

## **Ideology of Pancasila versus Islamism: Measuring Actions and Reactions of Campus Organs to Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 in UGM and UIN Yogyakarta**

**Ilyya Muhsin**

Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Salatiga, Indonesia  
ilyya\_muhsin@iainsalatiga.ac.id

### **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to discuss the actions and reactions of the issuance of Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 at Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) Yogyakarta and Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, which exhibits an ideological struggle between Pancasila and Islamism. It was found that the fact of the rise of radicalism in the campus realm underlies the issuance of this regulation. Therefore, it becomes a means of fostering the ideology of the nation on campus. In practice, UIN has not yet implemented the regulation, but it has realized the spirit of it in the form of campus rules. There are responses and impacts that occur. However, it is not within the area of student organs, but the institution, and its impact is felt by all students. Meanwhile, at UGM, there is no direct policy yet, but campus organs have been actively discussing and mapping the patterns of movement to be carried out when the regulation is later enacted.

**Keywords:** *Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018, Ideology of Pancasila, Islamism.*

### **Abstrak**

*IDEOLOGI PANCASILA VERSUS ISLAMISME: MENAKAR AKSI DAN REAKSI ORGAN KAMPUS TERHADAP PERMENRISTEKDIKTI NO. 55 TAHUN 2018 DI UGM DAN UIN YOGYAKARTA.* Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk membahas

respons dan dampak dari keluarnya Permenristekdikti No. 55 Tahun 2018 Tentang Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila di kalangan kampus. Objeknya adalah organ mahasiswa yang ada di Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) Yogyakarta dan Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif dengan pendekatan sosiologis. Teori konflik dan teori modal dari Pierre Bourdieu dijadikan sebagai alat analisis. Data diperoleh dengan melakukan wawancara dan dokumentasi. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa UIN Sunan Kalijaga belum mengimplementasikan peraturan tersebut ke ranah organ ekstra dan intra kampus, namun semangatnya sudah dijalankan dan dijadikan tata aturan bagi kehidupan akademik kampus tersebut. Tentu saja ada respons dan dampak yang terjadi. Namun, responnya tidak dalam wilayah organ ekstra dan intra kampus, tetapi dari institusi dan dampaknya dirasakan oleh seluruh mahasiswa. Adapun UGM belum ada kebijakan secara langsung terkait Permenristekdikti tersebut. Namun, dalam ranah organ intra dan ekstra kampus sudah bergerak untuk mendiskusikan dan memetakan pola gerakan yang akan dilakukan ketika peraturan itu nantinya akan diberlakukan.

**Kata Kunci:** *Permenristekdikti No. 55/2018, Ideologi Pancasila, Islamisme.*

## A. Introduction

The dynamics of Islamic religiosity in Indonesia is currently experiencing a concerning fragmentation point along with the strengthening of Islamism among the people. Islamism is a concept or movement of contemporary Islam that views Islam as a political ideology, more than just a religion as the view of Western society.<sup>1</sup> This is then marked by the existence of religious conservatism, which is characterized by the protrusion of an increasingly strong Islamic identity. This is what Martin van Bruinessen<sup>2</sup> said when he saw the condition of Islamic diversity in Indonesia.

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<sup>1</sup> Oliver Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1994), ix.

<sup>2</sup> Martin van Bruinessen, *Conservative Turn: Islam Indonesia dalam Ancaman Fundamentalisme*, transl. Agus Budiman (Bandung: Mizan, 2014), 47.

The thread between Islamism and conservatism led to a diametric conflict with moderate Islamic groups in Indonesia. This cones in an ideological struggle so that ideological conflicts never end in the history of Indonesia. Contemporary conditions also reveal this phenomenon that results in a very big challenge to the ideology of Pancasila. This challenge certainly cannot be separated from the Islamism movement that emerged in the last two decades.

Van Bruinessen<sup>3</sup> assumes that the strong movement of Islamism is caused by the decline in liberal and progressive views by its activists plunging into politics. In addition, the transnational Islamic movement factor also had an impact, which was due to the strong Middle Eastern influence brought by the alumni of universities from there. It is these alumni who carried the movements such as Ikhwanul Muslimin, Hizbut Tahrir, and Salafi.<sup>4</sup> This happened in the early 1980s when the New Order came to power with strong pressure on the political Islamic movement. Due to pressure from the New Order authorities, this transnational movement moved on campuses. This continued until the New Order collapsed in 1998. Therefore, for almost two decades, this transnational Islamic movement has reproduced in various mosques of the leading state tertiary institutions in Indonesia. Meanwhile, in the reform era, the transnational Islamic movement had more freedom to move, both in the field of propaganda and politics.

The success of the underground movement for two decades and other two decades in the reform era gave influence to the dominance of this group in the contemporary era. The link between conservatism, Islamism, and Salafism gives an extraordinary energy to keep moving to color the Islamic religious life and radically strengthen Islamic identity. They succeeded in becoming a moderate Islamic counterpart with a national vision in Indonesia. As a result,

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<sup>3</sup> Martin van Bruinessen, *Conservative Turn*, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Imdadun Rahmat, *Arus Baru Islam Radikal: Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia* (Jakarta: Penerbit Erlangga, 2009), 84.

there was polarization of the two diametric poles in Indonesia. This also had an impact on the development of the ideology of Pancasila.

From the strong Islamic movement which later manifested in challenges to the ideology of the nation, the government also issued Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education Regulation (Permenristekdikti) No. 55 of 2018 concerning the Development of the Ideology of Pancasila in Student Activities in Tertiary Institutions on October 22, 2018. From this regulation, the government wants to provide guidance to students who have been the basis for the radical movements.

It is in this connection that this article was written with the focus of studies at Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta and Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) Yogyakarta. These two institutions were chosen because the first one is a religious tertiary institution and the latter is a general tertiary institution. In addition, the basis and characteristics of the student organs are also different, so the selection of the two leads to varied conclusions.

