thus became an integral part of the Lampung community. From this marriage, they had six children: Wan Incik Hajjah Halimah, Wan Muhammad Arsyad, Wan Rahmat, Wan Muhammad Ali, Wan Usman, and Wan Umar. Wan Abdurachman was born to Wan Muhammad Arsyad, who married Incik Roffiah. His siblings included Wan Incik Khadijah, Wan Incik Zubaidah, Wan Abdul Somad, and Wan Affandy. This made Wan Abdurachman the second generation of Wan Abbas's lineage. He later married Incik Aisah from Singapore (Kalianda) (Hamid, 2024a).

Wan Abdurachman was a prominent figure from Lampung and resided at Kebon Pisang Blok D No. 173, Teluk Betung. As he reached adulthood, he pursued his education at HIS (*Hollandsch Inlandsche School*). He also attended a trade course under Handelsbond Jakarta and earned a stenography bookkeeping certificate from Prints Van Leeuwen (DHD, 1994, pp. 414-415). After completing his education, Wan Abdurachman embarked on a professional career. Between June and December 1918, he worked as a Post Assistant at the post office in Tanjung Priok. Subsequently, he held various roles, including as an entry-level employee at PT Singer Distributor Headquarters in Jakarta, office supervisor, assistant bookkeeper at PT Borneo, cashier at Lampung Credit Bank in Teluk Betung, and assistant supervisor at Bergen rubber plantations in Lampung from January 1919 to December 1930.

In 1919, Wan Abdurachman became actively involved in the *Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia* (PSII). The PSII emerged from Sarekat Islam, founded by HOS Tjokroaminoto. By 1930, PSII had solidified its mission of implementing Islam in its fullest sense to establish a true Islamic society, serving as a guiding framework for devout Muslims. This mission required a foundational program to direct and underpin all its objectives and efforts (Amelz, 1952, p. 15-16).

In 1930, Wan Abdurachman was appointed as the PSII chairman for Lampung. This marked the beginning of his deep engagement with the intellectual ideas of Hadji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto, the national teacher and PSII's founding father, especially regarding the concept of

Islamic Socialism. Wan Abdurachman's influence extended beyond Lampung to the Palembang region. During the colonial period, when the Dutch authorities arrested and prosecuted PSII activists, Wan Abdurachman courageously defended them in colonial courts, demonstrating his unwavering commitment to justice and the movement's cause (Soeara PSII, 1940,p.8h) (Hamid, 2024b).



Figure 1. Photo of Wan Abdurachman,  
Source: Constituent Assembly Archives No. 10

Since October 1945, Wan Abdurachman was appointed as the General Chairman of the Indonesian National Committee (KNI) for the Lampung Residency and concurrently served as a senior official (*Bupati Istimewa*) at the Lampung Residency Office. In December 1945, he held the position of General Secretary of the KNI for the Lampung Residency. In 1946, he became the Chairman of the KNI Working Body and Deputy Speaker of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPR) for the Lampung Residency. On November 20, 1947, he was appointed Deputy Commander of the Lampung-South Palembang Military Region with the honorary rank of Lieutenant Colonel, based on the decree of the Sumatra Command Commander No. 36/Pn/47 (DHD 1994.pp.108-115).

In December 1949, Wan Abdurachman was assigned as a member of the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP) in Yogyakarta (Hamid, 2023). During the second phase of the Indonesian War of Independence, he chaired the Southern Lampung Regional Defense Council, which controlled areas such as Kendondong, Padang Cermin, and Hurun. Following the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty on December 27, 1949, Wan Abdurachman was appointed as a member of the Sumatra Provincial DPR in Palembang in January 1950. However, he resigned on January 28, 1952, at his own request, as formalized in the Governor of Southern Sumatra's decree No. GB/21/1952. After the first general election in 1955, Wan Abdurachman became a member and the Chairman of the PSII faction in the Constitutional Assembly (*Dewan Konstituante*). He held this position from November 10, 1956, until the assembly concluded its sessions on June 3, 1959 (Simorangkir, 1958,p.11).



