

Relation of Religious, Politics, and State in Indonesia: A Comparative Study Soekarno and Abdurrahman Wahid

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| Article Info | Abstract |
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| Received: 19-08-2024 Revised: 15-10-2024 Accepted: 16-10-2024 Published: 17-10-2024 Keywords: Abdurrahman Wahid; Politics; Religion; Soekarno; State. | This study aims to compare Soekarno's and Abdurrahman Wahid's (Gus Dur) thoughts regarding the form of state that is relevant in Indonesia. This concerns the relationship between religion, politics, and the state in the context of Indonesia, which is still a polemic that has not found a meeting point in various discussions, so the issue has always been a current discourse because it always experiences fluctuating discourse in the political arena in Indonesia. Soekarno and Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) are two figures who have significantly contributed to the Indonesian nation; apart from the fact that they have served as presidents, their ideas also quite color the dynamics of thinking about how to state in Indonesia. This paper examines Soekarno and Gus Dur's views on the relationship between religion and the state and then compares the two. This type of research is normative research using a conceptual approach to obtain a comprehensive framework of Soekarno and Gus Dur's thoughts. The conclusion of this research found three forms of relationship between religion and the state, namely integralistic, secularistic, and symbiotic. Soekarno, with his nationalism, emphasized the separation between religion and the state so that it tended to be a secularistic relationship. Meanwhile, Gus Dur, with his contextualist paradigm, prefers to implement Islam as a social ethic, necessitating a symbiotic relationship or mutual benefit and mutual need between religion and the state. |
| Info Artikel | Abstrak |
| Kata Kunci: Abdurrahman Wahid; Agama; Negara; Politik; Soekarno. | Studi ini bertujuan mengkomparasikan pemikiran Soekarno dan Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) terkait bentuk negara yang relevan di Indonesia. Hal tersebut mencakup relasi antara agama, politik, dan negara dalam konteks Indonesia yang masih menjadi suatu polemik yang belum menemukan titik temu dalam berbagai perbincangan sehingga topik tersebut selalu menjadi diskursus aktual karena senantiasa mengalami fluctuative discourse dalam pencatutan politik di Indonesia. Soekarno dan Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) merupakan dua tokoh yang berjasa besar bagi bangsa Indonesia selain karena mereka pernah menjabat sebagai presiden, gagasan-gagasan mereka juga cukup mewarnai dinamika pemikiran cara bernegara di Indonesia. Tulisan ini mengkaji pandangan Soekarno dan Gus Dur tentang relasi |

antara agama dan negara kemudian mengkomparasikan keduanya. Jenis penelitian ini merupakan penelitian normatif dengan menggunakan conceptual approach untuk mendapatkan kerangka pemikiran Soekarno dan Gus Dur secara komprehensif. Kesimpulan penelitian ini menemukan tiga bentuk hubungan antara agama dan negara, yaitu: integralistik, sekularistik, dan simbiotik. Soekarno dengan nasionalismenya lebih menekankan pemisahan antara agama dan negara sehingga lebih cenderung pada hubungan sekularistik. Sedangkan Gus Dur dengan paradigma kontekstualisnya lebih memilih untuk mengimplementasikan Islam sebagai etika sosial, meniscayakan adanya hubungan simbiotik atau saling menguntungkan, dan saling membutuhkan antara agama dan negara.



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INTRODUCTION

Religion and politics are two fundamental elements in the existing reality of human life that must be adopted to understand the value system. Although religion and politics have been the objects of thought of scholars, theologians, and philosophers throughout history, both will become a problem in the value system of life if no convergence unites the two. (Dzikrullah Faza et al., 2024) Islam, as the religion with the most followers in Indonesia, has a significant role in accommodating universal state values, so the relationship between religion and the state has always been an actual discourse until it experienced a fluctuating discourse in political discussions in Indonesia. (Farkhani et al., 2022; Sholikin, 2013)

The relationship between religion, politics, and the state has always been a topic that concerns people's lives with the dynamics of rule-making, both written and unwritten. The absence of a patent concept related to politics or a standardized way of state in every religion (including Islam) makes the topic of the harmony of the three elements quite crisp and consistently discussed until now. Politics is one of the elements involved in the relationship between religion and the state. Is religion only the private domain of each person as a citizen, or does it enter the public domain to regulate the state system. (Sudarti, 2020) It is worth asking what kind of interconnection is ideal in the relationship between religion, politics, and the state.

