



Abdurrahman Wahid's View of Pancasila as the State's Basis

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ABSTRACT

The development of Islam has indeed become an integral part of Indonesian history. The debate on the relationship between religion and power has become an interesting discourse among religious observers and academics. If religion is treated as a constructive tool, then by itself religion can be used as a means to control all policies carried out by the authorities. Even during the colonial period, religion was used as a means of carrying out the "Ideology of Jihad" to fight the colonial expansion, even though at first it was only socio-cultural in nature. The goal to be achieved from writing this thesis is to find out how the relationship between religion and the state according to Abdurrahman Wahid. Knowing how Abdurrahman Wahid thought about Pancasila as the basis of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. During the New Order era, Pancasila really has a special place, within the Indonesian nation. In every corner of the country, the name Pancasila always echoes. In schools, in markets, in homes, and especially in government agencies. From big to small, young and old, all must understand Pancasilaism. This was widely advertised in order to create a stigma that the New Order had placed Pancasila as a tool for the political interests of the rulers, to protect the dictatorship's attitude, including "killing" political opponents who were not in line with it.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The existence of the basic state in the life of the nation state is a determinant for the journey of the nation itself (Mahendra, 2018). Indonesia, with its level of diversity, both in terms of culture, ethnicity, customs, and religion, with an exclusive purpose, namely being socio-religiously heterogeneous, requires a state basis that is able to protect this diversity.

The presence of Pancasila is considered a unifying tool and a miniature of the nation's culture which is the basis of the state and cannot be separated from the controversy (Maliki, nd). In recent times, most of the community groups still dream of the presence of a different basic state. At least, departing from the discourses and debates that had strengthened and peaked in the last ten years, namely the emergence of efforts to re-existence the Jakarta Charter,³ and efforts to implement trans-national ideologies. This implies that the growth of ego sectarianism and chauvinism will actually be able to deny the diversity that is the identity of Indonesia as a nation state (Month, 2019).

The dynamics of the discourse on the basic legalization of this country have been going on for a long time. If traced from the perspective of history, the fundamental and crucial discourse that is felt from these dynamics is how to agree on the basis of the state as a national commitment (Susanto, 2009). In the trial of the Investigating Agency for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence (BPUPKI), there were at least four main issues; the form of the state, the geography of the country, the philosophical basis of the state and issues related to the making of a constitution. The BPUPKI session which discussed the four issues went smoothly, with the exception of basic State issues (Ismail, 2017). When discussing the basic issues of the state (ideology) which are the main points in the life of the nation and state, the session became heated, because there was a long and tough debate,

The ideological debate between these two groups, related to the relationship between religion and the state, is a fundamental problem in the journey of the Indonesian nation (Basyir, 2016). The historical reality provides evidence of the existence of these ideological conflicts from the period of preparation for independence in 1945 until the 1950 Constituent Assembly. At the same time the debate was also taking place in the Constituent Assembly session about the state's foundation. In the trial there were three conflicting basic state drafts, namely; Islam, Pancasila, and Socio-Economic (Prihatin, 2016).

The development of Islam has indeed become an integral part of Indonesian history. The debate on the relationship between religion and power has become an interesting discourse among religious observers and academics (Qorib, Akrim, & Gunawan, 2019). If religion is treated as a constructive tool, then by itself religion can be used as a means to control all policies carried out by the authorities. Even during the colonial period, religion was used as a means of carrying out the "Ideology of Jihad" to fight the colonial expansion, even though at first it was only socio-cultural in nature (Ihsan, n.d.).

Since Islam first entered the archipelago - now called Indonesia, the kiai or ulama have occupied an important position and role in every socio-political change that has existed to date (Achidsti, 2014). During the spread of Islamic teachings in the early period, when the archipelago was gripped by the cruelty of the colonial system, during the struggle for and defending independence, and the era of filling independence in the movement of community development, the kiai or ulama were never absent from involvement in various manifestations of thought and movement. which is very plural and dynamic through education and political channels. This thought continues to this day, which is represented by the emergence of Islamic figures who support the integrity of the state based on Pancasila as the basis of the state for a pluralistic society both in terms of culture, ethnicity, and religion. One of the Islamic figures (ulama or kiai) is Abdurrahman Wahid (Halid, 2016).

Abdurrahman Wahid (hereinafter referred to as Gus Dur) is one of the kyai or ulama who played a role in the history of Indonesian politics, who is genetically also a descendant of the great kiai or ulema as well as an important figure in the Indonesian nation (Alvia, 2015). His father, A. Wahid Hasyim, took part in the formulation of Hadratussyaikh. As is well known, he was one of the figures who founded a religious organization called Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in 1926. Gus Dur's work in politics, as well as his thoughts and actions have been recognized as capable of evoking passion, as well as being good at dealing with the political vacuum that was created. Suharto regime, by establishing Fordem (Democracy Forum) which aims to provide political awareness and discourse on democracy (Subaidi, 2014).

