

Fikrah: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah dan Studi Keagamaan

issn 2354-6174 eissn 2476-9649

Tersedia online di: journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/fikrah

Volume 13 Nomor 1 2025, (65-80) DOI: 10.21043/fikrah.v13i1.28842

Philosophy and Religion in Abdurrahman Wahid's Post-Secularism Thought

Kholid Al Walid

UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Indonesia kholid.alwalid@uinjkt.ac.id

Mohsen Miri

Al-Mustafa International University, Qum, Iran mohsen_miri@miu.ac.ir

Nurul Ain Norman

ISTAC-IIUM, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia nurnorman@iium.edu.my

Abstract

The research aim is to discuss the relationship between philosophy and religion in the thought of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), framed within the context of post-secularism. Gus Dur challenges the problem of the rigid dichotomy between philosophy and religion and then encourages an inclusive and dialogical approach through philosophical concepts, consisting of Pancasila, Neo-Modernism and Utilitarianism, and Islamic Society. Gus Dur viewed religion and philosophy as having the potential to mutually enrich and advance social life mutually. The research uses a qualitative method and a philosophical approach to examine how Gus Dur's thinking can be understood within the framework of postsecularism in the context of Indonesia. This research seeks to illuminate how Gus Dur's ideas contribute to redefining the relationship between religion and philosophy in the post-secular landscape of Indonesia by bridging spiritual and rational realms. Gus Dur views religion and philosophy not as opposing realms but as two ways of understanding truth. In his view, religion provides meaning and purpose in life, while

philosophy offers tools for critical and rational thinking about life's problems. He rejects secularism, which separates religion from the public sphere and proposes a post-secularism approach that recognizes the role of religion in public life while still respecting the values of rationality.

Keywords: Abdurrahman Wahid, philosophy, politics, post-secularism, religion.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk membahas hubungan antara filsafat dan agama dalam pemikiran Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) dalam konteks Pasca-Sekularisme. Gus Dur menantang masalah dikotomi yang kaku antara filsafat dan agama kemudian mendorong pendekatan yang inklusif dan dialogis melalui konsep-konsep filsafat yang terdiri dari "Pancasila", "Neo-Modernisme dan Utilitarianisme", dan "Masyarakat Islam". Gus Dur memandang agama dan filsafat memiliki potensi untuk saling memperkaya dan memajukan kehidupan sosial. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dan pendekatan filosofis untuk mengkaji bagaimana pemikiran Gus Dur dapat dipahami dalam kerangka pasca-sekularisme dalam konteks Indonesia. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan bagaimana ide-ide Gus Dur berkontribusi untuk mendefinisikan kembali hubungan antara agama dan filsafat, dalam lanskap pasca-sekularisme Indonesia dengan menjembatani ranah spiritual dan rasional. Gus Dur memandang agama dan filsafat bukan sebagai ranah yang berlawanan tetapi sebagai dua cara memahami kebenaran. Menurut pandangannya, agama memberikan makna dan tujuan hidup, sementara filsafat menawarkan alat untuk berpikir kritis dan rasional tentang masalah-masalah kehidupan. Ia menolak sekularisme yang memisahkan agama dari ruang publik dan mengusulkan pendekatan pasca-sekularisme yang mengakui peran agama dalam kehidupan publik sambil tetap menghormati nilai-nilai rasionalitas.

Katakunci: Abdurrahman Wahid, agama, filsafat, pasca-sekularisme, politik.

Introduction

The relationship between philosophy and religion has often been a subject of prolonged debate, especially among intellectuals and religious thinkers. The dichotomy between the two tends to position religion in the domain of dogmatic faith and philosophy in the realm of critical rationality. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), a prominent Indonesian Muslim intellectual, proposes an approach that rejects this separation by introducing a post-secularism perspective. This article examines Gus Dur's thoughts on how philosophy and religion can engage in dialogue and complement each other,

particularly in the context of Indonesia's pluralistic society (Fanani, 2024; Pratt, 2023). The Modern Era, spanning from the 18th to the 20th century, saw the rise of a belief that religion and mysticism would gradually disappear with the advancement of modernization. This period seemed to idolize reason and rely heavily on positivist knowledge. As a result, anything that could not be justified through positive methods or rational thought, including religion, was deemed unworthy of being considered knowledge. Through modernization, religion would increasingly fade and become less significant to modern society (Menoh, 2015).

