

Soft Religiosity Message for Indonesia from Soedjatmoko

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ABSTRACT

This article tackles the thought of Soedjatmoko as one of Indonesian self-taught intellectuals. Through his writing "Human Dimension in Development", "Socialist Culture", and "Asia in the Eyes of Soedjatmoko", an evolution of his thought from socialist' historical materialism towards soft religiosity could be portrayed. It is concluded that integrity and intellectual bravery are the strength of the Indonesian that are derived from faith and tawhid. The spirit that Islam carries becomes the root of solution for poverty as well as applicable education for many countries, especially in Asia.

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1. Introduction

"A religion that does not speak to the basic moral problems of its time will face danger, it will gradually become irrelevant. But in the meantime it is also necessary to avoid dogmatism, because the way to translate moral judgments into wisdom is usually not one, but more than one. What might facilitate the role of religion in that is that it seems that the process of secularization has reached the final stages of the world, and that the debate over the implications of modernization is still not relevant, because in essence all countries and all nations and all cultures in the world are good those who are called modern or not, are equally unprepared to face the 21st century with all its new challenges." (Soedjatmoko, 1989)

That is one of the important quotes of this country's universalist futurist, the late Soedjatmoko understood this world now and in the future. The former was a leading Socialist thinker and ideologist, in recent years his life put forward the importance of the role of religion.

But why today we still want to offer an ideological space for socialism, Marxism and even communism? Why these days there are still those who say they want communism or say new communism is born in this country. Even because of that, now this country because of the issue being thrown that the country is in the threat of communism, is being torn apart by stigmatization that is not intelligent which tends to be misleading, such as the fight of two major camps of Islam and the State or Nationalism versus Islam.

I think this is a form of unreasonable deception, because from a very clear reading and historical experience, Muslims have always been at the forefront of the practice of looting by many European countries with Liberalism ideology or usually symbolized as (although I disagree with it and this is only to facilitate the symbolization of "colonialism" until the proclamation of independence of the country. Muslims never run away and even hide in the face of injustice, oppression and looting of the country.

Muslims are very clear about their alignments with the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, so they had to deal with their own siblings during the PKI betrayal events in 1948 and 1965 only because of problems of lust for power. Whereas as I read from almost all the intellectual experience of an

Indonesian marxist socialist ideologist, his intellectual capacity was most recognized, Soedjatmoko, did not believe that this ideology could live in an Indonesian space, because it was very diametrically different from the Western culture and thought in which Marxism was born.

I just want to do a retreat, personal experience and share with anyone who reads Soedjatmoko's writings. Usually Soedjatmoko is portrayed as a socialist who eventually moves into a universalist intellectual, cultural development intellectual, and futurist thinker / the future of the country. That is the way it is, but rarely expresses the evolution of his thinking which I feel is not just historical contextualism, even more than that. In my opinion, his writings shocked me a few years ago when I began to be interested in cultural readings and the future of civilization. His writing is like moving my intuitive awareness that what I believe so far has been confirmed by the intellectual experience of a world-caliber cultural maestro. Yes it struck me, because at the first time I came to know his thoughts, especially his book entitled *Socialist Culture* did not really touch my intuition and inner atmosphere, except admiration for the depth and breadth of his intellect.

2. Results and Discussion

2.1. Evolution Of Marxis Socialism Towards Humanis Socialism

Soedjatmoko, whose full name is Soedjatmoko Mangoendiningrat, commonly called Bung Koko, was born in Sawahlunto, West Sumatra, on Tuesday, January 10, 1922 (Satria 2010). Soedjatmoko's father is Dr. Saleh Mangundiningrat, personal doctor Paku Buwono X and Paku Buwono XI. dr. Saleh was also the Head of Kadipolo Hospital, Surakarta, a member of the Habib Raya Solo association, and had been Chancellor of the University of Cokroaminoto Surakarta until his death in 1962 (bentarabudaya.com). Soedjatmoko is the second of four children (Siti Wahyunah, wife of Sutan Syahrir, Prof. Miriam Budiardjo, UI political scientist, and Nugroho Wisnumurti, member of the UN International Law Commission). His career as a true intellectual would not have been possible if he had not left STOVIA, medical school in Jakarta, country against Japan in 1943, which was not willing to bow down (seikerei) to the Emperor of Japan.