Researchers found two typological models of relations between religion and the state. The first model has three types of relations between religion and the state: first, theocracy: a state system that makes the government based on one religion so that religious teachings become the basis of the state because all systems of community life, including

politics are based on God's revelation; Second, secular: the marginalization of religion in state affairs has implications for the assumption that religion is a private matter for citizens so that the state has no right to interfere; third, communist: the state considers religion as an opiate for the community not to take progressive actions in social-community development. (Darajat, 2019)

In the second model, as stated by Din Syamdsuddin in Sudarti, there are three kinds of relationships between religion and the state: integralistic (unified), secularistic, and symbiotic. (Abdurrahman Usman & Hasbi, 2022) The intergalactic and secularistic relationship referred to here is the same as the relationship between theocracy and secularism in the first model. The symbiotic relationship, in short, is that religion and the state have a reciprocal and mutually beneficial relationship. (Tabrani ZA, 2022) Through this second model typology, there is a relevance between religious values and policies/decisions that state institutions will form.

The application of a particular model tends towards specific figures who specifically provide conceptual contributions related to alternative steps to achieve interconnection between religion and the state. (Khalwani, 2019; Ranasati et al., 2023; Rasyidin, 2020; Ridwan, 2019) Many scholars, religious and national figures have tried to express their thoughts on the ideal concept of the relationship between religion, politics, and the state in Indonesia, including Soekarno, Nurcholis Madjid, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), and Syafii Maarif. Among these figures, Soekarno and Gus Dur have close ties with politics because they have held positions as president of Indonesia and are active in global politics. Soekarno was the first president of Indonesia who served for approximately 22 years, from August 18, 1945 to March 7, 1967. (Susilo, 2020) Meanwhile, Gus Dur was the fourth president of the Republic of Indonesia for almost two years, from October 20, 1999, to July 23, 2001. (Ahmad, 2019) Based on this, research on the relationship between religion, politics, and the state in the thoughts of Soekarno and Gus Dur is worth writing about. It highlights the differences in their backgrounds so that they can provide a picture of different ideals.

So far, studies on the relationship between state and religion tend to look at the thoughts of specific figures fragmentarily in the relationship between state and religion. (Iskandar, 2003; Pajriah, 2017; Ranasati et al., 2023; Suhairi et al., 2022) The relationship between state and religion also experiences a distortion of knowledge, in which knowledge of the interconnection between the two is produced by something other than religious

intellectuals and politicians in the state system. Two trends in the study of the relationship between the state and religion can emphasize the lack of a reproductive dimension to the thoughts of religious intellectuals and politicians. First, the misorientation of the figure as a politician is reproduced in educational studies, so the relevance of the field of study to the figure needs to be revised. (Fahmi, 2016; Pangestu & Rochmat, 2021) Second, studies focusing on the implications of Soekarno and Gus Dur's thoughts are separate from the relationship between state and religion. (Ahmad & Fadillah, 2021; Suwarno, 2021) Uchenna M. Ugorie points out that religion has played an enormous role in the historical development of humankind by laying the foundations of formal education and library systems, university institutions, and cultural foundations in Europe, Arabia, and various countries. Religion laid the foundation for the sanctity of human life, the fundamental equality of all people, human freedom, anti-slavery and abolition of slavery, religious freedom, domestic stability, and an excellent attitude to work. (Ugorie, 2017) From the tendency of existing studies, the relationship between the state and religion is crucial to continue to be studied to increase human understanding of the state and can directly determine attitudes in politics. In addition, a person's religious and state understanding becomes the central point in the element of state defense, which aligns with spiritual values, especially Islam, and the guidelines for the state in Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHOD

This type of research includes normative research with a conceptual approach in which researchers try to analyze Soekarno and Gus Dur's views on the relationship between religion (especially Islam), politics, and the state comparatively. (Suteki & Taufani, 2018) Legal material in this research comes from literature, which includes various books and journal articles related to the relationship between religion, politics, and the state in the thoughts of Soekarno and Gus Dur. Collecting primary and secondary legal materials uses documentation study techniques. It is carried out using a card system, then inventoried in a notebook and classified according to the perspective of Soekarno and Gus Dur and their comparison in highlighting religion, politics, and the state. The legal materials that have been collected are then analyzed using the stages: inventory of legal materials; identification of legal materials related to Soekarno and Gus Dur's thoughts that are relevant to the relationship between religion, politics, and the state; classification which functions as a mapping of legal materials based on Soekarno and Gus Dur's thoughts; and finally

systematization as an effort to describe and compare Soekarno and Gus Dur's thoughts related to religion, politics and the state.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Tipologi Relasi antara Agama dan Negara

