Theologising democracy in the context of Muhammadiyah's *ijtihād*

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Abstract

This article seeks to examine how the process of Muhammadiyah's *ijtihād* has evolved, specifically in constructing the notion of *Negara Pancasila sebagai Dār al*'Ahd wa al-Shahādah (the state of consensus and witness) and the arguments on which it is built. The scholarly issues that have been highlighted in this article on this specific discourse have not been done yet, the *ijtihad* in the field of *Siyar* (law of war and international relations in Islamic traditions), which has been elaborated with ideas of contemporary social sciences is very rare, and the discourse of *Siyar* has dominantly covered only the area of Middle East. Accordingly, this article confidently fulfils these gaps by applying a qualitative research method and analysis of social contextualisation. This article argues that the way of Muhammadiyah's *ijtihād* in producing the idea of Indonesia as the state of consensus and witness is applying theologising democracy. It consists of a trajectory in which Muhammadiyah has objectified Islam and substantialised it to enhance the meaning of democracy. Artikel ini memfokuskan diri untuk meneliti bagaimana proses ijtihad Muhamadiyah dilakukan, khususnya dalam mengkonstruksi gagasan *Negara Pancasila sebagai Dār al-*'Ahd wa al-Shahādah (negara perjanjian dan persaksikan) dan bagaimana pula argumentasi-argumentasi yang kokoh diajukan. Isu krusial yang disoroti di dalam artikel ini adalah kajian mengenai *ijtihad* dalam bidang *Siyar* (hukum perang dan hubungan internasional dalam tradisi Islam) yang mengelaborasi berbagai gagasan ilmu sosial kontemporer yang sangat jarang dilakukan. Di samping itu, wacana tentang Siyar secara dominan hanya menjangkau wilayah Timur Tengah, bukan Asia Tenggara, terlebih Indonesia. Karena itu, artikel ini ingin mengisi berbagai kekosongan kajian tersebut dengan menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dan analisis kontekstualisasi sosial. Sebagai temuan, artikel ini berargumentasi bahwa cara Muhammadiyah berijtihad dalam konteks memproduksi gagasan *Dār al-'Ahd wa al-Shahādah* adalah teologisasi demokrasi. Secara lebih detil teologisasi ini ditempuh melalui jalan obyektivikasi dan substansialisasi Islam dalam rangka memperkuat makna demokrasi.

Keywords: Siyar; Negara Pancasila; Dār al-'Ahd wa al-Shahādah; Theologising democracy; Objectification of Islam

Introduction

In 2015, Muhammadiyah¹ proclaimed the notion of *Negara Pancasila sebagai Dār al-*'Ahd *wa al-Shahādah* (the state of consensus and witness).² It is an idea that provides an intellectual reconciliation between the state ideology of Pancasila³ and the doctrine of *Siyar*.⁴ This notion means that Indonesia

¹Muhammadiyah is the largest modernist Muslim organisation which has been considered puritan and reformist. See Ahmad Najib Burhani, "Muhammadiyah," in *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*. Oxford Islamic Studies Online, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t343/e0296 (accessed May 10, 2019).

²Muhammad Ali, "The Muhammadiyah's 47th Congress and 'Islam Berkemajuan'", Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2015), 378.

³Pancasila is the five state principles of Indonesia. See Eka Darmaputera, *Pancasila and the Search for Identity and Modernity in Indonesian Society*, Leiden: EJ Brill, 1988; Benyamin Fleming Intan, *Public Religion and the Pancasila-Based State of Indonesia: An Ethical and Sociological Analysis*, New York: Peter Lang, 2008.

⁴Siyar is a special discipline in Islamic law which terminologically means conducting Islamic or Muslim states in relation with other communities. See Majid Khadduri, "The Islamic

is the state based on Pancasila (*Negara Pancasila*), and since Pancasila was conceptualised through the national consensus by its founding fathers, Indonesia should be understood as the state of consensus ($d\bar{a}r$ al'ahd)—that is, neither the Islamic state ($d\bar{a}r al$ · $lsl\bar{a}m$) nor the state of war ($d\bar{a}r al$ ·harb). Through this meaning, Muhammadiyah emphasises that it supports a moderate Islamic concept of democracy. However, support is not enough; rather, it believes that guaranteeing the process of substantial democratisation and the state development of Indonesia is needed. Accordingly, Muhammadiyah adds the concept of $d\bar{a}r al$ · $shah\bar{a}dah$ (the state of witness). With this conceptual addition, Muhammadiyah intends that its activists and Indonesian Muslims should generally involve themselves in an agenda of state democratisation and development in order to ensure that the ideal of Indonesia becoming "the sovereign, just and prosperous state which is granted by God's blessing" (*baldatun țayyibatun wa rabbun* $ghaf\bar{u}r$) will be achieved.⁵

It can be emphasised here that the notion implicitly contains a discourse on democracy as *Negara Indonesia* itself has been projected as a democratic state. This projection has gained its place mainly in the post authoritarian era while the political climate has been more inclusive and relatively liberal. In this context, political opportunities and freedom have been widely opened. The ultimate goal of these opportunities and freedoms is to facilitate and nurture so-called civil liberty. However, it has also generated adverse effects, one of which is the massive flourishing of

Theory of International Relations and Its Contemporary Relevance", in Harris Proctor (ed.), *Islam and International Relations*, London; Dunmow: Pall Mall Press, 1965, 25; Muhammed ibn al-Hasan al-Shaybani, *The Islamic Law of Nations*, translated by Majid Khadduri, Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966, 3.

⁵Haedar Nashir, "Muhammadiyah Membangun Integrasi Keislaman dan Kebangsaan Menuju Indonesia Berkemajuan", in Faozan Amar et.al. (eds.), *Darul-Ahdi Wasy-Syahadah: Konteks*, Makna dan Aktualisasi untuk Indonesia Berkemajuan, Jakarta: Al-Wasat Publishing House, 2018, 20-21.

an Islamism that has tended to be conservative and even radical. In more liberal political practices, conservative and radical Muslims have likely gained benefits from the process of democratisation, although they have obviously fallen short of the ideal of democracy, which puts values of civility in a high place. Islamists have joined the political system but, at the same time, they have allegedly manipulated its substance and enforced their own ideologically monolithic system of politics that undermines the very fact of political and societal plurality. Some scholars have noted, for instance, that Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT) and Jamaah Anshorut Daulah (JAD) have insisted that Indonesia should be categorised as dar alharb (the state of war), its democratic political system is *kufr* (infidel) and its state principles of Pancasila is thaghut (evil).⁶ As a consequence, Indonesia, in their view, must be Islamised in whatever ways that they can effect this. In so doing, they stand in opposition to others who purport to defend democracy, anti-authoritarianism and anti-dehumanisation.

