

The Meaning of Tolerance in K. H. A. Hasyim Muzadi's Speech at the Presidential Palace: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract: Conflicts of ethnicity and religions that recently occurred in Indonesia portrayed that the concept of tolerance built over the years is getting to be forgotten. Currently, the occurrence of polarization results the dispute of having mutual superior feeling among groups. Intolerance does not only occur among inter-religious groups, but also occur between community organizations (ormas), football supporter, political organizations, to the House of Representatives member both national and regional levels. This study aims at finding the meaning of tolerance expressed in K. H. A. Hasyim Muzadi speech at the Presidential Palace. The qualitative method is used by using critical discourse analysis approach. Through analysis of clause transitivity and the rules of macro, researchers found macro propositions that contain the meaning of tolerance. Those macro propositions represented in the topics of justice, management of economy, law, and social, protection and freedom in religion, self-integrity and social, economic and law justice, nationalism.

Keywords: *speech, macro proposition, meaning of tolerance, Hasyim Muzadi*

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has a diversity of ethnicities, cultures, religions and local languages. Indonesian people historically are part of cultural community of Nusantara (term of Indonesian archipelago). Indonesia has been internalized for centuries by the culture of "North", such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. Various philological studies suggest that Indonesia is not only able to absorb, but also capable to process the foreign cultural waves become its own without losing the roots. Meanwhile, the philological studies had noted that Indonesia already has an epistemology, the "tolerance" and "ability to adapt" (Hoed, 2016). Today, that precious cultural heritage tends to be forgotten. The term tolerance is often pronounced, but its meaning is increasingly less understood, and even intolerant actions have been showed in social practice to date. Brawl

among people, both set in ethnicity, religion, and other interest of groups (including students and scholars) occur more frequently. All of it proved that tolerance is not visible and applied in social practices in Indonesia.

K. H. A. Hasyim Muzadi (hereinafter referred to as AHM) is a religious leader who is not only known as a scholar or cleric, but also known as the nation's political leaders and teachers. AHM has served as the chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama for period of 1999-2004 and 2004-2009. He established an institution called the International Conference of Islamic Scholars (ICIS) as a platform for both scholars, academics and scholars to jointly promote world peace. In addition to be the General Secretary of ICIS, AHM has also served as President of the World Conference on Religions for Peace (WCRP). His last role was Rais Syuriah

Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) throughout 2010-2015 and Member of the Presidential Advisory Council (Watimpres) in the period of 2015-2017.

In June 2012, AHM answered the charges of UN member states in the UN Human Rights Council session through the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) mechanism in Geneva, Switzerland in May 2012 said that Indonesian citizens indicate the attitude of religious intolerance so many cases of violence happened. AHM in his capacity as President of the World Conference on Religions for Peace (WCRP) and the Secretary General of the International Conference of Islamic Scholars (ICIS) has denied the allegations through his statements and speeches.

AHM passed on March 16th, 2017. Nevertheless, his thinking about the meaning of tolerance is still stored in his speeches he did in different times, opportunities and places. In addition, AHM is considered as a very tolerant cleric, scholar and community leader.

Silalahi (2010) in his research analyzed the concept of 'revolution' that President Soekarno had espoused specifically in the era of Guided Democracy. The basis concept of revolution of this research is manifested in a number of linguistic expressions in national speeches in the era of 1962-1966 or commonly known as Guided Democracy during the reign of President Soekarno.

Silalahi (2010) found that Soekarno's expressions in his speeches had implications for his political goals. This research begins with constructing operational definitions to provide a clear picture about the object studied. Through relying on the analysis of meaning components, Silalahi (2010) constructed the operational definitions from a number of references. Through analysis of meaning components, an operational definition was constructed as the basis for finding the propositions that reflect the concept of

revolution in the analyzed speeches. Each found proposition was reconstructed by using the Macro Rule of Van Dijk (1980) to find a macro proposition that reflected the concept of revolution globally. Then, the illocutionary power was sought in a broader context through the macro propositions constructed to find linguistic actions carried out in Soekarno's speech

The difference between Silalahi's research (2010) and this research lie in the respective theoretical and methodological foundation in analyzing data. If Silalahi (2010) fundamentally and comprehensively uses the theoretical and methodological foundations developed by Van Dijk (1980), this analysis of this study was carried out through the analysis of clauses transitivity that construct macro propositions that contain tolerance meaning.

