

The Thoughts of Pancasila in Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah in the Era of Reform Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Pancasila is a basic consensus in the Indonesia country. Since the reform era, the thought of Pancasila has not been explored much. The largest religious-based social organizations in Indonesia, namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, bind Pancasila as the main guide in people's lives. Pancasila as the basis of the state is an agreement between groups of people. Debates about the state and religion have occurred since the formulation of the basis of the state. The two largest Islamic community organizations in Indonesia are NU and Muhammadiyah accept Pancasila as the basis of the state. As Muslims, they do not adhere to Islam as the basis of the state without having to establish an Islamic state. As a supporter of Pancasila, certainly have reason to accept Pancasila thinking used as a basis of the state. The problem of this article is how the thought of Pancasila in the religious organizations of NU and Muhammadiyah in the reform era Indonesia. The purpose of this article is to trace the thoughts of the Pancasila of the religious organizations of NU and Muhammadiyah in the reform era Indonesia. The research method is qualitative. The results of the research and discussion of this article are the interrelation between religion and Pancasila. The minds of both mass organizations understand the form of the state as *wasilah* (intermediary), not *ghayah* (goal). Pancasila is part of the agreement. The idea of Pancasila in NU is based on *ubbul wathan minal iman* (love for the motherland is part of faith). Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah based it on the principle of *darul ahdi wa syahadah* (consensus/agreement state).

Keywords: *Pancasila Thought, Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Reform Era, Indonesia*

1. INTRODUCTION

The background of this article is that since the reform era in Indonesia, the idea of Pancasila has been neglected and tends to use other ideas. Pancasila since the reform era seems to have disappeared from the collective memory of the nation's leaders. After nearly twenty-two years of undergoing the reform era (1998-2020), the Indonesian nation seems trapped in the flow of individual freedom. Finally, they are adrift because they forget who they are and what goals they want to achieve.

Pancasila is the foundation of the Indonesia state. Process stipulation with a consensus. The relationship between the state and religion, especially Islam, has always been dynamic in the historical process of Indonesian. The debate of the *founding father* in the BPUPKI and PPKI sessions was always related to the location of religion in the state. Pancasila's thinking in each order always has its ups and downs. Since the reform era, the quality of Pancasila has decreased. Since the reformation of

Pancasila thought, there has been a threat of elimination from the nation's ideology.

The strengthening of the Pancasila ideology was then carried out through the formation of the Pancasila Development Unit (UKP). Then the formation of the Pancasila Ideology Strengthening Agency (BPIP) was increased. Also, there is currently a discussion on the Draft Law on State Policy.

Two or more known society religious-based social support Pancasila is the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. The idea of Pancasila needs to be explored from the views of NU and Muhammadiyah mass organizations. The traces of Pancasila's thought between NU and Muhammadiyah can be read in the formulation of Pancasila. Where figures oh NU and Muhammadiyah also discussed the basis of the country.

Making of Pancasila should to the extent that the values of Pancasila can be adhesive who effective the practice of national and state life. For this reason, Pancasila as the basis of the state, the ideology of the nation cannot be viewed as a historical romanticism

alone. The problem of this research is how to trace the thought of Pancasila in NU and Muhammadiyah mass organizations in the reform era? The specific objective of this research is to find out the Pancasila thinking in religious organizations of NU and Muhammadiyah. The urgency of this study was to track Pancasila thinking that later found a red thread to strengthening Pancasila in the era of reform that can serve as an example for other religious organizations

2. METHOD

This article uses the method research is qualitative data collection techniques and documentation library. According to Maman [5], library techniques are obtained from books and journals that are related to the history of Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and Pancasila's thinking. The literature is then analyzed with socio-political phenomena in the life of the nation and state.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Based on Moqsih, et al [6] expressed about the implementation of the reception thought Pancasila within NU and Muhammadiyah mainly related to relation human and Compliant late that Almighty. In general, muslim people who take shelter in the two organizations can accept Pancasila as the state philosophy without having to establish an Islamic state.

Muslims Indonesia mem believes that a democratic system of Pancasila is so far the system deal that best can be selected. Islam became do not have to then become an Islamic state. The political stance of the two social-religious organizations is a final agreement that shows a positive response to Pancasila as the basis of the state and state ideology. Even so, there are some mass organizations I slam that still do not accept the idea of Pancasila as a form of noble agreement in the life of the nation and state.