This thesis was supported by Modern philosophers such as Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Freud. However, Jürgen Habermas, a contemporary German philosopher, argued that these secular-modernist theses did not fully prove to be true. The prediction that religion would become a relic turned out to be just a wishful thought. On the contrary, secularization has failed, and religion has re-emerged in the public sphere. Habermas refers to this condition as a post-secular society (Hardiman, 2018).

For Habermas, religion is no longer confined to the private sphere; its influence significantly affects the public space. Religion has the potential to address the shortcomings of modernization and continues to exist within modern society (Sunarko, 2010). According to him, these actions are driven by moral and religious considerations and legitimacy. They emerge as a response and reaction to Western modernization, which has led modern society into a state of existential emptiness. Habermas views these actions as a reaction—or even punishment—from those oppressed by the arrogance of the modern Western powers.

Gus Dur's thought aligns with Jürgen Habermas's view on post-secularism concerning the relationship between philosophy and religion. Although Gus Dur did not explicitly use the term "post-secularism," his thinking reflects a sensitivity to the role of religion in public life that is consistent with Habermas's ideas. Habermas emphasizes that religion has the potential to fill the void left by secularism, particularly in fostering solidarity within a society that tends toward individualism. Similarly, Gus Dur believes that religious values and spiritual motivations can serve as significant unifying forces in society, especially in Indonesia, where the interaction between religion and public life remains relevant.

In line with Habermas's view of "common sense" as rational and democratic, Gus Dur advocates for an inclusive and dialogical approach that does not favor either science or religion. He argues that any effort to achieve a rational consensus must remain open to religion, ensuring that religion is not marginalized from the public arena and that its potential benefits to secular society are not hindered. In this regard, Gus Dur encourages secularists to understand religious language, aligning with Habermas's concept of "public reason." Thus, Gus Dur sees the role of religion as a vital reminder of the personal and social dimensions of human life, which are often overlooked amid the process of cultural and social rationalization that tends to be destructive.

In this context, the phenomenon of secularization in Indonesia is a movement carried out by some intellectuals, but its spread is limited to certain groups. Political secularization in Indonesia is more often seen as an elite project that failed due to a lack of support from the wider community. Efforts to separate Islam from politics did not receive a positive response from the majority of Muslims in Indonesia. This article aims to examine how Gus Dur's thoughts are in line with the concept of post–secularism, which emphasizes that religion must continue to play an active role in public life and provide moral direction for society. Therefore, this paper focuses on the discussion of the relationship between religion and philosophy in the framework of Gus Dur's thought on post–secularism.

Pancasila is In Line with Islam

Pancasila is the official philosophical foundation of the Republic of Indonesia. The term "Pancasila" is derived from the Sanskrit words: "panca," meaning five, and "sila," meaning principles or pillars. These five principles serve as the fundamental and unifying philosophy for the Indonesian nation. Pancasila was officially the state philosophy on August 18, 1945 (Nasution, 2022). The five principles of Pancasila are as follows:

Firstly, Belief in One Supreme God (Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa).

Secondly, Just and Civilized Humanity (Kemanusiaan yang Adil dan Beradab).

Third, The Unity of Indonesia (Persatuan Indonesia).

Fourth, Democracy Led by the Wisdom of the People (Kerakyatan yang Dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan, Perwakilan, dan/atau Musyawarah-Mufakat).

Fifth, Social Justice for All Indonesians (Keadilan Sosial bagi seluruh Rakyat Indonesia).

According to Gus Dur, Pancasila is an ideology, especially created for the Indonesian nation to link ideological elements operating in Indonesia. In other words, Pancasila is a national ideology that is intended to encapsulate various great world ideologies in its implementation in Indonesia. Gus Dur also emphasized that there was no problem between Islam and Pancasila because it came from Islam. In "Islam, State, and Pancasila", Gus Dur stated that Pancasila is the foundation of the state that must be respected because the values of Pancasila give freedom to every adherent of religion to carry out their respective shariah (Ahmad, 2010). Thus, religion plays a role as a source of the nation's and state's view of life [as a source for Pancasila, among other sources]. This, according to Gus Dur, is the essence of the relationship between Islam and Pancasila (Wahid, 1998).