Rasyid (2016) wrote an article about Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin from the view of AHM. The primary data source used in this paper is a speech entitled "Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin menuju Keadilan dan Perdamaian Dunia" (Nahdlatul Ulama Perspective) delivered by AHM at the inauguration of Doctor Honoris Causa (Dr. H. C.) at IAIN Sunan Ampel, Surabaya in 2016. The method used is the study of Islamic literature sourced from books and the Al-Quran.

In his writing, Rasyid (2016) made a conclusion about the idea of Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin regarding the perspective of AHM as follows: First, the idea of Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin is inclusive, even though it contains exclusive teachings. Exclusivism is part of the religion internal subjectivity. In the middle of the Qur'an, there is the word *walyatalatof*, usually in Al Quran printed in Indonesia use red and thickened ink which means soft. Second, Islam as a religion and the Prophet Muhammad as its bearer, are both present to bring the highest peace, gentleness and kindness. A human being who is religious, but not to the

highest level of humanity, he is a religious liar (Surah Al-Maun, 107: 1-3). The highest goodness is balanced religious polarization, between vertical and horizontal. Third, the concept of Islami Rahmatan lil Alamin by AHM emphasized that Pancasila is not a religion, but is not contradictory with the religion. Pancasila is not the way, but the meeting point between many different paths. Only Pancasila can unify the diversity of religion, ethnicity, culture and language. Pancasila is the basic state that distinguishes between religious and secular countries; it is not religion, but protects all religions and ethnicities so that Indonesia is not secular. Thus, through this political approach, the vision of Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin tends to the Islamic Society rather than the Islamic State.

The difference between Rasyid's (2016) research and this research lies in the theoretical and methodological foundation of analyzing the data. Rasyid (2016) used theoretical foundations based on Islamic literature. In this study, the analysis was carried out using the theoretical foundation of critical discourse analysis through the analysis of transitivity clauses and analysis of macro propositions.

Hermawati, et al. (2016) wrote a journal about the level of tolerance among religious people of Bandung City which have social and cultural diversity. The data used are questionnaires obtained through quantitative methods by conducting surveys to the Bandung people as respondents. The generalization of relations pattern among interfaith groups could be obtained and was measured through the extent to which religious adherents determine their social gap to other religious adherents. Besides measuring the social gap that reflects religious tolerance in Bandung, this study also adds government attitudes and community expectations of the government as two important variables to know how much public perception and expectation of

government's role in maintaining the condition of interfaith harmony.

Based on the data processing and analysis result, Hermawati, et al. (2016) concluded that the tolerance index among religious people in Bandung amounted to 3.82 which indicates good social interaction between religious people in Bandung and within reasonable social gap limits. The majority of respondents have a positive perception toward the statements related to tolerance among religious people, as reflected also in attitudes among religious people who are willing to openly accept the existence of different religions follower in the realm of social and professional relations, although limited to the public or formal dimension from social interaction. The possible conflict is generally triggered by permits to build worship place in the realm of government authority. Religious issues are still a strong factor in triggering in-group and out-group identity-based sentiments, so that it can lead to conflict. The majority of respondents expect the government to play more substantive role in regulating the religious people life, fulfill the guarantees of religious rights, and creating a conducive tolerance situation, such as through strengthening the Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama (Harmony of Religious People Forum) and multicultural education.

The differences of Hermawati's research (2016) and this research is on a theoretical and methodological basis of analyzing data. If Hermawati (2016) used quantitative methods through respondents survey to find the tolerance levels in Bandung. In this study, the analysis was conducted qualitatively through the analysis of clause transitivity in AHM lecture at the State Palace to find the meaning of tolerance within nation and religion life.

Researchers assume that AHM used certain words choices to express his ideas and thoughts on various issues of religion, nation and state. Therefore, through his

speech, researchers intend to find the meaning of tolerance and discourse topic are revealed through AHM's speech.

2. METHOD

This study used a qualitative method using a discourse analysis approach. In this approach, the relationship between form and function of the language in discourse is the main goal of this study. This statement is aligning with the definition of discourse expressed by Renkema (2004) which states that the study of discourse is a discipline that focuses on investigating the relationship of form and function in verbal communication. Through these relationships can be found meaning communicated through discourse.

