

## The Concept of *Ukhuwah Wathoniah* in The 12 Gurindam Poems by Raja Ali Haji

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**Abstract:** This study explains the values of *ukhuwah wathoniah* in the poem Gurindam 12 by Raja Ali Haji. Researchers used a literature review method with three steps. First the exploration of Malay cultural texts related to *ukhuwah wathoniah*, and data collection through the internet, libraries, and scientific dialogues with experts. The second, uncover the meanings of the essential phrases found in Gurindam 12. The third, constructs the values found. The study's results found that the values of *ukhuwah wathoniah* in Gurindam 12 contain fundamental values, practical operational values, and reflective meta-values. The fundamental values in building *ukhuwah wathoniah* are; knowledge, nobility, language, the goal is for happiness and glory. In practical operational values, one can understand textual and contextual issues, issues of humanity and unity, and issues of justice and welfare. The Meta-Reflective Approach Gurindam 12 values can be reflected in building nationalism in the era of Industry 4.0. In conclusion, the values of *ukhuwah wathoniah* are relevant to understanding the phenomenon of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as a country. This originated from a sense of togetherness of nations in the post-colonial archipelago of the Dutch East Indies and

continues to grow to achieve common goals. Cultural works reflect the creativity of generations in their time. Thus, Raja Ali Haji's Gurindam 12 complements the Language Manual, which was used as a guide in the Sumpah Pemuda (Youth Oath) of October 28, 1928, to promote Malay as the national language of Indonesia. The rise and fall of Indonesia-Malaysia relations can be understood in the context of *ukhuwah wathoniah* and *ukhuwah Islamiah*.

**Keywords:** *ukhuwah wathoiniah*, culture studies, national integrity, hermeneutics, Malay culture

## A. INTRODUCTION

Former Malaysian Prime Minister Tun Sri Dr. Mahathir Muhammad, when delivering a lecture before the Malay Survival Congress, stated that Malaysia should claim Singapore and the Riau Islands because of the Malay land. This opinion invited a reaction from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, which stated that the territory of the Republic of Indonesia was following international law (Reditya, 2022). This debate is illustrated when we talk about the nation's history, territory, sovereignty, and international law related to *ukhuwah wathoniah*. Indonesia and Malaysia are countries of the same cultural family but have post-colonial cultural developments. Indonesia expelled the Dutch to gain independence, while Malaysia was given by the British. The struggle to expel the colonialists became a fascinating study in the study of the history of the nation's struggle. The historical relationship between the nation and the state is relevant to be studied from the perspective of cultural studies, because cultural studies are not only a matter of text but also about cross-cultural philosophical issues (Connolly, 2020).

From the perspective of Islamic cultural studies, relations between Malaysia and Indonesia can be seen as a matter of *ukhuwah*. In Arabic, *ukhuwah* means kinship, brotherhood, community, or human bond. In Islam there are four types of communities First, *ukhuwah ubudiyah*, which is realizing that we are all God's creations. Second, *ukhuwah insaniah*, which is also known as "human brothers." Third, *ukhuwah wathaniyah* is a brotherhood because of the same nation. Fourth, *Ukhuwah Islamiah* means brotherhood for fellow Muslims (Muh. Wajedi Ma'ruf, 2020).

Cross-cultural philosophy or cultural studies can be seen in the works of philosophers and their schools of thought. The ancient Greek philosophers provided a strong foundation for science and culture. Specifically, regarding the *ukhuwah* of a nation, it is part of a political issue, answering the question of how to unite human children with different religions, skin colors, language, and island differences. Socrates sketches the city to answer this question, saying that a good city breeds justice. Plato's political theory of the Republic explains that only philosophers should rule a country because they will be dealing with problems of democracy. Aristotle states that politicians and law-makers are preoccupied with city-states, and constitutions are a particular way of governing.

