# THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICS AND THE STRUGGLE OF BAHA'I PEOPLE: A CASE STUDY OF BAHA'I PEOPLE IN PATI, CENTRAL JAVA

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# ABSTRAK

his article based on research carried out in 2016 among the Baha'i religious community in the village of Cebolek Kidul, District Margoyoso, Pati regency, Central Java. Baha'i is an independent religion although sometime people mistaken as a religious sect. Baha'i was first known in Persia in 1840s and came to Indonesia in 1870 brought by medical experts joint a UN's program and merchants. Data of this article were collected through interviews, observations, documentations and focus group discussion. In Cebolek, there are 27 people of 9 families who observe Baha'i. In their village, some Muslims were accused Baha'i people as deviants. Thus Baha'i people were not allowed to be buried in the same cemetery as Muslims, in some cases Baha'i people also do not receive the same service in administrative matters from the village officers as their Muslims fellows such as do not receive religious education at formal school, do not have marriage certificate since their marriage is not acknowledged by the government. However, as other village residents, Baha'i people receive ID card, family identification card and their children may have birth certificate. Birth certificate received by Baha'i people mentions only the mother of the child since the child is considered as born out of wedlock. The same case goes to the family identification card in which the mother is stated as the head of the family. This situation has been faced by Baha'i people since the Old Order era. During the Old Order, Baha'i as an organization was banned by Presidential Decision No 264 of 1962. During the New Order era, Baha'i people suffer from the government policy which suppressed them even more. Some of government officials were threatened of fire for declaring as Baha'i people, some of them were sent to jail accused of religious blasphemy and some others were under surveillance of the Army. This policy has forced some Baha'i people to convert to other religion such as Islam. However, some others remain as Baha'i believers and asking protection such as from the Directorate of Faith of Ministry of Education and Culture, Vice President of Indonesia Sudharmono, the leader of NU Abdurrahman Wahid, Human Rights activists, the Chief of Indonesian National Police and also President Soeharto. This attempt was a failure. Rather, Baha'i people were accused of putting Muslim community in Cebolek in conflict with the government. The regulation was then annulled by President Abdurrahman Wahid with Presidential Decision No 69 of 2000.

After the Reformation, Baha'i people struggle to gain public attentions in several ways: 1) distributing information on Baha'i through public meetings; 2) initiating non-formal religious class for Baha'i people and people of other religions; 3) inviting neighbors and friends during Baha'i religious celebration. Afraid of those actions, some Muslims leaders react in two ways: 1) intensifying religious meetings to strengthen Muslims' faith while keep referring Baha'i as a non recognized religion; 2) supporting the Village government when the later is feeling cornered by NGO supporting Baha'i people. However, Baha'i attempts have also received positive responses from their surrounding community. They do not feel intimidated by the government and their relationship with their neighborhood is getting better. One example, when a Baha'i passed away, their male Muslim neighbors came to the house and female Muslim neighbors were reciting tahlil for three days at the deceased home.

# INTRODUCTION

This paper based on research conducted by author in 2016 experienced by the people of the religion of Baha'i in the village of Cebolek Kidul, Margovoso, Pati, Central Java. Civil Rights of Baha'i believers have not been fulfilled by the government. Some acts of discrimination<sup>1</sup> against Baha'i people are: the refusal of the Office of Civil Administration to issue marriage. Their marriage was performed before their religious leader. However, according to officers of Civil Administration Office of Pati, Baha'i is not officially recognized religion in Indonesia. According to Article 2 (1) of Law No. 1 Year 1974 on Marriage, a marriage is valid when it is between people of the same religion (faith). Another discrimination felt by Baha'i people is related to religious education at formal school. Baha'i children who go to formal school have to join class of one of "Pancasila" (five) religions. Other students have to convert to other religion. Problem has also occurs when a Baha'i person die, the dead is not allowed to be buried in the same cemetery as their Muslim neighbors. Moreover, their religion is not written in their ID card as the mandate of Act No. 23 2013 about Civil Administration.