In this context, while Muhammadiyah has asserted the notion of $D\bar{a}r al$ 'Ahd wa al-Shahādah, it also emphasises its efforts to challenge the undemocratic political thought of Islamism. It consistently argues that Islamism threatens Indonesian democratisation and the development of Islamic thought which respects the essentials of the values of democracy. From the point of view of Islamic legal thought, this line of reasoning is a kind of *ijtihād*.⁷ As some of its activists have believed, it involve the

⁶Noorhaidi Hasan, The Making of Public Islam: Piety, Democracy and Youth in Indonesian Politics, Yogyakarta: Suka Press, 2013, 53.

⁷In Islamic legal thought, *ijtihād* means "a serious intellectual effort in formulating a certain legal issue based on the scriptural texts." Ali ibn Muhammad al-Jurjani, *Kitāb al-Ta'rīfāt*, Cairo: Matba'at al-Hamīdiyyah al-Misriyyah, 1903, 5. Regarding the term of *ijtihād*, Muhammadiyah, more or less, follows this definition. See Asjmuni Abdurrachman, "Sorotan terhadap beberapa Masalah Sekitar Ijtihad", in Pramono U. Tanthowi (ed.) *Begawan Muhammadiyah: Bunga Rampai Pidato Pengukuhan Guru Besar Tokoh Muhammadiyah*, Jakarta: PSAP, 2005, 57-84. But in the process of *ijtihād*, it involves an approach of "critical hermeneutics" to ensure its way

knitting together of two conceptual yarns—the reformed *Siyar* and Pancasila (Indonesian democracy). The method of its knitting is what they call 'theologising democracy.' This article will thus focus on the process by which it has evolved and the arguments on which it is built. This article argues that, in theologising democracy, Muhammadiyah has 'objectified' Islam⁸ and 'substantialised' it to enhance the meaning of democracy.

Muhammadiyah's methodology of Ijtihād

In the field of Islamic legal thought, Muhammadiyah has a special institution that has a special duty to conduct *ijtihād*, namely Majelis Tarjih.⁹ In this institution, Muhammadiyah's legal experts collectively perform *ijtihād*. They try to find a solution for problems on which there is no guidance in the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, or from *ijmā*' (consensus), *qiyās* (analogy), *istiḥsān* (preference), *iṣtiṣlaḥ* (the public good) or the '*ulamā*'s *fatāwa* (Islamic legal opinions).¹⁰ However, when they have to deal with the discourse of reconciliation between Pancasila and Islam, they have realised that this discourse relates to not only the issue of Islamic law, but also widely the issues of politics, society and culture. As a consequence, *ijtihād* on this specific discourse cannot be handled only by Majelis Tarjih.¹¹ It

of exegesis is productive (*al-qirāʿah al-muntijah*). See Amin Abdullah, "Kritis Hermeneutis Ala Muhammadiyah", *Suara Muhammadiyah*, Vol. 85, No. 12 (2000), 11.

⁸The specific term of "theologising democracy" that will be used here refers to Azhar Ibrahim's conceptualisation. See Azhar Ibrahim, "Towards Theologising Democracy: Sentiments on the Idea of Democracy in Muslim Southeast Asia", in *Contemporary Islamic Discourse in the Malay-Indonesian World*, Petaling Jaya: SRID, 2014, 121-157. In addition, the term of "objectification" refers to Kuntowijoyo, *Muslim Tanpa Masjid: Esai-Esai Agama, Budaya, dan Politik dalam Bingkai Strukturalisme Transendental*, Bandung: Mizan, 2001, 307-308. Both these terms will be subsequently discussed in the next part of "Theologising Democracy."

⁹Pradana Boy ZTF., Fatwa in Indonesia: An Analysis of Dominant Legal Ideas and Mode of Thought of Fatwa Making Agencies and Their Implications in the Post-New Order Period, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018, 246-254.

¹⁰Ahmad Azhar Basyir, "Pokok-Pokok Ijtihad dalam Hukum Islam", in Jalaluddin Rahmat (ed.), *Ijtihad dalam Sorotan*, Bandung: Mizan, 1988, 47.

¹¹An interview with Saad Ibrahim.

needs collaboratively an intellectual action that invites all Muhammadiyah experts from various disciplines of knowledge to join in the agenda of collective *ijtihād (ijtihād jamā'i)*.¹²

In conducting this *ijtihād*, Muhammadiyah refers to general values extracted from the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*. In diagnosing problems, Muhammadiyah applies an interdisciplinary approach referring to various disciplines of study such as the social sciences and humanities to find the main roots of the problems. Both extracted values and the results of interdisciplinary diagnosis have specifically been noted by Muhammadiyah intellectuals.¹³ On this point, Muhammadiyah's methodology of *ijtihād* is similar to that offered by Muslim intellectuals such as Fazlur Rahman, Tariq Ramadan, and Abdullah Saeed, who are concerned about excavating the ethical values of Islam in order to implement them in a certain place and time (*zeit und geit*)—indeed, after they have understood the new contextualisation.¹⁴

The first step that Muhammadiyah has undertaken is collecting the Quranic verses (*ayat*) which are relevant to the discourse of the reconciliation between Pancasila and Islam.¹⁵ This step has been followed by a historical inquiry into

¹²Ahmad Azhar Basyir, "Pokok-Pokok Ijtihad dalam Hukum Islam"..., 259; Ahmad Nur Fuad, Dari Reformis hingga Transformatif: Dialektika Intelektual Keagamaan Muhammadiyah, Malang: Intrans Publishing, 2015, 133-172.

¹³Amin Abdullah argues, "One salient feature of Muhammadiyah movement is its critical thinking, which by its nature will enable re-interrogating the dialectical relationship between 'text' and 'realities', or between 'normativity' of the Quran and Sunnah and the 'historicity' of Muslims' understanding of respective texts in particular periods." Amin Abdullah, "Manhaj Tarjih dan Pengembangan Pemikiran Keislaman", in Muhammad Azhar and Hamim Ilyas (eds.), Pengembangan Pemikiran Keislaman Muhammadiyah: Purifikasi dan Dinamisasi, Yogyakata: LPPI UMY, 2000, 7; See also Pradana Boy ZTF, Fatwa in Indonesia..., 229.

¹⁴Fazlur Rahman, *Islamic Methodology in History*, Islamabad: Central Institute of Islamic Research, 1995, 189; Abdullah Saeed, *Interpreting the Qur'an: Towards a Contemporary Approach*, New York: Routledge, 2006, 116-125; Abdullah Saeed, *Islam in Australia*, New South Wales: Allen & Unwin, 2003, 65; Tariq Ramadan, *Western Muslim and the Future of Islam*, 23-24, 55-61; Tariq Ramadan, *Radical Reform: Islamic Ethics and Liberation*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, 11-40.