Gus Dur's rejection of the establishment of an Islamic state was closely related to his views on Pancasila. When he became chairman of PBNU, Gus Dur emphasized that "Pancasila is the Principle of the State" because it does not contradict Islamic teachings. According to him, Muslims in Indonesia are free to choose to join Islamic parties or other parties that are not based on Islam [for example, nationalist parties] (Santoso, 2004).

Gus Dur criticized the narrowing of the meaning of Pancasila by the authorities or various interests. This is in line with the views of the Founding Fathers of this nation, who realized that in Pancasila, there are no principles that conflict with religious teachings; in Islamic teachings, it is known as *maqasid al-shariʻah*, namely the common good. Therefore, the majority of them reject the establishment or formalization of religion in Indonesia. The state is positioned as an institution that recognizes diversity, protects all interests, and protects all beliefs, cultures, and traditions of the nation. Through Pancasila, they present a religion that is *rahmatan lil ʻalamin* (Wahid, 2009).

Therefore, in Gus Dur's view, Pancasila and Islam do not have a pattern of polaristic relations but a pattern of healthy and dynamic dialogical relations. So, it is not justified if Islam and Pancasila are opposed (Wahid 2023). Related to this, there is the question, "What is the role of religion in matters of state and politics?" In this case, Gus Dur explicitly underlined the role of religion as a 'social ethic' in which Islam has a complementary function in the life of the state. If Islam is forced to serve a secondary function in the state, it will be "uprooted" from its fundamental values that promote justice, egalitarianism, and democracy (Masdar, 1999).

Neo-Modernism and Utilitarianism

Gus Dur successfully integrated traditionalism and modernism in thought and deeds. Gus Dur's philosophical thinking is based on a socio-cultural-historical approach that adapts the application of religious teachings to the context of local communities. It is called Neo-modernism; this-ism is a typology of Islamic thought that the teachings of Islam should be involved in the struggle of modernism, without having to abandon the old established traditions by taking on better things (Qodir, 2006).

The intellectual character of neo-modernist figures is to view Islam as a teaching that must be contextualized based on rationality. In conducting intellectual ijtihad, Gus Dur also succeeded in synthesizing classical Islamic treasures, as well as appreciating other ideas outside Islam [modernism]. In other words, neo-modernism emphasizes an inclusive, tolerant, and open understanding of Islam through factual realities and the current development. So, based on this philosophical principle (Neo-modernism), Gus Dur can be categorized as a neo-modernist thinker in Indonesia, such as Cak Nur (Nurcholis Madjid) (Barsihannor, 2011; Fauzi, 2019; Hidayatullah et al., 2022).

Gus Dur in this article "Islam: Agama Populer ataukah Elitis?" [Islam: Popular Religion or Elitist?"] Review of anti-traditionalism carried by scholars in other countries, such as Egypt. Unlike the Indonesian context, religious traditionalism blends with society, especially brought by NU. Despite dealing with modernism, the leaders in NU managed to manifest the values of traditionalism, the spirit of nationalism, and the progress of modernism into religious life [of course, it can also be applied in the context of the nation and state] (Wahid, 2006). In this regard, Gus Dur asked the question: should our religious life be solely traditional, and is the use of ratios in reinvigorating religious traditionalism considered a "danger"? This question should be thought of in-depth, because thus far, the blend of nationalistic fervor among nationalists and religious traditionalism has only yielded positive outcomes in the political realm, rather than in cultural and linguistic domains.

Religious traditionalism opposes the ideological use of religion in national life, as evidenced by NU's rejection of the Jakarta Charter (Wahid, 2006). However, if examined actually "religion is the reason". So, we do not need to dichotomize between "religion" and "reason" because both are related. Meanwhile, related to ethics, Gus Dur is more inclined to the theory of utilitarianism. In other words, the principles developed by the school of

utilitarianism are expressed in its thoughts and actions. According to Franz Magnis Suseno, utilitarianism can be formulated by actions or regulations that are morally considered right and are the most supportive of happiness for all parties. In other words, utilitarianism is more concerned with the consequences of an act. For Romo Magnis, this is different from the deontologist, who is more concerned with the essence of moral action, without considering the consequences of his actions (Suseno, 1997).

