

GPM's Resistance to RMS in 1950-1966: The Historical Consequence of AMK's Resistance to the *Indische Kerk*'s Authority in 1930-1933

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Abstract— This article discusses the political stance of the Moluccas Protestant Church (GPM), when it was dealing with the Republic of South Moluccas (RMS). GPM rejected the RMS' request to support its struggle to make Moluccas as an independent and sovereign state of the Federal Republic of Indonesia (RIS). The GPM's resistance to RMS arose as a historical consequence of the *Autonome Moluksche Kerk*'s (AMK) opposition to the governmentality that *Indische Kerk* applied to the Christian community in the Moluccas Church.

In order to explain the AMK's resistance to the *Indische Kerk*'s governmentality which gave consequence to the GPM's resistance to RMS, as the aim of this study, this study uses the concept of governmentality and resistance proposed by Michel Foucault. Based on the analysis conducted on the archival sources and interview data found, this study concludes that the resistances that AMK had done to *Indische Kerk* and GPM to RMS are manifestations of Moluccas Church attitude of anti-governmentality applied in the church.

Keywords— AMK, *Indische Kerk*, GPM, RMS, Governmentality, Resistance.

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper is one of the chapters of my dissertation which discusses the political stance of GPM, when it was dealing with RMS. GPM through the leaders of the Synod rejected RMS and declared itself as part of the Republic of Indonesia (RI). Being part of Indonesia was a GPM's tactic to undermine the RMS' struggle and support the government of Indonesian in combating RMS. Such resistance will be analyzed as a historical consequence of AMK's resistance to the government imposed by *Indische Kerk* in Moluccas Church.

The resistances of AMK and GPM took place within the church and related to the spirit of church freedom to deal with the political phenomena born in their own time. As AMK used Christian teachings in the Scripture to counter the *Indische Kerk*'s dominance, GPM opposed the RMS's will to

rule the church using the teachings of Scripture. The two forms of resistances will be explained as the embodiment of the religious political attitude of the church united with the principles of Christianity in Moluccas to oppose the application of government enterprise within the church. The purpose of this study is to answer the research question, namely: (1). Why was GPM fighting against RMS that most of its followers were Christians and choose to be an integral part of Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI); (2). What kind of dynamic was happening inside and outside of GPM, so it did not agree to the formation of an independent State in Moluccas via RMS?; (3). Was GPM rejection to RMS a historical consequence of AMK's resistance to the government ruled by *Indische Kerk*? Answers to these questions will be constructed here.

II. METHODOLOGY

The study in this research is the study of the Protestant Church of Moluccas (GPM) resistance to the Republic of South Moluccas (RMS). This study presents an interesting factual reality regarding the political attitudes of GPM which has been neglected so far in the previous historical studies.

This study will be assisted by using the stages of historical research, namely: the stages of data collection, some types of data will be collected at once, either in the form of textual data (in the form of formal data) stored in the archive offices, such as: the National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI) in Jakarta, Army History Service (Disjarahad) in Bandung, National Library in Jakarta, Office Archive of GPM-Ambon Synod, newspapers or magazines, or interviews to obtain data related to the events of RMS in Moluccas.

Once the data is found, source criticism is done through the source verification process to obtain its authenticity and validity, so that it can become data that can be used as fact. Especially for the textual data which is certainly produced

through the writings of people who are not free from certain interests. Especially for data in the form of newspapers and magazines that will help the process of writing, criticism of the source first against it is needed to do. For example information about who the author is, the background of the owner, when the newspapers and magazines were published, and for what class society the newspapers and magazines were published. Everything aims to know the truth news of the newspapers, so that it can be trusted to serve as data [1].

