



DA'WAH RELIGIOUS MODERATION IN INDONESIA: Comparison of HMI Lafran Pane and PMII Mahbub Djunaidi Thought Studies

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the similarities and differences in the thoughts of HMI Lafran Pane (LP) and PMII Mahbub Djunaidi (MD) regarding religious moderation da'wah. This research is library research and comparative qualitative research by analyzing two figures. Primary sources are all LP and MD works, and other works related to the theme as secondary sources. The results of this study stated that; 1) the thoughts of Lafran Pane as the initiator of HMI and Mahbub Djunaidi as the founder of PMII represent religious moderation behavior, especially in national commitment, 2) both figures have a positive influence on the next generation in each organization. Like Nurcholish Madjid, HMI, and KH cadres. Ahmad Bagja, a cadre of PMII, 3) PMII presented the da'wah of moderation in the sphere of nationalism while HMI had an attitude and nature of moderation. Both organizations have similar ideologies regarding the meaning of moderation both in the sphere of religion as well as nationality and state. The importance of moderation is because Indonesia is a plural country with a variety of races and tribes, if this plurality is not maintained and considered as a positive thing we should be grateful for the impact that will harm all people. If you do not have a moderate nature, there will be divisions due to different ideas, behaviors, and beliefs. So the goal is to know and understand how students do not tend to be conservative in groups according to individual beliefs.

Keywords: Student Organization, Lafran Pane, Mahbub Djunaidi, Religious Moderation, Da'wah.

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis persamaan dan perbedaan pemikiran HMI Lafran Pane (LP) dan PMII Mahbub Djunaidi (MD) tentang dakwah moderasi beragama. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kepustakaan (library research) dan penelitian kualitatif komparatif dengan menganalisis dua tokoh. Sumber primer adalah semua karya LP dan MD, dan karya lain yang berkaitan dengan tema sebagai sumber sekunder. Hasil penelitian ini menyatakan bahwa; 1) pemikiran Lafran Pane sebagai penggagas HMI dan Mahbub Djunaidi selaku pendiri PMII merepresentasikan perilaku moderasi beragama khususnya dalam komitmen kebangsaan, 2) kedua tokoh sama-sama memberikan pengaruh positif bagi generasi berikutnya di masing-masing organisasi. Seperti Nurcholish Madjid kader HMI dan KH. Ahmad Bagja kader PMII, 3) PMII mempresentasikan dakwah moderasi di lingkup nasionalisme sedangkan HMI mempunyai sikap dan sifat moderasi. Kedua organisasi memiliki ideologi serupa terkait makna moderasi baik dalam lingkup agama juga kebangsaan dan bernegara. Pentingnya moderasi sebab Indonesia merupakan negara yang plural dengan beraneka ragam ras dan suku, kemajemukan tersebut jika tidak dipelihara dan dinilai sebagai hal positif yang patut disyukuri dampaknya akan merugikan seluruh oknum. Jika tidak memiliki sifat moderat akan terjadi perpecahan akibat berbedanya gagasan, tingkah laku, dan

keyakinan. Maka tujuannya untuk mengetahui dan memahami bagaimana mahasiswa tidak cenderung konservatif berkelompok-kelompok sesuai keyakinan individu.

Keywords: Organisasi Mahasiswa, Lafran Pane, Mahbub Djunaidi, Moderasi Beragama, Dakwah.

INTRODUCTION

Nahdlatul Ulama preachers, which is the parent of the PMII student organization, have written moderate da'wah in the journal *Dakwah Moderat Pendakwah Nahdlatul Ulama (Analysis of History-Based Religious Moderation Content)* by Syaifuddin and Moh. Ali Aziz. In it explained that preachers must convey the teachings of Islam thoroughly without being reduced excessively, packed with moderate nature and values. Moderate da'wah grows amid excessive religious understanding, one side is excessively prioritizing reason over revelation when interpreting religion and on the other hand, is radical towards the subject of scripture and ignoring reason.¹

Da'wah moderation has also been raised by Djohan Effendi who is an alumnus of the Yogyakarta branch of the HMI organization in the journal *Patterns and Strategies of Da'wah in Religious Moderation*, he revealed that in religion there is no absolutism but religious pluralism. His understanding is that man is a relative being who will not reach his mind to the teachings of religion which is the doctrine of truth precisely and perfectly. Because of these limitations, Djohan continued that the view of religion is not a monopoly on salvation and truth, but understanding based on religious consciousness is a teaching that will never be captured nor fully and perfectly revealed by human reason.²

Both student organizations have a similar understanding of the importance of moderation in the common welfare, not only in the sphere of religion but also in the nation and state. Indonesia is a country with the largest capacity of Muslims in the world. Because as the largest Muslim country, Indonesia has an important position in international Islamic relations. The existence of community organizations often called mass organizations that were present even before independence became one of the strong factors in Indonesia.³ The organization has gone through a lot of history which, also cheered the name of the Republic of Indonesia in the colonial wars to this point.