Figure 2: The Merdeka Building of the Constituent Assembly in Bandung  
Source: Simorangkir & Say (1958)



Figure 2. The atmosphere of the inauguration of the members of the Constituent Assembly, 10 November 1956  
Source: Simorangkir & M. Reng Say 1958

### Islamic Socialism: Wan Abdurachman's Perspective

Wan Abdurachman advocated for Islamic socialism during his tenure as a member of the Constitutional Assembly (1956–1959). Socialism, derived from the Latin word *socius* meaning "companion," emphasizes principles of friendship and community, opposing individualism, which prioritizes personal interests. According to Marxist socialism, it stands in contrast to individualism by focusing on collective well-being rather than individual gains (Wibisono, 1950). Socialism aims to achieve societal welfare and prosperity within a state, necessitating a sense of community and mutual support (Wiratama, Budianto, & Afandi, 2022).

Three primary elements define socialism: liberty, equality, and fraternity. These principles are deeply embedded in Islamic teachings and the societal framework established by Prophet Muhammad saw.

- 1) Liberty: Every Muslim should fear none but Allah, recognizing that all help and power come solely from Him.
- 2) Equality: Among Muslims, there are no distinctions in status or class, promoting a sense of equality and eliminating social stratification.
- 3) Fraternity: Brotherhood among Muslims is emphasized in the Qur'an, where Allah instills affection and camaraderie in their hearts. This sense of fraternity is encouraged to foster harmony within the Islamic community (Tjokroaminoto, 2008, pp.51-56).

The origins of modern Islamic socialism can be traced to reformist movements. Islamic socialism emerged in South Asia, championed by Mushir Hosein Kidwai, an Indian intellectual who developed the concept based on Islamic teachings, such as communal welfare and rejection of capitalism. This ideology gained prominence in the early 20th century, with Kidwai's publication of *Islam and Socialism* in 1912 marking its zenith. Kidwai argued that for Muslims, socialism is an organized, harmonious system rooted in the Qur'an and Islamic history. His ideas significantly influenced HOS Tjokroaminoto.

In Indonesia, Islamic socialism was pioneered by HOS Tjokroaminoto through the Sarekat Islam (1912). As a mentor to many Indonesian nationalist leaders, Tjokroaminoto's thoughts on Islamic socialism continued to inspire successive generations of activists and intellectuals (Fogg, 2019). To disseminate his ideas, he authored *Islam and Socialism*, first published in 1924. The foundation of Tjokroaminoto's Islamic socialism lies in the Qur'an and the hadith. For instance, Al-Hujurat (49:10) declares, "All believers are but brothers," while Al-Baqarah (2:224) commands, "Create peace among yourselves." Moreover, Prophet Muhammad saw stated, "God has removed arrogance and pride from lineage. An Arab is not superior to a non-Arab, except in piety and obedience to God." These teachings led Tjokroaminoto to assert that true socialism is Islamic socialism, distinct from Western socialism (Tjokroaminoto, 2008, pp.41-42).

Tjokroaminoto argued that Islamic socialism originates from Islamic teachings, free from Western influences. He emphasized that Islamic socialism mandates adherence to the Qur'an and the hadith. For example, Friday prayers bring Muslims together, transcending social hierarchies.

Furthermore, Prophet Muhammad saw advocated generosity as a social principle, with acts like charity and zakat being both virtuous and obligatory. Islam thus establishes a framework for brotherhood to eradicate societal discord (Risalah, 1957,p.472). The Islamic socialism promoted by Tjokroaminoto through the Sarekat Islam was championed by Wan Abdurachman as Indonesia's foundational ideology in the Constitutional Assembly (Risalah, 1957, p. 472). In his 1957 speech, Wan Abdurachman articulated Islamic socialism as the foundation of the Indonesian state. This form of socialism diverges from Western socialism by emphasizing communal interests, countering individualism, which prioritizes personal gains above all else. Western-influenced socialism often leads to stratification through the pursuit of wealth and luxury, creating economic disparities (Risalah, 1957,p.466).

Wan Abdurachman firmly stated that Islamic socialism is rooted in Islamic teachings and must be implemented as a religious obligation. One of its core principles is the pursuit of social justice and advocacy for the underprivileged (Wibisono,1950,p.53). He emphasized that PSII's long-standing struggle against capitalism stemmed from its harmful impact on society and its prohibition in Islamic doctrine (Risalah, 1957,p.469).

