Partei Keadilan (Justice Party), Indonesia, 1999,"Translated for the Islamic Political Party Platform Project, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, http://kurzman.unc.edu/islamic-parties, [5/22/14]."

Partai Keadilan at A Glance

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Declaration of Charter

Partai Keadilan

It is a fact that the nation of Indonesia has undergone the ebb and flow, taking on the heavy load of colonization, oppression, and treachery. Stages of long struggle have led this nation to the gate of independence and sovereignty, which in the beginning aspired to create a country which protects the whole nation and homeland of Indonesia and to promote public welfare, educate the nation, and participate in world's orderliness which is based on liberty, eternal peace, and social justice, in accordance with the spirit of Proklamasi 1945 (Indonesia's 1945 proclamation of independence). However, the following five decades (after independence), that line of history experienced aberrations, blurring away the nation's great aspiration.

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The fall of the Old Order regime, followed by the fall of the New Order regime is a tragedy that supposedly reminds this nation of its original noble aspirations. All the nation's strength should be hand-in-hand with the fundamentals of brotherhood, justice, and race in goodness, leaving behind animosity, tyranny, and inter-group dissension.

The university students' movement, fully supported by the Indonesian people, had sparked "Reformasi Mei 1998" [May 1998 Reformation], paving the way for the creation of "Orde Reformasi" [Reformation Order]; an order which is bound by humanity's pure values of faith, morality, liberty, equality, peace, and justice. By the grace of Allah SWT [God Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala], and then triggered by the spirit of reformasi, there began the momentum to rebuild this huge country, with the right perspective and leaving behind all forms of mistakes of previous generations. Let us all unite in truth to fill in new pages of new history so that the nation of Indonesia always stands upright and participates in creating a civilized international community.

The glory or fall of a country is a result of its people's obedience or disobedience to religious and universal values, especially the value of justice. At this point human nature meets the demands of reformasi and democratization opportunity. Thus the struggle to uphold justice becomes a necessity, as a manifestation of the primary mission of Islam to be the grace to the whole universe.

To realize the true ideals of Proklamasi, independence, defending sovereignty and unity, as well as armed with the spirit of reformasi and the support of all the people from all regions, we as the children of this nation hereby declare the founding of PARTAI KEADILAN.

May Allah almighty guide and give strength to uphold justice, realize welfare and prosperity to all the nation of Indonesia.

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"...Be just; that is nearer to righteousness." (Al-Qur-an, Surat Al-Mā'idah: 8)

Stated in Jakarta

Ahad, 15 Rabi'ul Tsani 1419/9 August 1998

Founding Committee

PARTAI KEADILAN

Dr. H.M. Hidayat Nurwahid, MA

Head

H. Luthfi Hasan Ishaaq, MA

Secretary

Members

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Political Manifesto

Partai Keadilan

All praise be to Allah SWT, the Creator of heavens, earth, and all its creatures. Allah orders man to uphold justice. "And the heaven He raised and imposed the balance (Justice) that you not transgress within the balance. And establish weight in justice and do not make deficient the balance." [Surat Ar-Rahman 55:7-9]. Prayer [shalawat] and peace [salam] for the faith of the prophets and messengers [nabi and rasul], Muhammad SAW, which was sent as "Rahmatan lil 'Alamin" [QS. Al Anbiya: 107], shalawat and salam to family, friends, and those who follow them well until the end of time.

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The existence of man in the face of the earth has its own purpose and mission. The existential purpose is to glorify Allah Creator of heaven and earth and all its creatures. Its authentic mission is to prosper the earth and build civilization. This similarity between the purpose and authentic mission emphasizes the unity of man. Man was created from one source and because of that all Man, as a creature of God, is equal. The height of dignity is achieved because of its obedience towards the divine will and eternal law. Oneness (tauhid) on Allah's absolute ar-Rububiyah and al-Uluhiya which is confirmed in the universal declaration of humanity is a total submission to Him. For that, man has the gift of individual potential which is complete, natural facility, and freedom to choose with responsibility.