The relationship between state and religion has an inseparable attachment in the life of religious communities, so it becomes necessary for the community to be able to dialogue and practice spiritual values and state values. Implementing religious values is not necessarily inversely proportional to one's state values, such as adhering to specific religious values will harm national values. The relationship can be formulated into three basic concepts connecting religious and state values: integralist, secularistic, and symbiotic. (Öztürk, 2021) Integralistic relations seek to penetrate the dichotomization between religion and the state by fusing or uniting the two. That is, religion and the state cannot be separated. The understanding formed from this integral relationship is that in addition to the state as a political institution, it doubles as a religious institution simultaneously. The intergalactic relationship implies that the organized government or political procedures must be based on the holy book or the sovereignty of the Almighty because it is based on the adage "sovereignty comes from and is in the power of God". (Qureshi, 2020)

Table 1: *World Population Review*

| No | Population | Country | Region | Country Name | Theocracy Countries |
|----|------------|--------------|--------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | 89.172.767 | Iran | Asia | Islamic Republic of Iran | True |
| 2. | 42.239.854 | Afghanistan | Asia | Islamic Republic of Afghanistan | True |
| 3. | 36.947.025 | Saudi | Asia | Kingdom of Saudi Arabia | True |
| 4. | 34.449.825 | Yemen | Asia | Republic of Yemen | True |
| 5. | 4.862.989 | Mauritania | Africa | Islamic Republic of Mauritania | True |
| 6. | 518 | Vatican City | Europe | Vatican City State | True |

Reporting on the World Population Review website, in 2023, there are still six countries that implement theocracy as an implementation of the relationship between religion and the state in an integralistic manner. (*Theocracy Countries 2024*, 2024) Iran has some elements of democracy, but its constitution states that all its laws and regulations must be based on Islamic principles and guidelines. In addition, the Mullas wield tremendous power by occupying the most powerful government positions, from the head of the military to the court system. The Council of Religious Guardians can veto legislation or ban political candidates. (Kurun, 2017) Then, theocratic rule in Afghanistan with the rise of the Taliban as a conservative religious regime whose laws were heavily based on Islamic

sharia law. The Taliban operated under a rigorous interpretation of their scriptures and teachings. They imposed many prohibitions ranging from cinema and keeping pets to shaving beards or allowing women to have jobs. (Rahimi & Shirvani, 2021)

The Muslim country of Saudi Arabia operates an absolute monarchy characterized by a one-party state where elections are banned, and a prime minister and the king head the government. However, the country is also a theocracy thanks to a 1992 royal decree stating that the king and the state must abide by sharia law and that the Quran and Sunnah will be the country's constitution. (Ganefri et al., 2017) Saudi Arabia enforces a controlled environment with “religious police” patrolling the streets to implement rules such as dress codes and separation between women (who have few rights) and men. Opposite Saudi Arabia is the country of Yemen, a dedicated theocracy with a constitution that enshrines Islamic Sharia law as the basis of all state laws and regulations. The government has experienced significant political and social turmoil over the past two decades, but the theocracy has survived.

In Africa, Mauritania is one of the few countries that has remained a theocracy despite several coups and one-party rule since gaining independence in 1960. Although the government is slowly moving towards becoming a democracy by holding elections, many of them have more than one party. The law in Mauritania is still heavily steeped in Muslim theology, such as considering atheism as illegal and punishable by death. Then, as the world's only remaining Christian theocracy, Vatican City is the headquarters of the Catholic church. The city is ruled by the Pope, who is technically an absolute monarch. Vatican City law governs not only the affairs of Vatican City that are intertwined with the sovereign state of the Holy See but also the canon law of the Catholic Church.

