

Artikel Niam

by Syamsun Niam

Submission date: 04-May-2023 05:09PM (UTC+0700)

Submission ID: 2083946445

File name: PUS_Atlantis_Press_Islam,_moderation,_education_in_Indonesia.pdf (320.3K)

Word count: 17399

Character count: 95380



Islam, Moderation, and Prospects Indonesian Islamic Education for the World

Syamsun Ni'am^(✉)

State Islamic University of Sayyid Ali Rahmatullah Tulungagung, Tulungagung, Indonesia
niamiainta@yahoo.com

Abstract. The start of the reform era has started a new chapter in the enforcement of human rights and civil liberties in Indonesia. This period has opened the door wide for freedom of opinion and freedom of religion and belief. However, the freedom that was born from this process brought further consequences which also had an impact on the emergence of radical Islamic movements which in turn gave rise to thoughts and opinions that were against the legitimate government. This phenomenon can *endanger* the unity and integrity of the nation that has long managed to survive because of the efforts of the Indonesian people for a long time. For this reason, moderate Islamic understanding and religious moderation are present in order to counter radical ideas that have flourished because they are supported by technological developments and opinions formed on social media. A qualitative approach by using literature review are used as methods in this research to explore in depth and theoretically about moderate Islamic understanding in Indonesia and the role of Islamic boarding schools and religious colleges in cultivating graceful and moderate Islamic teachings. Through this research, an illustration was obtained that the future of moderate Islam (wasathiyah) is finding its momentum on the world stage, and contrasts with extreme religious models which will have no future in the dynamics of such a fast-paced era. For this reason, this is where Islamic education plays an important role in preparing an integrative approach based on the values of religious moderation.

Keywords: moderate islam · islamic education · prospecting islamic education

1 Introduction

This article was written because of the consideration that we have passed 25 years of reform together since the fall of the New Order regime in 1998 by all Indonesians. Correspondingly, the faucet of freedom is gaining a more expansive stage—where it never happened before. However, this has brought consequences for the emergence of thoughts and movements as if they were just released, without any control, it can be mentioned, for example, the emergence of anti-Unitary State (NKRI) thoughts and movements, the de-ideological nation of Pancasila, the application of the caliphate system that tends to be forced, the issue of the rise of a new style of communism, religious understanding that tends to be very rigid, so that radical Islamist discourses emerged.

Moderate Islamists, liberal Islamists, and so on, seemed to be looking for a stage to fight for influence and sympathy in the public eye. Each side has done tremendous

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D. Pristine Adi et al. (Eds.): ACIE 2022, ASSEHR 714, pp. 161–191, 2023.

https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-044-2_17

framing—especially through social media—with arguments and data that often miss far from real conditions and tend to be forced, even though this feminization movement is still running today. Some act in the name of religion to reminisce about the glory of Islamic civilization in the past by slightly quoting the texts of verses from the Qur'an and al-Hadith, so that it seems normatively theologically legitimate, which has absolutely nothing to do with context, and ignores the dynamics of the changing times. In its course, the framing of each shake greatly influences the rowdy atmosphere in society, both on an academic and practical level, especially through the statements of its key figures. This of course also has a tremendous impact on the dynamics of socio-religious studies, thoughts, understandings, and practices not only for academics (campus residents—especially in the Islamic Religious College (PTKI) environment, but also has an impact on grassroots communities that are directly or indirectly affiliated with Islamic educational institutions, but also carried into the feminization stream.

The author can simplify into four fundamental problems of various problems that arise after the reform, including The problem of diversity welcomed to the problems of nationality, humanity, and religion. The problem of diversity, according to the author, is the source of the next three problems, and the four can be in line with each other, in unison, and influence each other. In turn, it may be a trigger for the emergence of disharmony in various aspects of life, if not find a solution appropriately and comprehensively. In addition to these four problems, the global geopolitical situation that is no longer compatible with normal life today is also a trigger for the emergence of disharmony in all aspects. Especially with the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic which until now still makes all citizens of the world always worried.

In the RPJMN (National Medium-Term Development Plan) 2020–2024, the Government explicitly emphasized the importance of the idea of religious moderation in every plural and multicultural life of its citizens. Rajan also expressly emphasizes the importance of awareness of the importance of plurality and multiculturalism in the National Education system which must continue to be strengthened, cared for, and developed in the social system. Therefore, the strengthening of the values of moderatism in every level and aspect of Islamic education is always realized in a planned, systematic, structured, and integrated manner. This means that the cultivation of moderate values in Islamic Education is the responsibility of all elements of the nation. If Indonesia consistently carries out these values of moderates, Islamic education in Indonesia may truly become a world mecca, at a time when the outside world is experiencing humanitarian degradation which affects various aspects of life. Kishore Mahbubani and Jeffery Sng in their book, "Asean Miracle: A Catalyst for Peace (2017), once gave an affirmation that Indonesia can become one of the largest Asian Muslim countries in the world that will have an important role amid global dynamics for the foreseeable future.

2 Method

This research was conducted using a qualitative approach. While this type of research is library research which is carried out by collecting data from various sources in the form of scientific writings and library works. Researchers collect library data, read, take notes, and process research materials from library sources and various previous

research results. Data collection was carried out by identifying various library materials ranging from books, articles, and other information related to the research topic, as well as collecting materials, recording and analyzing the obtained library data.

3 Result and Discussion

A. Discourse of Moderate Islam in Indonesia

The moderate which is then referred to as “al-was” in the Islamic dictionary can be interpreted as “sawa’un” which is the middle between two boundaries. It can also mean guarding against being uncompromising or leaving the limits of religious truth. Thus, that moderation (al-wasathiyah) is one understanding and then proceeds to an attitude that is not extreme right and extreme left. Consistency in every action by prioritizing partisanship with a middle ground that gives mashallah (manliness), becomes the main character of moderation. The perpetrators are called moderates (al-mutawassith). The main characteristics of a moderate attitude are tasamuh (tolerance), tawasuth (not one-sided), takaful (justice), and Nawaz (balance) [1].

In the history of the spread of religion in the archipelago, Islam has experienced a unique development. In terms of religion, for example, the Javanese before accepting the influence of Hindu religion and culture, are still at an animistic and dynamic level. They worship the spirits of their ancestors and believe in the existence of supernatural powers or magical powers found in objects, plants, animals, and those that are considered to have magic power. Beliefs and worships such as the foregoing, in themselves, have not manifested themselves as a religion in a real and conscious way. On such a religious level, the influence of indigenous Indonesian religions on migrant religions is an unavoidable reality. According to Seno Harbangan Siagian, every Indonesian, no matter how advanced, remains influenced by the original religion that is more or less attached to his new faith, whether he is a Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic, or Christian [2].

The original Indonesian religion, according to Rachmat Subagya, is the concept of godliness in a tribal society that internally grows, develops, and achieves its own perfection without imitation or external influences, so that in the subsequent development of religion —especially Islam— in Indonesia, it has experienced ups and downs, because sociologically-psychologically, the bearers, and spreaders of Islam themselves are required to be able to understand the culture of Indonesian society which is overwhelmed with syncretism.

Among historians themselves, both from the West (Orientalis) and the East (Islam) there are various diverse views regarding the coming of Islam to Indonesia. Indeed, it is a fact that Islam came to Indonesia by peaceful means (civil penetration), without military campaigns or government support, presumably, the initial determination of the arrival of Islam was not so significant because the people involved in the first proselytizing activities did not have any significance, other than a sense of responsibility for fulfilling obligations selflessly so that their names passed unceremoniously swallowed up history. Although there are mixed views on the arrival of Islam to Indonesia, the initial determination of the arrival of Islam can be categorized into two perspectives. First, a view that assumes the beginning of the coming of Islam in the 7th century H/13 AD. Second, a view that adheres to the first-century Hijri.

About this process of Islamization in Indonesia, there are several theories offered, as written by M. Solihin [3]. First, the theory states that the history of the entry of Islam into the archipelago is with an economic-business (trade) approach.

This theory is quite reasonable because for a long time the Indonesian nation has established trade with the Arabs, Gujarat, and Chinese.

Second, the theory that mentions the marriage approach, namely Muslim migrants and traders from the Middle East established familial relations with the local population. This marriage gave birth to a new generation of Muslims in the archipelago.

Third, a theory that mentions the political approach (power). The political approach in question was the preaching efforts made by Muslim merchants and immigrants, who later succeeded in Islamizing the kings and princes of the palace, who had previously professed Hinduism or Buddhism. This theory seems to have continued to occur after the formation of Islamic kingdoms in the archipelago, which later succeeded in Islamizing the neighboring kingdoms.

Fourth, the theory that mentions a Sufistic approach. This theory is quite argumentative because Islamic broadcasters are scholars who have Sufistic knowledge and experience. They appear as scholars who practice the morals of conversion, often even carrying and practicing certain orders. Scholars appear as charismatic, authoritative, and prudent Sufi figures, and are accommodating to the local culture, in addition to being moderate, pluralist, and inclusive, as well as always upholding the noble values of exemplary.

Therefore, without denying the other three approaches, this latter approach seems to be more considerable and more acceptable. Because by looking at the figures of the bearers of Islam -as mentioned above. This has been acknowledged by an orientalist, A.H. Johns who admits that it is very unlikely that Islam came to Indonesia through a trading approach. He proposed the theory that it was the wandering Sufis who seemed to be more successful in broadcasting Islam in Indonesia.

