

The Negation of Divinity in View of Human Emancipation: Nurcholish Madjid Perspective

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Abstract

The RUU HIP is an abbreviation of the Rancangan Undang Undang Haluan Ideologi Pancasila (the Draft Law on Pancasila Ideology). The RUU was proposed by the DPR RI, Badan Legislatif Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (the Legislative Body of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia). In its development, there was resistance from various groups which led to demonstrations from social groups or organizations. One of the criticisms is the reduction in the value of Pancasila which can lead to the deemancipation of the Indonesian nation. The conclusion obtained is that the RUU HIP contains efforts to reduce divine values and only leaves human values, namely mutual cooperation. In addition, the interpretation carried out contains inconsistencies, disorientation, and the disintegration of Pancasila. Therefore, the efforts made will depart from the good goals that have been formulated. So that the expected emancipation will be inversely proportional to the deemancipation of the Indonesian nation.

Keywords: Emancipation, RUU HIP, De-emancipation, Inconsistency, Disorientation.

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Abstrak

RUU HIP merupakan singkatan dari Rancangan Undang Undang Haluan Ideologi Pancasila. RUU tersebut diusulkan oleh Badan Legislatif Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (DPR RI). Pada perkembangannya, terjadi penolakan dari berbagai kalangan yang berujung kepada demonstrasi dari kelompok atau organisasi kemasyarakatan. Salah satu kritiknya adalah pereduksian nilai Pancasila yang dapat menyebabkan de-emansipasi bangsa Indonesia. Kesimpulan yang diperoleh adalah RUU HIP mengandung upaya pereduksian nilai ketuhanan dan hanya menyisakan nilai kemanusiaan, yaitu gotong royong. Selain itu, interpretasi yang dilakukan mengandung inkonsistensi, disorientasi, dan disintegrasi Pancasila. Oleh karenanya, upaya yang dilakukan akan bertolak dari tujuan baik yang telah dirumuskan. Sehingga emansipasi yang diharapkan akan berbanding terbalik kepada de-emansipasi bangsa Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Emansipasi, RUU HIP, De-emansipasi, Inkonsistensi, Disorientasi.

Introduction

The RUU HIP, which was proposed by DPR RI, drew a lot of rejection from various circles which led to demonstrations from community groups or organizations. The masses demanded that the RUU be withdrawn from Proglenas, Program Legislasi Nasional (the National Legislation Program) in 2020. Various circles consisting of academics and practitioners criticized the urgency of discussing the RUU HIP. In addition, the critic was also launched on the content of the text which was considered irrelevant to the fact of Pancasila itself.¹ One of the critics was delivered by the MUI, Majelis Ulama Indonesia (The Indonesian Ulema Council) which is contained in the Information of the Central MUI Leadership Board and the Provincial MUI Leadership Council throughout Indonesia, No. Kep-1240/DP-

¹Ningsih Suliawati, "Polemik Pengusulan Rancangan Undang-Undang Haluan Ideologi Pancasila (RUU HIP)", *POLITEA: Jurnal Politik Islam*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2020, 214.

MUI/VI/2020. The information criticized the RUU HIP which did not include TAP MPRS No. 25/MPRS/1996.²

Another criticism was conveyed by the BEM, Badan Eksekutif Mahasiswa (the Student Executive Board), Kema Universitas Padjadjaran in an article entitled "*RUU HIP: Strengthening Who?*." This paper explains that the purpose of the RUU is to strengthen the BPIP, Badan Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila (the Agency for Pancasila Ideology Education). This paper suspects that President Jokowi wants to strengthen BPIP through the RUU HIP. The goal is that after the change of government, the institution can remain standing. In addition, when viewed from the condition of its appearance, it does not have any urgency with the condition of Indonesia which is being hit by the COVID-19 pandemic. So, the need for the ratification of the Law, which is a pure initiative of the Legislative Body of the DPR RI, is considered not in line with the needs of the Indonesian people.³

Kivlan Zen also did not escape his criticism of the RUU. Zen said that the RUU HIP aims to negate the role of religion from state life. This is based on the efforts of the RUU HIP to reduce Pancasila to the *trisila* and change the previous concept of divinity to "*Cultivated Godhead*." Furthermore, in the *ekasila* concept, the concept of "*God Almighty*" is eliminated. The formulation of the *ekasila* was based on the contents of Bung Karno's speech on June 1, 1945 in front of the BPUPKI, Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence).⁴ Based on this explanation, it can be understood that there has been a reduction in the value of divinity in Pancasila. This effort can be seen as an effort to de-emancipate the Indonesian nation. Based on this, it is important to look at the concept of human emancipation by Nurcholish Madjid.