State life regulated by religious principles requires religious law as a source of positive law. This results in no distinction between religious law and state law. It becomes a logical consequence of the unification of religion and the state in viewing public obedience so that obedience to the state means obedience to religion and vice versa; resistance to the state means resistance to religion, which implies resistance to God. (Koopmans et al., 2021) The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia still uses intergalactic relations. Saudi Arabia adopts the Koran as the basis of the constitution so that all decisions, laws, and state policies must be correlated with the Koran, such as the law of beheading and qishash (hand-cutting law), which is still carried out at the Qishash mosque, Jeddah. (Diputra, 2016; Dwi Puji Astuti, 2023; Nur Kanariyati, 2021)

In addition to the scope of the state, some organizations, such as Hizbut Tahrir, fight for the concept of intergalactic relations on a global scale. The organization is transnational, spreading its membership sporadically, including Indonesia. In the view of Hizbut Tahrir members, the democratic system of government is a human-made system that must be opposed because it has nothing to do with the teachings of Islam. (Setia, 2021; Setia & Rahman, 2021) In addition, democracy also rests on sovereignty in the hands of the people so that the people are the source of power. (Islam & Syueb, 2017) As for the Hizbut Tahrir organization, the source of sovereignty comes from and belongs only to God.

Secularistic relations are directly proportional to the concept of intergalactic relations, which emphasizes the dichotomization between religion and the state so that they cannot be amalgamated. (Awaludin & Aini, 2021) Religion and the state are two different entities, so the simultaneous application of both is impossible. Religious law (Islam) cannot simply be applied and enforced in one political area and cannot be used as positive state law. (Laurence, 2023) Thus, religion is only limited to the private sphere for its citizens and is concerned with matters relating to worship. At the same time, the state has no right or obligation to regulate the relationship between citizens and their God. Although the state separates the issue of religion and the state as different areas, the state is still responsible for ensuring freedom of religion. The state's focus in secularistic relations is more on public welfare, economy, education, health, and other civil rights. The state is a facilitator of its people, so it will always be bothered with various problems related to aspects other than worship. (Mardimin, 2011)

The Republic of Turkey implemented secularistic relations during the era of Musthafa Kemal Attaturk after the collapse of Imperial Ottoman Turkey. Kemal Attaturk took over the country's leadership and replaced the caliphate system with a liberal democracy. (Mu'ammad, 2016) The impact of the system shift was the abolition of the waqf ministry on May 30, 1924, because it was considered to have religious elements and violated the principles of secularism. (Ramadlani, 2019) Shaykh Ali Abdul Raziq from Egypt supports this policy, that the presence of Islam is entirely independent of the state; the religious mission conveyed by the Prophet Muhammad is purely spiritual and has nothing to do with politics or government. (Fajriyah, 2016)

Then, the symbiotic relation, which differs from the two previous concepts of state and religion relations (integralistic and secularistic), emphasizes that religion and the state have a close correlation and need each other. Religion requires the state to develop, and the

state needs religion as a guide in ethics and spiritual morals. (Alfiannoor, 2023) Based on that, the state does not make a particular religion the basis of the state, but the state takes religious values as the interest of the constitution. Islamic teachings accommodate the fields of politics, economics, education, and other fields, but only in an ethical outline. (Rosdiana, 2022) This emphasizes the importance of providing alternative space in the state system for Muslims to accommodate the particular demands of religion in the government system. (Lismijar, 2020)

The crystallization of religious teachings into guidelines for state life is an effort by religionists to formulate religious values to be applied in the state system. The concept of symbiotic relations is relevant to the teachings of Islam, which include elements of equality, brotherhood, and freedom, as exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad in the Medina charter. (Nurjanah, 2019) Nurcholis Majid stated that the issue of statehood is not an integral part of Islam, but Islam provides ethical values that can be applied in the state system. As long as Islamic values are applied in state practice, there is no question of *syara'* regarding the form of state that will be implemented. In line with Nurcholis, Syafii Maarif asserts that the Quran (religion) positions human life as an integrated whole and must get guidance in the form of ethics and morals contained in its verses. (Shofan, 2023) In realizing state ethics through religious teachings, the state is needed as a tool (agency) from society to support religious values so that they can be disseminated thoroughly so that human relations can be created harmoniously. The state and religion do not become dichotomous entities but need each other in a mutual way that strengthens and aligns with the essence of symbiotic relations.

