

Pancasila vis-à-vis Islam: The Views of the Four Indonesian Muslim Leaders

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Abstract

This paper addresses the concern over the sustainability of Indonesia as a nation, based on the unifying ideology of Pancasila. Specifically, the paper is concerned with the views and conduct of the Indonesian populace regarding the country's multifaceted diversity, as well as their perspective on the national ideology of Pancasila. Today, while some small groups consider Pancasila as an irrelevant national ideology, the majority of Indonesian people firmly believe that Pancasila has effectively served as a unifying force in the country. This is particularly evident when comparing Indonesia to other Muslim countries worldwide, which often grapple with disharmony, conflicts, civil wars, and even fragmentation. Their insights on the interplay between Pancasila and Islam have been a source of inspiration for the younger generation. Their contributions have played a significant role in establishing Pancasila as an ideology and a common platform, particularly in the face of attempts to undermine its principles. Even in the present day, their ideas continue to serve as a cohesive framework that unifies the diverse Indonesian population.

Keywords: Pancasila, Islam, four Muslim leaders, de-ideologization, nationalism, Indonesia.

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to examine some of the fundamental issues that have plagued Indonesia in recent times. Specifically, it will address the challenges associated with the emergence of a movement resulting from broad reforms that have allowed individuals to express their opinions and thoughts freely and without restriction. One consequence of this was the emergence of individuals who, on behalf of a certain segment of the nation, began to question the validity of Pancasila as ideology and a unifying framework in Indonesia, a country with a predominantly

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Muslim population. The emergence of this group during the reformation era was seen as a positive development. During the previous New Order era, these individuals were unable to express their opinions freely or engage in movements that represented their views due to the extraordinary pressure placed on them by the authorities. The newfound freedom provided by the reformation era allowed them to voice their opinions. In order to maintain stability and harmony in national life, the authorities had the power to suppress or even imprison these groups. Furthermore, for groups that openly sought to undermine the significance of Pancasila as the national ideology (de-ideologization efforts), the government would take even more repressive measures to address the situation.

In addition, there were frequent attempts to de-ideologize Pancasila. One group that was particularly active in advocating for the replacement of Indonesia's democratic system with a khilafah system was Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). Most members of the nation considered this action to be extremely dangerous because it could undermine the values and principles established by the founding fathers of the nation. Pancasila was chosen as the national ideology and common platform not only based on cultural and historical aspects, but also through a rigorous and lengthy process that included religious considerations from the very beginning of its formation. As such, the actions of HTI and its affiliates could be seen as betrayers (*bughat*) of the agreement (*ijtihad*) of the nation's founding fathers. Preventing the efforts to de-ideologize Pancasila is a collective responsibility. In this regard, this study is of great importance as a proactive measure based on the thoughts, ideas, and movements carried out by Muslim leaders, including four Indonesian Muslim leaders (K.H. Achmad Siddiq, K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid [Gus Dur], Dr. Harun Nasution, and Nurcholish Madjid) who have served as inspiration for the next generation to consistently uphold the common agreement to build a better, advanced, fair, and prosperous nation, as a shared ideal. The four figures are commonly known for their progressive and responsive thinking, which has led many people in Indonesia to refer to them as liberal thinkers.

The Dynamics of Pancasila in relation to Islam as an Ideology and Common Platform in Indonesia

Historically, during the trial of *Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia [BPUPKI]* (Business Preparatory Body of the Indonesian Independence Committee) on 29 April 1945, which took place while the Japanese government prepared for Indonesian independence, there have been various frictions, conflicts, differences of viewpoints, and political and ideological conflicts among different parts of Indonesian society. The debate centered around what would become the foundation of the Indonesian state after independence, a question first raised by Dr. KRT. Radjiman Wedyodiningrat to President Soekarno. In response to this question,

Soekarno delivered a speech on June 1, 1945, which has come to be known as “The Birth of Pancasila.” During his speech, Soekarno proposed the fundamental principles upon which the Indonesian state should be built. These principles included Indonesian nationalism, internationalism or humanity, consensus-building or democracy on a representative and consultative basis, social welfare, and belief in the One Supreme God (Soekarno, 1961, 21).

