

THE EFFECT OF GLOBALIZATION ON THE DETERMINATION OF ISLAMIC LAW AS THE BASIS OF THE STATE IN INDONESIA: Analysis of the thoughts of KH. Abdul Wahid Hasyim and Ki Bagus Hadikusumo about the implementation of Islamic law in Indonesia

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Article History: Received March 3, 2022; Revised May 12, 2022; Accepted August 7, 2022

Abstract: *Globalization, Islamic law, Islamic figures. Nationalist figures who are considered not to represent Muslims in the formulation of Pancasila as the state ideology. The categorization of the dominance of power and thought becomes a problem among Muslims. The discourse of Islamic leaders in the formulation of Pancasila, such as ideas and concepts and their correlation with power and politics at that time. The existence of globalization is the cause and root of the problem of the classification of Islamic nationalists and secular nationalists. In the discourse theory of Michel Foucault and the paradigm theory of the characteristics of Islamic thought, the facts behind the discourses of Islamic figures are inseparable from historical factors. The writings of Islamic figures involved in the formulation of Pancasila were heavily influenced. This study only takes two Islamic figures as the focus of the study. These two great figures are the key to the determination of Pancasila, namely KH. Abdul Wahid Hasyim and Ki Bagus Hadikusumo. The involvement of Islamic leaders in the formulation of Pancasila is the impact of power. Islamic figures have a cultural role behind the scenes, because of the concept of the dichotomy of Islamic culture in Indonesia. Islam is seen as Knowledge rather than power or politics. The mention of secular nationalists and Islamic nationalists is based on ideas, not power. The discourse of Islamic figures in the formulation of the basic state is a political compromise regarding Islamic identity and Islam as values. The existence of a struggle for ideas or thoughts instead of a power struggle among Islamic leaders is mostly driven by the pressure of global political conditions. The result of the formulation of Pancasila puts forward the unity of Indonesia. The discourse of Islamic figures originated from different thoughts. The existence of the current Islamic law enforcement movement is due to the desire to power not based on Islamic scholarship.*

Keywords: *globalization, Islamic law, Islamic figures.*

INTRODUCTION

In the formulation of Pancasila, individuals are always seen as unique and specific individuals. Unique because he has unique experiences, specifically because he has his expectations. In this perspective, the adherents of this method never desire to find the depth, richness, and complexity of a reality that they see as a result of social construction through individuals who actively carry out subjective and intersubjective interpretations. over the structure.

To carry out a discourse analysis, therefore, mastery of theories and concepts becomes a central thing. Theories and concepts about how social reality is socially meaningful in a nexus of social interaction and power become an integral part of this method. Methods are no longer needed solely as procedures and techniques, or strategies, but also and primarily as results. In closing, the text studied in discourse analysis is always seen as an inseparable part of the effort to understand the individual (as a text procedure) who is building meaning and presenting reality according to the social construction of which he is a part and involved in the process. The text, therefore, is always treated as a context that represents a very diverse competition of meanings and which always has implications for the relationship that has a dimension of power between the procedure text and the audience, which at other times is also a procedure text. According to Foucault, power can be at the ideological level. (Michel, 2002)

All knowledge is political because the conditions for its possibilities are rooted in power relations. Political anatomy shows that the techniques of power, production, and knowledge are born from the same source. Indeed political anatomy does not create knowledge, but genealogy. The genealogical method shows that the truth that takes the form of objectivity in science is only an illusion. Every knowledge is related to the object of power: the madman, the criminal, the teenager, the sick, the laborer. The connection lies in the ability of knowledge to define the reality of the object. By defining reality, knowledge changes the social constellation a result.

according to Michel Foucault, Genealogy appears to complement the analysis of aspects of a system-like discourse with an analysis of how these aspects can be formed. But genealogy replaces the role of archaeology. The task of the genealogy of power functions to analyze the genealogy of knowledge, Nietzsche's distinction between origin and genealogy is the distinction between the presentation of history as the unfolding of an idea clearly and as a purely coincidental phenomenon. In addition, the Nietzschean notion of emergence is to show that modes of knowledge are closely related to the abundance of various powers. Thus Foucault arrives at the notion of a power-knowledge pair: a pair that dramatically illustrates the intimate relationship of discourse to the relationship between power and power, Islamic figures' discourses on Pancasila are groupings of thought. According to Foucault, can one accept the distinction between the main types of discourse, or between forms or genres? (Michel, 1976)

THOUGHT, POWER, AND POLITICS OF ISLAMIC LEADERS IN PARADIGM THEORY OF CHARACTERISTICS OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT

The discourse of Islamic figures in the formulation of Pancasila as a state ideology went through several stages and experienced difficulties. This is because of the political conditions that threaten the existence of Muslims and the differences in the thoughts of Islamic leaders in understanding the basis of the state. According to the Paradigm theory of the characteristics of Islamic thought, Islamic figures are divided into three thoughts. These three thoughts are the result of the thoughts of Islamic leaders from both western and Middle Eastern educational backgrounds. Among these three groupings of thought are:

Cosmopolitan Universal Tradition

The universal and cosmopolitan tradition as the trademark of Islamic thought has been uprooted from Muslims who are trapped in tendentious thinking accompanied by standardization, cult, and even domination. To arrive at the best possible perception of the

cosmopolitan-universal Islamic tradition of thought and its possible innovations so as not to jump to easy conclusions, it is necessary to obtain an adequate description of the Islamic thought tradition and to fully realize what impact it has on humans in general, both on the Muslim or not. One of the sources of innovation barriers among Muslims may be the lack of awareness of most of them, including intellectuals about the history of Islamic thought itself, which then pushes them to take for granted what they have inherited from previous generations. The result is a strong tendency to hold on to what is and oppose any possible change, let alone replacement. (Nur, 2011)

To gain direct relevance in this matter, the impact of an aspect of classical Islamic thought on mankind, in general, is presented. An example is the experience of the Jews associating with the Muslims. Islam has left a great influence on the Jewish religious system. Austrian Wolfson wrote the book *Repercussion Of Kalam In Jewish Philosophy*. Even the greatest Jewish thinker in history, Musa Ibn Maymun wrote his works in Arabic and used Islamic arguments and logic (including using the Qur'anic propositions) to support his theses. In this connection, the eminent Jewish scholar Abraham S Halkin spoke of the great fusion in the history of Jewish religion and thought. Schweitzer also reiterates Halkin's view describing it as follows:

The assimilation of the Jews into Islamic society was so great that Abraham S Halkin, a leading authority on the period spoke of great fusion. According to him, while autonomy allowed the continuation of the Jewish way of life and the preservation of traditional knowledge, the intellectual and cultural impact of centuries of Islamic domination was such that it produced a "new type of Jew".

The tradition of Islamic thought which is universal and cosmopolitan has a positive impact on western culture and thought, just as Islam has inspired Jews and Christians. If contemporary Islamic thought experiences extreme poles, then in fact Islamic thought has shifted and left its tradition. Universal and cosmopolitan traditions as trademarks of Islamic thought have been caught by Muslims who are trapped in tendentious thinking, which is accompanied by standardization (tasbit), cult (taqdis) and even domination (Haimanah). The poles of Maududi and Tibi's thoughts are at least evidence of this argument.

The universalism and cosmopolitan attitude of the Muslims departed from the optimism as stated in the Qur'an, namely that believers do not need to be afraid or worried. It's just that the attitude of self-confidence, openness, universal and cosmopolitan as described above, fades not to say disappeared. This is where the importance of thought reform is carried out to return to the universal-cosmopolitan tradition of Islamic thought.

If the above principles are held and projected in the tradition of Islamic thought, the pattern, format, and agenda of Islamic reform in thought will become clear. If religious thought is a cultural field, not a religion in its pure form, then by itself reform in thought is always possible and even demanded from time to time without exception in state political thought. So reform in religion is not allowed while reform in religious thought is recommended. It is in this context that criticism of Maududi's and tibi's thoughts can be placed as a step to reform Islamic thought towards a universal and cosmopolitan tradition of Islamic thought.

Conservative And Liberal Models

This conservative model emphasizes the total surrender to the role of religion as a solution to the total problem of the role of religion as a solution to the problems of Muslims. This

model of thought is considered a reaction against modernity and anti-rationality.

This model stems from the event when Muslims lost their last foothold in Europe in 1492. After that incident, 3 kingdoms survived until 1600, namely the Ottomans in Asia Minor, Anatolia, Iraq, Syria, and North Africa, and the Safavids in Iran. and the Mongols in India. Each kingdom reflects a different face even though the Islamic spirituality is the same. The Mongol Empire mirrored the Safavids into Shia which was an elite minority religion into the state religion. Meanwhile, the Ottoman dynasty, which was based on the Sunni school of thought, created a political society based on the Shari'a.

Conservative tendencies stem not from its fundamental weaknesses, but rather from its cultural limitations or limitations. new ideas are considered to disrupt the social order and endanger society. In conservative cultures, social stability and order are considered more important than freedom of expression. Instead of looking to the future, conservative society is looking for inspiration from the past, instead of expecting continuous development. Conservatives consider seeing the future a setback. Instead of achieving new success, modern society is considered to be experiencing a decline from the perfection of its primordial period. This primordial golden age is seen as a model, including the political affairs of government. For conservatives, conservatism seems to be thicker in society. Society prefers to concentrate on slow recovery rather than creating something radically new. For example, in Sunni Islam and the official religion of the Ottoman Empire, it was agreed that the door of *ijtihad* (free reasoning) had been closed. Only the scholars are allowed to use their reasoning to solve religious problems for which there is no explicit answer in the Qur'an and Sunnah.