The reasons that underlie the author in raising the theme of Gus Dur as a study in this thesis are based on several things; first, Gus Dur is a national figure with all the extraordinary attributes; second, the influence is quite large, and; third, the most important thing is his ideas and work in the life of the nation and state, which in this case is his idea of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the philosophy and basis of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, as well as his work to defend the philosophy and basis of the country (Amir & Saleh, 2013). As Gus Dur's statement was quoted by Douglas E. Ramage:

"Pancasila is a set of principles that are sustainable. It contains good ideas about state life that absolutely must be fought for. I will defend the pure Pancasila with my body and soul, despite the

fact that it is often castrated or manipulated, either by a handful of soldiers or by a group of Muslims.”

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This method is entirely a library research by doing an in-depth understanding of a problem. For this reason, the author collects data from books about Abdurrahman Wahid (GusDur) and books related to Pancasila. Especially related to this discussion. The sources of data in this study the authors divided into two categories. First, primary data such as: Building Democracy (1999); Gus Dur Responding to the Changing Times (2000); My Islam, Your Islam and Our Islam (2006); State, Religion and Culture Struggle (2001); and Abdurrahman Wahid's Collection of Columns and Articles During the Leaving Era (2004). All of these books are the works of Abdurrahman Wahid that have been recorded.

The two secondary data include: Greg Barton, Biography of Gus Dur The Authorized Biography of Abdurrahman Wahid, Translation; Lie Hua, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2004); Ahmad Bahar, Biography of Political Kiai Abdurrahman Wahid Ideas and Thoughts, (Jakarta: Bina Utama, 1999); Ellyasa KH Dharwis, (ed), Gus Dur, NU and Civil Society, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1997); and Einar Martahan Sitompul, NU and Pancasila, (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1996), in addition to other sources with intense discussion related to the topic of this thesis study.

The author uses a descriptive-analytical method,¹³ in which the author tries to describe and analyze Abdurrahman Wahid's view of Pancasila as the basis of the state. The steps are as follows: First; the author traces the perspective or writings of Abdurrahman Wahid in response to Pancasila. Second, to analyze Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts on this issue with the help of some supporting information. Third, to describe analytically how Abdurrahman Wahid views Pancasila as the basis of the state.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 Relations between Islam and the State; Reject the Formalization of Religion

Munawir Sadzali divides 3 (three) schools of views on the relationship between Islam and the State among Muslim thinkers. First, the sect which holds that Islam is not merely a religion in the Western sense, which only concerns the relationship between humans and God, on the contrary Islam is a perfect and complete religion with arrangements for all aspects of human life, including state life. Adherents of this view generally hold the opinion that Islam is a complete religion, including those regulated in terms of state administration or politics. Therefore, in a state, Muslims should return to the Islamic constitutional system, and do not need to imitate the Western constitutional system. According to this view, The Islamic state administration or political system that must be imitated is the system that has been implemented by the Prophet Muhammad SAW and Al-Khulafa Al-Rasyidun. The main characters of this school are Hasan Al-Bana, Sayid Qutb, Muhammad Rasyid Ridlo and Maulana AA Al Maududi.

Second, the sect that holds that Islam is a religion in the Western sense, which has nothing to do with state affairs. According to this school, the Prophet Muhammad SAW was just an ordinary apostle like the previous apostles, with the sole task of inviting people back to a noble life by upholding noble character. The Prophet never intended to establish or head a country. The leading figures of this school are Ali Abd al-Raziq and Thaha Husein

Third, the sect that rejects the opinion that Islam is a complete religion, in which there is a constitutional or political system. However, this school also rejects the notion that Islam is a religion in the Western sense which only regulates the relationship between humans and their God. According to this school, Islam does not provide a set of constitutional systems, but only provides a set of values for state life. The leading figure of this school is Muhammad Husein Haikal.

Meanwhile, M. Syafi'i Anwar divides the paradigm of Islamic political thought that is developing in the world into 2 (two); substantive-inclusive and legal-exclusive. According to M. Syafi'i Anwar, several prominent features of the inclusive substantive paradigm are; first, there is a high belief that the Qur'an as a holy book contains ethical aspects and moral guidelines for human life, but does not provide detailed discussion of every object of life's problems; second, the main mission of the Prophet SAW was not to build a kingdom or a state. But, like the prophets before him, preached

Islamic values and virtues. Thus, the mission of the Prophet Muhammad need not be interpreted as a step to build a particular state or system of government; third, the shari'ah is not restricted or bound by the state; fourth, The reflection of the supporters of the substantive-inclusive paradigm in politics is basically making a significant effort towards political thought and orientation which emphasizes the substantial manifestation of Islamic values in political activity. Not only in appearance, but also in the format of their thoughts and political institutions.

