

---

## ISLAMIC THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON PANCASILA TEXTBOOK IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Khalimi<sup>1\*</sup>, Abu Khaer<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Universitas Nurul Jadid. Paiton, Indonesia

E-mail: [khalimi@uinjkt.ac.id](mailto:khalimi@uinjkt.ac.id)

---

Received: 08<sup>th</sup> March 2020; Revised: 18<sup>th</sup> May 2020; Accepted: 29<sup>th</sup> June 2020

---

### Abstract

This research aims to describe the reconstruction of the worldview of Islamic theology within the Pancasila course textbook used at Islamic institutes of higher education. The authors' observation, research, and knowledge indicate that the majority of students taking compulsory subjects in both general and Islamic tertiary institutions tend to assume that there is no link between the teachings of Pancasila and the teachings of Islamic theology. On the contrary, according to the formulators of Pancasila and the founding fathers of Indonesia, Pancasila is an essence of religious teachings. For example, Soekarno explained that the reason for naming the nation's philosophy Pancasila was because it was inspired by the five pillars of Islam. This research is qualitative in nature by exploring and examining available data in more depth and detail. This type of research places emphasis on library research. Up to the present time, various findings and discussions seem to indicate that the virtuous theological values of Pancasila, with its many variants of scientific studies, are discussed and studied separately from the 'life and death' struggle of its theological concept throughout the history of Pancasila to become the nation's philosophical foundation. Pancasila education has long been considered as a pure knowledge free from any practical involvement of its initiators. The theological concept of Pancasila, which later evolved to become part of subject material in Pancasila Education, demonstrated that it was, in fact, played a role in the zeitgeist, which caused quite a commotion stir during its formulation days.

**Keywords:** pancasila; theology; oneness; just unity; deliberation; social

### Abstrak

Penelitian bertujuan untuk menggambarkan rekonstruksi pandangan dunia teologi Islam dalam buku ajar kursus Pancasila yang digunakan di lembaga pendidikan tinggi Islam. Pengamatan, penelitian, dan pengetahuan penulis menunjukkan bahwa mayoritas siswa yang mengambil mata pelajaran wajib di lembaga pendidikan umum dan Islam cenderung berasumsi bahwa tidak ada hubungan antara ajaran Pancasila dan ajaran teologi Islam. Sebaliknya, menurut perumus Pancasila dan para pendiri bangsa Indonesia, Pancasila adalah inti dari ajaran agama. Misalnya, Soekarno menjelaskan bahwa alasan penamaan filsafat bangsa Pancasila adalah karena ia terinspirasi oleh lima rukun Islam. Penelitian ini bersifat kualitatif, dengan mengeksplorasi dan memeriksa data yang tersedia secara lebih mendalam dan terperinci. Jenis penelitian ini menekankan pada penelitian kepustakaan. Hingga saat ini, berbagai temuan dan diskusi tampaknya mengindikasikan bahwa nilai-nilai teologis Pancasila yang saleh, dengan banyak varian studi ilmiahnya, dibahas dan dipelajari secara terpisah dari perjuangan 'hidup dan mati' dari konsep teologisnya sepanjang sejarah Pancasila menjadi landasan filosofis bangsa. Pendidikan Pancasila telah lama dianggap sebagai pengetahuan murni yang bebas dari keterlibatan praktis penggagasnya. Konsep teologis Pancasila, yang kemudian berkembang menjadi bagian dari materi pelajaran dalam Pendidikan Pancasila, menunjukkan bahwa itu sebenarnya memainkan peran dalam zeitgeist, yang menyebabkan keributan yang cukup besar selama hari-hari perumusannya.

**Kata kunci:** pancasila; teologi; keesaan; adil; persatuan; musyawarah; sosial

**How to Cite:** Khalimi., Khaer, A. (2020). Islamic Theological Perspective on Pancasila Textbook in Higher Education. *TARBIYA: Journal of Education in Muslim Society*, 7 (1), 102-118. doi:10.15408/tjems.v7i1.16718.

**Permalink/DOI:** <http://dx.doi.org/10.15408/tjems.v7i1.16718>

---

\*Corresponding author

## Introduction

Azyumardi Azra, a Muslim scholar who was awarded the honorary title of The Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) from the British government in 2010, stated that the evolution of Islamic book publication in Indonesia, of works by Indonesian authors as well as their translations, in particular from Arabic books, is distinguished by two important features. The first is the hegemony of *kayfiyah* books on Islamic practices, and the second, a lack of serious attention to the dynamics and reality of classical Islam (Azra, 2010; Umar, 2014). The authors agree with the conclusion of the 'Pioneering Father UIN', and provides herein additional information and conclusions demonstrating that the prevalent impasse of thought was not only prevalent in the translation of texts alone, but also in the handbooks of compulsory subjects in Islamic institutes of higher education, including Pancasila studies.

The authors' observation, research, and knowledge indicate that the majority of students taking compulsory subjects in both general and Islamic tertiary institutions tend to assume that there is no link between the teachings of Pancasila and the teachings of Islamic theology. On the contrary, according to the formulators of Pancasila and the founding fathers of Indonesia, Pancasila is an essence of religious teachings. For example, Soekarno explained that the reason for naming the nation's philosophy, Pancasila was because it was inspired by the five pillars of Islam (Soekarno, 1965: 25). Pancasila cannot be separated from and becomes an Islamic teaching per se.

Borrowing Azra's framework (2010: x), in detail, this stagnation in thought is brought about by the nature of practical guidance books, which aside from being popular, is inclined towards ideology; is very well-defined in its position within the context of Islam, and does

not give the reader sufficient room to choose which type of religious practice or orientation to follow. Meanwhile, existing practical guidelines for Muslims do not provide adequate connection when dealing between the complex contemporary world and the rich traditions of Islam (*al-turats al-Islami*). Indeed, the tradition of *al-turats al-Islami* is often referred to, but without a critical dialogue between the present and the past.

With the intention of filling these two voids, again, this study borrows Azra's academic anxiety (2010: x). Firstly, it discusses issues concerning the identity, religious and social views, and the grounding of Pancasila concepts in real life of Islamic university students. Secondly, the discussion presented in this research proposition is not intended to validate a particular religious position or understanding (Azra, 2010: x). This research proposition does not aim to create a utopian concept, but rather one that is grounded and can be accepted and applied by all schools of thought for the sake of fostering *ukhuwah Islamiyah*. Citizens and Muslims wishing to reach better understanding must return to the origins of Pancasila by taking on a critical perspective on all its later developments. At the point of origin, all Indonesian citizens, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, are closer to each other because they are bound by the same ideology, Pancasila.

