

ISLAMIC EDUCATION AS A STRENGTHENER OF INDONESIAN NATIONALISM (Study of the Thought of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid)

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Abstract

Thoughts KH. Abdurrahman Wahid or familiarly known as Gus Dur, with a very strong Islamic boarding school educational background, as well as his struggle with classical Islamic traditions and modern Western traditions, apparently did not in the least make Gus Dur limit himself from contributing to religion and the nation. Thus, the purpose of this research is to find out how his thoughts relate to the relationship between religion and the state as well as Islamic education, the key to Indonesian nationalism which is applied to generations of Indonesian Muslims. The research method used in this study is qualitative, and the data presentation method is descriptive analysis, and is designed with a library approach that explores several discussions about Islamic education and Indonesian nationalism from Gus Dur's perspective. The results of this research found Gus Dur's thoughts, namely; religion and the state in Indonesia are symbiotic mutualism in short, religion needs the state and vice versa, Islamic education and Gus Dur's style of nationalism essentially emphasizes the benefits of religion, mind, soul, property and descendants. In strengthening the nationalism of the Indonesian nation which is so complex with problems, the solution is Islamic education in the style of Gus Dur.

Keywords: KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, Islamic Education, Nationalism.

مستخلص البحث

خواطر كياهي الحاج عبد الرحمن واحد أو المعروف بجوس دور، ذو الخلفية التعليمية الإسلامية الداخلية القوية جدا، بالإضافة إلى صراعه مع التقاليد الإسلامية الكلاسيكية والتقاليد الغربية الحديثة، يبدو أن ذلك لم يجعل جوس دور يقصر نفسه عن المساهمة في الدين والأمة. ومن ثم، فإن الغرض من هذا البحث هو معرفة كيف ترتبط أفكاره بالعلاقة بين الدين والدولة وكذلك التربية الإسلامية، مفتاح القومية الإندونيسية التي تطبق على أجيال من المسلمين الإندونيسيين. ومنهج البحث المستخدم في هذا البحث هو المنهج الكيفي، وطريقة عرض البيانات هي التحليل الوصفي، وقد تم تصميمه بمنهج مكتبي يستكشف عادة



مناقشات حول التربية الإسلامية والقومية الإندونيسية من وجهة نظر جوس دور. وتوصلت نتائج هذا البحث إلى أفكار جوس دور، وهي: الدين والدولة في إندونيسيا متكافلان متبادلان باختصار، الدين يحتاج إلى الدولة والعكس صحيح، التربية الإسلامية وأسلوب جوس دور في القومية يؤكد أساساً على فوائد الدين والعقل والنفس والملكية والنسل. وفي تعزيز قومية الأمة الإندونيسية التي تعاني من مشاكل معقدة للغاية، فإن الحل هو التربية الإسلامية بأسلوب جوس دور.

الكلمات المفتاحية: كياهي الحاج عبد الرحمن واحد والتربية الإسلامية والقومية.

INTRODUCTION

The weakening of Indonesian nationalism due to religion does occur, because in the course of its history, religion has always appeared with a double face, namely as a constructive and destructive force.¹ Meanwhile, according to Gus Dur, Islam strongly supports nationalism. He stated that there is a relationship between Islam and nationalism in terms of state life.² Where religion (Islam) is able to make a positive contribution to Indonesian nationalism, not a negative contribution, aka making Indonesia an Islamic state.

Various parties who openly wanted to separate themselves from the unity of Indonesia or establish a religion-based state were responded by Gus Dur, who was the grandson of Hadratussyeikh KH. Muhammad Hasyim Asyari and or the son of KH. Abdul Wahid Hasyim with rejection. He said that there is no concept of state in Islam. He considered that the idea of an Islamic state was not conceptual, and was not followed by the majority of Muslims. However, it is only seen by a small number of people who view Islam from its institutional angle.³

Thus, at this time (read the latest conditions of the economic, political, social and cultural conditions and education in Indonesia, in short the earth of Indonesia and all its current problems, aka contemporary) it is very necessary to bring back the thought of Islamic education in the style or perspective of Gus Dur as the key to strengthening the nationalism of the Indonesian nation, which incidentally Indonesia is a majority Muslim country.