Of course with the history and struggle of NU and Muhammadiyah will not fade, even though some other mass organizations often question the status of acceptance of this ideology. However, these matters are very common in national pluralism, full of differences, and freedom in democracy. Many social conflicts that religiously for not responding to Pancasila as reference the final. The tendency of the conflict is due to elections. The people I slam have a big voice.

The relationship between Islam and the state is where Islam is related to human affairs with God. Meanwhile, the state is a political affair that can create rules. The country needs religion to educate its citizens

to have good character. On the contrary, religion requires the state to regulate so that religious conflicts do not occur. The Indonesianness of its citizens is due to Pancasila. Pancasila alone is capable of being the only way for the integration of two dimensions in the life of the nation and the state. Among other things, Dimensi Islam, and Indonesianness.

Understanding NU is an Islamic religious organization formed in 1926 that is born of a boarding school set up is KH As'ari. This organization adheres to Ahlunnah wal Jama'ah. While the meaning Muhammadiyah in terminology, according to PP Muhammadiyah [4] is an Islamic organization founded by KH Ahmad Dahlan, pa da ladder 1 November 18, 1912, in Yogyakarta. Muhammadiyah is an organization of the Islamic missionary movement Amar kindness, forbidding the evil and tajdid, berakidah Islam, and derived from the Qur 'an and Assunnah.

The involvement of important figures two organizations that are in BPUPKI and PPKI. The composition of the committee's nine PPKI consists of nationalist and religious. Thought Pancasila in both organizations terse but as a meeting point (kalimatun sawa) entered as the state is the result of a whole process that began formulation-key basis BPUPKI state at first. There are at least three versions of the basic formulation of the state, namely Soekarno's speech on June 1, 1945, the formulation of the Jakarta Charter on June 22, 1945, which was produced by the nine committee members, and the final formula which was ratified by PPKI on August 18, 1945.

The historical view of Pancasila as the basis and philosophy of the state which was ratified on August 18, 1945, is the result of the development of aspirations of Muslims and Indonesians. With the final formulation of Pancasila as stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, Indonesia does not take the form of an Islamic state and is not a secular state, but a state that adheres to nationalist-religious moderation.

Whereas the final formulation of Pancasila is the greatest symbol passed down by the founders of the nation consisting of various groups. On the way up to the reform era, the state and religion were always clashing. The view on Pancasila's thinking peaked at the case of the DPR's proposed proposal for the Proposal Bill on the Ideology of Pancasila (RUU HIP). Then the executive wished to postpone the discussion. The following are the thoughts on Pancasila of the two mass organizations regarding their views on the R Law on HIP. From this view can be analyzed Pancasila thought NU and Muhammadiyah in the reform era.

3.1 The Thought of Pancasila in Muhammadiyah

Statement of Muhammadiyah (2020), that Pancasila as agreement noble composed of five precepts which contain the noble values that animate each other, where the precepts of Godhead animating Humanity, Unity, Democracy, and Social Justice. The unity of Pancasila values that animate each other cannot be squeezed again into trisila or ekasila. Efforts to squeeze Pancasila into trisila or ekasila will damage the position of Pancasila, both as a *Philosophical Grondslag* (basic philosophy) and *Staatsfundamentalnorm* (basic law) which was established on August 18, 1945.

Whereas Pancasila as a *statutory norm* is the highest law or the source of all sources of law contained in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. As the highest law born from national consensus, Pancasila cannot be regulated by lower statutory regulations. The regulation of Pancasila into law will lead to anarchy and chaos in the state administration system.

That Pancasila as the *Philosophical Grondslag* is a basic philosophy that *serves* as a guideline for realizing an independent, united, sovereign, just and prosperous Indonesian state to protect the entire Indonesian nation and all Indonesian blood, advancing public welfare, educating the nation's life, and participating in implementing order world.

That the mistakes that occurred in the past regarding the monopoly of interpretation of Pancasila must not be repeated. Nevertheless, this does not constitute a basis and reason that can justify the expansion and/or narrowing of the interpretation of Pancasila in a law which regulates Pancasila political democracy and Pancasila economic democracy as in the HIP Bill. That obsession to interpret Pancasila in the expansion off will cause negative effects in the form of strengthening of state control in public life. Excessive strengthening institutional BPIP can regenerate BP7 (Agency for the Development of Education Implementation Guidelines The Pancasila) at the time of Ord e New practically become a tool sensor ideology of society.