Based on the above exposition, several problems can thus be identified. There exists a gap between Pancasila Education textbooks and the theology of students in Islamic tertiary institutions. In other words, Pancasila, borrowing the term from Azyumardi Azra, has a religiously-friendly secularism pattern (Azra, 2014: 24; Hashemi, 2009: 165, Kompas, 2010: 9-12). However, it is unfortunate that in Pancasila Education textbooks used in Islamic institutes of higher education and, even more so, by the general public, leans predominantly

towards secularistic Western democratic thought, rather than equally exposing the religiously-friendly teachings of Indonesian religion or beliefs. Secondly, the content of Pancasila Education textbooks lacks instruction material on the wisdom of religious teachings. Lastly, whether we realize it or not, Pancasila Education learning material will increasingly distract students from understanding the noble values of Pancasila, especially the principle of the Oneness of God.

Pancasila encompasses a very broad aspect of life, can be observed from all dimensions of life, such as ideology, politics, economics, social, culture, as well as defence and security. The authors limit this research on the aspect of ideology. In itself, ideology as an object of scientific study is still too broad. The authors, therefore, limit the main concepts of Pancasila with relevance to the worldview of the teachings of Islam in each of its principles. Almost every principle of Pancasila contain words derived from the language used in the Qur'an, which has been standardized into Indonesian. This study is limited to the loan words present in the Pancasila principles.

The primary proposition of this research is how to reconstruct a worldview of Islamic theological values in Pancasila course handbooks used in Islamic Higher Education. There are five minor proposition that can be formulated sequentially as follows: What is the theological value of *tawheed* (monotheism) in the principle of the Oneness of God? What are the values of Islamic theology of *al-'adl* and *al-'adb*, which form the bases for the principles of just and civilized humanity? What is the value of Islamic theology *ukhuwah* within the principle of a unified Indonesia? What are the theological values of Islamic wisdom and deliberation in the fourth principle of Pancasila? What are the theological values of Islam concerning social justice for the people of Indonesia? This paper

aims to provide the answers to these questions, with the primary objective of reconstructing the worldview of Islamic theological values presented in the textbook for Pancasila Education at Islamic institutes of higher education. This becomes important when we consider that the religiously friendly-secular Pancasila Education textbook plays an important role in the formation of morals, behavior, manners, and personalities of the more nationalistic students and the general public without having to put aside religiosity, which is essential to life. In particular, it is expected that Pancasila Education textbooks will not thrust aside religious teachings. This research will benefit people by enabling them to better understand, analyze, and apply the values of Pancasila in their daily lives in harmony with religious teachings.

## Method

This research is qualitative in nature by exploring and examining available data in more depth and detail. The type of data in this study is in the form of teaching material documents. The source of data analyzed is the Pancasila educational textbooks materials. This type of research places emphasis on library research, which is research by collecting data that has relevance to the issues discussed, whether sourced from books or other written sources, such as papers, articles, journals or research reports. In addition, based on data from the Directorate of Islamic Higher Education-Ministry of Religious Affairs (Diktis-Kemenag), as of April 2018, there are 53 institutions of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia under the auspices of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, consisting of 11 UIN, 23 IAIN, 19 STAIN and 764 Private Islamic institutes of higher education (<http://diktis.kemenag.go.id>). The authors limit the Pancasila Education textbook material used in 12 State Islamic institutes of higher education, namely: State Islamic University (UIN) Syarif

Hidayatullah Jakarta; UIN Ar-Raniry DI Aceh Nangroe Darussalam; UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung; UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya; UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta; Walisongo State Islamic University Semarang; UIN Alauddin Makassar; UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang; Raden Fatah Palembang State Islamic University; Pontianak State Islamic Institute (IAIN); IAIN Antasari Banjarmasin; and STAIN Pamekasan. For the purposes of this research, data and information were collected from various books and documents. Thus, the exploration of both primary and secondary data was inevitable. By doing an increasingly in-depth exploration of available data, the authors were able to produce sharper writing. The subject matter of this research is the reconstruction of the worldview of Islamic theology in Pancasila course textbooks at Islamic institutes of higher education. The research was conducted in Jakarta from January 2018 until April 2018.

Qualitative content analysis was applied to analyze data, where all of the data analyzed are in the form of texts relevant to the research subject matter. Qualitative content analysis is used to find, identify and analyze texts or documents to understand their meaning, significance and relevance. Data analysis uses descriptive qualitative analysis method perspective M. Burhan Bungin (Bungin, 2010: 68). Descriptive is a method that uses a fact interpretation that is interpreted correctly. While the analysis is to describe carefully and directed. Data that have been analyzed are then presented using a deductive method that departs from general theory to lead to conclusions that are answers to the formulation of the problem in this study (Lexy J. Moleong, 2008: 3). The theory used in Pancasila textbook research is the Thomas Kuhn paradigm. According to Thomas Kuhn, the paradigm is the basis for thinking or basic concepts that are embraced or used as models or patterns intended for scientists in their efforts to

bring scientific studies. The paradigm here is interpreted by Kuhn as a frame of reference or view that forms the basis of the belief or foundation of a theory. Etymologically, a paradigm is a construct of thinking that is a comprehensive and conceptual view of a problem by using formal theories, experimentation and reliable scientific methods. A view of the natural world around it, which is a general perspective, a way to describe complex real-world problems (Thomas S. Kuhn, 1970: 459-482; 1970a: 96-98).

## Results and Discussion

The authors will describe the findings of the research and discussion on the theological paradigm (Kuhn, 1970: 459-482, Kuhn, 1970: 96-98) in textbooks on Pancasila Education in Islamic institutes of higher education. It is important to present the findings and discussion because at this time the noble theological values of Pancasila, with its many variants of scientific studies, have been seemingly discussed and studied independently of the 'life' and 'death' struggle of theological concepts in Pancasila history. Pancasila Education has long been considered as pure knowledge that is free from any practical involvement of its initiators (Andi Faizal, et al, 2012). The theological conception of Pancasila, which later evolved to become part of the discussion material in Pancasila Education, showed that even it was involved in the *zeitgeist* during its formulation days (Edward, 2016: 62-83; Kathryn, 2016: 175-188; Thomas, 2016: 195). Theological conception in Pancasila Education is one of the various forms of knowledge related to life forms. The changing of times bring about revolutions in theology, which is not unrelated to new and changing practices in social life. This phenomenon also occurs in the world of education.