¹⁵The selected verses that Muhammadiyah chooses are "Every Muslim has obligations to worship God (al-Qur'ān, Surah al-Zāriyāt: 56, Hud: 61), to do good and avoid evil (Ali Imran:

the Prophetic traditions (*aḥādīth*) that are relevant to the verses.¹⁶ This step is important to evaluate the context of the verses when they were revealed (*asbāb alnuzūl*). Sometimes, some *ḥādīths* also provide the specific explanations of why the Prophet Muhammad with his wisdom was doing something or talking about it (*asbāb alwurūd*). These steps aim to discover the essential meanings behind both the Quranic and Prophetic texts. However, this work is not as easy as applying textual interpretation (*bayānī*).¹⁷ It needs a further step to find links among relevant verses and their historical contexts. These links will explain the dialectic relations between inter-textuality of the verses and inter-contextuality of the Prophetic traditions.¹⁸ These relations provide a way of extracting principal ethical values (*maqāsid alshaīiʿah*).¹⁹

^{104),} to involve in developing the great 'moderate' *Ummah* (Ali Imran: 110, al-Baqarah: 143), in order to establish the great state with God's blessings (Saba: 15), to witness what he/she has struggled for (al-Baqarah: 143), because he/she is the deputy of God (al-Baqarah: 30) and says, 'Our God, give us in this world [that which is] good and in the Hereafter [that which is] good and protect us from the punishment of the Fire.' (al-Baqarah: 201)." See Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, *Negara Pancasila sebagai Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah*, 1-2.

¹⁶There are some peace accords initiated by the Prophet Muhammad that are relevant as sources of conceptualising the notion of *Dār al*.⁶Ahd wa al-Shahādah. In fact, one of them that was intensively discussed in the Muktamar Muhammadiyah in Makassar is the history of the Madinah Charter.

¹⁷Muhammadiyah adopts the approach of the Islamic legal reasoning formulated by an Egyptian philosopher, Muhammad Abed al-Jabiri, who initiates a three-in-one approach in conducting *ijtihād*: namely, a linguistic approach (*bayānī*), rational-speculative approach (*burhānī*) and mystical-spiritual approach (*'irfānī*). See Haedar Nashir, *Muhammadiyah Gerakan Pembaruan*, Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2010, 306; Amin Abdullah, "A-Ta'wil al-'Ilmi: Kearah Perubahan Paradigma Penafsiran Kitab Suci", *Al-Jami'ah*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2001), 359-391; Muhammad Abed al-Jabiri, *Bunyah al-'Aql al-'Arabī*, Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Wahda al-'Arabīyah, 1986; Muhammad Abed al-Jabiri, *Takwīn al-'Aql al-'Arabī*, Beirut: al-Markaz al-Tsaqāfi al-'Arabī, 1989. The first step that Muhammadiyah can do is using the linguistic approach (*bayānī*) to understand the general meaning of both Quranic and Prophetic texts.

¹⁸In this step, Muhammadiyah has played the roles of the approach of rational and speculative thinking (*burhānī*). Ahmad Nur Fuad, *Dari Reformis hingga Transformatif...*, 165-166.

¹⁹The last and the most important step for Muhammadiyah in undertaking *ijtihād* is extracting the ethical values behind the scriptural texts. It needs a deeper intellectual reflection, wisdom and also spiritual approach (*'irfānī*) that gains benefits from the roles of intuition when *mujtahid* tries to seek the divine inspiration. Ahmad Nur Fuad, *Dari Reformis hingga Transformatif...*, 166.

However, according to Amin Abdullah, the former chairman of Majelis Tarjih, these values of maqāsid cannot be applied instantly.²⁰ Its instant application will lead to the risk of contradicting the nature of the proposition of the legal thought, "the texts are limited and the contexts are always changing themselves" (tanāhiya al-al-nusūs wa 'adamu tanāhiya alwagā'i'), which implies that the superiority of the textual approach would marginalise the spiritual values of the maqasid.²¹ In another words, this approach emphasises the form rather than the substance. As a consequence, the current realities should be comprehensively understood before the application of the values. Abdullah argues that this way of understanding needs the perspective of the social sciences and humanities to gain a better understanding of the complexities of the context, as well as its peculiar circumstances.²² He, furthermore, adds that this better understanding will ensure the applicability of the *maqasid*, its compatibility with the sociopolitico and cultural traditions of the society, and its relevance with the spirit of the era (*zeitgeist*). When both the *maqasid* and the comprehension of the current context are ready, the last step is conceptualisation. This conceptualisation has been conducted collectively through a congress.²³

Theologising democracy

The way of Muhammadiyah's ijtihad in reformulating the conceptual

²⁰See Amin Abdullah, "A-Ta'wil al-'Ilmi"..., 359-391.

²¹Amin Abdullah, "A-Ta'wil al-'Ilmi...

²²Amin Abdullah, "Pengembangan Metode Studi Islam dalam Perspektif Hermeneutika Sosial Budaya", *Tarjih: Jurnal Tarjih dan Pengembangan Pemikiran Islam*, Vol. 6 (2003), 1-19. In dealing with the relations between the text and the context, Muhammadiyah follows certain principles of *ijthād* deemed inherent, such as continuity (*istimrāriyyah*), diversity (*tanawwu'iyyah*), wholeness (*shumūliyyah*), universality and locality (*'alamiyyah wa mahalliyah*), creativity (*ibtikāriyyah*) and divinity (*ilāhiyyah-rabbaniyah*). See Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, *Keputusan Musyawarah Nasional Tarjih ke-25 tentang Manhaj Tarjih dan Pengembangan Pemikiran Islam*, Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2000.

²³Ahmad Nur Fuad, Dari Reformis hingga Transformatif..., 133-172.

reconciliation between Pancasila and *Siyar* can be understood as theologising democracy.²⁴ This, according to Azhar Ibrahim, means "giving substantiation to the concept of democracy beyond its formal meaning."²⁵ In this context, "the virtues and efficacy of democracy... are regarded as fundamental to the nurturing of religious and humanistic values which champion justice, equality and human dignity."²⁶ This formulation, thus, has a dimension of education. It aims at educating Muslims about the ethos and spirit of democracy that should adhere to core Islamic values (*maqās id*). In other words, it explains that democracy is seen as "a paradigmatic value and vision"²⁷ that provides the theological directions of Islam which deliberately respect the values of '*adl* (justice and good governance), *musāwah* (equality), *ḥurriyyah* (freedom), *tasāmuḥ* (tolerance), *mas'uliyyah* (public accountability) and *shūra* (people's sovereignty or consultation).²⁸

Obviously democracy needs no religious justification given the efficacy of its principles and spirit. But if we are dealing with a society where religious ideas and symbolism are central to its cultural and intellectual imagination, and where the religion – Islam – is perceived as a 'system', invariably contrasted with other competing ideologies such as liberalism, socialism and the like, then it is imperative to explicate the meanings and principles of democracy in a cultural language that people can relate to and identify with.²⁹

²⁴In implementing this way, Muhammadiyah has elaborated the three approaches (*bayānī*, *burhānī* and *'irfānī*) of al-Jabiri, and also applied hermeneutics in considering the relationship between *maqasid* and current realities.

²⁵Azhar Ibrahim, "Towards Theologising Democracy..., 129.

²⁶Azhar Ibrahim, "Towards Theologising Democracy"...