So it is with written sources that can be obtained from speeches, decisions of socio-political organizations, church decisions, personal letters, and biographies. Since each narrative of the data obtained has its own subjectivity, it is important to ask questions the background of the author, such as who wrote, under which circumstances the writing was produced and published, to which circles were made. Through the process, it is expected to generate useful facts for good writing. Once the data has become a fact and can be organized well, then the next process is to do the interpretation to obtain the meaning that the results will be submitted to the public. The interpretation results will be presented in the form of historical explanation through a historiography process.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

A. GPM's Resistance to RMS

Despite having close relationship with the Dutch East Indies government and the ruled church, GPM decided to become an integral part of Indonesia after the RI's sovereignty transfer from Dutch to the Government of Indonesia, December 27, 1949, and in the RMS' resistance time. At the time of determining the GPM's Indonesian-ness attitude, the Synod (the Church's Board) acknowledged that it was a deficiency for them, when the relation between church and state had not been the main topic of the previous church conferences. This problem was really sudden (accut) at the sovereignty transfer time.¹ The situation was not surprising, since the autonomy of GPM on September 6, 1935-1949, GPM had remained in good relation with the Dutchmen and the church was still led by the Dutch priests. Such condition made GPM was not free to talk about their Indonesian-ness, while people outside it openly had freedom to talk about Indonesia. Here was the distinction between the situation inside and outside the church in relation to the political stance of Moluccas society during the revolution 1945-1949.² It was regarded by J. Leimena as a realistic situation, because the position of the Protestant Church in Indonesia (GPI), especially the Moluccas Church, existed as "staatskerk". This nature was very influential, especially in the field of politic, and slowed down GPI in facing the things that determined, for example the church was not willing to do the separation of church finances from the state.³

Consciousness of such existence at the end of December 1949, the sovereignty transfer was discussed by GPM Synod and resulted in a decision that the sovereignty transfer to RI was a great day, not only to the nation, but also to the Protestant Church of Moluccas. Its attitude was, in fact, the first GPM's Indonesian political stance in the church history in Moluccas. Previously, the political issue about the existence of Indonesia had not been a serious concern of GPM institutionally. The decision of GPM Synod at the end of December 1949 was officially in the name of the church organization. Following up on the decision, an official worship service was held in the central church in the Ambon city and a church message was delivered to every congregation saying "the (Indonesian) government is our government and our government is the servant of God". That statement was taken from the Scripture, Romans 13. That message was read in church houses by GPM's priests from the pulpit.⁴

After GPM declared itself to be fully freed from the power of the Dutch East Indies rulers and as a whole became integral part of Indonesia, it experienced a revolt during the RMS proclamation. The GPM Synod acknowledged that in order to determine that attitude at that time, they were weak, especially in declaring to churches and nations that the new government (RMS) was not a legitimate government. Nevertheless, the GPM Synod Board remained committed to the government and the state of RI. The persistence of the GPM nationality attitude was apparent, when it denied the RMS' government in realizing its wish that every month GPM should celebrate the date of RMS proclamation by conducting a worship, because State of Indonesia and its government were legitimate and sovereign for GPM.⁵

As the leader of GPM Synod, Rev. Chr. Mataheru, who had the support of other GPM priests, such as Rev. F. H. Fretes, stood firmly defending GPM as part of Indonesia. In facing the RMS' influence in 1950, on behalf of the GPM Synod they explicitly said that:

RMS tidak sesuai dengan kecenderungan di tingkat nasional, yang ditandai dengan penerimaan terhadap gerakan unifikasi oleh daerah-daerah di seluruh Indonesia. Bahkan, ketika terdapat pandangan umum yang disebarkan oleh RMS dengan mengatakan orang-orang Ambon berbeda dari suku-suku lain di Indonesia, mereka meresponnya dengan berkata, GPM bertugas untuk menghubungkan orang-orang Ambon dengan suku-suku lain di Indonesia. Selain itu, dalam khotbah Pdt. Mataheru, ia menentang sikap RMS yang eksklusif (tertutup) kepada etnis lain di luar Maluku, dengan mengatakan misi GPM tidak boleh terbatas saja di Maluku, tetapi harus lebih luas lagi, di luar Maluku [2].

In the midst of the RMS' existence, the ministry of GPM continued in Moluccas and continued to build communication with the Central Board of GPI in Jakarta. The GPM Synod

¹ ANRI GPI no. 100, "Warta Sinode GPM pada Sidang Sinode AM GPI, Mei 1951".