Wan Abdurachman based Islamic socialism on the word of Allah in the Qur'an, Surah Al-Baqarah verse 123: "كَانَ النَّاسُ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً" mankind is one nation". Humanity is becoming one unity. This is the main point of Islamic socialism that Wan Abdurachman fought for. In addition to this verse, he also quoted Surah Al-Hujurat verse 13 which reads:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتَقْوَمُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

*"O mankind, We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted."*

According to Wan Abdurachman, if unity is the main thing in social life, then society must strive to achieve salvation and common goals. The Basic Concept of the State promoted by Wan Abdurachman is Islamic socialism, not Western or home-made socialism, but socialism that emerged on the basis of Islamic teachings (Risalah, 1957a). The PSII group rejected the differences in human status in social life. They believe that what can differentiate human status towards Allah is only piety.

Islamic socialism has developed for approximately thirteen centuries, and has been practiced since the time of the Prophet Muhammad saw. Islamic socialism is a movement controlled by Islamic identity to achieve perfection in life in the world and in the hereafter. This can be seen from Wan Abdurachman's statement quoting a hadith that: "according to the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad Sallahu Alaihi Wassalam that he told us to be generous with socialistic principles. While the Qur'an repeatedly states that giving alms is not only a virtue, but is a strict obligation that must not be neglected." The socialism referred to here is Islamic socialism, where people who live in groups have an attitude of loving each other, without differentiating one another. In Islam, there is no difference in creatures before Allah Swt (Risalah, 1957a).

Wan Abdurachman emphasized that the concept of socialism that he proposed as the State Philosophy was not to imitate the West, but to apply Islamic principles in the life of the nation and state. The Islamic socialism that he promoted emphasized the importance of solidarity, social justice, and concern for others as the main foundation in building a nation.

The idea of the State Philosophy that Wan Abdurachman fought for was different from the socialism that developed in the West. Socialism that is based on Islamic values that encourage people to live together in unity and help each other. In fact, the practice of Islamic socialism had developed before Western socialism developed in Europe in the 19th century. The practice of Islamic socialism has developed since the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. This concept is not only relevant to building a just and prosperous State Philosophy, but also shows how religious teachings can be applied in political and social life. Wan Abdurachman's contribution in

formulating the State Philosophy shows his commitment to the principles of Islam and social justice, which remain relevant in facing modern challenges.

Socialism in Wan Abdurachman's view is not only a daily life practice by Muslims, even among them is a mandatory practice carried out by Muslims. Thus, the teachings of Islamic socialism are not only textual and normative, but are translated into everyday life for every follower. Socio-economic practices in Islam carried out by Muslims when performing Friday prayers, Eid al-Fitr prayers, Eid al-Adha prayers, and Zakat (Risalah, 1957a).

During Friday prayers, every Muslim, rich or poor, from various ethnicities and skin colors, is required to gather and perform prayers in the mosque without distinguishing between places and degrees. In this gathering, the prayer is led by an Imam who is chosen from among them. In addition, twice a year, the entire population of a city gathers to perform the Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha prayers. On this occasion, they shake hands and embrace each other with a deep sense of brotherhood, strengthening the social bonds between them. Another social practice is carried out during the Hajj, every Muslim who is able is required to perform the Hajj to Mecca. This worship is carried out at a predetermined time, where the congregation gathers in one place wearing the same and very simple ihram clothes. This ihram clothing symbolizes simplicity and equality, eliminating differences in social status, ethnicity, and skin color. Thus, the Hajj pilgrimage strengthens the sense of unity and equality among Muslims, making it a very meaningful moment in their spiritual lives (Risalah, 1957, p.467). These activities reflect the basic principles of Islam that emphasize togetherness, simplicity, and brotherhood, which are carried out with full devotion by every Muslim individual throughout the world (Wijiyanto et al., 2019, p.10).

In Islam, the practice of generosity is a commandment of Allah that has three important socialist dimensions. First, Muslims are invited to prioritize the public interest over personal interests, so that a sense of sacrifice and concern for others is created. This reflects the spirit of solidarity and togetherness. Second, Islam teaches the importance of sharing wealth equally through zakat, one of the pillars of Islam. This zakat aims to reduce social and economic disparities, and promote social justice. Third, Islam changes the perception of poverty from humiliation to virtue. The Prophet Muhammad SAW said, "Poverty makes the heart big." This shows that simplicity and humility are more valuable than material wealth. Thus, Muslims who practice this teaching sincerely will achieve purity of heart and true happiness.

The practice of Islamic socialism embodies equality and brotherhood. This practice instills a sense that all humans are one unity, and it is obligatory for them to do the same thing that applies to each other. This practice is in accordance with the foundation of PSIII, namely the belief that in order to create a united Muslim community, a group (party) must first be formed that is not divided or divided (Amelz, 1952, p.10). As Allah says in the Qur'an, Surah Al-'Imran verse 103, which means "and hold fast all of you to the rope of Allah (Qura'an) and do not be divided".

