

## NURCHOLISH MADJID INCLUSIVE THINKING IN RELIGION AND STATE RELATIONS IN INDONESIA

### PEMIKIRAN INKLUSIF NURCHOLISH MADJID DALAM HUBUNGAN AGAMA DAN NEGARA DI INDONESIA

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**ABSTRACT:** *The subject of the relationship between religion and the state in society appears to be inexhaustible in modern Islamic studies discourse. The legal-formalistic understanding of Islam, which requires Islam to be manifested in the form of legalism and symbolism in the form of an Islamic state, has become something that appears to be discussed in various parts of the world, including Indonesia, especially since the Prophet Muhammad's death. In this context, it's worth considering the views of one of Indonesia's Islamic leaders, Nurcholis Madjid, on inclusivity in studying the relationship between religion and the state, where he proposes a democratic approach. In the elements of his thinking and speech, this research paper will further analyze the relationship between religion and the state.*

**Keyword:** Nurcholish Madjid, Islam, Inclusivism, Religion, State

**ABSTRAK:** *Subjek hubungan antara agama dan negara dalam masyarakat nampaknya tidak habis-habisnya dalam wacana pengajian Islam moden. Pemahaman hukum-formalisme tentang Islam, yang mengharuskan Islam dimanifestasikan dalam bentuk legalisme dan simbolisme dalam bentuk negara Islam, telah menjadi sesuatu yang nampaknya dibahas di berbagai belahan dunia, termasuk Indonesia, terutama sejak Wafatnya Nabi Muhammad. Dalam konteks ini, perlu dipertimbangkan pandangan salah seorang pemimpin Islam Indonesia, Nurcholis Madjid, mengenai keterangkuman dalam mengkaji hubungan antara agama dan negara, di mana dia mengusulkan pendekatan demokratik. Dalam elemen pemikiran dan ucapannya, makalah kajian ini akan menganalisis lebih jauh hubungan antara agama dan negara.*

**Kata Kunci:** Nurcholish Madjid, Islam, Inklusif, Agama, Negara

#### A. INTRODUCTION

The relationship between religion (Islam) and the state in modern times is essential. Although Islamic thinkers have debated it for almost a century, it is still not entirely resolved. The experience of Muslim communities in various parts of the world, especially since World War II, suggests a sophisticated relationship between Islam and the state, or even politics in general. Multiple experiments were carried out to familiarize Din with the Muslim community's concept and political culture, and these experiments were very

diverse in many ways. The level of penetration of "Islam" into the state and politics also varies.<sup>1</sup>

In Indonesia, the relationship between Islam and the state is no different from what is experienced in other regions of the Islamic world. The three paradigms above also apply in Indonesia. Nurcholish Madjid tried to neutralize tensions between Islam and the state by calling for de-Islamization and a program of secularization and desacralization. The idea of secularization that Nurcholish Madjid put forward originated from Talcott Parson, Harvey, and Robert N. Bellah, containing the understanding of Nurcholish Madjid as liberating or "worldifying" values that should have been worldly and releasing Muslims from the tendency to confound them.<sup>2</sup> In this sense, According to Nurcholish Madjid, secularization is essentially rationalization and desacralization. There is consistency between secularization and rationalization.<sup>3</sup> According to him, the substance of secularization is solving and understanding worldly problems by giving up intelligence between the ratios. A rational approach to an object or issue that has become sacred, taboo, etc., is impossible. Rationalization - in the sense of scientific thinking - is possible if the world is like an object of scientific thought released from the myths that make it sacred. Desacralization, demythologization, or secularization contains "radical devaluation," that is, the value is lowered from the height of the degree that includes holiness to become objects that may only have practical everyday uses.<sup>4</sup>

Religion will always provide direction and influence on human consciousness, attitudes, and actions for human history changes and the world. Furthermore, the rise and fall of a nation's history and civilization may very well be determined by the extent to which religion contributes to the spiritual vision, ethical and moral paradigm, and the protective power that can support that civilization. This role cannot be played by faith-shackled organizational forms and specific legal laws. Therefore, religion must be seen as a universal reality, capable of complementing modern society's strengthening of pluralism.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Azyumardi Azra and Abas Al-Jauhari, *Pergolakan Politik {Islam}: Dari Fundamentalisme, Modernisme Hingga Post-Modernisme* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> Nurcholish Majid, *Islam, Kemodernan, Dan Keindonesiaan*, Cet. 1 (Ujungberung, Bandung: Mizan : Didistribusikan oleh Mizan Media Utama, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Nurcholish Majid, *Islam Doktrin Dan Peradaban : Sebuah Telaah Kritis Tentang Masalah Keimanan, Kemanusiaan, Dan Kemodernan* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2019).

<sup>5</sup> Siti Nadroh, *Wacana {Keagamaan} Dan {Politik} {Nurcholish} {Madjid}* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1999).

In this sense, Nurcholish views that secularization in political life must be carried out. The political situation in the New Order demanded a change in the field of action, and the emotional behavior of Muslims idealism of integration was unrealistic and utopian. They are leading to stagnation and stagnation in the thinking of the ummah.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, the Muslim ummah condition can no longer distinguish between values that they think are Islamic but transcendent and temporal.<sup>7</sup>

Such a theological view has socio-political implications. Because as mentioned earlier, it is only Allah who has absolute sacredness, for Nurcholish Madjid, the issue of the Islamic State, Islamic parties, or Islamic ideology is not sacred. In this context, he called for "Islam Yes, Islamic Party No" - a jargon that he put forward to encourage Muslims to commit to Islamic values, not to institutions, even though they use the name, Islam.<sup>8</sup>

For Nurcholish Madjid, the existence of this secularization or desacralization is expected to create an effect that breaks monopoly and concentration of power through control of the symbolic religious system in party leaders' hands. According to Nurcholish Madjid, the Islamic ummah sanctifies human interpretations of spiritual teachings and symbolism, creating "new idols" because they equalize human understanding with religion itself. In this context, sacralization will only give birth to a concentration of power in the hands of the interpreter, as well as justify that they have "legitimacy" to control symbols of religious meaning, sociologically sacralization of Islamic thought is the accumulation of power through the control of certain circles who are considered entitled as interpreters—values against prevailing values.

With the idea of secularization and desacralization above, Nurcholish Madjid launched creative and critical thinking around the relationship between Islam and the state, even with the ideology of Pancasila, Nurcholish even clarified the relationship between Islam and the state, the value of the state and government in Islam is instrumental and not an end in itself. The point of all things desired by Islam is Taqwa to God, so the government or the state is that it is realized to create space and time as a place to God.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Bahktiar Effendi, *Teologi Baru Politik Islam* (Yogyakarta: Galang Printika, 2001).

<sup>8</sup> Bahktiar Effendi.

So, for example, it is a matter of ethics, ethical values. So if someone follows ethics that come from obedience to monotheism or tauhid, the result is a democratic attitude.<sup>9</sup>

Nurcholish gave an example with the attitude of the Prophet Muhammad and his friend Umar Ibn Khattab. They had provided high standards for the realization of an ethical society that was imbued with religious values. Both the Prophet and Umar upheld the principle of deliberation (Shura'), which applied to Muslims alone and seeking agreement with non-Muslims.<sup>10</sup>

In 1984, Nurcholish Madjid emphasized that the term or saying "Islamic state" was unknown in history. The proof, the Prophet Muhammad himself was only buried three days after he died. According to him, the incident was due to the unclear successor. The pattern of succession is ambiguous. The impact of this situation is unclear, "it shows that the question of statehood is not an integral part of Islam" Nurcholish Madjid adheres to his view in the 1970s that the idea of an Islamic state is nothing but an apologetic tendency.<sup>11</sup>

## **B. METHODS**

This study uses a literature review approach in library research research methods. Literatur review is a way to give historical perspective on an issue and show how other researchers have addressed a problem. An analysis of sources based on your own perspective on the topic. Based on the most pertinent and significant research conducted in the field, both new and old. The main source in this research is literature in the form of a book written by Nurcholis Madjid as a conception of his thoughts on the relationship between religion and the state. The other supporting sources are the literature related to the relationship between religion and the state as a comparison and support in relation to the relevance of the research focus.

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<sup>9</sup> M Syafi'i Anwar, *Pemikiran Dan Aksi {Islam} {Indonesia}: Sebuah Kajian Politik Tentang Cendekiawan {Muslim} {Orde} {Baru}*, Cet. 1 (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> "No Title," *Majalah Tempo*, 1984.

## C. RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

### 1. Islamic State on Nurcholish Madjid's View

This apologetic attitude appears from two sides. First, its emergence is an apology to Western ideologies such as democracy, socialism, communism, etc.<sup>12</sup> The cultural invasion in the form of ideologies was responded to in an appreciation that was a political ideology that, according to Nurcholish Madjid, gave birth to views that led to the struggle for political Islam aspiring to form an "Islamic state." The spirit of Islamic apology is seen as religion, which is understood as all-encompassing or multidimensional teaching covering all aspects of spiritual-religious life and social factors that lead to an Islamic ideals state.<sup>13</sup>

As religion, according to Nurcholish, Islam itself is not a mere religion but also includes other fields. Narrow thinking about the meaning of Islam will, in the end, give rise to a totalitarian ideological-political appreciation. According to Nurcholish Madjid, this raises several problems in terms of several aspects: (1). There is a fundamental inconsistency in language, namely that the word religion is also used to denote other religions, including the shirk religion. The Quraish people of Mecca, so according to Nurcholish Madjid, the meaning of the word is indeed religion, and because of that, Islam is a religion. (2). It is admitted, but it can be seen clearly that the starting point of the apology is the "Inferiority Complex," namely a sense of inferiority so that the cultivation of political, economic, social, and other fields of this material aspect of life, in the spiritual or religious sphere, is carried out. . According to Nurcholish Madjid, this pattern of thinking is a total Muslim facing invasion of Western materialistic thinking.<sup>14</sup>

Second is legalism<sup>15</sup>, which has led some Muslims to think about apologizing for the "Islamic State." Learning from Indonesian history, sociology, and political anthropology - Nurcholish Madjid argues that the key to the root of tension regarding the relationship between Islam and the state, plus ideological conflicts based on religion is more due to by a legal - formalistic model of Islamic understanding that

<sup>12</sup> Majid, *Islam, Kemedernan, Dan Keindonesiaan*.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.; Asfa Widiyanto, "Islam, Multiculturalism and Nation-Building in The Post-Truth Age: The Experience of Indonesia," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 14, no. 1 (2019): 1–12, doi:10.22452/JAT.vol14no1.1; Ihsan Sa et al., "Interaksi Sosial Komunitas Islam Aboge Dengan Masyarakat Desa Cikakak Kecamatan Wangon Kabupaten Banyumas" 10, no. 1 (2019): 103–13, doi:10.31603/tarbiyatuna.v10i1.2308.

<sup>14</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Cita-Cita Politik Islam Era Reformasi* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999).

<sup>15</sup> Majid, *Islam, Kemedernan, Dan Keindonesiaan*.

describes Islam as a structure and collection of laws. This means that the theological or philosophical foundations of Islamic politics crystallized into ideals of "political Islam," which must be practically realized in the form of formalistic legalism and symbolism.<sup>16</sup>

In this case, Nurcholish emphasized that legalism is a continuation of Fiqhism. Fiqh is a legal codification of Islamic scholars' thought in the second and third centuries of Hijriyah. The codification was created to fulfil the need for a legal system governing government and the state, covering a vast area and many people. Fiqhism is so dominant among Muslims that its reform movements, in general, are still focusing on this field. This legal structure is also sometimes called Sharia. Thus, an Islamic state is also an apology, where Muslims hope to show rules and other laws. Nurcholish himself stated that the phenomenon of fiqhism seems to have lost its relevance to today's patterns of life. He further said that completely overhauling the fiqh so that it later conformed to modern life from all its aspects, now it is not only the competence and interest of the Muslim Ummah but also of other people. So what is needed then is a form of law that covers all people to regulate life together.

Nurcholish's assertion above illustrates that the struggle for an Islamic state reflects a legal-formalistic model of religious understanding. According to Nurcholish, Muslims do not need to demand this state or government by an Islamic state<sup>17</sup>. For him, what is important is the content or substance, not the legal form. The standard format is useless if the content does not change. So this country can take any form, either in the context of career or recognition. But what needs to be agreed is that the values that are carried out are desired by Allah, which Allah blesses. In this case, according to Nurcholish, a country that is blessed is a country that is like this, if it can be grown through a cultural approach in the broadest sense. This includes education, preaching, arts, and among the most important is intellectual dynamics.<sup>18</sup> In this case, Nurcholish further emphasized that if Muslims think that Muslims are obliged to form a state and government, this obligation is not based on an exact text's orders but solely based on ijtihad and rational thinking.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Fuad Mahbub Siraj, "Anti-Democracy Policy of The Indonesian 'New Order' Government on Islam in 1966-1987," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 14, no. 2 (2019): 75-87, doi:10.22452/JAT.vol14no2.7.

<sup>18</sup> Anwar, *Pemikiran Dan Aksi {Islam} {Indonesia}*.

<sup>19</sup> Samiang Katu, "Pemikiran {Islam} Tentang {Hubungan} {Negara} Dengan {Agama}," n.d., 22.

On the other hand, Nurcholish himself expressed his opinion regarding the concept of the "Islamic State," which he described as a distortion of the proportional relationship between state and religion. The state is one aspect of worldly life whose dimensions are rational and collective. Meanwhile, Islam is another aspect of life whose dimensions are spiritual and personal. Indeed, Islam and the state cannot be separated. However, according to Nurcholish, the two must still be distinguished in their dimensions and approach. Since it is impossible for a country to take a spiritual dimension to manage and monitor its citizens' motivation or inner attitudes, it is also impossible to give religious predicates to the state.

Meanwhile, Islam is declared as not justifying an institution of spiritual power or spirituality. And every action that leads to spiritual authority over others is an act that leads to divinity. So it is an act of competing with God, so according to Nurcholish, it is a polytheist.<sup>20</sup>

Nurcholish agrees with Moh. Roem that there is no Islamic state in the Sunnah. The form that was built by the Prophet Muhammad in Medina and Mecca was not called an "Islamic State" by the Prophet himself.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, according to Moh. Roem, after three months after the Prophet died, this kind of state then ceased to exist because anyone who leads the country, it is impossible to match the Prophet.<sup>22</sup> The closest thing to this discourse is that it can be a good ideal in the end, and humans are entitled to have, but never will achieve it, just closer to the best possible. He further emphasized that Islam is neither theocracy nor secularism. He refers to the history of the past. The Roman Empire, where Islam does not recognize the unity between religion and state like the sacred Roman Empire and does not recognize the separation between religion and state as in the United States.<sup>23</sup>

The basis for Nurcholish's rejection of the concept of an Islamic state, according to Budhy Munawar Rahman, stems from the notion of "the essence of Islam" itself. Nurcholish himself said that the meaning of divine appreciation or religious experience related to the personal values that are most deeply connected to the liking of religion

<sup>20</sup> Majid, *Islam, Kemodernan, Dan Keindonesiaan*.

<sup>21</sup> Nurcholish Majid and Mohamad Roem, *Tidak Ada Negara {Islam}: Surat-Surat Politik {Nurcholish} {Madjid}-{Mohamad} {Roem}*, Cet. 2., e, Seri {Djambatan} Klasik (Jakarta: Djambatan, 2000).

<sup>22</sup> Yusafrida Rasyidin, "Menjelajahi {Pemikiran} {Cak} {Nur} Tentang {Agama} Dan {Negara}," *Jurnal Tapir: Jurnal Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam* 16, no. 1 (2020): 35–44.

<sup>23</sup> Majid and Roem, *Tidak Ada Negara {Islam}*.

is very individual. It must grow from one's own choice. It is correctly stored in one's heart or pure mind. In this case, he explained his view that Islam's real goal is to develop a person, individual, and there is no direct relationship between Islam *an sich* and the state as an institution of power. Therefore the idea that ideologies Islam is an indirect recognition of the importance of political or other aspects rather than spiritual aspects, which in this case is Islam itself.<sup>24</sup>

Nurcholish's thought above seems to want to emphasize that the correct notion of Islam is not a structure or collection of laws, which can give birth to religious formalism, but Islam as the embodiment of tawhid (as mentioned earlier), which can give birth to a hanif, open, inclusive, democratic, or at least able to place itself in a pluralistic configuration. Pluralism itself is described as having the same meaning as the attitude of religious tolerance and moderation, not affecting each other but still closely related according to the corridors of their respective beliefs and religions.<sup>25</sup> According to Nurcholish, the Al-Qur`an teaches the principle that all believers are brothers. It is also ordered those fellow believers who are at odds to reconcile them in the context of devotion to Allah immediately. This teaching about a sense of brotherhood is followed by the main instructions, namely maintaining ukhuwah (friendship).<sup>26</sup> In this case, Nurcholish concluded that Islam does not want anything except the common good in its journey. This measure of goodness itself is universal humanity and includes all other living things in a broader environment.<sup>27</sup>

Referring to a more local context, nurcholish then tries to offer solutions that must be done in Indonesia, which is undergoing a modernization process in various fields, socio-political and economic, by developing a discourse of neo-modernism<sup>28</sup>, namely, accepting modernity by rooting itself in tradition. Islam, which in the classical scholar's argument "keep the old, the good, and take the new which is better".<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Budi Munawar Rahman, "Dari {Tahapan} {Moral} Ke {Periode} {Sejarah}: {Pemikiran} {Neomodernisme} {Islam} Di {Indonesia}," *Majalah Ulumul Quran* VI, no. 3 (1995).

<sup>25</sup> Johan Setiawan, "{PEMIKIRAN} {NURCHOLISH} {MADJID} {TENTANG} {PLURALISME} {AGAMA} {DALAM} {KONTEKS} {KEINDONESIAAN}" 5, no. 1 (2019): 18.

<sup>26</sup> Anja Kusuma Atmaja, "{PLURALISME} {NURCHOLISH} {MADJID} {DAN} {RELEVANSINYA} {TERHADAP} {PROBLEM} {DAKWAH} {KONTEMPORER}," *Jurnal Dakwah Risalah* 31, no. 1 (2020): 107, doi:10.24014/jdr.v31i1.9441.

<sup>27</sup> Jamhari, "Pemikiran {Nurcholish} {Madjid} Tentang {Demokrasi} Dan {Negara} {Islam}," *Jurnal Ilmu Agama* 21, no. 1 (2020): 100–119.

<sup>28</sup> Nadroh, *Wacana {Keagamaan} Dan {Politik} {Nurcholish} {Madjid}*; Riaz Hassan, "Religion, Modernization and the Islamic Ummah," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 13, no. 1 (2018): 57–64, doi:10.22452/jat.vol13no1.6.

<sup>29</sup> Nurcholish Majid, *Cita-Cita Politik {Islam} Era Reformasi*, Cet. 1 (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999).



## 2. Islam and Democracy

Since the last decade, the relationship between Islam and democracy has always been discussed. Not only in the Arab countries where Islam was born, but also in western countries where democracy was born. Essential debates about Islam and democracy always involve seemingly certain Islamic doctrines, whether Islam supports democracy as a whole or only in part. It can be further questioned that Islam is incompatible with democracy as a modern political system. This is an essential question regarding Islam's relationship with democracy.<sup>30</sup>

Nurcholish Madjid's thoughts on democracy are often regarded as a source of value that is not necessarily following the construction of a democratic state. Some argue that Islam is contradictory to democracy. This stereotypical view does not feel shaped or influenced by readings of Islamic doctrine. These are all values that are in keeping with democracy and modern socio-economic and political life.<sup>31</sup>

Therefore, there is a strong enough indication that some scholars and political rulers view Islam in Islamic society. There is no viable place for democracy. Democracy, as the origin of the word *demos kratos*, means power is within the grasp of the people. In contrast, the doctrine of Islam says that only God has power. Moreover, some scholars also claim that Islam is a complete religion, which regulates all aspects of this life. For a Muslim, there is no rule of life except that which God has declared in the Al-Qur`an of the Qur'an and the speech of the Apostle Muhammad Saw. So complete and detailed Islamic teachings that a Muslim just surrendered to follow the instructions of the Qur'an and Hadith in all his live. Therefore, a democracy that has the pretext that the legitimacy of power derived from most people can not be enforced, precisely history shows that the Apostles of God is always a minority force that opposes the majority's voice.<sup>32</sup>

If Nurcholish Madjid's view of democracy is observed, then there is a view that fully accepts democracy, and Nurcholish Madjid is the one who most formulates Islamic concepts with democracy. Therefore, as is often acknowledged by Nurcholish

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<sup>30</sup> Khamami Zada, *Islam Radikal: Pergulatan Ormas – Ormas Islam Garis Keras Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Taraju, 2002).

<sup>31</sup> Muhammedi, "Pemikiran Sosial Dan Keislaman Nurcholish Madjid (Cak Nur)," *Jurnal Tarbiyah* 24, no. 2 (2017).

<sup>32</sup> Elza Peldi Taher, *Demokratisasi Politik, Budaya Dan Ekonomi : Pengalaman Indonesiama Masa Orde Baru* (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1994).

Madjid, He wanted to revive masyumi discourse in the 1950s.<sup>33</sup> In the context of Indonesian Islamic political ideals, masyumi's experience demonstrates the commitment to a highly democratic socio-political ideology, which once prevailed in Indonesia itself. The statement gives an idea that Nurcholish Madjid's political views, not only theoretical-conceptual.<sup>34</sup> As people often accuse, but also practical and gained its historical form in the socio-political views of the Masyumi people. Departing from here, Nurcholish Madjid asserts that it is possible to develop his religion (Islam). The Indonesian Muslim community chose an ideology, which, of course, does not conflict with Islam's ideals.<sup>35</sup> In this case, of course, Nurcholish Madjid chose democracy as a political ideology. Nevertheless, for Nurcholish Madjid, choosing democracy as an ideology is not only based on moral considerations, namely because democratic values are justified and supported by Islamic teachings, but also because of its function as the rule of this open game, it is indispensable and expected to be realized built-in our political system, which is thus a mechanism that can always make corrections to the mistakes of the exercise of power based on people's interests and consistency<sup>36</sup>

Therefore, Nurcholish Madjid defines democracy in the sense of liberal democracy as the west understands. There are checks and balances, and there are monitoring and counterbalance powers because people are not always right. On this occasion, Nurcholish Madjid described democracy as the majority right, a political system that principles the majority by not interfering with the interests of the most fundamental minorities. That's why for Nurcholish Madjid, despite its flaws, democracy is understood as an invaluable human heritage that until now has not found a superior alternative.<sup>37</sup> In the political system in Indonesia, according to Nurcholish Madjid, as an open rule, democracy should be used as something dynamic.

Democracy as the rule of the open game, according to Nurcholish Madjid, democracy itself is an available ideology that opens wide discourse of change and development through the experimentation of trials and errors conducted continuously in terms of the dynamics of supervision and offsetting, because as an open ideology is

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<sup>33</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Dialog Keterbukaan : Artikulasi Nilai Islam Dalam Wacana Sosial Politik Kontemporer* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1989).

<sup>34</sup> Zainal Abidin, "Teologi Inklusif Nurcholish Madjid: Harmonisasi Antara Keislaman, Keindonesiaan, Dan Kemoderenan," *Humaniora* 5, no. 2 (2014): 665, doi:10.21512/humaniora.v5i2.3123.

<sup>35</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Cita-Cita Politik Islam Era Reformasi*.

<sup>36</sup> Idris Thaha, "Nurcholish Madjid: Memadukan Kesalehan Dan Politik Idris," *Studia Islamika* 12, no. 2 (2005).

<sup>37</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Keharusan Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam Dan Masalah Integritas Umat* (Jakarta: Islamic Research Center, 1970).

a system that is open to all participants, and does not allow it to be consigned to personal desires, however, wise the person is. And why the balance, because the system of society can be said to be democratic only if it opens the opportunity for every group in the community to participate, whatever and how., and does not justify the existence of dominance in any form. Thus the principle of openness and the opportunity to experiment became one of the most central democratic spirits about being an open ideology.

In this regard, Nurcholish cited what had been stated by the Founding Father of the Republic of Indonesia Sukarno that Pancasila was based on the reality of Indonesian society itself. In this sense, according to Nurcholish Madjid, it can be understood that the content and form of Pancasila exist in society and can serve as the core of equality and agreement between various groups of a nation. In this regard, Nurcholish Madjid asserts that Muslims as the majority of this nation. Of course, this means that practising the teachings of Islam by itself includes the practice of Pancasila and Muslims.<sup>38</sup>

For Nurcholish Madjid, Pancasila Democracy can be seen as an affirmation of the nation's current political views or in line with the development of the times but rooted in the culture of Indonesian society itself, which at the same time provides essential prerequisites to realize democracy or socio-political order that leads to the common good. Thus, Pancasila Democracy must be based on The Indonesian political culture, then built and developed towards something better and perfect for the benefit of the nation's components in a plural society. In a cultural context, Nurcholish Madjid argues that democracy is no longer a noun but a verb as a democratization process. Democracy in this sense as a way of life civilized supporting society (Madani) with points: the principle of consciousness, diversity, deliberation, how to be under the objectives, honest review, fulfilment of economic needs and social planning<sup>39</sup>, pure freedom and the need for democratic education (democracy as a learning process).<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Cita-Cita Politik Islam Era Reformasi*.

<sup>39</sup> Azaki Khoirudin, Zakiyuddin Baidhaw, and Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor, "Exploring Muhammadiyah's Historical Civilizational Dimension of Social Reconstruction in Indonesia: Humanitarian and Cosmopolitan Approaches," *Journal of At-Tamaddun* 15, no. 1 (2020): 183–97, doi:doi.org/ 10.22452/JAT.vol15no1.13.

<sup>40</sup> Aam Saepul Alam, Rafiudin Rafiudin, and Adang Sanjaya, "Comparison of Nurcholis Madjid and A. Hasyim Muzadi's Thoughts on Renewal in Indonesia," *International Journal of Islamic Khazanah* 10, no. 1 (2020): 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.15575/ijik.v10i1.8416>.

Furthermore, Nurcholish Madjid said that a democratic society is born in deliberation.<sup>41</sup> A society that is governed by the principles of deliberation has no absolute truth that determines human behaviours. Deliberation means to argue with sincerity and tolerance, listen to, understand and respect the opinions of others. Nurcholish Madjid emphasized that deliberation is an interactive relationship to mutually bond truth and goodness and fortitude in finding solutions to problems in an atmosphere of equality and rights and obligations between community members.<sup>42</sup> The spirit of democracy or deliberation is not to win over the majority group and defeat minority groups but to create understanding and understanding in the name of the common good. Suppose the meaning of a democratic society is understood by adhering to the principles of deliberation. In that case, it will always be necessary to have an effective system to remind each other of the truth and become a common good, as explained morally and theologically in the Qur'an surah al-Ashr.<sup>43</sup>

Nurcholish Madjid referred to the above democratic principles to the Islamic tradition, either conceptual or historical.<sup>44</sup> The main focus of democracy refers to the political practices of the Prophet and the four wise caliphs; according to Robert N. Bellah, the classical Islamic structure is a very modern Islamic social system.<sup>45</sup> The Islamic ideal of the past, known as the *salaf* period<sup>46</sup> it has given birth to very advanced countries compared to countries at its time or that have existed in the previous history. *Salaf* society in modern language is now a generation that empirically applies Islamic normative principles of egalitarianism, democracy, participation, human rights and social justice. This society has presented humanity with a description of the socio-political order that has known a life that understands and implements the constitution of *Mitsaqul Madinah* (Medina Charter).<sup>47</sup> The Medina Charter contains the basics in establishing a state such as the principle of equality, justice, and inclusivism. These principles are further elaborated in the form of several universal humanist values such as *i'tidal* (consequently) *tawazun* (balanced), *tawasuth* (moderate) and *tasamuh* (tolerance).

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<sup>41</sup> Nurcholis Madjid, *Tradisi Islam Peran Dan Fungsinya Dalam Pembangunan Indonesia* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997).

<sup>42</sup> Nurcholis Madjid, *Cita-Cita Politik Islam Era Reformasi* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999).

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Nurcholis Madjid, "Agama Dan Negara Islam: Sebuah Telaah Atas Fiqh Siyasi Sunni," KKA (Jakarta, 1991).

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Nurcholis Madjid, *Islam Doktrin Dan Peradaban* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2011).

<sup>47</sup> Madjid, "Agama Dan Negara Islam: Sebuah Telaah Atas Fiqh Siyasi Sunni."

Muhammad Arkoun called the Prophet's effort the "Medina Experiment", which manifested in an unbeatable order and harmony between the handling of social, political and cultural problems, then between the tremendous historical creativity on the one hand and the ability to symbolize that history and develop and enhance it (meaning elevating him to such high dignity) on the other. We should not forget here that the emergence of religion was complemented by means and through symbols. With this symbol, the realization and liberation of the human persona are fulfilled; namely, the person who becomes capable of cultural creation and the sign brought by the Al-Qur`an was seen as new in its *Nisbat* with the Arabian Peninsula at that time because it was different from the symbols of idolatry.<sup>48</sup>

The Medina experiment has presented humanity with examples of a socio-political order that recognizes the delegation of authority or power not favouring one person's hands as in the dictatorial system but to the masses through deliberation and constitutional life.<sup>49</sup> According to Nurcholis Madjid, human rights in the American Declaration of Independence (American Declaration of Independence, 1776), French Revolution (French Revolution, 1789), and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of The UNO (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Substantial Scare was written long before in the Medina Charter<sup>50</sup>. The principles and values in the Medina Charter above form the basis of all aspects of life, be it legal, economic, social-political, in the order of the Medina society so that the people of Medina are known as a form of the Ideal Civil Society that ever existed.<sup>51</sup>, because it has succeeded in achieving its target, namely being able to accommodate and organize aspects of human life.

For Nurcholish Madjid, upholding justice is the most important and influential economic field; everyone can get a fair share of wealth. He seems to idealize a welfare state model of democratic governance.<sup>52</sup>. Apart from that, Pancasila and the Medina Charter<sup>53</sup> as a Common Platform between various community groups and religions. Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution can be viewed as a social contract or by quoting

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Nurcholis Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan: Membangun Tradisi Dan Visi Baru Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995).

<sup>51</sup> Agustinus Wisnu Dewantara, "Multikulturalisme Indonesia (Studi Perbandingan Antara Konsep Madani Nurcholis Madjid Dan Konsep Civil Society)," *JPAK Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Katolik* 17, no. 9 (2017).

<sup>52</sup> Sukron Kamil, *Islam Dan Demokrasi : Telaah Konseptual Dan Historis* (Jakarta: Gaya Media Pratama, 2001).

<sup>53</sup> Madjid, *Cita-Cita Politik Islam Era Reformasi*.

al-Mawardi, as' binds all society to establish a state.<sup>54</sup> Nurcholish Madjid calls Pancasila the Common Platform of various plural Indonesian inserts, which at the same time become the basis for ideals of building a modern Indonesian politically. Nurcholish Madjid so far, Pancasila is a system that can guarantee constitutional goodness for the very plural Indonesian nation. Therefore, just as the Medina community accepted the Medina Charter as a formulation of agreement between groups in building an everyday political society, the Indonesian people must adopt the same attitude towards Pancasila.

Another essential idea initiated by Madjid is the opposition that needs to be raised as a form of modern political life from democracy. The opposition is a crucial part of democratic life. In a healthy democracy, checks and balances are needed; there is a balance and monitoring power.<sup>55</sup> The concept of opposition to the form of interpretation of Islamic theological concepts which emphasizes the universal moral message of *Ammar ma'ruf Nahi Munkar* and the message obtains sociological, historical, theological and philosophical legitimacy, of the necessity of being in opposition in the life of the nation and state.

There are several reasons that leaders must be big-spirited and accept constructive criticism from the people or government opposition. Theological reasons, in the texts of the Al-Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad, it will be found that Islam rules and invites Muslims to oppose and carry out reforms (*al-Islah*).<sup>56</sup> And for philosophical reasons, humans may not always be right, so they must remind each other.<sup>57</sup> This argument informs Fahmi Humaydi's thesis that the opposition - the attitude of criticizing and constructively correcting rulers who tend to be corrupt and authoritarian - is a right and an obligation of the people.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, Fachry Ali assesses that such a political attitude is a form of socio-empirical transformation of the Nurcholish diversity attitude, which has reached the "inclusive" stage. That is the correct religious attitude that Nurcholish Madjid himself termed *al-hanafiyah al-*

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<sup>54</sup> Ngainun Naim, "Islam Dan Pancasila Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Nurcholish Madjid," *Episteme* 10, no. 2 (2015): 437; Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan: Membangun Tradisi Dan Visi Baru Islam Indonesia*.

<sup>55</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, "Dialog Keterbukaan: Artikulasi Nilai Islam Dalam Wacana Sosial Politik Kontemporer," *Forum Keadilan, Oposisi Suatu Kenyataan*, December 1992.

<sup>56</sup> Sukidi, *Teologi Inklusif Cak Nur* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2001); Sapto Priyanto, Mohammad Kemal Dermawan, and Arthur Josias Simon Runturambi, "Islah as The Key Success of Terrorist Disengagement Process in Indonesia," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 15, no. 1 (2020): 157-68, doi:10.22452/JAT.vol15no1.11.

<sup>57</sup> Madjid, "Dialog Keterbukaan: Artikulasi Nilai Islam Dalam Wacana Sosial Politik Kontemporer."

<sup>58</sup> Sukidi, *Teologi Inklusif Cak Nur*.

*samhah*, theological teaching passionate about seeking broad truths, tolerant, without bigotry and did not shackle the soul, egalitarian and democracy.

With this perspective, Nurcholish not only appears as a clean and democratic opposition figure but also sees the need for an "opposition party" in our political life as a modern form of democratic ideas. According to Nurcholish Madjid, the Indonesian state cannot come out of a demand to become a modern nation-state with all the consequences.<sup>59</sup> This includes opening up to the emergence of an opposition party, namely a party or community group that constantly monitors and balances existing power so that it is preserved from the possibility of falling into tyranny.

Opposition is a modern invention; before modern times, opposition as an institution that was deliberate (intentionally) did not yet exist; what existed was a *de facto* opposition born in its acceptance in society as accidental, accidental, or accidental. Whereas something happens by "coincidence," especially if there is a *de facto*, but the *de jure* acknowledgment does not exist, it will not be effective. It may even be easy to invite anarchy and chaos because checks and balances occur arbitrarily and not with full responsibility.<sup>60</sup>

The opposition-controlled by Nurcholish Madjid is a loyal opposition carried out to achieve common ideals and principles. Opposing to the government but loyal to the state and also loyal to shared objectives. Opposition is carried out to check and balance. Efforts to prevent and balance are in a position to oppose and support in realizing common goals. Meanwhile, oppositional is an opposition based on the desire to overthrow and find fault. According to Nurcholish Madjid, the opposition is hostile, while opposition in the sense of loyalty is a positive mechanism to realize clean government or good governance.<sup>61</sup> It will also create an authoritarian and democratic government, which can also strengthen the socio-cultural basis of society towards the ideals of forming a civil society.

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<sup>59</sup> Greg Barton, "Indonesia's Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid as Intellectual Ulama: The Meeting of Islamic Traditionalism and Modernism in Neo-modernist Thought," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 8, no. 3 (October 1, 1997): 323–50, doi:10.1080/09596419708721130.

<sup>60</sup> Nurcholis Madjid, *Membangun Oposisi Menjaga Momentum Demokratisasi* (Jakarta: Voice Center Indonesia, 2000).

<sup>61</sup> Madjid, "Dialog Keterbukaan: Artikulasi Nilai Islam Dalam Wacana Sosial Politik Kontemporer."

#### D. CONCLUSION

The inclusive theology put forward by Nurcholis Madjid views the fact that the plurality of mankind is a necessity and is God's message written in the Qur'an. The verse in the Qur'an is able to encourage the birth of an attitude of pluralism, namely a value system that is positively optimistic about plurality by accepting it as a reality and spreading goodness.

The key to the root of tension in the relationship between Islam and the state, plus the ideological conflict based on religion, is more due to the legal-formalistic understanding of Islam which describes Islam as a structure and collection of laws. That is, the theological or philosophical foundation of Islamic politics crystallizes into the ideals of "political Islam", which must be practically realized in the form of legalism and formalistic symbolism. According to Nurcholish, Muslims do not need to demand this state or government by an Islamic state. For him, what is important is the content or substance, not the legal form. The standard format is useless if the contents do not change.

Nurcholish's thoughts above seem to want to emphasize that the true understanding of Islam is not a structure or collection of laws that can give birth to religious formalism, but Islam as the embodiment of monotheism (as mentioned earlier), which can give birth to a inclusive, democratic, or at least capable of place itself in a pluralistic configuration. In the context of the political ideals of Indonesian Islam, Masyumi's experience demonstrates the commitment to a very democratic socio-political ideology, which has prevailed in Indonesia itself. This statement illustrates that Nurcholish Madjid's political views are not only theoretical-conceptual.

In this case, of course, Nurcholish Madjid chose democracy as a political ideology. However, for Nurcholish Madjid, choosing democracy as an ideology is not only based on principled considerations, namely because democratic values are justified and supported by Islamic teachings, but also because their function as an open game rule is very necessary and is expected to be realized in the political system. us, which is thus a mechanism that can always make corrections to mistakes in the exercise of power based on the interests and consistency of the people.

Nurcholish Madjid defines democracy in terms of liberal democracy as understood by the West, where there are checks and balances, there is monitoring and counterbalance power, because the people are not always right. That's why for Nurcholish Madjid, despite



its shortcomings, democracy is understood as a priceless human heritage which until now has not found a superior alternative. For Nurcholish Madjid, Pancasila democracy can be seen as an affirmation of the nation's political views that are modern or in line with the times, but are rooted in the culture of the Indonesian people themselves, which at the same time provide the basic prerequisites for realizing democracy or a socio-political order that leads to common interests.

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