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## **The Dynamics of Islam and State Relations in Indonesia**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The study of the relationship between Islam and the State is of significant academic importance and warrants further exploration. The debate surrounding this topic remains ongoing. This paper seeks to address three key aspects: First, the paradigms of Islam-State interrelations. Second, the internal and external factors influencing the relationship between Islam and the State. Third, the positive and negative implications of this interrelationship on state governance and societal structures. This research employs a literature review method with a descriptive qualitative approach, analyzed through content analysis techniques. The findings reveal three key points. The study identifies three paradigms: (1) Secularistic, (2) Integralistic, and (3) Symbiotic Mutualistic. Internally, the interrelation is shaped by: (1) The social structure of Indonesian society, (2) The ideological perspectives of Indonesian political leaders, (3) The history of Indonesian independence, and (4) The religiosity of the Indonesian populace. Externally, it is influenced by: (1) The ideological positions of foreign political leaders, (2) Foreign policies, and (3) Islamic-based state ideologies. The implications for society and state governance are both positive and negative. On the positive side: (1) A compromise between secular and integral paradigms contributes to societal harmony in Indonesia, (2) Human rights, particularly in the domains of religion and state, are respected, and (3) Amendments and changes to state statutes and laws are made in alignment with the evolving conditions of Indonesian society. On the negative side: (1) Disputes over the fundamental ideology of the Indonesian state persist, (2) Divisions in understanding based on differing paradigms are evident, and (3) There is a growing fanaticism associated with these ideological paradigms. In conclusion, the paper argues that the symbiotic mutualistic paradigm governing the relationship between Islam and the State is both valid and relevant to the social conditions in Indonesia.

**Keywords: Interrelation, Islam, State, Indonesia.**

### **ABSTRAK**

Studi mengenai hubungan antara Islam dan Negara memiliki kepentingan akademis yang signifikan dan memerlukan eksplorasi lebih lanjut. Perdebatan seputar topik ini masih terus berlangsung. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk membahas tiga aspek utama: Pertama, paradigma-paradigma interaksi antara Islam dan Negara. Kedua, faktor-faktor internal

dan eksternal yang mempengaruhi hubungan antara Islam dan Negara. Ketiga, implikasi positif dan negatif dari hubungan ini terhadap tata kelola negara dan struktur sosial. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode tinjauan pustaka dengan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif, yang dianalisis melalui teknik analisis konten. Temuan dari penelitian ini mengungkapkan tiga poin utama. Penelitian ini mengidentifikasi tiga paradigma: (1) Sekularistik, (2) Integralistik, dan (3) Simbiotik Mutualistik. Secara internal, interaksi ini dipengaruhi oleh: (1) Struktur sosial masyarakat Indonesia, (2) Perspektif ideologis pemimpin politik Indonesia, (3) Sejarah kemerdekaan Indonesia, dan (4) Religiusitas masyarakat Indonesia. Secara eksternal, interaksi ini dipengaruhi oleh: (1) Posisi ideologis pemimpin politik asing, (2) Kebijakan luar negeri, dan (3) Ideologi negara yang berbasis Islam. Implikasi bagi masyarakat dan tata kelola negara bersifat positif dan negatif. Dari sisi positif: (1) Kompromi antara paradigma sekuler dan integral berkontribusi pada harmoni masyarakat di Indonesia, (2) Hak asasi manusia, khususnya dalam domain agama dan negara, dihormati, dan (3) Amendemen serta perubahan pada undang-undang dan peraturan negara dilakukan sesuai dengan kondisi masyarakat Indonesia yang terus berkembang. Dari sisi negatif: (1) Perselisihan mengenai ideologi dasar negara Indonesia terus berlanjut, (2) Terjadi perpecahan dalam pemahaman berdasarkan paradigma yang berbeda, dan (3) Terdapat peningkatan fanatisme yang terkait dengan paradigma ideologis tersebut. Sebagai kesimpulan, penelitian ini berpendapat bahwa paradigma simbiotik mutualistik yang mengatur hubungan antara Islam dan Negara adalah valid dan relevan dengan kondisi sosial di Indonesia.