If we look at the lives of the Indonesian people, the majority of whom are Muslim, not all of them understand and practice Islamic teachings in their entirety due to obstacles from the colonial government. In addition, the implementation of Islamic teachings is difficult to harmonize with the government practices that existed at that time. In Islam, there are obligations and prohibitions that must be obeyed, such as the obligation to pray five times a day and the prohibition of eating pork and drinking alcohol. However, the state earns income from various sources that are considered haram, so that the state income used to pay employee salaries is not in accordance with Islamic principles. It is clear that Allah forbids His servants from consuming usury money, but because of political factors at that time, many Muslims ended up consuming money obtained through improper means. PSII members must have full awareness to fight capitalism, because it is not only a crime in the world but also a threat of Allah's punishment in the hereafter (Amelz, 1952, p.32). This has been PSII's struggle for 45 years. The prohibition on consuming usury has been stated in Surah Al-Baqarah verse 275.

الَّذِينَ يَأْكُلُونَ الرِّبَا لَا يَقُومُونَ إِلَّا كَمَا يَقُومُ الَّذِي يَتَخَبَّطُهُ الشَّيْطَانُ مِنَ الْمَسِّ

*“Those who consume (transact with) usury cannot stand, except like one who stands staggering because of being possessed by Satan.”*

Islam as the basis of the Indonesian state can improve the lives of Muslim communities that previously did not conform to the teachings of their religion. Socialism offers programs that will distribute prosperity and power more evenly in society, but in the session to formulate the basis of the state, adherents of the Pancasila ideology attacked the Islamic State Basis group of thought. This has similarities with the conditions in the colonial era when Islam was going to be destroyed, even though the majority of the Indonesian population was Muslim. On that basis, PSII under the leadership of Wan Abdurachman, as a party based on Islam, tried to fight for Islam as the basis of the Indonesian state in the Constituent Assembly.

### **Debate in the Constituent Assembly**

There are three ideological factions in the Constituent Assembly, namely Pancasila, Islam, and Socio-Economic. Each faction is supported by its party. The Pancasila faction is supported by 24 parties, namely the Indonesian National Party (PNI), the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the Republic of Proclamation, the Indonesian Christian Party (Perkindo), the Catholic Party, the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI), the Association of Supporters of Indonesian Independence (IPKI), the National People's Party (PRN), the Indonesian Police Officers Association (P3RI), the United Power Party, the Pancasila Defenders Movement (GPPS), the Indonesian People's Party (PRI), Baperki, the Free Republic of Indonesia Party (PRIM), the Great Indonesia Union-Wongsonegoro (PIR), the Great Indonesia Union - Hazairin (PIR), Gerinda, the Village People's Union (PRD), R. Soedjono Prawirosoedarso, the Republic of Indonesia Bull Movement, the Indonesian Farmers Party, Radja Kaprabonan, West Nusa Tenggara - Lombok (PIR), Permai. The Islamic faction is supported by 8 parties, namely the Indonesian Muslim Consultative Council (Masyumi), Nahdatul Ulama (NU), the Indonesian Islamic Union Party (PSII), the Islamic Education Association (PERTI), AKUI-Madura, PPTI, the Sundanese Choice Movement, the Center for the Movement for the Nomination of LE Idrus Effendi - Southeast Sulawesi. The Socio-Economic faction is supported by 3 parties, namely the Labor Party, the Murba Party, and Acoma (Nasution, 2001, pp.32-33)

The Constituent Assembly held seven plenary sessions, once in 1956, three times in 1957, twice in 1958 and once in 1959. In the second session, which took place from 11 November to 7 December 1957, three proposals related to the State Philosophy, namely Pancasila, Islam and Socio-Economic, were developed, which were fought for tenaciously by their supporters (K.R.I., 1958). This session took place in two rounds. The first round involved 47 speakers, the second round involved 54 speakers. The debate was opened with a report prepared by the Constitutional Preparatory Committee consisting of 183 members who were representatives of the factions in the Constituent Assembly. Representatives from PSII were 6 people, namely: Wan Abdurachman, Muhamad Djauzulie Kartawinata, Muhamamd Tahir Abubakar, Kijai Hadji Sapari, ON Pakaja, and Hadji Masjkur. This committee submitted five points regarding the State Foundation, namely that; (1) the State Foundation must be in accordance with the personality of the Indonesian nation, (2) be inspired by the spirit of the August 17, 1945 revolution, (3) deliberation should be the basis for all negotiations and resolutions regarding all state issues, (4) freedom of religion and worship is guaranteed, (5) contains guarantees of the principles of humanity, broad nationality and social justice (K.R.I., 1957, p.237). Initially, these five provisions were made to facilitate reaching an agreement, however, these provisions were later used by each party to strengthen and justify their ideology.