² Interview result with Richard Chauvel, Jakarta, July 21, 2017.

³ ANRI GPI no. 100, "Pidato Leimena, Menteri Kesehatan RI, tentang Gereja dan Negara", pada Sidang GPI Am, Mei 1951.

⁴ ANRI GPI no. 100, Warta Sinode GPM pada Sidang Sinode AM GPI, Mei 1951.

⁵ ANRI GPI no. 100, Warta Sinode GPM, Mei 1951.

sent message to the Board of Am GPI in the mid of May 1950 that it remained to stay within GPI. Even though at that time financially GPM continued to be self-sufficient, unrelated to RMS, and sent the Synod chairman to convey it to the RMS' government. In an effort to finance the church's needs during RMS period, GPM had difficulty paying the salaries of pastors and teachers in remote areas, the isolated areas of Moluccas, separated from Ambon for ten months after the RMS proclamation, namely the Classes of Kisar, Babar, Tanimbar, Kei, and Aru. In order to meet their economic needs, the Board of Am GPI in Jakarta provided financial assistance ± Rp. 40,000.⁶ The steps taken by GPM in relation to other difficulties experienced during the RMS period were when food shortages happened. The GPM Synod decided that the ministries to orphaned children were submitted to the congregations and Church Assemblies in the Ambon Island Classes.⁷

In the atmosphere of the society of Ambon, Lease, and Seram which were still strongly influenced by RMS propaganda in 1955, GPM continued to play its role in spreading its commitment for Indonesia, especially to the people of Southwest Moluccas (MBD). That happened for example to society in the isolated areas, the Dai island. Geographically the society of Dai were far from the center of the Capital Province of Moluccas, Ambon City. The lack of sea transportations and the absence of inter-island communication means in Moluccas prevented them from obtaining any information about Indonesian Independence until 1954. Later in 1955, the information was known from the GPM's stewards and the role of fostering awareness as an Indonesian citizen to them became one of the responsibilities of the church in Moluccas.⁸ In addition, GPM cooperation with the RI's army ministers was also built to "dropping" drugs, holy communion tools, Bible and other Christian readings, such as on Christmas Day, in areas which were not yet occupied by the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Indonesia (APRIS).⁹

Not only society in Christian villages which were not yet occupied by APRIS received Bible (Scripture), the RMS' followers were also given Scripture, 15 (fifteen) New Testaments and 5 (five) Old Testaments, while they were in the Seram forest in 1957. As response to the gifts, Soumokil gave a letter of thanks to *Synodal Bestuur* (the Broad of Synod) accompanied by sadness, because there was no introduction given about the gifts of the Holy Book. In addition to the letter of thanks, Soumokil also called on *Synode Bestuur* that GPM fought against the evil, demons, which were rampant and destroyed the virtues in Moluccas. It should not been hesitant and afraid to take any spiritual action to those who confessed God Almighty by their mouths, while

their acts of devotion was to the devil. Their acts spreaded the false peace.¹⁰

Soumokil's appeal to the Synod Board received a different response from GPM, as it was not suitable with the GPM's principle to defend Indonesia as a unitary state and the responsibility of the church in building society. GPM was more supportive of RI with the appeal to "brothers (Soumokil and friends) back to the motherland". That appeal was signed by the Chairman of the GPM Synod, Rev. F. H. de Fretes, and Rev. Th. Pattiasina, then deployed using a RIS army plane in 1958 in the West Seram region, such as Lumoli [2]. Other GPM cooperation with Indonesian government, namely GPM sought to expedite the government program, when President Sukarno issued a Presidential Decree on July 5, 1959. Then, GPM granted amnesty and abolition to the RMS figures in Moluccas who were on the island of Seram. It created a team led by Rev. Th. Pattiasina to be sent to Seram and to stay in Kairatu in order to approach RMS and convey a message to Dr. Soumokil to surrender with his troops. It submitted a GPM's repentance message that contained the GPM's denial of RMS to Dr. Soumokil, although that action was not approved by Soumokil and his friends in the Seram forest.¹¹