²⁷Azhar Ibrahim, "Towards Theologising Democracy"...

²⁸Azhar Ibrahim, "Towards Theologising Democracy"..., 131. In addition, the former general chairman of Muhammadiyah, Amien Rais defines that the Muhammadiyah's thought of democracy is "the democracy which is based on the Islamic principles of equality and accountability (*persamaan dan keterbukaan*)." See Amien Rais, *Demi Kepentingan Bangsa*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1997, 92.

²⁹Azhar Ibrahim, "Towards Theologising Democracy"..., 122-123.

In the circle of Muhammadiyah elites, in terms of educating Muslims, Abdul Munir Mulkhan's argument is apt:

Educating people about Pancasila is imperative, but it should be developed progressively in a social atmosphere that is dialogic – that is, aware of the objective situation of the society and its future orientation. This mission of education is not only an effort to revitalise the values of Pancasila and the Indonesian Constitution of 1945, but also a direction for the development of society, mainly of youth who are encouraged to be more independent and critical. These characteristics will develop a stronger mentality and culture when facing challenging realities and modernity in the future.³⁰

It can be considered that this theologising democracy has two ways of bridging Muhammadiyah's notion of *Negara Pancasila sebagai Dār al-*'Ahd *wa al-Shahādah* and its view of democracy. The first way is 'objectification' of Islam and the second way is substantialising it to strengthen the understanding of democracy.

First, Muhammadiyah has tended to objectify Islam. According to Kuntowijoyo, one of the Muhammadiyah's leading intellectuals, the meaning of objectification is "looking at something objectively," which means treating Islam as "an object as it is and not as it is wanted."³¹ He argues that Pancasila as the Indonesian democracy is the "objectification of Islam."³² At length, he explains:

Pancasila is neither a secular concept, nor a religion. As an ideology, Pancasila is an objectification of religions. This means that objective elements in all religions exist in Pancasila... We argue that Pancasila is an objectification of Islam. The essence of Islam and that of Pancasila

³⁰Abdul Munir Mulkhan, *Teologi Kebudayaan dan Demokrasi Modernitas*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1995, 49.

³¹Kuntowijoyo, Muslim Tanpa Masjid..., 307-308; Luthfi Assyaukanie, Islam and the Secular State in Indonesia, Singapore: ISEAS, 2009, 108.

³²Kuntowijoyo, Muslim Tanpa Masjid...; Luthfi Assyaukanie, Islam and the Secular State in Indonesia...

do not contradict each other, although the historical existence of Pancasila may be debated particularly to serve a particular social interest. However, it must be emphasised that Islam is a religion and Pancasila is an ideology. Pancasila will not become a religion and religions will not become ideologies.³³

It can also be understood that the Kuntowijoyo's objectification is a concretisation of Islam,³⁴ since its values are being conceptualised 'concretely' in the form of Pancasila as an objective language that can be understood by many people. In this context, Muhammadiyah tends to depict Pancasila as the concept of polity that is inherently Islamic due to containing the values of Islam, pre-eminently democratic values.³⁵ Emphasising this concept, Muhammadiyah argues that the conceptualisation of the polity needs language that objectively can not only be understood by many people beyond their race, ethnicity and religion, but also be rationally debated and deliberately accepted. In their view, then, Pancasila becomes the basic state principle not only for the adherents of Islam but also all other believers. In short, it is the state principle for all Indonesians.

However, not all Indonesian Muslims agree with the effort of objectification of Islam, including even some within Muhammadiyah. As some Muhammadiyah elites have noted, the most popular reason that the rejectionists give is that because Pancasila is a kind of democracy, like democracy itself, it is the product of Western civilisation.³⁶ Accordingly, it is perceived in this view as a concept terminologically unknown in Islamic traditions. One of the proponents of this rejectionist view is Adian Husaini, who insists that democracy is not an authentic concept of Islam.³⁷

³³Kuntowijoyo, Identitas Politik Umat Islam, Bandung: Mizan, 1997, 85-86.

³⁴Kuntowijoyo, Identitas Politik Umat Islam...

 ³⁵Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Negara Pancasila sebagai Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah..., 13.
³⁶An interview with Saad Ibrahim.

³⁷Conservative wings within Muhammadiyah are not monolithic. Some tend to accept democracy, some accept it on the condition that it should have scriptural justification, and

Another one is Bachtiar Nasir, who claims that democracy is an infidel political system.³⁸ Both figures are Muhammadiyah activists. Undoubtedly, the arguments and practices of democracy have been primarily developed in Western countries, and it is also the case that the Huntingtonian view of a "clash of civilisations" has induced some in the West even to believe that Islam constrains the modern values of the West.³⁹ The perception of a West hostile to Islam reinforces some Muslims' antipathy to democracy.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, some Muhammadiyah elites try to understand this reality.⁴¹ They realise that their main task is to promote a moderate idea of Islam in line with the noble ideas of both Islam and the West through a language that can accommodate different perspectives. In this regard, Pancasila becomes a concept of democracy that is offered to all Indonesians, while the notion of *Negara Pancasila sebagai Dār al* 'Ahd wa al-Shahādah is provided for especially Indonesian Muslims. Providing the latter notion, Muhammadiyah tries to convince Muslims to accept democracy. While Kuntowijoyo asserts that Pancasila is an objectification of Islam, Muhammadiyah argues that *Dār al* 'Ahd wa al-Shahādah, as the

others conceptually disagree with it, although they have enjoyed advantages from its practice. Adian Husaini can be seen to be in the last category. See Adian Husaini, *Wajah Peradaban Barat: Dari Hegemoni Kristen ke Dominasi Sekular-Liberal*, Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2005, 79-106.

³⁸A private Indonesian television, TV One, facilitated Bachtiar Nasir's ability to speak to the public about *Syirik Demokrasi* (the *shirk* of democracy). See Bachtiar Nasir, *Syirik Demokrasi*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mMMVBQTdPMk (Retrieved in 20 September 2018).

³⁹Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, London: Vintage, 1994; Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London: Penguin Books, 2003.

⁴⁰For example, in his book, for many times Adian Husaini strongly rejects any form of the Western intellectual product and creativity. In addition, he also claims that Orientalism has encouraged public suffering for Muslims. See further, Adian Husaini, *Wajah Peradaban Barat...*

⁴¹Din Syamsuddin, Pemikiran Muhammadiyah: Respon terhadap Liberalisasi Islam, Surakarta: Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, 2005; Mitsuo Nakamura, Muhammadiyah Menjemput Perubahan: Tafsir Baru Gerakan Sosial-Ekonomi Politik, Jakarta: STIE Ahmad Dahlan and Kompas, 2005; Abd. Rochim Gazali et.al., Muhammadiyah dan Politik Islam Inklusif, Jakarta: Maarif Institute, 2005.

further intellectual elaboration of Pancasila, is also a form of it. Thus, theologising democracy, as an effort of 'objectifying' Islam, can be considered Muhammadiyah's way of connecting religion and politics: Islam, democracy, the Indonesian democracy of Pancasila, and its notion of *Dār al*.'Ahd wa al-Shahādah are all intimately interconnected.