<sup>1</sup> Act No. 39/1999 Article 1 (3) discrimination is every restrictions are directly or indirectly based on the distinctions among human beings on the basis of ethnic, groups, the social status, economic gender, the belief that a reduction of the deviation of human rights and basic freedoms in the aspects of life.

# METODE OF RESEARCH

This research at 2016 in the village of Cebolek Kidul, Margoyoso, Pati, Central Java. The first part describes religion of Baha'i, religious rights, and Baha'i people in Pati, Central Java. The technique of collecting data from the field was done through in-depth interviews, participant observation, documentary studies, and focus group discussion in Cebolek Kidul, Margoyoso, Pati, Central Java. Interviewed informants were religion groups and people as actors.

# RELIGIOUS RIGHTS

As the son of the nation must understand that Indonesia is not (1) the secular state religion in the jurisdiction of the interests of individual countries, removing the state ideology of the influence and importance of religion, the state is not set up and no intervention of the problem of religion, the state never prohibit or recommend its citizens for religious matters of religion are separated with the problem of the state, (2) the secular republic, the state of the kingdom, atheist state (countries that prohibit when religion was made as a way of living citizens, religions of the synagogue and even religious prohibited countries), (3) countries theocracy (theocratic state) or religious state (countries using the law of religion as a positive law based on the norms one of religion which came into force in a country), But (4) the state of the Republic of based on Pancasila, i.e. the basis of the state that was drawn from nationhood and statehood with melting each views of science and the state of the existing constitutional in mindset in Indonesian culture.

In the context of religion in Pancasila country there was no force that all people as individuals should be religion that determined? Pancasila put all religions (anything religion) on the main position and constitutions quicker by the scriptures of all religions. Pancasila does not prohibit a person for the liberal-minded (free), a secular atheist, etc. But the mind is not to be applied in the life of nationhood and statehood. Article 29 (1) The Constitution of the state based on the deity of the One True God. Article 71 of Act No. 39 The year 1999 about Human Rights the government is obligated to protect religious people. Thus the consequences, Indonesia acknowledge the existence of religion (anything) and facilitate all religion to grow, the same position in front of the law and the state does not interfere with the religious beliefs, but the state protect its citizens are religious anything.

The people of Indonesia have a high concern on religious traditions and are determined to make a modern and democratic country so that the traditions and aspirations of religion is given a special place in the structure of the government of the existence of the ministry of religion. This is a unique characteristic of Indonesia, need to be proud of even though it has been analyzed for academic study because the public understanding of the need to

explore. For example how the relationship of religion and the state? Is it true that the state limits the amount of religion? How does the country address the plurality of know and trust flow? Why is the office which oversees the dominance of certain religion only because as the majority, whereas the name of the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA). Thus the things that need to be discussed are as following<sup>2</sup>:

First, religion is one of personal rights. Treaties: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Politic Rights/ICCPR are international human rights treaties: passed in 1966 and start to apply 1976. ICCPR and ratified in Act No. 11/2005 on Ratification of International Civil and Political Rights. In it contains two key words. First, derogable rights that can be reduced/limited assured by the state for citizens include the free together peacefully; the rights of organizing including forming and to become a member of the labor unions; and the right to free holds/expression including free to seek, receive and give information and ideas of all kinds regardless of the limit (orally or writing). The country can be turned over the obligation to fulfill the rights when threatens the life and not discriminatory. This is for the sake of national security, public order, health, general morality and respect the freedom of others. Second, nonderogable rights (absolute right) should not be reduced assured by the state despite the emergency situation in the form of basic rights: rights to life; rights to be free from torture; rights to be free from slavery; free from the detention for failing to fulfill the Covenant (debt); free from retroactive punishment; as the subject of the law; and the right to freedom of thought, confidence and religious. Religious freedom is one of the rights which are called as universal inaliable, involable, and nonderogable human rights. When the state violates denounced as human rights offenders (gross violation of human rights).

Act No. 23 Year 2014 about local government is expected to be able to prevent human rights abuses by the Local Government because there are sanctions for local government that violate human rights. Komnas HAM RI 2010-2015 Data, regional government ranked third as the institution of public teams to the National Human Rights Commission for human rights violations. Human rights are the basic rights which is inherent in every human being, are universal and happy. Therefore, must be protected, respected, maintained and cannot be ignored, reduced, or usurped by anyone, including by the state. Piety of someone realized in them with religious and run the worship.

