



Choice Of Nation State And The Implications For Indonesian Islam

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Abstract

This study examines the opposition of some Indonesian Muslims to the nation-state, which they consider a failure because it does not utilize Islam or Islamic law as the foundation of the state. Consequently, Pancasila is questioned as an ideology. This qualitative research used interviews and observations, using primary data from organizational archives and government policies, as well as secondary data from Islamic political studies. The results indicate that development programs are perceived as marginalizing Islamic values and limiting the implementation of Islamic law, thus creating religious discomfort. In conclusion, this opposition reflects the incomplete transition of some Muslims from the idea of a caliphate to a nation-state. In a pluralistic nation-state, Muslims are required to accept diversity and equality of all components of society without discrimination

Keywords: Opposition, inability to move forward, Islamic caliphate, Nation-State.

Introduction

The Indonesian nation since its independence in 1945 until now has been 75 years old. Facts on the ground show that many achievements have been made by state administrators in implementing the mandate of the 1945 constitution, namely advancing the life of the nation and improving general welfare, such as in education, the economy and democratic politics (Adryamarthanino et al. 2022). But on the other hand, data in the field shows that many things have not been achieved as mandated in the 1945 Constitution; Poverty is still a burden on the nation, the upholding of justice and equal distribution of development results must continue to be fought for. Of course, that is a common agenda for future development (Adryamarthanino et al. 2022).

This article will explain issues related to Islam and nationality. One component of the Indonesian nation is the Muslim Ummah. We note together that Indonesian Muslims with their various qualities are the largest component of the Indonesian nation. In its history, Indonesian Muslims as a whole have recorded themselves as major contributors to national and state life in both the colonial and post-colonial eras (Muminin dkk. 2023; Nugroho dkk. 2021; Otoman dkk. 2025). In the colonial era, Islamic teachings became a source of inspiration and motivation for the nation's children's struggle against colonialism (Novrandianti dan Anwar 2024; Nugroho, Masruri, dan Arifi 2022). Apart from that, in the colonial era, in general, Indonesian Muslims donated their entire lives and lives to expel the invaders (Santoso dkk. 2023; Sembodo dkk. 2025). By looking at this phenomenon, it can be concluded that Islam and nationality have been integrated or combined well within the Indonesian nation (Noer 1986). However, as we can see, in the post-independence era, there are indications that there are still serious problems, namely integration between Islam and nationality.

What are the indicators? There were two sessions in the constituent assembly in parliament, between 1945-1949 (Ma'arif 1985), which debated two options: Islam or Pancasila as the basis of the state, which ended with the acceptance of Pancasila as the basis, with the addition of "Belief in God with the obligation to implement Islamic law for its followers" which is known as with the Pancasila Charter of Jakarta (Ma'arif, 1985). With the acceptance of the Pancasila –(Jakarta Charter), the struggle for Islamic political aspirations within the nation state in parliament is complete.

However, there are some Muslims who are disappointed with the above decision. They are the bearers of the Indonesian state with a disillusioned Islamic ideology, fighting for their political aspirations through the military outside the constitution and parliament (Chesueni dkk. 2023; Nugroho 2020). They organize themselves in DI/TII. However, step by step, the tortuous and bloody struggle of DI/TII was weakened and formally ended in 1962. After receding for a long time, covered by the frenzy of development in Indonesia from the New Order era to the reform era, the facts on the ground say that the

ideology of the Islamic State of Indonesia has not died (Akbar 2023). The proponents of the ideology of the Islamic State of Indonesia or Indonesia with Islamic sharia still exist, metamorphosing in various forms: the world of education; al-Zaytun and several new players such as: Jama'ah Ansharatu Tauhid (JAT) and Jama'ah Islamiyah (JI). In other words, the struggle to enforce the Islamic State of Indonesia or Indonesia with Islamic sharia continues to move underground with all kinds of expressions of its manifestation (Akbar, 2023).