Human creativity to become a nation is part of cultural studies. Individuals differ in their creativity, and there are infinite ways to express creativity. Creativity is commonly associated with the arts, but it manifests itself in all fields where problem-solving is possible; thus, it has been studied in various contexts (Tudor et al. 2011). The particular study of ancient texts containing important information about the past, present, and future of a nation-state is the focus of philology. Theorists can get a more accurate picture of how arguments are used, by whom, and for whom they are made (Hinton, 2021). Mpu Prapanca, the author of the book *Negarakertagama*, later gained credibility as the first Indonesian culturalist. This ancient document was written in Kawi script in Aswina month Saka year 1287 (September–October 1365 AD). The book entitled “Language Guide“ (*Bustanul Katibin*) (1851, printed 1929) written by Raja Ali Haji bin Raja Haji Ahmad is considered the first standard Malay grammar text. Malay was chosen as the official language of Indonesia by the Indonesian Youth Congress on October 28, 1928, to form the modern state. The Youth Pledge stated, “We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, confess that we have one bloodshed, the homeland of Indonesia.” “We, sons and daughters of Indonesia, claim to be one nation, the Indonesian nation.” “We, sons and daughters of Indonesia, uphold the language of unity, Indonesian.”

Seeing <sup>1</sup>The context of the Sumpah Pemuda (Youth Oath) shows us that our predecessors realized that we come from various ethnic origins and cultural

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<sup>1</sup> The author uses the term to distinguish personal work from text and work together with co-text. Co-teks term adopted from Stefan Beck in *Umgang Mit Technik Kulturelle Praxen Und Kulturwissenschaftliche Forschungskonzepte Akademie*.

languages but are determined to unite to build a country with territory and people who use the same language. The youth oath can be seen as political work and can also be seen as a distinctive culture of the Indonesian nation in building the country. Raja Ali Haji has worked other than the Language Manual; *Hikayat Abdul Muluk* made in 1846; *Intizam Wazaif al-Malik* (Systematic Regulation of the Duties of the King) 1857; *Samarat al-Muhimmah Difayah li al-Umara wa al-Kubara wa li ahl al-Mahkamah* (Rewards of Religious Duties for Leaders, Authorities and Judges); *Tuhfah an-Nafis* (Precious Gifts) (1851); *Keturunan Melayu dan Bugis* (Malay and Bugis Genealogies) (1859); *Bustan al-Katibin li as Sibyan al-Mutaallimin* (Garden of Writers and Seekers of Knowledge), printed in 1875. Then, the literary works of Pusi Gurindam 12. *Siti Sianah, Suluh Employees, Taman Pemrata, and Sinar Gembala Mus-tika Alam.*

Researchers are interested in studying Gurindam 12 Poetry for two reasons; his work, *The Book of Language Knowledge, the Loghat Malay-Johor-Pahang-Riau-Lingga* (1851), was one of the readiness for Malay to become Indonesian at the time of the *Sumpah Pemuda* (Youth Oath). Until now, Malay has had the official language and the language of unity and ensures its integrity and identity. The National Republic of Indonesia. Then, Gurindam 12 also has a vast influence, at least scholars researching Gurindam 12 among them;

*Gurindam 12 Karya Raja Ali Haji(studi Analisis Pasal 1-pasal 12 Gurindam 12 Dengan Paradigma Pendidikan Islam* (Gurindam 12 by Raja Ali Haji (Analytical study of Article 1-article 12 Gurindam 12 With the Paradigm of Islamic Education), 2015, Iaila Nurul Hidayah; *Nilai Akidah Dalam Gurindam Dua Belas Karya Raja Ali Haji*, (Value of Faith in Raja Ali Haji's Gurindam Twelve), 2016, Ulul Azmi, Rusli Zainal; *Kupas Tuntas Gurindam 12: Apresiasi Sastra Klasik Sebagai Upaya Menjayakan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia* (Kupas Complete Gurindam 12: Appreciation of Classical Literature as an Effort to Promote Indonesian Language and Literature),2018, Ani Rakhmawati, Yant Mujiyanto; *Nilai Teologi Dalam Gurindam Dua Belas Raja Ali Haji (Theological Values in the Gurindam Twelve Raja Ali Hajis)*, 2019, Nurliana Nurliana; *Local Wisdom Values of The Masterpiece of Raja Ali Haji's "Gurindam 12*, (2020) Gaguk Rudianto dan Zakrimal; *Analisis Gurindam Dua Belas Karya Raja Ali Haji Ditinjau dari Aspek Sintaksis*,

(*Analysis of Raja Ali Haji's Twelve Gurindams in terms of Syntactic Aspects*), 2021, Muhammad Zulfadhli et al.