The three ideologies proposed as the State Philosophy are Pancasila, Islam, and Socio-Economics. The Pancasila Bloc proposed five principles as the State Philosophy, using different words from those in the preamble to the 1945 and 1950 Provisional Constitutions, namely: (1) Belief in God, (2) Humanity, (3) Unity or Nationalism, (4) Deliberation or Democracy, (5) Social Justice (Nasution, 2001, p.49). The reason for wanting Pancasila to be the State Philosophy is because Pancasila is a meeting point for various groups and schools of thought in the Indonesian nation, providing freedom for each individual to adhere to their own ideology. Pancasila also reflects the



nature, character and nature of the Indonesian nation, and provides a more spiritual and just basis for life. Pancasila guarantees freedom of religion, worship, deliberation and democracy, and prevents the emergence of capitalist and liberal systems. In addition, Pancasila also guarantees the welfare and happiness of the people, and supports the unity of the nation in accordance with the ideals of the 1945 revolution (Simorangkir, 1958, pp.171-172).

The Islamic Bloc proposed Islam as the State Philosophy, namely teachings on worldly and hereafter matters originating from God, which are officially adopted by the majority of Indonesian people (Nasution, 2001, p.49). The opinion that requires Islam as the State Philosophy is the sovereignty of God's law, thus Islam upholds the principles of democracy, social justice, religious freedom, gender equality and respects differences. This religion prohibits colonization, exploitation and coercion of adherents of other religions, and guarantees human rights and the safety of humanity to achieve happiness in the world and the hereafter based on the laws of the Qur'an and Hadith (Simorangkir, 1958, pp.170-171).

This is in accordance with the contents of Wan Abdurachman's speech, which stated "Socialism demands a way of life of one for all, and all for one, namely a way of life that will show us that we are responsible for our actions towards each other". The socialism in question is not the socialism that developed in the West but Islamic Socialism which is based on the Qur'an and Hadith (Risalah, 1957, p.465).

The Socio-Economic Block believes that the Basis of the Indonesian State is Socio-Economic. The reason is that Socio-Economic is in accordance with the objectives of the Revolution, which is the principle that has been set out in Article 33, paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of the 1945 Constitution. Paragraph 1 reads "The economy is structured as a joint effort based on the principle of family". As a basic principle for implementing prosperity and social justice (Simorangkir, 1958, p.170). And to ensure the implementation of socio-economic, a political system was drawn up as stated in the 1945 Constitution Article 1 paragraph 1 and 2, paragraph 1 "The State of Indonesia is a unitary state of the Republic", paragraph 2 "Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is carried out entirely by the People's Consultative Assembly".

The debate was basically an ideological confrontation between two major forces, namely the supporters of Pancasila and the supporters of Islam, each of which had different views on the Basis of the State. Because the decision required the support of two-thirds of the votes from the number of members of each party. Pancasila (183 votes), Islam (153 votes), Socio-Economic (7 votes). Therefore, there was a need for compromise between the Pancasila Bloc and the Islamic Bloc to reach an agreement. Meanwhile, the Socio-Economic faction, with a small number of votes, was considered to have no significant influence in the decision-making process. Therefore, the two large factions considered that the aspirations and goals of the Socio-Economic faction were already fully and effectively covered in their own views and concepts regarding the State Philosophy (Nasution, 2001, p.52).

Each faction in the Constituent Assembly emphasized the superiority of its thinking. Some PNI members considered Pancasila as a mature and perfect ideology. As conveyed in Suwirjo's speech (PNI) in the 1957 Constituent Assembly session, "The Pancasila is the basis that truly fits the personality of the Indonesian nation, that truly embodies the spirit of the August 17, 1945 Revolution, that truly guarantees freedom of religion and worship, that truly contains guarantees of humanity, broad nationality and social justice" (Risalah, 1957, p.2).

