STUDYING RELIGIOUS PLURALISM WITH HUMANITARIAN AND DEMOCRATIC PERSPECTIVES KH. HASYIM MUZADI

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Abstrak

As Islam grew in Indonesia, various religious ideas entered society, such as Wahhabism and Salafism from the Arabian peninsula. However, Indonesian society is not easily penetrated and influenced by these two ideologies. It has been proven that this understanding took tens or even hundreds of years to be absorbed by Indonesian society. And now these two ideologies have appeared to grip parts of the Indonesian nation and destroy the religious peace that has existed for hundreds of years in Indonesia. However, it is true what Media Indonesia wrote in its editorial that the Indonesian people can still have high hopes for the two true guardians of pluralism in Indonesia, namely NU and Muhammadiyah. After all, the Republic of Indonesia is a fixed price and pluralism is its guarantee. A unified state with Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism will not be realized without there being tolerance between religious communities. There will be no peace and tranquility in carrying out worship when the values of "*lakum diinukum waliya din*" are no longer practiced by the Indonesian people. If there is no longer harmony between religious communities, perhaps the Indonesian nation will become a violent barbarian nation. And it is not impossible that one religion and another

will overthrow each other and fight on the land of Indonesia. Really no religion wants something like this.

Keywords; Religious pluralism, humanity, democratic perspective, KH Hasyim Muzadi

Abstrak

Seiring tumbuhnya Islam di Indonesia, bermacam paham agama masuk ke dalam masyarakat seperti paham wahabisme dan salafisme dari jazirah Arab. Namun masyarakat Indonesia tidak mudah ditembus dan dipengaruhi oleh dua paham ini. terbukti nyata paham ini butuh puluhan bahkan ratusan tahun untuk bisa terserap oleh masyarakat Indonesia. Dan kini dua paham itu telah tampil mencengkeram sebagian dari bangsa Indonesia dan merusak kedamaian beragama yang sudah berjalan ratusan tahun di bumi Indonesia. Namun benar apa yang ditulis Media Indonesia di Editorialnya bahwa masyarakat Indonesia masih boleh berharap banyak pada dua pengawal sejati pluralisme di Indonesia, yaitu NU dan Muhammadiyah. Bagaimana pun NKRI adalah harga mati dan pluralisme adalah jaminannya. Tidak akan terwujud sebuah negara kesatuan dengan Islam, Kristen, Katolik, Hindu, dan Budha di dalamnya tanpa ada tenggang-rasa antar umat beragama. Tidak akan ada kedamaian dan ketenteraman dalam menjalankan ibadah ketika nilai-nilai ”lakum diinukum waliya din” sudah tidak lagi diamalkan bangsa Indonesia. Jika sudah tidak lagi ada kerukunan antar umat beragama mungkin bisa jadi bangsa Indonesia akan menjadi bangsa barbar yang beringas. Dan bukan mustahil satu agama dan agama yang lain akan saling menjatuhkan dan berperang di atas bumi Indonesia. Sungguh tidak ada satu agama pun yang menghendaki hal seperti ini

Keyword; Pluralisme Beragama, kemanusiaan, demokratis Perspektif, KH Hasyim Muzadi

A. Introduction

KH. Hasyim Muzadi, as one of the leaders of the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, is aggressively carrying out an agenda related to the importance of building a spirit of plurality. Humane and democratic. This was demonstrated by the holding of meetings of Sunni-Shia Ulama' throughout the world which he initiated.[1] Such meetings seemed to be a bright spot in his efforts to organize Indonesian Islam towards a better global Islam as an actualization of rahmatan lil-alamin.

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[1] On November 9 2004, Hasyim Muzadi and Din Syamsuddin invited Sunni-Shia clerics from all over the world consisting of 84 countries to call for tolerance and unity in the Islamic world in Bogor, West Java..

In essence, a growing heterogeneous society, such as the Indonesian nation, certainly finds it difficult to develop mutual understanding between various ethnic elements and regional cultures. Even if there is no fundamental misunderstanding regarding these elements, at least the mutual understanding achieved will only be nominal, in other words, the optimal atmosphere that can be achieved is not mutual understanding, but merely reducing misunderstandings.[2]

The author takes the thoughts of an Islamic figure who was once the leader of one of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia (Nahdlatul Ulama), namely Hasyim Muzadi. This study of Hasyim Muzadi's religious pluralism is based on the fact that according to the author so far, there have been no works containing Hasyim Muzadi's complete thoughts related to his pluralist thoughts. Even if there is, this is only in the form of Hasyim Muzadi's statements which are spread in the mass media and electronic media, and also from several books by writers which reveal some of Hasyim Muzadi's thoughts or figure.