Apart from formal schooling, Soedjatmoko interacted with figures in the struggle for independence, especially Amir Sjarifuddin and Sutan Sjahrir, and began writing through the *Het Inzicht* (Insight) with Sudarpo and Sanjoto in 1947-1950. After independence, Soedjatmoko was asked by Sutan Sjahrir to become an Indonesian delegation as an observer at the United Nations (United Nations / United Nations) and at the same time continued to study Harvard 's Littauer School of Public Administration, although it was not completed due to the increasingly busy activities at the UN, Washington. In 1952 Soedjatmoko returned to Indonesia and published a book entitled *Development*. Political activity was also carried out by joining the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI) in 1955. PSI was later dissolved because it was considered by the government to participate in the PRRI / Permesta rebellion (Kahin and Barnett 1990).

After the 1965 Revolution, in 1966 Soedjatmoko was asked again by the Indonesian government as the deputy chairman of the Indonesian delegation to the United Nations. In 1968-1971 Soedjatmoko became Indonesian Ambassador to the United States. His peak career was when he was asked by the UN Secretary General to become Chancellor of the UN University in Japan in 1987, replacing James M. Hester. His long journey then ended in Indonesia on December 21, 1989 while completing a lecture at the Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta (Kahin and Barnett 1990). In the midst of his busy life Soedjatmoko wrote many articles and books (both complete essays and collections of articles), including *The Re-Emergence of Southeast Asia: An Indonesian Perspective*, *Development and Freedom*, *The Primacy of Freedom in Development*, *Asia in the Eyes of Soedjatmoko*, *Becoming Educated Nation according to Soedjatmoko*, *Human Dimension in Development*, *Socialist Culture*, and many others.

His thoughts were greatly influenced by three people, namely Amir Syarifuddin, Soekarno, and Sutan Sjahrir. Of the three then Soedjatmoko had his own unique thoughts, changed from materialist-oriented Marxist Socialists to Humanist Socialism, which emphasized the human and

human dimensions. This can be seen from his thoughts on Socialist Culture which no longer believes in the ideals of proletarian culture (proletariat):

"The dream is that in a socialist society the aspiration of a proletarian culture is aspired (Proletariat), now it turns out that reality is a bit different too. Thus what is called soviet culture, and what is called "socialist realism" has nothing to do with that dream. All of that brings us to one conclusion. That is, the relationship of forces and related social factors in the journey of mankind to socialism is more complex than what the former socialists suspected. "

Based on this idea, what is called socialist culture, according to him, is very different from the shadow of radical socialism, that is what is called popular socialism based on new economies and new cultures:

"... understanding human populist socialism is placed as a goal and basis of all steps of struggle, so socialism does not hold on to one blueprint, both to the desired structure of society and to the culture it wants. Only totalitarianism can hold on to a blueprint, and the totalitarian way is in complete conflict with popular socialism. "

Socialism must be carried out with what it calls the Positive Culture Politics in order to give the opportunity for the development of the greatest creativity of society through freedom and participation (passively in the form of enjoying the fruits of culture; active in the form of creative participation in cultural development). For him, cultural politics must be pushed to all aspects of the nation's life through systems, values, teaching, and educational activities as well as acceptance of new knowledge and technology. Changes due to open aspects of education, science and technology are revolutionary realities that can form new social realities: "which will bring us closer to the ideals of socialism". Such is the basis of the initial way of thinking of socialist culture oriented to popular socialism, which will later move into and the basis of the way in which people's economy operates. Soedjatmoko, a unique socialist thinker and different from other socialist thinkers, because it emphasizes cultural change through human aspects.

At this point of humanist socialism until 1969 the problem of religiosity for him was still not important even only as a representation which could be too extreme if it was used as a religious experience that would hinder the change of society in facing historical reality and carrying out progress and modernity. One of the references was the story of Wali Songo and the court over the Sufism / Monastic practice of Sheikh Siti Jenar when he began writing his article entitled "Sukma and Society: An Eastern Interpretation of Counter Culture". Religion does not have to be ahead and important except as an individual activity, while those relating to society and even monasticism are not very appropriate for the changing society:

"It is indeed questionable that the existence of a monastic order or centers of life of human groups based on transcendental values is important for every society, and every civilization, because it warns humans to other dimensions of life and other types of life. But no one can preach its accuracy as answers to the problems we are discussing ... At the other end of this spectrum, it must be true that humans do not and cannot know the end result of every social action. But even this is not an excuse to erase its rationality or moral responsibility insofar as it can see it. "

The most important struggle is not a religious problem, but intellectual problems and strong will and morality are enough, through which, through the university. Through universities, intellectual education and morality and the strong will to make changes for society can be achieved:

"In conclusion, during the search for personal pleasure, personal fulfillment and inner freedom are important elements for every solution that must be done. And that's not enough. Only with the great intellectual struggle and moral enlightenment that is expected to overcome the threats and problems that cover us. "

2.2. The Turning Point Behind of Soedjatmoko Religiosity

But Soedjatmoko's thoughts about socialist culture, popular socialism, and positive cultural politics to achieve socialism turned out to shift slowly and turn into unique socialism, even in the last days of my life I saw the thought he no longer wanted to be trapped in the prison of "socialism", he has morphed from the main concern of historical contextual humanity in cultural networks to religious humanity. Sukarno's close friend, at the age of fifty - old and has entered the personality maturity I think, proposes an idea outside the very contextual socialist tradition, an idea of religious cultural awareness, although sometimes he is still unsettled where religiosity lies, where the location of religions, where is Islam, is all an integral part of itself, Islam itself, ideas of nationality and universality are part of it; or is it otherwise that Islam is part of nationality and / or universality.

Even so, the idea of cultural religiosity that never appeared in his writings and commentaries before the 1970s, as can be traced in various writings later, since the 1970s on the idea began to fade and increasingly thickened presented him. I read the progressively higher reading and the library and direct experience in my own country, especially (the rise of the PSI where he was active and saw the communist disintegration in the early years of independence and 1965 which disturbed him because according to his thinking, socialism was closer to humanity rather than on the social system itself), many world countries (incidentally since the days of Sokarno and Soeharto he was asked more to be foreign representatives and international relations), especially in the midst of the destruction of Western values and culture, while on the other side of the country a new country like Indonesia is stuttering over the construction of its culture can be a driver of the evolution of his ideas:

"The atmosphere of cultural pessimism in the Western world has been seen in various symptoms, even though cultural pessimism is not a new phenomenon. That has happened many times in cultural history. The emergence of pessimism does not automatically mean that a culture begins to break down. However we who live in new countries who are still poor, should not be infected by this cultural pessimism. In the relation of international culture the real main problem is to ensure the space and boundaries. Actually what can be achieved by cultural relations? Not too much. Cultural relations, for example, will not be able to prevent or overcome major events in history. However, these relationships can increase human ability not to be dragged down by the use of violence in a dispute, because it is more realized how both parties are living the same cultural values. Cultural relations can also enhance human awareness of the total interdependence of all nations, all nations and all humanity. "

The strength of the family becomes important later, as the center of the wave of strengthening new humanism, so that identity and personality do not disappear into the earth due to increasingly strong modernity and displacing cultural values in which a change wants to begin:

"At that point he began to need a new outlook, a new dream about the future. It is clear that mankind must look for a new world order if he is to survive. In addition, he must learn to develop and manage larger social and political units. At the same time he must find a place in these larger units for smaller units, which are more in line with human size, namely units which are manifestations of a sense of personality typical of ethnic groups, religions or languages, but also are the incarnation of new and modern community groups. In connection with this, we must not forget family as a social form which in various places in the world seems almost lost. For on the one hand a brighter universal awareness is needed; but on the other hand at the same time it requires a human-sized identity, personality and authenticity. And against depersonalization and seclusion as a result of the laws of science and the bureaucracy - the great bureaucracy that sucks and empties its personality, humans must re-explore the sources of religiosity in their culture and history. A new humanism is needed, which is wider in scope and deeper in roots than the forced unity of humans by the global communication system. Just

being aware of the need for cooperation for survival - for the sake of the safety of living together - will not be enough to foster a new future. A new moral vision, or a new historical philosophy, is needed, which can give humans knowledge and understanding of the origin and direction of purpose, and the ability to measure where people are in their play in history. "