Gus Dur is more oriented toward the benefit of others (maṣlaḥah), which is in line with the ethics of utilitarianism, especially in the context of Indonesia, which is a multicultural country. The manifestation of utilitarianism in Gus Dur is his partisanship and protection of minorities. However, Gus Dur is of the view that the usefulness of something should be enjoyed by the whole community. In this context, Gus Dur succeeded in changing the orientation of social benefit (maṣlaḥah al-ʿāmmah), rather than individual (maṣlaḥah al-khāṣah). For example, Gus Dur's Islamic thoughts in the public domain, such as the status and role of women in the public area, family planning, interfaith dialogue, Pancasila as the basis of the state, and others (Fauzi, 2019).

Islamic Society, Not an Islamic State

The idea of an "Islamic State" is not new in Indonesia. Mohammad Natsir is an Indonesian thinker who supports the "Islamic State" as the foundation of the state. He once conveyed his reasons for fighting for the idea of an Islamic state in the Constituent Assembly forum. According to him, the foundation of the state is sourced from the people's belief system. According to Natsir, the belief system that lives in Indonesia originates from religious teachings, and the majority of Indonesian people embrace Islam (Natsir, 2004). In Gus Dur's view, the state is *al-Hukm*, which means "law or order".

Islam does not recognize the definitive concept of government, so social ethics are needed. Therefore, according to Gus Dur, Islam does not need to be formalized in the life of the state. According to him, it is sufficient if citizens fight for Islam's contribution and role in the development of democracy informally (Wahid, 2001). However, in this context, Gus Dur is of the view that the relationship between Islam and the state is an emphasis on "human values, especially the struggle to liberate the nation from oppressors." Nevertheless, Gus Dur promoted an Islamic society that emphasized values, compared to an Islamic state that tended to be formalistic (Ridwan, 2019). If we impose Islam as the state's teaching, then our other brothers and sisters, such as Christians,

Catholics, Hindus, Buddhists, Confucians, and sects of faith, have the potential to refuse to be in the Republic of Indonesia. In this context, it is difficult to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia, which is a pluralistic country (Litbang Kompas, 2020).

Gus Dur was more inclined to the concept of community or people; in a sense, the Muslim community itself can bring about transformative changes in society. This concept has been developed in various social institutions, for example regarding "leadership" and "Islamic society", which are consistently formulated by modern Muslim thinkers. This thought can be seen in several Gus Dur's writings; for example, in his Islam Cosmopolitan, Gus Dur implies that Muslims should be the core players in human civilization by referring to the concept of community. This concept is closely related to Gus Dur's view of Islamic universalism (Nurhidayah et al., 2022; Rusli, 2015; Syabibi et al., 2021; Welem, 2023). In the context of Indonesian and Islamic politics, Gus Dur emphasized "national integration."

Gus Dur hoped that the Islamic movement would position itself as a national movement and those Muslim intellectuals would not position themselves exclusively, both in terms of institutional and political-religious views. Gus Dur saw that there was a huge misunderstanding between the administrators of state ideology and the leaders of religious movements, which hindered the development process. Therefore, the solution to this conflict is an intensive and persuasive dialogue between religious leaders or institutions and the state (Hanipudin & Alhaq, 2019). Furthermore, the founding fathers of this country agreed socio-historically that Indonesia is a country founded on Pancasila, with the identity of Unity in Diversity (Bhineka Tunggal Ika), the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as a system, and the 1945 Constitution as the foundation of rules and laws governing society in Indonesia. In this context, the Indonesian people must accept this final decision and implement it in their daily lives, such as the connection between religion and philosophical values (Fajar & Siregar, 2021; Warno, 2021).

Based on the explanation above, Gus Dur is often considered to support secularism, but this analysis shows that he is better understood as a supporter of post-secularism. Gus Dur rejects secularism that separates religion from politics, and instead, he argues that religion should be involved in public life. According to Gus Dur, religion can be the basis for public awareness to create national morality and support state development.

The concept of post-secularism critiques secularism by emphasizing the importance of religion in modern society. Habermas sees post-secularism as a revision of secular modernity that often ignores the role of religion. Gus Dur's thinking, although not explicitly using the term post-secularism, shows support for the idea that religion should have a role in public life and should not be completely separated from politics and the state.

