



Ahmad Wahib's Notes: Indonesian Islam in the Light of Social Realm

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Abstract — Ahmad Wahib is an outstanding thinker whose thinking has been celebrated as the representation of Islamic thinking to cope contemporary issues. During the last period of Old Order and early the New Order era. Ahmad struggled to define moslem attitude toward ongoing political dynamic as well as ideological polemic that is influential in shaping the current currents of Islamic thought, regarding to the dialogue between *turats* (Islamic heritage) and *tajdid / hadatsah* (renewal). He tried to escaped the social polarization created by Islamic ideopolitical thought and renewed Islamic understanding in accordance to religious pluralism. This article is aimed to answer two main issues, namely the characteristic of Wahib's thought related religious pluralism and its relevance to the existing social problem in Indonesia. The article employes library research and uses documentation data, especially his compiled notes. Wahib's thought is characterized with the freedom thinking and nonideological approach. He emphasizes on substantive Islam, rather than ideological and symbolic Islam, as that embraced by Abdurrahman Wahid, Johan Effendy, and Nurcholish Madjid. Wahib's thought marked the breakthrough of ideological paradigm that rules in Islamic thought related to the relation between states and religion by allowing critical thinking by individuals to understand Islamic teaching. His thought leads to more moderate attitude in dealing with religious difference and to match Islam to ongoing social change.

Keywords — Wahib's note, islamic renewal, ideology, reason

I. INTRODUCTION

Ahmad Wahib is a young thinker in early New Order Era. H reflects the anxiety of Islamic thought in that time from political situation in which the struggle to put Islam as state foundation in Indonesia 1955-1959 had failed. The failure marked the setback of political Islam and the rise of authoritarian New Order Regime. New Order Regime chose to prevent old political power to come up and, instead, took security measure to boost economy by repressing ideological approach in politics. In that situation, political Islam got serious challenge form inner circle. Nurcholish Madjid, for instance, launched renewal project that was in contrary to political Islam aspiration. He suggested secularization vision to modernize Islamic thinking by introducing slogan: "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No" and the differentiation between "islam" (with small "i"), as substantive spiritual aspect of Islam, and Islam (with capital "I") as organized religion. The thought sparked severe critic of his opponent, such as Abu Ridlo, Daud Rashid, Muhammad Yaqdhan, and Hidayat

Nurwahid [8][16]. Wahib echoes the endeavor to question Islamic thought in order to answer ongoing challenge.

Ahmad Wahib can be regarded as a figure born from the same aspiration as that of Madjid's. It is no coincidence because both figures were involved in a joint discussion at Dawam Raharjo's place in Jakarta, when Wahib who studied at STF Driyakarya, a philosophy higher education owned by Catholics institution (Effendy, 2003: 5). The circle was a continuation of the Limited Group who held discussions at Mukti Ali's home in Yogyakarta in 1967-1971's. The study group became important because it was attended or presented figures who later played a role in building Islamic thought in Indonesia, such as Djohan Effendy, Ahmad Wahib, M. Dawam Rahardjo, M. Amin Rais, Kuntowijoyo, Syafii Maarif, and Farid Masdar Mas 'udi. Besides, Mukti Ali himself was an outstanding Indonesian thinker and played role as intellectual patron for critial study of Islam [12] and interreligious dialogue [13].

The interest of the study group grew rapidly during the New Order period because of ideological impasse resulting from de-ideologization policies undertaken by the New Order government. Consequently, young people are trying to find a new format of Islamic thought that is in line with the idea of development and development of Islam in order to be more substantive and go beyond ideological boundaries. Internationally, the wave of aspiration also rose in Islamic world in which

Muslim figures such as Ali Shariati, Sayeed Hosein Nashr, Ziauddin Sardar, Alija Ali Izzet Beghovic, Fazlur Rahman, Mahmoed Mohammed Taha, Abdullehi Ahmed an-Naim, Mohammed Arkoun, Hasan Hanafi, Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, Abed al-Jabiri, and Asghar Ali Engineer, Fatimah Mernissi, and Amina Wadud also voiced the need to break Islamic thought inn order to match contemporary Issues, such as democracy, fender equality and religious pluralism. The wave also resonance in Indonesian sphere from the mid-late of 1980s until the Reformation era.