Education before independence was a “weapon” against colonial colonization, while after the proclamation until now, of course, its orientation must be to strengthen the nationalism of the Indonesian people.⁴ Love for the country or nationalism is the most important capital in achieving

¹ Komaruddin Hidayat, “The Failure of the Social Role of Religion” in the book *Realizing One Ummat*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Zaman, 2002), p. 7.

² Abdurrahman Wahid, *Gus Dur Answering the People's Restlessness*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2007), p. 110.

³ Abdurrahman Wahid, *My Islam, Your Islam, Our Islam*, (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2006), p. 84.

⁴ Mursidin, “Islamic Religious Education Based on Nationalism”, *Ta'dib: Journal of Islamic Education*, (2019), p. 567; HM. Nasruddin Anshoriy, Ch, *Education with a Nationalistic Mindset Multiculturalism-based scientific awareness*, (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2008), cet. I, p. VII.

Indonesia's goals.⁵ Therefore, the title of this research is Islamic education as a strengthener of Indonesian nationalism (Study of the thoughts of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid). Because, loving the homeland because of Allah (Allah is the most important then the others) is certainly the result of Islamic education which is the cause. This is where general education differs from Islamic education. If general education is the cause, then loving the homeland because of the homeland itself (Allah is not the main) is the result.

METHOD

The research method used in this study is qualitative, and the method of presenting the data is descriptive analysis, and is designed with a literature approach⁶ that traces several discussions about Islamic education and nationalism of the Indonesian nation in the perspective of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid. The main sources used as references are journals, books, and similar literature related to the theme of the study.

The analysis in this study uses content analysis and discourse analysis. The author analyzes by reviewing the contents of various literatures that are in accordance with the theme of the study. As for the validity of the data, researchers used source triangulation, namely cross-checking the literature sources that discuss KH. Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts on the relationship between religion and the state as well as Islamic education and Indonesian nationalism.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overview of Gus Dur

K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid who was familiarly called Gus Dur, born in Jombang, East Java, September 7, 1940 and died in Jakarta, December 30, 2009 at the age of 69 was an Indonesian Muslim figure and political leader who became the fourth President of Indonesia from 1999-2001. He succeeded President B.J. Habibie after being elected by the MPR in the 1999 elections. His administration was assisted by the National Unity Cabinet. Gus Dur's presidency began on October 20, 1999 and ended at a Special Session of the MPR in 2001. On July 23, 2001, his leadership was replaced by Megawati Soekarnoputri after her mandate was revoked by the MPR. Gus Dur is the former Chairman of the Tanfidziyah (Executive Board) of Nahdlatul Ulama and founder of the National Awakening Party (PKB).

⁵ Abdul Hamid, "The Role of Islamic Religious Education in Strengthening Nationalism in Indonesia", Journal of Islamic Religious Education, (2018), p. 20.

⁶ Bogdan and Taylor (1975: 5) define qualitative methodology as a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written words or writings from people and observed behavior. See in Lexy J. Moleong, Qualitative Research Methodology (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosda Karya, 2004), Cet. XVIII, p. 3.

Gus Dur is a phenomenal figure who has a unique and distinctive style, his thoughts and actions during his lifetime often cause controversy. Abdurrahman Wahid or familiar with the nickname Gus Dur, Gus is an honorary name given to the son of a kiai which means mas. Gus Dur's real name given by his father is Abdurrahman ad-Dakhil, while the name Wahid which is used as his last name is the name of his father, KH. Wahid Hasyim. In the view of many people Gus Dur is a "prince", this is based on his family background which is without gaps. Gus Dur is the grandson of KH. Hasyim Asy'ari and KH. Bisri Syansuri who are Islamic religious figures in Indonesia and are key figures in the establishment of NU.⁷

Gus Dur was born as the eldest of six siblings with a family background thick with pesantren traditions. Although close to pesantren culture, Gus Dur underwent an education characterized by a combination of traditional religious education and modern education.⁸ Gus Dur began his basic education at KRIS Elementary School in Central Jakarta. After the fourth grade, he moved to Matraman Perwari Elementary School near his new family home in Matraman, Central Jakarta. Since childhood he has studied Arabic and has enough knowledge to read the Qur'an. After completing his basic education, Gus Dur continued to SMEP in Yogyakarta in 1954. Like other pesantren families in general, Gus Dur also studied at the pesantren. At the pesantren, Gus Dur learned more about Islam including Islamic law, hadith and Arabic language. Gus Dur also studied at several different pesantren, namely Krapyak pesantren in Yogyakarta, Tegal Rejo in Magelang for three years under the care of Kiai Khudori. In 1959 he moved to the Tambakberas Jombang pesantren and studied for four years under KH. Wahab Chasbullah. After completing his education with the pesantren system, in 1964 Gus Dur went to Egypt and enrolled at al-Azhar University in Cairo.