Both "secularization" and "secularism" have their roots in the Latin word saeculum, which translates to "era" or "age." Within the Christian Biblical context, particularly in the writings of the Apostle Paul, saeculum is used to signify a world dominated by sin. This interpretation was further elaborated by the Church Fathers during the Middle Ages, who viewed the saeculum as a realm tainted by sin that must be avoided. Secularism represents the most extreme manifestation of secularization. It reflects an intellectual stance that seeks to free individuals from any religious influence, perceiving humanity as purely worldly and devoid of any connection to the transcendent. As an ideology opposed to religion, secularism began to gain prominence in the mid-19th century (O. G. N. Madung, 2021).

Secularization in Indonesia has not developed as a grassroots movement but is instead initiated by a small group of intellectuals and elites. These efforts aim to reduce the influence of religion, particularly Islam, in politics. However, the secularization project has failed to gain widespread support because it does not resonate with the broader Muslim community, which makes up the majority of Indonesia's population. Most Indonesian Muslims prefer to maintain a connection between their religious beliefs and political life. The lack of positive response to these initiatives reflects the cultural and religious context of Indonesia, where Islam plays a significant role in both social and political spheres (Mujibuddin & Zuliana, 2019; Silaen et al., 2024; Sya'rani, 2018).

The issue of secularism in Muslim society is bigger than the etymology issue. It has been rooted in the life of Muslim society for the past two hundred years, namely "Western imperialism in various dimensions". In fact, in Muslim societies, including Indonesia, secularism is considered something imported from the West, which has a repressive record, so it has a bad image (Hashemi, 2010). As a process, secularization carries the ideology of secularism, which is an idea or ethical system based on natural morals and independent of religion or other forms of supernaturalism (Latief, 2017). In Indonesian history, the secularization project was seen in the efforts of the Dutch colonialists to

paralyze the power and resistance movement of the Bumiputra community, which was predominantly Muslim. At that time, the Indonesian people chose to make Islam a unifying factor to fight and expel the Dutch colonizers. By making Islamic sentiments the basis of resistance against the colonizers and expelling them from the archipelago. For the Dutch, this kind of movement had to stop, and they chose war as the main option (Latief, 2017). In addition to their political and economic strategies, the Dutch implemented cultural and social measures, including a secularization project aimed at limiting the involvement of Muslims in politics and governance.

The Dutch authorities were hesitant to allow Muslims any meaningful participation in political life, such as holding positions as employees or bureaucrats. This exclusion created significant challenges for many Muslims, especially as tensions grew between the indigenous political elite and the Muslim elite (Jones, 1984). In the context of religion and state relations, many people think that Gus Dur carries secularism. However, when examined, Gus Dur criticized secularism. Gus Dur also often uses a religious approach in reading socio-political reality. Gus Dur's thinking and policies were more inclined toward Post-Secularism [Jurgen Habermas's term]. Post-secularism emphasizes the existence of religion and religious people in social reality (Noor, 2012).

Religion must take part in the public sphere and dialogue with science. Post-secularism is both a revision and an answer to the crisis of secular society. It suggests that modern secular societies must continue to consider the significance and endurance of religious traditions. In this framework, religions maintain a vital role in shaping the direction of societal progress, particularly when the advancement of modernity risks veering away from its intended path. Religions can provide a sense of purpose and moral guidance, offering ethical direction for human beings (O. G. Madung, 2016).

Gus Dur did not use the term "post-secularism", but his thoughts were in line. In Gus Dur's view, religion must be involved in the public sphere in a democratic state. According to him, religion can be the basis of public awareness to create national morality and support state development (Wahid, 2006). This discourse is based on a discourse on the relationship between religion and state. Although Gus Dur did not explicitly use the term "post-secularism," his ideas align with this concept. He argued that religion should have a place in the public sphere within a democratic state. For Gus Dur, religion serves as a foundation for fostering public awareness, building national

morality, and supporting the development of the state. His perspective is part of a broader discourse on the relationship between religion and the state. In the context, post-secularism is a theory that critiques the limitations of secularism by arguing for the continued relevance of religion in modern societies. It acknowledges that while secularism has often sought to separate religion from public life, religious beliefs and practices still play a significant role in guiding ethical behavior and providing meaning.

Gus Dur's thoughts are seen as aligned with post-secularism because he believed religion should not be excluded from the public sphere; instead, it should contribute to the moral and social fabric of the state, supporting democratic values and national development. His view challenges the strict separation of religion and state, advocating for a cooperative relationship where religion can help shape public consciousness and governance.