In addition to the five principles proposed by Soekarno during his speech on June 1, 1945, another set of principles was put forth by Muhammad Yamin on May 29, 1945, prior to the BPUPKI trial. Yamin’s proposed principles included *Peri Kebangsaan* (Nationalism), *Peri Kemanusiaan* (Humanity), *Peri Ketuhanan* (Godliness), *Peri Kerakyatan* (Democracy), and *Kesejahteraan Rakyat* (People’s Welfare). During the BPUPKI trial on May 31, 1945, Yamin noted that there were two competing ideologies being proposed. One was put forth by religious experts who advised that Indonesia should be established as an Islamic state, while the other, as suggested by Muhamad Hatta, called for the formation of a national unity state that separated state affairs from religious affairs (Islam), which meant that it would not be an Islamic state.

As a result, Prawoto Mangkusasmito issued a statement indicating that the draft of the first volume of the 1945 Constitution, compiled by M. Yamin, included only three speeches that were deemed important in representing secular nationalism. These speeches were given by Soekarno on June 1, 1945, M. Yamin on May 29, 1945, and Supomo on May 31, 1945. However, none of the speeches given by Muslim-nationalist members were included in the volume (Mangkusasmito 1970, 12). This signaled tensions in the political treatment of Muslim-nationalists in comparison to secularist-nationalists. This conflict between the two groups continued until the mid-1950s (Wadayati 2009, 216).

Following heated debates among various groups over the dynamics of national politics, efforts were made to mediate the tensions that had emerged. This led to the formation of a team of nine members, consisting of Soekarno, M. Hatta, A. Subarjo, M. Yamin, and A.A. Maramis from secularists-nationalists, and Agus Salim, A. Wahid Hasyim, Abikusno, and Abdul Kahar Muzakir from the Muslim-nationalist group. After lengthy debates, a compromise was finally reached on June 22, 1945. It was agreed that the basis of the Indonesian state would be Pancasila (the five principles), with the addition of seven words to the first principle, namely: *Godhead with the obligation to carry out the Islamic shari’a for its adherents*. The other principles remained the same as the Pancasila that is recognized today.

Following this agreement, the BPUPKI trial continued with the formation of a Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence (*Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* or PPKI), which consisted of fifteen members. The Muslim-nationalist group in the PPKI was only represented by two individuals, namely Ki Bagus

Hadikusumo and K.H. A. Wahid Hasyim. As a result, the representation of Islamic interests was weakened, and the group consistently faced setbacks during the trial. In fact, one day after the proclamation of independence, the seven words that had been added in the Jakarta Charter were removed. This removal indicates a political setback for Islam in the establishment of the Pancasila state foundation (Albatawi and Munir 2016, 48). While this reality may be difficult to accept, it is clear that secular nationalists were more politically adept than their Muslim-nationalist counterparts.

Deliar Noer believed that Muslim-nationalists responded passively to the removal of the seven words from the Jakarta Charter and did not protest against it. However, six months after the proclamation of Indonesian independence, the Muslim group proposed holding a general election that would be open to all parties (nationalist groups). The Muslim group was hopeful that the proclamation of independence would be followed by stabilization, which would be achieved through the upcoming elections. The Muslim group was highly optimistic that they would be able to win the election, because the majority of Indonesia's population was Muslim (Noer 1996, 41-43).

However, the optimistic predictions of the Muslim group were proven wrong as they suffered a political defeat in the general elections that were held. In the post-independence era, the opposition between the Muslim and secular groups continued, as seen during the Constituent Assembly session where Muslims proposed "Islam as the basis of the state." However, after the votes were counted, it was revealed that fifty-two percent of the Constituent Assembly members supported Pancasila as the state's ideology, while only forty-eight percent supported Islam as the basis of the state. This outcome demonstrated the defeat of the Muslim group in national politics at that time.

M. Natsir was one of the leaders of Islamic nationalist groups who actively advocated for Islamic ideology to be adopted as the basis of the state. According to Natsir, Pancasila was based on secularist ideas and concepts, even though it included the concept of "Godhead" (*tawhid*). This precept did not originate from God's revelation, which meant that Pancasila was a construction within the Indonesian community (Maarif 1985, 127). Furthermore, Natsir argued that since the majority of Indonesian people were Muslim, it was more appropriate to use Islam as the basis of the state, rather than Pancasila. His opinion continued to receive appreciation and support, particularly from Muslim figures, including: Kasman Singodimejo (Masyumi), K.H. Masykur, and K.H. Saefuddin Zuhri (NU) (Maarif 1985, 158-60). However, over time, Natsir and other Muslim figures eventually came to accept Pancasila as the official ideology of the Indonesian nation.