Azyumardi Azra, it seems to be in line with A.H. John above, that the success of the Sufis was very visible when there were many Sunni Muslims -including clerics and Sufis- from Persia who emigrated to the newly Islamized territories due to the emergence of an uncertain political situation in his territory. This could accelerate the conversion of religion to Islam, namely in the Indian Subcontinent, Eastern Europe, the Southeast, and the Archipelago in the period between the second half of the 10th century and the end of the 13th century. the whole process had a hand in the rise of what Hodgson called the "internationalization (universalization)" of Sunni Islam [4].

The spectacularly developed process of spreading Islam in Southeast Asian countries – particularly in Indonesia – is a reality that neither historians nor researchers can deny. This is because the attitude shown by the Sufis is compassionate, compromising, and more moderate, pluralist, and inclusive. Alwi Shihab added that Sufism does have an open and cosmopolitan-oriented human tendency.

The above statement is not an exaggeration, we have witnessed many Sufi figures with their distinctive attitudes and behaviors, helpful and helpful among others, compassionate, building a true sense of community and brotherhood amid society, so it is not surprising that Sufis are very much liked and close to the small people, in addition

to the accommodating and compromising attitudes they have. This is what caused Islam to quickly spread throughout the archipelago peacefully, without violence.

They struggle to spread Islam because of the call of conscience which is their obligation and responsibility as a true believer, without expecting any gifts or self-respect. Purely a Divine call. As the Qur'an describes in Sura al-Nur verse 37: "Those who are not hindered by trade and buying and selling to maintain a relationship with Allah Swt and perform prayers, and pay zakat. They are afraid of a day that (in that day) hearts and visions become shaken".

Abbas Mahmud al-Aqqad said the same thing, that "perhaps the Indonesian archipelago is the most viable place to prove the fact that Islam is accepted and developed in a population that adheres to other religions. In every corner of the country, there is clear evidence of how good example plays a role in its spread without resorting to violence". This proves that the bearers and spreaders of Islam have understood the socio-cultural and socio-psychological conditions of the Indonesian people so that the approaches and methods used are very suitable and liked by the Indonesian people.

The pattern and color of Islam in Indonesia are varied, and the way Muslims in this country live the religion is also various. But, as Martin van Bruinessen acknowledges, there is one very striking facet throughout the history of the archipelago: The string of mystical necklaces that so strongly demarcated its Islam! The earliest writings by Indonesian Muslims breathe the spirit of Sufism, and as many people often say, it is because of this Sufism that especially Indonesians embraced Islam. The Islamization of Indonesia began at a time when Sufism was the dominant pattern of thought in the Islamic world. The thoughts of prominent Sufis, such as Ibn al-'Arabi and Abu Hamid al-Ghazali were very influential on Indonesia's first generation of Muslim authors. Moreover, almost all of the authors just now also became followers of an order [5].

With a somewhat different description, H. A. R. Gibb also said the same thing, that the spectacular spread of Islam in the countries of Southeast Asia was thanks to a Sufi attitude that in many ways tended to compromise with local customs and traditions. Likewise, according to Uka Tjandrasmita, since the 13th century, the spread of Islam through Sufism in Indonesia is a category that functions and shapes the social life of the Indonesian nation because of the specific nature of Sufism which facilitates the acceptance of people who are not yet Islamic in their environment. In addition to other factors, namely, the Indonesian people themselves have a high tendency to spirituality, which has been very long owned by the Indonesian people before they embraced Islam. Thus, among orientalist historians and researchers, and Indonesian scholars themselves, there is no difference to admit that Sufism was the most important factor in the spread of Islam in Indonesia.

The most influential Sufi figure in the history of Islamization in the archipelago is Wali Songo. Alwi Shihab—related to the role of Wali Songo—classifies into two stages. The first stage, was the presence of Wali Songo who succeeded in establishing and accelerating Islamization in the first centuries of hijri in a region so far from the place where this revelation descended, although the success was limited to certain areas. This is due primarily to the limited facilities that allow them to reach other regions throughout the country.

The second stage, which took place in the 14th century AD. was marked by the arrival of as graphic figures, descendants of 'Ali and Fatimah Binti Rasulullah saw., commonly referred to as the descendants of 'alawiyyin. In this period Islamic proselytizing developed in such a way, that it could spread throughout the archipelago, even in Southeast Asia. The development reached its peak in the 15th to 17th centuries.

The positive, accommodating, and moderate activities and efforts they carried out, are seen in the expression of the author al-Madkhal ila Tarikh al-Islam bi asy-Syarq al-Aqsha with the following illustration:

“Islam came to these distant lands brought by people of noble akhlaq, high morals, clever ingeniousness, and the spirit of hard work. Meanwhile, the nations that received their coming had clear hearts, so they gladly accepted their invitation and declared faith. They are descendants of 'Ali and Fathimah binti Muhammad pb who set foot in areas untouched by western hands. They did so not by carrying an army, but a spirit of faith; nor strength, but an attitude of confidence and faith. They were not armed with it except tawakkal; no motorboats, nor armies; all they brought was faith and the Qur'an. They managed to achieve the unattainable goal of thousands of troops with all the supplies and facilities, even though they were only a few people”.

Their native area was Hadramaut, which was once the destination of the hijra of the first-generation ashraf. From among them was born Imam Ahmad al-Muhajir, the ancestor of the pioneers of Islamic proselytizing in Indonesia, whose religious thoughts, madhabs, and theological conceptions and orders were very influential in the activities and struggles of his children and grandchildren broadcasting Islam in the Indonesian Archipelago and its surroundings [6]. This is what later became the embryo of Sufi figures —especially Wali Songo— in spreading Sufistic Islam which was known to be accommodating and moderate in the archipelago. In subsequent developments, it has inspired the figures of Islam Nusantara in developing moderate Islam in Indonesia.

The illustration above shows, that in the hands of Wali Songo Islam has been spread peacefully, not forcing other believers to convert to Islam, respecting the culture that is currently running, and even accommodating it into the local culture without losing its identity. It turned out that this tolerant attitude attracted many sympathetic Indonesians at that time to follow the teachings of Islam. Therefore, Walisongo is a reliable architect in Islamic grounding in Indonesia [7].

According to Abdurrahman Mas'ud's account, Wali Songo was a unique agent of Java in the XV–XVI centuries who was able to combine spiritual and secular aspects in broadcasting Islam. Their position in sociocultural and religious life in Java is so alluring that it can be said that Islam has never have been the religion of Java if the Sufism developed by Wali Songo is not entrenched in society. The reference to these characteristics shows that the Islamic teachings introduced by Wali Songo in Java are present peacefully, although it seems slow but convincing. Based on historical facts, by tolerating local traditions and modifying them into Islamic teaching, and still relying on Islamic principles, this new religion was embraced by nobles and the majority of Javanese people on the north coast [4].

The transmission of Islam pioneered by Wali Songo is a brilliant struggle implemented simply, namely showing new paths and alternatives that do not disturb local traditions and customs and are easily captured by ordinary people because the approaches are concrete and realistic, not complicated, and integrated with people's lives. This model shows the uniqueness of Javanese Sufis who were able to absorb elements of local and foreign cultures, but at the same time still stood firmly on Islamic principles.

It seems that Wali Songo is aware of how Islam should be grounded in Indonesia. They understand that Islam must be contextualized, without losing the principles and essence of the teachings, according to the conditions of the region or earth where Islam is spread. This is what became known as the concept of "premiumization of Islam". This idea is intended to dilute the pattern and character of Islam as a normative and religious practice into something contextual. In the "premiumization of Islam," it is depicted how Islam as a normative teaching derived from God is accommodated into a culture that comes from man without losing his own identity. More concretely, the contextualization of Islam is understood as teaching related to the context of the times and places. Changes in time and regional differences are key to the works of interpretation and *ijtihad*. Thus, Islam will be able to continue to renew itself and be dynamic in responding to changing times. In addition, Islam is flexibly able to dialogue with the conditions of society that vary from one corner of the world to another. It is this critical adaptability that will make Islam able to truly shall *li kulli zaman was makan* (suitable for every age and place) [8].

Honestly, it can be said that syncretism in the teachings and practices of religion will always accompany it. Alwi Shihab, Woodward, and Azra confirm that none of the cultures of this world are syncretic, since all cultures must have their historical aspects that are not singular and thus syncretic. Neither religion nor culture can circumvent the inevitable process, namely, change. It is true, [9] religious teachings as textually stated in scripture, verbatim remain as they were original. However, once religious teachings are to be understood, interpreted, and translated into actual actions in a particular cultural, political, and economic setting, then by then, the understanding based on the teachings of that religion has essentially turned into a culture [10]. The above opinion is in line with the opinion of Quraysh Shihab, stating that: "Diversity in life is a necessity desired by Allah Swt. including in this case differences and diversity of opinions in the scientific field, even the diversity of human responses regarding the truth of the scriptures, the interpretation of their content, and the form of practice" [2].