Referring to Gus Dur's thought, Pancasila, as Indonesia's foundational ideology, could act as a unifying force for the country's diverse population. He regarded Pancasila as a prudent choice for preserving national unity, despite its lack of affiliation with any religion. Gus Dur argued that Pancasila could be applied in a way that respects and safeguards religious rights. In addition, his perspective on the relationship between religion and state in Indonesia emphasized the significance of religious freedom, the acknowledgment of a higher power, and the necessity for a unifying ideology that respects the nation's diversity (Fatah, 2020; Mukarom, 2017).

The role of Abdurrahman Wahid (commonly known as Gus Dur) in promoting Pancasila, neo-modernism, and utilitarianism is reflected in the programs conducted by the GUSDurian Network of Indonesia. One of its key operational units, GUSDURian Peduli, was established to carry forward Gus Dur's humanitarian values and legacy. In carrying out its humanitarian initiatives, GUSDURian Peduli collaborates with GUSDURian communities in 150 cities and regencies across Indonesia, as well as 10 communities abroad. It also engages with interfaith groups and various institutions, guided by the principles of responsiveness, inclusiveness, and humanism. This approach aligns with Gus Dur's well-known statement: "It does not matter what your religion or ethnicity is—if you do good things, people will not ask about your religion." In the realm of public policy, Gus Dur demonstrated his commitment to environmental conservation by initiating a "Logging and Forest Moratorium" aimed at sustaining ecosystem preservation (Triono, 2023). This policy included restoration efforts, regulatory reforms, and strict measures

against the exploitation of natural resources. His environmental stance inspired organizations such as WALHI (The Indonesian Forum for the Environment) to halt forest and broader resource exploitation.

This initiative is consistent with Gus Dur's assertion that "Faith in God must be realized through a conscious commitment to protect, maintain, and preserve the environment." In recognition of his environmental advocacy, WALHI honored Gus Dur in 2010 as an Environmental Protection Figure (Tamimi, 2020). Furthermore, Gus Dur's policy of abolishing the dual function (Dwifungsi) of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) was a significant milestone in Indonesia's democratic transition. This was formally enacted through the People's Consultative Assembly Decree (Tap MPR) No. VI/MPR/2000, which mandated the separation of military and civilian institutions. The policy was reinforced by Presidential Decree (Keppres) No. 89/2000, which formally separated the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) from the National Police (Polri). This legacy has resurfaced in contemporary discourse following the closed-door deliberations in the House of Representatives (DPR-RI) regarding the revision of Law No. 34 of 2004 on the TNI. The lack of transparency provoked public criticism and unrest, reminiscent of the resistance faced by Gus Dur during his administration (Dewi, 2025). Nevertheless, the revised law was officially enacted during the DPR-RI's plenary session at the Parliament Building on Thursday, March 20, 2025 (Dirgantara & Ramadhan, 2025).

Therefore, Gus Dur can be considered a figure who supports post-secularism in the context of the relationship between religion and state in Indonesia. His thoughts emphasize the importance of religion in social life and as the basis of national morality. Post-secularism offers a revision of secular modernity by considering the important role of religion in social and political life. Gus Dur's thoughts are relevant to understanding how religion can continue to play a role in the development of a pluralistic Indonesian society.

Conclution

Gus Dur views religion and philosophy not as opposing realms but as two ways of understanding truth. In his view, religion provides meaning and purpose in life, while philosophy offers tools for critical and rational thinking about life's problems. He rejects secularism, which separates religion from the public sphere, and proposes a post–secularism approach that recognizes the role of religion in public life while still respecting the values of rationality.

Gus Dur's thoughts on the relationship between philosophy and religion, seen through the lens of post-secularism, provide a new perspective on the role of religion in modern society. Gus Dur illustrates that religion and philosophy do not have to be in conflict; instead, both can complement each other in the search for truth and in building a more inclusive and just society. Post-secularism offers space for both to dialogue, overcome their respective limitations, and work together to contribute to the advancement of civilization.

Gus Dur's concept of post-secularism is rooted in his belief that modern society cannot entirely disregard the role of religion. In this framework, religion is not merely a matter of personal belief but also a source of social ethics that can engage in dialogue with philosophy. Gus Dur encourages dialogue between religion and philosophy, where both sides not only critique but also enrich each other. This is evident in his efforts to promote religious freedom and pluralism, where philosophy serves as a guardian of rationality, and religion acts as a source of morality.