During the Nuzul Qur'an celebration in Ramadan 1373 AH/ May 1954 CE, Natsir stated that "in the view of the Qur'an, Pancasila will flourish, and while they are not identical, they are not contradictory either." He further added, "The formulation of Pancasila was the result of deliberation among the leaders during

the struggle for independence, which culminated in 1945. In such circumstances, I believe that the gathered leaders, most of whom were Muslim, should have ensured that the formulation of Pancasila was not contrary to the principles and teachings of Islam” (Natsir 2001, 162). Natsir’s statement emphasized that Pancasila is not in conflict with Islamic teachings, and that they can go hand in hand. How could the teachings of monotheism contradict the concept of “Believe in the One Supreme God”? How could the teachings of the Qur’an contradict the concept of “Social Justice”? How could the Qur’anic teachings against despotism and the feudalism system be in conflict with the concept of “Democracy”? How could the Qur’an, which teaches *ishlah bayn al-nas* (doing good to fellow humans) be in conflict with the concept of “humanity”? Finally, how could the Qur’an that teaches the recognition of nations on the face of the earth be contrary to the concept of “nationality”? (Natsir 2001, 161-62).

After a long struggle that lasted three days, from May 29 to June 1, 1945, the Indonesian people formulated and chose Pancasila as the nation’s ideology. This process was considered complete when Soekarno (Bung Karno) declared and ratified Pancasila as the basis of the independent Indonesian state on August 18, 1945, and included it in the 1945 Constitution (Sampono, 2015). Thus, after a long and arduous historical process that involved exploring the potential of the community and engaging in fierce debates, a final agreement was reached, which must be respected, safeguarded, and appreciated. This agreement must be consistently and conscientiously implemented in the life of the community, nation, and state on Indonesian land. As a result of this agreement, the Indonesian nation can now live side by side, work together, coexist peacefully in their daily lives, study in the same institutions, greet each other, help each other, participate in the same clubs and organizations, and work together to uphold the values and principles that they love as a nation and a country. Even during the colonial period, they fought together to drive out the invaders from their homeland (Qomar 2012, 16).

The Views of Indonesian Muslim Leaders on the Relationship between Pancasila and Islam and Their Efforts to Prevent the De-Ideologization of Pancasila

1. K.H. Achmad Siddiq

K.H. Achmad Siddiq was a charismatic cleric and a prominent figure in the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) who was known for his progressive and innovative ideas (Noeh and Mastuki, 1999; *AULA* 1991). Kyai Siddiq’s significant contribution can be seen in his genuine thoughts that emerged during a prevalent issue in the 1980s, namely the misinterpretation of Pancasila as a principle for thinking and acting in Indonesian national identity. Kyai Siddiq emerged as a scholar who was exceptionally skilled in providing logical arguments from both a religious and socio-political perspective. At

that time, the situation was not conducive for Muslims who were suspicious of the plans of the New Order government (*Orba/Orde Baru*) to impose Pancasila as the sole guiding principle for social and political organizations. Kyai Siddiq emerged at the right time and played a crucial role in convincing the NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama*) to explicitly accept Pancasila as a guiding principle in their organization, which was later followed by other religious organizations.

Among the arguments put forward by Kyai Siddiq was that “the acceptance of Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state is based on two principles: firstly, Indonesian Muslims, through their leaders, actively participate in formulating and agreeing to establish the Constitution of this country; and secondly, the noble values of Pancasila formulated in the opening of the 1945 Constitution to become the State Foundation can be agreed and justified in the Islamic view. Therefore, Indonesian Muslims, together with all Indonesian people, have the responsibility to fulfill and implement the collective agreement” (Siddiq 1985, 12; Fakla AS. 1995, 173-74).

Kyai Siddiq believed that religion and Pancasila could coexist harmoniously and support each other, rather than being contradictory or confrontational. He believed that both should be jointly carried out and practiced. Kyai Siddiq asserted that there was no need to choose one and discard the other. Rather, both religion and Pancasila should be embraced and practiced together. In this context, he supported the government’s policy that Pancasila should not be turned into a religion, and that religion should not be turned into Pancasila (Siddiq 1985, 14), although, in practice, this was not an easy task.¹ He likens this to a “concoction, there may be differences in the role of its each ingredient, but the five herbs must be present, there should not be anyone left behind, let alone discarded” (Siddiq 1970, 4).