## Research Findings

This research found and reconstructed a worldview of Islamic theology textbooks on Pancasila courses at Islamic Higher Education. Research time starts from January 2018 until April 2018. Initially, the geographical setting of this study planned by researchers to serve as the object of research was Indonesian Islamic Universities. However, because the majority of Pancasila teaching materials have been online and can be downloaded, the authors researching the research does not have to come one by one the college to find the focus of this research study. This naturalistic qualitative research setting, from the actors' dimensions, was researched and discovered by Khalimi, as a lecturer in Islamic Theology Tarbiyah Faculty and Teaching UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and Abu Khaer, Pancasila Education Supporters at Nurul Jadid University, Paiton Probolinggo, East Java. The Dimension of Activities of this research is to examine the Pancasila course books at Islamic Higher Education as explained above, and the researcher specifically examines the twelve Pancasila Education teaching materials at the Islamic Higher Education. Based on these, the authors' research findings include:

Firstly, there has been a constitutional inconsistency in education with the integration of Pancasila Education into Civic Education by tertiary, in particular Islamic, institutions. As explained in Chapter Two, based on the provisions in article 35 paragraph (3) of Law Number 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education, the higher education curriculum must include religious education, Pancasila Education, Civic Education, and the Indonesian language (Law No. 12 of 2012). Pancasila Education was separate and different from citizenship education. However, in Law No. 20 of 2003 Chapter X on Curriculum, Article 37 paragraph (2) states that the higher education curriculum must include religious education,

civics education, and language; with no mention of Pancasila Education (Law No. 12 of 2012).

Secondly, the merging of Pancasila Education with Civic education has had an impact on the reduction and marginalization of the noble teachings in the religiously-friendly principles of Pancasila ideology (Kompas, 2010: 9-12; Azra, 2002; Azra & Idris: 2002). The discussion of religious values is swept aside by the discussion of the concept of democracy with all its governmental details which tend to be oriented toward the secularistic West. Borrowing Jimly's Language (2011), Pancasila education should reflect the nature of Pancasila as a Godly, not Godless, constitution. Therefore, the Indonesianness dimension must also be linked to the concept of theology or the religions or beliefs and concurrently with the concept of the state as a single legal, organizational entity with regards to the population, citizens, and in relations with other nations or other subjects within the scope of public and private law. Therefore, Indonesianness in Pancasila Education can also be linked to more complex and comprehensive legal terms by also explaining the realm of theology.

Thirdly, the terms in each of the Pancasila principles are very much borrowed words from Arabic, the language of the Qur'an, that have been standardized into the Indonesian language. Qur'anic concepts should be the primary discussion in Pancasila Education, especially in Islamic Tertiary Education. In the first principles, although not a single word of a loan word from Arabic is present within the sentence structure, the conception of 'God' linked to the word 'Oneness' is, in fact, the core of Islamic theology, namely the concept of *tawheed*, or monotheism. Similarly, the third principle of Pancasila does not contain any Arabic loan words, but the conception of unity is identical to the Islamic idea of *ukhuwah*. In the second principle, there are the words 'just and 'civilized'.

In the fourth principle, there are the loan words: 'people', 'wisdom', 'deliberation', and 'representation'. Finally, in the fifth principle is the loan word 'justice'. Therefore, the authors deem that a better understanding of the noble values of Pancasila will be facilitated by exploring the contents of these basic concepts through an interpretative study of Qur'anic verses. Thus, Pancasila Education is in compliance with the directives the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which mandates that the government strive for and implement a national education system that aims to educate the masses by fostering faith and piety in the one God and a noble character amongst the people.

### Analysis of Research Results

The discussion of the results of this study presents answers to the primary subject matter of reconstructing the worldview of Islamic theology within the Pancasila course textbook used at Islamic institutes of higher education. Pancasila Education taught in tertiary, and more specifically, Islamic institutions should refer to Islamic theology. This is because Pancasila is Godly constitution and a religiously-friendly ideology for the people of Indonesia. However, it is extremely unfortunate that in the Pancasila Education textbook materials used in 12 Islamic State institutes of higher education discussions are prevalently dominated by those that are secularistic democratic ideology in nature, a Godless Constitution devoid of the religious values of Pancasila.

The writer's criticism and findings mentioned above were also raised by Jimly Asshiddiqie, who stated that one of the serious problems which often leads to misunderstandings that are disruptive to a harmonious society, nation and state, concerns the relationship between religion and the state (Jimly, 2018). The constitution as the highest document of agreement, national consensus, and

state ideally should always be understood as a nation's maximum effort to accommodate all political and religious perspectives in a document of the highest agreement that is equally respected and is intended not just as rhetoric but to truly uphold and realize actual coexistence. Therefore, it is important for every citizen and student of Islamic tertiary institutions to understand the values and principles and norms that have been agreed upon and which, from time to time, can be interpreted in keeping with the times, solely for the purpose of promoting coexistence and a national civilization that is more intelligent, noble, and united within the realm of the Republic of Indonesia that is founded on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

According to Jimly, in the United States, as the primary point of reference for Pancasila Education, although the interpretation of the word 'God' continues to be debated, the words of God are clearly present in all constitutional texts of the country's 50 states. In fact, the United States Federal Constitution also contains terms that reflect the spiritual state of the framers of the constitution, whose lives integrate everyday religious values. In general, the word 'God' is found in two separate places, in the 'preamble' of the constitution, or in articles on human rights (religion clauses in the bill of rights). Except among experts known for being staunch advocates of secular ideas in the study and practice of state politics, many scholars consider that the absence of the word 'God' is only formal textual in nature. The spiritual state that accompanies these texts is actually very religious, but one of inclusive religiosity (Jimly, 2018). Similarly, the spiritual state of instructive materials for Pancasila Education in Islamic tertiary education institutions should be imbued with nuances of inclusive Islamic religiosity, and not merely serve as advocates and proponents of secular ideas.

## Reconstruction from Research Finding

### Theological Concept of *Tawheed* in the principle of the Oneness of God

It is not possible to understand the theological concept in Pancasila Education in isolation because however pure and transcendental, it is the product of thinkers living within the spirit of a particular time (W. Lance, 2008: 707-731; Karpf et al., 2013; Holbert et al., 2010: 15-34; Russel & Lauren, 2011: 169: 196). What came to be known as Pancasila Education today was pioneered in several phases which was beset with socio-political and even theologically critical movements of the past. The Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language interprets 'God' as an entity to be believed, revered, and worshipped by man as the Almighty, the Powerful, and so forth. The Islamic theological conception of divinity is summarized in the verses of QS. Al-Nās / 114: 1-3:

قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ النَّاسِ ، مَلِكِ النَّاسِ ، إِلَهِ النَّاسِ ۝

“Say, I seek refuge in the Lord of mankind; the Sovereign of mankind; the God of mankind”

(QS. Al-Nās / 114: 1-3).

On the basis of the above *naqli* argument, the divine concept in Islamic theology is known by three terms, i.e. *Rab* (Keeper), *Malik* (King), and *Ilāh* (Object of Worship), all of which refer to the One True God, *Allah Subhanahu wa Ta'ala*. The word 'Allah' in the Qur'an is repeated 2697 times, not to mention words such as *wahid*, *ahad*, *al-Rabb*, *Al-Ilāh* or sentences forbidding to join partners with God in the act of authority in the laying law or the act of worshipping Him and other affirmations leading to explanations of *tawheed* (Quraish Sihab, 2009: 711).