The interpretation of the culture of the archipelago has also been carried out since colonial rule. Cultural interpretation uses various disciplines and is criticized constructively from time to time. Cornelis van Vollenhoven (1874-1993), a Dutch anthropologist, wrote the book *Het Adatrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië* (1918, 1931, 1933). He earned the nickname "Father of Customary Law." This book seems to contradict the work of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936); *The Acehnese* (1906), Translation: Aceh in the Eyes of the Colonialists (1985). This thought was also conveyed during the acceptance of a professorship at Leiden University on January 23, 1907. The views of the two Dutch colonial figures, although they look different, have managed to understand the archipelago's ideology until now. The archipelago is dominated by either Islamic groups and nationalist groups (Halkis, 2017).

After independence, Clifford Geertz (1926-2006) presented a book entitled *The Religion of Java* (1960). This book further enhances the previous book and has become a model in developing the Indonesian political constellation consisting of Abangan, Santri, and Priyayi. Geertz studied Java and Bali using the ethnographic methods he learned from Weber and Parson, based on the idea that people are embedded in networks of meaning. Then, Geertz elaborates on culture as a historically inherited meaning pattern stored in symbols with which humans communicate, behave, and view life. A deeper theoretical explanation was written in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973). This book explains the culture and value it can show is a semiotic concept. To quote Max Weber: man is an animal caught in the web of meaning he has created for himself. In Geertz's view, culture consists of these webs, so the analysis is not an empirical science looking for laws but an interpretation looking for meaning. The difficulty is in deciphering the social expressions that appear on the surface (Geertz, 1973). The Times Literary Supplement named it as one of the 100 most influential books published since World War II.

Jeffrey C. Alexander describes Geertz Thoughts and Methods, Philip Smith, Matthew Norton (Ed.) in *Interpreting Clifford Geertz: Cultural Investigation in the Social Sciences*. According to Jeffrey and colleagues, Clifford Geertz's theory goes far beyond anthropology; Geertz is seen as a theorist

rather than an anthropologist. No impartial, comprehensive, and authoritative work has been published on this critical figure. Contributors include an interdisciplinary group of leading academics investigating three aspects of the contested legacy: writing, theoretical and methodological (Thompson et al., 2018).

In his *Cultural Studies Theory and Practice*, Chris Barker explains that Geertz's theory has produced a work that defies easy categorization, a memoir that doubles as a retrospective look at the evolution of human science when faced with shifting political, social, and cultural norms. The power of concise interpretation elegantly from one of the most remarkable careers in his field. Geertz adopted several anthropological research and analysis attitudes from the post-colonial era, the Cold War, and the emergence of new countries in Asia and Africa to compare and contrast his two cities, Pare in Indonesia and Sefrou in Morocco (Beckley, 2010).

Cultural studies concern the interpretation methodology, the historical roots of the nation, changes in ideology, language, gender, race and identity, postmodernism, postcolonialism, media, and so on. A guide to addressing the most pressing methodological challenges associated with national integrity research is to provide a new perspective informed by trends and suggestions that emerge from the latest scientific literature. The cultural sciences also increase methodological rigor in cross-cultural and international survey research to advance the development of theoretical and managerially relevant international market research. (Buil et al., 2012) .

Regarding language and religious beliefs, societal beliefs consider the advantages and disadvantages of using a cultural psychology approach. This study focuses on answering the question of how Indonesia can achieve building a national identity through the of differences nations in the archipelago. The proof is that the Indonesian language has become a unifying characteristic of the Indonesian nation, so it is necessary to know the essential elements in the nation's integrity.

## **B. METHOD**

The research subject is hubbul wathoniah values in Malay culture. The object of this research is the elements of hubbul wathoniah in Gurindam 12, in the context of the Malay language as a unifier of the Indonesian nation. The

cultural science method combines various theories, insights, methods, and techniques to address fundamental aspects of human psychological functioning. Whether a researcher uses cultural psychology or other methods of modern psychology will depend on his preferences, level of expertise, and arrangement of the researcher (Belzen, 2019). Culture is seen as a formative right in the socio-democratic model, and the government is only a facilitator, not a designer (Mulcahy, 2017).