The Islamic Bloc considered Islamic ideology as a divine revelation that contains the most complete and perfect laws and teachings, both to regulate individual and social life as well as to regulate matters of religion, politics and economics. As conveyed by Wan Abdurachman in his speech that "in Islam it is clear, when discussing matters of state and law, it has provisions that are guaranteed in the Al-Quran and the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad saw. So the negative and positive laws in Islam are "*Dwitunggal*" which cannot be separated between soul and body" (Risalah, 1957, p.2).

Such arguments were repeatedly conveyed by members of the Constituent Assembly from both the Pancasila and Islamic blocs. The speakers also belittled and mocked each other, supporters of Pancasila believed that if the State Philosophy was replaced it would be a form of betrayal of the revolutionary struggle and endanger the peace and unity of Indonesia. Meanwhile, supporters of Islam believed that Pancasila was a secular doctrine which would later open up opportunities for atheist movements such as the PKI and therefore was not in accordance with Islamic law, besides that Pancasila was considered to have no clear basis, so that it could make society live in limbo (Nasution, 2001, pp.51-52).

Wan Abdurachman's opinion on Pancasila as the State Philosophy is that:

"Pantjasila cannot be the State Philosophy, because it cannot guarantee for sure whether there is a basic law for Pantjasila or whether it is still being thought about, which is an ideal. If so, there is no provision, in the end the Indonesian nation will be tossed around without any basis, regardless of the bad and good things about its people or its implementation. This is different from Islam which now also has a basis, if Islam becomes the State Philosophy and is based on the Qur'an and Hadith which are complete in regulating life and living in a state" (Risalah, 1957, p.479).

According to Wan Abdurachman, during the formulation session of the Indonesian State Philosophy, people who agreed with the Pancasila State Philosophy provided arguments that marginalized the idea of the Islamic State Philosophy. This has similarities with the colonial period. During the Japanese and Dutch eras, Muslims were discriminated against, while Christians were protected by the colonial government, as if limiting the influence of Islam in politics. This was done so as not to foster the spirit of the Indonesian people in facing colonialism. PSII is a political party that fought to implement Islamic laws for its people. The Dutch government tried to break the PSII's struggle in various ways, including providing subsidies to Islamic groups that supported the interests of the colonial government and forming local organizations to block PSII (Risalah, 1957, p.474).

At the Constituent Assembly session, Islam again received a new challenge, to debate the Islamic State Philosophy. In addition, members of the Constituent Assembly, especially the Pancasila bloc, tried to make Pancasila the State Philosophy. In fact, Muslims themselves rejected Islam as the State Philosophy. The arguments expressed were more directed at demeaning the opinions of Islamic groups. Wan Abdurachman said that the speakers' statements that since the Proclamation until now Islam does not have a value that meets the requirements to be included in national values in the framework of national concepts and values (Risalah, 1957, p.472).

The debate that occurred in the formulation tended to lead to divisions between the parties involved in it. Supporters of Pancasila emphasized that a state based on Pancasila provides full opportunity for the Islamic state ideology to pursue the implementation of their ideals democratically, including Islamic views as well as socio-economic views as proposed by the Proclamation Defenders party and the teachings of the Islamic State as proposed by Islamic factions are all good. However, all of that is already included in the basis of Pancasila. This was rejected by PSII members who stated that there is no perfect basis outside of Islam, because Islam is not diminished and includes everything. If Islam is considered to be encompassed by other ideologies, then that means that Islam has shortcomings or can be said to be imperfect, this was confirmed by Kasman Singodimedjo from the Masyumi party who believes that both Pancasila and socio-economics are encompassed in Islam (Nasution, 2001, pp.75-76).

The adherents of Socio-Economics were also quite vocal, formally declaring themselves as defenders of the socialist stream in Indonesian political and economic thought. Throughout the debate they defended the true spirit of the August 17, 1945 Revolution, defenders of the President's Concept, namely "Democracy with leadership" or guided democracy. According to Socio-Economics the way out was to return to the spirit of the August 1945 Revolution which included the principles of social and economic development in accordance with revolutionary aspirations.

This would produce a synthesis between Islam, Nationalism and Socialism. But in 1957 the Pancasila and Islam factions did not pay much attention to this idea (Nasution, 2001,p.53).

After a long debate between the three ideological blocs in the Constituent Assembly, Wan Abdurachman provided arguments against the government's invitation to return to the 1945 Constitution. The Islamic parties that represented the desires and ideals of the Indonesian Muslim community, although there were differences in tone and rhythm, essentially had the same stance: to accept with conditions. These requirements vary, some are heavy and some are light, some are about material and some are about form.