The primary data used is AHM's speech that performed at the Presidential Palace on December 23rd, 2015. The audio-visual data are transcribed. The transcription result of 7 pages text are then analyzed using grammatical analysis to discover the meaning of 'tolerance' and discourse topic expressed in AHM's speech at the Presidential Palace.

This study uses the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by Norman Fairclough. To identify a discourse that is contained in a text, Fairclough connect the study of micro text with the macro, which is a community context. According to Fairclough (1995), an analysis of the text means analyzing the texture of the text, such as the form and arrangement, and not just an explanation of the text content, but also through the sorting of social and cultural phenomena that oriented and realized on the property of text texture through making indicator of socio-cultural processes, relationships and change.

Critical Discourse Analysis Fairclough done by observing the integration of three dimensions, namely text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practices.

On the dimension text, Fairclough (1992) create a framework for analyzing the

text. The text is written or spoken language produced in a discursive event. At this stage, the text analysis is done through transitivity and proposition analysis. First, transitivity analysis used to express relationships and social identity, representation, and distribution of information by using the theory of SFL Halliday (2014). Second, the analysis of macro propositions used to reveal key ideas rule the speech by using the van Dijk (1980) theory of macro.

Analysis of grammar used the SFL theory Halliday (2014). Fairclough (2010) states that the text is analyzed based on relationships and social identity, representation, and distribution of information. This element is in line with the Halliday's (2014) point of view called ideational function. The distribution of information relating to how the information is presented that regarding to Halliday (2014) is referred to as textual function.

Macro proposition is the meaning of a discourse that is built through inter-propositions relationship and has global characteristic (Van Dijk, 1980, p. 43). Getting the macro propositions in a discourse can be done through four ways of applying the macro rules.

First, the deletion rule which the irrelevant propositions of other propositions interpretation in discourse is deleted. Second, the selection rule applied to a proposition which is a requirement of interpretation from other propositions in the text. Third, the generalization rule applied to a number of specific propositions to be transformed into a more general proposition. Fourth, the construction rule applied by means of constructing new propositions based on the meanings of existing propositions.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the data processing that refers to the operational definition of tolerance regarding to the dimensions of religion, state, educational, economic, legal, social, cultural, language, and nation, the meaning of tolerance is described in nine (9) paragraphs as follows:

1. *Perhatikan! Betapa ilmu itu diletakkan pada setiap dan itu harus dibaca, maka salah besar orang yang memisahkan ilmu agama dengan ilmu sains dan teknologi karena dia bersumber dari kekuasaan Allah yang sama. Nah, ilmu ini diberikan kepada seluruh manusia tanpa memandang agama sebagai bagian dari rahmaniyatullah. Orang Kristen yang sekolah dokter, insyaallah bisa jadi dokter tapi orang NU ndak sekolah dokter, tetep ndak bisa jadi dokter. Jadi dukun sudah alhamdulillah. Jadi ini kompetitif, bukan otoritatif*

Paragraph 1 was constructed by a demanding and offering clauses in semantic framework. The demanding clause is indicated by the verb attention. It shows that the AHM as the speaker wants to instruct the audience, all people who attended at the State Palace for paying attention to what he delivered. Meanwhile, interpersonally, through the offering clause, the speaker positioned himself as information provider about ideational functions delivered.

Ideationally (mainly from the experiential aspect), through the selected transitivity, these paragraphs reveal about the essence of knowledge through material processes that are realized by the verb *diletakkan* (put), *dibaca* (read), *bersumber* (sourced), *diberikan* (given). Thoses processes are realized through the verbs that have related meaning to the actor, namely Allah. In this case, through the material process, AHM want to describe the meaning of tolerance by describing the revelation of knowledge to the whole

mankind. The revelation process of knowledge is done by Allah equally.