According to Alfred Lorenzer, there are three steps to conducting cultural research: First, introduce several key concepts about understanding, forms of interaction, engrams, symbolization, language games, and observation. The second examines the dialectical relationship of how the subconscious, bodily, and social processes are intertwined. Third, sketch some principles that underlie the in-depth hermeneutic method. This social, cultural, and social psychology research tradition is the goal of someone concerned with affirming the critical potential of psychoanalysis and who wants to put it within the framework of cultural studies (Mechthild Bereswill, 2010).

The researcher tries to combine traditions in the tradition of cultural studies using a psycho-cultural approach with meta-reflection. The object of the study is the text of Gurindam 12 (1847) by the modern Malay culture Raja Ali Haji (1809–1873), the Riau Lingga Sultanate. Gurindam 12's poetry 12 contains order in the form of strict causality to characterize this text i. Gurindam Twelve Raja Ali Hajj contains 83 stanzas totaling 166 lines and is divided into 12 chapters. There are between five and eleven Gurindam stanzas in each chapter. Each of the twelve chapters in Gurindam Twelve consists of two lines, with four to sixteen syllables per line.

The description of this research method combines philology and hermeneutics. Specializing in studying ancient texts is philology. Current research results that philological studies of the archipelago's manuscripts have developed from the past. Research and editing of Malay manuscripts began in the 19th century. Research on Malay manuscripts is widely available in the national library archives. Then the researcher looks for meaning in the text by using the hermeneutic method. Thus, the researcher carried out the steps; 1. Researchers look for manuscripts that are already available in the library. 2. Researchers selected texts related to ukhuwah wathoniah. 3. to discuss with experts the author's intent, in this case, Gurindam 12 by Raja Ali Haji, with

experts on Malay culture and Indonesian culture. The study was conducted for six months, from January 2022 to June 2022.



Source: National Library of the Republic of Indonesia

## C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 1. The Basic Values of Indonesian Nationalism

According to Raja Ali Haji, the fundamental problem in building nationalism begins with the will to know each other (the science of interaction-Cultural Studies), virtuousness (conscience), and language (communication). The goal of nationalism is to be happy and noble. This is described in **the fifth chapter of the Gurindam 12:**

*Jika hendak mengenai orang berbangsa, lihat kepada budi dan bahasa  
(To talk about the nation's people, look at culture and language).*

*Jika hendak mengenal orang yang berbahagia, sangat memelihara yang sia-sia. (If you want to know happy people, you care for the vain)*

*Jika hendak mengenal orang mulia, lihatlah kepada kelakuan dia.  
(If you want to know a noble person, look at his behavior)*

The values of nationalism in Raja Ali Haji's view are described;





**Figure 1.** The Basis Values of Ukhuwah Wathoniah in the Gurindam 12 Raja Ali Haji

If you reflect on the roots of Gurindam 12, the fifth chapter follows the Qur'an Surah Al Hujurat **verse 13**;

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ  
 وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا  
 إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَاكُمْ ۚ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

Meaning: “*Hi humanity, indeed We created you from a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes so that you may know each other. Verily, the most honorable of you in the sight of Allah is the most pious among you. Verily, Allah is All-Knowing, All-Knowing.*”

Being the basis in the life of the nation is the desire to know or to know each other. Seeing this basis, it seems natural that anthropologist Snouck Hurgronje Cornelis van Vollenhoven has a strong presence in Indonesia because he knows the archipelago’s culture. Knowing is sometimes synonymous with mastering, but what Raja Ali Haji asked for is to know each other; this is the beginning of *ukhuwah wathoniah* for the nations of the archipelago. This is because mastering can be interpreted negatively by colonizing, but in Islam, knowing in a positive sense. Knowing comes from the word know, the root word in Arabic is ‘science. ‘People who know are ‘*ulama*, the plural form of the word ‘*aalim* . ‘*Aalim* is *isim fa’il* from the root word: ‘*science*.

Cultural Science is a broad reflective science. Cultural science accurately answers questions regarding the nation's integrity, including how to protect the cultural rights of underrepresented groups within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia democratically and constitutionally. The problem of finding out about culture is a matter of cultural studies; the problem of democracy is a political matter, while the constitutional problem is a matter of constitutional law. Thus, the relevance of cultural studies strengthens the nation's integrity because cultural studies examine fundamental matters in state affairs. It has become a stipulation in questioning the interpretation of words to the essence of the case in the constitution; it is necessary to have a linguist. In practice, at the stage of legislation in the People's Consultative Assembly and in the Constitutional Court's judicial process, interpreters of language are essential and decisive.