Pancasila that is too ambitious will lose its spirit as a unifying ideology, which in turn can lead to clashes of norms in society. Legally, the position and function of Pancasila as the State Foundation is already very strong. The statutory basis on Pancasila has been regulated in TAP MPRS number XX / 1966 in conjunction with TAP MPR number V / 1973, TAP MPR number IX / 1978, and TAP MPR number III / 2000 along with some of its derivative laws are very adequate. In article 5 (e) of Law 12/2011 and its explanation, it is stated that the formation of laws and regulations must be carried out based on the principle of

efficiency and efficiency: Legislation is made because it is needed and useful in regulating the life of the community, nation, and state. Excluding or not including TAP MPRS No. XXV / 1966 in one of the considerations of the HIP Bill is also a serious problem, even though in the MPRS TAP point (a) it is clearly stated: "That the ideology or teachings of Communism / Marxism-Leninism are essentially contradictory with Pancasila".

The formulation of Pancasila as the State Foundation is as stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. UU 12/2011 it is stated that Pancasila is the source of all sources of law (article 2) and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is the basic law in the Legislation. (Article 3 paragraph 1). Pancasila with the precepts contained in it contains fundamental values that cannot and should not be changed or reinterpreted because it has the potential to deviate from the true meaning and understanding and weaken the position of Pancasila as the basis of the State.

Incorporating Trisila and Ekasila as well as cultural divinity into the articles of the HIP Bill based on historical reasons Soekarno's speech on June 1, 1945, is the same as reducing the final formulation of Pancasila on August 18, 1945, as well as inviting controversy by ignoring the Jakarta Charter of 22 June 1945 as a series of historical processes. Controversy will develop if Trisila and Ekasila as well as the cultural Godhead are included for historical reasons, then the 7 words in the Jakarta Charter can also be included in the article of the Draft Law on HIP for the same historical reasons.

In the HIP Bill, there are materials on Pancasila that are contrary to the formulation of Pancasila as stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, especially in Chapter III (Articles 5, 6, and 7). Also, there is a lot of material that implies the existence of one precept that is placed higher than the other precepts, including those that narrow and override the final formulation of the precepts of the Supreme Lordship. These problematic materials are substantively contradicting Pancasila, each of which constitutes a complete unit. This also contradicts the principle of conformity between types, hierarchy, and content as stipulated in article 5 (c) of Law 12/2011, which in its explanation states that the formation of laws and regulations must pay attention to the appropriate content material according to type. and the hierarchy of Legislation.

The HIP Bill received a rejection from various elements of society. If the discussion is forced to continue, it has the potential to cause controversy that is counter-productive and reopen ideological debates and

polemics in the history of the formulation of Pancasila which have ended and must be ended after a noble, wise and wise agreement has been reached from the nation's founders. The controversy over the Draft Law on HIP will drain the nation's energy and can divide the unity, especially admin the country and the Indonesian nation facing the very severe Covid-19 pandemic with all its effects. The purpose of laws is to create social order, peace, welfare, protection, and certainty for every citizen, not the other way around.

The position of the Pancasila Ideology Advisory Board (BPIP) which was formed based on Presidential Decree number 7/2018 is already very strong. As an agency in charge of assisting the President, the position of BPIP does not need to be specifically stipulated by law. The heaviest agenda which is very important and a priority is to implement Pancasila in real life in all aspects of life accompanied by exemplary state officials and the obedience of citizens of the nation. Continuously relying on the affirmation and practice of Pancasila in the more controversial statutes has further distanced oneself from the implementation of Pancasila in the life of the nation and state.

Muhammadiyah's view on the situation of the Covid-19 Pandemic and the effects it caused, especially in the social and economic fields, a safe and strong unity situation and conditions are needed. About Pancasila, what is very important to do and be strengthened is to implement Pancasila and the values contained in it in personal, national, and state life. All state institutions in the executive, legislative, judiciary and other official government institutions should fully concentrate and work together to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic and all its effects seriously and optimally.

According to Fatah [2], Muhammadiyah urges the DPR to be more sensitive and accommodating to the flow of the biggest aspirations of the Indonesian people who reject the HIP Bill by not forcing themselves to continue the discussion of the HIP Bill for the interests of certain groups and should prioritize the unity and progress of the nation and state above personal interests and group. The DPR and the government, with their powers, can politically determine or decide anything by ignoring public aspirations. But democratic politics also requires checks and balances and aggregation of the aspirations and interests of the people as a manifestation of the spirit and spirit of cooperation and deliberation. The rest, morally, all forms of power must be fulfilled correctly and with trust because for a person who is God Almighty and has a religion all mandates must be accounted for before Allah the Almighty.