Under the pretext of protecting a nearly extinct tradition, Sunni Muslims believe that free thought is no longer needed. All the answers are there, sharia is the blueprint of society, so *ijtihad* is no longer needed. Therefore, Muslims must follow the past (*taqlid*). Instead of looking for new solutions, Muslims have to submit to the existing rules on existing legal sheets. Reform in law and practice was considered as dangerous as apostasy in matters of Christian doctrine. It is hard to imagine an attitude that can match the iconoclastic spirit of the modern west. The idea of emphasizing the power of ratio is considered a curse. Whereas cultural development can only occur if the confines of the ratio can be removed.

In the world of politics, some Muslims are now very concerned about the problem of rejecting western secularism which separates it from politics and want society to be governed according to shari'a law (Islamic law). This problem worries other modern-spirited Muslims who fear the impediment of progress as something very important in a healthy society due to the emergence of the first concern establishment. Modern groups regard secularism as liberation, so they are angry to hear about the decision of an authorized body to close the door to *ijtihad*. Likewise, the idea of a law passed down by God is considered incompatible with the modern ethos. Modern secularists regard the idea of a definite law of God, which is imposed on man as a cause of the decline. Law is not a product of myth, but a product of science. The law is rational, not pragmatic, so it must be changed from time to time to respond to the current situation. This is the basic difference between conservatives and liberals.

Conservative understanding is always not progressive, for example, Ibn Taimiyah carried out revolutionary *Islah* (reform) and *tajdid* (renewal). Instead, he refused *Ijtihad*. This was motivated by the Mongol Invasion which gave rise to the reform movement. There are also conservative Muslims who explore religious ideas and practices in the esoteric movement

(a movement that is kept secret from the general public, for fear of being misunderstood). This exploration unites three forms of Islam at once, namely mystical Sufism, philosophical rationalism, and Shia political spirit.

Esotericists believe that they can return to the glory of Islam. Likewise, the proponents of philosophy who seek to apply Greek principles to the Quranic religion believe that they can return to a universal faith and eternal truth, a faith that they believe precedes other religions. Sufis believe in spiritual ecstasy they can recreate the prophet's spiritual experience when he received the Quran. These Sufis also believed that their practice conformed to the archetypes of Muhammad. While the Shia claim that they have developed a spirit of social justice as a teaching of the Koran which is unfortunately distorted by its rulers.

Kurzman in his introduction makes a description that implies the notion of Liberal Islam, namely by stating that historically, many Islamic thinkers have supported democracy, opposed theocracy, guarantees the rights of women and non-Muslims, and defended freedom of thought and belief in Islam. human potential. These themes are said to be dangerous themes for those who voice and formalize the Islamic state. These are people who have traditionally been ignored by Western observers and media who are more interested in sensationalism and extremism. They can be categorized as Islamic groups that maintain liberal tradition.

Although the explanation of the character of liberal Islam is not clear, there is one thing that becomes Kurzman's key sentence, namely denying a single form of truth and negating the authority of truth. Kurzman characterizes the relative truth as a relative interpretation of revelation (inclusivity). The view of Islamic life that has been agreed upon by the majority of Muslims must be reviewed. The basic Islamic views of life such as the concept of God, the Koran, prophethood, humans, science, and religion become ambiguous and confusing objects. So all human concepts about the Islamic worldview are considered merely "interpretations that are considered official. Other unofficial voices are just as true as the official ones. All are both right and wrong at the same time.

Liberal Islam views life as being completely relative, although this is also inconsistent because even the words are relative, originating from a skeptical mind about the nature of truth. This can be seen clearly in the activities of liberal Islamic exponents who try to propagate secularization, challenge the existence of sharia, deconstruct the Ottoman manuscripts, equate religious truth at an esoteric level, and make efforts to make revolutionary interpretations in line with the dynamics of the times without seeing which are principles and which are *furū'*. The spirit of liberal Islam lies in the rational freedom to reinterpret the Shari'a and the separation of public problems from domestic (secular) rituals. In other words, liberalism is synonymous with secularism. That secularization is the most important idea in liberal Islam and is the basis for the four main agendas of liberal Islam.

Idealistic-scripturalistic-formalistic and realistic-substantialistic-transformative styles

Being open, tolerant, inclusive, non-orthodox, compatible with changing times, future-oriented, and contextual, all of these are included in the ranks of thinkers with a liberal character. The role of religion as a solution to failure after failure experienced by Muslims and countries called secular-nationalists is often referred to as the antithesis of rational thinking and resistance to modernity.