Hasyim Muzadi is one of the hundred most influential Indonesian national figures on the current national political stage and is predicted to have a significant role in determining the nation's political configuration in the future..[3] Hasyim Muzadi is a respected figure in this country and he was once Rais Syuriah of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization, a religious organization that has the largest base in this country.

The explanation above shows that Hasyim Muzadi is recognized for his capacity, capability and personality by the public both in the field of thought and his political actions. So that Hasyim, who is more familiarly known as kiai Hasyim, has become a figure to be reckoned with in the current Indonesian political scene. Of course, this is not solely because he was once the general chairman of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU), but because of his commitment and contribution to national ideas and his long struggle in the history of political movements that began when he was young.

To analyze and read the character of his thoughts in detail requires an in-depth search of the theoretical background and socio-cultural background, education and experience in the field of organizations, as well as figures who were influential in forming the cluster of his personal knowledge which later contributed and inspired his views in the field political.

Hasyim Muzadi was born in Tuban on August 8 1944, to Muzadi and Rumiyati. He is the seventh of eight children. Geographically, Tuban is located in the northern part of Java Island, precisely on the border of Lamongan and Bojonegoro Regencies. In this area he spent his childhood.

Hasyim is married to Muthomimah and has 6 children, namely 3 sons and 3 daughters. In his childhood, he lived in a life that was not well-off, so he became a person

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[2] Surahman Hidayat, *Islam Pluralisme Dan Perdamaian* (Jakarta: Robbani Press, 2008), h. 53.

[3] Zaenal Ali, 100 *Orang Indonesia Paling Berpengaruh* (Jakarta: Narasi, 2008), h. 162

who never gave up. It is not surprising that the seventh of eight siblings has declared the phrase "There is no day without struggle" as his life motto.[4]

Kiai Hasyim, as he is familiarly called, took his basic education at Madrasah Ibtidaiyah in his homeland Tuban in 1950-1953 then he moved to Tuban Primary School (SD) until graduating in 1955. After that he continued to State Junior High School (SMP) in the same city only lasted one year, namely from 1955-1956. Then he moved to the Gontor Islamic Boarding School and studied at KMI for six years, recorded from 1956-1962. Graduating from Gontor he moved to the Senori Islamic Boarding School in Tuban, not long after that he moved to the Lasem Islamic Boarding School in 1963. After he finished traveling from one boarding school to another, he continued his higher education at the State Islamic Institute (IAIN) Malang from 1964 -1969. Meanwhile, he took his non-formal education at the Gontor Islamic Boarding School and graduated in 1963.

B. Research Methods

This research uses library research, which is research carried out using literature (libraries) in the form of books, notes or reports of research results from previous research..[5] According to M. Nazir, literature study is a data collection technique by conducting a review study of books, literature, notes and reports that are related to the problem being solved. Literature study is an important step where after a researcher determines the research topic, the next step is to conduct studies related to the theory and research topic.[6]

Research subjects are people who are asked to provide information about a fact or opinion to obtain research information or data. The subject in this research is KH Hasyim Muzadi. Library research data sources (library research) data sources in research are subjects where data can be obtained. Data sources in this research are grouped into two, namely primary data sources and secondary data sources. The primary data source in this research is KH's books. Hasyim Muzadi, namely: (1) Building NU after Gus Dur (Jakarta: Grasindo, 1999). (2) Nahdlatul Ulama in the Middle of the National Problem Agenda, (Jakarta: Logos, 1999). (3) Hiding NU Wounds, (Jakarta: Logos, 2002). (4) Strategic Agenda for Restoring National Dignity (Jakarta, 2004).

Secondary sources are obtained from indirect sources which are usually obtained from other parties, for example through documentation or other people. This secondary data is a source of data that is competent and relevant to the problem to be discussed, but this secondary data is not the main data source in this discussion. In this study, secondary data are books that support researchers to complete the content and interpretation of books and books from primary data sources, in the form of writings that have tried to discuss the thoughts of KH Hasyim Muzadi. Meanwhile, the data collection techniques used in this research are literature and documentation.

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[4] Mohammad Shodiq, *Dinamika Kepemimpinan NU, Refleksi perjalanan KH. Hasyim Muzadi*, (Surabaya, LTN NU Jatim, 2004), h. 189

[5] Mahmud, Metode Penelitian Pendidikan, (Bandung : Pustaka Setia, 2011), 31

[6] M. Nazir, Metode Penelitian, (Jakarta : Ghalia Indonesia, 2003), 27

C. Results And Discussion

Hasyim Muzadi's works

When searching for the author, Hasyim Muzadi's works were not found. There are four works that have been published as books. The first book, Building NU after Gus Dur (Jakarta: Grasindo, 1999). This book is a building block of ideas that tries to make new observations and breakthroughs in the organization he is involved in. He discusses ideas related to NU development in this work. Although this book would more accurately be described as promoting the idea of running for office in the NU Congress. Nevertheless, the promotion of this work became another side of Hasyim which also led him to become the number one person at NU.