The decree of the Minister of Religion (KMA) No. 517/2001 about Styling Organization KUA Sub-districts, tasks KUA is carrying out some tasks Kandepag city/districts in the field of Islamic religious affairs in the districts. The function of the KUA organized documentation, correspondence, archives, typing, and household KUA Sub-districts, perform the recording of deed, cf., manage and build the mosque, charity, Endowments, baitul maal and acts of worship in the social development of sakinah family that in accordance with the policy of the Director General of the Bimas Islam. The obligation of the KUA To build harmony between the religious people. Now the task of the office of civilian population counties/city under the auspices of the local government of whom is the recording of the deed of marriage and divorce for non-Islam. Thus religious others (religion that is explicitly written in the legislation and how the country services at the grassroots level?

The violations as a result of the greater authority of local government, for example mala-administration, land conflict, and ethnic problems. The first stage was the Police followed by corporations. Before the reformation era, TNI, corporation, and central government most people reported to the Human Rights Commission<sup>3</sup>.

Second, before great religion (number of reinstatement of many) exist in this land the people of Indonesia have local religion, just mentioned religion Talotong in Central Sulawesi, Sunda Wiwitan in Sundanese, Parmalin tatar in North Sumatera, religion Adam for Samin people, etc. The local religion is discriminated by the state with an excuse in between local religion 'rogue'. The suspicion that has been handed down by the regime of the past can be curtailed slowly whereas religious minorities and religion facilitated local country as rivalry facility majority religion. Bridging the desire of the citizens who are still staying religion that has not been written explicitly in the legislation and local religion, wise steps that must be understood the government is treating him in the form of a directorate under the Ministry of religion. During this, Kemenag are not able to maintain a distance (closeness) that same between great religion (majority) with minorities. It is time for the government to carry out the legislation namely respect (to respect), protect (to protect), and fulfill the rights (to fulfill) the religion of its citizens especially unknown to the general public because it is not a referral widely.

Third, a contemporary trend in the field of religion is in a framework that limits the plurality. The plurality of half-hearted Policy by the government from time to time could not contrast the growth of new religious movements (Jamil, 2008: 159). The restriction for the appropriate religious choice is a step that is not in line with the message Al-Quran letter Al-Maidah: 48 "If the Lord willed, you made him one of only. But the Lord will inheritors with the difference."

# THE RELIGION OF BAHA'I IN INDONESIA

The religion of Baha'i came to Indonesia in Makassar around 1878 carried by the merchants of Persia and Turkey namely Jamal Effendi and Mustafa Rumi. It was part of efforts of Baha'i believers to spread Baha'i all over the world. According to Sasmita, on 1955 Iranian citizens from among the doctors came to Indonesia are placed in remote areas. Through them, religion Baha'i developed until now. The name Baha'i was foreign for some people because they heard only once or never. The religion of Baha'i came to spark in Indonesia on 24 July 2014. Minister of Religious Affairs, Lukman Hakim Saifuddin, wrote in his Twitter account that he was studying religion Baha'i, whether it may be accepted as the new religion in Indonesia or not. The study

was done after the Minister of Domestic Affairs (Gamawan Fauzi) sent a letter to the president asking on Baha'i matters related to civil administration. @lukmansaifuddin Twit on 24 July 2014 at 19:55 briefly "Indonesian government add a list of the new religion that was officially recognized, after Islam and Christianity, Catholics, Hindus, Buddhists, and Khonghucu. The government said that the Baha'i is a religion whose existence recognized by the constitution". The reason for recognition as a religion was explained in 10 serial twit. After received a letter from the Minister of Domestic Affairs, President answer: "Baha'i is the religion of the many religions that developed in 20 countries. Baha'i is a religion, not a heretical movement of other religion. There are 22 Baha'i people in Banyuwangi, 100 in Jakarta, 100 in Medan, 98 in Surabaya, 80 in Palopo, 50 in Bandung, 30 people in Malang. Baha'i as a religion is protected by the constitution according to Article 28 E and 29 1945 '45. According to Penpres Number 1/PNPS/1965 religion Baha'i besides six religion guaranteed by the state and left the existence along not violate the legislation. The president was accompanied holds the Baha'i as Indonesian citizens entitled to the ministry of population, law, etc. from the government. On the same day at 22:55 president was accompanied to clarify the news recognition Baha'i as the new religion. He questioned the obligation of the state recognize a faith as a religion or not religion. The president was accompanied twitter account asserts, he does not mention the Baha'i as the new religion. But, Kemenag examines and explores the role of the government. The context of statehood, what the government is entitled to recognize or not recognize a belief that religion or not religion. The state is not entitled to recognize or not recognize a religion which was adopted its citizens because of religion is in the heart of every individual that must be protected by the state for the reinstatement of whatever religion.