The Indonesian nation needs to learn from two historical experiences of power in the past when the formulation of legislation or policies implementing the

Pancasila ideology was misused and made an instrument of monolithic power by the authorities. The DPR, the Government, and the Indonesian nation should not repeat these historical mistakes, because they are contrary to Pancasila and detrimental to the interests of the entire life of the Indonesian nation in realizing national ideals as set out in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution.

Meanwhile, from Muhammadiyah's point of view, the initial process of formulating and establishing Pancasila as the basis for the state philosophy has experienced internal debates within the organization regarding the acceptance of Pancasila as the basis of the state philosophy. Based on history, Muhammadiyah debates in the process of formulating the initial Pancasila were carried out by Muhammadiyah figures in the BPUPKI session, namely Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, KH. Abdul Kahar Muzakkir, Dr. Sukirman Wirosandjojo, and Mr. Kasman Singodimedjo. In the end, however, Muhammadiyah no longer questioned the relationship between Pancasila as the basis of the state and Islam. When the New Order government to impose Pancasila into mass organizations and political organizations, Muhammadiyah needs some time to accept it. Because at that time, the community still did not understand about Pancasila. Signs receive this single principle, openly began to appear on the second day of the congress, December 8, 1985. In the gazebo Mangkunegaran Solo Haji A R Fajhrudin, chairman Muhammadiyah mentions the principle of Pancasila was received "to endeavor" that the government did not violate the religion.

PP Muhammadiyah [4] officially began discussing these five principles in the Tanwir session at the end of May 1983. Finding the conclusion that Muhammadiyah was born because of Islam, without Islamic principles, it is certainly not Muhammadiyah anymore. Pancasila, for Muhammadiyah, is not a problem. In 2012 Tanwir was held in Bandung and 2014 in Samarinda by taking the material "Pancasila State as Darul 'Ahdi wa Syahaadah" which means the Pancasila state as a national consensus (dar al -ahdi), and a place of testimony (dar al-syahadah) to become a country that is safe and peaceful (dar al-salam) towards a life that progresses sovereignly under the pleasure of Allah SWT.

According to Muhammadiyah [4], the thought of the Pancasila state is intended to be a reference and orientation of thought and action for all Muhammadiyah members in the life of the nation and state in actual context based on the progressive Islamic view which has been Muhammadiyah's perspective. It was concluded, that "Pancasila is a gift from God for the Indonesian nation as the basis for advancing and building an independent and progressive Indonesia.

Pancasila not a religion, but the substance contains and in line with the values of Islam".

Muslims, including Muhammadiyah, are committed to making the Pancasila state as dar al-syahadah or a country where they testify and prove themselves in filling and building national life in all areas of life, ready to compete (*fastabiq al khairaat*) to advance creative and innovative national life. Since the reform era, Muhammadiyah has used the concept of Pancasila as a *daar al 'ahdi wal syaha dah* no longer questioned Pancasila as the basis of the state or juxtaposed it with the Medina document, but how Muhammadiyah is committed to building the Pancasila state with a progressive Islamic perspective. This is the inspirational experience of Muhammadiyah which should be a concern and internalization of every human being in the present and the future.

3.2. The thought of Pancasila in Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)

The thoughts of Pancasila in Nahdlatul Ulama can be read in the NU statement regarding the HIP Bill (2020), namely NU views that national consensus is final. Based on the National Alim Ulama Conference in Situbondo in 1983, and reaffirmed at the NU 27th Congress in Situbondo in 1984, it establishes the relationship between Pancasila and Islam as follows:

1. Pancasila as the basic philosophy of the Republic of Indonesia is not a religion, cannot replace religion, and cannot be used to replace the position of religion;
2. The only divine precepts as the basis of the Republic of Indonesia according to article 29 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution, which animates the other principles, reflects *tau hid* according to the meaning of faith in Islam;
3. For NU, Islam is *Aqeedah* and *shari'ah 'ah*, covering aspects of human relationships with God and human relations;
4. The acceptance and practice of Pancasila is a manifestation of the efforts of Indonesian Muslims to carry out the *syari 'at* at their religion; and
5. As a consequence of the above attitude, Nahdlatul Ulama is obliged to secure the correct understanding of Pancasila and its pure and consistent practice by all parties.