Thus, from the description above it can be concluded that Islamic law and nationality still have problems and show no signs of ending. For them, observers of Indonesian Islamic politics will find the main and interesting problems to pay attention to. The main problem is some Indonesian Muslims are not yet ready to live under the auspices of a nation state. It should be noted that the phenomenon of the merger-ce of Islamic and national integration problems does not only occur in Indonesia, but also occurs in other Southeast Asian countries; such as Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines (Chesueni dkk. 2023; Takeshi Kohno 2021).

Methods

This type of law research is qualitative research which utilizes an interpretive research paradigm with the aim of building meaning based on field data. This research is called field research, which is a research procedure that produces descriptive data. This descriptive research is research that really only describes what exists or happens in a certain scene, field or area. The collected data is classified or grouped according to type, nature or condition. After the data is complete, conclusions are then drawn. First Subsection of Method

The first step is determine the research subject. To determine who is the subject of this research, namely by who can be used as a source of data related to the research title. This research uses a qualitative approach. In this research, informants as data sources are very important to get data what we want. Second subsection of method

The second step is data colleting method. Collecting data can be conduct by some methods. The first method is observation. Observation method is a

way of collecting data by observing ongoing activities. The next is looking documentation. The documentation method is trying looking for data regarding things in line with variables in the form of notes, transcripts, books, newspapers, magazines, inscriptions, so on. The documentation method is used by researchers to collect historical data, conditions, personnel and other data deemed necessary and relevant by researchers, in order to complete the data resulting from observations.

Third subsection of method The third step is interview. The interview method is data collection by holding one-sided questions and answers which is carried out systematically and based on objectives. Fourth subsection of method is data analysis. Data analysis is an effort carried out by working with data, organizing data, sorting data into manageable units, carrying out synthesis, looking for and finding patterns, finding what is important and making decisions based on what is told to others. Fourth subsection method

The four step of method is drawing conclusions and verification. As we know, conclusions are the essence of research findings which describe final opinions based on previous descriptions or decisions obtained based on inductive or deductive thinking methods..

Result And Discussion

The results of this research can be reported as follows: Muslims as the biggest contributors to Indonesia's struggle for independence against the colonial government requested that the new country to be established called Indonesia should be based on Islamic teachings. Even if this is not the case, the state provides opportunities and freedom so that Muslims can properly implement Islamic law which is covered by the constitution. Historical facts show that the nationalist groups in the constituency rejected the demands of the Islamists. From the long debate in the constituent assembly, the essence of the main argument of the nationalist group can be concluded as follows: that in a nation state there should be no golden child who has special privileges and is given more facilities. Meanwhile, at the same time, there is a component of the nation that is a stepchild (Ma'arif 1985).

The core problem of integrating Islam and nationality is the accommodation of Islamic values in the constitution of the nation state. Social facts on the ground show that there is a large majority of Muslims who have accepted the constitution of the nation state as stated in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution. They are united and even united with the Indonesian Nation State. They no longer question the integration of Indonesian Muslims into the nation state or they have acknowledged the legitimacy of the Indonesian nation state (Sembodo 2016; Burhanudin 2004). To mention as an example; as are the two major wings of Indonesian Islam, namely NU and Muhammadiyah. Both of them have donated themselves to the life of the Indonesian nation, namely by participating in improving the quality of life and living as well as the progress of the Indonesian nation. This phenomenon was carried out by the two mass organizations without asking for any merit, let alone pursuing ambitions for power. From time to time, these two mass organizations only ask state administrators to continue to adhere to: the preamble to the 1945 Constitution, namely promoting general welfare based on: Almighty God, just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity, democracy led by representative wisdom and social justice for all Indonesian people (Qodir, Jubba, Hidayati, and Mutiarin 2022).

However, a social fact that cannot be denied is that there are some other Muslims who still question the integration of Islam within the Indonesian nation state. What idealism do they promote in national and state life ? In simple terms, they promote Islam as the basis of the state. Taking into consideration: 1. The majority of the Indonesian people are Muslims, 2. The nation state in question is a country based on Islam. Why? Because Islam as a value is not supported by state power which has coercive power then Islamic teachings mean nothing or will not be implemented well. 3. A nation state based on Islam will be closer to Islamic values whose truth is guaranteed to come from the Koran and hadith. 4. An example of a successful nation state based on Islam is the state of Medina which was founded by Muhammad saw, with its famous constitution, namely the Medina Charter (Lorenza dan Mulyadi 2026; Lukito 2016).