For this reason, Humanism continued. He must be able to encourage changes in history that do not make him possess the abilities that: "corrupt, do evil and despise", but encourage change with consciousness: "realize in him nonrational, aesthetic, intuitive dimensions. expressive and transcendental ". These dimensions will eventually lead to the center of that human dimension and thus the idea of religiosity must begin. This idea of Religiosity of Humanity can be said as a turning point of radical thinking for a True Socialist, in photographing and proposing fundamental changes to how Indonesian humans in the future:

Maybe at this time we need a new awakening of an awareness of human religiosity. All major religions in history have played a role of liberation, not only for the human person, but also socially. These religions have helped humanity to abandon tribal societies that are closed towards a wider and more open conception of religious humanity. These religions have helped us to reach broader social and political units. Perhaps it is near the time when an increase in religious awareness about human relations with God, will once again bring about broad political and social change. Thus the ability of humanity to save lives and bodies will be greater. We can only guess and hope, because it is not something that can be made or ordered. Many things will depend on God's grace, (God 's finger on man' s shoulder) beside human consciousness. "

2.3. Islam and Soft Religiosity: Is Pragmatism Related to Ideology?

Actually, Islam Soedjatmoko began to move into a major force in constructing culture in the national frame the following year, 1973, when he began discussing the importance of redefining the value system so that a culture, nationality, even more than that the universality of humanity could find solutions to chaos world. According to him, the redefinition of the value system is inevitably through the teachings of the world religion, although he does not specifically affirm Islam as the key solution, but according to his soft style, offers a solution to human and universe balance through examples of his religion, Islam, by displaying QS 6 verse 165 which confirms that God has made the Caliph man on Earth. Religion for him is the center of the redefinition of a nation's value system, and the basis of the development of humanitarian ethics in the universe.

Even so, religiosity and Islam do indeed enter with "soft" in the scientific space, science and space changes explicitly and inherently. This is evident from his journey after the 1970s. In the 1980s until his death, he believed in religiosity and Islam, but when writing in methodological space for the development of social sciences, for example, he was still accustomed to social construction, issues of unemployment, poverty, development of development theory with regard to technological and ecological issues. In the 1980s the development of the methodology of social science also tended to expand on the understanding of universalism, futurists, geopolitics, and globals that had transcended or crossed countries, although it remained critical of the dominance of certain cultures or civilizations and partial social disciplines:

"It becomes obvious then that universalistic concepts of cosmopolitan world orders are derived from a single dominant culture. The perspective does not have much meaning for our understanding of dynamics of interdependence, and its present structural disparities ... we will also have to break out of the conventional disciplinary boundaries. We need more holistic conceptions of development that integrate economic and social, political and cultural processes.
"

He understands very well and wants research that accommodates religious values in every society and integrated in them, unlike the secular West. But once again he, Soedjatmoko (2010) apparently

still too "embarrassed" to say the importance of research that is religious in nature with vulgarity and what it is:

"The ... society and culture has stimulated several social scientists to produce very seminal insights that have permanently enriched both the social sciences and the humanities and enhance their interpretive capacity ... The social sciences shape originally in the West, in stable, secularized societies which helped to mold many of their concepts and methodologies. It is now becoming clear that it will be necessary for social sciences to look more deeply into the structure and ideas that give meaning and direction to the lives of people in their own culture.

With that also appreciate the development of holistic research that is not trapped in quantitative or qualitative in the realm of social science:

"... the social science cannot be value free - the researcher is part of the universe which he or she is researching and the very act of investigation can change the character of that universe" (Soedjatmoko 2010).

His revolution of thought was indeed extraordinary, one of his important articles entitled Education for Peace: The Role of Religion (Soedjatmoko 1981). According to him, the world today needs education oriented to peace amid the turbulence of a noisy global civilization. Education is the key word for future peace, as a learning process that will enhance human perception of itself and enlarge our capacity for compassion and care for fellow human beings. Youth for him is an important torch bearer of the future because they will shape the future. So that education needs to be internalized for young people for the future is about cooperation, resolving conflicts and understanding differences without using violence. One of the key points is the role of religion.

Religion can make a big contribution to the world in a state of change that is fast, deep, and often troubling by only teaching the importance of paying attention to humans, humans and politeness. The role of religion in overcoming the fear posed by a rapidly changing social environment is, indeed, that cannot be replaced by other "teachers" in peace education. Even so, religions in Asia that are very diverse are not a problem if education is based on religious wisdom in terms of the acceptance of religious pluralism as an important condition of a just and equitable global society. They must work towards accepting, and trusting, the same sense of humanity, even with people who have fundamentally different ideological orientations, or people we fear or hate. Peace Education for him (Soedjatmoko 1981):

"...an education which is not just a self-righteous teaching of traditional religious dogma, but rather a quest for pluralistic dialogue among many peoples, cultures and societies, a reaching out for compassion and tolerance without sacrificing one's own perception of truth. Peace education thus should be seen by the religions not as a teaching operation, but as a mutual learning experience linking them to the hundreds of millions on this globe looking for a way out of their hunger, poverty, and despair. In fostering such a dialogue, the religions could help make peace education a truly meaningful component of the process of global learning -- a process in which men and women of different religions, cultures and ideologies join together in the creation of a more just and peaceful world order, grounded in a civilization free of the festering pathology of the arms race and the drive for power and profits, and openly and warmly acceptant of more humane and secure ways of life and societal organization."

Peace education must be seen by religions not as teaching operations, but as interrelated learning experiences to find solutions to hunger, poverty and despair (hunger, poverty, and despair). Such dialogue between religions can help make peace education a global learning process - a process in which men and women from various cultural religions, and ideologies join together to create a just and peaceful world order, emphasizing a civilization free from deteriorating pathology about the arms race because of the drive for power and profit, and openly and warmly accepting a more humane and safe way of life.

Concern about the problem of civilization has indeed become the center of almost all of his writings. Kahin and Barnett (1990) saw this, when they met and discussed together. On several occasions they were frustrated by various obstacles such as bureaucratic barriers, technology transfer from one country to another, and understandable resistance from rural communities and many other things that have always experienced many dead ends in the application of development models that occur in most developing countries. However, for them Soedjatmoko with his role internationally at the Ford Foundation and Hazen Foundation, European institutions and international commissions, and culminating when he was appointed Chancellor of the UN University in Tokyo had provided new insights, genuine, passionate, passionate and enlightening, which neither intellectuals nor thinkers have, how to make a better world.

Soedjatmoko steadily moved the university in a new direction, far different from the previous limited scope. He, they continued (Kahin and Barnett 1990) carried out relations between international institutions and the human rights movement. Soedjatmoko, with his expertise in revitalizing universities, regards him as a world institution for development research that explores ecological issues, questions about sustainability, changes in institutions and appropriate technology, especially in developing countries, and broader ideas in research typically "enabled greater breadth in the pursuit of intellectual research along more traditional disciplinary lines".

Even so, the writings leading up to his death I had read two writings on culture and religion that were more explicit, his alignments with religion in solving world and state problems. The role of religion, especially in the form of morality, this is interesting, he stressed the need for identification of the ability to do ethical and social reasoning as a form of *ijtihad*. according to him there are three important things, namely regarding the development of the latest weapons that can destroy humanity itself, the level of poverty and human misery in the world that reaches billions, as well as fairer natural resource management policies. As he explained and I quoted at the beginning of this paper, religion is not only seen as a narrow form of individual or group identity and saving oneself from a complex world, but more dynamically capturing the signs of the times so that they are relevant as well as releasing themselves from the finality of secularism brought Western modernity. It seems that his writings on the role of religion are based also on quotations from the Qur'an.

"Do they never travel about the earth (and view all these scenes with an eye to learn lessons), so that they may have hearts with which to reason (and arrive at truth), or ears with which to hear (God's call)? For indeed, it is not the eyes that have become blind; it is rather the hearts in the breasts that are blind." (Qur'an 22:46).

Based on that verse, it seems that he described how Indonesian people dreamed of facing the challenges of the future and described them in the final writings that had not yet been presented, because he was called by Allah SWT to His Day. According to him the characteristics and capabilities of Indonesian humans (Tuhuleley 1993):

"... must be well-informed, well informed, and with that we need life-long learning; sharp and integrative-conceptual analytical skills so that it can enable fast reaction with short response times in a fast and fast moving world; reasoning rationally, so that the reaction is not filled with fear and is not irrational; be creative about new challenges; creativity is also accompanied by courage to be responsible; sensitivity to social justice and social solidarity, national solidarity and which encompasses all humanity, including the weak and poor and generations to come; sensitive to the limits of society's tolerance for social change and injustice; have self-esteem and self-confidence, based on strong faith; able to identify moral and ethical dimensions in social changes or in technological choices; must be able to reason morally (moral reasoning or *ijtihad*); and has the ability to interpret the provisions of religion so that their relevance to new problems and developments is revealed. "