There are three issues of discussion; the first is the background of the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education issued Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 concerning the Development of the Pancasila Ideology in Student Activities in Tertiary Institutions; the second is the response and attitude of UGM and UIN Yogyakarta and extra-campus organs towards Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018; and the third is the impact of Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 towards strengthening the ideology of Pancasila among extra organ groups of UGM and UIN Yogyakarta campuses.

## **B. Discussion**

The ideology of Pancasila and its challenges today is under discussion e.g. Yudhanegara's study on nationalism and Pancasila,<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> H.F. Yudhanegara, "Pancasila Sebagai Filter Pengaruh Globalisasi terhadap Nilai-nilai Nasionalisme", *Cendekia: Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi Negara* 8, no. 2 (2015): 165-180.

Huda on strengthening Pancasila as national ideology,<sup>6</sup> Kristiono on strengthening Pancasila in university<sup>7</sup>, Asmaroini on Pancasila and globalization,<sup>8</sup> Triyanto on strengthening Pancasila values in elementary school students,<sup>9</sup> and Nugroho's study examining Pancasila values in improving the quality of human resources.<sup>10</sup> If it is related to the student movements, the studies are more varied, such as Abaza's study which identifies the Indonesian student movement in al-Azhar,<sup>11</sup> Latif who studies young Muslim intellectuals,<sup>12</sup> Muhtarom who studies Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI),<sup>13</sup> Andries who examines the movement campus mosques at UGM and UIN,<sup>14</sup> Aksa discussing transnational Islamic genealogy and its movements in Indonesia,<sup>15</sup> Arifianto's study examining the teachings of campus propaganda,<sup>16</sup> and the study of Ilyya Muhsin, *et al.* on the Campus Propagation Institute (LDK) as the basis for the production of Islamism on campus.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Muhammad Chairul Huda, "Strengthening Pancasila as National Ideology to Implementate the Balancing Values to Improve Law's Application in Indonesia", *Jurnal Pembabaran Hukum* 5, no. 1 (2018): 1-12.

<sup>7</sup> Natal Kristiono, "Penguatan Ideologi Pancasila di Kalangan Mahasiswa Universitas Negeri Semarang", *Jurnal Harmoni* 2, no. 2 (2017): 193-204.

<sup>8</sup> Ambiro Puji Asmaroini, "Menjaga Eksistensi Pancasila dan Penerapannya bagi Masyarakat di Era Globalisasi", *JPK: Jurnal Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan* 1, no. 2 (2017): 50-64.

<sup>9</sup> Triyanto and Nur Fadhilah, "Penguatan Nilai-nilai Pancasila di Sekolah Dasar", *Jurnal Civics: Media Kajian Kewarganegaraan* 15, no. 2 (2018): 161-169.

<sup>10</sup> Iwan Nugroho, "Nilai-nilai Pancasila Sebagai Falsafah Pandangan Hidup Bangsa untuk Peningkatan Kualitas Sumber Daya Manusia dan Pembangunan Lingkungan Hidup", *Jurnal Konstitusi* 3, no. 2 (2010): 107-128.

<sup>11</sup> Mona Abaza, "Generasi Baru Mahasiswa Indonesia di al-Azhar", *Jurnal Islamika*, January-March Edition (1994): 37-38.

<sup>12</sup> Yudi Latif, "The Rupture of Young Muslim Intelligentsia in the Modernization Indonesia", *Jurnal Studia Islamika* 12, no. 3 (2005).

<sup>13</sup> Moch. Muhtarom, "Gerakan Islam di Indonesia: Studi Komparatif antara Partai Keadilan Sejahtera dan Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia Tentang Nasionalisme", *Thesis*, Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2009.

<sup>14</sup> Flavius Floris Andries, "Gerakan Masjid Kampus UGM dan UIN Sunan Kalijaga dalam Memahami Politik Nasional", *Jurnal Analisa* 19, no. 2 (2012).

<sup>15</sup> Aksa, "Gerakan Islam Transnasional: Sebuah Nomenklatur, Sejarah, dan Pengaruhnya di Indonesia", *Yupa: Historical Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (2017).

<sup>16</sup> Alexander R. Arifianto, "Islamic Campus Preaching Organizations in Indonesia: Promoters of Moderation or Radicalism?", *Asian Security* (2018): 1-20.

<sup>17</sup> Ilyya Muhsin, Nikmah Rochmawati, and Muhammad Choirul Huda, "Revolution of Islamic Proselytizing Organization: from Islamism to Moderate", *QIJS: Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 1 (2019): 45-70.

These studies show that the most difficult challenge for the ideology of Pancasila is Islamism. According to Bayat,<sup>18</sup> Islamism emerged as a language of self-affirmation to mobilize the middle-class people who felt marginalized by the dominant economic, political or cultural processes in their society. Meanwhile, Ismail believes that Islamism shows two phenomena at once, namely Islamic politics and re-Islamization. These two phenomena can be seen from a variety of social lives that are colored with signs and symbols associated with Islamic traditions and cultures.<sup>19</sup>

However, the essence of Islamism lies in Oliver Roy's understanding,<sup>20</sup> that is, an understanding that views Islam as a political ideology more than just a religion. Thus, Islamism is an Islamic movement oriented to the implementation of Sharia and makes Islam as a political ideology. In fact, Ayubi said that Islamism did not merely emphasize the Muslim identity, but rather the conscious choice of Islam as a doctrine and ideology.<sup>21</sup>

This perspective is driven by the Islamic movement, namely how to make Islam an ideology to be developed in a real manner and totally practiced in life. This of course brings a very significant impact and challenge to the ideology of the Indonesian people today, Pancasila. For this reason, the Ministry of Technology, Research, and Higher Education as part of the state organ and the parent of tertiary institutions must take actions that can reduce the spread of ideology that can challenge the state ideology. Finally, Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 was issued.

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<sup>18</sup> Asef Bayat, "Islam and Democracy: What is the Real Question?", *ISIM Paper*, 8 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 14.

<sup>19</sup> Salwa Ismail, *Rethinking Islamist Politics: Culture, the State, and Islamism* (London-New York: I.B. Taurist and Co. Ltd., 2003), 2.

<sup>20</sup> Oliver Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1994), ix.

<sup>21</sup> Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 68.