In addition to the factors twitter president was accompanied be the cause of the exile the name Baha'i due to writing books about Baha'i, both written by the institutions Baha'i and non-Baha'i and become public reading. The distribution of the books about Baha'i long before the President was accompanied twit, as that obtained the author. It is easier to know the name of the Baha'i when social media has become a routine menu in public access news and science (Rosyid, 2015). The Website Baha'i among others bahaiindonesia.org; www.bahai.org; bahaiteaching.org; bahaiblog.net; www.twodoves.net; www.bic.org; www.bwc.org; and www.bahai.com.

The religion of Baha'i is independent religion that exists in various countries that aimed at uniting all races and nations in one universal teaching. The Baha'i is the followers of raw'ullah (means that the glory of the Lord which have found as the figure who promised all ages. The promise is the Baha'i have arrived with the existence of raw'ullah (National Spiritual Assembly, February 2008). The existence of religion Baha'i described allusion seems to be the existence of the succession of spring, cold, and harvest. The

rising of the sun illuminates the nature, when the sun sets the earth covered the darkness. The sun rises again the next day. The dark ages have vanished because of the new age. In a moment the rules of ordinary human beings will cover the truth of every religion. The farther away from the purity of the teaching of the Lord, is diseased more spiritual life. In the past the sun of righteousness is shining through Krishna, of Buddha, Christ, Muhammad, and so on. At the time of the dark this is the Sun of righteousness arise again to illuminate the darkness, namely through Raw'ullah (Fathea'zam, 2009:11). As a religion, Baha'i have 17 teachings, namely keesan Lord, harmony and tolerance between the religious unity of mankind, the nature of the spirit and of life after death, Outstanding traits that exalted, the life of pure and holy; prayer required, fasting and prayer; loyalty to the government consultation as the basis of decision-making, justice and equity for all people, work is worship, education required for every man, promotes the development of women, harmony between science and religion, promote social-economic development, unity in diversity, and of human nature and hab (National Spiritual Assembly, February 2013). Among Holydays of Baha'i are Naw-Ruz (March 21st), Ridvan (April 21st, April 29th, May 2nd), the Chapter's declaration of his mission (May 23rd) (Momen, 1999:74)

### RESPONS BAHA'I PEOPLE IN PATI CENTRAL JAVA

Predicted, believers in Indonesia were between 3 thousand s soul, the amount of certain undetected because of a column of religion in his KTP written width (according to the ACT ON Adminduk), tertebar in 130 s city, in 28 provinces between the other three of the Island of Java, Bali, Sumatra, Riau, Papua, Sulawesi except in Bengkulu, Southeast Sulawesi, North Maluku and North Kalimantan. Baha'i people in Cebolek in July 2016 there are 9 households with 27 people.

The religion of Baha'i for the public has not yet other than this as a result of the Decision of President Sukarno 264 Number 1962 on the Prohibition of 7 organizations, including Baha'i, though Kepres revoked President Gus Dur with Kepres Number 69 Year 2000. Gus Dur Pasca-Kepres, believers not get civil rights as a whole. This result (1) the understanding of local government forces against Penetapan Presiden RI Number 1/PNPS/1965 just yet. The explanation of Article 1 paragraph (1) that the country does not limit the number of religion. All religions are entitled to live in Indonesia. Public ignorance due to inherit in their generations on the basis of the 'endengar'ds local government officials understand without effort to explore the explanation of Article 1 Penpres Number 1/PNPS/1965. Both of these as markers, academics must provide the enlightenment on the public through the research result in order for the government to serve, respect and fulfill the rights of religious anything religion.