## The concept of *al-Rabb*

Muhammad Ismail Ibrahim in the book *Mu'jam al-Alfāzh wa al-A'lām alQur'āniyyah* mentions that there are several meanings of *rabb*, among them *rabb al-walad*, meaning 'to raise children by feeding and nurturing', *rabb asy-shai'*, meaning 'to collect and possess', and *rabb al-amr*, 'to fix'. *Al-Rabb* is 'God', and is one of the many names of Allah, of which the plural form is *arbab* (Ibrahim, 1968: 191). In Arabic, the word *rabb* means 'one who has' (Ma'luf, 2007: 243), 'one who masters' (Syamsuddin, 2002: 145), 'one who takes care', 'one who preserves', 'one who guides', 'one who educates, and 'one who changes'. Man's reaction to God's word is greatly diverse. Pious persons (*al-insan*) who are always obedient to God's command in reaction to His word in the Qur'an are referred to as *rabbani*. In Arabic and in the Qur'an, the word *rabb* is interchangeable with as *rabbaniyyah*, which is the *shina'i masdar* attributed to the *rabb*, meaning 'God'. *Rabba* is derived from (رب - رب) which means:

نشأ الشيء من حال الى حال الى حال التمام

(Developing something from one state to another, into a perfect state) (Fauzan, 2000: 25). The word *rabb* indicates the existence of the Rububiyah monotheism, which signifies that Allah alone created, rules, and directs the universe (QS: Al-Zumar: 62; al-Fathir: 3; al-Mulk: 1; al-A'raf: 54). According to Ibn Qoyyim, the consequence of Rububiyah is the existence of commands and prohibitions for believers, rewarding acts of virtue with virtuousness, and punishing evildoers for their wrongdoings. *Rabb* is 'God the Creator', to mean not only as the creator of the whole universe but also 'the Sustainer'. Every single

phenomenon happens within His omnipotence as 'the Nurturer.' In terms of acceptance, it is not just Muslims who acknowledge the existence of *Rabb*. Although many in the western world are not formally religious, they nonetheless acknowledge the existence of 'God the Creator'.

### The concept of al-Malik

*Al-Mulku* has its roots in words *mim*, *lam*, and *kaf*, which contains the basic meaning of 'validity' and 'ability'. From the first meaning comes the words *malaka*—*yamliku*—*mulkan*, meaning 'to control'. From here comes the word *malik* and *mulk*, respectively meaning 'king' and 'power'. In the Qur'an, its use can be found in surah Al-Baqaraah verse 247: "And their prophet said to them, "Indeed, Allah has sent to you Saul (Thalut) as a king." They said, "How can he have kingship over us while we are more worthy of kingship than him, and he has not been given any measure of wealth?"

This verse tells of the Israelite's (Bani Israil) rejection of Thalut's leadership, as they did not consider Thalut to possess leadership qualities. According to the political and state sciences, the term *mulk*, in this case, meaning 'king', is defined as one who inherits the power of the previous ruler. This power is called *mulk*, or kingdom. The Qur'an provides a broader meaning of the term *malik*, which is not only 'king' but also 'wielder of power', hence not only mastery but ownership. This meaning can be seen in QS. 3:26: Say (O Muhammad), "O Allah, Owner of Sovereignty, You give sovereignty to whom You will, and You take sovereignty away from whom You will. You honor whom You will and You humble whom You will. In Your hand is [all] good. Indeed, You are over all things competent.' In verse, God is described as the owner of power (*malik-ul*

*mulki*) and gives and revokes that power to whom He pleases. In QS. 59: 23, Allah is described as *Al-Malik*. By looking at this verse, we can conclude that power is, in essence, the property of Allah Almighty and man can only wield power with the consent of Allah the Omnipotent. The Qur'anic verses use this word in general, not solely in terms of political power (Quraish Sihab, 2009).

### The concept of al-Ilāh

The word *al-Ilāh* derives from (الله), meaning 'worship' (عباد). The word *al-Ilāh* can also be derived from the word *alih* (أله) which means 'calmness' (سكن), 'worry' (فزع) and 'deep love' (ولع). The three meanings of the word *alih* (أله) refers to the obligation to be subservient and to glorify. The word *ilahun* consists of three letters: *hamzah*, *lam*, and *ha*, as a segment of the word *laha-yalihu-laihan*, meaning 'God, the Protector, the Powerful. The verb form of the word *Ilāhun* (plural *ālihatun*) is *alaha*, which has the same meaning as 'abada' (to serve). Thus, the meaning of *ilāhun* is identical to *ma'budun*, 'who is served'. The opposite is 'abdun, 'who serves', 'servant', or 'slave'. In Ibn Manzhur's great Arabic dictionary *Lisān Al-'Arab*, the word *ilāhun* still has a general meaning, but when coupled with *lamma'rifah* becomes *Al-ilāhun*, which is none other than Allah Most High, the entity worshipped by all besides Him. Quraish Shihab states that the word *Ilāh* (الله) is repeated 111 times in the *mufrad* form, *ilāhaini* in the *tatsniyah* form 2 times, and *āliyah* in the plural form is repeated 34 times. The word *ilāh* (without *dhamir*) in the Qur'an is mentioned 80 times (Quraish Sihab, 2007: 75).

Ibn al-'Arabi (560-638 H) distinguishes the God that men believed today includes



the 'God of belief' (*ilāh al-mu'taqad*), 'God that is trusted' (*al-ilāh al-mu'taqad*), 'God in belief' (*al-ilāh fī al-i'tiqad*) 'God of faith' (*al-haqq al-i'tiqad*), 'God in faith' (*al-haqq al-ladzī fī al-mu'taqad*) and 'God created in faith' (*al-haqq aMakhlūq fī al-i'tiqad*) (Al-ārabi, 1980: 121). In the Islamic perspective, Allah Almighty is *Allāh Aḥad*, meaning that God is one in all aspects, and never once contains plurality, either in meaning, as in genus and character, or plurality in reality, as perceived in the material world. This oneness also negates and sanctifies God from things that indicate that God has form, quality, quantity, color and any kind of perceived image that can mar the simplicity of oneness. Likewise, the word *Aḥad* denotes that there is nothing like Him (Al-Razi, 1981:152).