Cultural studies are a significant challenge in constitutional studies. The schools of cultural science in the context of the interpretation of constitutional cases are political and juridical. The content of the choice of meaning can be a product of the approach method in cultural science. Cultural studies is a highly competitive field of power relations (Dodds, 2011).

Controversy surrounds the appropriation of the concept of culture and, more specifically, the aura that accompanies it. The latter is implicitly focused on the effects of culturally diffused power, on the impact of imaginary investments on customs, and on the question of who has or will have cultural power, particularly over its recipients and the designation of symbolic goods. To be specific, if the cultural argument about authority is considered first. Is it possible for us to overcome this dynamic of cultural power? Can we accept human creations regardless of the interpretations and standards implied by the cultural conundrum without a doubt. So the relationship between cultural studies and the constitution can be seen that the constitution is a cultural reality (Pereira da Silva, 2020).

## **2. Practical Operation Value**

In administering the government, many central values serve as guidelines; these fundamental values have been formulated in the Pancasila as the basis of the State constitution. However, these fundamental values are sometimes misplaced so that they contradict each other. For example, when soldiers are ordered to crush a rebellion, they are constantly faced with human

problems. Many soldiers succeeded on the battlefield but were dismissed for humanitarian reasons. The operational administration of a government is full of different values.

Cultural Studies solve problems surrounding the operational integrity of the nation. Strong governance develops and strengthens coherent institutions based on respect for human rights and informed by a consistent political ethos. At the beginning of the transition to the birth of Indonesia, there were rebellions in the country, such as DI/TII, PRRI Permesta, RMS, G.30.S/PKI, and others, showing the lack of attention and culture of knowing one another. The release of East Timor and the threat of Papua's disintegration still shrouded the issue of national disintegration. Additionally, the shift in power from the New Order to the Reformation Era showed that corruption, collusion, and nepotism (KKN) concerning state administrators' morale also aroused the nation's integrity. Generally, the values of nationalism can answer fundamental problems in building Indonesian political and cultural life.

### **2.1. Understanding Problems in Text and Contextual**

Seeing the statement of the former Prime Minister of Malaysia Mahatir Muhammad above can be seen in the textual and contextual perspective. Mahatir invites a provocative value if viewed textually because he asked Malaysia to claim Singapore and the Riau Islands. However, these words are motivational when viewed in the context of encouraging community groups. The relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia in the perspective of Islamic culture, when viewed from the aspect of *ukhuwah Islamiyah*, Malaysia and Indonesia should be one, namely, within the framework of an Islamic society. However, in the context of *ukhuwah wathoniah*, Malaysia was a former British colony and became independent through relinquishing sovereignty. Meanwhile, Indonesia was a former Dutch colony and broke away through the martyrs' struggle.

However, when viewed in the context of Islamic culture, either through the surrender of sovereignty or the struggle, it is a method of gaining independence with an Islamic culture approach. After the state was created, the role was governed by laws made together. In Indonesia, the legislative body is divided into two chambers of the DPR RI for political parties and the DPD RI delegates from provinces throughout Indonesia. The government has responded and accommodated cultural groups that are under-represented in

the dominant society. Amendments to the 1945 Constitution are very concerned about involving the identity of the community's fundamental rights. The development of a nation is carried out in the context of solving a problem.

From a historical perspective, cultural rights seem to “keep up with the times” by co-evolving with other rights over time. In the first generation, emerging as “freedom” vis—vis the state, the colonized state became independent. It fits into the so-called freedom of mind. The second generation has rights to welfare, which fall into the economic, social, and multicultural rights category. We demand state-provided cooking oil; on the other hand, oil palm farmers ask for fertilizer subsidies. In the third generation, it is the right to expression. According to a geopolitical point of view, cultural freedom is a “fundamental right without boundaries.” This means that it is recognized and protected at the international level. Community members have a comparative, global dimension, benefiting from free exports in the region (Pereira da Silva, 2020).

## **2.2. Balancing Humanism and Totalitarianism**

The conflicting values of liberalism versus socialism are been the defining segment of global politics today. Based on the totalitarian style, Russia justifies the military operation against Ukraine. Western countries see the Russian government's policy as an invasion of other countries and a violation of human rights. The deployment of military force in every conflict and escalation is not the way of the modern state. Raja Ali Haji has been described as a happy person and the noble person. Likewise, the corruption of hundreds of billions against the starving people is not only a violation of the law but an immoral act. Raja Ali Haji saw the need for character.