## 1. Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 Amid Religious Radicalism Movements

Historically, Pancasila experienced ups and downs in its implementation in Indonesia. *First*, during the era of President Soekarno, Pancasila experienced ups and downs as a result of being mixed with religious ideology and communism in the Nasakom concept. *Second*, during the New Order era, Pancasila was placed in a very strong position through MPR Decree No. 2 of 1978 concerning P4 administration. During this period too, the ideology of the Pancasila became the sole principle for all political organizations (organisasi politik, orpol) and community organizations (organisasi masyarakat, ormas). Unfortunately, Pancasila was used as a shield to perpetuate power. *Third*, in the reform era, Pancasila as a state ideology experienced ups and downs. This started with the reluctance of state organizers to discuss Pancasila and even led to the loss of Pancasila from the national curriculum, although in the end, there was an awareness of the importance of Pancasila education in tertiary institutions.

Of the three regimes, there was an effort to narrow the interpretation of Pancasila as an ideology. In fact, Pancasila should be an ideology of the nation must be integralistic in the sense that Pancasila is a concept in which the nature of the state is based on the concept of state life. Meanwhile, the state in this integralistic theory is an integral composition of society among all groups and all sections of all members of society. Even, according to Soepomo, this integralistic theory is the most suitable for the Indonesian nation with a pluralistic society.<sup>22</sup>

This integralistic ideology of Pancasila has been reflected since its formation. The founders of the nation were heartened in accepting Pancasila as the ideology of the nation amid the

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<sup>22</sup> Syahrial Syarbaini, *Pendidikan Pancasila di Perguruan Tinggi: Implementasi Nilai-nilai Karakter Bangsa* (Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia, 2014), 91-92.

strengthening of religious ideology. This is evident from Soepomo's statement:

Indeed, it appears that there are two views, namely: the view of the members of religious experts, who advocate for Indonesia to be established as an Islamic state, and another recommendation, as advocated by Mr. Mohammad Hatta, that Indonesia is the national united states that separates the affairs of the state and Islam, in other words not an Islamic state.

From this statement, the ideological war did occur since the beginning of this nation to determine its ideology. Then, Panitia Sembilan (Nine Committee), an ideological Islamic group, were able to include seven words in the first precept through lengthy and compromising talks, namely "Belief in God with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents", and make Pancasila the state foundation. This happened on June 22, 1945, known as the Jakarta Charter. In the Charter, it was also decided that the head of state must be Muslim and the inclusion of the phrase "the obligation to carry out Islamic law" in the constitution.

Soepomo stated that the Jakarta Charter was truly a noble moral agreement.<sup>23</sup> However, in a relatively short period of time, what was decided by the Jakarta Charter evaporated during the PPKI session of 15 people. The Islamic demands were all canceled. The day after the proclamation, the seven words in the Jakarta Charter were omitted; the word Allah in the *mukaddimah* was replaced by God while the *mukaddimah* was changed to the preamble.

Thus, it can be said that basically conflicts of ideology had existed since the beginning of this country. At the next level, ideological Islamic groups formed Masyumi as a political forum for Islamic groups and at the same time a unifying forum of Islamic communities. Masyumi is the actor of Islamism to this day. Since

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<sup>23</sup> M.K. Pasha, *Pancasila dalam Tinjauan Historis, Yuridis, dan Filosofis* (Yogyakarta: Citra Karsa Mandiri, 2003), 23. See also Notonagoro, *Dasar Falsafah Negara* (Jakarta: Bina Aksara, 1983), 168.



losing in the early period of independence, it had fought in the Constituent Assembly, but then remained defeated. This second losing certainly disappointed M. Natsir, the founder of Masyumi. Natsir even expressed his disappointment with the defenders of Pancasila.

This disappointment led to a very fierce debate in the assembly. This even led to a deadlock so that mediation was sought. However, the debate continued until June 2, 1959, and the mediation efforts did give any results. Consequently, President Soekarno closed down the constituent assembly with a Presidential Decree on July 5, 1959. By this decree, the Constituent Assembly is a waste. In fact, Harun Nasution considered that the assembly was only a place for political debates, not an honorable assembly that looked to find the ideal format of the nation's ideology.

With this decree, Masyumi lost the direction of the struggle. Its position was increasingly oppressed when the DI/TII rebellion occurred, in which President Soekarno considered Masyumi to be involved in it.<sup>24</sup> The position became more difficult when Soekarno implemented Guided Democracy that made him become like a king in Indonesian history.<sup>25</sup> Finally, Masyumi's political role was ended by Soekarno through Presidential Decree No. 200 of 1960.<sup>26</sup>

When the New Order came to power, the Islamic community had a big hope for this new ruler. Besides to exterminate the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in 1956, it was also because Suharto freed Masyumi leaders like Mohammad Natsir and Hamka.<sup>27</sup> There were even some groups who longed for the realization of an Islamic state.<sup>28</sup> The public also hoped that there would be

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<sup>24</sup> Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan: Studi Tentang Percaturan dalam Konstituante* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 189-191; B.J. Boland, *Pergumulan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Grafiti Pers, 1985), 103, 187.

<sup>25</sup> Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif, *Islam dan Masalah Kenegaraan*, 191.

<sup>26</sup> Abdul Rahman, "Masyumi dalam Kontestasi Politik Orde Lama", *Proceeding of National Seminar: Research and Community Service Institute Universitas Negeri Makasar*, 2017, 164.

<sup>27</sup> Nanang Tahqiq (ed.), *Politik Islam* (Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2004), 96.

<sup>28</sup> B.J. Boland, *Pergumulan Islam di Indonesia*, 165.

rehabilitation of political parties closed down by the Old Order,<sup>29</sup> including Masyumi.<sup>30</sup> However, the New Order government was beyond expectations because they did not want any competing powers from the New Order.<sup>31</sup> Islamism was again lost. As a result, Masyumi leaders diverted their attention to the *da'wah* movement.