Second book, Nahdlatul Ulama in the Middle of the National Problem Agenda, (Jakarta: Logos, 1999). This book discusses a series of various problems currently being experienced by NU. Where its birth as a religious organization was largely motivated by concerns about the widespread influence of the renewal movement led by modernist Islamic groups. However, gradually in its later journey, NU seemed unable to avoid the demands of its time which required it to take an active role in the political realm, sometimes even requiring it to come into contact with the stage of the powerful elite.

Hiding NU Wounds, (Jakarta: Logos, 2002). This third book reviews the events that befell NU. Where one of the NU cadre figures, Gus Dur, was surprisingly elected President of the Republic. Unfortunately, his leadership period did not last long because he was couped by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). Gus Dur's coup from the presidential chair which was carried out by political elites had an impact on NU. Because this incident has ignited the anger of NU residents in various regions who do not accept Gus Dur's removal from the presidency. It was at that time that the NU organization received strong shocks from various non-NU groups who accused NU of inciting divisions in this motherland.

Through this work, Mr. Hasyim tries to explain the problems that have befallen NU as part of the nation which also has responsibility for the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). In other words, the presence of the book is a clarification of the events that have cornered NU as the scapegoat for national division. Fourth book, Strategic Agenda for Restoring National Dignity (Jakarta, 2004). This work explains how to build a civilized, just, dignified and religious Indonesian nation and state. Apart from that, he also wants to invite the nation's children to work together to build Indonesia, foster a sense of trust and abandon various prejudices that will only harm this country.

In this book he wants to emphasize that nation building cannot be shouldered or the responsibility of just one group, but must be the commitment and responsibility of all

citizens. This work also discusses various problems currently being faced by the Indonesian people in continuing the development process. Don't forget that this book focuses more on socio-religious issues which cannot be separated from his capacity as a community figure and ulama.

Hasyim Muzadi's Pluralism Thought

Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin

There is a big hope from the public that Islam Rahmatan lil al'amin can be translated into social society, especially in terms of its contribution to resolving global conflicts that have occurred so far which have affected the systems and aspects of life.

In Kiai Hasyim's view, for Islam to become an Islam that is rahmatan lil 'alamin, it must rely on two things. First, Islam in resolving global conflicts should prioritize a dialogue approach. Second, the implementation of Islam must be built on intelligence and piety in the sense that religion should be positioned proportionally in the humanitarian dimension which will later form social righteousness, not individual righteousness. At a practical level, these two things are interrelated, complement each other and cannot be separated from one another.

Theological and Sociological Pluralism

According to Hasyim Muzadi, the pluralism fought for by Nahdlatul Ulama in Indonesia is sociological pluralism, not theological pluralism. Theological pluralism actually harms the theology of all religions. There is no "mixed knowledge" faith or belief in religion. The concept of pluralism emerged following the death of KH Abdurrahman Wahid, who was referred to by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) as the Father of Pluralism.

According to Hasyim, matters of theology and ritual (transcendence) are the original rights of each religion which must not be interfered with from outside. So interfaith prayer together is not an exchange of theology or faith, but simply the same place and time.

Meanwhile, sociological pluralism is the togetherness of religious "people" in a worldly or immanent community as an embodiment of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika or unity and diversity, because every religion outside of its theology and rituals must have a space for humanism and that is where people from across religions meet. According to Hasyim, what he conveyed regarding pluralism was conveyed and agreed upon by ICIS delegates while at the Vatican, Vienna, WCC/Christians in Porto Alegre Brazil in the 9th Assembly in 2006, and with Orthodox Catholics in Moscow and monks in Thailand.[7]

Religious Plularism as Part of Humanism

Objectively, the facts on the ground show that this nation is in a state of unrest and prolonged conflict that has almost no end. Indonesia's vast territory contains a number of

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[7] Hasyim Muzadi, Diakses dari http://www.nu.or.id/show/pages/625.html

areas that are still in situations of prolonged conflict, ranging from racial, ethnic, separatist and also political and religious conflicts. For example, we can mention a number of areas that are hotspots for conflict, such as Aceh, Maluku, Ambon, East Kalimantan, Papua Irian Jaya, Makasar, and so on. Kyai Hasyim's commitment and conception regarding religious phenomena will be explained in the following section.