Based on the analysis of transitivity clauses above, through deletion and generalization, researchers found macro proposition of Tuhan memberikan ilmu secara adil (God gives the knowledge equally). Referring to the operational definition, the macro proposition implies the meaning of tolerance, which is to be equal. The meaning of to be equal in the religious dimension encompass:

- It does not separate the knowledge of religion with science and technology
 - Knowledge is given to all human beings regardless of religion
2. *Yang ketiga, peristiwa hijrah Nabi Besar Muhammad saw. Peristiwa hijrah ini adalah melengkapi hablu minallah menjadi hablun minannas. Di situ diatur perdagangan, hak milik, hak perorangan dan hak kolektif, bagaimana mengatur titik-titik ekonomi?, bagaimana bedanya ekonomi dengan hukum?, bagaimana mempertahankan budaya? Seluruhnya ada pada periode Madinah. Ada dua aspek di situ. Pertama adalah aspek kemasyarakatan. Yang kedua, aspek sistem kenegaraan.*

The clauses above belong to the offering information clauses. This means that interpersonally, AHM as the speaker position himself as an information provider about *hijrah* (movement) of the Great Prophet Muhammad. The *hijrah* is illustrated the ideational (especially the experiential aspect) of transitivity, which are relational, material and existential process.

Relational process is realized through the noun phrase *peristiwa hijrah ini* (this moment of movement) as the participant has intencity relation with the noun phrase *hablu minallah menjadi hablunminannas*, social aspects, and aspects of the state system. The process is realized

by verbs arranged material that has a relationship with the pronoun meaning in it that refers to the noun phrase event this move. Meanwhile, an existential process realized by the verb is nothing to suggest the existence of noun phrases in the Medina period and two aspek it.

Through the process of relational, AHM describe peristiwa hijrah Nabi Besar Muhammad saw by making the definition / identification to show understanding that the moment of movement complement *hablu minallah menjadi hablunminannas*. Through the material process, AHM describe peristiwa hijrah Nabi Besar Muhammad saw as physical activity that regulate the economy, law, and culture. Meanwhile, through the existential process, AHM describe peristiwa hijrah Nabi Besar Muhammad saw through showing the existence of the Medina period and there are two aspects involved in that events, namely the aspects of social and state system.

Based on the transitivity analysis of clauses above, through deletion and generalization rules, researchers found macro proposition of Negara dan masyarakat mengelola ekonomi, hukum, dan budaya (states and societies manage the economy, law, and culture). That macro proposition implies the meaning of tolerance that is responsible. The meaning of to be responsible in the dimensions of economic, law and culture are including:

- to be able to regulate the economy
- to enforce the law
- to be able to preserve the culture

3. *Seringkali ibadah dan tauhid kita yang menumbuhkan hablun minallah menjadi kesalehan pribadi itu tidak tembus menjadi kesalehan sosial. Ini harus diakui kelemahan umat Islam. Mungkin di seluruh dunia. Adanya pertarungan-pertarungan antar umat Islam pasti karena iman dan tauhid tidak tembus kepada muamalah tata sosialnya itu. Kadang-kadang kita*

malu terhadap yang tidak menggunakan Islam, tetapi dia lebih tertib daripada kita.

The clauses above belong to the clauses on statement that exchange the information (offering information). It means that interpersonally, AHM as the speaker position himself as a information provider about worship and monotheism. Worship and monotheism are illustrated ideationally (especially the experiential aspect) from transitivity, through the material process, relational process, existential process and mental processes.

Through the process of material, AHM describe worship and monotheism that is not being social devotion is the weakness of Muslim community. Through the process of relational, AHM describe worship and monotheism by making identification to show understanding that worship and monotheism fostering personal devotion supposed to be a social devotion. In this process, AHM was using modal expression *harus* (must). This modal expression was used to lead the listeners to perform an action as what the speaker want, which AHM asked the audience to identify the weaknesses of the Muslims. Through the existential process, AHM described the existence of worship and monotheism that is not being social devotion will generate dispute among the Muslims. Through the mental process, AHM described the worship and monotheism through an affective process to show that speakers and listeners felt the same way, feel embarrassing to people who are not Muslim because they are more orderly than Muslims.