The Masyumi leaders later formed the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council (Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia, DDII).<sup>32</sup> The field of movement turned to various campus mosques from various secular universities that were relatively immune from New Order control.<sup>33</sup> They conducted religious activities and disseminated teachings underground. They were successfully done because of the role of DDII.<sup>34</sup> In this case, DDII became the successor institution of the Masyumi's struggle and the supporter of *da'wah* and transmitter of ideas from the Middle East. The transferred and very powerful hegemonic idea is the idea of Ikhwanul Muslimin (IM). This IM is a part of the development of Tarbiyah Jamaah. Even with DDII's role, other *da'wah* movements such as HTI and Salafi Da'wah also developed.<sup>35</sup>

The DDII's struggle had a great success when the New Order collapsed in 1998. During the Reform Order, the ideology of the Pancasila was once again marginalized. This was due to the historical burden of the New Order which was indeed identical with Pancasila.

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<sup>29</sup> Ken Ward, *Foundation of the Partai Muslimin Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 25.

<sup>30</sup> M. Dawam Raharjo, "Islam dan Demokrasi: Catatan atas Paham Sekularisasi Nurcholish Madjid", in Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Kemodernan, dan Keindonesiaan* (Bandung: Mizan, 1993), 11-13.

<sup>31</sup> Alfian, *Pemikiran dan Pembaharuan Politik Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1980), 2-3; Solichin Salam, *Sejarah Partai Muslimin Indonesia* (Jakarta: Lembaga Pendidikan Islam, 1970), 69-70; Allan A. Samson, "Islam in Indonesian Politics", *Asian Survey*, December 1968, Volume 8, 1.001-1.017.

<sup>32</sup> Martin van Bruinessen, "Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Soeharto Indonesia", *Southeast Asia Research* 10, no. 2 (2002): 123.

<sup>33</sup> Yudi Latif, "The Rupture of Young Muslim Intelligentsia in the Modernization Indonesia", *Studia Islamika* 12, no. 3 (2005): 391.

<sup>34</sup> M. Imdadun Rahmat, *Arus Baru Islam Radikal*, 83.

<sup>35</sup> Rahmat, 161.

In this era, Pancasila had become a tool to support the regime. Pancasila was indoctrinated through three methods, namely: *first*, the teachings of P4 (Pedoman, Penghayatan, dan Pengamalan Pancasila/Guidelines, Living and Practicing Pancasila) were implemented in schools;<sup>36</sup> *second*, every organization had to be based on Pancasila, called the sole principle;<sup>37</sup> *third*, President Soeharto banned criticism of the government on the grounds of stability.

The discussion of Pancasila as an ideology was very dominant in various arenas, both in educational institutions, bureaucracy, professional organizations, social organizations, youth organizations, and even religious organizations. During this period, Pancasila became very popular in all circles.<sup>38</sup> However, as the New Order collapsed, Pancasila was marginalized. This condition did not last long because ideological issues would certainly be vital in a country.<sup>39</sup>

During the era of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), there were efforts to restore the discussion about Pancasila. This was reflected in the SBY's Speech entitled, "Why Should We Talk About Pancasila Again?", which was delivered in a speech on the birthday of the Pancasila in 2006.<sup>40</sup> However, during SBY's period, Pancasila was not given much attention because there were no institutions authorized to protect and guard Pancasila as mandated by Presidential Decree No. 27 of 1999. However, by the end of his tenure, President SBY signed the Law No.

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<sup>36</sup> Bayu Dwi Anggono, *Perkembangan Pembentukan Undang-undang di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Konstitusi Press, 2014), 506-507.

<sup>37</sup> *Pidato Kenegaraan Presiden Republik Indonesia Soeharto di Depan Perwakilan Rakyat 16 Agustus 1982* (Jakarta: Departemen Penerangan RI, 1982), 17-18.

<sup>38</sup> Arief Rahman, Irwan Abdullah, and Djoko Surjo, "Wacana Pancasila dalam Era Reformasi: Studi Kebudayaan terhadap Pasang Surut Wacana Pancasila dalam Kontestasi Kehidupan Sosial dan Politik", *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi* 1, no. 2 (2012): 23.

<sup>39</sup> Inu Kencana Syaf'i, *Filsafat Pemerintah* (Jakarta: Perca, 2001), 61.

<sup>40</sup> Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, *Menata Kembali Kerangka Kehidupan Bernegara Berdasarkan Pancasila* (Jakarta: Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, 2008), can be accessed at <http://www.setneg.go.id>.

12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education which lists Pancasila as a compulsory course.<sup>41</sup>

The existence of the Law is of course inseparable from B.J. Habibie's speech on the 66<sup>th</sup> birthday of Pancasila in 2011 in the DPR/MPR building until a year after the law was ratified. In his speech, Habibie considered that this nation experienced "national amnesia".<sup>42</sup> The word "national amnesia" resulted in the literacy discourse of Indonesian society always crammed with left<sup>43</sup> or right ideological discourse.<sup>44</sup> However, the right ideology in the contemporary era is experiencing a systematic strengthening that can be a challenger to the current ideology of Pancasila.

## 2. Beyond Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018

The Regulation of the Minister of Research, Technology, and Higher Education of the Republic of Indonesia Number 55 of 2018 (Peraturan Menteri Riset, Teknologi, dan Pendidikan Tinggi Nomor 55 Tahun 2018, Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018) is a product of the Ministry which aims to foster the ideology of tertiary institutions in Indonesia. This regulation is a strategic step, considering that tertiary institutions have become a nest for radical movements that are oriented towards changing the ideology of the nation. With this regulation, the state wants to be present in campus life related to fostering the ideology of the nation.

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<sup>41</sup> Kemenristekdikti, *Pendidikan Pancasila untuk Perguruan Tinggi* (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Pembelajaran dan Kemahasiswaan Kementerian Riset, Teknologi, dan Pendidikan Tinggi Republik Indonesia, 2016), 131.

<sup>42</sup> The full version of speech about Pancasila by B.J. Habibie can be accessed at <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/politik/11/06/01/lm3gk2-ini-pidato-pancasila-bj-habibie-reaktualisasi-pancasila-dalam-kehidupan-berbangsa-dan-bernegara>. The recorded version of the video can be watched on <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WTkg5AFdsFU>.