Long story short, Indonesian Muslims in the process of integration into the nation state were divided into 2 (two) group, namely 1. The Pro-nation State integration group 2. The Indonesian Islamic State group. The tug-of-war between the two groups above has colored the history of the Indonesian nation since independence until now. It should be noted that the second group in its history has always 1. Transformed the idea of an Islamic state to the younger generation. 2. Building a narrative of conflict with the nation state. What are the consequences? As a result of these two things, they are always at odds with the policies of the Nation State, whatever their form. For example, what was done by DI/TII who wanted to form the Indonesian Islamic State. It is strongly suspected that DI/TII ideologues built an underground Islamic movement, namely Neo NII, for their new generation, which to this day still exists in all kinds of manifestations (al-chaedar). Meanwhile, on the other hand, international influence, namely HT (Hizbuttahrir) began to exert its influence in Indonesia by establishing Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). They carry an Islamic imperial caliphate and are not willing to integrate with the Indonesian political system.

First Findings Root of the Problem: Islam and Nationality

The basic definition of a nation is a living community whose members are diverse; religion, race, political aspirations and customs adhered to. Meanwhile, the state is the political bond of a society or an agreement between people who together pledge themselves to live a life governed by common rules. These rules are binding. Therefore, members of a country's society must obey and comply with these rules. This is the meaning of a nation state from a sociological-anthropological perspective, namely a united community of living communities consisting of many races, languages and religions and customs and they share a common destiny. The essence of living together in a diverse society is awareness of plural-ity (Faiz and Fadlan 2022). This awareness is still under debate among Indonesian Muslims (Badrun, Sujadi, Warsah, Muttaqin, Morganna 2021). This is the root of the problem which has implications for the many kinds of oppositional activities of some Muslims towards the nation state; since the Old Order era until the reformation. Furthermore, in a nation state

there cannot be a group of people who build their own superiority and discriminate against other groups (Munhanif and Ihsan 2023). Meanwhile, at the same time, a group of members of society in a nation state must build equality, non-discrimination and justice for all. In other words, the highest loyalty of members of society is to the nation state, not to a group of social groups (Munhanif and Dahlan 2018).

The proponents of an Islamic state argue that a society's loyalty is not to the nation but to the holy book al-Qur'an. Islamic teachings ask its followers to be loyal to Islamic teachings. This teaching will save human life in this world and the hereafter. The Islamic teachings contained in the holy book al-Qur'an are God's teachings that guide human life and life towards happiness and safety in this world and the hereafter (Eril dkk. 2024; Wahib 2015). Meanwhile, the nation state demands that its people be loyal to the state and its constitution. Thus, in front of the bearers of the Islamic state, the loyalty of Muslims must be single, namely loyalty to God's teachings. Furthermore, God's teachings must be placed at the highest level. Meanwhile, nationality must be placed at the second level, namely the nation and state must obey and comply with God's teachings, or the values used in the nation and state must not deviate from God's teachings. In other words, the group that promotes an Islamic state asks that the nation state must submit and obey God's teachings, and must not be secular (Atabik, Muhtador 2023).

The Second Findings National understanding in the West and East regions

How did nationalism grow in the West? At the beginning of its birth, nationalism in the West grew and developed as a reaction to the authoritarian and feudal social and political life in Europe. The essence of this life is a complete lack of respect for the basic rights of human life (Purwanto, 2001). This is proven by the control of land and capital by a handful of princes descended from the king. Meanwhile, people's lives were miserable; wages that are not enough for daily life, while the elite of society live lavishly and glitteringly amidst economic poverty (Alfaqi, n.d.).

Apart from that, the birth of nationalism in the West cannot be separated from discussions about the industrial revolution that emerged in Europe in the

15th-16th centuries. Global trade supported by industrial inventions and steam engines in the West caused the Western world to thirst for raw materials as industrial materials for trade. This went on for approximately 4 centuries. Long story short, Western countries are looking to the Eastern world which is rich in natural raw materials and exotic culture. In addition, they found that the rulers in the East were power-hungry kings but weak in management and technology. Finally, step by step, the Islamic Eastern world, exotic and rich in natural resources, was dominated and exploited by the West without any remainder (Purwanto 2001).