Appointing state officials due to family closeness in front of professionals is unethical. Not all must be punished through criminal articles because the state constitution based on civilized human values is more important. The court assessed dignity as the highest legal value in the constitutional law order. One of the main features of post-World War II constitutionalism is the promotion of one's dignity. It is into the core constitutional category, and for the same reason, with the highest juridical value of the entire legal order, it is practically generalized.

The methods and scope of socio-cultural studies are very different. The horrors of the Second World War had such an impact on all of humanity that,

everywhere, it became widespread, first feelings of rejection, then radical rectification, feelings leading to what was so clearly synthesized. The first paragraph of the Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 10, 1948, states that “recognition of the inherent dignity of all members of the human family and of their equal and inalienable rights is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace.” At this point, no state can appropriate private rights. The dynamics in the nation’s life show that the government cannot last long when dealing with violations of people’s rights. The voices of cultural observers and politicians without vital personal or group interests are heard by the government.

### **2.3 Issues of Justice and Welfare**

The country already has a strong constitution and fair laws. Good law is based on the correct substantive values, professional administrators, and broad community support. The problem is; that the distribution of the population and natural resources is uneven. There are regions with dense and sparse populations. Some areas are rich in natural resources, and some are lacking. Blood rich in natural resources demands justice because the exploitation of natural resources does not only have an environmental impact. Likewise, a densely populated and unbalanced population with natural resources demands prosperity. Political decisions tend to be based on the majority vote, but prioritize deliberation, so a policy instrument is needed on the basis of the community’s interests and equity.

To color this issue, the legislative body is divided into two chambers of the DPR RI for political parties and the DPD RI delegates from provinces throughout Indonesia. The government has responded to and accommodated cultural groups underrepresented in the dominant society. At almost every period of the presidency, we see variations in the appointed area. The amendments to the 1945 Constitution have considered the interests and identities of minority communities.

The development of a nation is made in the context. From a historical perspective, cultural rights seem to “keep up with the times” by co-evolving with other rights over time. In the first generation, emerging as “freedom” vis—vis the state, the colonized state became independent. This fits into the so-called freedom of mind. The second generation is the form of rights to welfare, which falls into the economic, social, and multicultural rights

category. We demand state-provided cooking oil; on the other hand, oil palm farmers ask for fertilizer subsidies. In the third generation, it is the right to expression; according to a geopolitical perspective, cultural freedom is a “fundamental right without boundaries.” This means that it is recognized and protected at the international level. Community members have a comparative, global dimension, benefiting from free exports in the region (Pereira da Silva, 2020).

The values of *ukhuwah wathoniah* bind our awareness of the past and hope for the future—truth based on reason, goodness based on feelings. The idea of the Youth Oath was the initial idea to show collective determination to build a nation with the Indonesian language as a unifier. The struggle for freedom is an action that is right and good for the people. However, at that time, many feudal clubs did not want to stop operations with the colonialists, let alone break away from the shackles of the Dutch and British colonialists. The Malay King Sultan Syarif Kasim supported the independence of the Republic of Indonesia by handing over the kingdom’s sovereignty to the Republic of Indonesia and supporting the state administration’s financing with 13 million Dutch Guilders or the equivalent of 69 million Euros or Rp. One thousand trillion rupiahs at the current exchange rate.

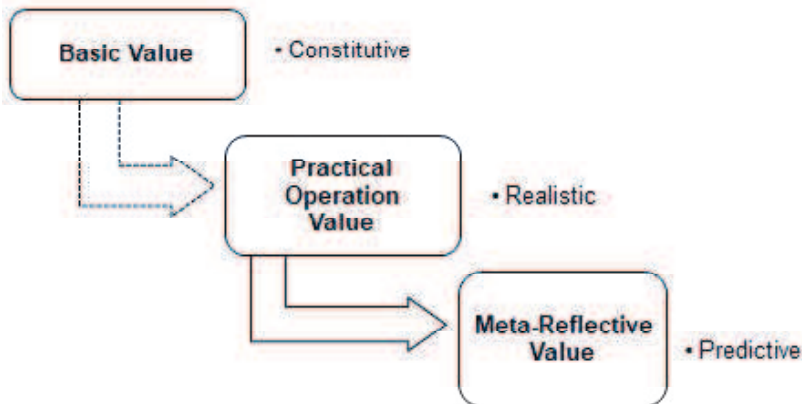
The Revolution of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia changed from a colonial to a nation-state. Nevertheless, the content of independence and its meaning often remain elusive or misunderstood. This is indeed a constructive legal construction that has developed over time. Our country is built on the idea of transcendent national integrity. Belief in the One and Only God is the first basis that unites all politics within the same body of individuals who make up a sovereign state based on the values of Pancasila.