<sup>43</sup> Ahmad Chairul Anhari, *Jaringan Sosial Ekonomi Penerbit Buku Kiri di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi* (Jakarta: Faculty of Social Sciences and Politics UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2018).

<sup>44</sup> Related to this, see the study of the postgraduate lecturer of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Noorhaidi Hasan (ed.), *Literatur Keislaman Generasi Milenial: Transmisi, Apropriasi, dan Kontestasi* (Yogyakarta: Postgraduate of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 2018).

The presence of this country of course has varied interpretations. There is concern that the Campus Life Normalization (Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus, NKK) program or the Student Coordination Board (Badan Koordinasi kemahasiswaan, BKK) will reopen. Some consider this a necessity in the midst of increasing radical movements in universities. In fact, this has become a necessity when for almost 4 decades the ideological Islamic movement was producing in various large state universities in Indonesia. Therefore, in the socialization of this regulation, Minister Mohammad Natsir emphasized that this regulation aims to increase understanding of the ideology of the nation and prevent radicalism from developing in tertiary institutions.<sup>45</sup>

In the context of fostering this ideology, this regulation is implemented through Student Activities in Tertiary Institutions. Therefore, this regulation focuses more on how to form Student Activity Unit (Unit Kegiatan Mahasiswa, UKM), which is fostered by the tertiary institution leaders. This PIB UKM member comes from an intra-campus student organization and an extra-campus student organization whose students study in the campus. In addition, the student organizations may not carry out practical political activities in tertiary institutions.<sup>46</sup>

In its socialization, Minister of Research, Technology, and Higher Education referred to the results of a survey conducted by Alvara Research Center. In his presentation, Alvara's CEO, Hasanuddin Ali, stated that in a survey conducted in September-October 2017, there were some millennial or generations of the late 1980s and early 1990s, agreeing on the concept of khilafah as a form of state. The survey was conducted on 4.200 millennials consisting of 1.800 university students and 2.400 high-school students in

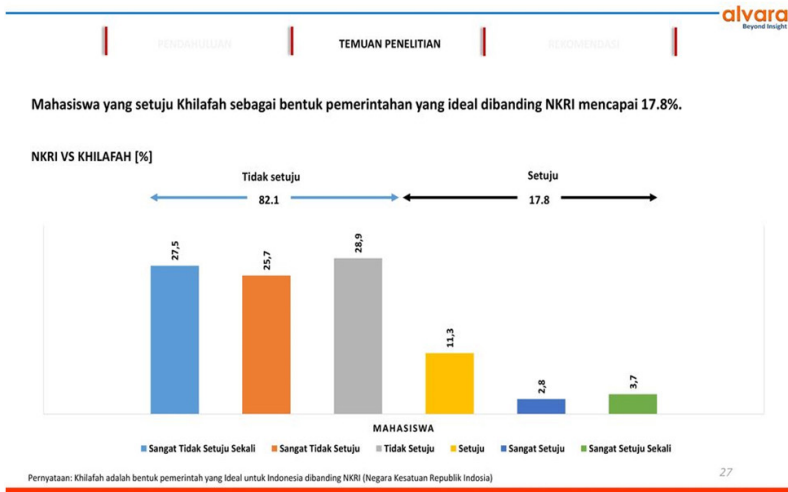
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<sup>45</sup> "Kemenristekdikti Sosialisasikan Permenristekdikti Nomor 55 Tahun 2018 Tentang Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila kepada Kelompok Cipayang Plus", <https://www.ristekdikti.go.id/kabar/kemenristekdikti-sosialisasikan-permenristekdikti-nomor-55-tahun-2018-tentang-pembinaan-ideologi-pancasila-kepada-kelompok-cipayang-#PgtQE486vH6rLLPt.99>, accessed on November 12, 2019.

<sup>46</sup> See Article 3 of Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018.

Indonesia. The majority of millennial indeed chose the Republic of Indonesia (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia, NKRI) as a form of state. However, 17,8% of university students and 18,4% of high-school students agree to the khilafah as the ideal form of a state.<sup>47</sup> See the following figure for more details:

Figure 1  
Research Findings of Alvara Research Center  
towards Students Related to Khilafah versus NKRI

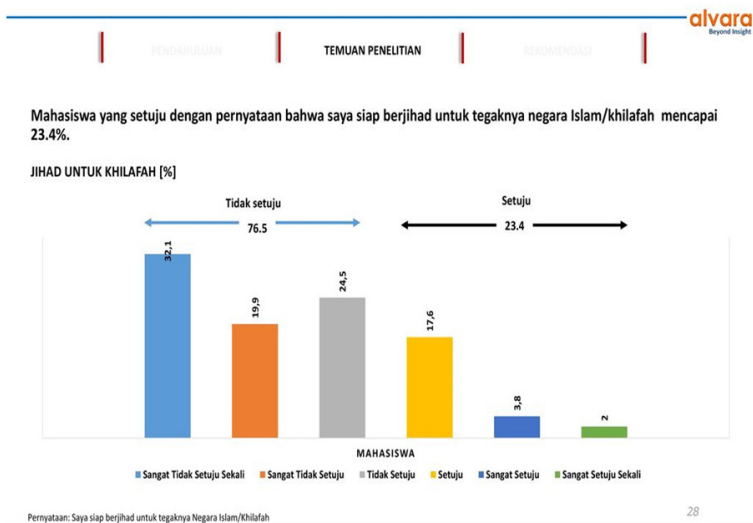


Source: Alvara Research Center, 2018.

In fact, it is surprising that some respondents agreed to strive for the establishment of the Khilafah or Islamic State, which is 23,4%. This can be seen from the following figure:

<sup>47</sup> CNN Indonesia, “Survei Alvara: Sebagian Milenial Setuju Khilafah”, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20180307191320-20-281228/survei-alvara-sebagian-milenial-setuju-khilafah>, accessed on November 12, 2019.

Figure 2  
 Research Findings of Alvara Research Center  
 towards Students related to Khilafah versus NKRI



Source: Alvara Research Center, 2018.