References

- Ahmad, M. (2010). Ijtihad Politik Gus Dur: Analisis Wacana Kritis. LKiS.
- Barsihannor, B. (2011). Abdurrahman Wahid (Telaah Atas Ide Neo-Modernisme). Jurnal Adabiyah, 11(2), Article 2.
- Dewi, N. K. T. C. (2025). Jalan Panjang Reformasi TNI Sejak Gus Dur Hapus Dwifungsi ABRI. Tempo.Co. https://www.tempo.co/politik/jalan-panjang-reformasi-tni-sejak-gus-dur-hapus-dwifungsi-abri-1222027
- Dirgantara, A., & Ramadhan, A. (2025). RUU TNI Disahkan Jadi Undang-Undang. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2025/03/20/10381601/ruu-tni-disahkan-jadi-undang-undang
- Fajar, A. M., & Siregar, H. (2021). Pemikiran Politik Abdurrahman Wahid Tentang Demokrasi di Indonesia. Communitarian: Jurnal Prodi Ilmu Politik, 3(1), 356–378. https://doi.org/10.56985/jc.v3i1.141
- Fanani, M. A. (2024). Dialectics and the Relationship between Philosophy and Religion in an Islamic Perspective. MAQOLAT: Journal of Islamic Studies, 2(1), 21–32. https://doi.org/10.58355/maqolat.v2i1.55
- Fatah, W. (2020). Humanisme Gus Dur: Pergumulan Islam dan Kemanusiaan, Sebagai Jawaban Dehumanisasi di Era Disrupsi. Jurnal Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Dakwah, 14(1), 95–114. https://doi.org/10.24260/jhjd.v14i1.1780
- Fauzi, M. N. (2019). Konvergensi Pemikiran Etika Sosial Gus Dur dan Etika Utilitarianisme. Ulumuna: Jurnal Studi Keislaman, 5(2), 110–129. https://doi.org/10.36420/ju.v5i2.3648
- Hanipudin, S., & Alhaq, A. A. (2019). Pemikiran Pendidikan Pluralisme KH.

- Abdurrahman Wahid: Pemikiran Pendidikan Pluralisme KH. Abdurrahman Wahid. INSANIA: Jurnal Pemikiran Alternatif Kependidikan, 22(1), 37–60.
- Hardiman, F. B. (2018). Demokrasi dan Sentimentalitas: Dari "Bangsa Setan-Setan," Radikalisme Agama, Sampai Post-sekulerisme. Kanisius.
- Hashemi, N. (2010). Islam, Sekularisme, dan Demokrasi Liberal. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Hidayatullah, W., Setiawan, D., Syafe'i, I., & Muntoha, T. (2022). Pemikiran Neo-Modernisme Perspektif KH. Abdurrahman Wahid dan Nurcholis Madjid Serta Implikasinya Terhadap Pendidikan Islam Multikultural. Al-Haytham: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam, 1(1), 62–78.
- Jones, S. (1984). The Contradiction and Expansion of the 'Umat' and The Role of the Nahdatul Ulama in Indonesia. Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University.
- Latief, M. (2017). Islam dan Sekularisasi Politik di Indonesia. TSAQAFAH, 13(1), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.21111/tsaqafah.v13i1.974
- Litbang Kompas. (2020). Islam Kultural ala Gus Dur. PT Kompas Media Nusantara.
- Madung, O. G. (2016). Toleransi dan Diskursus Post-Sekularisme. JURNAL LEDALERO, 15(2), 305–322. https://doi.org/10.31385/jl.v15i2.39.305-322
- Madung, O. G. N. (2021). Post-Secularism as a Basis of Dialogue between Philosophy and Religion. Jurnal Filsafat, 31(2), 271–289. https://doi.org/10.22146/jf.65189
- Masdar, U. (1999). Membaca Pemikiran Gus Dur dan Amin Rais tentang Pancasila. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Menoh, G. A. B. (2015). Agama Dalam Ruang Publik: Hubungan Agama dan Negara dalam Masyarakat Post-Sekuler Menurut Jurgen Habermas. Kanisius.
- Mujibuddin, M., & Zuliana, R. (2019). Post-Sekulerisme Islam Populis di Indonesia. JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo), 3(1), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2019.3.1.3486
- Mukarom, A. S. (2017). Pribumisasi Dalam Pandangan Abdurahman Wahid. Religious: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama Dan Lintas Budaya, 2(1), 63–74. https://doi.org/10.15575/rjsalb.v2i1.2217
- Nasution, T. (2022). Pendidikan Pancasila. Merdeka Kreasi.
- Natsir, M. (2004). Islam Sebagai Dasar Negara. Sega Arsy.
- Noor, I. (2012). Identitas Agama, Ruang Publik dan Post-Sekularisme: Perspektif Diskursus Jurgen Habermas. Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Ushuluddin, 11(1), 61–87. https://doi.org/10.18592/jiu.v11i1.733
- Nurhidayah, N., Putra, A., Putra, D. P., Fadhliah, M., & Rosyada, Y. A. (2022). Moderasi Beragama Perspektif Pluralisme Abdurahman Wahid (Gus Dur). Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Ushuluddin, 2(2), 360–369. https://doi.org/10.15575/jpiu.15577
- Pratt, D. (2023). The Relationship of Philosophy and Religion. South Asian Journal of Religion and Philosophy (SAJRP), 4(2), 2–15.