**Kata Kunci: Interrelasi, Islam, Negara, Indonesia.**

## INTRODUCTION

The interrelation between Islam and the state, when analyzed according to its position and proportion, presents an intriguing subject of debate. This is due to the fact that this topic contains elements of controversy, conflict, trending discussions, virality, and urgency (CCTVE). There are three reasons that highlight the urgency of this discussion: First, conceptually, the study of the relationship between Islam and the state reflects the public's views on the compromise, separation, and unity between Islamic religious life and state governance. Second, functionally, this study provides a foundational framework for understanding the overall relationship between Islam and the state for various societal groups and statesmen. Third, from a contributory perspective, this study offers theoretical contributions in the form of ideologies concerning the relationship between Islam and the state, as well as practical contributions in the determination of values applied in governance to address matters regarding this relationship. These three points underscore the importance of further in-depth exploration of this topic (Miftahuddin, 2017).

Historically, the topic of Islam-state relations has been examined over an extensive historical period, leaving a well-documented legacy. The evolution of this relationship has progressed in tandem with the times, encompassing periods such as pre-independence, neo-modernism, and modern eras (Muhammad Anang Firdaus, 2014). Philosophically, this topic has been rigorously tested within the field of philosophy, whether ontologically (nature/what), epistemologically (theory/how), or axiologically (values/purpose). In Indonesia, religion is regarded as an integral part of the principles underlying state governance, both philosophically and constitutionally. The relationship

between religion and the state represents a mutual interaction between the concepts of religious and state life, influencing societal structures and governance decisions (Sadzali, 2020). Third, methodologically, the theme of Islam-state relations can be validated through research methods that ensure validity, reliability, and triangulation (Miftahuddin, 2017).

The concept of interrelation can be understood etymologically, terminologically, and through specific characteristics. Etymologically, the term "interrelation" derives from the English word "interrelation," which means a reciprocal relationship (Kemendikbud, 2013). Terminologically, the concept of interrelation refers to the mutual influence between one concept and another (Purwanto, 2020). Studies focusing on interrelation typically examine how two concepts are interconnected and influence one another, often using symbols and markers to demonstrate this relationship. In the context of Islam-state relations, the study explores how these two entities influence each other in various forms, factors, and implications (Miftahuddin, 2017; Purwanto, 2020).

Studies on interrelation can be categorized into different types and patterns based on the criteria used. The classification includes three types: interrelation between two concepts, interrelation between actors and concepts, and interrelation between actors themselves (Asriadi, 2022; Miftahuddin, 2017; Purwanto, 2020). The resulting patterns of interrelation include secular (separation of concepts), integration (unification), and conservative relations, which adhere to traditional forms of interaction (Pulungan, 2018).

Islam, as a concept, can also be understood etymologically, terminologically, and through its specific characteristics. Etymologically, "Islam" originates from the Arabic word "salima," meaning safety. Terminologically, Islam refers to a revealed religion centered on monotheism, which was delivered by Allah SWT to the Prophet Muhammad as His final messenger, and applies universally to all people, encompassing all aspects of human life (Saputra et al., 2021). Studies on Islam focus on its teachings, social life, and history. The teachings are related to religious texts, including the Qur'an as the holy book, Hadith as guidance, and the works of scholars as interpretations. Social life relates to the relationship between society and religion, which may include traditions. The history of Islam's development is intertwined with human progress (Wahyuni, 2021).

The concept of the state can also be examined etymologically and terminologically. Etymologically, the term "state" is derived from the English "state," German and Dutch "staat," and French "état," signifying a condition of stability or permanence (Malik, 2018). Terminologically, the state refers to an organization within a specific territory, possessing legitimate supreme power that is obeyed by its people (Malik, 2018). Studies on the state focus on its characteristics, such as the state as a political and civic entity that holds legitimate supreme power within a territory. The state can take various forms, such as a monarchy, republic, or other systems of government, operating based on legal principles, such as Pancasila in Indonesia (Nurhayati, 2018; Malik, 2018).