At the 25th meeting (Saturday, May 30, 1959), Wan Abdurachman delivered his speech regarding the requirements for acceptance to return to the 1945 Constitution as follows:

"Regarding the invitation to accept the government's idea to return to the 1945 Constitution. Islamic parties that represent the aspirations of the Indonesian Muslim community, although there are differences in tone and rhythm, the essence of their stance is: to accept with conditions. Some of these conditions are heavy and some are light. Some are about material and some are about form. The minimum conditions considered by the Islamic factions in the Constituent Assembly to fulfill the mandate that we must fight for in the preparation of the constitution, are in the Preamble as a continuation of the basis, Belief in the One Almighty God, accompanied by provisions: with the obligation to carry out Islamic requirements for its adherents" (K.R.I., 1959).

The conditions proposed by Wan Abdurachman and the Islamic bloc did not receive support from all Islamic factions. As a result of the rejection of the conditions proposed by Wan Abdurachman, the members of the PSII and members of the Islamic faction were not willing to vote for the body of the 1945 Constitution (K.R.I., 1959,pp.1097-1098). After the proposal to return to the 1945 Constitution was rejected, it was repeatedly said in the session that the Constituent Assembly was unable to fulfill its obligations, but those who supported the 1945 Constitution continued to voice their support for the government.

On July 5, 1959, the Djuanda Cabinet held a meeting in Bogor, which was attended by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, an agreement was reached so that the 1945 Constitution would be declared valid again through a Presidential Decree. President Soekarno spoke on behalf of the Indonesian people, declaring the decree containing: the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, the re-enactment of the 1945 Constitution and the withdrawal of the 1950 Constitution, and in the shortest possible time establishing state institutions in accordance with the mandate of the 1945 Constitution (Nasution, 2001,p.405). Since then, the Constituent Assembly was officially dissolved. Thus, Wan Abdurachman's duties and role in the Constituent Assembly also ended.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the previous description, it is concluded that Wan Abdurachman was a Lampung figure who was raised in a religious family environment. He had good religious aspirations that were channeled through a national movement organization based on Islam, even though at that time there were PNI and other nationalist parties, namely PSII. Through this organization he was connected with the figure and thoughts of the Guru Bangsa, HOS Tjokroaminoto who was the main figure of SI, and since then he also began to understand Tjokroaminoto's way of thinking. He was recorded as the Chairperson of PSII Lampung in the 1930s-1940s. His activeness in PSII brought a great basic vision regarding the State Foundation in the Constituent Assembly, namely Islamic Socialism. The socialism in question is not Western-style socialism, but rather one that is in accordance with Islamic teachings based on the Qur'an and Hadith. Islamic Socialism does not differentiate the socio-economic life of Indonesian society. One of its principles is to realize social justice and show partiality to the poor, this is a principle that is upheld by PSII. For Wan Abdurachman, Islamic socialism is a way to create a just and prosperous society, in accordance with religious values that prioritize justice and equality for all levels of society.