Various governments in Indonesia have been buzzing a lot to create a moderate society, one of which is the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia since 2016 religious moderation has become a program to fulfill civil rights and inclusive community services, especially religious rights. Because religious moderation can be one of the main keys to managing the life of

¹ Syaifuddin, Syaifuddin and Mohd Ali Azis, "Moderate Da'wah of Nahdlatul Ulama Preaching (Content Analysis of History-Based Religious Moderation)," *Hikmah* 15, no. 1 (2021): 1–16.

² Abdul Mujib and Badrus Sholikhin, "Pola Dan Strategi Dakwah Dalam Moderasi Beragama," *Indonesian Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 3, no. 2 (2022): 229–244.

³ Jamaluddin Jamaluddin, Misbahuddin Misbahuddin, and Kurniati Kurniati, "The Role of Islamic Organizations in Indonesia in the Development and Enforcement of Islamic Law," *BUSTANUL FUQAHA: Journal of Islamic Law* 3, no. 2 (2022): 130–143.

a plural society in Indonesia.⁴ In addition, Presidential Order (Perpres) number 58 of 2023 concerning Strengthening Religious Moderation is to become a good guideline for the Central Government, Regional Government, and also all religious people to have a moderate nature.

Thus, the Ministry of Religious Affairs BDK Palembang took the first step to implement the Strengthening Religious Moderation, "Students Must Be Ambassadors of Moderation" into *news headlines* on October 26, 2023.⁵ In addition, the Religious Moderation House (RMB) IAIN Syaikh Abdurrahman Siddik Bangka Belitung held a socialization of Strengthening Moderation which was attended by students and university students on October 23-24, 2023.⁶

In connection with community organizations, there are also student organizations. In general, universities have internal and external organizations. A university whose existence accommodates students as the nation's youth certainly cannot ignore its role. The fate of the nation depends on its youth, therefore how a student has an intellectual mindset and a good attitude as well.

Back to Islamic community organizations that form student organizations as external organizations within the campus environment. The organization is to produce superior seeds both in the movement and organizational and religious thinking. Many of the members of the student organization are involved in community organizations to continue the struggle at a later stage.

The number of student organizations is certainly related to the existence of community organizations, some of which are popular with students are the Islamic Student Association (HMI) initiated by Lafran Pane and the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII) which was first founded by Mahbub Djunaidi. Both have identities that characterize each organization. PMII is an Islamic organization under the auspices of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as one of the major Islamic community organizations brought by KH. Hashim Ash'ari. The NU organization plays an active role in fighting for the struggle for independence, in addition to being a forum for da'wah efforts to maintain the unity of the Republic of Indonesia.⁷

Unlike HMI, which is not under the auspices of Islamic community organizations. Which means, that the organization is free and independent. This organization consists of all students based on Islam and Indonesia, Islam with comprehensive teachings directs life according to the nature of salvation, and

⁴ M Mukhibat, Ainul Nurhidayati Istiqomah, and Nurul Hidayah, "Religious Moderation Education in Indonesia (Discourse and Policy)," *Southeast Asian Journal of Islamic Education Management* 4, no. 1 (2023): 73–88.

⁵ Dewi Leni Lesmana, "Students Must Become Ambassadors of Moderation," *October 28*, last modified 2023, <https://bdkpalembang.kemenag.go.id/artikel/mahasiswa-harus-jadi-duta-moderasi>.

⁶ Paraiyannie Mega, "Socialization of Strengthening Religious Moderation for Millennials," *October 23*, last modified 2023, accessed November 9, 2023, <https://iainsasbabel.ac.id/sosialisasi-penguatan-moderasi-beragama-bagi-milenial>.

⁷ Mohammad Darwis, "Nahdlatul Ulama and Its Role in Spreading the Educational Values of Aswaja An-Nahdliyah in a Plural Society," *Tarbiyatuna: Journal of Islamic Education* 14, no. 2 (2021): 141–163.