### Islamic theological values of *al-'adl* and *al-'adb* in the Second Principle of Pancasila

#### The concept of *al-'Adl*

Justice is very closely related to *tawheed* teaching in the first principle of Pancasila. The word 'justice' is mentioned numerous times in the Qur'an under various phrases. Some use the words *'adlun*, *qistun*, *mizan*, and *wasathan*. The word *'adlun* means *māqāma fī al-nufūs annahu mustaqīmi* (that which is upright in the human soul) (Syaiful, 2018). In this sense, it can be understood that fairness is a righteous attitude that is not biased by desire. *Al-qistu* means something that is made into parts, or a debt that has been divided into several payment instalments. *Al-wasath*, according to al-Asfahani, is middle, balanced, not leaning too far to the right (*ifrāth*) nor to the left (*tafrīth*). It embodies the notion of justice, steadfastness, goodness and strength. Terms related to justice originating from the root word *'a-d-l* occurs 31 times in the Qur'an

(al-Baqiy, 1981: 448-449). According to M. Quraisy Shihab, various forms of the word *adl* are repeated 28 times in the Qur'an, none of which is attributed to Allah's character. The word *qisth* is more common than *adl*, and therefore when the Qur'an demands that a person be fair to himself, the word *qisth* is used. *Mizan* derives from the word *wazn*, meaning scales or 'an instrument for weighing'. It can also mean 'justice', as language often uses the name of a particular instrument to indicate the outcome from its use. According to Muhammad Mutawalli Sya'rawi, the reference to the weighing process relates to the accuracy of the scales, in that there is not the slightest element of dishonesty present. It is for this reason that the word *al-mizan* is chosen, as the word is the most appropriate standard for determining everything without the element of dishonesty (Sya'rawi, 2005: 21).

According to Nurcholish Madjid, justice forms the core of the holy messages of the Prophets. Nurcholish Madjid, in quoting Murtadha Mutahhari, then discusses the division of the concept of justice: (1) meaning balance or state of equilibrium (*mauzun*), not uneven; (2) meaning equality (*musawah*, egalitarian); (3) meaning personal rights or 'distribution of rights to the rightful persons'; especially relating to ownership rights and the distinctiveness of human nature. Indeed, it is undeniable that the concept of justice forms the core of Islamic teachings. Nurcholish Madjid believes that these ideals are felt very strongly in the verses of the Qur'an, all of which was revealed to the Messenger of Allah concerning the people of Makkah. As examples, he mentions polytheism and cruelty (injustice) within the economic system. To him, polytheism 'is an unforgivable sin, and therefore is man's

greatest crime towards himself' (Madjid, 1997: 4).

### The concept of al-Adab

The Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language defines *adab* as the level of inner and outer intelligence, the virtue of the human character (KBBI, 2012: 7). The meaning of the word *adab* in the Indonesian language is almost identical to that in Arabic. There are various terms that refer to 'civilization' in the Arabic language, such as *ḥadārah*, *tsaqāfah*, *'umrān* and so on. However, the primary notion of the term *adab* is in keeping with Islamic law, namely *tamaddun*. The term *tamaddun* can be traced from the root word *dīn*, meaning religion (Zarkasyi, 2015: 2). Hence, civilization or in its development into becoming civilization is, in fact, the religion of Islam, because Islam is a religion of law—a religion whose primary goal is to regulate all aspects of human life and ensure salvation in this world and the afterlife and receive mercy from Allah Almighty.

Naquib al-Attas defines *adab* through semantic analysis, namely the recognition and acceptance of the reality that science and everything that exists has a hierarchy in accordance with its own category and level, and that a person has his own place in relation to reality, capacity, physical, intellectuality and spirituality (Wan Daud, 2003: 177). Hence, in this case, al-Attas gives a deeper and more comprehensive meaning to matters relating to certain objects, namely a person's individuality, science, language, social, nature and God. Being civilized is applying *adab* to each of these objects correctly and according to prescribed law (Wan Daud, 2003: 133). In this context, *adab* has truly become a law

that must be obeyed, not only because it is normative, but because it is related to the man's most primal nature. A learned person is a good person because with knowledge, one becomes a civilized creature, which distinguishes humans from other creatures. The good person referred to here is one who has manners in a comprehensive sense and one that encompasses both his spiritual and material life, one who seeks to implant the good they receive. Hence, people who are truly learned, according to Islamic perspective, as explained by al-Attas, are those who are civilized (Wan Daud, 2003: 133).

### The value of *Ukhūwah* in the Third Principle of Pancasila

M. Quraish Shihab explained that the term *ukhuwah* is terminologically defined as any shared trait and harmony with other parties, whether through sharing the same maternal or paternal ancestry, or both, or milk siblings, and also includes elements of shared ethnicity, religion, profession, and feelings (Quraish Shihab, 1996: 486). Furthermore, in the context of Muslim society, the term *ukhūwah Islāmiyyah* developed, which means brotherhood among Muslims, or brotherhood fostered by fellow Muslims. However, M. Quraish Shihab further pointed out that this term and understanding are inaccurate. He argues that the word *Islāmiyyah* paired with the word *ukhuwah* is better understood as an adjective so that *ukhūwah Islāmiyyah* would mean 'Islamic brotherhood or brotherhood as taught by Islam' (Quraish Shihab, 1996: 487). The view expressed by M. Quraish Shihab needs to be broadcasted among the masses because the Qur'an mentions numerous types of brotherhoods that is Islamic in nature. Likewise, the *hadiths* are abound with many types of brotherhoods. One type was that which was formed by the Prophet PBUH when he

established the state of Madina. Others include social brotherhood, national brotherhood, brotherhood between Muslims, and others.

The Arabic word *ukhūwah* is derived from the word *akha*, and from here gives birth to the words *al-akh*, *akhu*, whose basic meaning is 'to give attention' and subsequently evolved to mean 'to become close friends', 'friends'. Lexically, this word refers to meaning 'he is present in every circumstance', merging with one another within a community (Ma'luf, 1977: 5). *Ukhūwah* is rooted in *akhun*, plural *ikhwatun*, meaning 'brother'. A sister is called *ukhtun*, plural *akhwat*. From this formed the word *al-akhu*, the *mutsanna* form of *akhwan*, and the plural of *ikhwan*, meaning 'many brothers'. The Indonesian Dictionary provides a narrower interpretation of the word 'brother/sister'. It is attributed to mean a person sharing a common mother or father, or either one (KBBI, 2012: 1003). The kinship between one believer to another is likened to a building whose components are arranged well and are mutually reinforcing. The brotherhood of Muslims or *ukhūwah Islāmiyyah* does not distinguish between ethnicity, race, class or skin color. On the contrary, it respects the diversity that is bound together in kinship by virtue of being fellow Muslims. To maintain *ukhūwah Islāmiyyah*, Muslims must unite and help each other to create a force that is powerful and difficult to break apart.