In the mid of September 1961 GPM sent 5 pastors together with other religious leaders to meet Soumokil in Seram and tell him and his friends to stop the battle against the RIS army, but the mission failed because it was not approved by him [2]. GPM was consistant with its resistance to RMS. When Soumokil was captured and arrived in Ambon on December 8, 1963, Rev. Pattiasina, the Chairman of GPM Synod, was grateful for that event by praying for gratitude of achieving the GPM's desire for RMS to return to the motherland's lap [3]. The role of GPM as mentioned above is a fact which states that the GPM's commitment to support and cooperate with the government of RI was the tactic or strategy employed to undermine the RMS' will in leading and controlling church and society in Moluccas.

B. The External Influence of "Nationalism Ideas" Related to GPM's Rejection against RMS

The GPM's attitude to being part of RI and rejecting to support RMS since it was proclaimed has a connection with the commitment of churches in Eastern Indonesia and the churches under the Synod of Am GPI to defend the RI's independence. Together with the church and zending representatives in Eastern Indonesia, the GPM leaders, namely Rev. S. Marantika, Rev. C. Sahusilawane, Rev. W.D.F. Amanupunyo, and Rev. J. Uneputty participated in declaring the church political stance at the Malino conference on March 15-25, 1947. The Malino Conference succeeded in formulating six points of mutual agreement known as the "Malino Formulation". Particularly, point 4 and 5 were more emphasize the role of Christians in building the nation [4]. The decision of the Malino conference was quite influential on the GPM's

⁶ ANRI GPI no. 100, Warta Sinode GPM, Mei 1951.

⁷ ANRI GPI no. 100, Warta Sinode GPM, Mei 1951.

⁸ Interview result with E. Maspaitela (the General Secretary of GPM Synod), Jakarta, 13 March 2017.

⁹ ANRI GPI no. 49, "Keterangan Pdt. A. Tahija dan Ds. de Fretes", dalam *Notulen Persidangan Badan Pekerja AM GPI*, 18 Juli 1960.

¹⁰ Disjarahad TNI, *Himpunan Sejarah Peristiwa RMS-SP-0007/E/2/3*, Surat Soumokil kepada *synode bestuur* GPM, 7 Agustus 1957.

¹¹ P. Tanamal, "RMS Sudah Ditolak dalam Pesan Tobat GPM Tahun 1960" dalam *Siwalima*, Ambon, April 23, 2001.

existence to express the church political stance when confronted with RMS.¹²

In addition to the commitment to build the Indonesia's independent initiated at the Malino conference by churches in the Eastern part of Indonesia, there was also a great strength among the churches' fellowship under GPI, which GPM became part of it, to express the church political stance in Indonesia's independent. Special conversations about church and politic in Indonesia were discussed on June 10, 1948 in the agenda of the 3rd Synod Am GPI meeting, May 30 - June 10, 1948 in Bogor. The result of that discussion was an appeal addressed to "Indonesian Christians". The appeal consisted of 7 points and in point 4, it contained specifically about the independence of Indonesia:

*Pada dasar kasih dan keadilan Kristus inilah, kami mengakui pertanggungjawaban kami bagi kehidupan bangsa...kami bersama dengan mereka mau membela kemerdekaan dan kemandirian mereka, supaya mereka segera dapat memperoleh tempat yang terhormat dalam persekutuan bangsa-bangsa yang adalah hak mereka.*¹³

Indonesia's independence as a reality as appealed by Synod of Am GPI was not easily faced by churches and Christians, including GPM. That atmosphere was a new atmosphere, adjustment to the new condition, because for a long time the Protestant churches had relationships with the Dutch East Indies government. In the face of such situation, there were nationalist ideas that continued to be built to encourage the churches and Indonesian Christians to be not passive, but to be active in participating in the development of Indonesia's state and society. The impetus of nationalism was built by nationalist figures, as well as church leaders, namely, J. Leimena. In his view, through his speech representing the Government of RI, as the Minister of Health at the Am GPI conference in 1951, he encouraged the churches, including GPI to realize that at that time the churches were standing in Indonesia that had been recognized its independence, so there was no other country beside RI.¹⁴ In addition to give awareness to the leaders of the church in interpreting Indonesia, he also invited the Christian leaders and society, beside Moslems, in Indonesia to participate in nation building.¹⁵