Kyai Siddiq’s view of the dialectical relationship of Pancasila and Islam, which later became the official decision of NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama*) in the National Conference (*Musyawahar Nasional*) ‘*alim ulama* in Situbondo in 1983 concerning the acceptance of Pancasila, was the embodiment of values and principles in ‘*aqeedah* (*tawhid*), shari’ah, and Islamic morality of *Ahlussunnah wal Jama’ah*. Therefore, the implementation of Pancasila is considered the same as the implementation of *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* Islamic shari’ah. Consequently, NU was obliged to safeguard the correct understanding and implementation of Pancasila purely and consequently by all parties. Thus, there will no need for any more aspirations to establish an Islamic State (*dar al-Islam*), because the values and aspirations of Islam have been covered in Pancasila (Siraj 2014, 132-33). For this reason, the NU kyai/ulama did not hesitate in accepting Pancasila as a principle of the state, not a principle of religion (Islam)

1.. The discourse on the relationship between Islam and the state cannot be separated from the basic concepts of Islam and the state. As a result, there were differences of opinion regarding the most suitable form of state ideology for the Indonesian context, which became a prominent issue in the early days of Indonesian independence. For more on this topic, see Supriadi 2015.

(Ghazali 2015, 109-10). In subsequent developments, Pancasila increasingly found momentum to become the ideology and common platform of the Indonesian people. This also confirms that all efforts to degrade and de-ideologize it were actions that were contrary to the noble agreement of the founding fathers and could be considered as treason against the state and nation.

2. K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid

K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid, also known as Gus Dur, was a remarkable figure who was not only well-known in Indonesia but also in the international community (Barton 2010, 25-26). His views on the relationship between Islam and Pancasila can be traced back to his religious understanding, which tended to be accommodative and egalitarian. Gus Dur believed that Islam does not have a clear or vague concept of an Islamic state, and the idea has never been explicitly mentioned in the sacred texts of the Qur'an and Hadith. Therefore, Gus Dur believed that an Islamic state was an illusion (Wahid 2009). Gus Dur's thoughts on this matter were influenced by the Muslim thinker Ali Abdel Raziq, who argued in his book *al-Islam wa Qawa'idu al-Sulthanan* that, firstly, the Quran does not contain the doctrine of an Islamic state; secondly, Prophet Muhammad did not display political character in his daily life, but rather moral character; and thirdly, the Prophet never definitively formulated a mechanism for replacing his position as head of state (Wahid 2000, 1).

Gus Dur also quoted the classical fiqh literature, which does not have a rigid discussion about the ideal form and system of the state. The conception of fiqh as described by al-Mawardi, al-Ghazali, ibn Khaldun, and others may be an important example in this connection. Only al-Farabi presented a utopical account of the "virtuous city" (*al-madinat al-fadila*) (Wahid 1989, 10). In that connection, Gus Dur argued that the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia (*Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia [NKRI]*) was not a state of war (*dar al-harb*), neither an Islamic state (*dar al-Islam*), but a peaceful country (*dar al-shulh/al-salam*), which put forward peace for the universe, especially for the people of Indonesia. This was because Indonesia, as a state, still upheld Islamic shari'a as a value system in the life of society and the nation, even though it was not formally legalized. The spirit of Islamic teachings themselves promoted love, peace, harmony, justice, and prosperity for all.

3. Harun Nasution

In academic circles in Indonesia, Harun Nasution was known for breaking down the static order of thought in academia, particularly in Islamic religious campuses (*PTKI [Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam]/Islamic Higher Education*). Harun Nasution was a prominent Muslim intellectual whose influence extended beyond Indonesian academia and into the international sphere due to his contributions to the study of Islamic thought, particularly in the fields of theology and philosophy.

Harun Nasution believed that the values embodied in each precept of Pancasila cannot contradict or clash with the values and teachings of Islam (the Qur'an). In fact, both can complement each other (Nasution 1965). Therefore, Pancasila has been a precise and effective national ideology in regulating social relations among the people of Indonesia, and therefore, it does not require any further modification or alteration. The agreement reached by the founding fathers on this matter was genuine and has proven to be very beneficial for the national life of Indonesia. Harun's thoughts on the relationship between Pancasila and Islam found momentum in the current context when Indonesia is confronted with demands by a group of people who questioned Pancasila as an ideology, particularly social political groups/activists who called for change with the *khilafah* system from HTI (*Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia*) and its affiliates.