1) *Dimensions of Humanism in Religion*

Indonesian religious pluralism in the view of Kiai Hasyim, as expressed by Anshori, is how religions display their human dimensions, namely coexistence developing on the foundations of religious traditions of mutual respect, traditions of mutual cooperation, traditions of deliberation and dialogue and polite culture. More specifically, this discussion will convey Hasyim Muzadi's views on the relationship between Islam and other religions in the discourse of religious pluralism..[8]

According to Hasyim, as explained by Anshori, deliberative meetings as a form of dialogue between religious communities are something that has become a tradition among NU members in Indonesia. NU residents are used to holding meetings with Christian and Catholic friends, especially on matters that must be resolved together.[9]

A number of changes have occurred in Indonesia. This requires sufficient intensity in strengthening dialogue with people of all religions, even almost every week dialogue is held with Christians, Catholics, Buddhists, Hindus, Confucians to discuss matters relating to the interests and needs of life together.

Kyai Hasyim is of the view that the Islamic religion has three parts, namely issues of theology or faith, issues of ritual worship, and issues of humanism (humanity). What differentiates Islam from other religions is its theology and religious rituals. That's what Anshori explained.[10]

Issues of humanism (humanity), which include the concepts of brotherhood, justice, equality of prosperity, love, tolerance, cooperation and also non-violence are all a shared responsibility. The principles referred to are universal life values that are also desired by other religions, not limited to Muslims alone.

2) *Commitment to Maintaining National Plurality*

In Hasyim Muzadi's view, democracy is the political system that best suits the conditions of Indonesian nationality. Sociological facts show that Indonesia is a nation that contains a diversity of ethnicities, cultures, religions and beliefs. At least, according to Mr. Hasyim, there are two fundamental values that are inherently contained in democracy. First, the value of justice. Democracy contains the values of justice which are fundamental needs of all mankind which are expressed in the form of providing equal opportunities and opportunities to all citizens to develop their talents without having to worry about discrimination from state administrators or other groups..[11] *Second, democracy is seen as*

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[8] Ibnu Anshori, *KH. Hasyim Muzadi; Religiusitas dan Cita-cita Good Governance.*, h. 54.

[9] *Ibid.,* h. 55.

[10] *Ibid.,* h. 63.

[11] Hasyim Muzadi, *Nahdlatul Ulama di Tengah Agenda Persoalan Bangsa,* (Jakarta, Logos, 1999), h. 48

the most possible and adequate system for uniting the strengths of all national elements. Democracy is seen as capable of tying together the remaining primordial ties. Therefore, according to Mr Hasyim, democracy must be placed as the basic framework of nationality and oriented systematically towards efforts to fulfill the collective ideals of the nation and state[12] Democracy cannot stand idly by on the fate of poor people who are marginalized economically and politically by only focusing on creating a set of political systems that can minimize the progress and return of authoritarianism.[13]

Therefore, according to Hasyim Muzadi, democracy is not only a superior constitutional system and is currently used as a reference for the majority of countries in the world, but in principle it contains a value structure that best suits the national conditions of Indonesia, which in fact is a nation that is diverse in various respects. Democracy is fought for not only because democracy is a realistic and humane system, but also because it inherently has the potential to unite all components and strengths of the nation..[14] This potential is certainly not shared by religion and various other primordial values. With democracy, all national forces will be able to be brought together to strengthen the Indonesian national building.

In the results record, the diversity or plurality of this nation actually shows empirical experience. Because the principle of pluralism as an understanding that respects the existence of human differences is then recognized and preserved in the form of our country's motto, namely Bhineka Tunggal Ika, which implicitly contains the affirmation that differences are a national treasure that should not be hostile or homogenized, but must be united so that they do not become strengths. which is scattered.

Based on this principle, the founders of our country tried their best to formulate an order of national and state life that respects all forms of appreciation. However, we must all admit that the formulation of the founding fathers regarding respect for forms of difference did not run smoothly according to expectations. According to Hasyim's reasoning, attitudes towards differences that always tend to be negative are a reflection of a society that does not yet have cultural maturity. In the sense of difference, it is something that must be avoided or conquered so as not to deviate from the seeds of resistance that disturb the interests of the opposing party.

In Hasyim Muzadi's view, the need to maintain the principle of pluralism is not only in the aspect of religious norms, but also from a sociological perspective. This argument is based on historical facts that based on experience in Indonesia, religious tolerance and harmony have worked quite well. Islam that entered Indonesia was very accommodating to local culture,[15] including beliefs, resulting in complex cultural acculturation.