Ahmad Wahib also raised question on several topic that contributed to the enhance of Islamic interpretation in New Order Era. The questions he raised are related to several topics: methodology of interpreting the Quran and hadith, encouraging new interpretations of the concept of worship, questioning the criteria and morals of prophethood, attitudes towards Islamic knowledge and attitudes towards Islamic law. In one hand, the idea leads to the new Islamic interpretation in accordance to the actual societal challenges,

but it also challenges the established established norm of religion [17].

It is in this intellectual stage that the reading of Ahmad Wahib has significance. Firstly, Wahib came from Madura with a strong Islamic tradition and then studied in Yogyakarta, a city of education. Secondly, Wahib was born from traditional Islamic thought but then he transformed to be open-minded thinker. This article is an attempt to revisit Ahmad Wahib's thoughts in the context of New Order era and to reveal the relevance of his thought to the existing social situation.

II. THE TURBLENCE OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT IN NEW ORDER ERA

Islamic thinking during the Old Order and New Order has different dynamics. Both eras are colored by different development orientations and with different jargon. The Old Order is the period of Guided Democracy by making the teachings and the mandate of President Soekarno as the Outline of the Guidance of the State. The speech of President Soekarno on 17 August 1959 known as the Political Manifesto (Manipol) became the source of the blue print of the direction of the Old Order government policy [1]. Orientation of the Old Order was a Revolution to bring the Indonesian nation self-reliant using the guidance of the development of the Old Order was the Manipol (Political Manifesto), namely the 1945 Constitution, Indonesian socialism, guided democracy, guided-economy and Indonesian character (USDEK). Manipol and USDEK became the interpretation of Pancasila formulated by the the Old Order regime government [1]. The single interpretation of Pancasila and the priority of the revolution using "the left jargon" were seen by as a form of communism's influence.

On the contrary, during the New Order period, the direction and policy were made by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). In theory, the MPR is a representative of the people that contains elected representatives of the people. However, with nonelected members, quota for Army (ABRI), and Golkar as government Party, designed to be majority. What is important from the New Order era is the desire of New Order rulers to modernize national life of the nation. For that need, the tendency to argue ideologically is nullified and society is encouraged to focus on pursuing development and put aside ideological and political discussion.

Despite de-ideologization program, New Order also required ideological justification for its political policies. It tried to make Pancasila as a single ideology for the country. To elaborate Pancasila, New Order regime design P4 (Guidelines for the Application and Practice of Pancasila) as guideline how every verse of Pancasila should be applied. Civil servants and students are subjected to take P4 courses or trainings [11]. Through this P4, de-ideologization efforts are balanced with ideologization that relies on the government's interpretation of Pancasila.

In that situation, there was anxiety among Muslim youth, especially those who did not support Nasakom and the "left" direction of the Old Order government and those who objected to the de-ideologization project undertaken by the New Order government. It is not surprising that in the middle of the late 1960s there have been intellectual anxieties.

According to Wahib, Djohan Effendi since 1966 has proposed the idea that Islam is not an ideology and proposed the idea of secularization in 1969, while Djohan Effendi chose to be secular thinker and endorsed religious dialogue [18]. The idea of de-ideologization and secularization of Islam gained momentum with the collapse of the Old Order, which marked the transition from an ideological socio-political atmosphere, Islam-Nationalism-communism, to a more non-ideological socio-political atmosphere that the New Order sought to create.

In the early 1970s Nurcholish Madjid encouraged the refreshment of Islamic thought and introduced secularization. A renewal would be done by discarding ideological values and looking for future-oriented values by put Islamic thought under rational scrutiny. Desacralization is thus inevitable for developing progres idea [10]. In that context, Wahib idea in his *Notes* may be considered as prelude for understanding Madjid's thought. Wahib's *Notes* can be read in the socio-political-religious context above.

The daily note, covering the years 1969-1972, is a witness of the turbulence of Islamic thought after the downfall of ideological struggle in Indonesia politics and the coming of de-ideologization era. The process of de-ideologization has certainly led to a response, which in the context of Islamic thought is a conformity response and a tacit resistance response through Islamic revivalist movement. Ahmad Wahib's notes reveal a struggle of a student of Gadjah Mada with traditional background struggle to make up his mind to cope the reality and find answer to social challenge faced by moslems community.