#### **2.4. Meta-Reflective Value**

Our world today is different from the last generations and the future generation. Suppose we combine the values of strengthening the nation’s integrity above to examine the future era, reflecting the results of Sang Kim Tran’s research. In that case, we can describe eight core values that determine the progress of a nation—first, countries with more national solid culture and subcultures. Second, responsive state governance to development trends. These countries benefit through competition (competitive advantages) and beneficial cooperation (comparative advantages). We absorb a diverse

workforce, paying attention to different levels of education, specialization, awareness, social relations, cultural differences, security, and diplomacy. Third, an effective leader must cultivate a national culture that encourages progress and rewards the community for their contribution to the progress of the country. Fourth, influential leaders. Fifth, cultural “integration” factors local community norms and quality management. Sixth, culture develops and changes over time in response to factors such as the context of struggle, environmental changes, history, and interpersonal dynamics. Seven, the country has a solid culture to foster an out-of-the-box thinking environment. Eighth, comfort makes people know each other (Tran, 2017).

From the description above, the framework of thinking and the method of approach used in understanding Islamic cultural texts in the context of nationalism development can be described:



**Figure 2.** The value structure of the Gurindam 12 poems by Raja Ali in the framework and method approach of Islamic Studies

Islamic studies are multidisciplinary, explaining the existence of Islam from the perspective of culture, text, history, social politics, law, etc. In the colonial period, at first to understand the reality of society for the sake of government. Between one cultural expert with another different method of approach. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje assumes that most of the population in the archipelago is Muslim. If the colonial government masters Islam, it means the colonial government was controlling the people of the archipelago. Belau is willing to temporarily change his name to Haji Abdul Ghafar and study Islam in Mecca. Unlike Cornelis van Vollenhoven, he assumed that the

people of the islands could not be the same as the people of the desert, so he studied the customs and traditions of the community firsthand. These two figures failed to understand the objective reality of the Indonesians because Islam in the archipelago is not the same as Islam in Mecca. The people archipelago does not too ignore Islamic values.

Based on this fact, the researcher found that Islam in the archipelago is a specific cultural process. Islamic societies can only be understood through their real works. Furthermore, interpreting the text made by a character can be understood from the Qur'an and the hadith that underlies his thoughts and the problems in the cultural environment where the character struggles. Raja Ali Haji was not a pure humanist as a writer but struggled against colonialism himself.

#### D. CONCLUSION

The values of *ukhuwah wathoniah* in Raja Ali Haji's poem Gurindam 12 have fundamental elements in building Indonesian nationalism. This poem is one of the most influential and essential Indonesian literary works before Malay was appointed as the official language in the 1928 Youth Pledge. The desire of the the Indonesians to be independent of the colonial rule must have nationalism as a unifying instrument and national identity. The main problem in building nationalism is the values that bind to building a nation. Gundam 12 paragraph Fifth describes the value of nationalism that contains demands to know each other, character, language to communicate, and have the same life goal to be happy and have a noble character. These five essential elements; build nationalism (*ukhuwah wathoniah*); unity among Muslims (*ukhuwah Islam*); friendship between humans (*ukhuwah insaniah*) and the basis of affection for fellow creatures of God (*ukhuwah ubudiyah*). The fundamental values in Gurindam 12 can become the basic values of nationalism because they can face practical operational problems in the life of the nation and state, especially conflicts of text and context, conflicts of independence and unity, and conflicts of values on justice and welfare. If fundamental values and practical operational values are based on good universal values, they will be able to reflected in governing future lives. Fluctuations in Indonesia-Malaysia relations show that the values of *ukhuwah wathoniah* can become the identity of a cognate nation.



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