- https://doi.org/10.58932/MULF0018
- Qodir, Z. (2006). Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam, Wacana, dan Aksi Islam di Indonesia. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Ridwan, N. K. (2019). Ajaran-ajaran Gus Dur: Syarah 9 Nilai Utama Gus Dur. Noktah.
- Rusli, M. (2015). Pemikiran Keagamaan & Kebangsaan Gus Dur. Farabi, 12(1), 50-71.
- Santoso, L. (2004). Teologi Politik Gus Dur. Ar-Ruzz.
- Silaen, P. A., Huda, K., Berutu, L. A. K., & Albani, M. (2024). Modernisasi dan Sekularasi Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia. Metta: Jurnal Ilmu Multidisiplin, 4(2), 92–105. https://doi.org/10.37329/metta.v4i2.3382
- Sunarko, A. (2010). Ruang Publik dan Agama Menurut Habermas. In F. B. Hardiman (Ed.), Ruang Publik: Melacak "Partisipasi Demokrasi" dari Polis sampai Cyberspace. Kanisius.
- Suseno, F. M. (1997). 13 Tokoh Etika. Kanisius.
- Syabibi, M. R., Karim, A., Kulkarni, S., & Sahil, A. (2021). Communicative Cultural Dakwah of Abdurrahman Wahid in Pluralistic Society. KARSA Journal of Social and Islamic Culture, 29(2), 255–287. https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v29i2.5220
- Sya'rani, A. R. (2018). Assessing "the Religious" and "the Secular" in the Pilgrimage to Gus Dur's Grave. Jurnal Sosiologi Agama, 12(2), 173–186. https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2018.122-01
- Tamimi, M. (2020, June 17). Meneladani Gus Dur dalam Membela Lingkungan Hidup. Mongabay.co.id. https://mongabay.co.id/2020/06/17/meneladani-gus-dur dalam-membela-lingkungan-hidup/
- Triono, A. L. (2023). 9 Jejak Perjuangan Gus Dur pada Persoalan Lingkungan. NU Online. https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/9-jejak-perjuangan-gus-dur-padapersoalan-lingkungan-UOC4E
- Wahid, A. (1998). Islam, Negara, dan Pancasila. In M. H. Muhammad (Ed.), Kiai Menggugat, Gus Dur Menjawab. Fatma Press.
- Wahid, A. (2001). Nasionalisme, Tasawwuf, dan Demokratisasi. Kompas.
- Wahid, A. (2006). Islamku Islam Anda Islam Kita. The Wahid Institute.
- Wahid, A. (Ed.). (2009). Ilusi Negara Islam: Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia. The Wahid Institute.
- Warno, W. (2021). Abdurrahman Wahid's View of Pancasila as the State's Basis. The International Journal of Politics and Sociology Research, 9(2), 56–61.
- Welem, T. (2023). Pandangan Nasionalisme dan Kehidupan Beragama dari Tokoh Gus Dur (Abdurrahman Wahid). Ta'wiluna: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an, Tafsir Dan Pemikiran Islam, 4(1), 134–149. https://doi.org/10.58401/takwiluna.v4i1.884



This page intentionally left blank