²Jum'atil Fajar, "Informasi Kapuas 2019", 2019, 265. Accessed January 24, 2020. www.kapuas.info.

³Departemen Kajian Strategis, BEM Kema Unpad 2020, Kabinet Eksplorasi Makna, "RUU HIP: Memperkuat Siapa?", 10-11. Accessed on January 24, 2020. kema.unpad.ac.id.

⁴Kivlan Zen, *Personal Memoranda: dari Fitnah ke Fitnah* (East Jakarta: Lembaga Pembangunan Masyarakat Indonesia (LPMI), 2020), 107.

Human Emancipation

The term emancipation comes from the verb *emancipate* which means to liberate.⁵ In the Main Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), emancipation is defined as; a) liberation from slavery; b) equal rights in various aspects of society; such as equal rights between men and women.⁶ The second meaning is inseparable from the development of the term which is often used for movements that aspire to equality between men and women. The movement views that there is injustice experienced by women over male domination.⁷ Based on this statement, it can be understood that emancipation is an effort to free oneself from something that hinders human independence. In addition, it can also be interpreted as lifting humans to their rightful places.

Nurcholish Madjid in his writing entitled *Faith and the Emancipation of Humanity*, discusses this problem. Emancipation in his writings is associated with human dignity. However, Nurcholish did not directly define the term. The meaning of emancipation can be understood from his words, "... *the coming of the apostles and prophets, namely to lead mankind against its own fall and to emancipate its dignity from that fall.*"⁸ Based on this expression, Nurcholish wants to define emancipation as an effort to raise human dignity. This meaning is indirectly in accordance with the second definition of the term. While the first meaning of emancipation is not easy to explain, so it will slowly be explained after this.

According to Nurcholish, the emancipation of human dignity can only be achieved based on faith in God. In particular, addressed to God Almighty. This is inferred from the verse of the Qur'an which explains that God will elevate humans if they believe and do good

⁵John M. Echols & Hassan Shadily, *Kamus Inggris-Indonesia* (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka, 1976), 210.

⁶Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI). Diakses pada 10 Juni 2021. <https://kbbi.web.id/emansipasi>.

⁷A. Nunuk P. Murniati, *Getar Gender: Perempuan Indonesia dalam Perspektif Sosial, Politik, Ekonomi, Hukum dan HAM* (Megelang: IndonesiaTera Foundation, 2004), 236.

⁸Nurcholish Madjid, *Iman dan Emansipasi Harkat Kemanusiaan*, dalam *Karya Lengkap Nurcholish Madjid*, ed. Budhy Munawwar-Rachman (South Jakarta: Nurcholish Madjid Society (NCMS), 2019), 626.

(good deeds).⁹ So, it can be understood that human dignity can fall if it is not based on faith. Nurcholish explained that faith is not only interpreted as trust, but also a sense of submission to God. Submission is interpreted as surrender to (*tawakkal*) and return (*ruju'*) to God. Regarding this, Nurcholish cites the story of the devil's defiance whose belief is not accompanied by submission to God.¹⁰

Nurcholish further explained that the activity of calling on God (*da'wah*) is an emancipation of human dignity. So, on the contrary, the behavior of partnering with God (*shirk*) can reduce the emancipation of human dignity. In this case, the *atheists*¹¹ and *polytheists*¹² are included in the people who do this. Nurcholish defines an *atheist* as someone who does not believe in God, while a *polytheist* as someone who believes in many gods. *Atheist* he puts it in someone who associates with God, because he looks in the mirror of *atheists* in the 20th century. Nurcholish explained that communists, who were *atheists*, had eventually developed violent *polytheism* and imprisoned people. The Communists have culted their leaders (Stalin, Mao and Kim) to worship them as if they were God. In addition, communist ideology has developed into a belief that seems

⁹See QS At-Tin: 1-8: "By the fig tree and the olive tree, and by Tursina and this peaceful land (Makkah), indeed We (God) created man in the best form, then We restored him to the lowest -lowth, except those who believe and do righteous deeds. For them this is a bountiful reward. Then, after that, what caused you to deny the religion? Is not God the wisest judge?"

¹⁰Nurcholish Madjid *Iman dan Emansipasi Harkat Kemanusiaan...*, 627. The story of the devil quoted by Nurcholis Madjid can be seen in QS Al-A'raf: 12: "Allah said: "What prevented you from prostrating (to Adam) when I told you to?" Answering the devil "I am better than him: You created me from fire while you created him from clay."