According to Nurcholish Madjid, one advantage of Islam compared to many other religions is the sense of brotherhood (*ukhūwah*) among its devotees. Although throughout the history of Islam there have been many disputes, wars and bloodshed among fellow Muslims from the very early days of its development, on an individual level Muslims have shown a very high level of solidarity between fellow Muslims. This spirit becomes immediately perceptible by Muslims who are travelling abroad. Once a

person declares him or herself to be Muslim, the person will experience an atmosphere of close companionship with Muslims from other countries. Certainly, the Prophet PBUH himself provided the perfect model of the Islamic brotherhood. When he emigrated from Mecca to Medina, one endeavour that he set out to do was the 'fraternization' (*al-mu'akhkhaḥ*) of various elements of the new Madinah community, in particular between the Muhajirin immigrants from Mecca and the Greeters or 'Helpers' (*Anshār*) of Medina. The brotherhood was so intimate that among those who were fraternized, although not related by blood, can mutually inherit each other's possessions (Madjid, 1999: 267).

### The Values of Wisdom and Dedication in the Fourth Kind of Pottery

#### The Concept of *Hikmah*

In the Indonesian language, the word *hikmah* ('wisdom') is interpreted as 1) wisdom (from Allah) 2) supernatural powers (KBBI, 2012: 351). Hence, a person who possesses wisdom is one who has wisdom or supernatural powers; while 'words of wisdom' are words that contain wisdom or tremendous power. The word *hikmah* is derived from the root of the word *hakama*, which comprises the letters *hā*, *kāf* and *mīm*, by which Ibn Fāris defined as *حكمة*, or 'hindering' as a *hakam* or judge who hinders to prevent abuse. The reins used to control animals is called a *hakama*, which signifies hindering the animals from acting unruly or becoming wild (Zakariyā, 1998: 277). In the Qur'an the word *hikmah* in its various forms is repeated in 210 verses: verbs with the word *hakama* once, *hukman* 11 times, *hukm* 53 times, *yahkumu* 23 times, *ahkām* 3 times, *hakim* 81 times (Abd al-Baqi, 1992: 269-273), while the word *hikmah* occurred 20

times in 19 verses and 12 surahs. According to al-Rāzī (al-Razi, 1995: 356), the word *ḥikmah* has four different meanings: 1) 'Mawāiẓ al-Qur'an' (2) 'Al-Fahm wa al-'Ilm' 3) 'Prophecy' and 4) 'A deep understanding of the Qur'an'.

Consistent with the above Islamic description on the word *ḥikmah*, Notonegoro argues that the fundamental ontological system of Pancasila is the wisdom of humanity because humans are the subject of the Pancasila principles. It is human beings that worship the one Almighty God, human beings who must be just, civilized, unified as Indonesians, citizens led by the wisdom guidance born of representative deliberation, and implement social justice for all Indonesians. This is in contrast to the Western view, which based on the notion that man is born free and equal, and that each individual is complemented by what is now known as human rights. The views of tribal nations of the Indonesian archipelago are based on the notion that man is intrinsically made up of the soul and the body, the physical and the spiritual, and that they are individual, social and private beings of the Supreme Being. The tribal nations of the archipelago perceive that since birth, a person will always live within a societal relationship. Humans are predestined to "live in groups", and their lives will lose meaning if humans live alone outside of social life (Subiakto et al., 13). Within The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which is based on familial wisdom as outlined above, the founders of the country subsequently envisioned the creation of a sovereign nation. To this end, the formulation of a Pancasila-based democracy model is defined as a system of citizenship led by the wisdom of democratic representation. Accordingly, the third

concept presented in the Preamble of the Constitution of 1945 declares that a sovereign state should be founded on the sovereignty of the people and consultative representation.

### Deliberation

The word *syūrā* (deliberation) comes from the Arabic word *masdar*, from the root word 'syawara' (Abi Hasan, 1981: 515) and *asyara* (Ma'luf, 419), literally meaning 'to extract honey from the beehive'. This meaning then developed to include everything that can be taken or extracted from another, including opinions (Quraish Sihab, 1996). The use of the word *syūrā* is associated with the meaning of its literary root, which is 'to summarize an opinion on a certain issue'. In this regard, *syūrā* can be interpreted as an exchange of ideas to identify and establish an opinion that is perceived to be correct (al-Zuhayli, 1998: 79). *Syūrā* can also be understood as a forum for exchanging thoughts, concepts or ideas, including suggested solutions to a problem prior to reaching a decision (M. Thahir, 1992: 83).

The general discussion of the Qur'anic tenet regarding *syūrā* (deliberation) is an integral part of Islam and, in principle, encompasses all aspects of public, and even individual lives of Muslims. Al-Bahi argues that the Qur'anic provision on *syūrā* is conveyed in relation to difficulties faced by the government, family, neighbors, business partners, employers and workers, and, in fact, regarding all living things where it is considered useful (al-Bahi, 1971; al-Zuhayli, 1998).

Contrary to the above view, secularists view politics as man-made worldly affairs that are based on aimless situational ethics. Islam does not provide any guidelines for the

political system. This insight is conveyed by such notables as' Ali Abd al-Raziq and, to some extent, Khalid Muhammad Khalid. In the Islamic view, Allâh is the absolute ruler of the universe and the primary authority of a nation. This authority is delegated to man as His designated ruler on earth. The Khalîfah, or head of state, is responsible for enforcing the *sharia*, defending Islam and promulgating justice. This system of power in Islam differs from other systems such as the aristocratic, democratic, communist, and theocratic systems. Some liken the system of power in Islam to a democratic system, while others to a theocratic system. In the theocratic system, supreme power lies in the hands of a cleric. The cleric would exercise power based on the teachings of a certain faith and would be responsible only to God, not the people. According to this system, it is God's will to 'choose' a sovereign to rule over his people, through a right of the heir or decided by a number of individuals (Amin, 1987: 59).

Nurcholish Madjid assures people of all faith that Islam is compatible with democracy, even more so, with Pancasila democracy. According to Madjid, the primary requisite for establishing democracy in Indonesia is Pancasila. The nation's principles complement this nation with the basic prerequisites for establishing democracy or social-political order that benefits everyone. The basic prerequisites are: first, an orientation towards transcendental living; second, an inner connection to humanitarian values; third, awareness of collective responsibility (not giving up or risking issues of public interest solely on the will of an individual, no matter how good the person's intentions, but rather on the general supervisory mechanism within a participatory socio-political order); fourth,

place public over personal interest; fifth, infrastructure and means of national unity. If the latest developments in Indonesia are indications (openness, awareness of human rights, the process towards 'clean government'), then we should be optimistic. However, the question is how far these positive developments can continuously be cultivated and nurtured for the better, and how to avoid crashing into the walls of the 'original' political culture (in the sense of nativism and atavism, i.e. the view that whatever originates from the state and nation and from the past is taken as good and right). This view is not conducive to the more cosmopolitan, open, and visionary views. If this clash occurs or is deliberately directed there by a person or group whose vested interests are threatened, that optimism will turn into pessimism (Budhy, 2011: 520-521).