Based on the transitivity analysis of clauses above, through the deletion rule and generalization rule, the macro proposition of Kesalehan pribadi harus menjadi kesalehan sosial (personal devotion should be the social devotion). Referring to the operational definition, the macro proposition implies the meaning of tolerance, which is self-controlling and creating peaceful atmosphere. The meaning of self-

controlling and creating peaceful atmosphere in the social and the state dimension include:

- Do not make a fuss
 - Do not take other people's property
4. *Ini yang menyebabkan Rasulullah saw, pada tahun kedua hijrah Nabi Besar Muhammad saw membuat sebuah aturan negeri Madinah. Namanya menarik, bukan negara Islam tapi piagam Madinah artinya konsensus penduduk Madinah. Nah, yang menarik adalah bahwa piagam Madinah itu tidak disebut sebagai Dawlah Islamiyah tapi disebut sebagai konsensus negeri Madinah yang memungkinkan dan dia diberi ruang siapa pun untuk mengembangkan agama Rasulullah saw tanpa harus mematikan orang yang beragama yang lain.*

The clauses above belong to the clauses on statement that exchange the information (offering information). It means that interpersonally, AHM as the speaker position himself as information provider on the second year of Prophet Muhammad's hijrah. The moment was illustrated ideationally (especially the experiential aspect) through the transitivity, which are the relational processes and material processes.

Through a relational process, AHM described the second year of the moment Great Prophet Muhammad's hijrah through making identification about the Medina's rules. The rule is called the Charter of Medina which is the consensus of Medina's people. Through the material process that is realized by the verbs *diberi* (given) that show physical activity, AHM described the Charter of Medina as a rule that provide protection and freedom to the people to embrace religion.

Based on the transitivity analysis of clauses above, through deletion rule and generalization rule, researchers found the macro proposition macro of Negara harus memberikan perlindungan dan kebebasan dalam memeluk agama (state should

provide protection and freedom to embrace religion). The macro proposition implies the meaning of tolerance that is to be responsible and not overbearing. The meaning of responsible and not overbearing in the religious and state dimension include:

- Mutual protection among religions
 - Mutual respect among religions
5. *Yang kedua, ingat saya ada ukhuwah baynal adyan. Jadi lintas agama ini bagaimana? Aturannya sudah jelas. Untuk urusannya duniawiyah yang tidak menyangkut tata ullah, bareng. Pembangunan fisik segala macam, bareng. Kalau ibadah itu biar sendiri-sendiri aja tapi baik ibadah yang di luar maupun di dalam harus menghasilkan sebuah integritas diri dan juga komunitas sosial yang homogen.*

The clauses above belong to the clauses in the form of offering information. It means that interpersonally, AHM as the speaker position himself as an information provider on inter-religious rules. The interfaith rules are described ideationally (especially the experiential aspect) from the transitivity, which are existential process and material process.

Existential process is realized by the verb *ada* that suggest the presence of noun phrase inter-faith rule (*ukhuwah baynal adyan*) which plays as an existent. The material processes are realized through omitted verb. Through the meaning relation between the target and actor, then the omitted verb can be filled by the verb *dilakukan* (done). Moreover, *ibadah* (worship) is represented as something active, personified that is able to produce two things characterizing the tolerance, namely homogeneous integrity and social communities.

Through the existential process, AHM described the existence of interfaith (*Ukhuwah baynal adyan*) that has clear rules. Through the material process, AHM described the interfaith rules (*ukhuwah baynal adyan*) with the physical activity of conducting social activity together and

doing worship separately. AHM used imperative mode characterized by modal expression *harus* (must) need to emphasize and convince his listeners about the purpose of the traffic rules of the religion.

Based on transitivity analysis of clauses above, through the deletion rule and generalization rule, the researchers found the macro proposition of Keberadaan aturan lintas agama harus menghasilkan integritas diri dan komunitas sosial yang homogen (the existence of interfaith rules should result self-integrity and homogeneous social community). Referring to the operational definition, the macro proposition implies the meaning of tolerance which is having respect, accepting differences and not overbearing. The significance of having respect, accepting differences, and not overbearing in the social and religious dimensions include:

- Mutual respect in religious life
- Mutual help in the social life

6. *Ekonomi dan hukum dibedakan di dalam Mitsaqul Madinah. Kalau hukum itu sama rata sama rasa. Harus sama. Tidak perlu dia yang mulai, yang terhormat, atau yang terhormat pindah menjadi yang mulia, atau yang sangat mulia, atau yang masyaallah mulianya. Sama. Hingga Rasulullah, andainya itu Fatimah mencuri, saya akan potong tangannya. Memotong tangan ini jangan diartikan selalu fisik, tetapi memotong kesempatan untuk mencuri. Nah, tapi kalau ekonomi itu sama-sama merasakan. Jadi rata. Pokoknya negara menyiapkan pemerataan saja.*

The clauses above belong to the clauses in the form of offering information. Interpersonally, AHM as the speaker position himself as information provider about the economics and law in Mitsaqul Medina. The economics and law are described ideationally (especially aspects experiential) through the transitivity, which are the relational process, the material process and mental processes.