The legal-exclusive paradigm has the following characteristics; First, this paradigm believes that Islam is not only a religion, but also a complete legal system, a universal ideology and the most perfect system capable of solving all the problems of human life. Islam is an integrated totality of religion (din), state (daula) and world (dunya); second, in the political reality, the supporters of this paradigm oblige the Muslims to establish an Islamic state; third, the proponents of this paradigm believe that shari'ah must be the foundation and soul of the religion, the state and the world; Fourth, in the political context,

Based on the typology of thought mapping, M. Syafi'i Anwar places Gus Dur in the first typology group, substantive-inclusive. According to Gus Dur, Islam as a way of life (shari'ah) does not have a clear concept of the state. He put forward this conclusion after all his life he had searched in vain for the creature called the Islamic State. Gus Dur's answer was based on two things; first, Islam does not recognize a clear and definite view regarding the change of leader, and; second, there is no clarity on the Islamic concept of the size of the state.

Regarding the ambiguity of the concept of change of leader, according to Gus Dur, this is based on historical facts of the unclear concept of the change of leader from the Prophet Muhammad to Khulafa' Rasyidun. The Prophet was replaced by Abu Bakr through a process of deliberation and finally Abu Bakr all agreed to appoint Abu Bakr as caliph through Bai'at/prasetia. Substitution from Abu Bakr to Umar ibn Khathab was carried out through a direct appointment process. Before he died, Abu Bakr told the Muslims that Umar ibn Khathab should be appointed to replace him. When Umar was stabbed by Abu Lu'luah and was at the end of his life, he requested that an electoral college or ahl al-halli wa al-'aqd be formed, consisting of seven members. This council then agreed to appoint Uthman ibn 'Affan as caliph successor to Umar. Furthermore, Uthman ibn 'Affan was replaced by 'Ali ibn Abi Talib. At that time, Abu Sufyan was preparing his children and grandchildren to fill positions as Ali's successors until finally a royal system was implemented with a clan that lowered candidates for kings/sultans in Islam up to the Ottoman caliphate which, according to Gus Dur, by the adherents of " Political Islam" is considered a prototype of Islamic governance and should be adopted as an "Islamic formulation".

Likewise with the uncertainty regarding the size of the state in Islam. According to Gus Dur, the Prophet left Medina without any clarity regarding the form of government for the Muslims. In the time of Umar ibn Khathab, Islam was a world empire from the East coast of the Atlantic to Southeast Asia. In this case, there is no clear concept as to whether the Islamic state is global in size, just a nation (ethnic insight), nation-state (nation-state) or city state (city state). In this case, Gus Dur made an analogy with communism, which one takes precedence between socializing a nation-state with one ideology as the parent state, or waiting until the whole world is converted to Islam and then thinking about the form of the state and its ideology? Or in other words, according to Gus Dur,

The problem of the ambiguity of the concept of an Islamic state, according to Gus Dur, is very crucial because putting forward the idea of an Islamic state without any conceptual clarity means allowing the idea to be torn apart due to differences in the views of Islamic leaders themselves.

In this case, Gus Dur was among those who did not agree with the idea of establishing a state based on religion as its formal law. According to Gus Dur, religion has nothing to do with state issues at random; first, in the Qur'an there is no clear doctrine regarding the concept of the state; second, the behavior of the Prophet Muhammad himself which did not show a political character, but a moral character; third, the Prophet never formulated a definitive mechanism for his replacement.

In an interview with Tempo Magazine, Gus Dur explicitly said that in Islam, the state is law, al-hukm, and has absolutely no form of state. What is important for Islam is the ethics of society and community. This is important because Islam does not recognize the concept of government

definitively. The ambiguity of the issue of leadership succession as something important in government is not clearly mentioned in Islam. This is what underlies Gus Dur's idea to say that Islam has nothing to do with the state.

However, this does not mean that Gus Dur considers that Islam has absolutely no role in the administration of the state. For Gus Dur, Islam does not recognize the doctrine of the state, but as a religion, Islam is the foundation of the faith of the citizens and becomes a motivating element that gives spiritual color to their activities. This means that the unrelatedness of religion to the state does not mean that the basis for implementing the state may be separated from the religious spirit that gave it the motivation. This thought has a tendency towards political secularization which means more about the principle of distinguishing, not separating religion from politics.