III. THE UPHEAVAL THOUGHT OF AHMAD WAHIB

The figure of Ahmad Wahib became popular after his death from traffic accident. He left an important legacy, namely a daily note, later published by LP3ES Jakarta. The book acts as silent witness of the dynamic thinking among Islamic young students in Yogyakarta during the New Order era. Wahib was born in Sampang Madura on November 9, 1942. He grew up in a strong Madurese society of his Islamic tradition. Wahib, however, took his senior high school education in exact sciences and graduated in 1961. He then moved to Yogyakarta by continuing his studies at the Faculty of Physical and Natural Sciences (FIPA) of Gadjah Mada University. The study cannot be completed even though he has reached the final level.

Wahib had lived in the Realino Student Dormitory, the Catholic dormitory in Yogyakarta until September 1962. It was the residence that gave him the opportunity to know the Fathers of the Jesuit Order. That experience may have provided a nuance for Wahib's interest in religious discourse. His interest in philosophy and his familiarity with Catholic environment continued when he moved to Jakarta in 1971. He looked for job in Jakarta, while he was also taking philosophy course in Drijakarta high Education. Finally, he was accepted by Tempo as a journalist.

The relation of Wahib itself was not restricted in student discussion. He had good communication with Yogyakarta academic figures, such as Wajiz Anwar (lecturer of philosophy IAIN Yogyakarta), AR Baswedan, Ki Muhammad Tauchid (Taman Siswa), Samhudi (Lahore

Ahmadiyah member), and nationalist figure, Karkono, from PNI [18]. The association provided a broad horizon of Wahib's thoughts and insights and simultaneously demonstrated a cosmopolitanism in Wahib's thinking. After moving to Jakarta, he got close acquaintance with Nurcholish Madjid, Dawam Raharjo and Djohan Effendy, and youth thinker from Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam circle, where Wahib support the renewal though launched by Madjid from 1970 [6].

Wahib's Note is reflection of the upheaval of thought by one who is aware of the literary tradition. Ahmad Wahib's Note captures the various tensions of thought he experienced and the social setting of the experiences. The Notes, saved by Djohan Effendi, contains 662 pages, written using manual typewriter. The Note preserved Ahmad Wahib's upheavals in five years.

Ahmad Whib's note comprises broad topic and issues. The main issues comprise the relationship between reason and revelation; identity, ideology, and religion; and Islamic renewal.

1) Reason and Revelation

In 1969, Ahmad Wahib was in quest of the reconciliation between reason and revelation. On 8 March 1969, for example, he wrote that the source of Islam is only two, the Qur'an and Hadith. Reason is only a tool for understanding revelation. He draws distinction between Islam and Islamists or between Islam and opinion on Islam. Wahib sees the relationship of reason and revelation within the framework of the Ash'ariyya idea, namely that reason has a problem, that is variety of thought [18] Wahib's main purpose is to find out the "true Islam:"

I do not know yet what Islam really is. I just know Islam according to Hamka, Islam according to Natsir, Islam according to Abduh, Islam according to the ancient ulama, Islam according to Djohan, Islam according to Subki, Islam according to others. And frankly, I am not satisfied. What I search is not founded yet, that is Islam according to Allah, the maker. How? Straight from the Quran and Sunnah? I will try. But others will think that what I get is Islam according to my own. I do not care. The important thing is my belief in my common sense that what I understand is Islam according to God. I have to be sure of that! [18].

The quotation demonstrates Wahib's desire to find Islam according to reason. He argues that Islamic thought is a product of human beings. Consequently, Wahib wanted and has right to seek Islam as he understands.

Wahib's thoughts show the intersection with rational thought and Islamic philosophy. He is obsessed with searching for the truth of Islam, not just in the words of others, but from his contemplation. He questioned the truth of Islam because, according to him, there is something problem in Islam. However, he realizes that his faith does not allow him to think so. The situation leads him fall into turbulence between accepting an existing Islam and thinking freely to discover the truth; between finding Islam and positioning the results of intellectual thinking. He stands that the wrong he did from thinking is better than the true without thinking. The rejection of free thinking he views as an insult to God [18].

2) Identity and Ideology of Religion

The religious identity and value relationships are important issues in Wahib's note. The polemic of identity, religion, and plurality raises the discussion of pluralism. The pluralism may be understood differently, but it can be seen as an attempt to put religious differences in a frame that is able to unify existing differences so as to create cooperation and mutual respect.