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[12] A. Muhaimin Iskandar, *Melampaui Demokrasi: Meawat Bangsa dengan Visi Ulama,*h. 72

[13] Hasyim Muzadi, *Agenda Strategis Pemulihan Martabat Bangsa,* (Jakarta, Pustaka Azhari, 2004), h. 29

[14] Hasyim Muzadi, *Nahdlatul Ulama di Tengah Agenda Persoalan Bangsa,* h. 48

[15]Anders,Uhlin, *Oposisi Berserak: Arus Deras Demokratisasi Gelombangketiga di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan: 1998), h. 68

The pluralism determined by Hasyim Muzadi is pluralism in acting and thinking. Pluralism in acting requires a person not to limit interactions with other people (exclusively) even though they have different beliefs. Pluralism in thinking is the willingness to accept or take ideas from other groups. In turn, this pluralism will give birth to a tolerant attitude towards others. This attitude is very important to establish in social interactions such as in Indonesia. This principle also encouraged Hasyim Muzadi to encourage Muslims to associate and be friendly with followers of other religions.

Hasyim's concrete steps in fighting for pluralism were also manifested through the International Conference of Islamic Scholars (ICIS) movement with the big theme of Islam Rahmatan lil 'Alamin. Where this movement aims to build a common perception among Muslims themselves and non-Muslims. Apart from that, the ICIS movement is trying to find a way out of prolonged conflicts occurring in Islamic and non-Islamic countries. All of this is an effort to achieve world peace.[16]

This pluralistic attitude is social capital to live together in social, cultural, political and religious diversity in a peaceful and civilized manner. A pluralistic attitude automatically rejects every attempt to make Islam the state ideology and replace Pancasila. This attitude also makes Hasyim Muzadi very persistent in opposing Islamic circles who intend to replace the Pancasila ideology with Islam[17]

Hasyim Muzadi's Views on the MUI Fatwa

At the time of the MUI's VII national deliberation which took place in Jakarta from 26 to 29 July 2005, it made decisions by issuing several very controversial fatwas, especially those related to the prohibition of pluralism, secularism and religious liberalism which were considered to be contrary to religious teachings. Islam. Hasyim also regretted the steps taken by the MUI by issuing a fatwa which actually triggered new problems. According to Hasyim, the MUI fatwa is a backward step for inter-religious life.[18] According to the author, he stated this because so far there has been no agreement, which could be due to differences in perception regarding the definition of pluralism, secularism, liberalism and their impact on Islam in Indonesia, which could actually give rise to a new movement that leads to efforts to formalize religion which of course will be related. with the concept of religion-state relations. Touching on the principle of the relationship between religion and the state, Hasyim said that substantialist religion is inclusive, not exclusive. Exclusive formalism will only divide this nation in terms of religious harmony or clashes between tribes and other cultures[19]

According to him:

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[16] Diakses dari http://www.antara.co.id/,

[17]Pernyataan ini sering dilontarkan Hasyim Muzadi dalam menanggapi kelompok Islam keras (ekstrimis) yang seringkali melakukan kekerasan atas nama agama, dan tak jarang gerakan ini selalu berupaya untuk mengganti sistem negara pancasila dengan ideologi Islam atau *khilafah*. Diakses dari http://www.eramuslim.com/, pada hari Minggu, 21 Desember 2013

[18]Kompas, 30 Juli 2005.

[19] http://www.suarapembaharuan.com/News/1999/281199/Nasional/pr01.html.

"So, how does inclusivism guarantee pluralism and religion can function well. The paradigm already exists, it just needs to be developed".[20]

On the other hand, the emergence of the MUI fatwa is very worrying at a time when religious figures are actively building a tolerant religious system, namely by making efforts to respect the existing reality and upholding religions and religious understandings which are for the sake of national stability and recognition of the existence, honor and dignity of the Indonesian nation before other nations. With the cases that emerged in Ambon, Bali and other areas with almost similar cases, it certainly invited international concern regarding the condition of the Indonesian nation and state. If this diversity is managed well, it will produce uniqueness which is expected to have its own positive potential and will become a characteristic that will distinguish the Indonesian nation from other nations.

However, when the MUI issued a fatwa regarding the prohibition of pluralism, secularism, liberalism, it was like old problems were forced to be raised again. This is also considered to be in conflict with Islamic teachings as in the QS. A l-Baqoroh (2): 256 which reads la ikraha fi ad-din which means there is no compulsion in religion. The emergence of this fatwa also indicates a low understanding of the reality of diversity that exists in Indonesia and a denial of sunatullah regarding the reality of differences. On the other hand, the emergence of this fatwa, without realizing it or not, will actually create new friction among society, namely the grouping of those who are pro and against the MUI fatwa, which of course will add to its own burden in efforts to create national stability through the spirit of plurality built by several figures, including Hasyim Muzadi.