Ideological Islam with cultural Islam or literal Islam with liberal Islam and both of these understandings refer to the bodies of NU and Muhammadiyah. The literal Muhammadiyah is called the “Right” and the liberal Muhammadiyah is called the Left. Likewise in NU: there is NU right and there is NU left, especially with the emergence of radical Islam such as MMI, HTI, FPI, Muslim Brotherhood and so on which are often referred to as Right Islam. (Budi, 2010)

The wave of Islamic thought that boomed loudly in the Islamic world as a discourse experienced an unstoppable diaspora. Thinking with various patterns is a historical necessity (historical determination). Islamic thought has always followed the footsteps of history. God indeed has a fatalistic will, but history is a determining element at the empirical level. Therefore, the language of the Qur’an bilisani qaumihi is a national negotiation that Islam as a doctrine and norm must be discussed and interpreted according to its social and historical context. This section describes how the characteristics of Islamic thought have grown and developed since the presence of Islam until today. One thing that must be realized by anyone is that Islam has a cosmopolitan universal tradition of thought, but has various models and styles. Each model and pattern certainly has a breaking point. (Nur, 2011)

The idealistic style of formalistic scripturalism believes that Islam has standard provisions regarding the form and administration of the state. This assumption is a consequence of the view of the majority of Muslims that Islam is a perfect religion that includes all things, both worldly and hereafter. Formalistic scripturalistic idealism presupposes a state that integrates religion and politics in a single unit.

This formalistic scripturalistic idealistic pattern is very conflict-prone. because Islam and other civilizations have always been in the opposite position. This is what Huntington often calls a clash of civilizations. In general, political thought that adopts this pattern of relationships always creates a less conducive atmosphere because they are worried and suspicious of other parties. Ghalibnya patterns like this cause prolonged tension. This is what inspires the emergence of a transformative substantialism realistic style.

The transformative substantialism realistic style idealizes the ethical values of political morals without prioritizing the formal legal aspects. The moral ethic group which is considered a liberal Islamic group, emphasizes the method of contextual interpretation of the mutasyabihat arguments. The location of an Islamic social system should not be determined by a certain mechanism, but entirely based on the socio-cultural variables of a region and era that collectively support the adoption of a state system. Whether the state system is based on Islam or not is not a fundamental issue that is important to debate. Significant is the extent to which the authenticity of Islamic political moral ethics can spearhead state practice.

The transformative substantive realistic style was inspired by the secularization that took place in the western world. Secularization is a process of shifting the role of religion which was previously very dominant in all areas of life to a new role that emphasizes the spiritual dimension. Other aspects of human life such as politics, economics, society, and others are controlled by science and technology with rational dimensions. Progressive Islam is an in-depth development of the idea of moderate Islam which is the basic understanding of NU and Muhammadiyah. Islam is meant to emphasize the development of knowledge, discourse on justice, openness, tolerance, and the need to build the moral integrity of Muslims in building the Indonesian nation.

In the trichotomy that was formulated by Bahtiar Efendy, Din Syamsudin, and William

Liddle in the concept of the state, he concluded that there are three variants of the relationship, each of which has a dichotomist relationship. The first is scripturalism versus rationalism. Scripturalism displays textual understanding while rationalism rejects it displays rational and contextual thinking. Second, idealistic and realistic variants. Idealism tends to idealize the government system by offering ideal Islamic values, while the realism variant tends to accept the existing state format. Third, the formalistic variant prioritizes form over content, while substantivity emphasizes content over form.

The Relationship of Pancasila as a Discourse with the Movement for the Enforcement of Islamic Law in Indonesia

Pancasila is the result of pure thought and reasoning which is then elaborated and applied. Pancasila is believed to be the result of extracting and formulating existing values. Pancasila is part of Indonesian society and culture.

The discourse of Islamic figures in the formulation of Pancasila as the basis of the state is accompanied by thoughts about the unity of the nation and state or the spirit of nationalism. The discourse of Islamic figures in the basic formulation of the Indonesian state lasted for a long time because Islamic figures tried to make Indonesia a country based on Islamic law, but Islamic figures highly respected the thoughts of nationalist figures who wanted a united state. This is what drives the discourse of Islamic figures represented by KH. A Wahid Hasyim and Ki Bagus Hadikusumo as big figures from two Islamic organizations in Indonesia negotiated. These two figures, besides fighting for the unity of Indonesian Muslims, also put forward a sense of tolerance and the national interest of the nation. So Pancasila has been realized until now.