Harun Nasution recognized that the establishment of Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian nation was the result of *ijtihad*. However, he believed that the significance of Pancasila was not just the product of that *ijtihad*, but rather the dynamic and consequential impact it had on society, nation, and state in the following period. Various sorts of conflicts and intrigues that colored the formation of the Pancasila as an ideology were over, and this was the result of the consensus that is ideal for the sake of harmony, justice, and prosperity of the nation. As citizens of Indonesia, it is our obligation to uphold the consensus and implement it properly and consistently.

4. Nurcholish Madjid

Nurcholish Madjid (Cak Nur) is an important figure in the renewal of Islamic thought in Indonesia. He is widely recognized as a reformer of Islamic thought and a prominent Indonesian Muslim scholar (Kuntowijoyo 2003, 18). Cak Nur has been a source of inspiration for many young Islamic thinkers and activists, especially those involved in campus activism within Islamic colleges, in renewing Islamic thought in Indonesia.

Cak Nur is often referred to as a key figure in promoting pluralism in Indonesia, along with other notable figures such as Gus Dur. In the 1960s, Cak Nur sparked controversy by suggesting that Pancasila, as an open ideology, did not need to be formulated in detail once for all, as such an approach would render it outdated (Gaus AF 2010, 262). Cak Nur's argument was based on the idea that modern life, both present and future, requires a flexible and open-minded approach to democracy in order to effectively address new and emerging challenges. According to Cak Nur, Pancasila should not be interpreted solely by an autonomous body that does not provide public space for interpretation. He believed that Indonesia, as a pluralistic country, must be prepared to face an increasingly modern world (Rachman 2006,

2298). In this context, Cak Nur believes that open-mindedness is necessary for understanding Pancasila (Na'im 2015, 441-42).

Cak Nur viewed Pancasila as *kalima sawà*, which is translated to a common platform (or a common word). He argued that the inclusion of the term *sawà* in Pancasila was historically proven by the teachings and behavior of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in building a pluralistic and multicultural society in Medina. The Medina Charter (*Shahifa Madina*) is considered by many to be the most authentic document in the history of the ummah (people) civilization, as it regulated the relationship between diverse human beings in a pluralistic and inclusive manner. The Medina Charter, which was established by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) with the diverse (*bhinneka*) community of Medina, has become a normative foundation for Muslims throughout the world, and even a reference for other religious communities. As a consequence, Muslims in Indonesia must be able to live alongside and respect other religions and beliefs. In this context, Pancasila serves as a similar document to the Medina Charter, established by the Prophet Muhammad as an authentic document in realizing the unity of the nation. Cak Nur (2018) asserted that Pancasila and Islam are not in conflict, but rather can work together in harmony.

Cak Nur believed that Pancasila was the right choice, as it was a consensus agreed upon by all members of the nation. It was not only the content of Pancasila, but also its position as *kalima sawà*, that made it suitable for promoting unity and harmony among the diverse religions within the nation. The inclusion of the belief in "God Almighty" in the first precept of Pancasila is significant, particularly when considered alongside the other four precepts. On the basis of *kalima sawà*, Muslims and followers of other religions could cooperate in the interests of the wider community (Madjid 2015, 130)

The Application of the Views of the Four Muslim Leaders to the Efforts for De-Ideologizing Pancasila

K.H. Achmad Siddiq, K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), Harun Nasution, and Nurcholish Madjid were influential Muslim figures who played key roles in the development of Islamic thought in Indonesia. Their contributions were not limited to the national level, but also extended to global issues. These Muslim intellectuals have been a source of inspiration for the next generation of thinkers. Despite coming from different scholarly and social backgrounds, they were united in their goal of promoting Islamic thought in Indonesia. Kyai Siddiq and Gus Dur shared many similarities, as both were born and raised within the *pesantren* environment and were the sons of prominent Indonesian ulama. They were instrumental in founding NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama*), the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, and were also national leaders in defending the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

Harun Nasution and Nurcholish Madjid (Cak Nur) shared similar experiences and familial and educational backgrounds, although there were some differences between them. As Muslim leaders, they were both instrumental in shaping Islamic thought in Indonesia and promoting a pluralistic and inclusive society. Despite coming from socially different areas with distinct traditions, Harun Nasution and Nurcholish Madjid (Cak Nur) shared a critical and socially sensitive approach in their intellectual journey. Their unique backgrounds and experiences contributed to the formation of their individual characters and perspectives. In general, these four Muslim leaders have been divided into two categories based on their views: intellectual scholars and Muslim scholars. However, in subsequent developments, they have often been referred to as liberal Muslim figures in Indonesia.