Relational process are realized by the verb *dibedakan* (differentiated) and *jangan diartikan* (should not be interpreted) having meaning relation with noun phrase *ekonomi dan hukum* and *memotong tangan ini* that play as the participant (token) and noun phrases *di dalam Mitsaqul Medina* and *selalu fisik* that play role as participant (value). The material process is realized by the verb *mencuri* (steal), *potong* (cut), and *menyiapkan* (prepare). Meanwhile, the mental process is realized by the verb *merasakan* (sensing) that related to the noun phrase *ekonomi itu* that acts as a participant (phenomenon).

Through the relational process, AHM described the management of economic and law in Mitsaqul Medina. Through the material process, AHM described the management economic and physical law to manifest the economic and legal justice. Meanwhile, through the mental process, AHM described the perception of economic and law management, which is *sama-sama merasakan* (feeling the same).

Based on the transitivity analysis of clauses above, through the deletion rule and generalization rule, had found the macro proposition *Negara harus mewujudkan keadilan ekonomi dan hukum* (the state should create economic and legal justice). Referring to the operational definition, the macro proposition implies the meaning of tolerance, which to be fair and responsible. The meaning of being fair and responsible in the economic, legal, and state dimension include:

- The existence of economic equality
- The existence of law enforcement

7. *Wahai para orang-orang yang bertugas, penyelenggara-penyelenggara negara, kalau mengambil rezeki dari perut bumi, SDA, mengumpulkan uang fai', mengumpulkan pajak-pajak, kalau sudah terkumpul, bagi rata. Tidak harus sama. Untuk tujuan perjuangan agama, untuk fakir, untuk miskin, untuk anak gelandangan itu posnya harus jelas.*

The clauses above belong to clauses on statements that exchange the information (offering information). It means that interpersonally, AHM as a speaker position himself as an information provider about the state's duties in managing the economy in terms of natural resources, *fa'i* money, and taxes. This is illustrated ideationally (especially the experiential aspect) of transitivity, namely material processes. Through the material process, AHM described task of the state in managing the economy through physical activity, such as taking sustenance, collecting *fa'i* money and taxes which are then distributed equally.

Based on the transitivity analysis of the clauses above, through the deletion rule and generalization rule, researchers had found the macro propositions of *negara harus mewujudkan keadilan ekonomi* (the state must realize the economic justice). Referring to the operational definition, the macro proposition implies the meaning of tolerance which is being fair and responsible. The meaning of being fair and responsible in the economic and religious dimensions includes:

- to be able to manage the economy fairly
 - to be able to share the results of economic management evenly
8. *Kemudian, ada lagi yang istimewa, kalau Madinah diserang, maka seluruh agama-agama dan potensi negara itu harus bersama-sama melawan serangan itu. Inilah nasionalisme Islam. Kalau istilah Bung Karno dulu waktu saya masih sekolah, sammen bundling fan alen nasionale kraten, satukan kekuatan negara itu untuk menghadapi orang dari luar. Maka nasionalisme sebetulnya inheren dengan seluruh ajaran Nabi Besar Muhammad saw. Ketika itu kita lakukan, maka kita akan menuju baldatun tayyibatun wa rabbun ghafur tapi kalau kita berjalan sebaliknya daripada itu*

maka kita harus mempertanggungjawabkan kepada Allah di akhirat nanti.

The clauses above belong to clauses in the form of offering information. It means that interpersonally, AHM as a speaker positioned himself as an information provider about Medina. It is illustrated ideationally (especially the experiential aspect) through transitivity of material processes and relational processes.

Through the material process, AHM described Medina through the verb as physical activity which is all religions and potential religions had to fight together when Medina is attacked. Through the relational process, AHM described Medina through identification, which state unity is a form of nationalism.