KH. A Wahid Hasyim emphasized that only Muslims can be elected as president and vice president of this republic and Islam must be accepted as the religion of the state. Ki Bagus Hadikusumo demanded that the divine precepts read “believe in God with the obligation to carry out Islamic law” without the condition that this obligation only applies to Muslims. At the urging of Mohammad Hatta, Muslims agreed to abolish the legalistic/formalistic elements of Islam, namely regarding the revocation of Islam as the official state religion, the prerequisites for the president to be a Muslim, and an obligation.

From 1950 to about 1959, the decade known as the period of constitutional democracy. In this discourse, Islamic groups restate the aspirations of the political ideology that they have put forward to establish a state based on Islam. The arguments are 1) the holistic nature of Islam 2) the superiority of Islam over all other world ideologies and 3) the fact that Islam is embraced by the majority of Indonesian citizens. Led by Mohammad Natsir, Kasman Singodimedjo, Zaenal Abidin, Isa Ashari, KH. Masjkur, maintains a holistic Islamic character. The state which is an organization that includes all people and institutions, and has the power to make and apply binding rules, is nothing but based on divine principles.

The need for an in-depth study of the events surrounding the proclamation of Indonesian independence which is a very important history for the Indonesian nation. During the proclamation period, there was a moment of formulating the ideology of the state which, although it only happened for a few months, contained deep philosophical roots. In the basic formulation of this country, Japan had discussed it from the start as a political step in dealing with war. The construction of the proclamation event during the Japanese colonial period only became the foundation for the period of formulating the basic state in Indonesia. Japanese political action through conscription, anti-western ideology, and the expansion of nationalism. It was through this that Japan prepared independence for Indonesia, and as a

strategy in dealing with the proclamation and the power of western countries. Factors for the emergence of Islamic thought in Indonesia, among others, are geographical and cultural factors. This cause causes a different way of thinking.

Nationalism in Indonesia has been built since Japan and developed in the future. During the proclamation period, the Indonesian people used this moment as a strategy to deal with the transfer of power from Japan to the Allies. In this situation, the politics of conflict were used by the Indonesian people for independence. The independence committees have taken steps for independence first as a first step in recognizing domestic and foreign politics. With this recognition, the Indonesian nation will be guaranteed its existence in the eyes of the international community so that the Dutch will find it difficult to colonize Indonesia.

On August 18, 1945, a PPKI meeting was held with the agenda of the ratification of the 1945 Constitution and the election of the President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia. Previously in the BPUPKI session, it was formulated about the ideological thought revolution with a dialogue carried out by the BPUPKI committee as an effort to be free from the invaders. PPKI is the organizer of the Proclamation which is membered by Ir. Soekarno (chairman), Drs. Mohammad Hatta (vice-chairman), dr. Radjiman Wediodiningrat, Mr. Supomo, Purboyo, Wakhid Hasyim, dr. Moh Amir, Teuku Moh Hassan, Mr. Latuhary, I Gusti Ktut Puja, AA Hamidan, Otto Iskandar Dinata, Abdul Kadir, R Panji Suroso, M. Sutarjo Kartohadikusomo, Surjomijoyo, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Mr. Abdul abbas, Dr. Ratulangi, Andi Pangeran, Yap Cwang Bing.

On June 22, 1945 Bung Hatta held a trial with Ki Bagus Hadikusmo, KH. A. Wahid Hasyim, Mr. Kasman Singodimedjo and Teuku Moh. Hassan discusses the first precept "God with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents" which is not approved by the Christian group and then the first principle is replaced with "Belief in the One and Only God" as anticipation of division in Indonesia. In the BPUPKI session on 28 May-1 June 1945 regarding the basis of the state like other nationalist figures, Islamic leaders were allowed to express their opinions through speeches. Among the speeches of Islamic leaders include:

Ki Bagus Hadikusmo in the BPUPKI session stated the importance of "building the country based on Islamic teachings" six times in the form of orders, hopes, or suggestions. He mentions this sentence at least two if it is in the form of a statement, namely as follows: first, Islam is capable and sufficient and worthy to be the foundation of the national government in our country, Indonesia. (In his book, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo quoted by Syarifuddin Jurdi) second, Muslims are People who have lofty and noble ideals from the past until now, should be in the future, namely, there is the possibility of a state or composing a society based on the law of Allah and the religion of Islam.

Kahar Muzakkir stated: "Islamic countries used to implement Islamic laws as the basis for legislation. That part of the law still looks like a legacy is also evident. That then after western colonialism came to the homeland, the leaders of the heads of state, ulama'-ulama' and the Indonesian people came together to fight them, is true. That the driving force of their struggle is Islam is real. After they lost one by one they were pitted against each other. The colonizer's attempt to eliminate these countries by abolishing religious law is a historical fact. That these plans still have traces of influence and influence some Indonesian legal experts today is a fact that they are now in power and can hinder efforts to produce national legislation based on Islam is a fact. Kahar Muzakkir also admitted that during the Japanese colonial era and the Republic of Indonesia, there had been no progress in Islamic

legislation.”