To RMS in Moluccas, Leimena thought that such events occurred because of a lack of understanding of Christian faith and thought. Therefore, it was essential that GPM worked for the spiritual development of the church members in Christian faith and thought. The church should realize the ecclesiastical conviction, the conviction of duty to the government and the Unitary State. The church and society had one purpose only, namely to build a state which had peace and prosperity.¹⁶ The

duty of the church and Christians towards the development of society and state became clear to Leimena, if it was based on an awareness that "country cake" should be made with Christian contributions, so that if the "country cake" had been prepared, the society could feel that if there were no Christians, it felt bad.¹⁷

Beside Leimena, other nationalist church figures who also contributed to the churches in Indonesia to express their attitude as part of Indonesia's independent are: Rev. Probowinoto, Prof. Dr. Peter Latuihamallo, Rev. Wim Rumambi (later he became a Minister), Dr. A.M. Tambunan (the Temporary Parliamentary Chairman in RI and the former worker of *zendingconsulaat*) [5] and J. L. L. Wenas (the nationalist political figure).¹⁸ The opinions declared by Leimena and other Christian figures about the church and Christians' responsibilities in nation building, and the involvement of churches in Indonesia under the coordination of GPI to find solution for GPM in facing the RMS event in Moluccas had supported the psychology of the GPM figures and had been made as a tactic for rejecting RMS. Without strong relationship with the nationalist and GPI figures who had defended the Indonesia's independence, GPM would find difficulty to deal with the dominance of RMS. Conversely, as the relationship built stronger, it would be a resistance tactic that weakened the RMS expansion.

Although GPM rejected RMS, the RMS event had left behind a sad historical fact for the church. During the battle time of RI with RMS, GPM suffered losses: loss of 5 churches and all their properties, its head office with its property, as well as the damage suffered by the Congregations, especially in Ambon City. The society and congregation were suffering greatly. Some priests had been the victims of the war. In the difficulties experienced, the government had donated Rp. 45,000 for GPM. Not only the loss of funds and infrastructures, more than that, GPM was also labeled as RMS.¹⁹

This section aims to construct the history of GPM's resistance to RMS, but other prominent dimension in it was the creation of church and state's relation (Indonesia) which was different from the relation between church and state in the Dutch colonial era. The relation of church and state built since 1950 did not place the church to be in spiritual affairs only, but it was also encouraged to do things that were profane in building the Unitary State of RI as a country of peace and prosperity. As Leimena pointed out, the church and Christians' duty towards the development of society and state became clear if they could be directly involved in working together to build Indonesia with the Moslems.

¹² ANRI GPI no. 100, Warta Sinode GPM, Mei 1951.

¹³ *Toetoeran Sinode Am jang Ketiga Geredja Protestant di Indonesia* (Bogor 30 May – 10 June 1948)

¹⁴ ANRI GPI no. 100, "Pidato Leimena", dalam Sidang AM GPI, Mei 1951.

¹⁵ ANRI GPI no. 100, "Pidato Leimena", Mei 1951.

¹⁶ ANRI GPI no. 100, "Pidato Leimena", Mei 1951.

¹⁷ ANRI GPI no. 100, "Pandangan Leimena tentang partisipasi orang Kristen dalam pembangunan masyarakat dan negara" dalam *Notulen Sidang Badan Pekerja Sinode AM GPI*, 28 Mei 1951.

¹⁸ ANRI GPI no. 49, *Notulen Persidangan Badan Pekerja Am Sinode GPI*, 18 Juli 1960.

¹⁹ ANRI GPI no. 100, Warta Sinode GPM, Mei 1951.