Mankind's contemporary history is filled with prolonged conflicts. Crisis to crisis keeps haunting its life. The nation of Indonesia as a member of the world's community faces the same challenges. For centuries, this great nation is like foam which is struck down by waves to all direction, without any meaningful political role.

Muslims as the majority of the citizens of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia [NKRI] have the main responsibility to change the position of Indonesia to become a prestigious nation in International relations. This can only be done if muslims do fundamental reconstruction of civilization. Muslims with all the strength of the nation should launch priority on the agenda of civilization transformation.

It is the truth that in the start of the 20th century the nation of Indonesia had contributed to the world's civilization. The struggle against imperialism evidently inflamed the fire of national independence throughout the Third World Country, which then formed the non-bloc alliance.

However the dawn of the awakening was merely a "zodiacal light"/false dawn ["fajar kadzib"], a transient hope. Half a century after the proclamation of independence, Indonesia is back in the slump of the world history.

It is noteworthy to reopen the historical records in 1905 when the Islamic Trade Union [Serikat Dagang Islam (SDI)] was born as the first political organization which has a national motif; which then in 1911 became the Islamic Union [Sarikat Islam]. Then in 1928, the Youth Pledge [Sumpah Pemuda] was established, signaling the birth of a new nation called Indonesia as one of the children of the civilization of the world. In 1945, the proclamation of independence was echoed to free ourselves from the shackles of imperialism. Tragically, from external imperialism, the people of Indonesia went into the trap of internal oppression. Until 1965, the fall of the Old Order regime with the jargon "politics as the commander". At last in 1998, another New Order regime also fell after the economic development as its basis of legitimacy collapsed.

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The university students' movement which pioneered "Reformasi Mei 1998" was the trailblazer for the establishment of "Orde Reformasi", an order open in all areas of social and statehood with the fundamentals of universal values: faith, morality, liberty, equality, peace, and justice for all people. Is the struggle to uphold Orde Reformasi going to be another "zodiacal light"/"false dawn", or instead open the possibility of the breaking of true dawn [fajar shadiq] - a real hope for the restoration of people and state. To ensure the realization of that hope, then it materialized a political power with the name of "Partai Keadilan".

The party which was founded in Jakarta on 20 July 1998 has longstanding historical and ideological roots. The exponents are a generation which were actively involved in the struggle of national independence. While the young people who joined this party were decision holders in the dynamics of the university students movement and reformist youth. They were part of the "Batch of 1998" [Angkatan 1998] which inherit the mandate/legacy from the previous generations.

The nation of Indonesia should be thankful to Allah in so far as it is able to overcome so many crises in history. This is primarily because of the children of this nation that stay in the archipelago which is so large - consisting of various religions, ethnicity, and languages - this will always find support on the strength of unity (nationality) and strength of belief (religiosity). That religious nationalism has been keeping this archipelago (Nusantara) country from destruction and disunity.

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A deep reflection on the nation's history reveals that the real root of crisis is in Man and the values that develop in his social networks. The key word which connects the two is tyranny and oppression. The people became polarized, the powerful group became the tyrant and the weak became the object of oppression. Tyranny and oppression destroy human dignity, rob basic human rights, kill all its creative potential, undermine its social networks and at the end. Thereby creating a stagnation and closes the nation's opportunity to be great and powerful.

Upholding justice is the way to the future of a better Indonesia. This is because justice is a natural law [sunnah kauniyah] that has become a natural characteristic of all things. On this principle of justice Allah created heaven and earth. The form of justice is reflected on one's action that puts something on its place without crossing the line. Because, actions that cross the line are very common examples of injustice (oppression).