He studied at the university for two years, but did not graduate because of the unfavorable situation. While Gus Dur was in Egypt he spent much of his time in the Egyptian national library as well as the libraries of the American and French embassies.⁹ He was also actively involved in various intellectual discussions and political and cultural debates, especially on the theme of the good and bad of socialism and nationalism. In 1966, Gus Dur enrolled in the Faculty of Arts at Baghdad University. There he studied Arabic literature and culture as well as European philosophy and social thought. Gus Dur also became chairman of the Indonesian Student Association in the

⁷ Greg Barton, "Understanding Abdurrahman Wahid", in the introduction to Abdurrahman Wahid, Prisma Pemikiran Gus Dur, (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2000), p. xxxvi.

⁸ John L. Espito and John O. Voll, Key Figures in Contemporary Islamic Movements, Transl. Sugeng Hariyanto, Sukono and Umi Rohimah, PT Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta, 2002, p. 256.

⁹ Ahmad Amir Aziz, Islamic Neo-Modernism in Indonesia, Central Ideas of Nurcholish Majid and Abdurrahman Wahid, PT. Rineka Cipta, Jakarta, 1999, p. 29.

Middle East from 1967-1970. After taking the exam, Gus Dur wanted to continue studying in Europe. However, due to constraints with European requirements for advanced study, starting in mid-1970-1971 Gus Dur spent his time traveling around Europe and learning French, English and German. To understand Gus Dur there are three keys that must be considered, liberalism, democracy, and universalism.¹⁰

Theories of Nationalism and Islamic Education

1. Indonesian Nationalism and the Definition of Nationalism

In Islamic history, Abdul Fattah explained that Nationalism cannot be separated from the birth of the Medina charter (*Mitsaq al-Madinah*).¹¹ While according to the scholars, the State of Indonesia can be categorized as *Dar Islam* (Islamic country), not *daulah Islamiyyah* (Islamic government), because the majority of the population in this region is Muslim and can implement Islamic shari'a freely and openly. Islam in the archipelago since the beginning of the entry, growth and development is Islam *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah*.¹² Indonesia is an entity that must be preserved.¹³ The issue of nationalism is always interesting to be discussed again and again.¹⁴

Nationalism comes from the word nation which is paired with "nation" in Indonesian.¹⁵ Nasion is the soul and spirit that form a common bond, both in terms of togetherness and in terms of sacrifice.¹⁶ Ethomologically, the word nationalism, the root word national, is taken from nation, which means a nation united by birth.¹⁷ Nationalism is an understanding that views the highest loyalty of individuals must be submitted to the national state, so there is a very deep feeling in a form of close ties to the homeland, with socio-cultural traditions and official leaders

¹⁰ Ma'mun Murod Al-Brebesy, *Uncovering the Political Thought of Gus Dur & Amien Rais* (Jakarta: PT.Raja Grafindo Persada, 1999), p. 87.

¹¹ Hamidulloh Ibdia, The Concept of "Hubbul Wathan Minal Iman in Islamic Education as the Spirit of Nationalism, *International Journal Ihya' Ulum Al-Din*", (Vol 19 N0 2, 2017), p. 250; Yusuf Suharto, *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah Jurisprudence and the Foundation of Amaliyah*, (Malang: Literasi Nusantara, 2019), p. 196.

¹² Abdurrahman Navis, et al, *Khazanah Aswaja understanding, practicing, and preaching Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah* (Surabaya: Aswaja NU Center PWNu East Java, 2016), iii.

¹³ A. Tirta Irawan, *Kusumaning Bhumi Purna Ngabekti; Legal Ideas of M. Yamin Mangkunegara: In the Book Moving to the End Remembering Muhammad Yamin 1965-2019*, (Yogyakarta: Rode Press, 2019), p. 199.