C. The GPM's Rejection to RMS as a Historical Consequence of AMK's Resistance to *Indische Kerk*

The GPM's resistance to RMS is a historical consequence of AMK's resistance to the governmentality imposed by *Indische Kerk* in the history of Moluccas Church. The GPM's resistance to RMS is strongly directed towards the rejection of the RMS government's efforts to exploit the church in support of its struggle, such as AMK which had previously rejected the dominance of state power in the church. In order to understand the reality of the GPM's resistance as a historical consequence of AMK's resistance within the church, Foucault's thought to understand a resistance as an anti-action to government is relevant to be used in this section [6]. GPM who did not want to be under the influence of RMS was aware of its existence that had been experienced during the state control (*Indische Kerk*), which the church could not freely determine its political attitude according to its will. It was entirely under the control of the Dutch East Indies Government, organizationally, financially, and in church preaching. When it was independent, it experienced the same situation like in *Indische Kerk* era, namely it would be used as a means of supporting the RMS government. If it happened as RMS wanted, then the Moluccas Church would be caught in the political interests of the ruler, as it experienced during Dutch colonial dominance.

The resistance that took place in the Moluccas Church, both by AMK and GPM, both used the language of religion, the Christian doctrine that came from the Bible / Gospel when they faced with the dominance of *Indische Kerk's* power and the RMS' desire to rule the church. Such resistances will be clearly depicted in the description to be presented in the following sections:

a. The elements of AMK's Resistance that are Closely Related to the Symbols of the Christian Doctrine

With the discrimination in society, they became aware of the inequalities of their rights and their colonized state. As a result, emancipatory movements and liberation emerged becoming more and more political [7]. As the consciousness of society was awakened by the existence of colonial discrimination, Christians' consciousness in the church were also awakened to the dominance of *Indische Kerk* in Moluccas. In the situation of Moluccas Christian community controlled by state, AMK had built a revolutionary spirit to protest against the hierarchical leadership system and the pattern of church ministry applied by *Indische Kerk*, using Bible-based doctrines of the church [8]. That was as stated in the constitution of AMK, article 2, which made Scripture (Bible) as the foundation (*grondslag*) of the establishment of AMK. In accordance with the values and teachings of Christianity originating from the Bible, AMK supposed that the church government, *Indische Kerk*, in Moluccas was not Christian.²⁰

The reading approach of Scripture according to Moluccas Christians' language and point of view and making them as the basis of the resistance, as AMK did to *Indische Kerk*, were tangible embodiment of the Christian Reformation values

pioneered by Marthin Luther in Germany October 31, 1517. The Christian Reformation in Europe have contributed greatly to the development of nationalism. Everyone in every place can read Scripture (Bible) in a language that has been translated according to the vernacular language (mother tongue / country / local). Thus it makes Scripture no longer difficult to read as before in Latin. In addition, the readers can easily take the national messages contained in it. Such acts can be translated as the part of national identity validation [9]. Underlying its struggle on the Bible, AMK saw that the church government applied by *Indische Kerk* was not Christian. Christian church government, according to AMK, was separate from the state, not hierarchy, and led by unauthoritarian leader; giving freedom to the congregation, Ambonese Christians, to organize the church and its own form of worship according to the Ambonese context, and to grant full authority to the Ambonese to become church leaders.²¹

The resistance that AMK made by making Bible as the foundation of its movement had the same spirit as the resistance to Apartheid politic in South Africa. Vicencio, who put the focus of his study on the Apartheid issue, concludes opinion that liberation theology based on religious Scripture (Bible) "the freedom of Christ had freed men from slavery to anyone" became the resistance basis to criticize the white people's hegemony who claimed themselves to be the carriers of Christian civilization in South Africa [10]. In the context of AMK resistance, the reality highlighted here is the condition of Moluccas Christians who were subordinated amid the Dutch dominance of power in *Indische Kerk*. That situation caused an attack by AMK on the ideology of the Dutch imperialism. The ideology emphasized the Dutch Protestant people's superiority to preach Gospel to the Moluccas society. AMK constructed a new confession based on Christian doctrine that was about the evangelism of Jesus Christ to Moluccans and not by the Dutchmen.²² The AMK's resistance can be understood according to David Dubois' opinion that when "religion" is used as a central of mission to cultivate imperialism according to colonial interests, it will not block an resistance from colonized society [11]. Here it cannot be denied that the role of Sarekat Ambon as the first nationalist movement in Moluccas, under A.J. Patty, was influential enough to build an attitude of Christian community resistance within the church.