Furthermore, Gus Dur said that the big political theorizing in Islam was not looking for an "Islamic" idealization of state forms, but instead emphasizing the use of existing state forms. Ibn Abi Rubai, Al Ghazali, Ibn Taimiyah, Ibn Khaldun and others clearly took gradual improvements to the existing concept of the state. Only Al-Farabi tried to compile a utopia entitled "The Main State" (Al-Madinah Al Fadhilah). Cases of irregularities in an existing state must be handled in a casuistic manner, not by rejecting the presence of the state and changing the form of government.

Islam, according to Gus Dur, prioritizes the function of the state rather than its form. In this case, Gus Dur quoted the word "Daula" in the Qur'an. According to Gus Dur, the meaning of the state from the word "Daula" in the Qur'an is not known. The word actually has another meaning, namely "circulating" and "revolving". According to Gus Dur, this shows that what is considered by the Qur'an is the economic system of a country, not the form of the state itself. Through this textual evidence, it can be concluded that Islam does not really view the importance of the form or concept of a state. In this case, according to Gus Dur, the priority is the function of the state.

3.2 Pancasila as the State Foundation; Not Against Islam

In Indonesia, as explained in Chapter III, the dynamics of the debate on the relationship between Religion and the State appeared to be dominant in national politics since the time of the formulation of the basic Indonesian state, before finally the legalization of Pancasila as the basis of an independent Indonesia. Regarding Gus Dur's view of Pancasila as the basis of the Republic of Indonesia, as quoted by Douglas E. Ramage, Gus Dur said that without Pancasila, the Republic of Indonesia would never exist. Furthermore, Gus Dur said that Pancasila is a series of principles that are sustainable. It contains a good idea about state life that absolutely must be fought for. Gus Dur said that he would defend the pure Pancasila with his body and soul, despite the fact that Pancasila was often castrated or manipulated.

However, it does not mean that there is a conflict between Islam and Pancasila. According to Gus Dur, the pattern of the relationship between Pancasila and Religion should not be described as a pattern that is polarized, but rather a healthy dialogue, which continues dynamically. As quoted by Listiyono Santoso, Gus Dur said that it is wrong to contradict Islam and Pancasila, because their roles actually complement, support and close each other. The immortality of Islam finds its concretization path through Pancasila, while the presence of Pancasila itself is also rooted in religious teachings. Thus, the relationship between religion and its adherents, according to Gus Dur, is not necessarily cut off because of the presence of Pancasila as the state ideology and way of life of the nation.

In the preface to the book by Einar Martahan Sitompul, Abdurrahman Wahid argues that Islam should be viewed as *aqidah* and Pancasila as the principle, and the two have a complementary and creative relationship, which will nourish both of them. In more detail about Religion and Pancasila, Abdurrahman Wahid emphasized the need for a distinction between the two, namely Islam as a religion and Pancasila as the state ideology. Pancasila is positioned as the constitutional foundation in the life of the nation and state, while Islam becomes the creed in the life of the Muslims, and that ideology as a constitutional basis is not contradicted by religion, does not seek a replacement and is not treated as a religion.

Religion (Islam) and Pancasila, according to Gus Dur, should not be completely identified because of their different functions. Pancasila serves as the foundation of life for the nation and state. In such circumstances, Pancasila must accommodate religious aspirations and support its position functionally. Religion is the foundation of the community's faith and becomes a motivating

element, which gives a spiritual color to their activities. Religion places all community activities at a level that is not merely incidental. In the most basic reference, according to Gus Dur, Pancasila functions as a regulator of human life as a collectivity called the nation, while religion gives the collectivity a social purpose. Without clear and tangible societal goals,

Abdurrahman Wahid also firmly believed that a government with the ideology of Pancasila was included in the category of "peaceful state" (dar al-Sulh), a conception of the state in Imam Syafi'i's vision of three types of state, Dar al-Islam, Dar al-Harb, Dar al Sulh (Islamic state, state of war, state of peace). Such a state must be maintained, because sharia in the form of religious law (fiqh) or community ethics is still implemented by Muslims in it, even though this is followed by legislative efforts in the form of state legislation. If the ethics of the Islamic community are carried out then, there is no other reason for Muslims than to maintain it as a religious obligation.

4. CONCLUSION

Some conclusions that the author can draw from the reviews in this thesis are as follows: First, Gus Dur's view on the relationship between religion (Islam) and the state is included in the substantive-inclusive paradigm category. Broadly speaking, this paradigm does not emphasize the formalization of religion in a state institution. Likewise with Gus Dur, Gus Dur emphasized the realization of religious values (Islam) in an existing state institution without having to wait for it to be institutionalized/formalized because based on the historical facts of Islam, the Prophet never recommended formalizing Islam or even establishing a religious state. Islam. Second, according to Gus Dur, the most suitable as the basis for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is Pancasila.

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