# DIALOGUE OF RELIGION AND COUNTRY Actualization of Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari's Progressive Thoughts and Its Implications in The Life of The Nation and State

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Abstract. This article discusses the dialogue between religion and the state in the perspective of Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari. The purpose of this article is to answer how is the relationship between religion and the state?, how is the relationship between Islam and Pancasila? and how is the relation between religion and religion according to Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari. This article uses a qualitative methodology whose primary data is more specifically obtained from the works of Hadratussyaikh, while the secondary data is in the form of journals, books, field notes or others that are still related to the research theme. The data collection uses documentation namely by examining the thoughts/ideas techniques, Hadratussyaikh in several of his works. While the data analysis used descriptive analysis. Based on the observations of researchers, the relationship between religion and the state according to Hadratussyaikh is grouped into three things, namely; First, the relationship between religion and the state is divided into three, namely integralistic, secularistic and symbiotic. Second, relationship between Pancasila and Islam is very closely related, especially when viewed from the first precept which contains the meaning of monotheism or monotoism. Third, the existence of religion in a community functions as a protector, protector and helper for the benefit of the ummah. Seeing this typology, the role of religion and the state is symbiotic. Hadratussyaikh did not mention in a sharih manner the state system must be Islamic or other systems, but he strongly emphasized the existence of an Islamic spirit which was implemented in the form of principles or ethics in life (social-politics).

Keywords: Religion, State, Pancasila and Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari

Abstrak. Artikel ini membahas mendialogkan agama dan negara dalam perspektif Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari. Tujuan artikel ini untuk menjawab bagaimana hubungan agama dan negara?, bagaimana hubungan islam dan pancasila? dan bagaimana relasi agama dan agama menurut Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari. Artikel ini menggunakan metodologi kualitatif yang data primernya

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lebih spesifik diperoleh dari karya-karya Hadratussyaikh, sedangkan data sekundernya berupa jurnal, buku, catatan-catatatan lapangan atau lainnya yang masih berkaitan dengan tema penelitian. Pengumpulan datanya menggunakan teknik dokumentasi, yaitu dengan menelaah pemikiran/gagasan Hadratussyaikh yang ada beberapa karya-karyanya. Sedangkan analisa dalam menggunakan analisis deskriptif. Berdasarkan hasil pengamatan peneliti, relasi agama dan negara menurut Hadratussyaikh dikelompokkan menjadi tiga hal yaitu; Pertama, hubungan agama dan negara dibedakan menjadi tiga, yaitu integralistik, sekularistik dan simbiotik. Kedua, hubungan antara Pancasila dan Islam sangat terkait dan erat, terutama jika dilihat dari sila pertama yang mengandung makna tauhid atau monotoisme. Ketiga, keberadaan agama dalam suatu komunitas berfungsi sebagai pengayom, pelindung dan penolong untuk kemaslahatan ummat. Melihat tipologi ini peran agama & negara bersifat simbiotik. Hadratussyaikh tidak menyebut secara sharih mengenai sistem negara harus Islam atau sistem lain, namun beliau sangat menekankan adanya spirit keislaman yang diimplementasikan dalam bentuk prinsip-prinsip atau etika dalam kehidupan (social-politik).

Kata Kunci: Agama, Negara, Pancasila dan Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari

#### Introduction

One of the steps that can maintain the unity and integrity of the nation is to combine religion and state. These two things are the essential points to reflect on the welfare of people's lives. However, the formulation to integrate religion and state has been hotly debated in Indonesia. This difference in view arises from the thoughts of figures with different ethnic, cultural, customs, and religious backgrounds.

This difference of opinion is getting sharper, especially in the early post-independence era of Indonesia. After independence, the relationship between religion (Islam) and the state (Indonesia) became complicated. It happened at the time of establishing the Basic State of Indonesia, Pancasila or Islam. This fierce debate can be seen at the trial of the Investigative Agency for Preparatory

Work for Indonesian Independence (BPUPKI) and the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) from May to 22 August 1945.<sup>1</sup>

In general, there are two fierce camps in this trial, namely the Nationalist camp and the Islamic camp. The Nationalist camp wants the basis of the state to be Pancasila, and the president is an Indonesian native. Meanwhile, the Islamic base wants the basis of the state to be Islam, and the president is an Indonesian and a Muslim. The Islamic camp wants this because most Indonesian people are Muslim and hope that every policy is based on Islamic law.<sup>2</sup>

This difference became more complicated and forced Bung Hatta to meet with some Islamic figures, such as Ki Bagus Hadikusomo, KH. A. Wahid Hasyim, Teuku Muhammad Hasan, etc., to discuss and find a solution to this problem. As a result, the deliberation found common ground and determined that the basis of the Indonesian state was Pancasila. Therefore, the formulation of Pancasila is a form of effort and struggle of the nation's leaders to unite the Indonesian nation. This is an early portrait of Indonesia facing the complexities of dealing with the relationship between religion (Islam) and the state.<sup>3</sup>

Responding to the polemic above, Bahtiar Effendy said that the relationship between the state (Islam) and the state was complicated to unite due to two things namely; First, some groups want a formal link between Islam and the state, whether Islam is the state religion or as a regulator of state policy. Second, some groups reject the relationship between Islam and the State in any form and policy.<sup>4</sup>

The discourse on the difference between religion (Islam) and the state is indeed exciting and continues to grow. Seen from the point of view of the integralist concept, religion, and the state are united. The state is a religious, political institution, while religion can apply for its sharia role with state

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Salahuddin Wahid, *Menjaga Martabat Islam*, 1st ed, (Jombang: Pustaka Tebuireng, 2015), 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Hieronymus Purwanta, "Pancasila Dalam Konteks Perjuangan Sejarah Bangsa Indonesia", *Jurnal Candi*, vol. 18, no. (2018), 133-137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Ida Bagus Brata dkk, "Lahirnya Pancasila Sebagai Pemersatu Bangsa Indonesia", *Jurnal Santiaji Pendidikan*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2017), 125-130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Bahtiar Effendi, *Teologi Baru Politik Islam*, (Yogyakarta: Galang Press, 2001), 7.

support. These two are very close and mutualistic. But on the other hand, as seen from the secularistic concept, religion and the state are separate. In this statement, religion and state experience disparity (separation) in various ways. Religion does not deal with state problems, nor does the state deal with religious issues.<sup>5</sup>

A comprehensive search is needed to find common ground for these differences. If we examine the terminology of the state in the Qur'an, we see the word "al-balad" mentioned 19 times. They all have the meaning of a place, be it a city, village or country. But in shari'a, although it is mentioned repeatedly in the Qur'an, the word "al-balad" does not clearly describe the establishment of a state with the concept of Islam. This condition is also reinforced by the Prophet Muhammad SAW., who did not inherit specific Hadith about the obligation to establish an Islamic State. Even the Prophet himself, as Religious Leader and Head of State of Medina, never showed an Islamic state. This is motivated by the Medina Charter, which has a powerful state of pluralism and inclusiveness rather than Islamic exclusivity.

The absence of a standard text in the Qur'an and Hadith regarding the form of Islamic political system has resulted the birth of various paradigms of Islamic politics, especially the discussion of the relationship between religion and the state. The advent of these various paradigms is a form of political ijtihad to find a synthesis between religion and the state.<sup>7</sup>

Based on the description above, it is challenging to find harmony in the relationship between religion and the state in the context of Islamic political thought in Indonesia, often experiencing long debates that result in tension between religion and state relations. The different views expressed by the figures significantly impacted the disharmony of faith and the state itself. The difference in opinions regarding the basis of the state is not the overall attitude

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Ridwan, "Paradigma Relasi Agama dan Negara dalam Islam", *Volksgeist*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2018), 179-180.

 $<sup>^6</sup>$ Said Aqil Siradj, *Islam Kebangsaan: Fiqh Demokratik Kaum Santri*,  $1^{\rm st}$ ed, (Jakarta: Pustaka Ciganjur, 2009), 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>M. Dawan Rahardjo, Khalifah Ensiklopedi al-Qur`an: Tafsir Sosial Bedasarkan Konsep-konsep Kunci, Paramadina & Ulumul Qur`an, (Jakarta: Pustaka, 1996), 364.

displayed by figures who formulated the nation. But the essential thing in the debate is whether this country should be "Islamic" or "Nationalist".<sup>8</sup>

In response to this, one of the founding fathers who succeeded in guarding and responding to this difference was Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari. KH. Hasyim Asy'ari is a prominent cleric who has played a significant role in initiating the concept of nation and state. Hadratussyaikh is a religious figure who is considered successful in integrating Islam and Indonesian nationality.

KH. Hasyim Asy`ari is a cleric` born in Jombang, Muassis Jam`iyah Nahdlatul Ulama, Founder of the Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School (Pondok Pesantren) and the originator of the Jihad Resolution. According to J. Fox, an anthropologist from the Australian National University, Hadratussyaikh was a very influential figure in Indonesia. Not only that, he said that Hadratussyaikh was an intellectual figure, an organizer, educator, and founder of the nation. In addition, Hadratussyaikh is a scholar with a great concern for a pluralistic ummah and nation. As a scholar, he has a concern for the community. Islamic scholars are not an isolated identity with social matters. They are the leaders of the ummah, whose role is to enlighten the life of the nation and state. Hadratussyaikh is a nationalist cleric whose life is dedicated to the continuation of Islam and the progress of the Indonesian nation.<sup>10</sup>

According to KH. Salahuddin Wahid, observing the current conditions, the unity of the nation is very worrying, and the deep gap between the lives of most people and the ideals of the nation's founders is very contradictory. This condition can also be seen in the failed bureaucratic reforms. Bureaucratic reform always raises new Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism. Worse, the bureaucracy supposed to serve the people has lost the legitimacy and trust of the people. The recruitment system for political parties also has problems; politicians have to pay a dowry to get votes. This practice of "serving dowry"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Bahtiar Effendi, *Teologi Baru Politik Islam*, (Yogyakarta: Galang Press, 2001), 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Salahuddin Wahid, *Mengenal Lebih Dekat Hadratyssyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari*, (Jombang: Pustaka Tebuireng), 47.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 10}$  Zuhairi Misrawi,  $\,$  Hadratyssyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010), 27-28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Ibid., 48.

later often makes politicians trapped in cases of corruption, buying and selling positions, and the rule of law.<sup>12</sup> Those habits are very contrary to the national values that Hadratussyaikh sparked. In this regard, this paper will unravel Hadratussyaikh's thoughts on his Islamic and nationality attitudes, which have recently begun to erode.

Several researchers studied the relationship between religion and the state in previous studies. Like Imbuh Thobiin, studying the relationship between religion and state, comparing the 1945 Constitution in the context of Islam and the West. The results of the study state that the conceptions between religion and state have met a point, especially from the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. 13 The same research was also conducted by Haris Supratno, examining the opening of the 1945 Constitution as the noble ideals of the nation's founders as the basic foundation of the Indonesian state. The results of the study stated that the formulation of the basic state in the form of Pancasila was the struggle of the nation's founders in combining religious principles and state principles. 14 The following research by Munawir Aziz, examines the history of KH. Hasyim Asy'ari in national activities. The study results show that Hadratussyaikh's national progress can be seen in his involvement with the Islamic Council of A'la Indonesia (MIAI) as a federation of Indonesian politics, the birth of a jihad resolution as a national spirit, and so on. 15 Then research by M. Rijal Fadli, examines the thoughts of KH. Hasyim Asy'ari in terms of Islam and nationality. The results of the study stated that the Islamic and Indonesian thinking of KH. Hasyim Asy'ari has a traditionalist Islamic pattern, which emphasizes the concept of tasawwuf, the ideology of ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah & figh.16

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Eko Nur Kristyanto, "Netralitas Demokrasi Dan Pemberantasan Korupsi", *Jurnal Civil Service*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2017), 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Imbuh Thobiin, "Relasi Agama Dan Negara Perbandingan UUD 1945, Islam Dan Barat", *Jurnal Pendidikan Sosial*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2018), 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Tim Penulis, *Pesan Kebangsaan Pesantren Tebuireng*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed, (Jombang: Pustaka Tebuireng, 2018), 104-106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Ibid., 79-87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>M. Rijal Fadhli & Ajat Sudrajat, "Keislaman dan Kebangsaan: Telaah Pemikiran KH. Hasyim Asy`ari", *Khazanah*, vol. 18, no. 1 (2020), 109.

Based on the previous studies above, there are still many researchers who have not expressed Hadratussyaikh's ideas, especially those that refer to his works more specifically. Therefore, this article tries and explores some of his works related to the relationship between religion and the state. This article is to strengthen existing research and develop it from the perspective of Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari.

Today, the meaning of religion and the state is experiencing dynamics and tug-of-war. In fact, until now, the debate about Islam and Pancasila is still happen. Even worse, some Islamic groups openly reject Pancasila and "insist" on establishing a caliphate. This issue is getting heated because there are groups that deliberately clash between religion and the state. Some of them oppose and offer the concept of the caliphate as a system of Islamic government. Some other groups reject it. They think that the caliphate model of government is only one of the Islamic government systems. Even though it is in the form of a monarchy, republic, democracy, socialist, or other forms, as long as Islamic principles are upheld, it is in the framework of an Islamic government. The Based on this, it is necessary to examine the relationship between religion and the state, to reduce this protracted conflict of thought.

This article is to answer the formulation of how is the relationship between religion and the state? How is the relationship between Pancasila and Islam? And how the relationship between religion and state, according to Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari and its implications in the life of the nation and state.

#### Research Method

This study uses a qualitative-descriptive methodology. The primary data in this article are the works of Hadratussyaikh such as; Muqaddimah Qanuun Asasy, -Tibyan fi Nahyi `an Muqhata`atil Arham, Risalah Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah, and so on. Secondary data are from various literatures, such as books, journals, field notes, etc., that are still related to research studies. Data

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Said Aqil Siradj, Islam Kebangsaan: Figh Demokratik Kaum Santri,, 92.

collection techniques using documentation, namely collecting data by viewing or recording already available reports. This method is used to see the records of events in past, in form of words, pictures, or monumental works from someone.<sup>18</sup> In this method, the researcher uses various accurate and reliable literature sources to deepen the research study.

Meanwhile, the data analysis used descriptive analysis, which describes the data in the form of language or words by describing the phenomenon under study, then described in the form of a description or narrative. The analysis performance stages are Describing, Classifying, and Connecting. In general, researchers analyze the problem using the theory of the relationship between religion and the state. Then it was strengthened by some thoughts of Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari in several literatures.

#### Result and Discussion

Dialogue between Religion and the State

In the debate on the relationship between religion and the state, according to Bahtiar Efendi, three groups raise this, namely; First, the Conservative Group. This group argues that religion and state are one with each other. Islamic teachings are complete in regulating the social system, including politics. According to the integralists paradigm, religion and the state are united. This is because the head of state holds religious and political power. Third, this group argues that government is organized based on divine sovereignty.

The second is the Modernist Group. This group argues that Islam only regulates socio-social problems, while in the technical realm and its implementation, it uses other systems. In other words, religion needs the state, because with the state religion is protected and can carry out its role to the fullest. But, on the other hand, the state also needs religion because with religion, a country develops on a moral and spiritual basis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>S. Nasition, *Metode Research: Penelitian Ilmiah*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed, (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2009), 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Sugiono, Metode Penelitian Kualitatif, Kuantitatif dan R&D, 1<sup>st</sup> ed, (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2019, 357.

The third is the Secular Group. This group argues that religion and the state are separate. This group openly refuses and tries to separate the relationship between the two. According to this group, Islam does not regulate worldly problems. The values of Islamic teachings are only theologically oriented, not socio-normative. The secularistic paradigm is widely applied in western countries, which intentionally separates religion and state.<sup>20</sup>

In another pattern, different groupings were also found, as stated by Ridlwan. According to Ridlwan, the relationship between religion and the state is grouped into three paradigms, namely, the Integralistic Paradigm. This paradigm suggests that the relationship between religion and the state occurs in an integrative way. The Integralistic Paradigm proposes a holistic and comprehensive Islamic teaching in all aspects. The integralist paradigm is a paradigm that states the unity between religion and the state. The territory of religion is also the state's authority, and vice versa. The state's territory also becomes the territory of religion, so religion and state cannot be separated. This paradigm is widely followed by Abu al-A'la al-Maududi and the Muslim Brotherhood.

The second is the Secularistic Paradigm. This paradigm suggests the rejection of the basis of Islam. According to this paradigm, Islam has no relevance to the political system or the state. In a secularistic context, the state refuses to base the state on religion. Instead, the state rejects various matters related to religion, so that all policies, concepts, and certain state forms determine it. 'Ali Abdur al-Raziq pioneered this paradigm through his book entitled al-Islam wa Usul al-Hukm.

The third is the Symbiotic Paradigm. According to this paradigm, religion and state have a reciprocal relationship. This paradigm was pioneered by al-Mawardi in his book al-Ahkam al-Sulthoniyah. According to al-Mawardi, religion needs a state, because with a state religion can be protected and can develop properly. On the other hand, the state needs religion because the state

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Paradigma, 1998), 60.

needs ethical and moral guidance. The relationship between religion and the state is mutually unified and mutually beneficial (mutualism). Both of them contribute to each other.<sup>21</sup>

Based on the description above, the grouping of the theory of the relationship between religion and the state proposed by Bahtiar Effendi and Ridlwan is only a different. The relationship between religion and the state is divided into three broad spectrums; integralists, secularistic and symbiotic. The Integralistic Group has the same view as the Conservative Group, namely that religion and the state are united. Secularist groups declare the separation between religion and the state. And the Symbiotic Group has the same wing as the Modernist Group which states that Islam and the state are a mutually beneficial integration.

Exploring the differences in views above, the relationship between religion and the state in the Indonesian context is closer to the second group, namely, the Symbiotic Paradigm. Accepting Pancasila can prove this as the basis of the state rather than Islam. The election of Pancasila as the state foundation does not mean eliminating the role of Islam, but strengthening the unity and integrity of the differences of opinion between the Nationalist Group and the Islamic Group at the BPUPKI and PPKI trials in 1945.

According to Sahid, the Indonesian state is in the Symbiotic Paradigm. The state of Indonesia is not based on a particular religion and is not a secularist state that promotes the separation between religion and the state. Indonesia is a Pancasila state by placing a religious dimension as stated in the First Precept, namely, "Belief in One Supreme God." This is proof that, although Indonesia has Pancasila as the basis of its state, but within the points of Pancasila itself, it contains the substance of Islamic values. On the other hand, this is also proof that the Indonesian constitution provides a free space to grow religious and Islamic values.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Ridwan, "Paradigma Relasi Agama dan Negara dalam Islam", *Volksgeist*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2018), 179-180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Tim Penulis, Pesan Kebangsaan Pesantren Tebuireng, 79-182.

Relations between religion and the state were also constitutionally strengthened. The 1945 Constitution Chapter XI Article 29 states that; 1) The state is based on the One Godhead, 2) the state guarantees the independence of each resident to embrace their respective religions and worship according to their respective religions. At first glance, based on the description of the Law above, it shows that the relationship between religion and the state is very harmonious. Although religion is not explicitly used as the basis of the state, religion remains a foothold in behaving in society. The state also does not limit the space for religion to move. The state frees religious adherents to carry out their rituals of worship solemnly. The state guarantees the comfort of religious adherents without discrimination and intolerance.<sup>23</sup>

Looking at the relationship between state and religion in Indonesia, the thoughts of Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari is more inclined to unite religion and state (integralistic). He accepted Pancasila as the basis of the state, because, according to him, Pancasila implied the ideology of monotheism, which is one of the mirrors of Islam. Hadratussyaikh's acceptance of Pancasila is symbiotic, meaning that the relationship between religion and the state complements and helps each other. On the contrary, Hadratus Shaykh did not show an antagonistic nature, namely the separation between religion and the state.

### Islam and Pancasila

The struggle of the nation's leaders to integrate Islam and Indonesianness is very long and exhausting. One of the efforts to integrate Islam and Indonesianness was recorded in the events of the trial of the Investigative Agency for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence (BPUPKI) and the Preparatory Session for Indonesian Independence (PPKI), from 28 May to 22 August.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Zainul Akmal, "Relevenasi Pasal 29 Konstitusi Sila Pertama Pancasila Sebagai Dasar Negara", *Renaissance*, no. 1 vol. 3 (2018), 128.

At the meeting, BPUPKI formed a committee of nine to discuss the basics of the Indonesian state. The arrangement of the Nine Committees resulted in the formulation of the "Jakarta Charter" which later became the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. The draft was planned to be ratified at the official PPKI trial on 18 August 1945. However, at that time, representatives of the Christians of East Indonesia rejected the Draft Constitution. They object to the sentence contained in the Preamble of the Constitution, which reads, "God with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents." The refusal was very emphatically conveyed, to the point of threatening to expel himself from Indonesia.<sup>24</sup>

Responding to the upheaval, Muhammad Hatta invited several Islamic figures to discuss in more detail about this issue. Finally, the meeting was fruitful by removing the 7 points of the Jakarta Charter: "Divinity with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents" was replaced with the item "Belief in One Supreme God." The deliberation results found common ground and established Pancasila as the basis of the state, and the result was the opening sentence of the 1945 Constitution as written today.<sup>25</sup>

We know that the eastern part of Indonesia is indeed non-Muslim, so it is only logical that he disagrees with the 7 points. But interestingly, one of the figures who supported the 7-point proposal was KH. A. Wahid Hasyim (part of the Islamist Nationalist group), but on the other hand, he canceled it. In this position, seen KH. A. Wahid Hasyim was inconsistent with his stance. Initially, the Islamic Nationalists supported the 7 points as the basis of the state constitution. Still, in subsequent developments, they expressed an opinion with the Nationalist Group to abolish the word.<sup>26</sup>

However, the cancellation of the 7-point proposal proves his statesmanship. He is willing to took back the group's interests and preferences for the sake of the significant and long-term interests of the benefit of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Salahuddin Wahid, *Menjaga Martabat Islam*, 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Ibid., 148.

 $<sup>^{26} \</sup>rm Tim$  Penulis, Revitalisasi Humanisme Religius dan Kebangsaan KH. A. Wahid Hasyim, 1st ed, (Jombang: Pesantren Tebuireng, 2011), 41.

ummah. Therefore, changes in attitude made by KH. A. Wahid Hasyim are not a form of opportunism. In such a position, KH. A. Wahid Hasyim is taking maslahah and rejecting the big mafsadah in the future, namely the occurrence of disunity for this nation. Instead, KH. A. Wahid Hasyim proposed the principle of divinity by adding the word "The Almighty". In this addition, KH. A. Wahid Hasyim would like to convey that the first point of the precepts it contains a formula that has the power of monotheism.<sup>27</sup>

As a representation of Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, KH. A. Wahid Hasyim is a figure who takes the middle way (moderation). He wanted the unity of the ummah. He could not imagine what would happen later if the easterners separated themselves from Indonesia. Even if that happens, it will be the starting point for the division of this nation. But with the nationalist attitude of KH. A. Wahid Hasyim, this effort was muffled by showing his polite attitude, respecting and respecting other religions.

Based on the description above, if you look closely, the attitude shown by these national figures when formulating the state basis – the way he acted to reconcile differences – indicates that there has been a basis for harmony between religion and the state. The fundamental issue is not about establishing an Islamic state, but the virtue of Islam is strengthening brotherhood, justice and the spirit of nationalism. Boland said that even though the 7-point sentence was deleted, Muslims could try to achieve their goal of establishing an Islamic state constitutionally. But Islam is not selfish, willing to give in for the common good. The long hope is that the relationship between religion (Islam) and the state will remain harmonious.<sup>28</sup>

According to Abdurrahman Wahid, in the context of state administration, it is clear here that religion and the state have a symbiotic-mutualistic position. Explicitly, Pancasila does not mention a religious foundation in state life, but implicitly it supports a government that promotes religious life.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Deliar Noer, Mohammad Hatta: Biografi Politik, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990), 255.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>B. J. Boland, Pengumulan Islam di Indonesia 1954-1972, (Jakarta: Grafiti Fress, 1985), 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Abdurrahman Wahid, *Tuhan Tidak Perlu Dibela*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS), 109.

The relationship between Islam and Pancasila is powerful, especially if it is seen in the first principle, namely, "Belief in the One Supreme God." From the perspective of Islamic theology, the first principle of Pancasila animates the following precepts. According to Mif Rohim Syarkun, the existence of the first precepts of Pancasila can be justified according to Islamic sharia. Still, if there is no first precept, the following precepts cannot be justified. The declaration "Belief in the One Supreme God" contains the meaning of Islamic theology, namely, belief in the existence of a God Almighty with excellent characteristics. The principle of "Belief in the One Supreme God" is in line with the seven words that were deleted in the first precepts of the formulation of the Jakarta Charter. The point of emphasis on the sentence "The Almighty" is an affirmation of the word "Belief", so the formulation becomes "Belief in the One Supreme God". Of course, the declaration of this sentence reflects the notion of monotheism according to the Islamic creed.<sup>30</sup>

In this case Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari firmly accepts Pancasila as the basis of the state. This acceptance can be seen in the government's efforts in the early 1980s to make Pancasila the sole basis for political parties and mass organizations in Indonesia. To that end, Syuriah PBNU formed a special team to study the relationship between Islam and Pancasila. This special team is led directly by KH. Ahmad Siddiq (Disciple of Hadratussyaikh) consists of several prominent scholars. As a result, the 1984 NU Congress in Situbondo officially accepted Pancasila as the basis of the state. Some specific groups and mass organizations followed this step in Indonesia. NU's step is proof of the nation's leaders' success in integrating religion and state.<sup>31</sup>

At the congress, NU became the first community organization to declare itself to accept Pancasila, with the following considerations; a) Pancasila as the philosophy of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is not a religion, cannot replace religion, and cannot be used to replace the position of religion,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Tim Penulis, Pesan Kebangsaan Pesantren Tebuireng, 158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Tim Penulis, Aktualisasi Pemikiran dan Kejuangan Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari, (Jombang: Pustaka Tebuireng, 2018), 4.

b) The Precepts of Belief in One God as the basis for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia according to article 29 paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution which animates other precepts, reflects the understanding of faith in Islam, c) for NU, Islam is creed and sharia, covering aspects of the relationship with God and relations with humans, d) acceptance and practice of Pancasila is the embodiment of Indonesian Muslims to carry out their religious law, f) as a consequence of the above attitude NU is obliged to secure the correct understanding of Pancasila and its pure and consistent practice from all parties.<sup>32</sup>

KH also emphasized the acceptance of the state's basis for Pancasila. Muhammad Tholhah Hasan stated that Hadratussyaikh also played a role in formulating the basic state (Pancasila) and the 1945 Constitution. What was done by KH. A. Wahid Hasyim represents the role and national messages of Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari.<sup>33</sup>

The question arises: What are the Hadratus Shaykh views or thoughts regarding religion and the state in the life of this nation? More details will be described in the study discussion after this.

Thoughts Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari Regarding Religion and State Relations and Its Implications in National and State Life

Thoughts Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, in the perspective of the relationship between religion and the state is described in three ways. In the context of national and state life, Hadratussyaikh's thoughts are detailed as follows:

### 1. Nationalism thought

According to al-Mawardi, establishing a state is a must in one community (Islam). The existence of religion, in this case, is to protect the ummah, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Einar Martahan Sitompul, *NU dan Pancasila*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed, (Yogyakarta: LKis, 2010), 122-123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Tim Penulis, Aktualisasi Pemikiran dan Kejuangan Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari, 24.

serve and maintain the common good. A state's existence is based on the Shari'a demands, namely the world's demands and the hereafter.<sup>34</sup>

As a Sunni, Hadratussyaikh's thoughts on political matters also take many references from Sunni scholars such as al-Mawardi above. That is why Sunnis state that establishing a state is *fardu kifayah* is a collective obligation. On the other hand, a community (Islam) cannot be empty without a government. So that the existence of a state for the Sunni group is a collective obligation to achieve benefit in life in society.<sup>35</sup>

Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah, does not have a specific doctrine regarding the form of the state. What is prioritized is the state's substance, whether it displays Islamic values or not. Whatever the form of the country, be it democracy, monarchy, or theocracy, as long as it reflects the Islamic spirit, it is undoubtedly excellent. On the other hand, a country has no meaning even though it uses Islamic symbols. Still, there is a lot of injustice, discrimination, and intimidation, so it is horrible.

Therefore, the researcher appreciates the statesmanship displayed by the nation's leaders, even though Islam is not made the absolute basis of the state in Indonesia. Still, at least, with the existence of Pancasila, it becomes a representation of the Islamic spirit itself.

Hadratussyaikh's thoughts regarding the Islamic spirit for the state are described as follows: First, the principle of Shura (consultation). Shura is teaching equivalent to faith in Allah. In the view of the Sunni scholars, regarding the mechanism of government, the principle of deliberation is highly prioritized. The principle of shura does not deny the inspiration and aspirations of the people. In formulating state policies, the leaders and the people play a role. Likewise, Hadratussyaikh emphasized the practice of deliberation to reach a consensus.

Second is the principle of *al*-'Adl (Justice). Justice is an entity that must be enforced, especially for rulers to their people. Justice is part of the value of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Al-Mawardi, al-Ahkam al-Sulthoniyah, (Kairo: Dar al-Fikr, tt), 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Ibid., 6.

ancient spirit. Therefore, a state without justice – even with Islamic symbols – is seen as failing to uphold the benefit of a country.<sup>36</sup>

Third is the principle of al-Hururiyah (Freedom). Freedom and independence are guarantees of people's rights. In the Shari'a, these rights are divided into five, namely: Hifz an-Nafs (protection of life), Hifz al-Din (protection of religious freedom), Hifz al-Nasl (protection of heir), Hifz 'Aql (protection of experimentation and association) and Hifz al-Mal (protection maintenance of property).

Fourth is the principle of *al-Musamah* (egalitarian). In this principle, all citizens have the same obligations and rights before the law. No social class is allowed. Therefore, there are no acts of intolerance, discrimination, gender violence, and others because, in the eyes of the rule of law, all are the same. There is no difference.<sup>37</sup>

# 2. Religious Thought

Thoughts Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy'ari regarding religious points of view can be found in his various writings, one of which is in the book of Risalah Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah. Hadratussyaikh keeps the practice and pattern of *Manhj al-Fikr Salaf al-Salih*. In his treatise, he said that in terms of tauhid, he held on to Abu Hasan al-Ash'ari, in terms of *tasawwuf*, he held on to Abu Hasan asy-Syadzili and Imam al-Ghazali, in terms of Fiqh, he adhered to the Four Islamic schools, namely Imam Abu Hanifah, Imam Malik, Imam Shafi`i and Imam Hambali.<sup>38</sup>

According to Afifuddin Muhajir, the style of thought of Imam Abu Hasan al-Asy'ari and Abu Mansur al-Maturidi in formulating creed takes the middle way (*Washatiyah*), which is to combine text and revelation. For Imam Four, Imam Abu Hanifah, Imam Malik, Imam Syafi'i and Imam Hambali in formulating sharia by taking the path of Nushus as-Shariah and Maqashid al-Syariah. However, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Marzuki Zahid, Suksesi Presiden Versi al-Mawardi, (Jakarta: P3M, 2012), 17.

 $<sup>^{37}</sup>$ Ahmad Muhibbin Zuhri, *Pemikiran Hadratus Syaikh Mengenai Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah*,  $1^{st}$  ed, (Surabaya: Khalista, 2010), 58-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>KH. Hasyim Asy`ari, Risalah Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah fi Hadtisi al-Mauta wa al-Asrati al-Sa`ah wa Bayani Mafhum al-Sunnah wal Bid`ah, (Tebuireng: Maktabah al-Turast al-Islami, tt), 9.

discourse on the style of thinking of these four figures is different. For example, Imam Abu Hanifah is more rationalist, Imam Malik is more traditionalist, Imam Syafi'i combines the two, namely Rationalist-Traditionalist, while Imam Hanifah is more fundamentalist. Meanwhile, Imam Junaid al-Baghdadi and Abu Hasan al-Syadzili in formulating Sufism are *Wasathiy*, combining the world and the hereafter, between *Raja*` and *Khauf* etc.<sup>39</sup>

According to the writer, the thought patterns of the Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah scholars, as mentioned above, became Hadratussyaikh's foothold in several of his actions. This thought pattern ultimately made Hadratyssyaikh a 'Islamic scholar who practiced *Manhaj Fikr Wasathiy* (taking the middle path). In terms of the relationship between religion and the state, he took the middle way, namely in the form of symbiotic (religion and state complement each other) instead of secularism.

The principle of moderation (*Wasathiy*), which Hadratussyaikh firmly holds, is a demand in responding to diversity. Hadratussyaikh emphasized the importance of maintaining social relations to maintain survival. Likewise, in a country that adheres to diversity, the state must be strengthened by a system of democracy and moderation.<sup>40</sup> Without an appreciation of these values, the state will become confused and not well-systemized. In this case, Hadratussyaikh strongly emphasizes peace, justice, brotherly civility, and a wise attitude in dealing with diversity.

At the XVII NU Congress in Madiun in 1947, Hadratussyaikh stated, "As for *ukhuwah Islamiyah* at this time, only empty jargons, which come out of the mouth of the orator that only spreads in the air without being able to touch the empirical ground, without any concrete evidence and reality." At a glance, from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Tim Penulis, *Ijtihad Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari Tentang NKRI dan Khilafah*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed, (Jombang: Pustaka Tebuireng, 2018), 5-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>Khairan Muhammad Arif, "Moderasi Islam (Wasatiyah Islam) Perspektif al-Qur`an, Sunnah serta Pandangan Para Ulama dan Fuqaha`, *Jurnal Studi Agama dan Pemikiran Islam*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2020), 23.

the contents of the speech delivered by Hadratussyaikh, he was steadfast in voicing the importance of maintaining brotherhood and moderation.<sup>41</sup>

Therefore, Hadratussyaikh provides a theological, historical, and sociological basis for efforts to maintain public (state) conditions. He described this firmness in the book at-Tibyan fi Nahyi `an Muqhata`atil Arham wal 'Aqarib wal Ikhwan". Here, Hadratussyaikh explains in great detail the prohibition of breaking the ties of friendship, brotherhood, and friendship. These views are a form of his ideas regarding the concept of *Wasathiy*, so that people respect each other and live side by side in peace.

Hadratussyaikh's thoughts are a tangible manifestation of the principles of *Tasawassut, I'tidal, Tawazun*, for the growth and development of *Ukhuwah* in Indonesia. Furthermore, Hadratussyaikh's thoughts are also in line with the principles of brotherhood in Islam, such as; Brotherhood of fellow religions (*ukhuwah Islamiyah*), brotherhood of fellow members of the nation (*ukhuwah wathaniyah*), and brotherhood of fellow human beings (*ukhuwah basyariyah*).<sup>43</sup>

Islam strongly recognizes differences in ethnicity, religion, and nation, but Islam also does not forget to unite these differences on the principle of brotherhood. In Indonesia, these three *ukhuwahs* are practiced simultaneously and in balance. This was not only conveyed in writing by Hadratussyaikh, but he also practiced it. For example, Hadratussyaikh and other groups formed this Indonesian state. According to KH. Salahuddin Wahid, in this case, Hadratussyaikh is the figure who combines Islam and Indonesianness. At first, Islam and the state were opposed, but both can be combined well with his thoughts and struggles.<sup>44</sup>

The religious insight possessed by Hadratussyaikh is not only enjoyed by his circles, but for all of them in the life of the nation and state. His thoughts on the theory of maintaining brotherhood and moderation is part of political ethics

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Zuhairi Misrawi, Hadratyssyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari, 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>KH. Hasyim Asy`ari, at-Tibyan fi Nahyi `an Muqhata`atil Arham wal `Aqarib wal Ikhwan, (Tebuireng: Maktabah al-Turast al-Islami, tt), 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Asep Saifuddin Halim, *Membumikan Aswaja: Pegangan Para Guru NU*, (Surabaya: Khalista, 2012), 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>Salahuddin Wahid, Mengenal Lebih Dekat Hadratyssyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari, 47-49.

in the life of the nation, which is recently known as a form of Society Building, such as the concept of welfare, reform, virtue, etc.<sup>45</sup>

Religion should be a unifying factor, not a divisive factor. The national attitude that exists in a person is a reflection of the quality of his religious establishment—the more established his religious insight, the greater his love for his country. The national and religious understanding exemplified by Hadratussyaikh is strong evidence that he is not only a religious expert but also a true statesman.

## 3. Political Thought

Hadratussyaikh's thoughts and political activities cannot be separated from his environmental conditions and educational background. First, Hadratussyaikh was born in an environment thick with religious values (pesantren). In line with genealogy, Hadratussyaikh is a descendant of noble, a descendant of kings and habaib. Second, in terms of education, Hadratussyaikh studied in Indonesia and Mecca. The line of instruction taken by Hadratussyaikh has unconsciously shaped his political mindset and attitude. Especially when he was studying in Mecca, Muhammad Abduh incessantly reformed Islamic thought. Of course, this situation attracted his attention to his enthusiasm for upholding religion and strengthening his spirit of nationalism.<sup>46</sup>

According to Masykuri Abdillah, Hadratussyaikh's thoughts on the concept of nationhood and state generally do not specifically describe Islamic politics but take the form of principles or ethics in life, which can also be interpreted in a socio-political context. As in his book, Irsyadul Mukminin ila Sirah Sayyidil Mursalin wa man Tabi`ah Minas Shahah wat Tabi`in, at-Tibyan fi Nahyi an Muqatha`atil Arham wal Aqarib wal Ikhwan, Minutes of Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah, Muqaddimah Qonuun Asasy etc. In this case, Hadratussyaikh seems

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Ali Abdul Ghafar, "Dakwah Membina Kesejahteraan Hidup Masyarakat [Dakwah in Building Society Well-Being]." *BITARA International Journal of Civilizational Studies and Human Sciences*, vol. 2. no. 3 (2020), 3.

 $<sup>^{46}</sup>$ MQ. Al-Madyuni, Sang Kyai Tiga Generasi: KH. Hasyim Asy`ari, KH. A. Wahid Hasyim dan KH. Abdurrahman Wahid,  $1^{\rm st}$  ed, (Tebuireng: Pustaka Al-Khumul), 2-5.

to state that the political system in an Islamic state is the realm of ijtihad, although he agrees that each system still refers to Islamic law.<sup>47</sup>

Muqaddimah Qonuun Asasy elaborated many verses and hadiths as the primary references to invite the ummah about unity, living in a good society, resolving conflicts through deliberation, etc. In the book, Hadratussyaikh advised;

"And hold on to the rope (religion) of Allah, and do not be divided. And remember Allah's favor upon you when you were enemies, so Allah united your hearts. Then made you because of Allah's favor those who are brothers." (Surat Ali Imran: 103)

Furthermore, Hadratussyaikh reiterated, "Association, solidarity, and brotherhood are things that everyone knows the benefits of Rasulullah SAW said, "The power of Allah is with a group, and whoever among them isolates himself, then the devil will attack him, as a wolf attacks a dog."

Another message that Hadratussyaikh conveyed, "It is understood that everyone must gather and mingle because everyone cannot stand alone in meeting all their needs. He must mingle with others to achieve good and avoid evil. Unity and encounters of hearts to reach agreement among every ummah is the path to happiness, love, and compassion. History proves that this can give birth to a prosperous country, a strong ummah, a noble civilization, an advanced homeland, a strong kingdom, and an easy path to success. Therefore, you should increase the ties of brotherhood because there is a brotherhood which is the culmination of the virtues and the most powerful process."<sup>48</sup>

But it is regrettable to strengthen the concept of unity is very difficult to enforce. This ummah has not been fed up with disputes and enmity for centuries, without exception in Indonesia. This division was generally triggered by the struggle for political power, which ironically started from the Quraysh elites, the core cadres of the Prophet. This division then spread to all non-Arab

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Tim Penulis, Ijtihad Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari Tentang NKRI dan Khilafah, 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>KH. Hasyim Asy`ari, Muqaddimah Qanuun Asasy, terj. Zuhairi Misrawi (Jakarta: Kompas Media Nusantara, 2020), 337-349.

Muslim nations to this day. As a result, the oasis of the Qur'an about the unity of the ummah and the danger of division is no longer used as a reference, except for the Indonesian elite political parties.<sup>49</sup>

Based on the description above, how high the spirit of Hadratussyaikh was to strengthen the concept of nationality to unite this ummah in the face of differences. Long before the birth of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, Hadratussyaikh had prepared a solid foundation for upholding the unity and integrity of the nation. Qanuun Asasy is strong evidence that he is a figure who has the prospect of bright ideas for the future and that the key to the success of a nation lies in solid unity.

As a true statesman, Hadratussyaikh not only gave theological fatwas, but he also became an actor in history itself. Among the political achievements of the nation and state of Hadratussyaikh are: First, Hadratussyaikh as the *muassis* of Nahdlatul Ulama` (NU). NU was born together with other religious organizations, which at that time Indonesia was under the Dutch colonial government. NU is not only a public organization, but in the context at that time, it was present as an organization that fought for Indonesian independence to be freed from colonial shackles. On the other hand, another reason for the establishment of NU is to respond to internal and international political developments.

Meanwhile, the socio-religious conditions in Indonesia at that time also became the reason for the establishment of NU. The main factor is the problem of representation in protecting the interests of traditionalist Muslims whose existence feels threatening, such as the emergence of the Wahhabi movement. So for NU there is an urgent need to form unity and strength.<sup>50</sup>

NU frees its members to exercise their respective political rights in the political sphere. But NU insists that it is not a practical political organization. Therefore, NU appreciates that citizens use their political rights well and are allowed to enter or channel their politics through any political organization. If it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Tim Penulis, Ijtihad Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari Tentang NKRI dan Khilafah, 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup>Suadi Asy`ari, Nalar Politik NU dan Muhammadiyah, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, (Yogyakarta: LKis, 2010), 95-98.

is considered beneficial and does not harm Islam. This is done to create a healthy political culture.<sup>51</sup>

Therefore, NU always tries to withdraw to avoid practical political practices. In this case, NU's thinking is more accommodating, especially when viewed from KH. Abdurrahman Wahid succeeded in returning NU to *Khittah* in 1926. Gus Dur was a representative of Hadratussyaikh who succeeded in separating NU from Islamic political parties. Thus, there are no more Islamic political parties; or in other words, they isolate themselves from Islamic political institutions. The return of NU to the 1926 *Khittah* emphasizes and strives for socio-religious transformation with a cultural, moral approach.<sup>52</sup>

In the discourse of political and religious views in Islam, Hadratussyaikh is more inclined to a symbiotic nature. It can be seen from his thinking which carries the concept of three *ukhuwah*; *ukhuwah islamiyah*, *wathaniyah* and *basyariyah*, so that the relationship between state and religion is complementary and has a solid relationship.<sup>53</sup>

Second, Hadratussyaikh is the head of Masjumi. On 7 November 1945, Hadratussyaikh initiated the first Islamic congress in Indonesia, which later gave birth to an Islamic party with the term Masyumi or the Indonesian Muslim Shura Council. In Masjumi Hadratussyaikh got a strategic position, namely as chairman. Through this party, Hadratussyaikh fought to uphold the Islamic ummah in eradicating differences in madhhab and its various organizations. On the other hand, Hadratussyaikh has also served as head of the central religious ministry (Shomubucho) during the Japanese government era and served as spiritual advisor to the Defenders of the Land of Water (PETA) army.<sup>54</sup>

Third, Hadratussyaikh was the originator of the birth of the Jihad Resolution. As a response to observing the situation that endangered the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>Tim Penulis, Sikap Keislaman dan Kebangsaan Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari, (Jombang: Pustaka Tebuireng), 181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Zainal Arifin Thoha, *Jagadnya Gus Dur: Demokrasi, Pluralisme dan Pribumis Islam*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed, (Yogyakarta: Kaukaba Dipantara, 2015), 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>Tim Penulis, *Sikap Keislaman dan Kebangsaan Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari*, (Jombang: Pustaka Tebuireng), 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>Tim Penulis, Aktualisasi Pemikiran dan Kejuangan Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari, 96.

homeland's sovereignty, Hadratussyaikh then held a NU consul meeting which invited scholars from Java-Madura to the PB Ansor Nahdlatul Islamic scholars Office in Surabaya to decide on a fatwa against the invaders. This deliberation forum is to determine NU's attitude in dealing with the arrival of NICA in the country. Although, as a result, the deliberation found a common ground, on 22 October, 1945 Hadratussyaikh on behalf of the Executive Board of the NU organization declared a call for jihad fi sabilillah which later became known as the Jihad Resolution.<sup>55</sup>

The Fatwa on the Resolution of Jihad that Hadratussyaikh initiated is not only for Nahdhiyyin citizens but all Muslims in Indonesia. In Islamic law, fighting the invaders is an obligation for every Muslim (fardhu 'ain). With a note, the responsibility is within a radius of 94 KM, the distance where the ummah is allowed to perform congregational and qashar prayers. There are at least four substantial reasons why the Jihad Resolution was echoed, namely, a) Indonesia's independence, which was proclaimed on 17 August 1945 is legal and must be defended, defended, and saved, b) Jihad against the invaders is jihad fi sabililah. Therefore, the fighters who died will be martyred, c) For the nation itself who betrayed and participated in dividing and became accomplices of the invaders, it is obligatory to kill them, d) Enemies who come to Indonesia will carry the duties of the allied soldiers in the matter of prisoners of the Japanese army who later will use the political opportunity to re-colonize Indonesia. Therefore it must be resisted.<sup>56</sup>

According to Mukhlas Syarkun, they are quoting from an interview with KH. Mustain Syafi`i said that the resolution of jihad is not found in several books written by Hadratussyaikh, but that is understandable because the fatwa on jihad resolution is a legal fatwa that is needed urgently and in critical situations. The stages of determining jihad from a *fiqh* point of view are; First, *Ta*'yin al-Faridah. At first Hadratussyaikh looked for the basis of revelation regarding the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>Gugun El-Guyanie, *Resolusi Jihad Paling Syar*'I, 1<sup>st</sup> ed, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pesantren, 2010), 74-76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>Mukani, Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari Sebagai Salah Satu Ulama` Terkemuka Penyebar Ajaran Islam Nusantara, (Jombang: Pustaka Tebuireng), 42.

law against the invaders. The result of *istikhara* falls on surah an-Naml verse 34: "Indeed the kings, when they enter a country, they destroy it, by making its noble inhabitants lowly, and that's how they will do it." It turns out that the verse is not a jihad verse but talks about the views of Queen Bilqis, who considers Prophet Sulaiman (the ruler of the land of Palestine) as an occupier who wants to dominate the land of Saba`.<sup>57</sup>

Apparently Hadratussyaikh deliberately set aside religion as the basis for *instinbath* and took the behavioral sector as *illat*. Because if religion is used, then the work of qiyas will be damaged, and the conclusion will be reversed. That is because Prophet Sulaiman as. was Muslim while the conquered was King Bilqis. Hadratussyaikh then took the barbaric acts carried out by the colonizers in general, regardless of religion. If it is destructive, it is still barbaric, based on this attitude, it is then made into *illat*. So that the invaders are considered legitimate to be disbanded in this country. This is what is called the *al-ashlah* style of thought.<sup>58</sup>

Second, *Tahqiq al-Faridhah*. It is formulated when and how the obligation to fight must be realized. This is in *furu*` technicality. In this position, a mujtahid must be intelligent in dialogue related to local conditions and culture. Regarding this technique, it seems that Hadratussyaikh does not want to do free ijtihad, but he is still looking for a classical *fiqh* foundation to modify. The definition of *hadlar* and *safar* was chosen in the *rukhsah* chapter, which emphasizes *masafah* or distance as a standard of 80 km. The *fiqh* of worship is then converted to fiqh of ijtihad after considering the area where the aggression arose. So the resolution of jihad was born with all its formulas. This is Hadratussyaikh's brilliant ijtihad, in which there has never been a transfer of *ilal al-hukm* that has been collaborated on two issues of different disciplines. The verse of the story is taken as the basis for *isntinbath* via general *al-lafdh*. Then the formulation of

 $<sup>^{57}</sup>$ Mukhlas Syarkun & Maskuri Bakri, *Ensiklopedi Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy*'ari,  $1^{st}$  ed, (Malang: Edulitera, 2021), 246-248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>Ibid., 247-248.

masafah in fiqh rukhsah (worship) is used as ijtihad. It is ijtihad according to the region and the era.<sup>59</sup>

Based on the description above, the actualization of Hadratussyaikh KH's thoughts. Hasyim Asy`ari is very prospective about the future. Mahfud MD stated that two big points need to be noted from Hadratussyaikh's thoughts regarding the nation and state. First, Hadratussyaikh does not have a constitutional and command system in Islam. Therefore, if a group or mass organization wants to change the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia into an Islamic state with an Islamic command system or change it into a caliphate, it will be rejected. The Qur'an does not mention the caliphate as a religious rhythm because the caliphate itself is a product of ijtihad. So, Indonesia as a Pancasila state is part of a legitimate product of ijtihad. It was second related to national law. National law in the Pancasila state results from an *eklectasi* product, namely mixing the products of Islamization with the legal values in society. There is Islamic law, Javanese law, Hindu law, Christian law, and so on, so it is not called state law but national law.

Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari is a prominent ulema` whose knowledge is broad, polite in behavior, a *mujtahid*, and *mujaddid*, excellent service, and strong spiritually can not be described in this short article. Examining his short-lived thoughts and actions, especially since the author does not live at the same time as him, will only lead to being trapped in a narrowing of something vast. Hopefully, this article is helpful, especially as a spirit of Islam in the life of the nation and state.

#### **Concluding Remarks**

After exploring and examining the relationship between religion and the state from the perspective of Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari, the researcher, concludes that there are three points of view that he proposed, namely:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>Ibid., 248-249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>Tim Penulis, Ijtihad Hadratussyaikh KH. Hasyim Asy`ari Tentang NKRI dan Khilafah, 82-85.

First, the relationship between religion and the state in the politics of Islamic thought is divided into three, namely:

- a. The Integralistic Paradigm is the union between religion and the state.
- b. Secularistic paradigm is the separation between religion and the state.
- c. The symbiotic paradigm is a reciprocal relationship between religion and the state.

In this case, Hadratussyaikh is more inclined toward the union between religion and the state and is symbiotic, namely between religion and the mutually beneficial state.

Second, Hadratussyaikh firmly accepts Pancasila as the basis of the state. Between Pancasila and Islam there is a strong relationship. The First Precepts of Pancasila contain the ideology of monotheism, which is a mirror of Islamic identity. Pancasila is not a religion and cannot replace religion, but Pancasila is a national philosophy whose precepts do not conflict with Islam. So Pancasila is the middle way between religion and the state. The state helps develop religious life, and faith helps the state's role.

Third, Hadratussyaikh's thoughts on the relationship between religion and the state and their actualization in the life of the nation and state are mapped into three parts, namely:

- a. From the point of view of nationality, Hadratussyaikh stated that the existence of religion in community functions as protector and helper for the ummah. In this case, the relationship between religion and the state can be carried out properly if it requires the idea of mutual agreement (*Shura*), upholding justice (*al-'Adl*), freedom of expression (*al-Hururiyah*), and equality before the law (*al-Musamah*).
- b. From a religious point of view, Hadratussyaikh's pattern of thought is wasathy (taking the middle way). Especially regarding the relationship between religion and the state, Hadratussyaikh prefers symbiotic, namely the middle way, combining religion and state (mutual benefit). Hadratussyaikh admits that there is a difference, but religion and state cannot be contradicted.

that in a shari'ah the system of governance in Islam or the system of an Islamic state, but the form of principles or ethics in life, which can also be interpreted in a socio-political context. Therefore, for Hadratussyaikh, Islamic politics is ijtihad, but he believes that the existing systems must still refer to Islamic law. As for Hadratussyaikh's political activities, they are namely establishing Nahdlatul Ulama`, becoming the chairman of Masjumi, and becoming the head of the central religious ministry (Shomubucho), as an advisor to the PETA army, and the originator of the Jihad Resolution.

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