Justice opens path to the values of truth, goodness, and life's beauty and happiness. Justice does not only provide a room for everyone to basic human rights, but also accommodates all its innovation potential and creativity. Justice spreads a sense of security, and frees mankind from all forms of intimidation and fear. Justice ensures proportional distribution of state's wealth, giving equal employment and business opportunities. Justice puts the law above the ruler and people. Justice ensures that social control mechanisms work effectively.

Justice frees, oppression shackles. Justice is light, injustice/oppression is darkness.

Faced with the dialectics of just and unjust order, Man individually or collectively have the freedom to accept or reject something, with the consequence to bear one's own risk. Because the right thing is clearly distinct from the vain thing, guidance is clearly distinct from deception. Man is given a perfect perceptive ability to differentiate all affairs and make choice, free from all forms of tyranny. Freedom is man's natural disposition. A whole life is rooted in this freedom. Man has to be free from all forms of tyranny that limits/restrains freedom. Thus, all forms of tyranny that limits/restrains freedom is violence against humanity.

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All citizens should understand their rights as well as be aware of the authority and obligation of their government. In the situation where the government is negligent in upholding the law, then the people has the obligation to do "hisbah" (social control). The control function will run effectively when citizens have political empowerment. Here we can see how important political education is to all citizens. As such, the development of people politically empowered and able to give birth to power balance to realize the grace for life is the aspiration of the party.

This aspiration is universal and aligns with a political system that is based on justice, which, among others, have the following characteristics: sovereign leadership is on the hands of the people, values freedom and equality, sees efforts to battle oppression as an obligation of all citizens, and respects the constitution. If the people really observe the norms of justice, then they will surely act as an entity which enlivens the culture of "musyarakah" (political participation). The participation of the people on national matters is a reflection of an original, patriotic, and religious culture.

Without the empowerment of the people it is impossible that the control function can materialize. The empowerment of the people in performing all its rights and obligations is the core of a "civil society". Citizens who are aware will be able to prevent elite arbitrariness which dominates the process of public

policy formulation. This party views the need of the creation of a civil society - a society that steadfastly upholds the right ideology, noble character, and politic-economic - culturally independent, and having a civil government.

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Civil government is obliged to respect the law and principles of democracy, develop the nation's potential, protect the weak, and ensure citizens' freedom. Armed forces defend the nation from foreign attack and maintain internal security. No chance for dictatorship and political tyranny, from civil groups or military power. As such, there is a need for a strong and independent government organization, and which is able to accommodate all sides which share the same aspiration of recovery and justice.

Civil society is a model of a just society, when diversity becomes the source of the nation's dynamism. The creative constructive critics comprise the parliament, the professionals occupy the cabinet, and wise brave men guard the fortress of justice. Entrepreneurs become the blessing for the state and the people, and the same goes for ulama [muslim scholars], intellectuals, and culture experts, as well as artists stand on the front line of the nation's civilization. ABRI [Armed forces'] soldiers and military officers become professional military, a form of power which spreads a sense of security in the hearts of the people without missing any natural political rights as citizens. Women become the sibling of men that have equal rights and obligation in line with their natural disposition, and equally work together for the progress of the nation. Youths have a strategic role as the pioneer of civilization for reconstruction. In short, all groups develop the culture of productive democracy, interacting positively in the spirit of togetherness and unity and oneness.

Partai Keadilan established its identity as a cadre party which bases all its activities on a holistic perspective in reforming social, political, economic, legal, education and culture life. A party is a political organization of the people which is open to all people which believe in its fundamental philosophy and political purpose, as well as in agreement with its charter and bylaw.

Party supporters do not ally to fulfill the elites' ambition. Instead, other parties are none other than association based on devotion, helpfulness in social control for the upholding of justice in the reality of life. In terms of differences in opinion, parties take a tolerant stance and principles of ease as long as they do not conflict with the values of truth/righteousness.