¹⁴ Yuni Satia Rahayu, *Questioning the Nationalism of the Educated; In the Book: The Youth of the Justice Struggle for the People*, (Yogyakarta: RODE 610, 2011), p. 81.

¹⁵ Adhyaksa Dault, *Islam and Nationalism Repositioning Universal Discourse in the National Context*, (Jakarta: PUSTAKA AL-KAUTSAR, 2005), p. 1.

¹⁶ Nengah Suastika, "Nationalism in the Perspective of Postmodernism, Poststructuralism and Postcolonialism" *Communication Media*, 1 (April 2012), p. 33.

¹⁷ Abdul Choliq Murod, "Nationalism in Islamic Perspective" *Journal of History CITRA LEKHA*, 2 (August 2011), p. 46; Suharlin Ode Bau, et al, "Strengthening the Values of Nationalism: A Study in History Learning" *Journal of History, Education and Humanities*, 1 (January-April 2022), p. 41.

in the region in the course of history with strength that fluctuates according to the development and dynamics of the times.¹⁸

Nationalism is an understanding that creates and maintains the sovereignty of a state (nation) by realizing a shared concept of identity for a group of people.¹⁹ Thus it can be concluded that nationalism is a sense of love possessed by a large group of people who are in a certain area towards their homeland and they have ideals and goals to be achieved together as a nation.

2. Islam Views Indonesian Nationalism

In the context of Indonesia, there are many paradigms that explain the concept of the relationship between religion and the Indonesian Nation-State. This can at least be mapped in three groups with their respective paradigms, namely groups with integral paradigms, secular paradigms and symbiotic paradigms. They are as follows:

- a. Integral Paradigm. This paradigm has a concept of the unity of religion and the state. In other words, the state is a political institution as well as a religious institution.
- b. Secular paradigm or radical idealism. This paradigm considers that religion and the state are separate. Therefore, the adherents of this understanding reject Islam as the basis of the state.
- c. Symbiotic or accommodative paradigm. This last paradigm has the concept that religion and the state have a reciprocal relationship that requires and supports each other.

Of the three types, Indonesia has so far preferred the last model, namely religion is expected to be able to support national life. This is because Indonesia is large and consists of various ethnicities, religions and cultures. If the diversity is not accommodated properly, it will potentially cause problems that will destroy the nation itself.²⁰

3. The Importance of Islamic Education as a Strengtheners of Indonesian Nationalism

Education is one of the things that is very concerned in the Islamic world. It is shown by the many recommendations to study as high as possible and seek knowledge as far as possible

¹⁸ Armaidly Armawi, *Nationalism in the Dynamics of National Resilience* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 2019), p. 1.

¹⁹ Heri Susanto, "Understanding Regional History and Perceptions of Cultural Diversity in Fostering Nationalism Attitudes (Correlation Study on History Education Students of FKIP Unlam)", *History and Culture: Journal of History, Culture, and Teaching*, Ninth Year, Number 1, (June, 2015), p. 1-2; Deny Setiawan, "Contribution of the Level of Understanding of the Concept of Archipelago to the Attitude of Nationalism and National Character", *Journal of Social Sciences*, 1 (June: 2017), p. 27.

²⁰ Abdul Khakim and Miftakhul Munir, "Strengthening Nationalism through Islamic religious education": *Journal of Islamic Studies* Vol 13 No 2, (2018), p. 6.

without getting tired.²¹ National education aims to realize Indonesian people who have faith and devotion.²² Therefore, the internalization of national values, especially related to NKRI and Pancasila as the final effort in the life of the nation and state is a must.²³

Islamic education is one of the largest educational schemes, which makes humans worthy of being presented with all their potential.²⁴ Islamic education is not only limited to the transfer of knowledge, but the essence of Islamic education is the transfer of value that has a world-afterlife dimension.²⁵ Therefore, Islamic education must lead to spiritual and physical goodness for individual happiness and community prosperity or in other words for the good of the world and the hereafter.²⁶

Islamic education is a system that is organized or established with the desire and intention to manifest the teachings and values of Islam in its educational activities.²⁷ As mentioned earlier, Islamic education is education that aims to form a complete Muslim person, develop all human potential, both physical and spiritual, foster a harmonious relationship between each person with God, humans and the universe.²⁸ Islamic education is not only delivered in formal Islamic teachings in religious schools/madrasah, but also through non-religious schools that are scattered throughout the world.²⁹