Second, Muhammadiyah attempts to substantialise Islam, by which is meant giving priority to the substantial or spiritual values of Islam rather than its formalistic and legalistic teachings, rules and rituals.⁴² This concept refers to Abdul Munir Mulkhan's conceptualisation of Sufitisasi Syariah ('Sufitisation' of Shari'ah).⁴³ He elaborates that it means "...the Islamic thought...referring to the functionalisation of spiritual values of religion and their applications in the concrete life of human beings...engaging in and connecting transcendental thought and socio-cultural realm."44 Furthermore, he argues, because the Shari'ah tends to be perceived as the law which is strictly formalistic and lacks spiritual values, it should be substantialised just as Sufis have inspired us to emphasise the esoteric rather than exoteric dimension of Islam.⁴⁵ However, the term of Sufitisation is problematic for Muhammadiyah given that it has been resistant to any concept that contradicts its doctrine of religious puritanism.⁴⁶ To avoid such a misunderstanding, Muhammadiyah has developed instead the term 'substantialisation,' which is justified by the concept of akhlaq alkarimah

 ⁴²Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Tanfidz Keputusan Muktamar Muhammadiyah ke-47, 116.
⁴³Abdul Munir Mulkhan, Neo-Sufisme dan Pudarnya Fundamentalisme di Pedesaan, Yogyakarta:

UII Press, 2000.

⁴⁴Although it is terminologically slightly different, it has similar meaning. See Abdul Munir Mulkhan, Kesalehan Multikultural, Jakarta: PSAP, 2005, 230.

⁴⁵Abdul Munir Mulkhan, Neo-Sufisme dan Pudarnya Fundamentalisme di Pedesaan...

⁴⁶Hasnan Bachtiar (ed.), Diskursus Neo-Sufisme Muhammadiyah: Genealogi, Konstruksi dan Manifestasi, Malang: UMM Press, 2015; Haedar Nashir, "Tajdid Muhammadiyah Jilid Dua: Agenda Memperkaya Purifikasi dan Dinamisasi", in Dinamisasi Gerakan Muhammadiyah: Agenda Strategis Abad Kedua, Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2015, 205-212.

(the glorious ethics or the noble behaviour of Islam).⁴⁷

In dealing with the effort of substantialising Islam, Muhammadiyah affirms that democratic values are important and relevant to the Islamic ethics of freedom (*hurriyyah*), humanity (*insāniyyah*), justice ('*adālah*), equality (*musāwah*), solidarity (*takāful*), cooperation (*taʿāwun*) and many others.⁴⁸ However, as important as they are, these Islamic values will not undermine the modern concept of democracy, although actually democracy itself does not need to be supported by any religious legitimation. Yet, the compatibility of the two realms – Islam and democracy – is essential, because Muhammadiyah has faced the challenging reality of the trend of formalisation of *Sharīʿah*, the Maududian view of politics, and *takfiri* thought (judging others as infidels).

Legal-centrism in understanding Islam has led to the trend of formalisation of *Shari*'ah. This trend has meant avoiding accepting Islam as substantial values (*maqāṣid*), although the proponents of the formalisation of *Shari*'ah have frequently claimed that what they have campaigned for is to serve *maqāṣid*.⁴⁹ One of the provinces in Indonesia that has formalised *Shari*'ah as a regional public law is Aceh. This law regulates moral affairs such as gambling, prostitution, adultery, and small crimes, but serious crime such as corruption and the like.⁵⁰ Due to decentralisation in the post-authoritarian era of Indonesia, the central government has allowed some regions to formalise *Shari*'ah legally. The government has claimed

⁴⁷Muhammadiyah has also offered the concept of spiritualisation of Islam, instead of *sufitisation*. Hasnan Bachtiar (ed.), *Diskursus Neo-Sufisme Muhammadiyah...*

⁴⁸Din Syamsuddin, "Peran Muhammadiyah dalam Kemajuan Bangsa", in Muhammadiyah untuk Semua, Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2014, 99-154.

⁴⁹See Mulkhan's critical view regarding this issue, in Abdul Munir Mulkhan, "Teologi Petani dalam Pemiskinan", *Politik Santri: Cara Menang Merebut Hati Rakyat*, Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2009, 61-113.

⁵⁰Robin Bush, "Regional Sharia Regulations in Indonesia: Anomaly or Symptom?", in Greg Fealy and Sally White, *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, Singapore: ISEAS, 2008, 174-191.

that it is important because of the political risks of conflict and political disintegration.⁵¹ Some Muhammadiyah intellectuals have disagreed with this policy. One of them, Ahmad Syafii Maarif, argues that it will strongly enhance cultural and religious chauvinism which in turn can facilitate political despotism in the name of religious claims.⁵² However, the Central Board of Muhammadiyah issued an official statement that asserts that Muhammadiyah does not oppose the state decision based on considerations of state security, building peace and national integration.⁵³ Muhammadiyah's statement in this regard seems to contradict its effort at theologising democracy. However, it has eyed with concern the larger problem: the destructive impact of the spread of Islamist conservatism due to formalisation of the *Sharī'ah*. On the one hand, Muhammadiyah has tried to negotiate with the state and has anticipated the problem of national disintegration. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah has given priority to the more essential issue of nurturing Indonesian democracy.

In addition, the Maududian thought that assumes Islam provides its own concept of politics and democracy is also an issue that has been covered by the effort of substantialisation of Islam. Some Muslims have assumed the superiority of Islam.⁵⁴ It has resulted in religious thought that emphasises that Islam contains an Islamic idea of democracy that is different from Western democracy.⁵⁵ In their perspective, because Indonesian democracy has one leg in religious principle and the other in secularisation inspired by the practices of democracy in the West, it

⁵¹Muhammad Hilali Basya, "Islam, Secularity and the State in Post-New Order Indonesia: Tensions between Neo-Modernist and Revivalist Leaderships in the Muhammadiyah, 1998-2005", PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 2016, 217-250.

⁵²Muhammad Hilali Basya, Islam, Secularity and the State in Post-New Order Indonesia..., 230-232.

⁵³Muhammad Hilali Basya, Islam, Secularity and the State in Post-New Order Indonesia..., 227-228.

⁵⁴Azhar Ibrahim, "Towards Theologising Democracy..., 152.