The results of the study are certainly not good news. When the potential young generation has been exposed to radicalism in the sense of wanting to change the ideology of the nation, it makes the nation's future at stake. In fact, Pancasila has become an agreement with the nation's founders. If at that time they insisted on the contents of the Jakarta Charter, the representatives of Protestants and Catholics of Eastern Indonesia would separate themselves.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, basically the emergence of Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 has indeed become a necessity.

<sup>48</sup> H.A.M. Effendi, *Falsafah Negara Pancasila* (Semarang: Badan Penerbitan IAIN Walisongo Press in collaboration with Cendekia, 1995), 31.

### **3. Response of Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga and Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) Yogyakarta to Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018**

UIN Sunan Kalijaga is an Islamic religious university under the Ministry of Religion. It has considerable attention to the issues of radicalism. Although not directly implementing the Permenristekdikti, UIN Sunan Kalijaga has implemented religious moderation guidelines from the Ministry of Religion's R&D Team.

According to the Vice Rector for Student Affairs of UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Dr. Waryono, UIN has religious moderation guidelines which can be equated with the Permenristekdikti. This guideline is implemented centrally and must be obeyed by every academic community of UIN Sunan Kalijaga, especially for new students.

According to Waryono, there are several things that UIN has done. *First*, UIN provides Pancasila and Citizenship subjects. *Second*, before becoming the students, UIN requires new students to sign an integrity pact on a stamp containing loyalty to the state ideology and the Republic of Indonesia. *Third*, every student must obey the rules set by the campus. One of the rules is during the academic process, female students are required to open their face both on and off campus.<sup>49</sup> *Fourth*, in PBAK, UIN emphasizes the strengthening of the values of moderation, inclusiveness, and good attitude. *Fifth*, UIN requires students who come from senior high schools to “stay in the boarding house” in order to foster the mentality and ideology of the nation in the Islamic boarding house.

These five things are certainly in line with the Permenristekdikti. In fact, according to Dr. Waryono, since 2017, UIN has formed the Center of Pancasila Studies and State Defending (Pusat Studi Pancasila dan Bela Negara). The reasons are: *First*, there is indeed the Pancasila University and there are centers of Pancasila studies

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<sup>49</sup> UIN Sunan Kalijaga, *Tata Tertib Mahasiswa Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta* (Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2019), 10.



on another campus. However, along with the strengthening of the transnational movements with religious arguments, public institutions of state universities (PTN) will not be able to answer that, so state Islamic religious universities (PTKIN) must answer it. *Second*, basically Pancasila belongs to Muslims and therefore Muslims must also fill it.<sup>50</sup>

Therefore, institutionally, UIN Sunan Kalijaga has implemented Pancasila in practical, not just a discourse. For this reason, student movements that are in line with campus policies form the majority on this campus, such as the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia, PMII), the Indonesian National Student Movement (Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia, GMNI), or even the Islamic Student Association (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, HMI), and the Muhammadiyah Student Association (Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah, IMM). Meanwhile, other movements, such as the Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union (Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia, KAMMI), Tarbiyah Jamaah, or even the Liberation Student Movement (Gerakan Mahasiswa Pembebasan, GEMA), are not really well known on this campus.

Among students, the response to the Permenristekdikti is still in a waiting condition, considering that the campus itself does not carry out the essence of the Permenristekdikti. KAMMI activist, Aldus, said that they did not discuss it because at the campus level there had not been any socialization or movement related to the Permenristekdikti.<sup>51</sup> PMII is also the same. They did not get instructions from the rector regarding the socialization of the Permenristekdikti. However, if it is for nationality, they would welcome it.<sup>52</sup> The same thing is also stated by Mario, GMNI

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<sup>50</sup> Interview with Deputy Rector 3 for Student Affairs and Cooperation of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Dr. Waryono, M.Ag, November 8, 2019.

<sup>51</sup> Interview with Aldus, activist of KAMMI UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, November 10, 2019.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Abdul Hakim, activist of PMII UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, October 24, 2019.

activist. They also have not received any information related to the Permenristekdikti. However, they greatly appreciate the presence of the regulation. Nanda, HMI activist, is also in line with other extra organs. They have not yet responded in the form of specific discussions regarding the regulation.<sup>53</sup>

Table 1  
Response of UIN towards Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018

No.	Organ	Response
1	UIN Sunan Kalijaga Institution	Indirectly
2	Islamic Student Association (HMI)	In waiting for campus
3	Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII)	In waiting for campus
4	Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI)	In waiting for campus
5	Indonesian Muslim Student Action Union (KAMMI)	In waiting for campus

Source: Research Data, 2019.

In addition to the response that is still waiting for campus policies, they have concerns about the implementation of the regulation. They are afraid that NKK/BKK programs from the New Order era will come up again.<sup>54</sup> Campus Life Normalization (NKK) is a government policy to change the format of student organizations by banning students from engaging in practical politics by the Decree of the Minister of Education and Culture No. 0457/0/1990 concerning the pattern of student guidance and development in Tertiary Institutions.<sup>55</sup> NKK had become a scourge for student activists. Moreover, the Student Council was abolished at that time. In the end, students formed organizations not politically excited, but very much alive in the cultural movement.<sup>56</sup> This is

<sup>53</sup> Interview with Nanda, activist of HMI UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, November 10, 2019.

<sup>54</sup> Andil Matulesy, *Mahasiswa dan Gerakan Sosial* (Surabaya: Srikandi, 2005), 30.

<sup>55</sup> Enoch Markum (ed.), *Pendidikan Tinggi dalam Perspektif Sejarah dan Perkembangannya di Indonesia* (Jakarta: UI Press, 2007), 46-47.

<sup>56</sup> See article of A.A. Padi, "Gerakan Mahasiswa Indonesia Era NKK", *Jurnal Historia Vitae* 21, no. 1 (2007).

the entry point for transnational movements to bring this cultural movement to life by instilling their ideology.