Fazlur Rahman emphasized that historically the main source of Islam was a divine revelation which was later contained in the book called the Qur'an. However, this book did not go down all at once in unison, but went down little by little and only accumulated after a few decades. Therefore, this type of revelation is a reaction to the historical social conditions that took place at that time. The relationship between the believer and the text of the revelation is made possible by the normative aspects of that revelation, as for the pattern that goes through the way of interpretation. The text never speaks for itself, and it will be meaningful if it is connected with humans. What the Apostle saw did, agreed to, and said was the result of the effort (*ijtihad*) of the Apostle saw. Meanwhile, the Apostle's attempted interpretation of the text was influenced by the historical situation of a particular nature in his time. It is not uncommon for the Apostle to change his interpretation of the Qur'an if necessary.

The occurrence of cultural plurality of adherents of the same religion is impossible to avoid when the religion has spread to such a large area with a diverse cultural background. In the interaction and dialogue between religious teachings and local cultures that are more local, the strength or weakness of pre-existing cultural roots will naturally largely determine how deeply and strongly universal religious teachings reach the socio-cultural realities of the local culture. The plurality of religious faces can also result from different responses of adherents of the same religion to the social, cultural, and economic conditions they face. From this perspective, it can be explained why, for example, the Islamic movement that has been known as “modernist” namely Muhammadiyah tends to gain strong support in urban areas, while NU, which is often referred to as the “traditional” group, gained widespread influence in rural areas.

So, what needs to be underlined is that even though religion is taught by the one Prophet and the one scripture, the more the religion develops and the greater the number of adherents, and the wider the area of influence, the more difficult it will be for the unity of the face of the religion to be maintained. Because, when the teachings and religions that come from the sky are about to be stretched into the empirical plain, then inevitably they have to be faced with a series of sociocultural realities that are often incompatible or even contrary to the religious teachings to be developed.

“There is no one religion that does not depart from a social response. All departed and struggled from, for, and with him. When the religion that is god’s holy decree is dialectic with social reality, it means that it enters into the pit of history, or plunders. History, space, and time are the testers of the truth and sturdiness of religious existence. As an examiner, history certainly has a set of exam materials. Those materials are elements of local culture, new phenomena and cultures, and rationality.”

Again, the collaboration between religion and tradition is sunnatullah. Tradition is the profane human thought of sacred religious texts. Thus, the relationship between Islam and tradition in the thinking of Muslims is very close. Understanding Islam without the support of mastering the intellectual heritage of its predecessors is very difficult to reach the point of perfection. However, tradition is not everything, it remains in its imperfection as the fruit of a very value-fiber thought. It must be addressed proportionately and should not be reduced or exaggerated from the actual certainty [11].

B. Learning Moderation from Pesantren

Understanding, thinking, and behaving moderately, it is not difficult to find references in the history of the development of Islam, both in the area of origin of Islam itself and in Indonesia. More precisely, the discourse on the seeds of moderatism can be referred—if in the region where Islam descended—to the practice of Islam by the Prophet Muhammad PBUH and his companions, in particular al-Khulafa ar-Rasyidun. Where the Prophet Muhammad had built egalitarian social and cultural interactions with various groups that existed at that time, especially in Medina. After the Prophet PBUH assumed the prophetic mission of la ilaha illallah in Mecca, he continued his mission by hijra to the city of Medina, formerly called Yatsrib. The name Yatsrib is used to remember the first person who came and built the city was named Yatsrib bin Amliq ibn Laudz ibn Levant ibn Noah. Yatsrib society is quite diverse and already familiar with pluralism. There

are dominant tribes inhabiting the city, namely the Aus, Khazraj, Qainuqa, Quraidlah, and Bani Nadzir. The religions there are also very diverse, Muslim, Jewish and a bit of Najran Christianity. In Islamic society itself there are two kinds of groups, namely the migrants referred to as muhajirins (from some tribes of Mecca and its surroundings) and the local population, commonly called the Ansharins (who are dominated by the Aus and Khazraj Tribes). Meanwhile, Jews are mostly from the Nadzir, Qainuqa, and Quraysh tribes.

Here the Prophet PBUH had built civilization by conducting social interactions with various parties. The Prophet himself never discriminated against any of the followers of the religions and groups that were there, including Islam itself. He has always built the foundations regarding the importance of a moral-ethical foundation in forming a civilized people (mutamaddin), upholding the values of justice, freedom, equal rights and obligations, and equal treatment in the eyes of the law. To realize this, a “Medina State” was formed. This concept was later stated in the “Shahifah of Medina (Charter of Medina)” which contained the moral-ethical foundation. Here the Prophet saw shariah (clearly and unequivocally) has instilled human values, egalitarianism, upholding differences in diversity (diversity), and mutual respect-respect between religious believers, ethnicities and tribes, as well [11] as existing groups. Thus, epistemological, theological, and historical buildings, about the values of moderatism are already very clear.

Meanwhile, in the Indonesian context – experience in caring for the values of moderatism - it can be referred to as the spreaders of Islam known as Wali Songo. Wali Songo is considered to be an early generation who was successful in transmitting the teachings [5] of moderatism in line with Islamic values and principles in the archipelago as had been done by the Prophet SAW, the Companions of the Prophet, tabi’in, and salaf al-shalihin generations afterward. His proselytizing approach and strategy are always in-context with the social and cultural culture of the archipelago (read: Indonesia). The next generation of moderate Islamic promoters in Indonesia can take the form of a forum for religious organizations (Islam) as done by NU (Nahdatul Ulama) through education in Islamic boarding schools; and Muhammadiyah through its social-proselytizing-educational institutions. This kind of Islam in the Indonesian context is more suitable to be expressed as the term used by Syafi’i Ma’arif, namely “Islam in the Indonesian Frame” [12]. Azyumardi Azra also often mentions that moderate Islam is the original character of the Muslim religion in the archipelago [7].

Pesantren as a miniature of Islamic studies and Indonesian Muslim society has shown its activities in articulating moderate Islam in the archipelago for centuries. It was this Islamic boarding school-style moderate Islam that was then used as a basis for spreading Islam that is friendly to the universe (rahmatan li al-Alamin). In this connection, several traditions have long been demonstrated by the world of pesantren, where pesantren is the oldest Islamic educational institution in the development of the dynamics of educational history in Indonesia. Based on the results of studies conducted by researchers, it has shown that since the beginning of its development (early 16th century), pesantren — or similar such as surau, data, and others named after their regions — have claimed Islam to be friendly and easily adapted to the original disposition of Nusantara [7] culture. As the oldest Islamic educational institution, pesantren has a large role in the process of Islamization (including cultural Islamization) in Indonesia, and even in Southeast

Asia. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration if pesantren is considered a transmitter of moderate values that always intersect with teachings, religious norms (Islam), and the daily practice of students in pesantren.

The ability of pesantren to accommodate the diverse cultural disposition of the archipelago (Bhinneka) easily, and not be oppressed with the progress of the times, is enough historical evidence that since the beginning the pesantren has stepped up and processed openly to differences and diversity. An interesting dissertation research by Prof. Lukens-Bull (1997) from Arizona State University (ASU) USA., has supported this evidence with a conclusion, that Islamic boarding schools have succeeded in carving out a new identity. They reject two forms of Mustafa Kemal at-Taturk-style tackles, and Khumaini's form of rejection, of everything Western and modern; the pesantren community is aware and sensitive to globalization and Mc-Donalization but remains active in responding to globalization with the peaceful jihad of pesantren education, [5] so the choice of jihad is very cultural, natural, and remains within the moral-ethics of the pesantren. Unlike jihad which is displayed by textualist groups (radical Islamists), nor is it like jihad among so-called liberalist Islamists. Even the character of the pesantren is still held as part of a legacy that can be communicated in the context of its ever-changing times as it is today and in the future.

According to historical records, the privileges that result are achieved by pesantren because in addition to the practices and behaviors of pesantren (kyai) figures through daily life that appears simple and unpretentious; also because it is supported by the existence of learning materials through the pesantren education curriculum which contains a lot of understandings of moderatism and multiculturalism. Call it the "yellow book" (classic), which until now remains a basic element of the curriculum of Islamic boarding school educational institutions. These two charms – the behavior of the kyai and the pesantren curriculum - are what make pesantren considered the most accommodating, moderate, and open institution in Indonesia to date. Even with the latest developments, not a few reviewers, researchers, and observers conduct research/studies on order in Indonesia. When the outside world has endless conflicts, pesantren still show their understanding and moderate character consistently, flexibly, and dynamically. In that connection, it is not an exaggeration if an opinion arises, that if there is no Pesantren in Indonesia, then Indonesia is not realized as it is today. Some also say, if there are no two religious organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) – as a forum that houses Islamic boarding schools and education in Indonesia–, then Indonesia will not have a moderate face of religion as witnessed today.

Regarding the learning system that is full of moderates values in line with Islamic studies in Pesantren, for example, there is a discussion of various kinds of theological thoughts of various groups of schools in the *Kitab al-Milal wa an-Nihal*, written by al-Shahrastani (479–485 H). The book deals with *firqahs* (groups) both within Islam and outside Islam which are presented objectively without any need to insult or praise; *Kitab al-Fiqh al-Madzahib al-Arba'ah* (the book of the four madhabs), written by al-Jazairi, also explains the comparison of the opinions of *fiqh* scholars in the four madhabs. From these two books, it is quite clear that an attitude of tolerance, respect for difference, and a spirit of the development of the values of moderatism are instilled [13].