Islamic education itself is in accordance with human nature, as stated by Muhammad Munir Mursyi:³⁰

التَّبِيَّةُ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةُ تَرْبِيَةٌ لِفِطْرَةِ الْإِنْسَانِ لِأَنَّ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينُ الْفِطْرَةِ وَكُلُّ أَوْنِ الْفِطْرَةِ وَكُلًّا وَآمِرَةٌ وَنَوَاهِيَةٌ وَتَعَالِيمَةٌ
تَعْرِفَ بِهَذِهِ الْفِطْرَةَ

“Islamic education is the education of human nature because indeed Islam is the religion of nature and all its commands and prohibitions and obedience can lead to knowing this nature.”

²¹ Surya Sukti, “Gender Justice in Education, Leadership and Islamic Inheritance Rights”, *Journal of Religious and Community Studies* Vol. 18, No. 2, (December, 2022), p. 2.

²² Ida Farida Isnaeni, “Integrative Islamic Religious Education Learning Model”, *FITRAH: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 02 No. 1 (January-June, 2016), p. 1.

²³ Muhammad Al Barra, *The Manuscript of Kyai Abdul Wabab’s Struggle: Text Edition and Historiography Study of Nabdlatul Ulama; In Dissertation Summary*, (Bandung: Pajadjaran University, 2022), p. 83.

²⁴ Fawziyah Tansya et al, “Women’s Education in the Perspective of Islamic Education Philosophy”, *Munaddhomah: Journal of Islamic Education Management*, Volume 3, (4, 2022), p. 2.

²⁵ Suci Mahabbati, “The Reality of Nationalism in Islamic Education Institutions”: *Journal on education*, Vol 4 No 04, (2022), p. 1.

²⁶ Mahmud Yunus, *History of Islamic Education in Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Hidakarya Agung, 1985), p. 5-6.

²⁷ Ulfatul Qoyyimah, et al, *Islamic Education Thought in the Classical, Medieval and Modern Periods*, (Malang: Literacy Nusantara, 2020), p. 87.

²⁸ Haidar Putra Daulay, *Islamic Education in Philosophical Perspective*, (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2016), p. 18.

²⁹ Abdurrahman Wahid, *My Islam Your Islam Our Islam Religion Society State Democracy*, (Jakarta: Democracy Project, 2011), p. 245.

³⁰ Muhammad Munir Mursyi, *Ar-Tarbiyah al-Islamiyah*, (Cairo: Darul Kutub, 1977), p. 25.

Islamic Education in a technical sense is the process by which society through educational institutions (schools, colleges or other institutions) deliberately transforms its cultural heritage, namely knowledge, values and skills from generation to generation.³¹ So, Islamic education is a process of providing guidance, carried out consciously, Islamic education material is all values and aspects in Islam, both concerning aqidah, sharia (worship), as well as muamalah and morals.³²

Indonesian Nationalism in Gus Dur's Perspective

Islam according to Abdurrahman Wahid must appear as a unifying nation and protector of diversity and be able to answer the challenges of modernity so that Islam is more inclusive, tolerant, egalitarian and democratic. Universal and essential Islamic values take precedence over symbolic legal, Islam colors the life of the nation and state without carrying the frills of Islam but the spirit of Islam is integrated into the face of nationalism, such as the personalization of Islam, the values of democracy and human rights, humanist principles in the plurality of society, and the principles of justice and egalitarian.³³

The Indonesian nation has been released from the shackles of colonialism and western imperialism, and declared the status of an independent state marked by the reading of the proclamation by Soekarno accompanied by Moh. Hatta, on August 17, 1945. Now our nation is heading towards the era of globalization. An era that includes various kinds of technological sophistication, telecommunications and transportation, making it easier for each individual or group to move freely.³⁴ Gus Dur also confirmed the symptoms of a decline in the spirit of nationalism, especially in developing countries such as Indonesia. According to him, this is due to the unclear interpretation of the ideology owned by the state. This uncertainty then triggers people to look for alternative ideologies other than nationalism.

In the scope of Indonesia, he assessed that nationalism in the Pancasila ideology owned by Indonesia is currently not strong enough to support the running of the country. Many interpretations that do not satisfy all parties result in many problems such as the search for new

³¹ Apri Wulandari and Suyadi, "Development of Positive Emotions in Islamic Education from the Perspective of Neuroscience", Tadrib, *Journal of Islamic Religious Education*, Vol. V, No. 1, (June, 2019), p. 3.