Indonesia is a joint living project aimed at independence and prosperity. Understanding HMI Islam as the spirit while Indonesia is the body.⁸

Both certainly have a great role both in Islam and Indonesia. Based on the belief in Allah SWT. and under the auspices of Bhineka Tunggal Ika, both organizations have a moderate nature that can avoid divisions due to ideological differences. Students tend to be conservative in their respective groups which makes the brotherhood between communities stretched, especially fellow Muslims. Of course, the nature of mutual respect, understanding, and acceptance of every variety of differences must not be slackened what else is broken?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Several previous studies have examined the organization of HMI and PMII where each researcher has various topic characteristics: Explained by previous researchers Ulfiyana Latifah and Agus Mulyana (2019) about how Mahbub Djunaedi's thoughts on religion and politics were based on the background of place in 1970-1995. Jamaluddin, Misbahuddin, and Kurniati's (2022) research focuses more on how the role of Islamic organizations or community organizations in their role in enforcing Islamic law. Researcher Ainul Yakin and his friends, entitled PKM Revitalisasai Islam Wasatiah: Moderation of Thought of PMII Cadres, Commissariat of Nurul Jadid University in 2021, focused on how PMII cadres understand moderation arguments through various agendas of social and Islamic studies, journalistic activities, advocacy and so on.

Several other studies are still being developed to improve relations among Muslim communities in Indonesia. Thus, this research is carried out to be useful in helping future research as relevant input in strengthening relationships and preserving religious moderation. Based on the research above, the focus of this research is on the content of the thoughts of Lafran Pane and Mahbub Djunaedi in Islamic religious moderation.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is *library research* characterized by the use of narrative-descriptive sentences with practical and easy-to-understand language.⁹ And also qualitative research with a comparative approach. Researchers compare or compare the thoughts of two figures from HMI and PMII organizations, namely Lafran Pane with Mahbub Djunaedi, to know the similarities and differences in the thoughts of the two figures. The primary sources in this study are works produced by Mahbub Djunaedi totaling five books and Lafran Pane's works totaling twelve free articles. While other documents/works relevant to research are used as secondary sources, such as journals, books, news (websites), YouTube, and so on.¹⁰

The focus of this research is the result of the thoughts of the two initiators of student organizations, namely the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement

⁸ Askar Nur and Zulkifli Makmur, "Implementation of the Indonesian Idea of the Islamic Student Association; Realizing the concept of civil society Indonesian Discourse Implementation of Islamic Student Association; Realizing Civil Society Concept," *Journal of Khitah* 1, no. 1 (2020).

⁹ Muhammad Mustofa et al., *Library Research Methods* (Get Press Indonesia, 2023).

¹⁰ Ibid.

(PMII) and the Islamic Student Association (HMI) related to religious moderation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Student Organization

The organization is a place to develop the actualization of its members, in addition to maintaining the moral values of society in education.¹¹ Student organizations are generally student groups that aim to accommodate talents and interests in several student activities such as extracurriculars, or formal events in the campus environment.¹²

2. There are two types of student organizations

Internal organization which is an organization within the authority of the campus. These organizations include the Student Executive Board (BEM), the Student Representative Council (DPM), and interdepartmental organizations of universities.

3. External organizations are organizations that are outside the authority of the campus and are usually formed by a group of students in a selected extracurricular sphere. For example, art studio organizations, Nature Lovers Students (Mapala), the Islamic Student Association (HMI), the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII), and so on.

4. Lafran Bread

Lafran Pane is an Indonesian hero who was designated as a National Hero on November 6, 2017. His thought contains national values but does not ignore the spirit of faith in Islam. A scholar whose thoughts were poured with the intellectual attitude of the initiator of the Islamic Student Association (HMI) organization in 1947 on February 5. Lafran Pane convinced the Dutch to dare to colonize Indonesia one of the factors because of the weak Islamic education in the country which is the majority of Muslims.¹³

The HMI organization aims to guide its members to become academic people, who are engaged in the national arena and strengthened by expanding relationships. HMI is a youth organization that gives birth to superior seeds of the nation that are active through creative ideas to advance the country. In short, HMI is a place for students to serve the community.¹⁴ Although Lafran Pane is the founder of HMI, he is involved in the world of education by improving the state defense attitude of students.

¹¹ Muna Erawati, "The Role of the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII) Salatiga City in Spreading the Islamic Values of the Archipelago," *An-Nida: Journal of Islamic Communication* 11, no. 1 (2019): 69–76.

¹² Jayaning Sila Astuti, "Students and Leadership Styles in Student Organizations," *Personification: Journal of Psychological Sciences* 12, no. 2 (2021): 138–161.