¹¹The term comes from the Greek, namely; "a" and "theos", which means there is no God. In the development of the human period, the word became a term to refer to a school of thought that denied the existence of God. See: Jonar Situmorang, *Mengenal Agama Manusia* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit ANDI, 2017), 295.

¹²The term comes from the Greek, namely; "poly" and "theos", which means many gods. Like atheists, the term polytheist refers to a school of thought that believes in the existence of many gods. In the periodization of humans, this term is used to describe religious phenomena when humans still worshiped gods. See: Rizem Aizid, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam Terlengkap Periode Klasik Pertengahan dan Modern* (Yogyakarta: DIVA Press, 2021), 6.

to be commensurate with religion (*religion equivalent*).¹³ So that in this case humans are shackled and constrained to true worship.

Emancipation as described above, needs to be done with the liberation of humans to worship other than God. The meaning of emancipation is indirectly in accordance with the definition of emancipation that has been described earlier, namely liberation or liberating. Nurcholish wants to explain that emancipation based on faith is the liberation of human beings from all things that can associate partners with God. Submission to other than God can bring down human dignity, because human *nature* is submission to God.¹⁴ Concurring with his conclusion, Kuntowijoyo also explained that self-actualization can only be achieved with perfect devotion to God. The concept of actualization is revolutionary because it is interpreted as liberation and not restraint.¹⁵ Based on this, Nurcolish wants to explain that the emancipation of human dignity is aimed at liberating humans from submission to other than God.

The final concept of Nurcholish's emancipation of human dignity lies in the integration between *theocentrism* and *anthropocentrism*. In this case, he tries to strengthen the argument that emancipation must be based on faith. Nurkholish said, "... humans must combine "theocentrism" in the view of life or faith with "anthropocentrism" in life or charity activities." His expression explains the need to unite the two poles in order to achieve human emancipation. According to him faith (*theocentrism*) is the need for human life on inner satisfaction, so that it is impossible for perfect human emancipation without its fulfillment as well. However, the fulfillment is not enough without doing good deeds or good *deeds* (*anthropocentrism*). The act is actually not aimed at God, but is useful for humans themselves. The concept of integration or interrelationship between the two can be further understood from Nurcholish's words, namely;

"However, humanity must be based on a sense of divinity. In fact, true humanity can only be realized if it is based on that sense of divinity. This is because humanity or anthropocentrism that is separated from

¹³Nurcholish Madjid, *Iman dan Emansipasi Harkat Kemanusiaan...*, 629-630.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 632-634.

¹⁵Kuntowijoyo, *Visi Teologis Islam dan Problem Peradaban Modern*, dalam *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi Untuk Aksi*, ed. AE Priyono (Bandung: Mizan, 1991), 163.

divinity or theocentrism will be easily threatened to slip into the absolute practices of fellow human beings, as demonstrated by communist experiments (the "atheists"). It means, humanity without God will easily destroy itself. Therefore, true humanity must aim at attaining the pleasure of God. And it is the orientation of life towards God's pleasure that underlies the elevation of human values."¹⁶

Based on the above statement, it can be understood that the emancipation of human dignity must be based on faith. Emancipation based on this will create *egalitarian* human relations. Human actions will be considered as actions that will be accounted for before God. So that between one human and another there will be no denying the rights of the other, because of his responsibility as a human being who submits to God.¹⁷

De-emancipation of the Indonesian Nation in the RUU HIP

Pancasila for the Indonesian people has various meanings. There are at least five meanings of Pancasila that can be mentioned here, namely; as a) outlook on life; b) the basis of the state; c) the soul of the nation; d) national personality; and e) legal sources. The diversity of meaning does not need to be interpreted as a mistake, but as a wealth of meaning from Pancasila.¹⁸ Its meaning as the basis of the state is in accordance with the speech of Soekarno at the Presidential Course on Pancasila at the State Palace, May 26, 1958. The Father of the Nation said, "*You understand and know that I regard Pancasila as the basis of the Republic of Indonesia.*"¹⁹ Based on this, it can be understood that the basis of the state has a central position for the Indonesian nation. Without this, the motto "*Bhinneka Tunggal Eka*" is meaningless, which means different but united.²⁰

The history of the formation of Pancasila is quite long and ends with the Jakarta Charter. On June 22, 1945, 9 people gathered

¹⁶Nurcholish Madjid, *Iman dan Emansipasi Harkat Kemanusiaan...*, 636-641.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 642.