## REFERENCES

- Afidah, D., Ghofi, A., & Setiawan, D. (2023). Meninjau Perjalanan Perumusan Dasar Negara hingga Penetapan Dekrit Presiden 1959. *Historia Madania*, 7, 67–80. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15575/hm.v7i1.24424>
- Amelz. (1952). *H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto hidup dan Perjuangannya*. Djakarta: Djakarta: Bulan Bintang.
- ANRI. (1956). *No.10 Daftar Riwayat Hidup Anggota Konstituante 1956-1959*.
- Dewan Harian Daerah Lampung. (1994). *Sejarah Perkembangan Pemerintahan Di Lampung, Buku II*. Lampung: Lampung: Badan Penggerak Pembina Potensi Angkatan-45 Provinsi Lampung.
- Fatkur Rohman, Adawiyah, R., Zahra, R. F., Eka, S. A., Sa'adah, N. L., & Anbiya, B. F. (2024). Analisis Historis Perumusan Pembukaan UUD 1945. *Madani: Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplini*, 2(5). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11372406>
- Fogg, K. W. (2019). Indonesian islamic socialism and its south asian roots. *Modern Asian Studies*, 53(6), 1736–1761. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X17000646>
- Gilang, M. I. (2018). Dasar Negara Islam Atau Pancasila: Sikap Politik Partai Nahdlatul Ulama Dalam Majelis Konstituante. *Candrasangkala*, 4, 49–69. <https://doi.org/10.30870/candrasangkala.v4i1.3433>
- Hamid, A. R. (2023). Pahlawan Lampung yang Terabaikan. *Lampung Post*.
- Hamid, A. R. (2024a). Diaspora Melayu di Tanah Lado. *Lampung Post*.
- Hamid, A. R. (2024b). Kiprah Tokoh Lampung di Dewan Konstituante. *Lampung Post*.
- Hamid, A. R., & Madjid, & M. S. (2011). *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Yogyakarta: Ombak.
- Hasanah, U., & Budianto, A. (2020). Pemikiran Soekarno Dalam Perumusan Pancasila. *Candi: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Penelitian Sejarah*, 20(2).
- Heri Rohayuningsih. (2009). Peranan Bpupki Dan Ppki Dalam Mempersiapkan Kemerdekaan Indonesia. *Forum Ilmu Sosial*, 36(2), 184–194. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15294/fis.v36i2.1507>
- HOS Tjokroaminoto. (2008). *Islam Dan Sosialisme*. Bandung: Bandung: Segi Arsy.
- K.R.I. (1956). *Risalah Perundingan Sidang ke 1* (pp. 1–527). pp. 1–527. Bandung: Bandung: Dewan Konstituante Republik Indonesia.
- K.R.I. (1957). *Risalah Perundingan Djilid V Sidang Ke III*. Bandung: Bandung: Dewan Konstituante Republik Indonesia.
- K.R.I. (1958). *Risalah Perundingan, Jilid V sidang ke II*. Bandung: Dewan Konstituante Republik Indonesia.
- K.R.I. (1959). *Risalah Perundingan Djilid III Sidang Ke I*. Bandung: Bandung: Dewan Konstituante Republik Indonesia.
- Kosasih, A. D. (2021). Pemikiran M. Natsir Tentang Dasar Negara. *Semnas LPPM*, 3(Ddii), 294–298.
- Maarif, A. S. (1985). *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan Studi Tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante* (E. Soetedjo, Ed.). Jakarta: Jakarta: LP3S.
- Nasution, A. B. (2001). *Aspirasi Pemerintahan Konstitusional di Indonesia: Studi Kasus Legal Atas Konstituante 1956-1959* (kedua; E. E. Ismed Natsir, Budi Kurniawan, G. Winarno, Ed.). Jakarta: Jakarta: Pusataka Utama Grafiti.
- Risalah. (1957a). *Tentang Dasar Negara Indonesia Jilid II* (pp. 1–186). pp. 1–186. Bandung: Dewan Konstituante Republik Indonesia.
- Risalah. (1957b). *Tentang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Djilid I*. Bandung: Dewan Konstituante

Republik Indonesia.

- Rohman, F., Adawiyah, R., Zahra, R. F., & Eka, S. A. (2024). Analisis Historis Perumusan Pembukaan UUD 1945. *Madani: Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin*, 2(5), 147-154. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.11372406>
- Simorangkir, M. reng say. (1958). *Konstitusi dan Konstituante Indonesia*. Djakarta: Bandung: Soeroengan.
- Soeara PSII. (1940). Madjalah PSII. *Jakarta: Kwitang*.
- Soraya, M. R. Z. (2014). Kontestasi Pemikiran Dasar Negara Dalam Perwujudan Hukum Di Indonesia. *Humanika*, 14(1), 16-17. <https://doi.org/10.21831/hum.v14i1.3329>
- Wibisono, J. (1950). *Islam Dan Sosialisme (ke III)*. Jakarta: Jakarta: Pustaka Islam.
- Wijiyanto, S. T., & Sudrajat, A. (2019). Tjokroaminoto : Sosialisme Islam. *Bihari:Pendidikan Sejarah Dan Ilmu Sejarah*, 2(1-12).
- Wiratama, N. S., Budianto, A., & Afandi, Z. (2022). Perkembangan Sosialisme Di Dunia Abad Ke-19 Serta Pengaruhnya Di Indonesia. *Danadyaksa Historica*, 1(2), 128. <https://doi.org/10.32502/jdh.vii2.4247>
- Yamin, M. (1959). *Risalah Sidang Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (BPUPKI), Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (PPKI), 28 Mei 1945-22 Agustus 1945*. Jakarta: Jakarta: Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia.