

## **NATIONALISM EDUCATION AND THE STATE DEFENSE MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA: A THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK FROM HABIB LUTHFIY BIN ALI YAHYA**

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### **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to describe theoretically the thoughts and conceptions of nationalism and the state defense movement in Indonesia. This research method uses a literature study approach sourced from journals and books that are relevant to the focus of nationalism and the state defense movement in Indonesia. The results of the literature review show that in the midst of the chaos that has hit the world, especially in the middle east world which of course can have implications in the Islamic world in general and its chaotic, the conception of nationality in the Indonesian homeland which is marked by the current civil war, the study of defending the State or the land. Water is a study that has urgency and significance, and is urgent, especially in providing education to the nation and increasing awareness of the nation and state. Defending and protecting the homeland means defending and protecting people and life itself. Awareness of defending the State will increase the linuwih power for the existence of the State itself, which thus becomes a prerequisite in guaranteeing and ensuring the implementation of religious missions in creating a conducive and supportive environment for humans to worship and find a complete human form as mandated by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Keywords: education, nationalism, and defending the country

### **Introduction**

The issue of the relationship between nationalism and religion has resurfaced on the surface of the archipelago (Aktürk, 2021). This is accompanied by the emergence of movements that divide unity and unity. Not as a threat anymore, but already hacking the surface (Laborde, 2021). This is evidenced by the development of religious understanding that does not see the importance of nationalism and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. They are more concerned with the importance of universalism, with a religious approach. Supporters of this religious understanding view democracy as a thoghut system of government, Pancasila is also called thoghut (Savage, 2020). This understanding is not only developing in the community, but also developing among students in universities. In the end, it is replacing the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The emergence of radicalism in religious circles, by researchers, is caused by many factors, both economic, political, ideological, cultural, social, defense and security factors. An interesting reference about the factors that influence violence in religion is the view of the clergy (Wibisono et al., 2019), such as Charles Kimball (Shimp & Wheatley, 1971). According to Charles Kimbal (2008), there are at least 5 (five) factors that cause violence in religion. In other words, religion is the cause of violence. The five factors are: claiming the most correct teachings, blind obedience to religious leaders, realizing the ideal era, justifying all means, holy war.

The five factors mentioned above are supported by the weakening of the generation to learn from the history of the life of its own nation. The flexibility of the spirit to study the history of the nation had an impact on his love for the nation itself which then also affected his own country (Hafidz,

2021). The golden generation, however, does not have the historical stock of how their predecessors (ancestors) struggled to escape from colonialism and then aimed at upholding independence. All were fought for with many sacrifices and not only property but even lives were at stake. The agreement of the ancestors of the Indonesian people to establish the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia with the symbols of the Red and White flag and Pancasila is the result of mutual acceptance to become a great nation and able to fight all forms of arbitrariness of the invaders on this earth (Maulana & Adinugraha, 2020).

The life of the Indonesian people, especially the second millennial young generation (Adinugraha, Fahmi, et al., 2021), is strongly influenced by external cultural values, which enter through the sophistication of IT, which is very accessible, and becomes their lifestyle (Adinugraha & Sartika, 2019), so that many attitudes and behaviors are not in line with these values. Pancasila. All of the problems mentioned above received a response from Habib Luthfiy bin Ali Yahya by transforming the very unique ideas of nationalism and the movement to defend the State (Lia, 2019).

Habib Luthfiy bin Yahya is an Alim Ulama' tariqah from Pekalongan City, who from 2000 until now has carried out the mandate as Rois 'Am jam'iiyah Ahlith Tariqah Al Muktabarah An Nahdliyyah. Habib Luthfiy is also one of the 50 influential 2019 Muslim figures in the world. The results of the Center for Strategic Studies of Islamic Studies in the Kingdom of Jordan put Habib Luthfiy at number 37. This publication is set to emphasize the influence of a number of Muslims in society or who represent the community. Influence is anyone who has the power both culturally, ideologically, financially, politically, and in other ways to make changes that can have a significant impact on the Muslim world. Habib Luthfiy is judged by the number of thousands of schools and mosques in Indonesia (Inayah, 2017).

As a mursyid tariqah in his ghalib, all his life activities are of course based on religious issues (Adinugraha, Kumala, et al., 2021). However, his concern for the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) is not only expressed in the forms of thought but also in the forms of real social movements (Alatas, 2020).

Tariqah is often understood as the way of practicing Sufism through physical and spiritual training on difficult things, such as; Long dhikr with certain readings, always running wiridan at specified times, fasting sunnah continuously, eating and drinking a little, all of which are to restrain lust and manage the heart. From this understanding, it is as if the followers of tariqah are people who only think about the hereafter and leave the world and its pleasures (Sholehuddin et al., 2021).

Tariqah was under the leadership of Habib Luthfiy bin Ali Yahya, especially among the people of Pekalongan and generally in Indonesia, like other social religious organizations that exist (Muhid, 2018). He not only deals with religious-based matters, but also takes care of matters of interest concerning life and living. As; thariqah opened a bazaar in the middle of Pekalongan city, thariqah opened a disaster post, Eid post, red and white carnival parade, long parade of Pekalongan amulets, held a mass wedding which was attended not only by residents of Pekalongan City, but also residents of Pekalongan Regency and Batang Regency (Adinugraha & Muhtarom, 2021). In addition to social activities, Habib Luthfiy also holds various academic activities, such as seminars on nationality, nationality workshops and other activities that are always directed at the love of the homeland. All of these are the authentic thoughts and movements of Habib Luthfiy bin Ali Yahya. All these activities are directed in the same direction, namely instilling the values of nationalism with different movement activities. It's like the theory of convergence of different directions (Nugroho et al., 2020).

The awareness of defending the State which was initiated by Habib Luthfiy is arguably the pure authenticity of Habib Luthfiy. In this case Authenticity is defined as the harmony of thought, word and deed. Authentic leaders can be measured by their ability to execute the ideas conveyed. Not just saying but must be able to translate the idea of transformation by using real reason. The implementation of Habib Luthfiy's state defense is actualized within the framework of nationalism. In his preaching, both through the Prophet's Maulid activities held in Kanzus Sholawat and in the series of Prophet's birthdays in other places, it cannot be separated from the inculcation of the values of nationalism (Aryani, 2017). Starting from the red and white flag attributes that always fill the arena, both the main and the connecting ones, the themes of the activities are also very thick with

the values of nationalism, and there is a pledge to defend the country, there are slogans for love for the homeland, and pictures of national heroes also decorate (Adinugraha et al., 2018).

The Tariqah organization under the leadership of Habib Luthfiy since 2000 has been able to solve its own internal problems, namely, the unification of the tariqah sects, which number up to 45 tariqah schools. There are even two large organizations, namely Jam'iyah Ahlith Tariqah Al Mu'tabaroh An Nahdliyyah (JATMAN) and the other is Jam'iyah Ahlith Tariqah Mu'tabaroh Indonesia (JATMIN). Habib Luthfiy can dismiss the bad perception of the tariqah organization which has been said that the tariqah organization only makes Muslims more and more trapped in unclear axiology (Syaefuddin, 2018).

Not stopping with various activities both religious and social at the national level, Habib Luthfiy collaborated with Sufism experts around the world to stay in touch and discuss the importance of nationalism for the stability of the state and nation. He brought Sufism experts from Middle Eastern countries and even from Uncle Sam's country. In 2016, JATMAN held the Multaqo Sufi Alami (World Meeting of Sufism Experts) which was attended by Muftis from Thoriqoh Ulama circles from several countries. From the meeting an agreement was reached and several strategic decisions were made on what roles the Sufism experts should put forward to the State and the nation. Since then Habib Luthfiy has been sovereign as Secretary General of Multaqo Sufi Alami. In 2019, the second Natural Sufi Multaqo will also be held in April which is ready to be attended by Sufi Mufti from 60 countries. So through Thoriqoh he is also able to move Muslims around the world, especially those who join the world of Thoriqoh, to love their respective countries (Khanafi, 2014).

Habib Luthfi's concern for the problems that are currently affecting the unity and integrity of the nation's children, he cooperates well with not only scholars' but also from the TNI, POLRI and Civilians. For the sake of the glory of the Republic of Indonesia, on certain occasions he gave fatwas (dawuh) which were all focused on the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The price is fixed, Habib Luthfiy's thoughts and movements regarding defending the State above are academically very important to be revealed and described critically (Alatas, 2021).

The problem that will be raised in this research is the transformation of the idea of nationalism and the movement to defend the state of Habib Luthfiy Yahya Bin Yahya and its contribution to the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia..

### **Prior Research of Nationalism and The State Defense Movement**

For the purposes of mapping issues and positioning this research with previous research, the following will describe some research results that have a relationship with the research theme. The idea of nationalism has emerged long ago, the spirit is rolling like a snowball that continues to roll and grow, having the spirit of Nusantara scholars (Chakraborti, 2019). This means that the call for nationalist heroism cannot be separated from the efforts of the Nusantara ulama's role (Bindaniji, 2020).

The idea of nationalism that was echoed by the kyai of the pesantren had existed long before the State of Indonesia was formed. There is a peculiarity in the role of the Ulama (read: Kyai tarekat) who always show a peaceful attitude and always protect the community, being role models who never rebel. This distinction is the novelty of the tarekat ulama's role in guarding the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia through the ulema friendship that is always established (Asmaran, 2015).

KH Hasyim's efforts to proclaim jihad fisabilillah, which later gave birth to heroism of nationalism, which then gave birth to a great upheaval, where the people shouldered to shoulder with the Indonesian army fighting to take up arms against the Dutch. The revival of Nationalism by all the people is also inseparable from the role of Ulama. The moral strength possessed by a Ulama' will be easily moved to rise and move his strength to fight against all actions that oppress humanity. Habib Luthfiy is no exception, who is very attached to his students and his love for the Indonesian nation and State and with historical experiences that educate him, is able to arouse a sense of love for the State through experiences carried out by mursyid tarekat teachers who are conveyed to the public (Usman, 2019).

Habib Luthfiy bin Yahya's thoughts are related to spiritual advice, things that guide a person to carry out the teachings of the tarekat. The position of this book will enrich the treasures in revealing the activities of the congregation which are actually suluk how a tarekat is able to worship God without giving up his obligations as a social figure (Rohma, 2020).

The importance of education for awareness of nationalism and the spirit of Indonesian nationalism. This research intersects with people with non-formal education systems in an effort to instill the principles of love for the homeland as part of a large family, namely the Indonesian nation (Saputri & Herwin, 2020).

The spirit of nationalism which was initially encouraged to fight against the invaders has now developed into a spirit of togetherness to maintain the diversity of the nation so that it remains within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Meanwhile, in this study, the focus is on strategies to instill the spirit of patriotism in the community, especially the younger generation (Nasution, 2018).

In today's modern era, the biggest challenge for the spirit of nationalism is globalization, where in the global era, it seems as if the boundaries between countries are fading away, both geographically, ideologically, information flows and the global economy, so that the role of the state seems to fade in the eyes of citizens (Hall & Jarvie, 2021). In this study, it is more about providing enlightenment so that citizens continue to hold the values of nationalism as a nation.

The erosion of nationalism is increasingly shown by political elites who do not fully understand the history of the national movement, young generations who do not respect state symbols such as the national anthem and the state flag. This research focuses more on the role of community leaders who control the flow of the ummah's nationalism movement in relation to carrying out beliefs and religions (Manduchi, 2017).

Nationalism is now being tested by major powers as the development of the flow of information and global communication is increasingly eroding state sovereignty, economic independence and cultural identity. This study tries to provide solutions to multidimensional crises, maintain and liven up the values of nationalism as part of citizens' beliefs.

### **Thought of Nationalism and State Defense in an Islamic Perspective**

The relationship between religion and the state from an Islamic perspective will clearly reveal the dialectical relationship between the order of life and development. Religion in its global theory is a set of rabbinical rules and teachings as well as values that govern the order of a good life; individual, family, community, state and nation. A state is defined as a group of people living permanently in a certain geographic area under a political and administrative authority. Political and administrative authority, namely the government that runs and manages the affairs of the State (Arifin, 2012).

Nationalism is a critical and fundamental thought about the teachings and views in loving, defending, and defending the nation from undermining and threats, both from within and from outside that will disrupt and destroy a country and a nation. Nationalism is a philosophical perspective on how to follow the teachings of life as a nation and state. In defending the country, it is always identified with taking up arms, aka military service. Whereas defending the State in the sense of conscription is a narrow understanding. The definition of nationalism in the Indonesian national encyclopedia is defined as follows: Nationalism is a nationalism that grows because of the similarity of fate and history as well as the interest to live together as an independent nation, united sovereign, democratic and advanced in a unified nation and state and ideals. shared goals to achieve, maintain and perpetuate the identity, unity, prosperity, and strength or power of the nation state concerned (Alatas, 2017).

It is the task of the thinkers (philosophers) who must be able to provide enlightenment, not only to provide detailed practical instructions on the rules of defending the State as a form of a high sense of nationalism, but also to be able to provide basic and radical knowledge regarding the form of nationalism in the form of self-defense. Country (Khanafi, 2014).

Indonesian nationalism has been in accordance with the Islamic point of view as manifested in the awareness as a nation from diverse ethnic, religious and cultural circles in one Indonesian homeland, Bhinneka Tunggal Eka. The key word is unity. This keyword does not contradict the verse

of the Qur'an which means more or less as follows: "O mankind, indeed We created you from male and female, and made you into nations and tribes, so that you may know one another. Verily, the noblest of you is the most pious; indeed, Allah is All-Knowing and All-Understanding." (Surat al-Hujarat [49]:13) (Pratesa et al., 2018).

The meeting point between the reality of diversity and the values of the Qur'an on humanity inspired the notion of nationalism, and the formation of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This awareness of forming the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) has encouraged the ulama, so that they are willing to accept the Pancasila State, and view it as the practice of universal Islamic teachings in the context of a pluralistic nation's life.

Such nationalist ideas have been defended by Indonesian ulemas from the 45th generation to the present. Because this thought has brought the benefit of the people at large. So if religious power and the interests of the effort to spread the teachings and the true essence of Islam have been carried out, even though it is possible to accept the leadership of infidels as long as it does not destroy the purpose of religion and does not eliminate the problems of the people, then it is still acceptable.

Sufism became a mass phenomenon and was practiced through associations or tarekat (tariqah), it was no longer only a religious function. The existence of the tarekat allows social problems to become part of the religious movement. In the colonial era, for example, many resistance and rebellion movements were facilitated by tarekat. It not only provides religious-contemplative teachings, but also provides a means for socio-political activities. (what drives the tarekat towards socio-political activities?) The problems handled by the Sufis also extend to problems that arise from the major modernization process, such as: narcotics or other psychological problems that often arise in modern society.<sup>33</sup> Many opinions say that the tarekat with the behavior of the students are able to move the social and political, however, they have a clear vision and mission. It makes it clearer that the tarekat's teachings do not invite destruction or even against the state, but instead they are fighters who are always fiercely opposed to classical and modern colonial forms, colonizers of human rights.

### **Nationalism and State Defense in the Perspective of Habib Luthfiy bin Alin Yahya**

Habib Luthfiy bin Alin Yahya's fatwas on nationalism and defending the State include:

"I salute the many red and white flags, but please when finished, don't smack or throw them on the ground. Kayuna please be piled on the ground, while the flag is draped over the shoulders, then neatly arranged. The attitude to the flag is not a cult of objects, but a form of respect and love for the homeland. In red and white even though there is no writing, but there is a meaning of national identity, that is the honor of the nation. If we don't take care of all of us, don't blame others if someone insults you. If not the Indonesians themselves, who else will protect and respect them?"

"Love for the homeland must be built on all fronts. The chanting of Pancasila and singing Indonesia Raya again is not only during official state or government ceremonies and the celebration of the Indonesian Independence Day on August 17, but must be sung in every social and religious event. If it was only flown in the 17's, could this nation forget about its own country. This is very important, it looks light. Don't play with the national anthem. The emergence of no sense of "handarbeni" is the cause of the decline in nationalism among young people."

"The basis of the Indonesian state, namely Pancasila, is made to have a relationship with religion. That's why there is the first principle, behind Pancasila there is the power of religion."

"Love for the homeland will affect the development and progress of a nation. If our nationalism is getting weaker, don't expect us as Muslims to be able to answer the challenges of the people and the challenges of the nation."

"Even if it's just a grain of sand that is above our homeland, we will protect it to death. Who said that love for the homeland or nationalism has no argument? The Prophet SAW, said, "I love Arabs because I am an Arab nation". This is a concrete example of a nation's love for the homeland, yes, the love for the homeland is a form of gratitude to God for the gift of this motherland. Ulama are ideological bastions. TNI-POLRI are the strongholds of the Republic of Indonesia. Let's Unite, don't shake unity because of unscrupulous kiai, TNI or POLRI."

“One of the messages we remember from the commemoration of the Prophet’s birthday is the teaching that we must obey the government. Other nations focus on building, we are still debating the Khilafiyah Khilayah. Pancasila is final. You can debate the interpretation, but you can’t argue about the points.”

“The NU congress in Situbondo has affirmed Pancasila as the state’s aads and the Jamiyyah Tariqah affirmed the value of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Preachers used to be so tolerant of respecting differences. For this reason, Sunan Kudus was reluctant to slaughter cows, out of respect for non-Muslim traditions that developed at that time. Not anti-local culture. Sympathetic.”

“Muslims must be like sea water, even though hundreds of rivers flow fresh water, it is still salty and never forces the fish in it to become salty. When we are about to commit a disgraceful act, remember Red-White, it is shame that there is the blood of heroes and national identity that has eastern customs and ethics in it.”

“Take our children to the graves of heroes. Children understand that the dead, will not worship him. Explain, this corporal ‘this’ is a hero, the tomb is the grave of an unknown hero. Introduce the heroes to our children since “This is early so that they understand that independence is not a gift. And so that in children there is love for the nation. A strong sense of love for this nation is more powerful than even nuclear.”

“Proud of Indonesia is not arrogant, but gratitude to Allah SWT. Respect for the Red and White is not shirk, but an expression of gratitude to Allah SWT. to own the Indonesian Nation.”

“The Red and White Flag is the pride of the Nation, the honor of the Nation. If we want to reflect on the Red and White Flag, we should be ashamed to be a nation. Corruptors will not commit corruption if they want to reflect on the founder of the Nation, on the saka Merah Putih.”

“Love for the Republic of Indonesia is not only held on August 17, but every Monday and other national ceremonies. Love for the Nation is always instilled through raising the red and white saka. If we don’t love the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, why should we have a flag ceremony, respecting the saka Merah Putih?”

“How important is love for the homeland, one example is by respecting the Red and White Flag. Even though sewing or making red and white was easy, but a lot of blood was shed, a lot of painful sacrifices were made for the sake of lowering the Dutch flag and replacing it with the Red and White Flag. So as Indonesian children, we must have tremendous respect for the Red and White, must purify it and care for it with love.”

“The love for the party should not exceed the ankle. Love for the nation and country to the neck. The love of religion is above the head.”

“Those who fight for this nation are the ulama, kiai and Muslim fighters who were never awarded the guerrilla star. So if there are groups that want to undermine the unity of this nation, they are people who do not know history. It is obligatory for us to maintain the integrity of this country from being undermined by a group of irresponsible people.”

“The spirit of nationalism is currently decreasing. It can be seen from the attitude and behavior of the elites, including the people who never get along. Always noisy in differences, khilafiyah. Everything is always politicized and linked, which in the end only blames each other. In the end, Indonesia was only used as a trajectory by other nations. I don’t want this problem of khilafiyah to be exaggerated, which in the end only makes Indonesia a country that is always a spectacle. Whereas Indonesia, with all its potential, is able to become a great country and is respected by other nations. This is one of the duties of Muslims so that Indonesia can progress and be on par with other countries.”

“Muslims should post pictures of heroes, especially Islamic heroes, such as Prince Diponegoro, as well as pictures of saints, including the founder of NU KH. Hasyim Asy’ari. This is so that every citizen who sees the picture will always remember the spirit of the heroes in the picture. The spirit to defend the country, the spirit to liberate the country, the spirit of heroism. It’s not meant to be shirk or associating partners with God with these images, but the spirit that these heroes have to be remembered and practiced in this day and age. That those who have died, it turns out that they still

give the spirit to build the country. Those who have been martyred, do not remain silent for the nation and its next generation.”

“Pancasila is able to protect the existing plurality, and become the state ideology, then Pancasila will strengthen national defense and strengthen the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Because Pancasila will be owned by all parties. If Pancasila grows in every child of the nation by being strengthened or backed up by his religion, then strength, unity and unity will be more closely interwoven and will not be easily shaken. Because Pancasila is the cause of the growth of nationalism and is free from political interests or it will not become a buffer for political interests. So that it grows pure love for religion, homeland and nation. From that it will be a mirror for other nations.”

“Philosophically, nationalism has been exemplified by the ancestors, the predecessors of the nation since colonialism, such as alms for the earth, alms for the sea, ‘apart from the issue of shirk/mushrik’, because I don’t know people’s hearts. Alms of the earth and alms of the sea is a form of gratitude for the earth and sea bestowed upon the Indonesian nation. Alms of the earth is a form of handar beni, a feeling that not only has but also loves.”

“Anyone who becomes the leader of the nation must be respected and obeyed. If the people respect their leader then this nation and country will be strong. On the other hand, if the people continue to criticize, demonstrate, etc., their leaders, then when will the government be able to focus on its work? I do not prohibit ‘criticism’, but channel those criticisms and aspirations on channels that have been provided by the government.”

“The sects outside the Ahlussunnah are troubling, they are Islamic groups who reject Pancasila and consider the government to be illegitimate. To overcome Islamic groups like this, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of socializing the teachings of Ahlussunnah wal Jama’ah. Don’t let the son of an NU figure become a member of radical Islam.”

Habib Luthfiy’s thoughts and movements regarding defending the State above are academically very useful for maintaining the unity of the republic of Indonesia.

## Conclusion

In the midst of the chaos that has hit the world, especially in the Middle East world which of course can have implications in the Islamic world in general and its chaotic, the conception of nationality in the Indonesian homeland which is marked by the current civil war, the study of defending the State or the homeland is a study that has urgency and significance, and urgent especially in providing education to the nation and increasing awareness of the nation and state. Defending and protecting the homeland means defending and protecting people and life itself. Awareness of defending the State will increase the linuwih power for the existence of the State itself, which thus becomes a prerequisite in guaranteeing and ensuring the implementation of religious missions in creating a conducive and supportive environment for humans to worship and find a complete human form as mandated by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Habib Luthfiy bin Aki Yahya carried out the National Defense Movement and has transformed the idea of Nationalism and the State Defense Movement in Indonesia. These actions contributed to the idea of nationalism and the movement to defend the state carried out by Habib Luthfiy for the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.

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