⁵⁵Azhar Ibrahim, "Towards Theologising Democracy"...

has been categorised as contaminated.⁵⁶ One idea that can be accepted, however, is theo-democracy, which means democracy that has been produced only by the theological thought of Islam.⁵⁷ Some prominent Indonesian Muslims who have a relatively similar Maududian way of thinking have been Mohammad Natsir,⁵⁸ Mohammad Roem,⁵⁹ and also the legal expert and politician Yusril Ihza Mahendra.⁶⁰ Yet Muhammadiyah disagrees with this view, criticising Maududian thinking as ideologically affirming both a formalism of religious identity and cultural nativism that have blurred other acceptable and external political forms.⁶¹ An activist of the *Dakwah* Division (*Majelis Tabligh dan Dakwah Khusus*) of the Central Board of Muhammadiyah, Zuly Qodir, for example, clearly criticises Maududian political thought, and argues for the importance of promoting the idea of moderate Islam, rather than political revivalism that tends, in his view, to corrupt the substantial meaning of Islam.⁶²

Another problem that has tended to encourage Muhammadiyah to substantialise Islam is the *takfiri* trend.⁶³ It has become the current

⁵⁶Saoki, "Islam dan Negara Menurut M. Natsir dan Abdurrahman Wahid", *Al-Daulah:* Jurnal Hukum dan Perundangan Islam, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2014), 362.

⁵⁷Saiful Mujani, Muslim Demokrat: Islam, Budaya Demokrasi, dan Partisipasi Politik di Indonesia Pasca-Orde Baru, Jakarta: Gramedia, 2007, 61-62.

⁵⁸See Luthfi Assyaukanie, Islam and the Secular State in Indonesia..., 60.

⁵⁹Nurcholish Madjid and Mohammad Roem, *Tidak Ada Negara Islam: Surat-Surat Politik* Nurcholish Madjid-Mohamad Roem, Jakarta: Djambatan, 2000.

⁶⁰The position of Yusril Ihza Mahendra has remained unclear as to whether he totally rejects, or does not, the concept of secularisation. But what is really clear here is that his position has been conditioned by his pragmatism in terms of political behaviour to gain political advantage, such as a chairman of the *Partai Bulan Bintang* (the Moon and Star Party). He was appointed Minister of Justice and Human Rights (1999-2001), Minister of Law (2001-2004), and Minister of the State Secretary (2004-2007). See Taufik Adnan Amal and Samsu Rizal Panggabean, *Politik Syariat Islam: Dari Indonesia hingga Nigeria*, Jakarta: Pustaka Alvabet, 2004, 64.

⁶¹Zuly Qodir, Muhammadiyah Studies: Reorientasi Gerakan dan Pemikiran Memasuki Abad Kedua, Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2010, 54.

⁶²Zuly Qodir, Muhammadiyah Studies...

⁶³Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Tanfidz Keputusan Muktamar Muhammadiyah ke-47...,

phenomenon, mainly due to the hardening of conservative religious attitudes. Takfiri means the judgment to condemn others as infidels due to their having different identities or religious interpretations. In the *takfiri* point of view, Islam cannot become a source of democracy and democracy itself will never be Islamic.⁶⁴ A leading figure of Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) and Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT), Abu Bakar Baasvir, for example, states that "...democracy is a polytheistic (shirk) political system. ...the Shari'ah is final... all laws and regulations implemented should express the spirit of *al-amr* bi alma'rūf wa alnahy 'an almunkar."⁶⁵ An Islamist group such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) wants to transform the democratic political system of Indonesia to become the *Khilāfah* system.⁶⁶ For this group, Pancasila is neither Shari'ah nor any concept that derives from Islamic traditions.⁶⁷ Although HTI was banned by the state in October 2017 as contradicting the state principle, its ideological influence remains of concern to the state as well as Muslim organisations such as Muhammadiyah.⁶⁸ Thus, through its efforts to substantialise Islam, Muhammadiyah hopes to neutralise the influence of the *takfiri* trend, mainly by promoting an idea of moderate Islam which it believes is fully consistent with the process of substantial democratisation in Indonesia.

However, theologising democracy, which has been represented by both objectification and substantialisation of Islam, is not intended as theological

^{112-113.}

⁶⁴Noorhaidi Hasan, The Making of Public Islam: Piety, Democracy and Youth in Indonesian Politics, Yogyakarta: Suka Press, 2013, 39-74.

⁶⁵Noorhaidi Hasan, The Making of Public Islam..., 53.

⁶⁶Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and Political Islam: Identity, Ideology and Religio-Political Mobilization,* London; New York: Routledge, 2018.

⁶⁷Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and Political Islam; See also Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Selamatkan Indonesia dengan Syariah: Menuju Indonesia Lebih Baik, Refleksi Akhir Tahun 2006, Jakarta: HTI Press, 2007.

⁶⁸An interview with Abdul Munir Mulkhan, a leading intellectual within Muhammadiyah.22 September 2018.

legitimation (*ayatisasi*) of political interests or *realpolitik*.⁶⁹ In this context, Din Syamsuddin states that Muhammadiyah is a Muslim organisation that has dedicated itself as a *dakwah* organisation (proselytising) that aims to educate people.⁷⁰ It is not, in its self-presentation, a political organisation that aims to gain power. In line with Syamsuddin's statement, Hajriyanto Thohari argues that political instrumentalisation does not need *ijtihād*, but educating people in the hope of developing human civilisation does need it.⁷¹ Furthermore, he adds that inviting people to be involved in the process of substantial democratisation is the right path towards achieving Indonesian civilisation.⁷²

Arguments of ijtihād

The mechanism of theologising democracy implemented by Muhammadiyah is constructed from several arguments: historical, sociological, political and theological.

First, historically, some Muhammadiyah activists gave their important contribution to the nation in terms of conceptualisation of Pancasila. They did so through an institution called Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence (*Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*/BPUPKI).⁷³ Mainly in the process of reformulating the first principle of Pancasila, these Muhammadiyah activists allowed retention of the phrase, "Belief in the One and only God" (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*) and eliminated the words, "with the obligation to carry out Islamic *Sharī'ah* for Muslim adherents" (*dengan*

⁶⁹An interview with Hajriyanto Thohari.

⁷⁰Din Syamsuddin, "Tafsir Islam atas Negara Pancasila..., 162.

⁷¹An interview with Hajriyanto Thohari.

⁷²An interview with Hajriyanto Thohari.

⁷³Lukman Hakiem (ed.), Dari Muhammadiyah untuk Indonesia: Pemikiran dan Kiprah Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Mr Kasman Singodimedjo, dan KH Abdul Kahar Mudzakkir, Yogyakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2013.

kewajiban menjalankan Syariat Islam bagi para pemeluk-pemeluknya) (Piagam Jakarta).⁷⁴ In the congress of BPUPKI, they at first offered a version of the first principle of Pancasila which would have formalised the Shari'ah. In contrast, nationalists challenged their offer. At the first part of the conceptualisation on 1st June 1945, they agreed with the Islamist concept of "Belief in God with the obligation to carry out Islamic Shari'ah for Muslim adherents" (Ketuhanan dengan kewajiban menjalankan syariat Islam bagi para pemeluknya). Yet, at the final part that was held on 18th August 1945, it turned to the secularist concept (Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa) and all members of the BPUPKI congress agreed. However, this does not mean that Muslims easily accepted the secularist offer. It was, above all, a negotiation, and theologically they had attempted to substantialise the formal articulation of Shari'ah in Pancasila. In other words, Muslims compromised between religious principle and political pragmatism, but claimed an Islamic reading of the words. In considering this part of history, Syaifullah argues that Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa was understood by Muslims not from the secularist viewpoint, but from the primary Islamic belief in tawhid or God's Oneness.⁷⁵ Moreover, due to their roles, the Minister of Religious Affairs (1978-1983), Alamsjah Ratu Perwiranegara, claims that "Pancasila is the Muslims' sacrifice and the biggest gift for the national integration of Indonesia and its independence."⁷⁶ Key actors in deciding to accept the phrase, "Belief in the One and only God," were Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Kasman Singodimedjo, and Kahar Muzakkir. Another Muhammadiyah activist in this special moment was Soekarno. The main reason to eliminate the seven crucial words (tujuh kata) in 'Piagam Jakarta' was the fear that East Indonesia, where the majority of

⁷⁴Nadirsyah Hosen, "Indonesia, Shari'a and the Constitution: An Overview", Shari'a & Constitutional Reform in Indonesia, Singapore: ISEAS, 2007, 62, 59-107.