The discourse on religion and identity plays important role in his thought. First, he lived at the end of the ideological era, where religious associations, religious views, and truth were very closely linked. Ideology emphasizes the truth of a particular set of Islamic ideas and the superiority of an identity of those who belong to it. Up to 1967, Wahib still embraced ideological Islam [18], but later he questioned ideology and religious identity. He wrote at October 9, 1969:

I am not a nationalist, not a Catholic, not a socialist. I am not a Buddhist, not a Protestant, not a western. I am not a communist. I am not a humanist. I am everything. Hopefully this is called the Muslim. I want people to see and judge me as an absolute entity without connecting to the group I belong to, and from what stream I am going to understand human as human [18].

One may conclude that the quotation is indication of identity denial, but it is not the point. Wahib seems to be involved in the search for religious truth, as a spiritual consciousness, not merely an organized religion. The Spirit of the distinction between the spirit of Islam and Islam as identity or organized religion was also raised by Nurcholish Madjid. Madjid made differentiation between Islam with the letter small "i" and Islam with big "I". Islam with a small "i" shows the true submission and the essence of religion, whereas Islam with a large "I" refers to organized religion, to source of identity. In perennial philosophy is distinguished between religion in the esoteric and exoteric levels, where the former refers to the inner and substantive realms while the latter refers to the sphere of birth and order [14]. Wahib, however did not uses that perennial philosophy term, rather he is influenced by his interest in philosophical readings.

Wahib's search for the essence of Islam could not be detached from his good relationship with Catholics in which he lived three years alongside a priest and got close relation with *abangan* – Javanese-moslem varian with less religious piety and less practice of islamic rituals [5]. The rich encounter with different people with different culture made him see the deep dimension of virtue in each of these communities. He underwent empathy that enable him not to see social reality in clear cut difference and enable him to see different faiths or ideologies as the manifestation of the same human. Wahib suggested that Western-educated Muslim scholars establish communication with non-Muslim scholars and eliminate communication gaps. He invite modern Muslim groups to reach non-Muslim for honest dialogue and eliminating unnecessary suspicions [18].

3) The Refreshment of Islam

Islamic refreshment topic will certainly not be ignored by Wahib. He sees refreshment or renewal of Islam as a necessity and continuing process. Renewal is born of anxiety and dissatisfaction with the existing conditions followed by the process of searching new answer. Such renewal was regarded appreciatively by Wahib because he realized that renewal happend in anxiety condition in search of

improvement to the existing situation. As soon as the anxiety ceases, an organization will also cease as the organization of renewal [18].

While Nurcholish Madjid proposed the idea of secularization, coming out of the desire to desecralize profane issues so as not to be treated sacred [10], Wahib interpreted secularization as the process to put religion in private domain. Wahib approved Nurcholish's secularization on translating Islam as an outline into the mundane and human matters, subject to *ijtihad*. However, he refused the idea that socialism should be accepted as a project of the Muslims [18]. He suggested Nurcholish to explain more clearly what secularized objects are. Despite of agreeing the idea of secularization proposed by Madjid, Wahib suggests a distinction between science and *ism* (ideology). The former should be openly accepted, while the latter should be accepted using the Islamic philosophy measure [18].

IV. THE REPOSITION OF WAHIB'S THOUGHT

Wahib's Note records the struggle of thought among the young moslem activist at the end of the Old Order and the early era of the New Order. Ideological clashes, political tensions, interreligious relationships problems, and the position of the student movement gave color to the scientific and social discourse reflected in Wahib's writings. The discourse echoed socio-political concern of students and young activist. The discourse also gave birth to the idea of renewal expressed by the young moslem thinkers who rescale Islam to be a more substantive in order to synergize it with social modernization conducted by the Government. Wahib's thought differs from that of Islamic revivalism, trying to revitalize of spiritual aspects of Islam and revitalize ideological tenets of Islam on social and politic aspects [3].

Wahib praised by Barton (1999: 253) [4] as "vital and influential actor behind scene of neomodernism development, focusing on intellectual renewal and thought. The neomodernism calls for the reinterpretation of religious discourse through re-reading of Qur'anic verses and prophet tradition in order to be compatible to current situation and to be able to address modernity and development of Western civilization [15]. Wahib is also called crossing the border, even the border of Islamic renewal that shadowed by freedom illusion. The freedom, however, plays in the arena allowed by certain religious authority [9].