³² Abu Muhammad Iqbal, *Islamic Education Thought Great Ideas of Muslim Scientists*, Cet. I; (Yogyakarta: Student Library, 2015), p. 566.

³³ Hamdani Khaerul Fikri, Analysis of Abdurrahman Wahid's Concept of Pluralism in the Perspective of Islamic Education, (Journal: Elhikam Volume VIII Number 1 January - June 2015), p. 56

³⁴ Sulaeman, "Global Economic Acceleration in Indonesia Around Reform", *Journal of History & Culture*, Eighth Year, Number 2, (December 2014), p. 221.

ideologies, including the idea to replace Pancasila with Islam.³⁵ This situation is different in developed countries, because they have a stable ideology.

This is in accordance with Abdurrahman Wahid's opinion that there is a large gap between state ideology and religious beliefs in developing countries. This is because the position of the state ideology itself is still not stable. Interpretations that are less than satisfactory to all parties that are carried out actually contain sharp potential in the future. *Some observers have inappropriately characterized the Indonesian state. For example, Manning Nash suggests that Malaysia and Indonesia are "Islamic nations but secular states"; even though both have different conceptions of nationhood.*³⁶ Similarly, Charles D. Smith observes that the Indonesian state is officially secular yet sponsors secular and religious educational systems and maintains secular and religious (shariah) courts.⁵⁰ Neither Nash nor Smith define the 'official secular state' in such a way that one can analyze the term and hence their remarks.

*The Indonesian state is certainly not a secular state, if one uses the definition of Donald Eugene Smith.*⁵¹ His definition of the secular state incorporates three distinct, yet interrelated, sets of relations among the state, the religions, and the individual. First, the secular state guarantees the individual freedom of religion. Second, the secular state treats individuals of all religions equally.³⁷ Third, the constitution of the secular state is not based on a particular religion, and does not encourage or discourage religious activities. However, Abdurrahman Wahid strongly disagrees with making religion the alternative ideology of the Indonesian nation. In this case he agrees with Maududi's opinion that Islam does not have a clear concept of nationalism, so there is no concept of an Islamic state. This situation actually benefits Islam, because it can be accepted anywhere.

*On the other hand, the Indonesian state is not an Islamic state by the standards of the Indo-Pakistani Muslim nationalist,*³⁸ *Abu Ala al-Maududi (1903-1979) nor is the Indonesian state an Islamic state by the standards of the Iranian constitution. This Iranian constitution states that the form of government of Iran is an Islamic Republic (article 1) and that the official religion is Islam (article 12).*³⁹ According to Gus Dur, there are two religious' orientations in Islam, namely formal and informal Islam.

³⁵ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Prisma Pemikiran Abdurrahman Wahid*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999), p. 77-78.

³⁶ Manning Nash, "Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia and Indonesia", in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, *Fundamentalisms Observed* (Chicago: The University Chicago Press, 1991), p. 692; Charles D. Smith, "Secularism", in John L. Esposito et al (eds), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 21.

³⁷ Donald Eugene Smith, *India as a Secular State*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 4; Marc Galanter, "Secularism East and West", in Rajeev Bhargava, *Secularism and Its Critics*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 234-5.

³⁸ Abu 'Ala al-Maududi, "Nationalism and Islam" in John J. Donohue and John L. Esposito (eds) *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 95-7.

³⁹ The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran of October 24, 1979 as Amended to July 28, 1989 in Ann Elizabeth Mayer, *Islam and Human Rights*, (Colorado and Oxford: Westview Press, 1999), p. 193-201.

- a. Formal Islam. In this formal teaching, Islam demands to be used as a state rule or law. So that the political ideal is to build a state based on Islamic law or the Islamic Caliphate. This religious formalization movement has three expressions. *First*, the establishment of many Islamic parties with Islamic principles, as a substitute for Pancasila. *Second*, demands for the implementation of Islamic shari'a, such as Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam and South Sulawesi. *Third*, the emergence of Muslim groups that are considered "hardliners".⁴⁰ Laskar Jihad, the Islamic Defenders Front, *Hizbut Tahrir* Indonesia, the Indonesian *Mujabidin* Council, and *Jama'ah Islamiyyah* are examples.
- b. Substantive Islam. This is a less formal Islam. Its adherents regard Islam as a religion with universal values that will lose its universality when formalized.