Meanwhile, historical experts say that the nationalism that grew and developed in the West was a nationality with a spirit of capitalism that was greedy for the universe. Furthermore, historians say that the essence of World Wars I and II was a machete between nations with the spirit of capitalism supported by modern weaponry (Nata 2016).

Islamic history experts have discovered the fact that Muslims initially lived under the caliphate political system, both in the Khulafaurasyidin era and after. To mention as an example the Umayyad caliphate is addressed to the Umayyads; The Abbasid Caliphate was attributed to the Bani Abbas tribe; and the Ottoman Caliphate/Empire or Ottoman Türkiye was attributed to the Ottoman tribe (Nata 2016). With the passage of time, these Islamic caliphates were destroyed. The Islamic region was under the rule of Western colonialists: England, France, Portugal, Netherlands. After World War II, countries with a majority Muslim population succeeded in liberating themselves from Western colonialism. What is in the natural thinking of the Muslim population? They have one issue, namely that the single and imperial Islamic caliphate system does not have the ability to control such extensive political power (Burhanudin 2004). Furthermore, another argument is that the Islamic world did not choose the caliphate state model because it was difficult to find a figure who was able to become a central figure in the leadership of the wider Islamic world, and considering the ferocity of European colonialists with superior economic support and weaponry, who still had a strong desire to colonize the East, then the system The Islamic caliphate is no longer the preferred form of state and

political system in the newly independent Muslim regions (Cipta dan Darmawan 2025; Sembodo 2016). Most of the newly independent Muslim regions chose the form of a nation state with a parliamentary and presidential political system, as did Malaysia, Egypt, Iraq and Indonesia (Rahayu dkk. 2022).

Initially, nationalism was opposed by some followers of Islam. What is the reason? Because nationalism is a Western product rooted in individualism, liberalism and capitalism. The roots of Western nationality result in chauvinism and imperialism. (Badri Yatim). However, this is different from the nationalism that grows and develops in the Eastern world. Nationalism in the East has the following characteristics; 1. Understanding of nationalism that is willing to accept religion (God Almighty). 2. A national understanding that is anti-capitalism and imperialism. 3. A national understanding that is based on mutual cooperation, 4. Love for one's country as a gift from God that must be grateful for. So Indonesian nationality is a national ideology that grew and developed in the Eastern region which is adapted to local religion and customs (Alvian & Ardhani 2023).

Over time, the nationalism that has grown and developed in Indonesia is a religious and humanist nationality (Al-Amin dkk. 2024; Fatimatuzzahro dkk. 2024; Anggraeni 2004). The integration of Islam and nationality can be explained as follows: Islamic teachings say that basically humans are plural and alive humans in groups. Islamic teachings recommend that people in groups get to know each other and stay in touch. The most noble person before God is the most devout person among humans. Indicators of a pious human being are: people who know each other or have friendly relations, work together, do not develop self-supremacy and do not look down on other people. Q.S. 149:13. ¹Meaning: O people! Indeed, We created you from a man and a woman, then We made you into nations and tribes so that you may know each other. Indeed, the noblest among you in the sight of Allah is the one who is most pious. Indeed, Allah is All-Knowing, All-Compliant. (Q.S. al-Hujurat, 49:13) (Nata 2016).

The basis of nationality in Islam is morality in society. These moral qualities are: equality (egalitarianism) of humans before God. Apart from that, every human being has equal access to fulfill life's needs. But this access must be used without violating morals or harming other people and groups.

Conclusion

From the description above, it can be concluded as follows: the choice of a nation state for Indonesian Muslims is unavoidable. The risk is that Muslims can accept the plurality of society. Efforts to place Islamic teachings in the life of the nation and state by presenting Islam in a substantive way. Substantive Islam will be more acceptable to all components of the nation. Therefore, substantive Islam has more prospects in Indonesia.

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