This paper aims to understand three key aspects: First, the paradigms of separation, unification, and compromise in the relationship between Islam and the state. This relates to the theme of interrelation between Islam and the state in terms of position and proportion. Second, the factors influencing the continuity of this relationship, including internal and external factors shaping the paradigm. Third, the implications of Islam-state relations on state governance and the well-being of citizens, encompassing both positive and negative impacts.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This study identifies three distinct tendencies within the discourse on Islam-state relations. First, discussions on the dynamics of the relationship between Islam and the state among modernist and neo-modernist groups, which span from the 1940s to the 1990s, tend to focus predominantly on historical aspects, leading to an entrapment in historical romanticism (Ravico, 2022). Second, writings that explore the relationship between Islam and the state from the perspective of specific figures or groups, such as views rooted in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution or the secular thoughts of Ali Abdurraziq, often emphasize the individual or group's perspective, resulting in a tendency toward individualistic fanaticism (Shaleh & Wisnaeni, 2019; Nurwahidin et al., 2021). Third, studies on the incorporation of Islamic values in state governance and the neo-modernist view that Islam should be included in the modernity struggle tend to be discussed only from a conceptual standpoint, leading to an overemphasis on definitional aspects (Nasaruddin, 2009; Fitri et al., 2022). In contrast, this study focuses on three aspects: the forms of the relationship between Islam and the state, the factors influencing this relationship, and the implications for state governance and the well-being of citizens, distinguishing it from previous studies.

## METHOD

The research employs a library research methodology, utilizing a descriptive qualitative approach grounded in theories related to the theme of Islam-state relations to strengthen the analysis. Library research involves the examination of sources such as books, manuscripts, records, and reports relevant to the topic (Sari, 2020). Data on the relationship between Islam and the state were collected from primary sources, including the book *Sejarah Perkembangan Intelektual Islam di Indonesia: Dari Abad XIX Sampai Masa Kontemporer* (Miftahuddin, 2017). Additionally, primary data were also gathered from journal articles. Articles 1-10 were used to address the first research question concerning the concrete forms or paradigms. Articles 11-20 addressed the second research question regarding influencing factors. Articles 21-30 were used to explore the third research question concerning the implications of the Islam-state relationship.

The data collection process in this library research follows several steps: first, selecting and reviewing data from the identified literature. Second, classifying the literature by differentiating and distributing it based on discussion points. Third, analyzing the organized data using relevant theories and methodologies to draw conclusions on the three main research questions: the forms, factors, and implications of the Islam-state relationship (Sugiyono, 2016).

The collected data were analyzed using content analysis techniques, which involve systematically analyzing and understanding the text through the following stages: first, unitizing, or accurately selecting data that include texts, images, and clear information relevant to the study's key issues. Second, sampling, or selecting representative samples. Third, coding, or systematically organizing the data. Fourth, reducing, or simplifying the data. Fifth, abductively inferring, or drawing conclusions. Finally, narrating, or formulating responses to the research questions concerning the forms, factors, and implications of the Islam-state relationship (Asfar, 2019).

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Paradigm of the Interrelation Between Islam and the State**

The interrelation between Islam and the state is conceptualized through three primary paradigms: (1) secularism, (2) integrative, and (3) symbiotic mutualism. Each paradigm employs different terminologies. For instance, secularism can be referred to as secular or secularistic, while the integrative paradigm may be described as the merging of Islam and the state, integrative, formalistic, or conservative. The symbiotic mutualism paradigm is articulated as symbiotic, moderate, or substantivistic (Rustam et al., 2023; Rasyidi et al., 2024; Huda, 2020; Jufri, 2018; Ravico, 2022). The Indonesian government has not officially declared a definitive paradigm for the relationship between Islam and the state, leading to a general acceptance of these three paradigms:

- a) **Secular Paradigm:** This paradigm advocates the separation of Islamic religious affairs from the state.
- b) **Integrative Paradigm:** This paradigm seeks to unite Islamic religious affairs with the state.
- c) **Symbiotic Mutualism Paradigm:** This paradigm posits that the relationship between Islam and the state is interdependent and complementary, balancing between the integrative and secular paradigms.

Prominent political figures have historically leaned towards different paradigms concerning the relationship between Islam and the state. For example, Ir. Soekarno championed the secular paradigm, asserting that Islam and the state should not be unified because Indonesia is not an Islamic state, and to prevent discrimination against non-Muslims. His approach was rooted in a nationalist movement. In contrast, Ahmad Hassan, a proponent of the integrative paradigm, believed in an Islamic nationalism that rejected secularism due to its neglect of Islamic transcendental values. Traditionalist groups, including Nahdlatul Ulama, have often compromised with the secular paradigm, acknowledging that while Indonesia is not an Islamic state, Islamic principles are embedded in the nation's foundation (Miftahuddin, 2017).