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Partai Keadilan's strategic position attempts to be a movement that crystallizes nation's aspiration, reflecting the renewal of thought (tajdid) and the repair of society (ishlah) in modern history. With all might, we seek to be a platform to all circles that are concerned with the fate of ummat and people who are marginalized in the political and economic arena. Our commitment to the "little people" [ordinary folks] is not merely a slogan. Audacious steps should be immediately taken, precisely when the government is experiencing crisis of confidence and the people is experiencing food crisis, and the unemployment as

well as poverty rate is sharply increasing. As such, political step of the recovery of confidence of government through political reform and overcoming society crisis through economic area reform is a necessity which has to be prioritized.

Just political and economic institutionalization, not only strengthen its political structure but also can prevent totalitarianism, anarchism, individualism and expansion of capitalism which has proven to make the people suffer. Partai Keadilan will always commit to its efforts in realizing equality of growth and improvement in the area of economy and the establishment of a democratic, clean, and just government.

To realize that step there is a need to build individual power which becomes the forerunner/seed of family and society. Family and society is an environment and skeleton of personal growth. While a good individual can bring forth a good family. A good family can then bring forth a good society. Subsequently, a good society contains in itself all tendencies and motivation of individual's goodness.

Taking into consideration the development of a state requiring pious [salih] individuals and society, which can properly shoulder the mandate which is burdened to him, thus personal growth/development becomes absolute. Because, every individual is responsible because he is the building block of society and country in performing social and political tasks for shared interest and purpose, strengthening human civilization, and upholding the values of truth, freedom (liberty), justice, and deliberations. Through the state, human rights and its honor is ensured and protected, equally and regardless of religion, ethnicity, and race.

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Personal piousness [salih] is born from piety [taqwa] which is individual whereas society piousness is born from piety [taqwa] which is collective. They simultaneously have history's awareness, awareness about social facts, and awareness about the need to implement a change as a realization of its responsibility as a moral creature in doing its authentic mission, which is building civilization.

We acknowledge the heavy legacy of backwardness and retrogression which was left behind since the time of colonial government to the domestic oppression era. All this is impossible to solve in a short time and with a limited effort. Achievement of party's aspiration is believed to be only possible through interaction and involvement of every citizen from all political power.

We believe collaborative effort will transform the image of Indonesia in the international eye. The nation's potential will rapidly progress, and deliver us to find the golden age of civilization. We are sure that the nation's education process which is more just and democratic will happen more quickly, so that it can function as a factor of competitive excellence in the midst of global arena.

With humble hearts, we desire justice to be the international diplomatic mission of Indonesia. Because this is the grace which has not been felt by the majority of the earth dwellers currently. The advancement of transportation and

telecommunication technology has made this world more integrated. Ironically, globalization becomes the basis of new hegemony and imperialism from various developed and powerful countries to other parts of the world. Armed with the vision of autonomy/self-sustenance, patriotism, democracy, moderate, reform, and the message of Islam [Risalah Islam] as the grace to all nature. We aspire Indonesia to be a powerful country, which carries its mission to be the grace of justice to all mankind, so that its nation become the contributor to human civilization and its land transforms into a garden of life which is serene and peaceful.

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May Allah Almighty immediately raise the nation of Indonesia from the slump of history due to the recent multidimensional crisis storm and hereafter walk its journey of life with full of His maghfirah and ridha. In line with the ideal nature of "Peaceful and prosperous nation that is blessed by Allah the Almighty" [Baldatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur, from QS 34:15] The most Holy Allah which has set His words: "O you who have believed, be persistently standing firm for Allah , witnesses in justice, and do not let the hatred of a people prevent you from being just. Be just; that is nearer to righteousness. And fear Allah; indeed, Allah is Acquainted with what you do." (QS Al Maidah: 8). Shalawat and salam [peace and blessings] to His Messenger said: "Verily, the most beloved of people to Allah is the just leader. The most hated of people to Allah will be the tyrannical leader. (Hadith Ahmad)

hasbunallah wa ni'mal wakil