¹³ Azizah Umi and Arif Musaddad Akmad, "The Integration of Lafran Pane Thought in Material for Teaching History in Indonesian Student," *VNU Journal of Science: Education Research* 35, no. 2 (2019).

¹⁴ Mukhlash Gunawan, Farid Hasan, and Siti Mariyam, "COMMUNICATION PATTERNS OF ISLAMIC STUDENT ASSOCIATION ORGANIZATIONS IN BUILDING 'CONNECTION,' 'RELATIONSHIPS'" *Journal of Tuesday KPI: Communication Media and Da'wah Reference* 2, no. 2 (2022): 37–46.

1. Mahbub Djunaidi

The founder of the PMII student organization was born in Jakarta on July 27, 1933, and is a native of Betawi Tanah Abang.¹⁵ His thoughts on independence and religion were often expressed in written form and earned the nickname The Pen Swordsman.¹⁶ Moderated by Nahdlatul Ulama, Mahbub founded the PMII student organization on April 17, 1960, using the views of *ahlusunnah wal jamaah* and having a commitment to maintaining the unity of the nation and maintaining local Indonesian traditions.¹⁷

2. Religious Moderation

The word 'moderation' comes from the Latin *moderatio*, meaning being or meaning not exaggeration or lack. The word 'moderate' is an adjective that is derived from the word *moderation* meaning not excessive. Therefore, when juxtaposed with the word 'religious', the meaning is an attitude of reducing violence and avoiding exaggeration in religious practice.¹⁸

4 pillars of religious moderation must be maintained: 1). National commitment, 2). Tolerance, 3). Nonviolence, and 4). Accommodating to local culture.¹⁹

Students' attitudes and sense of nationalism are influenced by an interest in understanding history. In his thoughts, Lafran Pane emphasized the perfection of Islamic teachings. Weak education and adherence to Islam made the nation easily colonized by the Dutch. For Lafran Pane one must have an intellectual balance between religion and general education because both can guide in the world and the hereafter.

By having obedience in Islam one is certainly not easily influenced by outsiders, especially outsiders. Lafran Pane also emphasized that an intellectual must create harmony with others in religion. The two main points that underlie the integrity of the nation are Islamic ideology and Indonesian nationality.²⁰

After independence, Lafran Pane said one of the causes of the slow development of education in Indonesia was that the Dutch education system was not easily lost at that time. The condition of the young Muslim generation is still faced with the influence of Western thinking, the most important thing that should

¹⁵ Farhan Nugraha, Muhammad Fakhruddin, and Humaidi Humaidi, "Mahbub Djunaidi, Nahdlatul Ulama Political Artist (1960-1987)," *Criksetra: Journal of History Education* 10, no. 2 (2021): 159–174.

¹⁶ FARHAN NUGRAHA, "MAHBUB DJUNAIDI: AKTIVIS POLITIK NAHDLATUL 'ULAMA (1960-1987)" (UNIVERSITAS NEGERI JAKARTA, 2021).

¹⁷ Erawati, "The Role of the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII) Salatiga City in Spreading the Islamic Values of the Archipelago."

¹⁸ R I Balitbang Kemenag, "Pocket Book of Religious Moderation," *Jakarta: Kemenag RI* (2019).

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Umi and Akmad, "The Integration of Lafran Pane Thought in Material for Teaching History in Indonesian Student."

be applied at that time to make Islam and Indonesia a reference.²¹ The idea of Lafran Pane if simplified then:²²

1. Indonesian Muslim intellectuals' belief in the perfection of Islam
2. Balance of knowledge of an intellectual
3. Indonesian intellectuals as thought reformers in all fields
4. Religious ideology and nationalism as the starting point of intellectual movements
5. An intellectual must be able to create inter-religious harmony
6. The obligation of an intellectual to uplift the dignity and dignity of the nation

In the era of the establishment of the Islamic Student Association (HMI) side by side with the Indonesian Islamic Students (PII) organization, there were two Muslim intelligence movements. *First*, it tends to concern the renewal of Islam and liberal ideas. *Second*, the da'wah movement from secular campuses or campuses that do not involve beliefs and religion. Lafran Pane became a Muslim scholar from among students entering the third generation while Mahbub Djunaidi from the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII) became the next generation.²³

One of Mahbub Djunaidi's works expresses how the message of the spirit of never giving up, and striving to rise from hardship or adversity in the novel *From Day to Day*.²⁴ Mahbub Djunaidi considered that the Muslim community in Indonesia is well established enough to carry out all religious activities, but it is still concerning from a political perspective. Because at that time there was no courage of Islamic organizations to dare to raise the flag themselves as a political party frontally.²⁵ So with such a situation, there is little possibility that Islamic political aspirations will be channeled.