Different from what happened at UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) Yogyakarta did not specifically respond to this Permenristekdikti. However, this actually warmed up at the student organ level. They are very responsive even though they don't get instructions from the rector. They are active in conducting discussions and anticipating if the regulation is applied.

Hanif, a senior of KAMMI UGM, is waiting for the implementation of the Permenristekdikti. This will be a way to explain to others about various suspicions towards them, which are considered as part of Jamaah Tarbiyah. They insisted that they were not part of the group although they did not deny that many alumni joined PKS.<sup>57</sup>

Likewise, with the UGM HMI Branch, regarding the Permenristekdikti, Dibyo, the head of the Bulaksumur HMI Branch, stated that he and his friends had followed since the beginning when the regulation was posted by PB HMI. However, they have not discussed it seriously at UGM. Moreover, there has been no response from the rector related to this ministerial regulation. This may be due to two things: *first*, there is a Center of Pancasila Studies in UGM or *second*, the university has not yet issued a policy related to the regulation. Thus, HMI did not react to this regulation.<sup>58</sup>

The same thing happened to GMNI UGM activists. Although they have not got the information related to Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018, they stated that the regulation would be very good for GMNI. This can lead to a wider dialectic space, especially in the faculties of the West, namely the faculties on the west side of the road that divide between UGM from north to south.

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<sup>57</sup> Interview with Hanif, activist of KAMMI UGM, October 24, 2019.

<sup>58</sup> Interview with Dibyo, Head of HMI Branch Bulaksumur UGM, October 24, 2019.

Similarly, PMII activists, although a minority, they have better adaptability in responding to the issuance of Permenristekdikti. According to Dimiyati, if the regulation is implemented, PMII will try to make the most of it in the interest of PMII at UGM.<sup>59</sup>

Table 2  
Response of UGM towards Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018

No.	Organ	Response
1	Institution	No response
2	HMI	Responding internally
3	PMII	Responding internally
4	GMNI	Responding internally
5	KAMMI	Responding internally

Source: Research Data, 2019.

Regarding Permenristekdikti, the Center of Pancasila Studies (Pusat Studi Pancasila, PSP) of UGM strongly supports the regulation so that ideological guidance can be managed by universities. In addition, in Law No. 12 of 2012, there is already an obligation to provide Pancasila ideology guidance for students, namely in the form of the General Compulsory Course (Mata Kuliah Wajib Umum, MKWU) of Pancasila and citizenship for students. According to Dias, UGM PSP staff, PSP has acted systematically and in a structured manner. *First*, PSP has provided Pancasila enrichment in the form of activities that are based on Pancasila understanding ranging from theory to practice. *Second*, every year since 2009 until now, PSP has held the Pancasila Congress hosted by the university.

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<sup>59</sup> Interview with Dimiyati, PMII staff of the Sleman Branch and also a student at UGM, October 24, 2019.

#### 4. Impact of Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta and Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) Yogyakarta

From various responses, both from UIN and UGM, it turned out to have varied impacts. For UIN, the impact of Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 is not so obvious. This is caused by: *first*, there has been no realization of the implementation of this regulation at the campus level; *second*, UIN Sunan Kalijaga has moved on the level of praxis to foster the ideology of Pancasila; and *third*, UIN Sunan Kalijaga has given guidance to new students of UIN Sunan Kalijaga since the beginning.

From this explanation, the dynamics of the impact at UIN related to the guidance of the ideology of Pancasila has already taken place. That is, the development of the nation's ideology has been carried out practically and systematically in the academic life of UIN. Moreover, this is supported by the majority of the student movements or extra-campus organizations of UIN based on nationalism, such as PMII and GMNI, as well as HMI and IMM which no longer question Pancasila.

Even, KAMMI UIN no longer opposes Pancasila as the state foundation and likens it to the Medina Charter, which is locally needed. That is, ideology cannot be uniformed, so aspects of locality and conformity to needs are prioritized over imposing ideologies that are not necessarily appropriate.<sup>60</sup>

Table 3  
Impact of Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 on UIN

No.	Organ	Impact
1	Institution	Issuance of the rule in line with Permenristekdikti
2	HMI	The direct impact as a student on campus rules related to ideological guidance

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Aldus, activist of KAMMI UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, November 10, 2019.

3	PMII	The direct impact as a student on campus rules related to ideological guidance
4	GMNI	The direct impact as a student on campus rules related to ideological guidance
5	KAMMI	The direct impact as a student on campus rules related to ideological guidance

Source: Research Data, 2019.

Meanwhile, the impact of Permenristekdikti at UGM is felt more among students. This is due to the enthusiasm of students to respond to various national issues. Thus, the impact of the issuance of Permenristekdikti is not immediately felt, considering the implementation of the regulation has not been socialized. However, the student movement at UGM had responded by holding various internal discussions to anticipate the implementation of the regulation.

There are indirect impacts that can be observed. The *first* is the desire for self-actualization and self-realization. This is what happened to the UGM KAMMI group. The *second* is the desire to strengthen the basis of internal movements and at the same time establish themselves before other movements. This is what the PMII and HMI UGM groups did. The *third* is the expansionist movement. There is a desire to expand the movement with the Permenristekdikti, so that it can further strengthen and broaden ideological understanding. This was done by GMNI UGM.

Table 4  
Impact of Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 on UGM

No.	Organ	Impact
1	Institution	No policy
2	HMI	Strengthening the basis of movement and self-confirmation
3	PMII	Strengthening the basis of movement and self-confirmation
4	GMNI	A chance to expand the movement
5	KAMMI	Wanting to show organizational identity

Source: Research Data, 2019.

## 5. Reading Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 and the Future of Indonesia from UIN and UGM

In the context of UIN, Dr. Waryono stated that UIN had made efforts to foster the ideology of the nation. In this guidance, UIN has the power to issue policies that must be obeyed by students. Thus, in Brown and Gilman's view,<sup>61</sup> the controller will be able to control the behavior of the controlled although of course it will lead to conflicts of interest. When issuing a policy, UIN has a great importance that must be carried out, namely in the context of fostering the ideology of the nation and minimizing the radicalization of student's religious understanding.