For Kahar Muzakkir, the state is included in the scope of religion such as monotheism, faith, worship, morals, politics, economics, education, social, law, legislation, regulations, culture, and revelation. Everything is carried out will achieve a prosperous, safe, and happy life in the world until the hereafter. In Kahar Muzakkir’s view, religion and the state are inseparable or Islam is not only a religion but also a state.

Kasman Singodimedjo said: “Islam is universal from Allah which obliges all human beings as creatures to devote themselves to Allah. Islam guarantees human rights by emphasizing the fulfillment of human obligations. Islam recommends that humans use their knowledge to investigate all the contents of this nature, without forgetting Allah, because reason is a gift from Allah. Islam requires deliberation that places truth and rights. Islam requires people’s leaders, state leaders, and government leaders to be fully accountable to the people and God. Islam upholds inner and outer freedom and rejects colonialism, oppression, or human exploration of humans in any form. Islam guarantees and maintains the freedom to embrace and practice religion by their respective adherents. Islam eradicates poverty and establishes physical and spiritual prosperity based on a life of diversity between groups and classes. Islam obliges to fulfill fardhu kifayah (social obligations) in addition to fulfilling fardhu ain (personal obligations) so that there should be no greedy or stingy egoism, individual wealth cannot be separated from social functions so that sustenance is evenly distributed. Kasman Singodimedjo is a Muhammadiyah leader who believes that Islam is universal and comes from God so that it can animate the sovereignty of the people, the state, and the law. Islam obliges to fulfill fardhu kifayah (social obligations) in addition to fulfilling fardhu ain (personal obligations) so that there should be no greedy or stingy egoism, individual wealth cannot be separated from social functions so that sustenance is evenly distributed. Kasman Singodimedjo is a Muhammadiyah leader who believes that Islam is universal and comes from God so that it can animate the sovereignty of the people, the state, and the law. Islam obliges to fulfill fardhu kifayah (social obligations) in addition to fulfilling fardhu ain (personal obligations) so that there should be no greedy or stingy egoism, individual wealth cannot be separated from social functions so that sustenance is evenly distributed. Kasman Singodimedjo is a Muhammadiyah leader who believes that Islam is universal and comes from God so that it can animate the sovereignty of the people, the state, and the law.

On August 17, 1945, BPUPKI had prepared the basic concepts of the state including Islam, Pancasila, and socio-economics. In the BPUPKI trial, only the concepts of Islam and Pancasila were debated until an agreement was found between the Islamic group and the nationalist group with the birth of the Jakarta Charter which was signed and formulated and signed by the committee of nine on June 22, 1945, as a consensus between the Islamic group and the nationalist group.

Kahar Muzakkir who is one of the representatives of Muslims has thoughts about an Islamic state and conveyed them in the BPUPKI session. The idea of an “Islamic State” in Kahar Muzakkir’s understanding is a country that is regulated and governed by Islamic teachings and laws, meaning a country with conditions determined in state science, limited areas, government, laws, and the people led by it. by the government according to what is stipulated in Islam and the state has laws based on the Qur’an, al-Hadith, al-Qiyas, and al-Ijmak.

However, Kahar Muzakir still distinguishes between Soekarno delivering a speech in front of BPUPKI on June 1, 1945, which is famous for his speech on the birth of Pancasila. However, the BPUPK trial ended without producing an agreement based on the state because there were still sharp differences regarding this matter. Therefore, the plenary session of BPUPKI closed with an agreement to form a “committee of nine” chaired by Soekarno who was tasked with identifying the basic problems related to the formation of the basic law.

The nine committee members, namely Mohammad Hatta, Mr. AA Maramis, Abikusno Tjokrosujoso, Abdulkahar Muzakir, HA Salim, Mr. Achmad Subardjo, KH. A. Wahid Hasyim, and Mr. Muhammad Yamin. The task of committee nine was to find a compromise formula that was accepted by all existing groups at that time. At the end that resulted in the Jakarta Charter.

AA Maramis as a representative of Christians does not mind the First principle of Pancasila. For him, it is quite clear that the adherents of Islamic law are running the Shari’a. However, because Ki Bagus Hadi Kusumo and Ahmad Sanusi asked to remove the word “For the adherents”, finally there was a fairly strong reaction from the non-Muslim minorities. Seeing this condition, Wahid Hasyim, who initially stated that Islam should be used as the state ideology and the idea of the word “Based on God by Implementing Islamic Sharia for its adherents” in the end, was lenient and agreed to the change. Wahid Hasyim stated that his political stance was his moderate attitude toward the major religions in Indonesia and an effort to accommodate various people to practice their religion. Other than that,

Towards the commemoration of Heroes’ Day on November 10, 2015, the government awarded the title of National Hero to the late Ki Bagus Hadikusumo and four other figures. Previously, in the New Order era, the government had awarded him for the struggles and services of Ki Bagus Hadikusumo in achieving independence by establishing him as the Pioneer of Independence.