How then can the representation of Indonesia's ideal human be realized? Soedjatmoko seems to have begun to move away from secularization, something that could not have emerged in Marxist

socialist, humanist and universalist socialism. Because that's where the power of religion is placed as a strong framework in the development of a whole humanity mentality that is not sociological-contextual, but on the strength of integrality of morality, education and the development of technological science in a comprehensive cultural development framework, although as I feel, he is still incomplete on complete desecularization of "timid" eyebrows (Soedjatmoko 1986):

"Of course, in the development process, many problems will arise in the field of technology choice. Every technology has a social and ethical impact. We must not forget that the problem that is perhaps the biggest among the problems we face is the problem of economic and social dualism, and that all efforts need to be directed at overcoming this dualism, because it is an absolute condition for our country to become a modern and democratic society . Then technological choices must not be left to technologists and economists, but require participation in decision-making by various representatives of society, including religious leaders and scholars and cultural experts. "

Again, this "shy" or perhaps "subtle" nature is indeed a feature in Soedjatmoko's style of religiosity internalization. Even to emphasize the importance of Indonesian people having morals and Islam as the right choice, it is not vulgar, but very soft, when it comes to the hadith of the Prophet as a representation of the importance of education in the spirit of religion, the representation of Faith and Knowledge is strong. According to him, the most important trait of Indonesian people is "integrity and intellectual courage" through the quote of hadith:

"... told by Abi Said El Khoudri ... about the question to the Prophet Muhammad that if someone had participated in an event where he was about to say something, he would not speak up. The Prophet Muhammad replied that on the Day of Judgment Allah would ask, "What prevents you from declaring it?" And if the answer is because he is afraid of people, then God will answer, "We only have to fear Me."

3. Conclusion

So at a glance understand Soedjatmoko, one of the Indonesian intellectual figures that we have ever had. Socialist figures and intellectuals whose journey of thinking (r) evolutively from proletarian socialism moves into popular socialism and ultimately relies on human religiosity, approaches Islam and simultaneously repackages it in the form of Soft Religiosity. So? Do we still want to impose the "ferocious" way of thinking of communism or Marxist socialism as in the past, which Soedjatmoko clearly portrays as: "a serious warning about the fate of the socialist struggle if it is used in good interests against humanity . "An interesting one from poetry or Kahin and Barnett (1990) as fragment, deep reflection of the spiritual journey for humanity:

*There is a Javanese saying
that life is a brief stop for a sip of water
on a longer spiritual journey.
In this view, all of our experiences,
the way we go through the rites of passage,
from birth to adulthood,
marriage and parenthood,
to old age and death,
all our loves and friendships,
all our commitments,
all our compassion,
and the way we learn to deal with
our failures, disappointments,
and misfortunes,
constitute the makings for human growth
on this longer spiritual journey.*

I personally am very unhappy with the religiosity subtlety of him, how the views of Islam and the power of religious religion cannot be removed from the face of the earth. As a key point of thinking that is very value-laden, it is then offered on how alternatives to solving national problems such as poverty, middle technology adoption education are more suitable for countries such as Indonesia and most countries in Asia. The alternative carried out through policy praxis as well as research whose methodology is primarily social science needs to accommodate local values in the free space of the paradigmatic West mindset is an attractive offer for the development of humanity, justice and the future of the country and the earth, according to him in his capacity as Khalifatullah fil Ardh.

Even so, the mentality of Soedjatmoko is still at the level of escaping from political battles and has an acute fear of the political background of his past socialism, but is giddy when he enters the space of religiosity, and it is evident that he is forced to gamble on New Order power until his death. He is not yet straightforward in pushing for his Islam and at the same time offering national salvation and universality on a map of Religiosity which is clearly very beautifully presented textually to be maximized in the real world. Maybe what I have captured from him based on some of the books that I have read is indeed incomplete and comprehensive so that it cannot capture the substance of Soedjarmoko's. Wallahua'alam.

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