The first category is the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) group, which includes Kyai Siddiq and Gus Dur, both of whom were leaders in NU (Nahdlatul Ulama). They were respected figures within the *pesantren* and Nahdliyyin communities, not only due to their ancestral charisma as prominent NU scholars and figures, but also because of their intellectual expertise in articulating Islamic teachings in a more empirical manner. They were able to address issues related to social, political, economic, cultural, educational, and other domains, while also possessing personal qualities such as politeness, honesty, communicativeness, and accommodation of differences. These qualities helped them to effectively deal with various problems facing the people.

Kyai Siddiq was known as a NU scholar with a modern and progressive outlook, particularly with regard to the changes he introduced. He sought to transform the traditional order that had been prevalent in *pesantren*, which tended to be static and less critical. Kyai Siddiq's acceptance of Pancasila as an ideology and a final decision for all Indonesians was a revolutionary idea that still has a profound impact on society, nation, and state. His statement has had significant implications in establishing a stable and just state order in Indonesia. Kyai Siddiq's decision had another important implication: it led NU to further align itself with the ideology of Pancasila. When Pancasila was threatened or undermined by certain groups or individuals, NU and other autonomous bodies were always ready to defend and protect it, often leading the way in this effort. One group that actively sought to replace the Pancasila ideology was HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia), which was subsequently dissolved by the Joko Widodo government in 2017.

Unlike Kyai Siddiq, Gus Dur had a unique educational background that combined both *pesantren* and Western/European influences. He was supported by his intelligence, vast reading material, and associations with various world leaders, which helped him to become not only an intellectual, but also a distinguished scholar and respected Indonesian culturalist. Gus Dur's bold and unconventional ideas often

sparked controversy among the people of Indonesia. However, even his eccentric ideas also served as an inspiration and made him an idol for the Nahdliyyin youth. This led to the emergence of a group called the “Gusdurians” who were inspired by his teachings. The Gusdurians have continued to preserve and develop Gus Dur’s ideas, particularly his views on democracy and pluralism. According to Mujamil, Gus Dur was a prominent NU scholar who played a significant role in developing new insights among NUs. Syafi’i Anwar, as quoted by Mujamil, also noted that Gus Dur’s liberal-progressive ideas inspired and motivated the emerging intellectual youth within NU (Qomar 2002, 264).

Similarly, Gus Dur’s ideas on the relationship between religion and the state, particularly in the Indonesian context, emphasized the completion of the dialectical relationship between Pancasila and Islam. As mentioned earlier, he believed that there was no longer any need to debate the position of Pancasila as the common ideology and platform for managing the order of life in the community and nation. Gus Dur’s thoughts certainly had significant implications for the development of the concept of statehood in religious communities in Indonesia. The Gusdurian movement spread throughout the country and contributed to the development of Gus Dur’s progressive ideas, while still adhering to the *ijtihad* of his predecessors, including Kyai Siddiq and Gus Dur. They emphasized that Pancasila was the final decision of the founding fathers and did not require further modification.¹ This was done with the aim of promoting national unity within the framework of the NKRI (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia). Despite Gus Dur’s passing, his ideas continue to be a source of discussion and inspiration for the next generation, as they work towards building a plural and multicultural nation.

The second category is the academic group, which includes Harun Nasution (Harun) and Nurcholish Madjid (Cak Nur). They were campus academics who had a significant impact on almost all Islamic Religious Colleges (*Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam* [PTKI]) in Indonesia. Their influence was evident in the hearts of their students, who were deeply inspired by their teachings and guidance. As pioneers in the renewal of Islamic thought on their respective campuses, they mentored many students and left a lasting imprint on their intellectual development. This was not surprising, given that the number of postgraduate programs in the 1980s was much less than what is available today. At that time, only the following programs were available: IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, IAIN Alaudin Makassar, IAIN Imam Bonjol Padang, and IAIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh. The director of the Postgraduate program was Harun Nasution, while Cak Nur became a lecturer at various Islamic colleges.

1. In that context, Gus Dur was always consistent in disagreeing with certain parties who wished to make Indonesia an Islamic state (*dar al-Islam*), and he strongly refused (Wahid 2009).