Likewise, the books of interpretation are shown that are studied and studied in pesantren. The book of *Anwar at-Tanzil* was *Asrar at-Ta'wil* by Abu Said al-Baidlawi (d. 691 H/1191 AD) and the book of *Tafsir al-Jalalain* by Jalaluddin al-Mahalli (d. 864 H/1459 AD) and Jalaluddin as-Suyuti (d. 911 H/1505 AD), in interpreting Qs. Jonah verse 99. Jalalain mentioned: "Do not (you force) with what Allah Almighty is. I don't want to do it against them!". Al-Baidlawi also interpreted: "Indeed, the difference in the will is impossible to equate with the path of coercion". When interpreting the same verse, Ibn Katsir (d. 774 H/1373 AD) in the *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Adzim* states, "(hidayah) it is not your business, but the business of Allah SWT." Sheikh Nawawi al-Banani in *Tafsir al-Munir* stated, "You have no power to change a person's (faith). Faith will not be present in one's soul, except on the ibadah (will) and qudrah (dominion) of God".

Another example in Qs. an-Nahl verse 125. Al-Baidlawi interprets the verse by saying, "your task is only to deliver (al-Balagh) and indict (ad-da'wah). While the instruction (al-hidayah) and misguidance (ad-dhalal) are none of your business. Allah Almighty better know who is lost and who gets the clue. It is Allah Almighty who (has the right) to repay them". Thus the books of fiqh, classical interpretation, and other books that are usually studied in Islamic boarding schools become daily references in studying and understanding Islam about the values of moderatism so that in later times it can internalize in the daily life of students. In turn, it will be a provision in building the concepts of moderatism without disenfranchising the original principles and values of the teachings of Islam itself.

A contemporary charismatic kyai, K.H. Afifuddin Muhajir, Nanny of Ma'had Aly Sukorejo Situbondo East Java mentioned, the book of fiqh is also full of the teachings of moderation and tolerance. "Based on my reading, the teaching of tolerance is often found in the book of fiqh". Kyai Afif gives an example, for example, the description of fardlu kifayah in the book of *Fath al-Mu'in* by Zainuddin al-Malibari (d. 975 H/1567 AD) of madzab Shafi'i. Al-Malibari explained that among the fardlu kifayah was *kiswatu 'arin*, giving clothing to naked people, including the infidel dhimmi. "So, if there are naked dhimmi infidels, fardlu kifayah for Muslims to give them clothes" [14]. Kyai Afif gave an example -by quoting in the book of *Fath al-Mu'in* earlier-, if Muslims and infidels dhimmi together in a boat objected to the burden so that they were threatened with drowning, then there should be items on the boat that were sacrificed. This is for the safety of man, including the safety of the dhimmi pagan. The book of fiqh speaks so much. There are many examples of tolerant and moderate teachings in the classics. Also in the book of *Tanbih al-Ghafilin* by Abu Lats as-Samarkand (d. 373 H/983 AD) for example, it is explained, "Muslims must be polite, both to fellow Muslims, Jews, Christians, and those of other faiths". In addition to the moral messages of moderate teachings and practices displayed through the classic books of pesantren in the frame of Islamic studies in Indonesia, in reality, can also be seen through the daily expression of the kyai pesantren. There is a story shown by K.H. Abdul Hamid Pasuruan, known as a Kyai who always accepts and respects every guest who comes, even if it is of other religions. Even just asking to be prayed for, Kyai Hamid never refused it [15].

Moderate understanding of pesantren can also be seen from the teachings, speech, and behavior of Sufis who are studied through the yellow book in pesantren. There is one view that Kyai Achmad Siddiq can show, citing the perspective of Sufis. According to

Kyai Achmad, the view of sufficiency can embrace all human beings without seeing and discriminating against the origins of their ethnicity, race, color, class, or even religion. In Sufism, all beings are viewed equally. "We are all servants of God". Thus Kyai Achmad imitated the wise words of a Sufi. Kyai Achmad—in the discourse of Sufism—considers human beings to be good, without any prejudices of an ideological, theological nature, or discriminatory views, because human beings are seen as equal. Differences in religion, ethnicity, nation, and skin color, are just artificial differences that should not impede brotherhood between fellow human beings (*ukhuwah insaniyyah/basyariyah*) [7].

Therefore, the classical books (yellow books) taught in pesantren are without a doubt largely dominated by tolerant and moderate teachings in the system of human life. This seems to be a rebuttal to the Findings of the National Survey: Attitudes of Religious Violence Behavior in Indonesia, which was conducted by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) State Islamic University Jakarta, last July 2006. Among the findings is that the teachings of the yellow book have the potential to encourage interfaith violence. However, Jajang Jahroni (PPIM research team) hurriedly denied the results of his research, that the yellow book mostly encouraged violence. "We are not researching the yellow book, but violence in the name of religion". So commented Jajang.

Still according to Kyai Afifuddin, "Ignorance is the main cause of Muslims inflaming violence against people of different faiths. That's because the salary (studying Islam) is not complete. The deeper one's religious knowledge, the more tolerant one will be". Kyai Afifuddin's thesis seems to be in line with the findings/theses of David Dakeke, an Islamic researcher at George Washington University, United States. In the book *Islam, Fundamentalism and the Betrayal of Tradition* (2004). Dakeke writes that the development of Islamic violence and fundamentalism was born out of Islamic modernism that ignores classical intellectual treasures and traditions [14].

In this context, discussing the discourse of moderate Islam in Indonesia, especially in Islamic boarding schools, has found momentum. Because, so far, Islam has often been interpreted singly—not plural or multicultural. In fact, in the archipelago the reality of moderate and multicultural Islam is very thick, both socio-historically and globally (global-local). Locally, for example, Islam in the Archipelago is divided by Clifford Geertz in tripartotomy: *santri*, *abangan*, and *priyayi*; or in the perspective of deliver Noer's dichotomy, namely traditional and modern Islam; and there are many other views such as liberal, fundamental, moderate, radical and so on. Socio-historically, the presence of Islam in Indonesia also cannot be separated from the multicultural context as can be read in the history of the entry of Islam into the archipelago brought by Wali Songo [16].

Thus, learning about moderatism in Islam is new. This has at least been demonstrated by the pesantren world with its materials, systems, and patterns of teaching and learning that are full of the values of moderatism and multiculturalism. Such conditions can not only be witnessed through the material, the teaching, and the learning process but also the figures of the pesantren (*Kyai*). In Pesantren—throughout the author's observations and experiences—there are always taught the values of morality to respect and respect each other between the varieties and patterns of religion, ethnicity, tribe, customs, culture, and so on. This is what was later called the "pesantren tradition", which is a process of dialogue between nations and a long dialectic between Islamic doctrine and local traditions. In pesantren, through the teachings of morality and Sufism (*akhlaq*) delivered,

teachings have developed the importance of upholding attitudes of tolerance (tasamuh), being moderate (tawasuth), and always being consistent (takaful) while adhering to the principles and values of Islamic teachings [10].

In the historical development of independence until the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia, pesantren has spawned pioneers and “Fouring Fathers”. It can be mentioned, for example, Hadratus Sheikh K.H. Hasyim Asy’ari and his son K.H.A. Wahid Hasyim, K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, K.H. Mas Mansur, Prof. Kahar Muzakkir, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, H. Agus Salim, Sutan Syahrir, Commander-in-Chief General Soedirman, H. Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (HAMKA), K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid, and others. All of them are Islamic boarding schools, which are not only qualified in the field of religion, also because of their commitment to maintaining the universal values of humanity and high diversity, but also because of their leadership and the very strong spirit of nationalism and nationalism.

Therefore, in the present and for the foreseeable future, people are required to be able to live beyond the barriers of ethnicity, [17] culture, tradition/understanding, and religion. To organize a harmonious life, they are required to be able to face the reality of pluralism [18]. In that context, pesantren have shown their very long and proven experience in leading Indonesia to become the largest Muslim country in the world in the container of the Republic of Indonesia. However, pesantren are also required to continue to update and adjust to the changing times. Pesantren with all its dynamics can be an example of caring for modernism in the world.

C. Learning Moderation from Islamic Religious Universities (PTK)

For a long time, Indonesia has had the potential to lead to conflicts in inter- and internal-religious relations, even long before this Republic was founded, because Indonesia initially not only consisted of island clusters separated from Sabang to Merauke, in addition to also consisting of small and large kingdoms scattered throughout the archipelago. However, the dynamic relationship between and intern-religions can be minimized not only because the largest religious adherents of Indonesian society are Sunni Muslims who often have moderate views, but also because –to borrow Anas Saidi’s term– Indonesia has a cultural cushion that can guarantee and strengthen relations between various components of different nations (Bhinneka), which is the result of mutual agreement (Kalimantan sawa’/common platform), namely the ideology of “Pancasila”. The potential for conflict is actually like an iceberg that at any time can melt if there is a spark as a trigger. The culmination point of inter- and internal harmony of the religious ummah found good momentum on the one hand, namely when the emergence of the New Order with power in the hands of President Soeharto. Harmony seems to be going well and even received recognition from various countries in the world, that Indonesia can be a successful example of maintaining tolerance between internal religious ummat because almost since the New Order was established there have been no serious conflicts regarding inter-religious relations in Indonesia. Moreover, Orba implements a policy of stability and harmony, so that anyone who makes a move to make noise in the name of anything -including religion and others-, will be strictly and harshly acted upon. However, on the other hand, from the authoritarian attitude adopted by Orba, there is something that must be sacrificed by citizens regarding freedom of opinion, action, and action, as if it does not have enough space. In this context, any criticism that is considered detrimental to the

ruler (government), will be the cause of taking harsh measures in the name of harmony, stability, and law.

Having a moderate view of diversity should be a common determination of the citizens of the nation since the founding fathers chose Pancasila and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika as ideologies and platforms in the life of the nation and state. This also confirms that for anyone who undermines and reduces the values and basic principles of both (Pancasila and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika), there is no room to be able to play a role in it. Because all efforts to delegitimize the principle of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika and the de-ideological nation of Pancasila will not provide benefits, on the contrary, it has a negative impact that is much worse (*madharat*) for the future. Therefore, the policy concerning religious moderation, which is an indispensable part of caring for diversity has become the determination of all parties. The religious moderation policy certainly does not only belong to the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and all work units under it, but the policy on moderation is already a binding national policy for the entire community - including for government agencies - because it is juridically formally has a law to guarantee in maintaining moderation in diversity (diversity) as in the provisions of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia Indonesia, namely in the Four Pillars of Nationality (Pancasila, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, NKRI, and the 1945 Constitution), which was then broken down into the RPJMN (National Medium-Term Development Plan) 2020–2024.

Religious moderation —as mentioned by Lukman Hakim Saifudin (when he served as Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia) for the 2014–2019 period— interpreted it: “How can we as a religious Indonesian society, then be able to maintain the way we are religious, the way we understand religion, and the way we practice religion so that we are always on the moderate spectrum. We do not want to give birth to technocrats, scientists who are experts in their fields, but have extreme and exclusive religious thinking, which brings something destructive”. According to Lukman, religious moderation is considered the right way to counteract violent, exclusive, explosive, and intolerant issues and practices in the name of religion in Indonesia and also the world” [19].

The emergence of radical Islamism in Indonesia – seen in the perceptive history of its emergence - cannot be separated from the dynamics of the long history of the formation of the Republic of Indonesia which has the ideology of Pancasila. The choice of Pancasila as a common platform (*Kalimantan saw*) and ideology was not necessarily achieved easily, but through extraordinary struggles, debates, and conflicts among political activists-Islamist, Nationalist, and also Islamist-Nationalist, until finally agreed on Pancasila as an ideology in the nation and state. This agreement, which later in the next journey was still considered unsatisfactory to some certain political parties/groups at that time such as the Masyumi Party (Islamist), so it still left disappointed. The culmination of Masyumi's disappointment was when he was brutalized by Soekarno in 1960 because Masyumi figures were involved in the PRRI Rebellion (Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia/Permesta (Universal People's Struggle), so Soekarno carried out shackling of Masyumi figures. After the Old Order fell by being replaced by the New Order regime led by Suharto, the Masyumi figures wanted their names to be rehabilitated, but Suharto was also not pleased for the same reason, namely their involvement in PRRI/Permesta

in 1958. This condition then had an impact on the emergence of radicalization in these ex-Masyumi figures by establishing the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council (DDII) in 1967 led by Muhammad Natsir. Through a Proselytizing Media magazine, they carried out propaganda against the mystics of the judiciary, Americans, and Jews.

The presence of DDII is considered a trigger for the birth of proselytizing and other political movements that tend to be more radical in Indonesia. These radical groups can be seen by sending Muslim students to study in Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern Countries with scholarships sponsored by DDII in collaboration with Rabithah 'Alam Islami. The consequence was that there were not a few new leaders from the Islamic radical group from the Middle East. These radical groups were then followed by other radical ideas in the early 1980s, namely Wahabism, the Muslim Brotherhood, and Hizbut Tahrir, which secretly regenerated the younger generation of Islam through education in Islamic boarding schools and the user system on campuses [20]. These groups were later considered the forerunners of the birth of radical Islamism in Indonesia which was in sharp contrast with the culture and socio-political system in Indonesia. Therefore these groups are considered to be fascism imported from outside Indonesia, which became known as transnational groups.

Radical Islamist groups in subsequent developments [21] have undermined the authority of Pancasila and its inherent attributes, for example, the pillars of nationality such as *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, the 1945 Constitution, and the Republic of Indonesia are considered to be a pillar that violates Islamic sharia and must be replaced with a caliphate system. Since the four pillars of nationality in the eyes of radicalise groups are considered products of the infidels (thought), so their existence must be rejected. The most powerful groups—especially those that emerged in the reform era—were Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Majelis Mujahideen Indonesia (MMI), Laskar Jihad, Ikhwanul Muslimin, and others. If you look back, these radicalized groups are very un-context with the socio-political culture in Indonesia. They are a transnational mass organization (imported products) from outside Indonesia. This movement was later alleged to be the embryo of the emergence of the Pancasila de-ideological movement.

Later also appeared a movement sought to delegitimize Pancasila as the basis of the state. Even what upset many circles was the emergence of the Pancasila de-ideological movement and radicalism among students and students. Several surveys were found whose results were quite astonishing. Saiful Mujani's report, for example, said that radicalism among Indonesian teenagers is already in an alarming stage. According to Mujani, 6.12% said they agreed with the bombings that Amrozi had carried out, and it was a religious order; 40.82 respondents answered "willing", and 8.16% of respondents answered "very willing" to commit attacks on people or groups deemed insulting to Islam, and as many as 9.2% of respondents who agreed that the Republic of Indonesia was changed to a caliphate state or Islamic state.

Meanwhile, the Wahid Foundation—as quoted by Khofifah Indar Parawansa—reported that 7.7% of respondents were willing to take radical actions if the opportunity arose, and as many as 0.4% had committed radical actions. Although it is recorded as small, it is a danger that must be anticipated, given the continued consequences caused by the survival of the nationality more broadly, both socially, politically, culturally, and others. The age of the learner is a time of growth and development, so it is easy to change

and radicalism may grow bigger if the environment and life are indeed supportive in that direction.

Many factors cause the emergence of radicalism, including teachers or teachers who are indeed affiliated or sympathetic to organizations that want to replace Pancasila with trans-national ideology, through doctrinal indoctrination to young people to support the caliphate. In addition, the emergence and growth of radicalism are due to the influence of the rapid flow of information through social media (social media) and the internet which is so powerful and fast. In this context, it will be difficult to filter out the negative impact of the rapid flow of information [22].

Radicalism occurs because there is an understanding not only of religion and others narrowly but also undeniably of the existence of other factors that do allow it to be able to cultivate radical values and teachings. Therefore, anyone will have the opportunity and can commit radical/violent acts for different reasons. In the context of national life in Indonesia, a narrow understanding of religion is not the only factor triggering the emergence of radicalism, but also other factors, such as justice that is still uneven, welfare and prosperity that is not well distributed, and others. It is this condition that then becomes the cause of the emergence of discontent from other groups so that its venting can be articulated through actions of an ideological and also pragmatic nature.

The movement towards it has begun to appear from the very beginning of the reforms to the present. This happened because Pancasila – during the New Order - was only interpreted and understood in a mono-interpretation and mono-understanding manner, and denied critical contributions from parties other than the New Order government so that Pancasila could not be effectively grounded. Pancasila is only used as a cover for the stability and harmony of a regime. In addition, it also cannot be blamed if there is an opinion that the effort to de-ideologize Pancasila can develop, because there is indeed neglect –even dininabobokan- from the government, especially during the previous administration. Therefore, the tip of the iceberg that was then liquid to carry out the Pancasila de-ideologization movement, anti-NKRI, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika was the sap of all the conditions that had been created well in previous times.

Two survey results are also important to pay attention to in response to efforts to de-ideologize Pancasila in Indonesia. The results of the Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC) Survey reported that there were 79.3% of respondents who reported agreed with the Republic of Indonesia and were still considered the best for the Indonesian nation to date, and 9.2% of respondents agreed that the Republic of Indonesia was replaced with a caliphate system, while another 11.5% of respondents admitted that they did not know/did not answer. Likewise, the results of a survey conducted by PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta about the intolerance movement. There are 76% agree with continuing to use Pancasila in the national system and 84% agree with the existence of the Republic of Indonesia with Pancasila ideology. Meanwhile, for those who agree with the inspiration of Islamic teachings, as much as 22.8% [23]. Thus, the survey shows that there is indeed a real potential for the existence of the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila which have been built for so long in Indonesia even though the number is not too large so that all parties must have the same view in building the nation in the future while still ideologizing Pancasila correctly and consequently.

A very fast and bitter political movement heard in his struggle to replace Pancasila with a caliphate system is HTI. If you look back a bit, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is a religious political organization that cannot be separated from Hizbut Tahrir (HT) which first appeared in Palestine, its founder was Taqiyuddin al-Nabhani in 1953. The political system to be built is the al-Islamiyah caliphate. This political movement, which was originally only in Palestine, then expanded to various countries in the world, including Indonesia in the early 1980s. Hizbut Tahrir's purpose can be seen from its political concept—which claims to be unilateral—in fulfilling obligations as commanded by the holy book of the Qur'an, al-Sunnah, and has been articulated in the history of Islamic rule from the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW until the fall of the Turkish empire Usmani (18th century AD).

Taqiyuddin mentioned in two of his works, *Daulah Islam and Mafahim Hizbut Tahrir* which have been translated into Indonesian by HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia) Press since 2004 and 2007. According to HTI, the current generation has never had a complete political picture of Islam, so Muslims prefer other philosophies of life that make the purity of Islam eroded. Taqiyuddin argued that such a condition was a major setback for the Muslims. Taqiyuddin called it *ghazwa al-tsaqafi* (cultural invasion) which caused Muslims to not want to use Islamic sharia in their system of government.

In the Indonesian context, HTI is a movement that is considered by most Indonesians to be very dangerous to the Republic of Indonesia. The motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, the 1945 Constitution, and Pancasila was deliberately distorted by HTI as a product of infidels (thought) to the Indonesian people, and the caliphate system was considered the only solution for the nation by Islamic law. In responding to the HTI caliphateization movement, a group emerged that consistently escorted the agreements of the founding fathers, namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) with its various affiliates. This happened considering that HTI was increasingly massive and courageous in fighting for the caliphate in Indonesia. Moreover, it is alleged that -politically speaking— someone backed it up so that HTI is more courageous and free in developing its mission. For NU circles, HTI is considered a *benalu* that has disturbed national life, which has been well established and harmoniously. For NU, the Republic of Indonesia [24] is the price of death, Pancasila is an ideology that cannot be bargained and tampered with its existence, *Bhinneka* (diversity) is regarded as *sunnatullah* which cannot be muzzled casually because by muzzled diversity it is the same as denying the plurality created by Allah SWT. Diversity is a great wealth and capital for the Indonesian nation.

Therefore, fiddling with and rejecting diversity and Pancasila, is tantamount to betraying all the *ijtihad* and *jihad* of the founding fathers (founders of the nation) – including the Nusantara scholars whose integrity is undoubted - in defending the Republic of Indonesia and choosing Pancasila as a national ideology.

The appearance of Joko Widodo as President of the Republic of Indonesia in 2015 as a replacement for Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is the culmination of the political and ideological conflict of the Indonesian nation in defending the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila since the post-Reformation (1998) until now. Joko Widodo (Jokowi) as the president of the Republic of Indonesia feels that he has a responsibility to maintain and preserve the agreement that has been bound by the oath and promise of the founding fathers. Several concrete steps Can be taken by President Jokowi, including in 2017

President Joko Widodo made a short video stating "I am Pancasila". Against the back and white flag, Jokowi ended the 34-s video with the sentence, "I am Jokowi, I am Indonesia, I am Pancasila". The "I am Pancasila" movement quickly spread through social media (social media). The video, which had gone viral on social media, made emergence of diverse opinions, between the pros and cons. Apart from these pros and cons, Jokowi's video can be an important reminder for all circles to fight the increasingly real anti-Pancasila and NKRI currents. President Jokowi's statement appeared two days before the birthday of Pancasila, June 1, along with the implementation of Pancasila week, to be precise from May 29 to June 4, 2017. What Jokowi did was then followed by all government officials and various circles of the Indonesian people, all of them voiced the hashtag "I am Pancasila" in various tweets on social media accounts. Jokowi's actions at least have an impact on image building, that all Indonesian people still stick to the agreement of the founding fathers in preserving and implementing the values of Pancasila in the life of society, nation, and state.

The concrete action of the Jokowi administration was followed up with the dissolution of the HTI on July 19, 2017, through the Ministry of Law and Human Rights which officially revoked the legal entity status of the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) mass organization based on the Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights Number AHU-30. AH.01.08 of 2017 concerning the revocation of the Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights Number AHU-0028.60.10.2014 concerning the ratification of the establishment of a legal entity of the HTI association. The revocation letter was carried out as a consequence of The Government Regulation instead of Law (Perppu) Number 2 of 2017 which amends Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Community Organizations. The government puts forward three main arguments for the dissolution of HTI, namely; First, as a legal entity, HTI does not carry out a positive role in taking part in the development process to achieve national goals. Second, the activities carried out by HTI are strongly indicated to have contravened the objectives, principles, and characteristics based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia as stipulated in Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning CSOs. Third, HTI activities are considered to have caused clashes in the community that can threaten the security and order of the community, as well as endangers the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

The anti-Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila movements – if traced back - have seen the strategy and model of political movements since the time before the Reformation Era. However, the anti-Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila movements found their moments and sown like mushrooms that grew in the rainy season since the entry of the reform era and the fall of the New Order. In the name of the faucet of freedom, they are in cahoots with various radical movements that contrast with the mainstream culture-socio-politics in Indonesia. The embryo of the radical Islamist movement, which was later referred to as the trans-national group, developed on public campuses/universities –whose religious base was nota bene was not strong enough– so that the teachings and principles developed among young people/students through the activists of the Tarbiyah movement which later became known as espionage from [25] Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), became very easy to do. The movement claimed to be proselytizing, is indoctrination, considered very suitable among young people/students who do not yet have a strong religious base. This

differs from student input at STAIN, IAIN, and UIN, as well as other Private Islamic Religious Universities (PTKIS). Although in its development, it turned out that UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta was later alleged to be one of the PTKINs that had been entered by the Tarbiyah movement —part of the HTI— [26].

There are results of research astonishing all parties conducted by setara institute in February to April 2019, it was found that there was a radical movement through Tarbiyah activists and former members of the HTI organization who had long been harassing State Universities (PTN) such as AT UI (University of Indonesia), ITB (Bandung Institute of Technology), Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB), and also UIN (State Islamic University) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. Setara Institut mentioned that there are 3 main narratives developed by the Tarbiyah movement on these campuses, namely: First, the narrative about practicing Islamic shari'a in a kaffah (comprehensive) manner based on the Qur'an and al-Hadith. Therefore, according to him, the safety of the people can only be achieved through the practice of Islamic shari'a. Second, the narrative about the threat of Islam from the enemies of Islam. The Islamic Ummah must jihad to fight against such efforts. Enemies of Islam are infidels affiliated with Christian groups, Zionism, imperialism, Western capitalism, liberalists, and secularists. Third, the narrative concerning the conquest of Islam by the West is from the mastery of thought and culture, so the West is considered an enemy and an infidel that must be fought. The dissolution of HTI by President Jokowi on July 19, 2017, in fact, did not make the Tarbiyah movement on campus, then stopped doing propaganda. Even HTI continues to carry out propaganda through narratives of intolerance to students in secret.

In responding to religious narratives developed by the Tarbiyah activist group on PTN campuses which are then alleged to be able to spread to PTKIN with this indoctrination strategy, there are at least three assumptions that can be put forward. First, campus residents (the academic community) —including campus managers— actually already know about the existence of Tarbiyah activities and movements wrapped in proselytizing activities, so campus residents see it as an ordinary religious activity that will not be thought to be part of the HTI caliphate political movement in Indonesia, so it is not beautiful and wise if these religious activities are restricted or prohibited. This first group certainly did not make any effort. Second, campus residents who know the activities and movements of Tarbiyah as a caliphate political movement, but deliberately let it seem as if they don't know anything (pretend not to know), even though allegedly this second group provides support both morally and materially behind it so that its activities become existing and growing. In this connection, it is again assumed that not a few campus administrators and their citizens are supported. Third, the actual campus residents do not know (read: ignorant) about all forms of activities carried out by their students—including the Tarbiyah movement—so there is no concern whatsoever including the implications that arise later. This last group only realized and found out after the news and the commotion that occurred. Campus residents and open and PTKIN managers have just realized and are willing to introspect on campus policies about the existence of movements that lead to the de-legitimacy of the Republic of Indonesia and the de-ideological nation of Pancasila after various types of research, studies, and surveys of the existence of radical Islamism are real. It can be illustrated that campus students —as Kuntowijoyo said— were born Muslims without mosques, so they are vulnerable to

the teachings and practices of religious indoctrination that are not from the forging of Islamic boarding schools and madrasahs, but rather from the results of liqa' and halaqah in campus [25] mosques. The culmination is when there is a policy from the Minister of Research and Technology (Mohammad Nasir) to comb all the cells of the Tarbiyah movement on campus, campus residents, and the open and PTKIN managers involved with it, strict action will be taken even up to dismissal as ASN (State Civil Apparatus).

In the context of PTKI in Indonesia, Lukman Hakim Saifuddin – when he was the Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia – on one occasion once mentioned that the number of Islamic Universities in Indonesia is far more than those in the Middle East or the Arab Region which is the center of Islamic peri-peri. Lukman mentioned the number of PTKI, for example in Egypt it is recorded to have 55 Islamic Universities, in Saudi Arabia, there are 60 Islamic Universities and in Malaysia has 35 Islamic Universities. While in Indonesia, Lukman said that there are up to 6,000 Islamic Religious Universities (PTKI) both public and private. So many PTKI spread throughout Indonesia, can be great potential in influencing the world to appear as a good education in the cultivation of inclusive and moderate religious values. There is even a sense of optimism if PTKI in Indonesia becomes the center of Islamic education and civilization in the world [27].