 ⁷⁵Syaifullah, Pergeseran Politik Muhammadiyah, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015, 174-181.
⁷⁶Fuad Nasar, Islam dan Muslim di Negara Pancasila, Yogyakarta: Gre Publishing, 2017, 133.

non-Muslims lived, would establish a separate country.⁷⁷ According to Abdul Munir Mulkhan, although the debate had been intense, Muslim representatives displayed a deep and progressive understanding of Islam.⁷⁸ They prioritised the importance of national integration rather than run the risk of disintegration, and also respected the values of tolerance, harmony and nationhood (*gotongroyong*), rather than Islamist nativism. A historian, Anhar Gonggong in considering this period, mentions that Pancasila is a product of a national consensus between secular and Muslim nationalists.⁷⁹

In terms of Indonesia as the *dār al-shahādah* (the state of witness), Muhammadiyah significantly played a major role in the establishment of Indonesian independence in the past, and also has contributed to the development of the nation until now. Through its charity enterprises, Muhammadiyah has helped the government mainly in the fields of education, health, and philanthropy. Besides, the state has also recognised the essential roles of Muhammadiyah and it gave a national honour to the founder of Muhammadiyah, KH. Ahmad Dahlan and his wife, Nyai Walidah, as one of the Muslim women activists in the early period of Indonesian independence. Both were granted honours as Indonesian national heroes.⁸⁰ Some other Muhammadiyah activists were awarded the same, such as General Sudirman, Ir. Juanda, Dr. Soetomo, KH. Mas

⁷⁷Achmad Charris Zubair, "Refleksi Filsafati atas Pancasila: Nilai Ideal, Tantangan atas Realitas dan Dinamika", in Muamaroh and Benni Setiawan (eds.), *Negara Pancasila, Darul 'Ahdi Wasy-Syahadah: Perspektif Teologis dan Ideologis*, Yogyakarta: Majelis Pendidikan Kader Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2017, 65.

⁷⁸Abdul Munir Mulkhan, "Pokok-Pokok Pikiran: Ketuhanan dalam Kehidupan Bernegara", in Muamaroh and Benni Setiawan (eds.), *Negara Pancasila, Darul 'Ahdi Wasy-Syahadah…*, 104-120.

⁷⁹Anhar Gonggong, "Pancasila: Dari kelahiran Rumusan Konsep, Proses Menuju dan Menjadi Dasar Negara", in Muamaroh and Benni Setiawan (eds.), *Negara Pancasila, Darul* 'Ahdi Wasy-Syahadah..., 42-54; Anhar Gonggong, "Pancasila sebagai Dasar Negara: Tantangan dan Kesalahan-kesalahan Kita dalam Memahaminya", *Maarif*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2016), 16-40.

⁸⁰Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Negara Pancasila sebagai Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah..., 11.

Mansur and Agus Salim.⁸¹ In various executive, legislative, and judiciary institutions, Muhammadiyah has also contributed to the state through the roles of their cadres.

Second, sociologically, the majority of Muhammadiyah activists have understood Islam as a moderate religion (*wasatiyyah*).⁸² According to Zakiyuddin Baidhawy, the religious moderatism among its activists can be seen from their attitude and behaviour, mainly when they express their religious ideas in tolerant and respectful ways.⁸³ Amin Abdullah sees this phenomenon of religious moderatism as displayed by the majority of Indonesian Muslims in general,⁸⁴ and asserts that the inclusivist ideas of Nurcholish Madjid, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Ahmad Syafii Maarif come from (and are conditioned by) the daily life of Indonesian Muslims.⁸⁵ According to Azyumardi Azra, the process of conditioning the moderate character of *Nusantara* Muslims occurred a long time ago.⁸⁶ Thus, it can be said that the Islamic expressions of Indonesian Muslims have been different from their counterparts in the Middle East.

Third, politically, Muhammadiyah argues that the democracy of Pancasila is a manifestation of the political system's secularisation.⁸⁷

⁸¹Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Negara Pancasila sebagai Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah..., 10.

⁸²Syarifuddin Jurdi, Elite Muhammadiyah dan Kekuasaan Politik: Studi tentang Tingkah Laku Politik Elite Lokal Muhammadiyah Sesudah Orde Baru, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 2004, 252.

⁸³Zakiyuddin Baidhawy, "The Muhammadiyah's Promotion of Moderation", *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, Vol. 32, Issue 3 (2015), 69-91.

⁸⁴Amin Abdullah, "Agama dan Pancasila dalam Identitas Keindonesiaan", in Muamaroh and Benni Setiawan (eds.), Negara Pancasila, Darul 'Ahdi Wasy-Syahadah..., 79-103.

⁸⁵Amin Abdullah, "Agama dan Pancasila dalam Identitas Keindonesiaan"..., 84.

⁸⁶Azyumardi Azra, The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, NSW; Honolulu, Hawai'i: Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai'i Press, 2004; See also MC. Ricklefs, Islamisation and Its Opponents in Java: A Political, Social, Cultural and Religious History, c. 1930 to Present, Singapore: NUS Press, 2012.

⁸⁷See Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Negara Pancasila sebagai Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah; See also Hajriyanto Thohari, "Demosyurakrasi Pancasila: Jembatan Demokrasi dan

Muhammadiyah thus puts Pancasila in between the doctrines of Islamism and secularism.⁸⁸ This effort of negotiation in Zuly Qodir's term is developing the democratic *Sharī'ah* (*Syariah demokratik*), meaning *Sharī'ah* that respects the values of pluralism, tolerance and humanity.⁸⁹ While secularism is actually an effort at eliminating any religious aspiration within a political system, secularisation is a way of human thought that governs the state with all its limitations but without necessarily negating non-secular aspects.⁹⁰ This in essence is how Muhammadiyah understands Indonesia—not an Islamic state, but substantially based on Islamic values.⁹¹ A leading figure of Muhammadiyah, Ahmad Syafii Maarif, argues that "The five principles of Pancasila do not contradict the theology of Islam. ...But Islam here is Islam which is in line with the noble values of Indonesia and humanity (*keindonesiaan dan kemanusiaan*)."⁹² Borrowing Nurcholish Madjid's term, what Muhammadiyah means by secularisation is "Islamic secularisation."⁹³ In Madjid's view, secularisation is desacralisation which

⁸⁹Zuly Qodir, Syariah Demokratik...

