

ABSTRACT**RELIGION AND POLITICS*****Study on the Kiai's Social Construction on Nationalism in the Post-New Order Era*****Ali Maschan Moesa**

The focus of this research is to understand the Kiai's comprehension about how they construct the concept of Indonesian nationalism in the era of incessant movement returning back to ethnicity, religious-based primordiality, and communalism in the post-New Order era.

The research results are as follows (1) nationalism based on the perspectives of the Kiais is national commitment (*al-ashabiyah*) of a group of people within one geographical unity and they have the same goal to establish the life system. Such social grouping has been an objective and natural need among the human beings. Based on the natural character, the nationalism perceived by the Kiai has been conceptualized not based on the theological doctrine, but it has been formulated based on pluralism (*al-ummah*), fraternity (*al-qaumiyah*), diversity-based on solidarity (*al-sy'ubiyah*), equality (*al-musawah*), and loving the country (*al-wathaniyah*). Therefore, nationalism is the formalization of national awareness empirically requiring congregation with the state as the politically objective territory, (2) it is insisted that in the post-New Order era nationalism be redefined toward the humanistic construction, and (3) nationalism based on the Kiai's social construction is classified into three types namely *the fundamentalist Kiais*, *the moderate Kiais*, and *the pragmatist Kiais* as majority group.

Theoretically, this study can strengthen the findings of Badri Yatim (1984), Quraisy Syihab (1994), and Zamharir (2004) which concluded that nationalism was not contrary to Islam. The majority of the Kiais who became subjects of this study were moderate on the theme of nation-state establishment. However, the most recent research revealed such variations as "fundamentalist" and "pragmatist" in perceiving the relationship between Islam and nationalism. Furthermore, this research does not recommend the "secular" paradigm on the relationship between Islam and nation-state as proposed by Yatim.

It is suggested that the research result provide insight producing contribution for socio-political reconstruction process in Indonesia. It is also recommended that government should use it as an input in the accurate decision making primarily related to the interaction between religion and state in the context of economic recovery and of conflict resolution of SARA having still been persistent up to now. The reason is that the Indonesian sovereignty as the nation-state in the future will be considerably heralded by the dialectic of the nation-state with the incessant powers respectively globalization, localism-ethno-nationalism, and Islamic fundamentalism.

Keywords : *nationalism, ethno-nationalism, nation-state, ethnicity, social construction, Islamic-law based studies (bahtsu al-masail), moderate, fundamentalist, pragmatist.*