Harun Nasution's view that Pancasila contained values that were not in conflict with Islamic teachings, and could even complement each other, became a normative foundation in Indonesian national life. The founding fathers' decision to choose each item contained in Pancasila as the ideology and common platform for regulating the life of the Indonesian people was considered final and correct. From the first principle to the fifth, these values do not require any further modification, as they have proven to be highly beneficial in promoting harmony in Indonesia's pluralistic society. Harun Nasution emphasized the importance of upholding and applying the values of Pancasila in a responsible and consistent manner. His genuine thoughts on the relationship between Pancasila and Islam in Indonesia have had significant implications through the many students he mentored, who have sought to understand and implement these ideas in Indonesian national life.

Harun's views also had implications for the existence of campuses that were not aligned with the state's mission to uphold the values of Pancasila. Recent phenomena suggest that there are some campuses attempting to diminish, delegitimize, and de-ideologize the value of Pancasila by advocating for the replacement of the *khilafah* system. Several research reports have indicated that certain campuses may be facilitating the emergence of radical ideas¹ as a basis for political movements within the campus. These movements are often disguised as campus *da'wah* initiatives, carried out through student organizations such as the Campus *Da'wah* Institution (LDK). Their ultimate goal is to replace the democratic system of Pancasila with the *khilafah* system. Therefore, Harun's conception remains highly relevant and serves as a rationale for the importance of safeguarding the values contained in Pancasila. The *khilafah* system, both historically and theologically, is not found in Islam and has the potential to endanger the continuity of Indonesia's successful national life, and even threaten the unity and integrity of the NKRI.

Just like Harun albeit in different way, Cak Nur tried to fortify the de-ideologization of *Pancasila* by continuing to instill the values of Pancasila in all Indonesian children. According to Cak Nur, as explained above, Pancasila serves as a common platform within Islamic teachings. None of the values expressed and implied in each principle of Pancasila is in conflict with Islam, nor with other religions in Indonesia.

Cak Nur's view implies that Pancasila is not a sacred concept that cannot be reinterpreted in light of changing times. In the current modern context, contextual interpretation of Pancasila is necessary, in order to ensure that its values remain relevant and applicable to contemporary society. If properly understood and correctly implemented by the citizens, Pancasila can continue to be updated and

1. According to Saifudin's research, as quoted by M. Rois Abin (2017, 26), radical movements have emerged in several well-known campuses, such as Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) in Yogyakarta, Universitas Indonesia (UI) in Jakarta, Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB) in Bogor, Universitas Airlangga (UNAIR) in Surabaya, and Universitas Diponegoro (UNDIP) in Semarang.

remain relevant to the changing times. This will ensure that the values included in Pancasila can be practiced and contribute to a better national life. Cak Nur's view on the importance of "Pancasila as an open ideology" was particularly relevant during the period of reform, when Indonesians were able to emerge from the pressure of the authoritarian New Order regime and begin to envision a more open and democratic society. This period of transition allowed Indonesians to break free from the fear of potential danger and to explore new ideas and interpretations of Pancasila. As a result, all components of society were able to interpret Pancasila in accordance with the context of the times, without disregarding the fundamental values that are inherent to Pancasila.

Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the four Indonesian Muslim figures—K.H. Achmad Siddiq, K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid, Prof. Dr. Harun Nasution, and Prof. Dr. Nurcholish Madjid—share a consistent view regarding the relationship between Pancasila and Islam. Pancasila and Islam cannot be seen as contradictory or in opposition to each other, as they both emerged from a diverse range of psychological, theological, historical, and socio-cultural factors that are fundamental to the Indonesian nation.

It is important to remember that during the formation of Pancasila, the founding fathers had to consider not only the diverse ethnic groups, religions, and beliefs of the Indonesian people, but also the various understandings, cultures, and languages that were present at the time. The *ijtihad* of the founders of the nation was based on careful consideration, which led to the selection and agreement upon Pancasila as the national ideology and common platform for Indonesian national life. Therefore, there is no need to tamper with Pancasila or replace it with other ideologies that may not be in line with the diverse psychological, historical, and socio-cultural aspects of the Indonesian people, both now and in the future. The final decision was made through a joint consensus and must be followed and implemented responsibly and consistently. The views of the four leaders have had a strong influence on the regulation of the nation's way of life in subsequent periods, during which Pancasila has become not only an ideology but also a guiding spirit to lead Indonesia towards becoming a developed, civilized, just, and prosperous nation.

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