The internal efforts of Baha'i be (1) National Spiritual Assembly/MRN institutions (overshadowing the Baha'i at country level) do construction with routine visit on the Baha'i in the area (Local Spiritual Assembly) and (2) the Porch of Judgment Day (International Level Assembly) always give attention on each MRN. As a result of the effort done by the Baha'i with (1) adapt with their surroundings that non-believer so that no exclusive, (2) respected by social organizations across the religion, (3) distribute books about Baha'i on the public through the forum of brotherhood, friendships, and scientific forum; (4) organized a non-formal education ala Baha'i in his neighborhood. Education is called the Institute of affect that learning materials surrounding the ethics of life. Until I wrote this script, implementation has been going since early 2016 whom participants are Muslims and Baha'i people including 10 children every week in the house of a Muslim neighbor. The master of the house acceptable because contiguity emotional, (5) introduce self Baha'i with invite neighbors and agonizing in the event of the religious festivals Baha'i, even though it is not responded local non-Baha'i (Muslims), and (6) sue in writing on the government.

First, a petition signed by Abdul Djamali dated April 11 1990 directed at the Vice President Sudharmono. Soon after, on December 23, 1989 5 believers of Baha'i Pati were summoned by the government of Pati. In the forum, meeting led by elements of the office of the Attorney General of Pati, R.A.R. Pido. He stated that the religion of Baha'i was prohibited government based Kepres Nomor 264 Tahun 1962 so it is forbidden to serve even in their own home. Parliament of Pati ordered to monitor the Baha'i in the village of Cebolek Kidul. The threat of violation of the regulation is 4-6 years imprisonment and a statement on the seal to comply with Kepres that must be submitted to the sub-district Margoyoso on 26 December 1989. It is a burden for Baha'i.

The head of the SMPN 1 Margoyoso, Pati, Moch. Gozali provide the letter No. 195/103.18/SMP.24/E.90 on 17 September 1990 subject letter of objections to his son (Abdul Djamali) follow practical activities Islamic religious education in the Mosque/Musalla to Abdul Djamali. The letter to Abdul Djamali was also followed with a letter of application with a list of activities which are allowed and which are not permitted along with the obvious reasons. Abdul Djamali responded with a petition to policy allowed does not follow the supporting activity Islamic religious education outside the school event dated 20 September 1990. The letter typed manually signed Abdul Djamali as parents of Purbadi Nugroho and a copy must be on the teachers Islamic religious education grade 1 SMPN Margoyoso. The substance of the letter to Purbadi Nugroho allowed does not follow the verses and Friday prayers with the canons interfere with the development of the soul as the growth/Baha'i and the obligation to serve apply for that has an adult. The Principal of SMPN 1 Margoyoso lifted the letter number call 083/103.18/

SMP.2A/F.91 18 February 1991 subject of consultation between Abdul Djamali with principals and Purbadi Nugroho.

There was a letter signed by Abdul Djamali dated 27 February 1991 aimed at Abdurrahman Wahid subject petition protection and the wisdom of the school. The complaints letter revealed the chronology since Purbadi Nugroho schools at SMPN 1 Margoyoso that are required to accept the Islamic religious education. On 25 February 1991 based on the results of consultations Kepela SMPN Margoyoso with a Secondary Pati that learners must choose one of the five religions. Similar letter dated 26 February 1991 from Abdul Djamali sent on the head of the office of Central Java Depdikbud region and the same letter on 27 February 1991 sent on the Head of Commission IX DPR RI.

Abdurrahman Wahid in his letter headed 'Abdurrahman Wahid Nahdlatul Ulama Kramat Raya 164 Jakarta 10430' dated 2 March 1991 aimed at Utoyo Mardi, S.H Semarang is the nature of personal letter. The contents of the letter Gus Dur explained that he visited the mother of Abdul Djamali Sukarni (wife) from Cebolek Kidul, Margoyoso, Pati cry to cultivate so that his son, Purbadi Nugroho Grade 1 students A SMPN Margoyoso can be allowed to follow the lessons and the test religious lessons in schools.