Commitment to Maintaining National Plurality

It has been a decade of reform in this post-colonial country. As we all know, recently there has been a trend in several regions and certain groups trying to implement Islamic law as the basis of the state.[21] Apart from all that, the form of the Indonesian state is a Republic, and Pancasila is the state ideology.

In the field of government, currently Indonesia uses a presidential form of government. Meanwhile, legislative power uses a bicameral system which is run by the People's Representative Council (DPR) and the Regional Representative Council (DPD) which are elected through elections every five years and are participated by more than two political parties (multiparty system). The President and Vice President, as well as regional heads and their deputies, are elected directly by the people through elections and local elections. Apart from that, post-reform Indonesia has a Constitutional Court, Judicial Commission, State Ombusmen Institution, Corruption Eradication Commission, and several other state institutions as a manifestation of efforts to institutionalize democracy.

From time to time, Indonesia has undergone several models of government and various interpretations of democracy. Starting from the post-independence Presidential

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[20] Ibnu Anshori, *KH. Hasyim Muzadi; Religiusitas dan Cita-cita Good Governance.*, h. 54.

[21] Several regions in Indonesia are currently "recorded" as implementing Islamic law in Nangroe Aceh Darussalam and several districts or sub-districts in this region.

model of government under the leadership of Soekarno with Hatta as his deputy, then the Parliamentary model with Muhammad Natsir as Prime Minister, then overthrown by Soekarno's Guided Democracy, and finally Suharto's Pancasila Democracy model.

The transitional government of B.J Habibie in the reform era. This democratic tradition was further strengthened during the leadership of President KH. Abdurahman Wahid (Gus Dur) was the victim of democracy. Then Megawati Soekarno Putri replaced the presidential throne after Gus Dur was deposed. In the following period, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), who was elected through direct presidential election, democracy was considered to be increasingly firmly embedded in Indonesia's political structure.

Apart from that, the changes occurring in Indonesia are still moving at the level of cosmetic political and governance patterns, not at the transformative socio-political structure towards democratic consolidation.[22] In fact, the democratic pattern produced by an imperfect transition is a fragile democracy (unconsolidated democracy).[23] The political elite, for example, is not bound by a common vision to build a better future for Indonesia and tends to be divided. Elites fight each other more for power than laying the foundation for transformative leadership that fights for the interests of the people. The smell of corruption carried out by elites, both at the center and in the regions, has become an open secret and is increasingly rampant.

Perhaps it is no longer an open secret for the Indonesian people that when the country is hit by a crisis, its managers actually live with wealth and luxury. The rulers at all levels actually do not have sufficient commitment and capacity. They are very dominant in prioritizing the paradigm of power, authority and wealth rather than the paradigm of reform, responsibility and democracy. Political parties which are theoretically believed to be democratic institutions, actually appear as killers of democracy. Political organizations do not play the role of opposition for change but instead fight for power at the expense of the interests of the people.

In the last three decades at the end of the 20th century, demands for democratization spread massively in the international world. This demand is strengthened because democracy is seen as a system that has the potential to lead society towards a more ideal social and political transformation. Democracy is seen as a system that has the potential to lead society towards a more ideal social and political transformation. Democracy is seen as more capable of raising human dignity, more rational and more realistic, to prevent the emergence of dominant, repressive and authoritarian power..[24]

Democracy as a constitutional system has four fundamental values, namely: protection of human rights, fundamental freedoms, justice, egalitarianism and

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[22] Sutoro Eko, "*Pelajaran Konsolidasi Demokrasi Untuk Indonesia*". Dalam pangantar buku terjemah Lary Diamond, *Developing Democracy: toward consolidation* (Jogjakarta: IRE Press, 2003), h. 14

[23] Sutoro Eko, "*Pelajaran….hlm.*36

[24]Ma'mun Murod Al-Brebesy, *Menyingkap Pemikiran Politik Gus Dur dan Amin Rais Tentang Negara* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1999), h. 59

transparency.[134] It is these fundamental values that are inherently contained in democracy that are seen to be able to elevate human dignity to the ideal level as envisioned by Indonesia's founding fathers, as stated in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution. However, the ideal system of democratic values will not be realized without being supported by a set of operational values that underlie the functioning of democracy at a practical level.