The National Hero for Ki Bagus Hadikusumo was proposed three years ago by the Committee for the Submission of the National Hero Title of PP Muhammadiyah, chaired by a member of the Indonesian Parliament, AM Fatwa. In addition, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, also proposed by the late Prof. Mr. Kasman Singodimedjo and Prof. KH Abdul Kahar Mudzakir. The awarding of the title of National Hero is a political decision and is determined by the statesman spirit of the nation’s leader. The struggles and sacrifices of the heroes of the Muslim community in pioneering, seizing, and defending independence were recorded the most in the history of Indonesia. Therefore, the government should not hesitate to inaugurate the most number of National Heroes among Islamic warrior figures.

In the *Suffering of a Leader: A History of Ki Bagus Hadikusumo’s Life, Struggles and Thoughts*, compiled by his late son H. Djarnawi Hadikusuma, it is written that Ki Bagus Hadikusumo was born in Yogyakarta on Monday 11 Rabi’ul-akhir 1308 H coincides with 24 November 1890, and died in Yogyakarta on Friday 5 Muharram 1374 H or 3 September 1954 at the age of 64 years. Ki Bagus Hadikusumo is a warrior cleric, preacher, book writer, and respected ummah leader. He was appointed as Chairman of the Tablighi Assembly then Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Tarjih Council, Deputy Chair, and then Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Executive Board for the period 1942-1953. Ki Bagus Hadikusumo was active in the effort to establish the Masjumi party in 1945 which was established as the only party for all Indonesian Muslims. The first period of the Masjumi Shura Council was chaired by KH

In 1922, Ki Bagus was appointed by the Dutch governor to become a member of the Commission for the Improvement of the Religious Courts throughout Java and Madura, and together with Prof. Dr. Husein Djajadiningrat was tasked with compiling the Islamic High Court. During the Japanese era, he was appointed a member of the Tyuo Sangi In representing the Islamic group with KHA Wahid Hasjim, KHA Kahar Mudzakkir, and Abikusno Tjokrosujoso. Ki Bagus Hadikusumo was one of the few scholars who dared to oppose the Dai Nippon Government's order to perform Saikirei, namely bowing to the Tenno Heika Royal Palace in the Northeast as a symbol of respect for Tenno Heika (Emperor of Japan) who is considered a descendant of the sun god. Besides Ki Bagus, Muhammadiyah figure Dr. Abdul Karim Amrullah (Buya Hamka's father) also rejected Saikirei because it was against the Islamic faith.

The role of Ki Bagus Hadikusumo in the preparation for Indonesian independence was as a member of the Investigating Agency for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence (BPUPKI) and a member of the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI). Since the formation of the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP), Ki Bagus Hadikusumo has been a member of KNIP representing Masyumi. Ki Bagus was a member of the House of Representatives. During the First Dutch Military Aggression in 1947, Muhammadiyah formed the Sabil Army Troops Unity with Advisor Ki Bagus Hadikusumo.

History records that before Ir Soekarno delivered a speech based on the state on June 1, 1945, the BPUPKI session had listened to the speeches of other BPUPKI members, one of them was Ki Bagus Hadikusumo. Ki Bagus Hadikusumo suggested that the Indonesian state should be based on the religion of Islam, on the instructions of the Qur'an and Hadith, to become upright and firm state and strong and firm. He reminded me that it had been six centuries since Islam had become the national religion of Indonesia and three centuries before the Dutch colonized here, Islamic law was already in effect in Indonesia. Soekarno in a speech on June 1, 1945, ten times mentioned the name of Ki Bagus Hadikusumo. Soekarno was very reluctant toward Ki Bagus even though in many respects the two principals had different opinions and views.

Regarding the basic formulation of the state, the BPUPKI session formed a Small Committee to reach a consensus between the Islamic group and the national group in formulating the draft of the Preamble to the Constitution. In the basic design of the state "Pancasila" proposed by Soekarno, the principle of Godhead is the fifth precept. Ki Bagus Hadikusumo persistently argued with Sukarno outside the courtroom until Soekarno wept in front of Ki Bagus, fighting for the principle of divinity which eventually became the first principle that was accepted by acclamation in the BPUPKI trial. Mr. Muhammad Yamin called it the Jakarta Charter. Quoting from Mohammad Hatta, the Committee of Nine changed the order of the Pancasila fundamentals, placing moral fundamentals above, political fundamentals below. By laying the moral foundation above, the state and government gain a solid foundation.