### The Theological Value of Social Justice

According to Nurcholish Madjid, social justice is one of the main issues that humanity has been aware since it first experienced thought. Immediately following man's venture into state life, which was initiated the ancient Sumerians in the Mesopotamian valley around five thousand years ago, the question of justice within the government has occupied many a thinker, especially religious leaders who, at that time, were the only 'literate' class in society. Historians discovered these early desires towards justice for mankind were legally manifested in the Code of Hammurabi (Madjid: 4). Jimly Asshiddiqie explained that Social Justice is the fifth principle of Pancasila. In effect, all the aspirations of the preceding principles lead up to the ideal stated in this principle. The first to the fourth principles are related to one another. Oneness of God, just and civilized humanity, a unified Indonesia, citizenship lead by wise guidance born of representative deliberation, must all lead to the

establishment of social justice for the people. Therefore, the formulation of the five principles in Paragraph IV of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution concludes with the sentence '*and by bringing about social justice for the Indonesian people*' (Jimly, 2011).

The notion of justice indeed encompasses many aspects and dimensions, that of legal justice, economic justice, political justice, and even social. It is true that social justice is not synonymous with economic or legal justice. Furthermore, social justice differs from the values of justice envisioned in the philosophy of life is commonly developed by philosophers. However, the culmination of all thoughts and aspirations about justice is the attainment of actual justice in real life, as reflected in the structure of a collective societal life. Hence, the final goal of all concepts on legal and economic justice is the creation of actual social justice. Therefore, it can be said that the idea of social justice binds all dimensions and aspects of the humanitarian idea of justice. The term social justice is closely related to the formation of the structure of community life based on the principles of equality and solidarity. Within the concept of social justice is a recognition of human dignity that possesses equal and fundamental rights (Jimly, 2011).

Pancasila, as the foundation of the state, begins with the principle of the Oneness of God and ends with the main goal of state life, realizing social justice for all people. The principles of humanity, unity, and people are on the spectrum that began with God and ends with social justice, in line with the principle of the nation-state aimed at creating communal wellbeing (Budhy, 2011). It is the responsibility of the government to look after its destitute citizens. Society, as a whole, has an obligation to at least guarantee the minimum welfare of its members, and therefore must provide some form of protection against contingencies against which

one is powerless. It is, therefore no longer true that an individual is responsible for his own destiny and must be given the freedom to choose whether to be happy or miserable. Part of what happens to an individual is the responsibility of the community so that the community must make an effort to encourage the good and prevent the bad for each individual citizen. The term 'community' used here is intended primarily to mean the most powerful and authoritative institution, i.e. the government. Justice does not imply that each individual must obtain and possess the same wealth, as the slogan that was once popularized by proponents of PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) 'solidarity and equality for the masses'. On the contrary, the notion of justice implied here is the equal distribution of development accomplishments proportionately to the conditions and needs of the Indonesian people. Justice will be realized once the other four principles are carried in their entirety and in a continuous manner (Budhy, 2011).

## Conclusions

Pancasila is a Godly Constitution or religiously-friendly ideology. Accordingly, in keeping with article 35 paragraph (3) of Law No. 12 of 2012 on Institutes of Higher Education, the subject of Pancasila Education should be given independently and separate from Citizenship Education, including in the Islamic institutes of higher education. The assimilation of Pancasila Education and Citizenship Education into the Pancasila and Citizenship Education consequently marginalize the importance of discussions on the noble values of the Indonesian people as embodied in each principle of Pancasila. Discourse on Citizen Education becomes dominantly if not absolutely, focused on the dimensions of democratization and nationalism that are likely to be taken for granted in Western civilization. The wisdom of a

Godly Constitution or religiously-friendly ideology inherent in each of the five principles of Pancasila is insignificantly covered in Pancasila Education textbooks. The authors' have ascertained that the worldview of Islamic theological values is compatible with the higher values of Pancasila. Pancasila theology is pious in nature and is characterized by two theological patterns: cultured and civilized. Cultural theology is an inclusive theological pattern, with no religious egoism. Civilized theology is a pluralist theology, having mutual respect for all religions or faith that thrive in this archipelago.

Pancasila's Oneness of God principle corresponds to a worldview of Islamic theological values in the form of monotheism. The Oneness of God principle is a manifestation of faith of the people of Indonesian. Faith engages one's heart confirms belief, and affirms God as the sole direction and purpose of life. With faith, man will regain his true existence and not stray from the righteous path. Humans must live in harmony with the uncorrupted inner voice of his conscience, which is central in pushing the soul's yearning to 'meet' God.

The theological values of Islam *al-'adl* and *al-'adb* inspire the principle of 'A Just and Civilized Humanity'. The derivation of *tawheed* that emphasizes individual 'liberation' (*tahrir al-nafs*), and at the same time carries the message of 'equality' (*al-musawah*) in social life, demands that it uphold justice in all aspects of life. *Al-'adb* in the civilization can be defined as the fruit of every effort made by man to improve his life, material (*māddiyyah*) or immaterial (*ma'nawiyyah*). Therefore, all forms of injustice and incivility clearly contradict the concept of *tawheed* and the messages of justice and civility imparted in the Qur'an and Pancasila.

The value of the Islamic theology of *ukhūwah* can be seen as the substance of the third principle 'A Unified Indonesia'. *Ukhūwah*

is all similarities and compatibilities with others, whether in maternal and/or paternal common ancestry, milk siblings, and even some similarities in tribe race, religion, profession, and feelings. *Ukhūwah* in Islamic theology is known by the term *Ukhūwah Islāmiyyah*, Islamic brotherhood or brotherhood as taught by Islam, and does not merely refer to brotherhood among Muslims.

The Islamic theological values of wisdom and reconciliation form the spirit of the fourth Pancasila principle, 'citizenship lead by wise guidance born of representative deliberation'. 'Wisdom' in Islamic theology means to give to others one's understanding of the dimensions of religion, intellect, and truthful words. The Islamic theology of *Syūrā* refers to the exchange of ideas to identify and establish an opinion that is perceived to be correct, according to state and religious laws. Islamic theology is compatible with democracy or *Syūrā* and, even more so, with Pancasila democracy. The primary requisite for establishing democracy in Indonesia is Pancasila. The nation's principles complement this nation with the basic prerequisites for establishing democracy or social-political order that benefits all.