At least, there are six sets of operational values that are needed to ensure the manifestation of the ideal values of democracy in the political system. First, there is a mechanism that regulates how to resolve conflicts peacefully and institutionally (institutionalized peaceful settlement of conflict). Second, there is a guarantee for the implementation of peaceful change in a society that is changing (peaceful change in a society). Third, there is a mutually agreed mechanism regarding the implementation of regular and periodic leadership changes (orderly succession of rulers). Fourth, there is a limitation on violence in solving problems to a minimum level (minimum of coercion). Fifth, reasonable acceptance of plurality as a sociological fact. Sixth, the existence of a strong legal system as a guarantee of upholding the values of justice. Fulfillment of these operational prerequisites will guarantee the realization of the ideal values of democracy in national and state life for a society. If not, then the noble values of democracy will only become a value system floating in the air and even tending to be utopian.

In Hasyim Muzadi's view, democracy is the political system that best suits the conditions of Indonesian nationality. Sociological facts show that Indonesia is a nation that contains a diversity of ethnicities, cultures, religions and beliefs. At least, according to Mr. Hasyim, there are two fundamental values that are inherently contained in democracy. First, the value of justice. Democracy contains the values of justice which are fundamental needs of all mankind which are expressed in the form of providing equal opportunities and opportunities to all citizens to develop their talents without having to worry about discrimination from state administrators or other groups. Second, democracy is seen as the most possible and adequate system for uniting the strengths of all national elements. Democracy is seen as capable of tying together the remaining primordial ties. Therefore, according to Mr Hasyim, democracy must be placed as the basic framework of nationality and oriented systematically towards efforts to fulfill the collective ideals of the nation and state. Democracy cannot stand idly by on the fate of poor people who are marginalized economically and politically by only focusing on creating a set of political systems that can minimize the progress and return of authoritarianism..

Robert Dahl, one of the leading scientists in America, believes that the democratic system is far superior to any political system. Dahl's assessment of the superiority of democracy as a political system is in at least three aspects. First, the democratic process is more capable of increasing the freedoms that citizens have when compared to other political systems. Freedom here concerns freedom to determine one's own destiny individually and as a group, freedom at the level of moral autonomy and support for other freedoms. Second, the democratic process is better able to increase the development of community capacity, at least in developing its abilities to carry out self-determination,

moral autonomy and accountability for the choices made. And third, the democratic process is the surest, although not the most perfect, means that humans can use to protect and advance the interests and good they share with other people.

The design of the political system of a plural nation-state cannot be built on a foundation based on primordial, sectarian, and similar values, whether based on ethnicity, race, ethnicity, or even religion. Using one of these primordial values as a national political system will not only hurt other groups, but will also harm social cohesiveness. In fact, it is not impossible that it will become the source of horizontal conflict between various components of the nation which could threaten national integration. Indonesia as a nation that naturally contains cultural, religious, tribal and ethnic diversity, in pursuing its national ideals requires a constitutional system that is capable of framing this diversity on the basis of equality, justice and guarantees for the continuity and growth of cultural and ethnic plurality. , religion and existing beliefs.

Therefore, according to Hasyim Muzadi, democracy is not only a superior constitutional system and is currently used as a reference for the majority of countries in the world, but in principle it contains a value structure that best suits the national conditions of Indonesia, which in fact is a nation that is diverse in various respects. Democracy is fought for not only because democracy is a realistic and humane system, but also because inherent in it is the potential to unite all components and strengths of the nation. This potential is certainly not shared by religion and various other primordial values. With democracy, all national forces will be able to be brought together to strengthen the Indonesian national building.

In the results record, the diversity or plurality of this nation actually shows empirical experience. Because the principle of pluralism as an understanding that respects the existence of human differences is then recognized and preserved in the form of our country's motto, namely Bhineka Tunggal Ika, which implicitly contains the affirmation that differences are a national treasure that should not be hostile or homogenized, but must be united so that they do not become strengths. which is scattered.

Based on this principle, the founders of our country tried their best to formulate an order of national and state life that respects all forms of appreciation. However, we must all admit that the formulation of the founding fathers regarding respect for forms of difference did not run smoothly according to expectations. According to Hasyim's reasoning, attitudes towards differences that always tend to be negative are a reflection of a society that does not yet have cultural maturity. In the sense of difference, it is something that must be avoided or conquered so as not to deviate from the seeds of resistance that disturb the interests of the opposing party.

Apart from that, it must be acknowledged that religion is also a potential factor that makes it difficult to uphold pluralism. As a teaching that is believed to carry noble values such as justice, togetherness, piety, and so on. Religion basically requires love between human beings without considering differences in identity background or predicate. According to common sense, no religion will justify hostility because of differences as long as all parties respect each other in carrying out their respective obligations.

Hasyim regrets that the ideal image of religion often shows an unfriendly face when it is transformed into an ideology or belief of a group of people that is absolute, closed, aggressive and leads to excluvism. The truth that is adhered to no longer negates the truth that is believed by the party, but more than that, respect for an existence outside itself is not given at all, so that differences are considered phenomena that violate the "truth" itself.