Among Islamic figures, one of them was Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, who firmly held the position that several important matters related to Islam should be included in the body of the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Even Ki Bagus Hadikusumo can be called the initiator of the foundation of the divinity of the Republic of Indonesia. The growth of our state administration does not always run linearly. In the book *Around the Proclamation*, Mohammad Hatta recounts a very important event in the history of the Indonesian nation and state. On the afternoon of August 17, 1945, he received a guest a Kaigun (Japanese

Navy) officer. The officer, Mohammad Hatta, who forgot his name, came as Kaigun's envoy who informed him that representatives of Protestants and Catholics in areas controlled by the Japanese Navy objected to the sentence in the Preamble to the Constitution, namely "God with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents." If the sentence is determined, they prefer to stand outside the Republic of Indonesia.

Bung Hatta did not take this objection for granted, "I say that it is not discrimination, because the determination only concerns people who are Muslim. When formulating the Preamble to the Constitution, Mr. Maramis, who participates in the Committee of Nine, had no objections and on June 22 he also signed it." At that time, Mohammad Hatta promised to convey to the PPKI session the next day. On August 18, 1945, before the start of the PPKI session which was scheduled to ratify the Constitution, Mohammad Hatta discussed the matter with three PPKI members who were considered "representing the Islamic group", namely Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Kasman Singodimedjo, and Teuku M. Hasan. In some literature mentioning the name, KHA Wahid Hasyim is also present.

Mohammad Hatta asked Islamic leaders to agree to remove the seven words in the draft Preamble to the Constitution and replace them with Belief in One God. Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, the top leader of Muhammadiyah, the single most senior exponent of the Islamic struggle at that time initially objected. Kasman Singodimedjo and Teuku M. Hasan persuaded Ki Bagus Hadikusumo to accept Mohammad Hatta's suggestion because the final decision rested with Ki Bagus Hadikusumo. All psychological pressure rests on Ki Bagus Hadikusumo. Kasman Singodimedjo described how angry Ki Bagus Hadikusumo was at Mohammad Hatta's proposal, which suddenly thwarted the compromise that had been painstakingly reached in the BPUPKI trial. Kasman Singodimedjo's persuasion by using a soft Javanese language was able to melt the heart of Ki Bagus Hadikusumo.

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Ki Bagus Hadikusumo's willingness to erase seven words concerning Islamic law was the key to ratifying the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution and the basic principles of the state, Pancasila. Prawoto Mangkusasmito several years later asked Ki Bagus Hadikusumo about the meaning of the term "Belief in One Supreme God". Ki Bagus Hadikusumo answered briefly, namely "Tawhid". Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, as expressed by Djarnawi Hadikusuma, is a very principled person in matters related to religion. In one of his books, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo states that the location of old-fashioned or modern is in the way of thinking and acting, and the position of piety or hypocrisy is in being firm or not.

CONCLUSION

The discourse of Islamic figures in the formulation of Pancasila as the state ideology underwent several stages of discourse. This stage is due to the political conditions and

thoughts of Islamic leaders who find it difficult to compromise with those in power, namely secular nationalist figures. The first discourse of Islamic figures occurred in the BPUPKI session, the majority of which had Idealistic-Scriptural-Formalistic thinking styles. It is proven by the desire of Islamic leaders for a state based on Islam as a manifestation of the identity of Muslims. Thoughts and values that are used as the basis of Islamic figures in the discourse based on the state can be grouped into two, namely: 1). Thoughts of Islamic leaders who were originally Idealistic-Scriptural-Formalistic with the foundation of the values of the unity of the Muslim Ummah and the unity of the Indonesian Nation. This thought is very flexible, proven to be able to compromise easily when faced with the interests of national unity and the unity of Muslims so that his thoughts turn into universal cosmopolitan. In this case, represented by KH. Abdul Wahid Hashim. 2). The idealistic-scriptural-formalistic thought of Islamic figures concerning Islamic values, the unity of Muslims, culture, and the struggle of Muslims. In this case, it is represented by Ki Bagus Hadikusumo. Because the foundation of its values is the unity of Muslims and Muslims, it tends to be difficult to compromise with national interests so political lobbying through parallel thinking is needed, it is proven that Mohammad Hatta collaborated with Kasman Singodimedjo who shared the same thought with Ki Bagus Hadikusumo to agree to Pancasila. The discourse of Islamic figures in the formulation of Pancasila as a state ideology is based on the values of unity, the benefit of Muslims, and the benefit of all Indonesian people. So political interests are the number two thing that Islamic leaders fight for, namely a state based on Islam. The unity of Indonesia takes precedence because it involves common interests. It is these values that should be explained by Islamic leaders now so that the State of Indonesia remains united without division among Muslims and all Indonesian people.

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