¹⁸Ranto, *Pancasila sebagai Ideologi dan Dasar Negara* (Jakarta Timur: PT Balai Pustaka, 2012), 1-2.

¹⁹Pancasila Congress Committee Team IX, *Pancasila Dasar Negara: Kursus Presiden Soekarno Tentang Pancasila* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 2018), 30.

²⁰R. Rasikoen Sastrodipoero Gondowarsito, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Terbabar* (Jakarta: Sabdopalon, 2006), 14.

representing 2 groups, namely the national group and the Islamic group. The nine people were led by Soekarno and is commonly referred to as Panitia Sembilan. The result obtained is the formulation of Pancasila which consists of 5 precepts, namely a) divinity with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents; b) a just and civilized humanity; c) the unity of Indonesia; d) citizenship guided by the wisdom in the deliberations of the delegates; e) social justice for all Indonesians.²¹ However, it turns out that not everyone agrees with the formula, especially on the first precept. Based on that, finally precept first be changed into “*the One True God*.”²²

The formulation can be seen as the right effort. If you look at the position of Pancasila as the basis of the state, then it should be the soul, source, personality and way of life of the Indonesian nation. This is proofed by the continued strength of the Indonesian nation to date, although it continues to be tested with various problems. In addition, the formulation of Pancasila is in accordance with Nurcholish Madjid's thoughts on the emancipation of human dignity. This is like putting the value of divinity in the first precept which explains that it is the heart of Pancasila. In this case, it can be seen the suitability of the concept of faith as the basis for emancipation. Not only that, the relationship between the first precepts and other precepts explains its suitability with the integration concepts of Nurcholish's *theocentrism* and *anthropocentrism*. So that in this case Pancasila can be used as the basis for the emancipation of the Indonesian nation.

However, in recent years, there have been efforts to reduce the divinity of Pancasila. This can be seen in the formulation of the Draft Law on the Path of Pancasila Ideology, which is abbreviated as RUU HIP. The RUU HIP seeks to reduce Pancasila to the *trisila* and change the previous concept of divinity to “*Cultivated Godhead*.” Furthermore, in the *ekasila* concept, the concept of “*God Almighty*” is eliminated. The formulation of the *ekasila* was based on the contents of Soekarno speech on June 1, 1945 in front of the BPUPKI. Therefore,

²¹ Tukiran Taniredja & Suyahmo, *Pancasila Dasar Negara Paripurna: Edisi Pertama* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2020), 18.

²² *Ibid.*, 23-24.

the reduction of the value of Pancasila can be seen as an effort to negate the role of religion from state life.²³

The conclusion in the explanation above can be seen in the text of the RUU HIP. In Chapter II, Part Two, Article 3 paragraph 2 it is stated: "*The five basic principles as referred to in paragraph 1 (five precepts of Pancasila) are the soul and driving force of the struggle of the Indonesian people and nation that reflect the personality of the Indonesian nation, namely mutual cooperation.*"²⁴ In addition, it can also be seen in Chapter II, Part Three, Article 7 which explains the main characteristics of Pancasila. Paragraph 1 of the article explains that the main characteristics of Pancasila are justice and social welfare with a family spirit based on the five precepts of Pancasila. The second paragraph of the article explains that the next characteristic of Pancasila is the *trisila*, namely; socio-nationalism, socio-democracy, and cultural divinity. Next is verse 3 which says "*Trisila as referred to in paragraph 2 is crystallized in ekasila, namely mutual cooperation.*"²⁵

The explanation above clearly represents efforts to reduce the value of divinity. There are many reasons that led to the reinterpretation of Pancasila into *Ekasila*. Some of these reasons can be seen on the basis of the formulation of the academic manuscript of the RUU HIP. The text explains that factual events in Indonesia have occurred because Pancasila has not been used as the basis for implementing policies by every element of the government, such as; symptoms of intolerance between religious communities, regional fanaticism, community economic disparities, moral degradation, and acts of deintegration between nations based on ethnicity, religion and race.²⁶ In addition, at the level of implementing the values of Pancasila, there are several challenges, including; a) strengthening the interests of individualism; b) market fundamentalism; c) radicalism; d) the dominance of the modern legal system which negates the meaning of nationalism in the era of globalization.²⁷

²³Kivlan Zen, *Personal Memoranda: from Slander to Slander ...*, 107.

²⁴Rancangan Undang Undang Republik Indonesia Tentang Haluan Ideologi Pancasila, 5.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 7.

²⁶Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, *Naskah Akademik Rancangan Undang-Undang Tentang Haluan Ideologi Pancasila*, 2020, 14.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 61.

These is some of the reasons and challenges that cause the reduction of the divine value in the RUU HIP. So that it can be understood the purpose of the reinterpretation of Pancasila is to emancipate the Indonesian people over the problems previously mentioned.

Even though this goal looks good, it can be less precise. Emancipation as explained by Nurcholish Madjid must be based on faith. So, in this case, the solution to existing problems must still be based on divine values and not abandon them. Because humans are noble creatures because of their submission to God. So, submission is human *nature*. Emancipation can only be done by prioritizing the attitude first. On the other hand, calling for faith in God is an effort to emancipate human dignity.²⁸ Based on this, the emancipation of the Indonesian nation can only be done by implementing divine values. On the other hand, the negation of divine values will only bring about the deemancipation of the Indonesian nation.

The other side that needs to be considered is that this reinterpretation of Pancasila creates confusion for the readers. This is because the reader is presented with inconsistent readings. On the one hand, the designer tries to explain that all the breath and actions of the Indonesian people must be based on Pancasila. But on the other hand, the designer explained that the Pancasila could be reduced to *ekasila*. This briefly presents a dichotomy between Pancasila and *Ekasila*. Because, it presents the two basics of the state or the soul of the Indonesian nation, even though the designer has explained the relationship between the two. Generations in the decades to come may eliminate readings on Pancasila and prefer *ekasila*, because it provides a space that seems to provide choices.

On the other hand, this *ekasila* can be eroded in the understanding of godless humanity that is currently developing because of its reduction. This understanding is like the notion of *socialism*, *secularism* and *liberalism* which tries to explain that humans can do good without religion. If so, the Indonesian nation has failed to emancipate itself. Nurcholish explained that the reason for the failure of human emancipation is to associate God with others. The meaning of “*other*” gives a broad meaning, namely also the understanding of humanity which seems to be commensurate with

²⁸Nurcholish Madjid, *Iman dan Emansipasi Harkat Kemanusiaan...*, 627.

religion (*religion equivalent*). This understanding shackles humans from their freedom to submission to other than God. Humans fail to emancipate themselves, because they deny *their nature*.²⁹ So that on this issue, the Indonesian nation may fail to emancipate itself.

In this case, it is necessary to reaffirm that Pancasila as formulated by the *founding fathers* of Indonesia is correct. The reinterpretation carried out with the RUU HIP has led to the disorientation of Pancasila. This formulation creates a disintegration in *theocentrism* and *anthropocentrism*. Nurcholish explained that human emancipation also needs to be done by integrating the two poles. This becomes necessary, because humanity must be based on divine values. Divinity values explain that every human being is as valuable as others on the basis of his responsibility before God. So that no one has the right for any reason to step on another human being. Therefore, emancipation on the basis of divine values is democratic and cannot agree with a totalitarian, authoritarian and tyrannical system.³⁰ Based on this statement, the integration between *theocentrism* and *anthropocentrism* in Pancasila can emancipate the Indonesian nation.

Conclusion

Penelitian ini berangkat dari kerisauan Penulis dalam melihat fenomena ekstrimisme pemahaman keagamaan. Ekstrimitas tersebut tidak hanya yang bersifat destruktif yaitu menggunakan aksi-aksi kekerasan dalam menyebarkan paham keagamaan, namun menggunakan pemahaman yang cenderung liberal, fokus pada makna literal teks

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the RUU HIP contains efforts to reduce Pancasila. This can be seen in the reduction of the value of divinity and leaves only the value of humanity, namely mutual cooperation. At first glance, it appears that the desired effort is an effort to emancipate the Indonesian nation from the existing problems. However, reducing the value of divinity is not a solution because emancipation efforts must be based on a sense of faith in God. So, what is expected will only push in the

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 629-632.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 641-642.

opposite direction, namely the de-emancipation of the Indonesian nation. Emancipation efforts should be carried out by strengthening divine precepts and not negating them. Apart from that, the effort to reinterpret Pancasila in the RUU HIP seems convoluted and can lead to double readings. The current generation can read in its entirety that *Ekasila* is a derivative of Pancasila. Then what about future generations who can just eliminate the concept of decline, because it seems to provide a choice. When this happens, it can even threaten the emancipation of the Indonesian nation.

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