The AMK's resistance to *Indische Kerk* was also part of the indigenization movement, which was a consciously planned movement against foreign dominance. The indigenous movement, according to Geoffrey A. Oddie, aimed to rediscover the roots of local culture and thereby to introduce an authentic Christian faith. That action for example appeared in the struggle of Indian Christians which was against a policy of racial inequality and discrimination aimed at liberating India from the foreign control. The struggle led to the vision of national and Christian unity, and the struggle that

²⁰ Nota vereeniging Autonome Moluksche Kerk. 1933, Mr. 1405/1934.

²¹ Nota vereeniging Autonome Moluksche Kerk. 1933, Mr. 1405/1934.

²² Nota vereeniging Autonome Moluksche Kerk. 1933, Mr. 1405/1934.

conformed to Christian beliefs to create a national regeneration process [12].

b. The Elements of GPM's Resistance to RMS which was Associated with the Christian "Utilitarian" Symbols and Teachings

Utilitarian is the view that all societies are a whole. According to Webb, with an utilitarian view, it is possible for everyone to be candid for the acceptance of the national society based on (unrestricted) "blood and race" as a natural basis for the development of morality. That view emerged as a critique to the idealist view that distinguished human beings on the basis of "race" and "blood". Human differences made on the basis of "race" and "blood", according to the utilitarians, were unfit for a process of assimilation [13]. It is part of the ethical teachings of Christianity that teach a moral obligation to the Christians to seek common good for all mankind. Such action is a manifestation of the actualization of divine revelation for the building of a universal human community. Therefore, Christians are required to do good services to all mankind [13].

In facing the political reality that occurred in Moluccas, in connection with the emergence of RMS, GPM with its commitment and tactics to be part of Indonesia had fulfilled its moral obligations as determined in utilitarian doctrine. By translating Scripture about lovely fraternity with all fellow citizens in Indonesia, GPM had expressed its disagreement with the RMS' struggle to make Moluccas an independent state. The attitude of GPM which rejected the RMS's request to celebrate the RMS proclamation day of April 25, 1950, each year in the form of gratitude worship in the congregations, is also a successful act in defending the Indonesia's national identity from the influence of RMS. The proclamation of Indonesian independence was considered by GPM as a gift and grace of God to the Indonesian nation that needs to be maintained. In that way, RMS did not get support from GPM. RMS was considered by GPM as a chaos carrier in Indonesian society, nation, and country.²³ The utilitarian approach by GPM had become a major obstacle to the achievement of the RMS' objectives using its ideal approach, which distinguished the Moluccas community from other communities that were part of the unity of the Indonesian nation and state. As the result of the GPM's resistance to RMS, GPM was awarded a Maranatha church building by President Sukarno in 1952. The Maranatha church building has become a symbol of strong resistance against RMS that GPM and the Christian community of Moluccas are Indonesian.

From the case that GPM faced with RMS, it is explicit that GPM was an actor which presented and played an important role to legitimize the church political action in Moluccas. The presence of GPM had also eliminated the construction of ethnic nationalism (ethno-nationalism) which was sovereign to the objectives of RMS. Ethno-nationalism, according to Frank N. Magil, is a nationalist understanding of ethnic sentiment

(religion, ethnicity, race) as its basis. Furthermore, the spirit of ethnocentrism would be manifested into a political entity called nation state [14]. The phenomenon of ethno-nationalism in a nation state is seen as defining a sense of nationality to more primordialistic (ethnic) bonds or the loss of loyalty of an ethnic group to an agreement to a larger bond (nation state) [14]. The RMS nationalism spirit built on Moluccas ethnic was reflected in the form of rhymes of RMS National Anthem, *Lagu Pahlawan, Maluku Tanahku, and Hena Masa Waja*.²⁴