Looking back at PP No. 60 of 2019 concerning Higher Education in Indonesia, [28] and the vision and mission of the Ministry of Religion, it seems expressly stated that the objectives of Islamic Higher Education are: First, preparing students to become members of society who have academic and or professional skills who can apply, develop, and or enrich the treasures of science, technology, art and or life that breathes Islam; second, developing and disseminating science, technology, and art that breathes Islam and or Islamic culture to improve people's lives and enrich national culture; third, formulating, disseminating and educating the philosophy and values of the Islamic religion so that it can be used by the community as a parameter of life behavior, being an aspiration and catalyst for development, as well as a motivator for the creation of tolerance for bragama life, as well as a harmonious life between ummah of different religions. PP 60 is a juridical and normative basis in the implementation of Islamic education and studies at all levels of Islamic higher education (PTKI) to create a harmonious atmosphere in a Bhinneka (diverse) community life. Therefore, PP 60 is binding, so in all aspects of the implementation of the academic process at PTKI, it is also mandatory to refer to PP 60.

PTKI has a great responsibility in overseeing, caring for, and developing the values and principles of moderatism that have been pioneered by the founders of this nation. Through its learning practice, PTKI should be able to present various forms of programs that can unravel the tangled threads of moderatism mentioned above. Therefore, mainstreaming movements such as deradicalization or whatever the name is called are important for Islamic religious campuses. In the last decade, it cannot be denied that there is a massive movement carried out by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia which is structurally and instructively, then followed by the ranks/work units below it, especially those that directly intersect with actors in society, namely through Islamic educational institutions such as Islamic boarding schools, madrasahs to Islamic

Universities. Because it is these education residents who can directly face the community so that if there are clashes motivated by diversity diversity, they can immediately respond and find solutions together.

PTKI also does the same, as is currently being witnessed by all parties, that almost all PTKI in Indonesia, not only from state-based PTKI but also private PTKI are re-orienting their Islamic studies, although sometimes it still seems not serious, because in programming its activities both academically and non-academically have not been supported by software (software) and hardware (hardware) more optimally. Software, for example, concerns the presentation of curricula that have not been drawn in an integrated and comprehensive manner. It is not yet clear that the curriculum is integrated with the values of moderatism, diversity, Pancasila, citizenship, Indonesian Islamic discourse, Islam and nationality, and others, which is included as a group of courses that do support the values and principles of moderates and diversity in Indonesia. Meanwhile, hardware concerns adequate infrastructure in supporting the creation of inclusive understandings on campus and campus environments such as through various applications and social media that can be reached by the community more openly, so that the values of moderatism sown on campus can be accessed by the wider community. Because what it means for a moderate program that is so neatly sown on campus, cannot have an impact on change in society.

As is well known, for example, in IAIN Tulungagung - which is currently transformed into UIN Sayyid Ali Rahmatullah - there are already institutions/a kind of study units such as IJIR (Institute for Javanese Islam Research) which is consensual with Islamic studies contextualized with socio-cultural studies that are typical of Javanese, so it is very apparent that the study of local wisdom, as a form of development of the IAIN/UIN jargon itself, i.e. as "Campus of Da'wah and Civilization". IJIR provides positive value in mainstreaming studies on moderatism, which indirectly has an impact on a good understanding of pluralism and cosmopolitanism.

Likewise, for example, at UIN K.H. Achmad Siddiq (KHAS) Jember has also formed a unit that specifically engages in Islamic moderation under the name "House of Religious Moderation" [24]. This seems to be a development of the grand vision of UIN KHAS Jember which wants to become a center for the study and development of Nusantara Islam. The religious moderation house UIN KHAS Jember is still struggling in the field of studies through seminars and training, [29] so it has not been seen in the program of concrete activities that can have a direct impact on community empowerment and development related to mainstreaming and strengthening the understanding of moderation. Meanwhile, IAIN Kediri has a study unit "JARE (Study, Research, & Social Transformation)" indirectly can also describe the values and principles of nationality, moderatism, and diversity that directly intersect with Islamic values and principles. IAIN Pamekasan also did the same, namely by establishing a "Center for Religious Moderation". IAIN Cirebon also created a moderation study unit named "Religious Moderation House", which was launched by the Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Fahrul Razi on July 14, 2020. Then UIN Malang also has an "Integrative Islamic Center". Although seen from the name, it does not directly refer to the studies of moderates, it also describes the studies of moderates that intersect with Islamic studies.

Likewise, UIN Raden Mas Said Surakarta with the "Center for the Study and Development of Pesantren Nusantara". This study has been a bit long because it was founded and launched by the Minister of Religious Affairs, Lukman Hakim Saifuddin on October 19, 2017, ago, and has a commitment that is not far from the commitment of moderation that has been mentioned by PTKIN above, namely as an academic community-based institution within UIN Surakarta. The focus of this institution is to deepen the study of pesantren, develop networks between pesantren, and synergize pesantren and universities through strengthening ideas, attitudes, and actions to advance civilization based on Islamic values, nationality, and humanity [30]. UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta also has a "Center for Pancasila and State Defense Studies (PSPBN)" which was initiated by the previous Rector, Yudina Wahyudi – currently the head of BPIP (Pancasila Ideology Development Agency). UIN Walisongo Semarang also has a "Religious Moderation House" which concentrates on the studies of moderation and Islamic values of nationality [31].

UIN Salatiga although relatively new when launching the "Center for Wasathiyah Islam", namely on September 4, 2020, by the Deputy Minister of Religious Affairs, Zainut Tauhid Sa'adi, also has the same commitment to escorting and spreading moderate Islam that will not be out of the values and principles of diversity that already exist in Indonesia [32].

Likewise, IAIN Kudus with its "House of Moderation", which was also launched on February 14, 2020, by the Deputy Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, also actively involves itself in seeding the values of religious moderation in a plural and multicultural society [33]. UIN Prof. K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto also with the "Center for The Study of Bringing". This study center is oriented towards studies that are socialistic that can provide an understanding of appreciation and appreciation for the existence of lian (the others). This is its name "Penginyongan" which comes from the word "inyong" which means empty, nothing. It refers to the attitude of people who are nothing at all. Innocence, not elite, is the existence of a recognition of differences or egalitarian traits, natural without caste [34].

Related to the study of moderation in all PTKIN (State Islamic Religious Universities) specifically in the Central Java region, there is interesting research to be the subject of discussion here conducted by Abdurrahman Kasdi, Umma Farida, and Choirul Mahfud, who concluded that: First, PTKIN in Central Java has covered and elaborated on the values of Islamic studies with local wisdom being a separate course. Also through academic activities, and has been incorporated into the structure of Islamic Universities, although the nomenclature used varies. Islamic studies that intersect with local wisdom can be seen in the cultural studies of Grebeg Besar, Dandangan, Sekaten, and other cultures that have been neatly packaged with religious values and nuances (Islam). Second, the meeting of Islamic values with local wisdom through Islamic studies at PTKIN in Central Java has been able to seed religious moderation. The data is not only seen from the implementation of the curriculum that is integrated into the Islamic studies system at PTKI from several courses presented, but also through the ideas, thoughts, and attitudes of the academic community in accepting the differences and heterogeneity of various religious discourses in Indonesia [35].

Although the research has not been confirmed about the effectiveness in the development of understanding at the community level. The research continues to make a significant contribution in showing the role of PTKIN related to the seeding of moderation. In this context, it is also undeniable that not a few PTKI are only willing to follow the trend of moderation policies that become government programs through the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, and are not accompanied by concrete steps in realizing moderation in plurality and multiculturalism so that the education and learning system does not appear more real both in the curriculum, approach, and practice of moderation.

In private PTKI, it seems that they also do not want to be left behind by the trend of moderation studies, for example, Yudharta Pasuruan University has the jargon “The Multicultural University” which often describes plural and multicultural values, not only through Islamic studies made such as seminars, symposia, workshops, and others that are tentative by inviting figures and participants from across religions and beliefs alone, but it has also been integrated into the curriculum in the learning/lecture system. The figure of his central caregiver, K.H. Muhammad Sholeh Bahrudin became an important figure in seeding the values of moderatism at Yudharta University, because Yudharta was under the auspices of the Islamic Boarding School he was taking care of. This is in line with the vision, mission, and goals of the pesantren he founded, namely: “Educating the nation and maintaining the values of Pancasila while producing students with Japanese brains and Medina’s hearts” [36].

“The Multicultural University” Yudharta shows that moderate understanding can go hand in hand with religious values that have long been taught by Kyai Sholeh not only through regular recitations/lectures with several mukhabarat (yellow books) in his pesantren but also through his daily attitudes and behaviors. In addition to the formal education and university he initiated, it is also through seminars, symposia, and various discussions that often involve various parties including across ethnicities, groups, and even religions or faith streams. This shows that Kyai Sholeh and his pesantren have shown the world that religions—especially Islam—can dialogue and meet or bring all together, as long as they are with good intentions and goals [37].

Unlike in Yudharta, there is also at Unira (Raden Rahmat University) Kepanjen Malang with the campus jargon “Peace Education” has been able to attract community members to join/study there for reasons of the campus character that can care for and develop moderate values and principles so that students do not only consist of one religious tradition but there are also students in the Unira Postgraduate Program (PPS/S2) from the Ahmadiyya school—one of the schools an Islamic splinter that some consider being a deviated group from Islam. On the sidelines of the online Field Assessment (AL) at the Postgraduate Program (S2) of the Islamic Religious Education Study Program (PAI), the author conducted a special interview with one of his students from Ahmadiyya regarding his reasons for choosing to join S2 Unira, he also said that because at Unira there is a learning that can accommodate differences by anyone and from anywhere.