The secular paradigm argues for a clear separation between religion and state affairs. In the context of Islam, this paradigm rejects the foundation of the state on Islamic principles or any specific religious dictates, suggesting that Islam governs the relationship between individuals and God, while societal and state affairs are left to human discretion through social contracts, independent of religious law (Sharia). Each entity—religion and state—operates within its own domain, requiring a strict separation to prevent interference. This is due to the intrinsic nature of religious leadership, which deals with spiritual matters that remain unchanged by time and circumstances, in contrast to the ever-changing and adaptable nature of politics, which responds to the demands of space and time. Mixing these two distinct authorities could lead to division and pose a threat to established laws (Jufri, 2018).

In the integrative paradigm, the relationship unites Islamic religious affairs with the state, where governance is based on divine sovereignty, and ultimate authority rests with God (Allah SWT). Islam is perceived as a comprehensive religion that governs all aspects of life, including politics. Consequently, in this paradigm, Sharia law functions as the state law, with the Quran serving as the basis for governance, and the state's moral system rooted in Islamic principles. Islam is thus viewed as both a religion and an ideology, with the governance system being an integral part of Islam, and the state seen

as an instrument for implementing Islamic law (Rahmatullah et al., 2022; Rustam et al., 2023).

The symbiotic mutualism paradigm does not position Islam as a state system but emphasizes the integration of Islamic teachings on principles, morals, norms, and ethics within the nation's governance and societal life. In this paradigm, Muslims are free to choose a system that is deemed beneficial for the community, with Islam providing ideal societal interaction values. The Quran and Hadith, as sources of Islamic law, contain basic principles concerning societal, national, and state law. The relationship between religion and state is seen as reciprocal, with each needing the other. The state supports the development of religion, while religion can be best practiced through state institutions, emphasizing that the state cannot function without religion as a guide for moral and spiritual ethics (Huda, 2020).

Indonesia's fundamental legal foundation, which is effectively applied in daily life, is Pancasila. The historical dynamics of Indonesian culture have endowed Pancasila with historical values that serve as the philosophical basis of the nation. The development of these values, encapsulated within the national philosophical system, spans a long history involving various societal groups, including intellectuals, the general public, and political factions. This philosophy, influenced by religious theism, reflects Pancasila as a theistic-religious system within the context of Eastern philosophy (Huda, 2020).

The religious principle embedded in Pancasila's first tenet, "Belief in the One and Only God," signifies that religion in Indonesia is integral to the unity of the Republic of Indonesia, serving as a spiritual force essential for the nation's ideals. The relationship between the state and religion in Indonesia is symbiotic mutualistic, indicating mutual dependence, contribution, and complementarity. Religion contributes to "deep spirituality," while the state ensures the religious and overall well-being of its citizens (Asroni, 2021; Handoyo & Supriyanto, 2023).

### **Factors Influencing the Forms of Interrelation Between Islam and the State**

The debate concerning the relationship between Islam and the state in Indonesia predates independence, originating with discussions among the nation's founding fathers from nationalist and Islamic groups regarding the philosophical and ideological foundations of the Indonesian state. The founding fathers recognized the diverse ethnic, religious, and political landscape of Indonesia, making it difficult to formulate a unified national ideology. The core debate revolved around the desire of the Islamic group to base the state on Islamic law, which was met with resistance from the nationalist group. This led to the Jakarta Charter compromise on June 22, 1945, intended as the preamble to the Indonesian Constitution. However, after independence, the draft was revised, removing the clause obligating Muslims to follow Sharia law, replacing it with "Belief in the One and Only God" (Darajat, 2019; Badri, 2018; Fitri et al., 2022).

After independence, various groups attempted to replace the state ideology with one they favored. In 1948, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) attempted to overthrow Pancasila with communist ideology, which rejected religion. Conversely, Kartosoewirjo sought to establish Islam as the state ideology by founding Darul Islam (DI/TII) in 1949. The communist ideology was incompatible with Indonesia's deeply religious nature, while making Islam the state ideology was seen as denying Indonesia's pluralistic reality (Aminullah, 2020; Imadudin, 2023).