Indonesia is a country that applies symbiotic relations with the state foundation in the form of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, which have universal values for humanity. Both state bases have relevance to Islamic teachings through the recognition of religious communities, society, unity, democracy, and law enforcement. This reflects that Pancasila, used as the basis of the state, is not identical to any religion or state system. (Karim, 2018) Nevertheless, religion's moral and ethical values are still used as a reference for the state in determining all policies.

Soekarno: Religion and State in the Frame of Nationalism

On June 1, 1945, Soekarno delivered a speech at the session of the Indonesian Independence Preparation Investigation Board (BPUPKI) in which he defined nationalism

by quoting and combining the opinions of Ernest Renan, Otto Bauer, and Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, who then concluded that nationalism is a sense of unity, unity of temperament and fate, and unity between people and places. (Badri, 2001; Susilo, 2020) The last part of the sentence is Soekarno's criticism of Renan and Bauer's understanding of nationalism, which later resulted in patriotism. Soekarno said patriotism is a love based on the supernatural relationship between humans and the earth. (Soekarno, 2016)

Although Soekarno's understanding of nationalism was based on nationalism that developed in the West, Soekarno also criticized the development of nationalism there. (Soekarno, 2016) Soekarno viewed Western nationalism as containing individualism and liberalism, which led to arrogance, capitalism, and imperialism, which resulted in arbitrariness. In addition, western nationalism also has a narrow and extreme patriotism that is prone to conflict of identity, hostility, and conflict. This criticism has encouraged Soekarno to emphasize that the nationalism that the Indonesian nation should embrace is socio-nationalism or machine-nationalism, which rejects capitalism and imperialism. (Marhaen, 2022)

Based on the basic concept of nationalism held by Soekarno, it comes from the West, which is more identical to individualism with its understanding of nationalism about the unity of temperament, fate, people, and place, abandoning the element of religion as one of the unifying elements in the state, but emphasizing that religion and the state stand alone. (Raeinady & Dewantara, 2021) This explains that Soekarno's thinking in the relationship between religion and the state is dichotomous, so there must be a separation between the two (secularism). Although Soekarno did not explicitly reject the concept of unity between religion and the state, it only applies if a society only embraces one particular religion one hundred percent. In the context of Indonesia, Soekarno was very confident that non-Muslims would reject this idea, considering the reality of Indonesia's heterogeneous society. (Farah & Ulinuha, 2020) The concept of secularistic relations held by Soekarno, apart from his nationalism, was also based on his knowledge of the Islamic political movement in the 19th to 20th centuries that occurred in Turkey with its pioneer Musthafa Kemal Attaturk. (Susilo, 2020) Soekarno supported Turkey's reason for separating religion from the state because the union between religion and the state does not guarantee the progress of a nation and even hinders progressivity. Separating religion and state is an excellent step to advance the country. (Soekarno, 2016)

In addition to the above, Soekarno also explained that he agreed to the separation of religion and state based on several arguments, including first, there is no consensus on the necessity of the unity of faith and state; second, there is no Islamic religious concept contained in the material principles of Islam itself (al-Qur'an and Hadith). (Raniasati et al., 2023) These two reasons are some of the reasons that Soekarno put forward to support the separation of religion and state by the Turkish state.

Gus Dur: Religion as Social Ethics in the State

Gus Dur is a popular figure among modern Islamists who opens space for dialog in the study of inclusivity and pluralism. (Rifai, 2010; Zulyadain, 2015) Gus Dur's educational and family background, closely related to the treasures of classical Sunni thought, has provided knowledge about the paradigm of contextualizing the treasures of Islamic thought from various Islamic literature. This is Gus Dur's effort to build a history of thought as a continuation step from the previous intellectual history, which is used as a theoretical basis in the practice of progressivity, inclusiveness, acceptance of pluralism, and promoting tolerance. (Masdar, 1999) The openness paradigm will later give birth to the concept of religion and state relations in Gus Dur's view. The openness paradigm will later give birth to the idea of religion and state relations in Gus Dur's view.