The renewal idea of Wahib focuses on the dichotomy between Islam and sciences. The renewal, according to Wahib, should be started from human or society. Society must be partner of every Islamic renewal and, in turn, the renewal defined from spectacle of society [6].

Therefore, Wahib's thought acts as counterparts to Islamic revivalism. Wahib, in some degree, choose to separate religious institutions from state and political parties because they are seen as prone to conflict and division [4]. While Islamic revivalism struggles to put Islam and central axis for social and political activities, Wahib tended to put religious matters as private domain [18]. Budhy Munawar-Rachman highlights that such stance is a way to hinder religion used as merely rethoric to legitimize political interest that, consequently, will cause the credibility crisis of religion [14].

The approach that Wahib employing reflected both philosophical as well as social ones. Islamic renewal by Wahib and his colleagues encompasses the formulation of theoretical framework, paradigm inquiry, and historical review so that it has academic and empirical color. Although there are studies employed similar approach, Wahib idea has great impact in shaking the established Islamic thinking and inspiring the subsequent endeavor of young thinkers to study Islam in the light of contemporary need of Islamic society [2].

The shaking effect of Wahib idea lies on his controversial questioning the established teachings held common moslems. It sparked polemic among Islamic thinkers. Mohammad Rasjidi, the former minister of The Ministry of Religious Affairs, criticized Wahib thought as deviance and incoherence [7]. Abdurrahman Wahid, former leader of Nahdlatul Ulama, defended Wahib's position. In article published in *Tempo* in 19 September 1981, Wahid stated Wahib is a Muslim with full faith. The rebellion he did was aimed at establishing the religion he believed. Like bricklayer that smashed his hammer into the wall, to test the durability and strength of the wall. Therefore, Wahid does not agree that Wahib has lower degree of Islam than those who never questioned the truth of their religion once.

In sum, what Wahib did is to depolitize religion in order to give free role of individuals to interpret and to express their comprehension and appreciation to religious values. Pluralism is part of Wahib's thinking that provides an overview of the search for truth and the essence of the teachings of Islam and religions in general, Wahib's Note is an honest witness to the upheaval of a young Muslims to respond social problems in Indonesia by discussing idea, such as ideology, revelation, truth. Therefore, there is strong resistance of more conservative wing in Islamic society to neomodernism and labels it *Septilis* (secularism, pluralism, and liberalism).

The era of ideology begin to fade, in Indonesia, but at certain times the ideological struggle is still going on. The political Islam has taken ground strongly in society offering an Islamic solution to the socio-political problem. The ritual-oriented Islam also attract wide followers offering rituals and religious ceremonies for salvation. Wahib's orientation to separate religion from political usage and his modernist inclination provide alternative view to deal with social and political struggle in Indonesia. His thought will never cease to inspire young generations who have to reconcile their Islamic and Indonesian identity. However, the secularization will always spark criticism because religion plays important role in Indonesia

V. CONCLUSION

Ahmad Wahib is a mirror of the struggle of young Islamic thinkers in dealing with the development socio-political realm in Indonesia. The relationship between state and religion shapes the long and serious debate and discussion among academics and also social movement. Although Pancasila, as basic philosophy of Indonesia, has been more widely accepted, but the process and the interpretation of it has sparked polemic from time to time. Wahib thought represented the dialogue between Islam and society in the middle of the transition of Indonesian Society from Old Order into New Order Era.

The Wahib's *Notes* is a witness of dialogue. It reflects the development of Islamic thought and the anxiety experienced by the young muslim activist in societal as well as political change. Wahib's thought is characterized with freedom of thinking and non-ideological approach. He is coined to be one of neomodernist pioneers in Indonesia which inclination to substantive Islam. This paper shows that the turbulence of Wahib's thought in his Note is not separated from his desire to be part of the renewal, whether religious, social, or political reforms. Brief reading of the Note convinces us that there is an open dimension of an established ideological reality that will be strongest when critical thinking and truth-seeking are conducted.

Wahib's thinking is relevant to read back to discover the breakthrough from ideological and political way of reading religion to the more open space for individual to express their understanding. Ideological paradigm that was prevalent in Liberal Democracy in Indonesia (1955-1959) provided the instable political landscape because of difficulty of every political party to come to compromy. With the rise of conservatism in Indonesian Reformation Era, Wahib's thought provide balancing perspective in order to draw Islamic society to more moderate attitude in dealing with difference.

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