The value of Islamic theology on social justice for all Indonesians through the concept of welfare. The primary objective of the Islamic economy is to realize man's goal to achieve social justice and happiness in this world and the hereafter (*falah*), and a good and honorable life (*al-hayah al-thayyibah*). This is Islam's definition of welfare, which is clearly fundamentally different from the notion of welfare in conventional secular and materialistic economics. Social Justice is the fifth principle in Pancasila. This principle serves as the culmination of all the other principles. The first to the fourth principles are interrelated the oneness of God, just and civilized humanity, a unified Indonesia, citizenship lead by wise

guidance born of representative deliberation— must bring about justice to the people. Therefore, the formulation of the five principles in Paragraph IV of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution concludes with the sentence 'and by bringing about social justice for the Indonesian people.

## References

- Amin, A. (1987). *Islam from Time to Time*. Bandung: CV. Rosda.
- Arabi, Ibn. (1980). *Book of Fushush al-Hikam*, Abu al-Ali 'Afifi (ed.). Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-A'Rabi.
- Arif, S. (2018). "Pancasila Literacy for Political Islam," *Jakarta Newspaper*, Wednesday, February 28.
- Asshiddiqie, J. (2011). "Citizenship: The Construction of Indonesian Law," *Paper for the Symposium Committee on Indonesia and Citizenship*, Indonesian Institute of Sciences, October.
- Asshiddiqie, J. (2018). "Ideas for the Establishment of Constitutional Assessment and Correctional Institutions," paper, downloaded from [www.jimly.com](http://www.jimly.com), accessed on April 12.
- Azhary, M. Thahir. (1992). *Country of Law*. Jakarta: Star of the Month.
- Azra, A., Thaha, I. (2002). *Contemporary Islamic Historiography: Discourse, Actuality, and Acting History*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Azra, A., Thaha, I. (2010). "Understanding the History of the Friends," in Fuad Jabali, *Companions of the Prophet: Who, Where to and How?* Bandung: Mizan.
- Bahi, M. (1971). *al-Dīn wa al-Dawlah min Tawjīhat al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*. Bairut: Dār al-Fikr.
- Bāqī, Mu'ammad Fuād 'Abd. (1992). *Mu'jam Mufāhras li al-Fāz al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*. Bairut: Dār al-Fikr.
- Bennett, W. L., Iyengar, S. (2008). "A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication," *Journal of Communication*, 58(4): 707-731.
- Department of National Education-Central Languages. (2012). *Indonesian Dictionary*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Ecclestone, Kathryn., Goodley, D. (2016). "Political and Educational Springboard or Straitjacket? Theorising Post / Human Subjects in an Age of Vulnerability", *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, Vol. 37. No. 2: 175-188.
- Fauzan, S. (2000). *Al-Tauhid li al-Shaffil Awwal al-Aliy*, trans. Agus Hasan Bashari. Jakarta: al-Shofwa Foundation.
- Hashemi, N. (2009). *Islam, Secularism, and Liberal Democracy: Toward a Democratic Theory for Muslim Societies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Holbert, R. L, K. Garrett, and L. S. Gleason, (2010). "A New Era of Minimal Effects? A Response to Bennett and Iyengar," *Journal of Communication*, 60: 15–34.
- Ibrahim, M. I. (1968). *Mu'jam al-Alfāzh wa al-A'lām al-Qur'āniyyah*. Qahira: Dar al-Fikr.
- Karppf, D., Kreiss, D., Nielsen, R. (2013). "A New Era of Field Research in Political Communication?" *Paper presented at the 2013 International Communication Association Annual Conference and forthcoming; ICA*.
- Kompas, 2010. *Knitting Nusantara: Rindu Pancasila*. Jakarta: Kompas Book Publisher, 2010.



- Kuhn, Thomas S. (1970). "Book and Film Reviews: Revolutionary View of the History of Science: The Structure of Scientific Revolutions," *The Physics Teacher*, Vol. 8. No. 2: 96-98.
- Kuhn, Thomas S., (1970a). *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Law No. 12 of 2012 on *Institutes of Higher Education*
- Madjid, N. (1997). "The Concept of Justice in the Qur'an and the Possibility of Manifestation in the Context of Modern Times," *Serie KKA Paramadina*, No. 35. III; 4.
- Madjid, N. (1999). *Islam of Modernity and Unity*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Ma'luf, L. (2007). *al-Munjid fi al-Lughah wa al-'Alam*. Beirut: al-Maktabah al-Syarqiyah.
- Munawar, R. Budhy. (ed.). 2011. *Encyclopedia of Nurcholish Mosques: Islamic Thought on the Canvas of Civilization*, A-G, Digital Edition. Jakarta: Democracy Project-Democracy Foundation,
- Patrick, Thomas Y. (2016). The Zeitgeist of Secession Amidst the March Towards Unification: Scotland, Catalonia, and the Future of the European Union, *BC Int'l & Comp. L. Rev.* 39 (1): 195.
- Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn bin Ḍiya al-Dīn Umar. (1981). *Mafātih al-Ghaib, Juz. 1*. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah.
- Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn bin Ḍiya al-Dīn Umar. (1995). *Tafsīr Fahr al-Rāzī al-Masyhūr Jalalain al-Rāzī, bi Tafsīr al-Kabīr wa Mafātih al-Ghaib. Volume XI*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.
- Shihab, M. Q. (1996). *The Qur'anic Insights: The Interpretation of Maudhu'i on Various Questions of Mankind*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Shihab, M. Q. (2007). *The Qur'anic Encyclopedia: Vocabulary Study*. Jakarta: Lentera Hati.
- Shihab, M. Q. (2009). *Tafsir Al-Mishbah*, Vol 15. Jakarta: Lentera Hati.
- Soekarno. (1965). *Under the Flag of the Revolution*, II. Jakarta: Panitya.
- Syamsuddin, S. (2002). *Muhammad Shahrur's Intratextuality Method in Al-Qur'an Interpretation, in Contemporary Al-Qur'an Study, New Discourse on Various Interpretation Methodologies*. Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana Yogya (IKAPI Member).
- Sya'rawi, M. M. (2005). *Adalatullah: Justice and Hidayah Allah*, trans. Ahsan Askan, Jakarta: Scholar.
- Umar, N. (2014). *When Jurisprudence Defends Women*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Wan Daud, Wan Mohd N. (2003). *Philosophy of Islamic Education Practice Syed Muhammad Naquib. Al-Attas*, (Terj) Hamid Fahmy Zarkasyi. Et al. Bandung: Mizan.
- Zakariyā, Abū al-Ḥusain. (1998). *Mu'jam al-Muqāyis fi al-Lughah*, Bairut: Dār al-Fikr li al-Tarbiyah wa al-Nasyr wa al-Tauzī.
- Zarkasyi, H. F. (2015). Civilization as a Concept of Islamic Civilization, *Tsaqafah*, 11(1); 2.
- Zuhayli, W. (1998). *al-Tafsīr al-Munīr fi al-Aqīdah wa al-Syatī'ah wa al-Manhaj*, Vol. 25. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu`ashir.