Based on the transitivity analysis of the clauses above, through the deletion rule and generalization rule, researchers had found the macro propositions of *Seluruh agama dan potensi negara harus menjaga keamanan negara* (all religions and the potential state must maintain state security). Referring to the operational definition, the macro proposition contains the meaning of tolerance, which is responsible. The meaning of responsibility in the state and religious dimensions includes:

- Unifying the power of religion and state
 - Maintaining the state security
9. *Di dunia hukum relatif. Kadang-kadang hukum tidak berdaya, maka harus ada keadilan yang sesungguhnya dan itu tempatnya adalah di Mahkamah Allah swt. Semoga Allah melindungi kita sekalian. Melindungi negara kita. Melindungi iman kita. Melindungi keilmuan kita. Mudah-mudahan Allah melindungi ibadah kita. Kemudian, dalam komunitas menuju Allah dalam suasana rabbun ghafur, dalam konteks Islam yang rahmatan lil alamanin.*

The clauses above belong to clauses in the form of offering information. It means that interpersonally, AHM as a

speaker positioned himself as information provider about the realm of law. This is illustrated ideationally (especially the experimental aspect) through transitivity of relational processes, existential processes, and material processes.

Through the relational process, AHM described the realm of law by making identification that law is relative. The relative nature is a characteristic and interpretation about law which is sometimes helpless. Through an existential process, AHM described the realm of law that has a purpose of justice. Through material processes, AHM described the law that is realized by verb that show physical activity to realize legal justice that is able to create a peaceful ambience in social life and society.

Based on the transitivity analysis of the clauses above, through the deletion rule and generalization rule, researchers had found the macro propositions of negara harus mewujudkan keadilan hukum (the state must realize legal justice). Macro propositions implies the meaning of tolerance, which is being fair and responsible. The meaning of being fair and responsible in the legal and state dimensions include:

- existence of law enforcement
- existence of legal certainty

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the above analysis, researchers found nine (9) propositions macro that contain the meaning of tolerance expressed in an AHM's speech at the Presidential Palace. The macro proposition is constructed by transitivity clauses that ideationally depicted in the material process, mental process, relational process, and existential process.

Referring to the opinion of Van Dijk (1980), the topic of discourse can be found through the discovery process of macro propositions. The topic shows the most important information or core of the message to be conveyed. The topics were

revealed in AHM's speech at the Presidential Palace reflected in the table 1 below:

Table 1. Topic and Meaning of Tolerance

Macro proposition	Meaning of Tolerance	Topic
Tuhan memberikan ilmu secara adil (God gives the knowledge equally)	- It does not separate the knowledge of religion with science and technology - Knowledge is given to all human beings regardless of religion	Justice
Negara dan masyarakat mengelola ekonomi, hukum, dan budaya (States and societies manage the economy, law, and culture)	- to be able to regulate the economy - to enforce the law - to be able to preserve the culture	Management of Economy, Law, and Culture
Kesalehan pribadi harus menjadi kesalehan sosial (Personal devotion should be the social devotion)	- Do not make a fuss - Do not take other people's property	Self-integrity and Social
Negara harus memberikan perlindungan dan kebebasan dalam memeluk agama (state should provide protection and freedom to embrace religion)	- Mutual protection among religions - Mutual respect among religions	Protection and Freedom in Religion
Keberadaan aturan lintas	- Mutual respect	Self-integrity and Social

agama harus menghasilkan integritas diri dan komunitas sosial yang homogen (the existence of interfaith rules should result self-integrity and homogeneous social communitie)	religious life	
Negara harus mewujudkan keadilan ekonomi dan hukum (the state should create economic and legal justice)	- Mutual help in the social life	
Negara harus mewujudkan keadilan ekonomi (the state must realize the economic justice)	- The existence of economic equality	Economic and Law Justice
Seluruh agama dan potensi negara harus menjaga keamanan Negara (all religions and the potential state must maintain state security)	- The existence of law enforcement	
negara harus mewujudkan keadilan hukum (the state must realize legal justice)	- to be able to manage the economy fairly	Economic Justice
	- to be able to share the results of economic management evenly	
	- Unifying the power of religion and state	Nationalism
	- Maintaining the state security	
	- existence of law enforcement	Law Justice
	- existence of legal certainty	

In this case, AHM wanted to illustrate the meaning of tolerance represented in the topics of justice, economic management, law and culture, self integrity and social, protection and freedom in religion, economic and law justice, nationalism.

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