The significance of religion in Indonesia's national life is rooted in the religious nature of its society, characterized by diverse faiths and beliefs. Although Indonesia is

not a religious state with a constitution based on a particular religion, nor is it a secular state that excludes religion from national life. As envisioned by the founding fathers, Indonesia is a religious nation that incorporates religious values as a foundational element of national life. The placement of "Belief in the One and Only God" as the first principle in Pancasila underscores Indonesia's commitment to religiosity. This commitment is further strengthened in Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution (Syarifah & Fauzan, 2022).

The dynamic polemic regarding the relationship between Islam and the state in Indonesia is a classic issue that has evolved alongside history. The root of the debate lies in the absence of definitive normative foundations or historical precedents explicitly defining the relationship between religion and state. The formulation of paradigms concerning the relationship between religion and state is thus a matter of *ijtihad* (interpretation) (Ridwan, 2018). One paradigm involves a theocratic state, where the government is based on a specific religion, as seen in countries like Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Pakistan, which constitutionally establish Islam as the state religion. The desire to establish an Islamic state is influenced by the belief that the governance system exemplified by Prophet Muhammad and the Rashidun Caliphs is the ideal model. Therefore, for some, establishing an Islamic state (*Daulah Islamiyah*) is a goal they continuously pursue (Syarifah & Fauzan, 2022).

Nationalist groups advocating for a secular state view religion as a private matter, with the state having no authority to interfere in religious affairs. The fall of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of extreme secularism under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey marked the advent of secularism, where religious symbols were banned from the public sphere. Soekarno, influenced by Kemal Atatürk, Ali Abdurrazik, and other reformers, promoted the separation of religion and state for the sake of national unity, considering Indonesia's pluralistic nature. This separation did not disregard Islamic teachings but was aimed at maintaining national unity by ensuring that nationalism and religion coexist (Ridwan, 2018).

De facto, Indonesia is the world's largest Muslim-majority nation. However, it is not an Islamic state but a nation that upholds Pancasila as its guiding philosophy and foundation. The long history of Indonesia, from before independence through the national movement, when the elements of the state were formulated by the founding fathers, culminated in intense debates over the choice of state foundation. These debates ultimately led to the adoption of Pancasila as a compromise accepted by all segments of Indonesia's diverse society (Abdurrahman Usman & Hasbi, 2022).

The factors influencing the forms of interrelation between Islam and the state can be categorized into internal and external factors. Internal factors include:

- a) The social conditions of Indonesian society, which values both religion and the state.
- b) The political conditions of Indonesia, characterized by a pluralistic society with a religious foundation.

External factors include:

- a) The global political landscape and its influence on Indonesia.
- b) The intellectual and ideological currents of the time, such as the impact of secularism, nationalism, and Islamism.

These internal and external factors shape the ongoing discourse and practice of the relationship between Islam and the state in Indonesia, influencing the development of the paradigms mentioned above.

## CONCLUSION

The findings of this paper indicate that the various forms of interrelation between Islam and the state, the diverse factors influencing this interrelation, and the varying implications of this relationship provide new insights and perspectives on the interrelation between Islam and the state. The existence of multiple paradigms allows society the freedom, in terms of human rights, to adopt different perspectives on the relationship between Islam and the state. The secularistic, integrative, and symbiotic forms represent heterogeneous paradigms that contribute to the intellectual heritage of Islam in Indonesia. In the historical context, Islamic intellectuals have produced a diversity of thought and a variety of concrete manifestations of the dynamic development of Islam.

This dynamism cannot be separated from internal factors such as (1) the social structure of Indonesian society, (2) the ideological thoughts of Indonesia's political leaders, (3) the history of Indonesia's independence, and (4) the religiosity of the Indonesian people. Equally important are the external factors influencing the development of Islamic thought, which should be considered as part of efforts to find alternative solutions to address these challenges. These external influences include (1) the foundational thoughts of foreign political leaders, (2) foreign political policies, and (3) ideologies of states based on Islam. Ultimately, the intellectual history of Islam in Indonesia has had positive impacts on the thoughts of the Muslim community, such as (1) the compromise between secular and integrative paradigms to achieve harmony in Indonesia, (2) the freedom of human rights in matters of religion and state, and (3) amendments, changes, and state laws based on the conditions of Indonesian society. However, the negative impacts of this developmental process are inevitable, such as (1) ideological disputes regarding the fundamental principles of the Indonesian state, (2) divisions in understanding based on different paradigms, and (3) fanatical adherence to specific paradigms in the relationship between Islam and the state.



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