From an Islamic perspective, differences are not essentially a serious problem because they are the lines of Allah's provisions. In this case, Islam firmly guarantees basic human rights, namely what is the aim of the revelation of the Shari'a (maqasid asy-syari'ah) which includes guarantees for: First, freedom of religion or defending one's beliefs, which means that the Shari'a was revealed with the aim of protecting religion and belief. everyone (hifz ad-din). Second, mental or physical safety from actions outside the legal provisions (hifz an-nafs). Third, the safety or survival of offspring or family (hifz an-nasl). Fourth, security of property or personal property rights (hifzu an-mal). And fifth, freedom of opinion and expression (hifu al-'aql). In Hasyim Muzadi's view, the need to maintain the principle of pluralism is not only in the aspect of religious norms, but also from a sociological perspective. This argument is based on historical facts that based on experience in Indonesia, religious tolerance and harmony have worked quite well. Islam that entered Indonesia was very accommodating to local culture, including beliefs, resulting in complex cultural acculturation.

The pluralism determined by Hasyim Muzadi is pluralism in acting and thinking. Pluralism in acting requires a person not to limit interactions with other people (exclusively) even though they have different beliefs. Pluralism in thinking is the willingness to accept or take ideas from other groups. In turn, this pluralism will give birth to a tolerant attitude towards others. This attitude is very important to establish in social interactions such as in Indonesia. This principle also encouraged Hasyim Muzadi to encourage Muslims to associate and be friendly with followers of other religions.

Hasyim's concrete steps in fighting for pluralism were also manifested through a small movement, namely, the International Conference of Islamic Scholars (ICIS) with the big theme of Islam Rahmatan lil 'Alamin. Where this movement aims to build a common perception among Muslims themselves and non-Muslims. Apart from that, the ICIS movement is trying to find a way out of prolonged conflicts occurring in Islamic and non-Islamic countries. All of this is an effort to achieve world peace.

This pluralistic attitude is social capital to live together in social, cultural, political and religious diversity in a peaceful and civilized manner. A pluralistic attitude automatically rejects every attempt to make Islam the state ideology and replace Pancasila. This attitude also makes Hasyim Muzadi very persistent in opposing Islamic circles who intend to replace the Pancasila ideology with Islam.

Hasyim Muzadi's vision of pluralism and tolerance is reflected in the following statement:

An accommodative attitude that arises and an awareness of respecting cultural differences or diversity is a solid foundation for a mindset, attitude and behavior that is more sensitive

to human values. Thus, people do not have to be treated humanely just because they are Muslim, but rather based on the understanding that human values belong to everyone.

This attitude to life is a realization of Hasyim Muzadi's democratic, tolerant and pluralistic views. This attitude can also explain Hasyim Muzadi's social power and insight which apparently originates from many teachings, moral values and cultures that exist in the world as well as his views on national plurality which remain relevant for Indonesia.

D. Conclusion

As a figure who once led the largest religious organization in Indonesia, Hasyim Muzadi has several thoughts, including regarding religious pluralism. Hasyim Muzadi's thoughts regarding religious pluralism are:

The idea of Islam Rahmatan lil 'Alamin which according to him is an alternative solution to the global impasse which has not yet been resolved. Basically, Hasyim Muzadi's thoughts started from anxiety over the implications that emerged from various cases that threatened plurality and the birth of radical movements in the name of religion, where these movements did not reflect the reality of the cultural, social and cultural conditions developing in Indonesia.

Civilization dialogue approach. To apply the Islamic concept of Rahmatan lil 'Alamin, according to him, the earliest thing to do is through amar ma'ruf and nahi munkar by taking the opinion expressed by Imam al-Ghazali in the book Ihya' Ulumuddin, that amar ma'ruf nahi munkar has ethics. , namely adabu al-amri bi al-ma'ruf and adab al-nahy 'anil al-munkar. There are three ethics conveyed by al-Ghazali. One of them is ordering people to do good and prevent doing evil so as not to cause greater evil, and from Islamic jurisprudence "akhaffu aldhararain". From the two conceptions above, Hasyim Muzadi tries to realize a pluralist attitude, especially in the context of dialogue between the East and West.

Religious pluralism as part of humanism. This can be understood considering the humanist dimension in religion and the demand for cooperation between one religion and another. The relevance of Hayim Muzadi's pluralistic views to Indonesian society in general and Muslims in particular is very much needed considering the condition of the nation which is facing a multidimensional crisis including its relation to socio-religion, so the idea of Islam Rahmatan lil 'alamin is an alternative solution to the nation's deadlock.

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