Gus Dur's paradigm of thought in religious attitudes is theoretically based on the principle of *al-muhaafazat 'ala al-qadim al-shalih wa al-akhdzu bi al-jadid al-ashlah* which means “preserving the values of old traditions that are still relevant and adopting new values or traditions that are more relevant” to place Islam as a framework of civilizational universalism. This is reflected in Islamic teachings that care for humanity and the wisdom that emerges from the openness of Islamic civilization itself. The inclusiveness and responsiveness of Islam to the state system require drawing several universal principles from Islamic teachings, such as deliberation as a problem-solving medium, the need for legal sovereignty to be upheld, and decision-making based on the majority will of the community (*mufakat*). The inclusivism of Gus Dur's thinking is the fruit of contextualizing some of the substance of the classical Muslim intellectual treasures through legal revitalization and methodological reorientation of Islamic law (*fiqh wa manhajuhu*). (Rochmat, 2014)

Gus Dur, in the context of Indonesian insight, argues that Islam is only one of the many religions and worldviews that exist in it. A plurality of religions, cultures, traditions, and worldviews is an established element in constructing Indonesianness. So Gus Dur, in

this context, chose to implement Islam as a social ethic in the state's life. This emphasis on Islam as a social ethic will integrate Islam with the social and cultural realities of the nation and, therefore, free from the formal ideological imperatives that arise if Islam is used as a state ideology. (Basyir, 2020)

Although the nation-state will always give the impression of separation between religion and the state, the historicity of the idea of the nation-state is the bitter fruit of the historical experience of Indonesia. (Lukito, 2009) The dialogue between Islam as a religion and nationalism deeply rooted in the understanding of the Indonesian people has strengthened the awareness of a nation-state that recognizes and protects the diverse beliefs, traditions, and cultures in Indonesia so that the nation-state form is the right choice for the construction of the life of the nation and state. The nation-state system has a supportive correlation in sustaining the heterogeneity of identities in Indonesia.

The history of contemporary Indonesian Islam is characterized by the stagnation of Islamic politics concerning the state. Political Islam was once considered a competitor to power that could disrupt the national basis of the state. (Lukito, 2009) The demand from Muslims that Islamic sharia be made positive law as a whole in state legal legislation does not affirm the reality of a plural religious society. Legislation of specific religious laws can create alienation and jealousy of adherents of other religions. So, to maintain a commitment to religious pluralism, Islamic law is reduced to a level that makes adherents of different faiths neither alienated nor marginalized. (Wahid, 2007) Gus Dur tried to neutralize the tense relationship between Islam and the state by offering a paradigm of Islamic personalization so that Islamic teachings become social ethics implemented in state life. This offer has inevitable sociological-political implications by positioning Islam as a complementary factor in socio-cultural and political life in Indonesia. (Wahid, 2006) The idea is committed to mainstreaming the universal values of Islam and the treasures of traditional Sunni thought that are considered capable of building the foundations of a just and democratic political life.

The simplification of Gus Dur's view is that he disagrees with Islam as a religion is integrated with the state where the society is very plural. Gus Dur's reasons are: first, there is no standardized concept of statehood in Islam; second, no technical instructions originate from the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. Related to institutional Islamic formalism, but rather the manifestation of the values of Islamic teachings in the life of society and the state that must be prioritized. (Raniasati et al., 2023) Therefore, the convergence between

religion and the state has a dialectical relationship and mutual need and mutual benefit, which is then known as a symbiotic relationship.

A Comparative View of Soekarno and Gus Dur in the Context of Religion and State Relationship

This research shows that Soekarno and Gus Dur have their concept of state when viewing the relationship between religion and state. Soekarno, through Marhaenism, saw the need to separate religion and the state, which means there is no intersection between the two in any aspect, including politics. (Raeinady & Dewantara, 2021) The notion of marhaenism was inspired by the nationalism that developed in the West, his knowledge of Islamic political movements in the 19th and 20th centuries, and Soekarno's thought process when interacting with local farmers. However, Soekarno tried to reinterpret nationalism by emphasizing equality, which later resulted in his anti-capitalism, imperialism, and socio-nationalism in the form of marhaenism. (Marhaen, 2022) The sense of unity of character and fate contained in nationalism also makes it impossible for the state to make a particular religion the basis of state ideology so that efforts to formalize religious teachings become contrary to the form of the nation-state itself. Thus, the concept initiated by Soekarno is included in the group of secularistic relations.