According to Thoha [3], according to five points (1983) and assessment of the academic paper, the formulation of the Draft HIP and Meeting Notes Legislation Board of the Parliament Decision Making on Compilation of Bill HIP April 22, 2020, as well as

by observing dynamics that occur in society, the PBNU then shares the following attitudes and views:

1. Pancasila as a final agreement does not require a wider or narrower interpretation than the description that has been stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution along with the inner situation that accompanies its final formulation on August 18, 1945.
2. The HIP Bill can reveal ideological conflicts that can lead to political crises. The national webbing that the founding fathers had painstakingly knitted could be torn back with the polemical articles of the HIP Bill .
3. There is no urgency and no need at all to expand the interpretation of Pancasila in a special law. Pancasila as *Philosophische Grondslag* and *Staatsfundamentalnorm* are guidelines that underlie the national development platform.
4. If it is felt that there are fundamental problems related to national development in the field of political democracy Pancasila, then the solution is to reform the political law package (legislative review).
5. Likewise, if there are problems related to the direction of national economic development, which is felt to deviate from the spirit of Pancasila economic democracy, what needs to be prepared is the National Economic System Bill as an umbrella act which is mandated by Article 33 paragraph (5) UUD 1945.

According to the view of NU [5] compelling reasons why NU can accept Pancasila as the state philosophy is the benefit of the people. As stated in the Articles of Association of the Nahdlatul Ulama (ADNU) Article 8 paragraph 2 which contains the objectives of the Nahdlatul Ulama, namely the application of Islamic teachings which adhere to the *Ahlusunnah waljamaah* ideology to realize a just community order for the benefit, welfare of the people, and for the creation of mercy for the universe. This thought is based on the history of the Hudaibiyah agreement, at which time the Prophet Muhammad was making an agreement and told Sayidina Ali to write the agreement.

According to NU [7], it is certainly not easy for Islamic organizations to accept Pancasila as the sole principle of organization. But not so with NU. From the start, the organization founded by pesantren Kiai has sought to strengthen the substance and practice of religion in building the nation and state together. The substance contained in Pancasila is by following the values of Islamic teachings that need to be fought for. Pancasila is designed as a unifying ideology so that its

substance must be able to accommodate all Indonesian people consisting of various tribes, religions, ethnicities, and others. This substance needs to be explored so that Pancasila can be accepted as a principle. The acceptance of Pancasila as an organizational principle is not carried out by NU without the basis and arguments of syar'i from the Islamic perspective.

This is done by Kiyais cottage boarding at the National Conference in Situbondo cleric Ali in 1983, then seta hun before the congress 27 NU in a sam a. The Kiai led by KH Achmad Shiddiq from Jember formulated the relationship between Pancasila and Islam. According to Kyai, Pancasila is the ideology and basis of the state which is the foundation of the Indonesian nation. The declaration of the relationship between Islam and Pancasila in the view of Kiai Achmad Shiddiq does not mean aligning Islam as a religion and Pancasila as an ideology. Because it can undermine Islam with certain ideologies or ideology. This problem was in line with the issue that was developing among Muslims at that time who considered that accepting Pancasila as a single principle means eliminating faith and accepting the single principle Pancasila means kafir, while accepting both means polytheism.

According to Kyai, view that eliminates faith and infidels as a way of thinking is wrong. Kiai Achmad Siddiq emphasized to the whole society that Islam which is listed as the basic principle is Islam in the sense of ideology, not Islam in the meaning of religion. Kiai Achmad Siddiq gave an example of his Pan-Islamism, Jamaluddin Al-Afghani. Al-Afghani placed Islam as an ideology to oppose other ideologies. Because at that time the East was under occupation and slept soundly in the grip of colonialism, meaning that it was not moved to fight against colonialism. So, according to Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, there is no other way to evoke the spirit of Islam emotionally, namely by including Islam as the principle of the Pan-Islamism movement.

4. CONCLUSION

Pancasila is the principle of religious people in Indonesia in knitting the life of the nation and state. From here, religious principles cannot be separated from the substance contained in Pancasila. Both mass organizations as part of the history of the formulation and determination of Pancasila must always be supporters of Pancasila.

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