Complaints continue when Abdul Djamali sent a letter to the Head of the complaints Regional Offices of the Ministry of Education and Culture Central Java. Letter of protection and policy school dated 23 February 1991 signed Abdul Djamali. The Petitioner describes the problems faced by his son, Purbadi Nugroho grade 1 A SMPN Margoyoso, Pati. People of the religion of Baha'i follow the lessons of the religion of Islam in schools. At the end of November 1990 during the final tes, Purbadi worked test the Islamic religious education, by the Islamic religion teachers, the script taken by reason of the question the education of children as religious people Baha'i in the process. Until 16 February 1991 the subject on religious education of Purbadi Nugroho has not been completed.

The Director General of Department of Education and Culture RI to respond to the letter (blind carbon copy) on Abdul Djamali. The letter Nomor 439/F6/H.5/1991 March 4 1991 signed the Director Permadi loading suggestions to prompt settlement and wisdom in the office of the Attorney General Land Pati (PAKEM) and to the Office Depdikbud Pati.

Complaints of Bahai continued with a petition of defending the rights of religious freedom to the Director of the institution of human rights defenders, HJC Princen and to Djohan Effendi dated March 29 1993 signed Abdul Djamali. Load teams is the seizure of Abdul Djamali book entitled information about religion Baha'i and the relationship of religion Baha'i with other religions in the world by the police when Djamali Tayu take pictures coffee date 16 March 1993. By waiting for the process photographed coffee then the book left in the photo location coffee. When left that, books were seized by the police. When

Abdul Djamali take fotokopian, he brought to the Police Tayu to sign a letter of foreclosures books. On 18 March 1993 Abdul Djamali and Hadi Sunarto called by Pasi Intel Kodim 0718 Pati, Sutriswoto. Intel is explained that the Baha'i prohibited government based Kepres 264/1962 Number. On the other hand, Abdul Djamali was selected as the chairman of the Board KUD Margoyoso and Hadi Sunarto as chairman of the Supreme Audit Agency KUD Margoyoso selection of 17 February 1993. When appointed by the Head of the office of the Ministry of co-operatives Pati, both states pledged in accordance with the provisions of the religion that we embraced. The statement by the Kodim Pati is considered egregious citizen. Various efforts are part of the efforts to attract sympathy on the public. But the effort does not produce the optimal because the protection of local Muslims who established. Baha'i people also wrote a letter to the government, appealing for their religious identity, however the letter did not receive expected responses. In contrast, by sending the letter, Baha'i people were accused of situating Muslims in Cebolek Kidul village vis-à-vis the government.

After the Reformation, Baha'i people struggle to gain public attentions in several ways: 1) distributing information on Baha'i through public meetings; 2) initiating non-formal religious class for Baha'i people and people of other religions; 3) inviting neighbors and friends during Baha'i religious celebration. Afraid of those actions, some Muslims leaders react in two ways: 1) intensifying religious meetings to strengthen Muslims' faith while keep referring Baha'i as a non recognized religion; 2) supporting the Village government when the later is feeling cornered by NGO supporting Baha'i people. However, Baha'i attempts have also received positive responses from their surrounding community. They do not feel intimidated by the government and their relationship with their neighborhood is getting better. One example, when a Baha'i passed away, their male Muslim neighbors came to the house and female Muslim neighbors were reciting tahlil for three days at the deceased home.

#### CONCLUSION

The discrimination against the people of the religion of Baha'i started assumption one by state officials who understand that the country only confirms certain religion. Based on the explanation of Article 1 Penpres Number 1/PNPS/1965 that citizens entitled religion and religion are not limited in number by the state as long as the teachings of religion (anything) is contrary to the legislation. This can be understood in Articles 28 and 29 Constitution. But the understanding that one is has spillover effects of no he serves the civil rights of religion Baha'i, such as the petition of deed marry on Dukcapil after marriage Baha'i, son of Baha'i that formal school does not get religious education Baha'i.

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