In contrast to Soekarno, Gus Dur, in the paradigm of Islamic indigenization with his nationalism, has required a dialectical relationship between religion (Islam) and the state. The diversity of community identities in Indonesia made Gus Dur choose the implementation of Islamic teachings as social ethics in state life. (Salam, 2014) Islam cannot be free from the necessity of formal ideology if it is used as a state ideology. Islam, as a religion and nationalist ideology rooted in the Indonesian nation's experience, has strengthened its people's awareness to recognize and protect Indonesia's diverse beliefs, traditions, and cultures to be the right choice for the life of the nation and state. Thus, the formalization of sharia is less appropriate because of Indonesia's heterogeneous society. Nevertheless, the ethical and moral values contained in Sharia can be used as a principle in the formation of law, politics, and state life. (Alfiannoor, 2023) Therefore, the concept initiated by Gus Dur can be grouped into a symbiotic relationship.

The similarity of views between Soekarno and Gus Dur regarding the relationship between religion and the state lies in their rejection of the fusion between religion and the

state, which means that religion and the state cannot be united. Soekarno saw that a nation-state that adheres to a democratic system that prioritizes aspects of unity of character, fate, and patriotism cannot be applied to only one particular religious law/teaching. Meanwhile, Gus Dur views that the implementation of textual Islamic teachings by making it a state ideology will make people with other beliefs feel alienated and marginalized, which can damage the pluralistic elements in the Indonesian construct and is not in line with the spirit of democracy. In addition, a standardized political or state concept is absent in Islam, both in the Koran and as exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad. (Raeinady & Dewantara, 2021; Raniyasati et al., 2023; Sudarti, 2020)

Although there are similarities between Soekarno and Gus Dur in the context of the relationship between religion and the state, there are also differences between the two, which lie in the resulting products of thought. Soekarno, with his nationalism, emphasized that religion and the state cannot be merged in the form of a nation-state and democracy. This means that secularization between religion and state is a logical consequence of a democratic system and nation-state. Although Soekarno tolerated the possibility of a theocracy or religious state, he put a condition that the people in the state must have one hundred percent belief, which is very rare in one country. While Gus Dur recognizes the existence of a nation-state and democratic system as appropriate for a plural society, he does not separate religion and the state by implementing religion (Islam) as social ethics. Although religion and the state are two different entities, they have a symbiotic intersection.

CONCLUSION

There are three kinds of relationships between religion and the state. First is the intergalactic relationship between religion and the state, which includes politics and state procedures. Second, a secularistic relationship that separates religion and the state in any case. Third, a symbiotic relationship that requires religion and the state to have a relationship of mutual need. Religion needs the state to develop, and the state needs religion as a guide in ethics and morals. Soekarno and Gus Dur have different tendencies in viewing the relationship, with the first viewing it securely and the other symbiotically.

Soekarno and Gus Dur are two figures who have contributed to the Indonesian nation because they both held presidential positions in Indonesia and had a substantial share in global politics. Their ideas also colored the dynamics of thinking about the

principles of state and religion. In the context of religion and the state, Soekarno's view is more inclined to a secularistic relationship because, according to him, the nation-state and democracy reject the merger between religion and the state. Gus Dur is more of a symbiotic relationship because according to him. However, religion and the state are two different entities. If religion (Islam) is implemented as social ethics in the life of the nation and state, it will create a complementary intersection between the two and a mutually beneficial interconnection.

The similarity of views between Soekarno and Gus Dur is the rejection of the intergalactic relationship between religion and the state in the Indonesian nation-state, which has a heterogeneous society in religion, tradition, and culture. Meanwhile, the difference is in the results of thinking, where Soekarno tends to have a secularistic relationship, and Gus Dur has a symbiotic relationship. The contributions of the two figures became intellectual actors from Indonesia who participated in determining the form of the state and regulating policy orientation in the Indonesian state.

This research has limitations in taking the perspective of figures who only rely on the thoughts of Soekarno and Gus Dur so that it still represents the point of view of Indonesian intellectuals and has not comprehensively compared the point of view of the relationship between state and religion with figures from other countries. Comparing thoughts with other figures from outside Indonesia requires a holistic reading of the state's and religion's global relationship. A more comprehensive reading of the literature is a solid basis for one's attitude toward the state and religion. Further studies that accommodate broader literature and diverse sources of knowledge can be a source of knowledge for a better understanding of statehood and social arrangements.

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