Similarly the ethno-nationalist propaganda was also conveyed by the RMS' leaders and Army Forces to raise the spirit of the Moluccas to build their own homeland, distinguish the Moluccans from the Javanese, and hold that Indonesia was the Javanese's Republic that colonized Moluccas. The lyrics of the RMS National Anthem and other songs as mentioned above, as well as the RMS propaganda presented on the basis of regional sentiments and ethnic distinctions, were considered to be the ideal way to attract the sympathy of the Moluccas society to support the RMS' independence. In facing the RMS' nationalism based on collective identities: ethnic, race, and ethnic which were sovereign as the Moluccans, GPM appeared to be a barrier to the achievement of RMS desire. GPM directed Christian community in Moluccas to live peacefully coexisted lives in diverse (multi-cultural) cultural groups and different religions in Indonesia. Based on Dankwart A. Rustow's opinion about leaders' charisma, the attitude of GPM's leaders supported by the Moluccas society to weaken RMS, can be regarded as charismatic legitimacy; "the charisma of the leader is in the minds of the followers" [15].

Referring to AMK's resistance to *Indische Kerk*, the GPM's resistance to RMS is a consequence of the governmentality imposed by the state through *Indische Kerk*. By rejecting RMS to have sovereignty over Moluccas, GPM did resistance that was illuminated by the teachings of Scripture (Bible) about lovely fraternity among others. Through such GPM attitude, the Christian community of Moluccas could be mobilized and directed to reject RMS.

The two forms of resistances within the church, AMK and GPM, legitimated the political stance of the Moluccas Church against the dominance of power practiced in the church. AMK that opposed *Indische Kerk* 's governmentality had proven that oppressive and discriminatory power will produce resistance as an anti-form of that power. The resistance aimed to do the church indigenization according to the society context in Moluccas. The result of the struggle began to be enjoyed when GPM was inaugurated as an independent church from *Indische Kerk* on September 6, 1935. Regardless of the state power, through *Indische Kerk*, the GPM's consistency in relation to the government's power was tested again by the presence of RMS in 1950. Even though it was not easy to deal with the fact, GPM had proven that the Indonesian nation was a price that could not be negotiable. The church persevered to build its commitment to the Indonesianness against RMS. Coexistence in the lovely fraternity with the fellow citizens of other faiths

²³ P. Tanamal, "RMS Sudah Ditolak dalam Pesan Tobat GPM Tahun 1960", dalam Surat Kabar *Siwalima*, Senin, 23 April 2001.

²⁴ Disjarahad TNI, *Himpunan Sejarah Peristiwa RMS-SP-0018/E/2/3, Bayangan Tanah Air RMS*.

to build Indonesia was a powerful tactic possessed by GPM against RMS.

The participation of the Moluccas Church in religious politics (church) through AMK and GPM reinforces its existence as a critical adhesive institution to the church and state in Indonesia. The church political involvement was conceptualized later in the PGI's Five Documents of Church Unity (DKG) at the point of the Basic Tasks of Common Calling (*Pokok Tugas Panggilan Bersama / PTPB*), that is, "the church has a political responsibility in the sense of participating actively in the pursuit of national, state, and society lives based on Pancasila and the 1945 RI's Constitution by struggling the balance between power, justice, and love. The Christians are called to build common prosperity in society (cf. Jeremiah 29: 7)" [16].

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The description of the GPM's resistance to RMS as described above can be summarized: the GPM's resistance to RMS is a historical consequence of AMK's resistance to the governmentality applied by *Indische Kerk*. The resistance had become a power that weakened the RMS'existence in Moluccas. In addition, GPM could realize the Christians' responsibility according to Christian ethical principles to build fraternal relationship with all Indonesian people from other tribes and religions.

The resistances of AMK and GPM to the dominance of power applied and would be enforced in the churches illustrates that the church's presence and existence played role in the politics of society development in Moluccas. AMK was present to criticize the superior and discriminatory attitude of *Indische Kerk*, and GPM was fighting against the dominance of power that would be applied to rule the church and Christian community. Such action further reinforced the positioning of the Moluccas Church against the dominance of state power that influenced the church's existence.

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