The link between power and interests has generated many responses from students. There are those who are accommodating and collaborating, but there are also those who oppose it, resulting in conflict. This is all the impact of the policies that have been set. For example, the obligation for new students from high school to live in boarding schools has been set by the Rector. This turned out to get a different response. There are those who accept and compromise, but there are also those who gather power to oppose the policy. Apparently, this is more or less successful and it proves that the Vice Rector 3 considered it a failed product. However, as the ruler of UIN, the Rector certainly has the right to continue to enforce these rules, while continuing to apply sanctions for those who violate them. Conflicts will naturally arise at the student level.

The UIN Rector has strong capitals to establish rules on campus. There are four capitals owned by the rector, namely economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capitals.<sup>62</sup> The economic capital owned by the rector is in the form of facilities and infrastructure as well as funding to support the implementation

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<sup>61</sup> R. Brown and A. Gilman, "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity", in C.B. Paulston and G.R. Tucker (ed.), *Sociolinguistics: the Essential Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 158.

<sup>62</sup> Fauzi Fashri, *Penyingkapan Kuasa Simbol: Apropriasi Reflektif Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu* (Yogyakarta: Juxtapose, 2007), 98-99.

of rules and policies. The cultural capital is the majority of UIN Sunan Kalijaga students coming from Islamic boarding schools or religion-based schools. The social capital is that UIN is already well-known in the community as a university that promotes moderatism. Inclusiveness and openness are another social capitals that are very significant for the process of instilling and fostering the mental and ideology of the nation.

The symbolic capital is in the figure of Sunan Kalijaga. According to Waryono, this is often emphasized in every orientation of new students or Introduction to Academic and Student Culture (*Pengenalan Budaya Akademik dan Kemahasiswaan, PBAK*).<sup>63</sup> The figure of Sunan Kalijaga is iconic because he has become an important figure in shaping the character of wisdom for the Archipelago Muslims in Java, which has a cultural, pliable, tolerant, just, and balanced face. He was the architect of Javanese Islamic cultures and he laid the founding ideology of the establishment of the sultanate of Mataram. He also became a capable spiritual figure and a skilled artist with the projected character-based cultural politic.

All these capitals are certainly allocated to stem the flow of religious radicalism that has very strong challenges today. Moreover, transnational ideology entered and was spread massively in Indonesia. Various Islamic groups and pioneers of the Khilafah in Indonesia since nearly four decades ago have always undergone their actions, especially in the public universities which are popular in Indonesia, of course one of which is UGM. Therefore, given the UGM institution has not implemented Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018, the response taken was from the extra-campus student organs.

Meanwhile, the impact of Permenristekdikti at UGM is in the interests of the basis of each movement. Of the three impacts produced, such as the desire for actualization and self-realization of

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<sup>63</sup> Interview with Deputy Rector 3 for Student Affairs and Cooperation UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Dr. Waryono, M.Ag., November 8, 2019.



the KAMMI group, the desire to strengthen the basis of internal movements and at the same time establish themselves before other movements of the PMII and HMI UGM groups, and the impact to expand the movement carried out by GMNI UGM, all are based on the interests of the student movement itself.

Thus, the conflict that occurs is naturally between student movements, and it happens at the campus party level with its various interests. Power and interests are in the hands of the party, and the ruling party at the faculty and even university levels will control the power and interests. The party is of course a representation of each student movement at UGM.

In doing so, they always seek the capitals they have, both their social, economic, cultural and symbolic capitals because each movement certainly has the capital and the use of the capital is maximized for the interests of power and ideology that they carry based on the organs of the student movements themselves.

### **C. Conclusion**

The background of Kemenristekdikti issued Permenristekdikti No. 55 of 2018 concerning the Guidance of the Pancasila Ideology in Student Activities in Tertiary Institutions is the many radicalizations of ideological and religious understanding of students in Indonesia. This is dangerous for the survival of the ideology of Pancasila and the state of Indonesia. Considering the purpose of the Permenristekdikti, of course there are responses and impacts occurring among students, especially in Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) Yogyakarta and Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

Various responses and impacts for UIN Sunan Kalijaga and UGM did not directly occur because there is no implementation of the regulation to extra and intra campus organs. However, there are responses and impacts that occur, although not directly related. UIN implements the essence of Permenristekdikti institutionally,

although not directly, while there is no institutional movement from UGM yet. The responses occur in the student organs at UGM. Thus, the impact between the two institutions are different. The impact for UIN can be seen from various policies which lead to reactions from students, while the impact for UGM is the more on the dynamic movement of students.

From these results, we can conclude that the direct response and impact on the Permenristekdikti has not yet occurred, bearing in mind that this new regulation was created in October 2018. With the relatively new regulation, unclear technical guidelines, and the change of leadership in the ministries, this regulation has certainly blurred its fate even though some universities have already implemented it. Nevertheless, the response and impact have indeed been seen in the two study locations, although not directly and with a different picture.

From these results, we can see a dynamic occurring in the extra-campus student movements related to fostering the ideology of the nation. This dynamic then gives rise to the hope that these two tertiary institutions actually have a concern for defending the nation's ideology, despite the challenges of the transnational ideology movements.

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## **Interview**

Interview with Abdul Hakim, activist of PMII UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, October 24, 2019.

Interview with Aldus, activist of KAMMI UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, November 10, 2019

Interview with Anonymous, member of GMNI UGM, November 8, 2019.

Interview with Anonymous, member commissariat of HMI UGM, October 24, 2019.

Interview with Dias, staff of Center of Pancasila Studies UGM, October 24, 2019.

Interview with Dibyo, Head of HMI Branch Bulaksumur UGM, October 24, 2019.

Interview with Dimiyati, PMII staff of the Sleman Branch and also a student at UGM, October 24, 2019.

Interview with Hanif, activist of KAMMI UGM, October 24, 2019.

Interview with Mario, activist of GMNI UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, October 24, 2019.

Interview with Nanda, activist of HMI UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, November 10, 2019.

Interview with Deputy Rector 3 for Student Affairs and Cooperation UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Dr. Waryono, M.Ag., November 8, 2019.