Like Gus Dur, this group considers that Islamic universalism must be manifested in the three pillars of its teachings, namely religious law (*fiqh*), faith (*tawhid*) and ethics (*akhlak*). However, *akhlak* is often narrowed down to mean morality and attitude to life. Yet it is the element that displays the greatest concern for the elements of humanity (*insaniyah*). In addition to rejecting the formalization of religion in state life, he also believes that the Indonesian state on the basis of Pancasila must be maintained. Gus Dur firmly rejects religious formalism in Indonesia. *The relationship between religion and the state in Indonesia concerns the position of the law, especially Islamic law within the state. In theory, the Islamic state is a nation-state ruled by Islamic law.*⁴¹ *The NU does not demand that Islamic law be applied in Indonesia; it holds that the principles of the law, not the law itself, are of paramount importance.*⁴²

Religious formalism requires a mutually reinforcing relationship between religious teachings and religious structures. This is because religious law in an Islamic state is a formalized and rigid set of legal decisions that automatically reject plurality. If this is allowed to continue, there will be violent conflicts between Muslims.⁴³ This thesis also applies to Indonesia, where the majority of the population is Muslim. Rejection will not only be done by non-Muslims but there will also be confusion and conflict in choosing Islam according to whose view? The conflict that occurred due to the actions of FPI in the Senayan incident on June 1, 2008 is one example.

The issue of religion as a trigger for conflict is also justified by Azyumardi Azra. This is because of the primordial nature of religion in humans. In other words, humans tend to be controlled by religious emotions. However, he advised that in looking at conflicts in societies that

⁴⁰ Abdurrahman Wahid, "Gus Dur meets Huntington", <http://islamlib.com/id/index.php?id=465&page=article>, retrieved on December 10, 2023.

⁴¹ See E.I.J. Rosenthal, *Islam and the Modern National State*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 89.

⁴² Abdurrahman Wahid, *National Reconciliation for a New Indonesia*, (Bangkok: Forum-Asia, AJI, and ANDI, 1999), p. 16.

⁴³ Abdurrahman Wahid, *My Islam Your Islam Our Islam*, (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2006), p. 76.

may be of different religions, he suggested to be more observant in looking at the igniting factor, because it is not necessarily religiously motivated. It can be concluded that the condition of Indonesian nationalism is at a very worrying stage. One of the causes is religious views and sectarianism. However, if viewed from another angle, religion will be able to restore nationalism as the main driver of the nation. This is because religion is like a double-edged knife. It can be both a problem and a solution to our nationality. Indonesia's plural nationality is prone to conflict, but by upholding the universal values that exist in every religion, the differences that exist will become an intact mosaic of the Indonesian Nation. And Islam as the majority religion would be sweet if it wanted to be a pioneer of togetherness by abandoning egoism and or chauvinism.

CONCLUSION

Education is the most effective institution and media in managing diversity. The function of education is nothing but an effort to transform the values of a nation. Efforts to instill national and human values must be pursued both in the family, community and educational environment. According to Abdurrahman Wahid, in dealing with the plurality of society, both religious and cultural plurality as well as ethnic plurality, is to place each community group equal to other groups in any case without discrimination and injustice. Every citizen has the same position to speak in public, work, worship, and get justice without distinguishing elements of religion, ethnicity, gender, and citizenship. Each community group has the same rights and obligations as citizens in developing Indonesia. With a sense of solidarity, openness, tolerance and dialogue we build a cultured and civilized Indonesia, safe and peaceful. According to Abdurrahman Wahid, the universal values of Islam are more important than the formalization of Islam which is only legal-symbolic, he tends to prioritize the substance of Islam because then the universal values of Islam not only belong to Muslims but also belong to non-Muslims such as: democracy, justice, equality.

The fundamental purpose of Islamic education with a national perspective or Islamic education as a strengthener of Indonesian nationalism is certainly to strive for the community to have an understanding that Indonesia is a state of religious society not a religious state and Gus Dur-style Islamic education needs to be re-presented as an effort to create a country that is beneficial for religion, mind, soul, property and offspring of the nation's generation and the people love their religion and country as they love themselves.

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