Mahbub's nationalism followed in the footsteps of his father KH. Djunaidi who had been a member of the DPR/GR in the 1955 elections. Mahbub Djunaidi is a florist and democrat, to all students Mahbub voiced that everyone can be nominated as president as long as they are eligible.²⁶ Mahbub's writings on religion bring up many images of being a Muslim to be pious and play a role in society. In his writing, he cares and defends the small people, as well as a sense of tolerance between religious communities, upholds human rights (HAM), and is non-racist. Mahbub's ideology of human rights is that human rights are as

²¹ Umi Azizah et al., "Defending The Country on The Movement of The Younger Generation in Lafran Pane's Perspective," *Karsa: Jurnal Sosial dan Budaya Keislaman* 29, no. 2 (2021): 310–331.

²² Umi Azizah, Djono Djono, and Akhmad Arif Musadad, "Developing Digital Book Based on Lafran Pane Thought for Increasing State Defend Attitude of Students," *Yupa: Historical Studies Journal* 4, no. 1 (2020): 29–39.

²³ Hamdi Pranata and Iswantir Iswantir, "ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND THE RISE OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS IN INDONESIA," *HIKMAH: Journal of Islamic Education* 12, no. 1 (2023): 11–23.

²⁴ Moh Rakhmat and Ramadhan Attalarik Iskandar, "DESCRIPTIVE METHOD OF ANALYSIS IN THE STUDY OF THE VALUE OF STRUGGLE AS AN ALTERNATIVE TEACHING MATERIAL FOR HISTORICAL NOVEL TEXT MODULES," *al-Afkar, Journal For Islamic Studies* (2022): 245–266.

²⁵ Khoirul Huda, "Mahbub Djunaidi's Political Thought" (STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF NORTH SUMATRA MEDAN, 2021).

²⁶ NUGRAHA, "MAHBUB DJUNAIDI: AKTIVIS POLITIK NAHDLATUL 'ULAMA (1960-1987)."

important as a plate of rice.²⁷ "Since When Should Small People Make Houses Use Architects?" was the title of Mahbub's article in the Pelita newspaper on February 13, 1980.

Broadly speaking, the content of Mahbub's ideas and thoughts is: *first*, about socialism by having the concept of the ideal of realizing unity shown through the revolutionary spirit and critical struggle reason. *Second*, about nationalism. When Mahbub became chairman of the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI) and attended events in Vietnam, Mahbub used Indonesian as a means of communication. *Third*, about religion, because Mahbub grew up in the *Nahdliyin family tradition*.²⁸

CONCLUSION

The attitude and nature of religious moderation is an urgency that must continue to be preserved as a plural society. The pillars of moderation that must be understood and applied by all societies are: *first*, national commitment. *Second*, tolerance. *Third*, nonviolence. *Fourth*, accommodating to culture.

Through his writing, the Pen Swordsman, Mahbub Djunaedi, channeled religious and political thoughts. In his writings that contain elements of life, Mahbub emphasizes human rights (HAM), Islamic relations, democracy, and the state. For Mahbub, the relationship between Islam and state politics is inseparable.

In Mahbub Djunaedi's assessment, the Islamic community in Indonesia is well-established in carrying out religious activities but is still lacking in politics. So in the end the aspirations of Islam will not be conveyed in the political world. I hope Mahbub Islam can know the world of politics and have democratic values as Islam in Indonesia.

The younger generation is one of the strongest pillars of a country. So it is not wrong for Lafran Pane to say that the younger generation must become an Islamic and Indonesian generation to be a guide in carrying out movements in various fields of life. The progress of the life of the nation and state, as well as maintaining defense and maintaining independence. Because Indonesia is a multicultural country with a variety of differences it becomes the nation's treasure.

Broadly speaking, Lafran Pane's ideology contains elements of religious, national, and moral values that need to be instilled in all generations. Based on Bhineka Tunggal Ika respecting and acknowledging the differences that exist.

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²⁷ Fariz Amrullah, "Dakwah Mahbub Djunaedi Strategy Under New Order Politics," *Journal of Dakwah: Communication Media and Dakwah* 20, no. 2 (2019): 226–240.

²⁸ Huda, "Political Thought of Mahbub Djunaedi."

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