The jargon of “Peace Education” enlivened in Unirac is the development of the teachings and principles of Islam rahmatan Lil ‘Alamin which is the vision and mission of Unira. This is logical because Unira is included in its management coordination at the Nahdlatul Ulama Higher Education Institution (LPTNU) – which nu has been known

to be very keen to fight for moderate values within the Islamic framework of rahmatan Lil 'Alamin- so that the vision of "rahmatan Lil 'Alamin" is always attached to every move of Unira's steps which are then continued by the units under it including by its Postgraduate Program.

Then at UMM (University of Muhammadiyah Malang) also has a special study institution called the "Center for Islamic and Philosophical Studies (PSIF)" which of course - as the name implies - not only examines matters specifically related to Islamic-philosophical studies, but all aspects of life that have an impact on the empowerment and development of the ummah can be presented here, and of course, are studies related to moderation in religion. UMM as it is known is part of an educational institution under the auspices of the Muhammadiyah association, which is also consistent in decriminalizing the values of moderatism in Indonesia until now [38].

These are some examples of studies and activity programs on moderatism with various aspects that surround it. Some have just been formed moderation units/institutions, some have been running for a long time, and some are making adjustments because the units/institutions have existed for a long time, so it's just a matter of adjusting to the trend of religious moderation policies at the level of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. The author deliberately cannot photograph the entire study units/institutions that exist throughout the PTKI in Indonesia, at least the studies that appear at the PTKI can provide a sense of optimism about the sowing of diverse values as cannot be separated from the perspective and attitude for the majority of Indonesian citizens. The big note for PTKI is that there must be consensus and consistency that is constantly echoed and implemented more empirically in community life so that the results of the study do not only become a pile of documents that cannot be read and utilized by the community outside the campus. The commitment to maintain moderate values and principles in Indonesia's diversity for PTKI should not be based on trends and euphoria alone, let alone considered as a national program from the government through the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, but also viewed and addressed critically. Caring for, maintaining, and developing the values of moderatism in Indonesian diversity is a jihad for the common good, so this existing diversity (diversity) is not only a positive potential but can also be articulated in a more empirical life. Because if the positive potential/capital is not managed properly, it will trigger the emergence of conflicts among the nation's citizens for the future.

D. Prospects of Indonesian Islamic Education for the World

The two portraits of the seedbed of values, principles, and practices of moderatism carried out in the two Islamic Educational Institutions above – the experiences of pesantren and PTKI - are sufficient evidence that Indonesia's sense of optimism will become a comfortable place in caring for and developing moderate values is beyond doubt. Even if Lukman Hakim Saifuddin once stated that Indonesia is not impossible in time to become a world mecca in Islamic studies, no longer the Middle East a mecca, then presumably Lukman's statement is not an exaggeration. This can at least be seen from the Islamic education program that has been conceived and practiced by the two Islamic educational institutions above (pesantren and PTKI). There are at least four considerations: First, there is a joint commitment of citizens in caring for and continuing to develop the values of moderatism in the midst of diversity (diversity) until now, which is articulated in

all aspects of education, starting from the lowest level of Islamic education such as in Islamic boarding schools to the highest through Islamic Religious Universities (PTKI); second, the ideology of Pancasila becomes an ideology that is indisputable by every other ideology that is not necessarily compatible with Indonesia, for example the ideology of the caliphate which is no longer compatible with the social, political, cultural and religious culture of the majority of Indonesian citizens; third, the values and principles of moderatism have been an inseparable part of daily life since before the Indonesian nation-state was formed; and fourth, there is a dynamic dialogue and dialectic between religious understanding and aspects of locality, so that religious teachings can be met with local culture properly (civil penetration).

One thing that cannot be denied in the latest dynamics, namely that Indonesia is currently in the world's spotlight because of its consistency in caring for moderate values in the life of society, nation, and state. This is not because it is based on an ingrained culture in every niche of life activities, but also because of patented and unworkable idiosyncratic support, namely the Pancasila ideology which explicitly recommends all citizens implement in every step of their lives in a plural and multicultural society, at a time when there is a degradation of the social system between each other that hits most of the countries in the East of Tengah and West/Europe that are still raging today. Of course, for various reasons, whether related to political, economic, socio-cultural, religious, or other dynamics.

The protracted conflicts that have occurred in most parts of the world – particularly in the Middle East – have become evident that the conception has not yet been completed and then implemented in the life of the nation and state concerning the relationship of religion and state. Indonesia with its Pancasila ideology can be an inspiration to the outside world, that the meeting of religion and the state can be managed properly. If this moderate Islamic education can be properly refined and can be attractive to the world, then the prospect of Indonesian [39] Islamic education may become a world mecca. Not a few digital track records can be shown regarding the interest of the Islamic world in the Middle East and the West towards the understanding and movement of moderatism developed in Indonesia, both in the form of appreciation, positive responses, and of course diverse opinions both from the pros and cons. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as the largest Islamic mass organization in the world, has succeeded in initiating this through the discourse of “Islam Nusantara” which is an articulation of the understanding and practice of moderate religion in the Style of Indonesia. Related to this, for example, some time ago, K.H. Miftachul Akhyar, on behalf of the Chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Majlis (MUI)—also serving as Rais Syuriah of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU)—had paid a visit to Egypt's al-Azhar Cairo University. Kyai Miftah was warmly welcomed by the Deputy Grand Sheikh al-Azhar, Muhammed al-Dhuwaimy, on August 4, 2021, on the sidelines of the International Fatwa Conference. In addition to discussing educational cooperation, there is also another interesting thing that has become a discussion between the two parties, namely the importance of strengthening the understanding of Wasathiyah (moderate) Islam among Islamic students to counter the thoughts, understandings, and movements of extremism, [40] which have been continuously developed by Indonesia.

K.H. Ma'ruh Amin (Rais Syuriah PBNU at that time) said that there was a European film director who came to Indonesia, when he was present at the Tabligh Akbar event held

in the series of the Second Sumatra Regional Sharia Economic Festival (FESyar) organized by Bank Indonesia at the Al-Furqon Mosque, Bandarlampung, Thursday (August 2, 2018). He is interested in the variety of diversity in Indonesia which is very tolerant, different people can coexist well, and there is no conflict. He gave an example based on his visit, that the Bedouin Tribe, which is known to worship ancestral religions, can still coexist with Muslims in Banten. He also felt amazed after visiting Borobudur, because Borobudur, which is in the middle of the Muslim environment, still stands tall and is used for Buddhist worship [41].

Nu-style moderate Islam – which later characterized the diversity of most Indonesians - also received appreciation from a number of world scholars, for example Moroccan scholars gave the opinion that Moderate Islam, which has been practiced in Indonesia, can be a model and role model for the world. He said: "I am delighted with tolerance, deep understanding of Islam, proselytizing with wisdom and good advice from Indonesian clerics, and pesantren describing tawasuth (moderate)," said the Rector of Muassasah Al-Fath, Wujdah, Morocco. He also stated that he never saw this in Arabia. "I don't see Arabs following Indonesian Muslims," he said. In line with Sheikh Ahmad, Ukrainian cleric Sheikh Tamim also stated that Indonesian Muslim society is a good model for other nations. The reason is, they, he said, cling to a good understanding and creed. Both of them also give hope that in the future moderate Islam in Indonesia, can become a model for Islamic diversity in the world. If there are still many views from various circles, both from scholars, Middle Eastern and other World figures.

From these various views, it can be said that the future of moderate Islam (wasathiyah) is finding its momentum on the world stage, and contrasts with the extreme model of religion that will not have a future in such a rapid dynamic of the times. A concrete step that can be taken by all elements of society if you want the understanding and practice of moderates to be carried out properly, is to build an integrative Islamic education based on the values of moderatism. Not only on the substance of Islamic education and teaching materials but also must move in all aspects of the learning process, to increase the capacity of Human Resources (HR) who have sufficient qualifications about the values of Islamic moderatism. Of course, the political support of policies from all policymakers in this country is also an important factor in escorting and carrying out a moderate understanding among the citizens of the nation.

4 Conclusion

Moderate-minded Islamic education (wasathiyah) for now and in the future can be a model for Islamic education in the world. Because moderate Islamic education has provided a blueprint for peaceful survival and mutual respect for existing differences. Indonesia's choice of a "moderate" path in every life of its people has shown the world that the values of moderatism that have been understood and practiced have succeeded in defending Indonesia from communal conflicts and even wars between groups. Even if the conflict arises, it is part of a dynamic that is indeed difficult to avoid, but it can be managed and found a solution quickly because the citizens of the Indonesian nation have understood and will never get out of the agreement that has become a common agreement of the founding fathers of this country to choose a moderate social model in plurality

(diversity). Pancasila Ideology, the motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (variegated but still in one unit), the 1945 Constitution, in the container of the Republic of Indonesia (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia), is considered the right choice and appropriateness for all citizens, who cannot be fiddled with again (Kalimantan saw) which until now is still suitable for the times. Values-based Islamic education moderatisme, Praxis, of course, cannot be separated from the four pillars. This moderate Islamic education is what both Indonesian and foreign reviewers can consider a model of Islamic Education that has a future.

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