Permusyawaratan", Maarif, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2016), 149-170.

⁸⁸See Zuly Qodir, Syariah Demokratik: Pemberlakuan Syariah Islam di Indonesia, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004.

⁹⁰David Little in Abdulaziz Sachedina, *Beda tapi Setara: Pandangan Islam tentang Non-Islam*, Jakarta: Serambi, 2004, 21.

⁹¹Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Negara Pancasila sebagai Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah...

⁹²Ahmad Syafii Maarif, Islam dalam Bingkai Keindonesiaan dan Kemanusiaan: Sebuah Refleksi Sejarah, 312; See also Yudi Latif, "Ketuhanan sebagai Moralitas Publik", Maarif, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2016), 98-125; But, with the same context, Shepard categorises Pancasila as a kind of "religious secularism." See William E. Shepard, "Islam and Ideology: Towards a Typology", International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 19, Issue 3 (1987), 310.

⁹³See further on this concept in Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Kemodernan, dan Keindonesiaan*, Bandung: Mizan, 2008, 298-301. Unfortunately, a scholar such as Luthfi Assyaukani categorises Amien Rais, an important Muhammadiyah figure, as an opponent of secularisation. See Luthfi Assyaukanie, *Islam and the Secular State in Indonesia*, 108-109. It is true that he rejects secularism and even secularisation. But I think, Assyaukani wrongly understands the deeper meaning that Amien Rais argues for. While he refuses to accept secularism, he does not reject the application of the Islamic principles of democracy such as equality, freedom, justice and accountability. However, Assyaukani's interpretation on Amien Rais' argument is understandable due to Amien Rais himself using the term "secularisation" in a negative

means "...detaching taboo or sacredness from the objects which are actually non-taboo and non-sacred."94 Consequently, in spite of the fact that Indonesian politics is only a mundane matter, its political process should be dealt with in line with Islamic ethics (akhlaq al-karimah).⁹⁵ Accordingly, secularisation, in the Nurcholish Madjid view, primarily intends to protect the state from the public destructiveness (*fasād fi al-ardi*) that can be caused by the political manipulation of religion.⁹⁶ According to Ahmad Svafii Maarif, both secularism and religious fundamentalism can potentially lead to public destructiveness due to their actors using religion as an instrument of political power, and not as the source of noble virtues.⁹⁷ In considering this issue of political instrumentalisation of religion, Moeslim Abdurrahman states that Muhammadiyah aims to fight against the social destructiveness (kemunkaran sosial) resulting from political authoritarianism in a religious cloak.⁹⁸ Thus, with the perspective of religious secularisation, as Kuntowijoyo reflects, Pancasila can be understood as a theo-democracy, although very different from the Maududian concept.⁹⁹ According to Yudi Latif, an intellectual who appreciates Kuntowijoyo's reformulation, the democracy of Pancasila is the democracy which believes in God, and it puts political power in the hands of God and the people at the same

way, although it is mentioned to criticise the political process towards secularism that tends to undermine religious values in the name of political interests. Actually, the secularisation that is explained in Amien Rais' work "*Tauhid Sosial*" is not secularisation such as defended by Nurcholish Madjid and Ahmad Syafii Maarif. Amien Rais, "Sekularisme: Proyek Menjauhkan Agama", *Tauhid Sosial: Formula Menggempur Kesenjangan*, Bandung: Mizan, 1998, 75-83.

⁹⁴Nurcholish Madjid, Islam, Kemodernan, dan Keindonesiaan, 300.

⁹⁵Nurcholish Madjid, Islam, Kemodernan, dan Keindonesiaan, 300.

⁹⁶Nurcholish Madjid, Islam, Kemodernan, dan Keindonesiaan, 300.

⁹⁷See Ahmad Syafii Maarif, Islam dalam Bingkai Keindonesiaan dan Kemanusiaan: Sebuah Refleksi Sejarah, Jakarta: LP3ES, 2006, 208.

⁹⁸See Moeslim Abdurrahman, "Menghadang Kemungkaran Sosial", in Pradana Boy ZTF., M. Hilmi Faiq and Zulfan Baron (eds.), *Era Baru Gerakan Muhammadiyah*, Malang: UMM Press, 2008, xi-xx.

⁹⁹Kuntowijoyo, Identitas Politik Umat Islam..., 61.

time.¹⁰⁰ Accordingly, the concept of *khalifatullāh fi Indonesia* (Viceregency of God in Indonesia) as initiated by Muhammadiyah elites is relevant in this context.

Fourth, for Muhammadiyah, Indonesian ideas (keindonesiaan) and Islamic values (keislaman) should be integrated properly.¹⁰¹ Accordingly, Muhammadiyah advances the notion of Negara Pancasila sebagai Dar al-'Ahd wa al-Shahādah as an intellectual confluence of the state principles of Pancasila and of Siyar. Its initiation is based on two foundations of religious thought: (1) theologically, Islam itself provides the values of democracy such as *shūra*, which in turn was adopted in Bahasa Indonesia as musyawarah. That is why a Muhammadiyah ideologist such as Hajriyanto Thohari argues that the democracy of Pancasila can be seen from the Islamic point of view and it can be defined as 'demo-syurokrasi';¹⁰² (2) Pancasila, which was produced by national consensus, was inspired by the noble values of Islam.¹⁰³ These values which are inherent in Pancasila are based on *tawhid* as a reconfirmation of the concept of the relation between God and man (habl min Allah). The complementary social manifestation (habl min al-nas)¹⁰⁴ involves the values of humanistic understanding of each other (ta'āruf), cooperation (ta'āwun), positive thinking (husnuzan), moral clarification (tabayyun), harmony (ta'aluf), agreement (tawagguf),

¹⁰⁰See Yudi Latif, "Ketuhanan sebagai Moralitas Publik", Maarif, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2016), 119; Yudi Latif, Negara Paripurna: Historisitas, Rasionalitas, dan Aktualitas, Jakarta: Gramedia, 2015, 116.

¹⁰¹Haedar Nashir, "Muhammadiyah Membangun Integrasi Keislaman dan Kebangsaan Menuju Indonesia Berkemajuan", in Faozan Amar et.al. (eds.), *Darul-Ahdi Wasy-Syahadah:* Konteks, Makna dan Aktualisasi untuk Indonesia Berkemajuan..., 19-32.

¹⁰²See Hajriyanto Thohari, "Demosyurakrasi Pancasila..., 149-170. See also Ahmad Syafii Maarif, Islam dan Pancasila sebagai Dasar Negara: Studi tentang Perdebatan dalam Konstituante, Jakarta: LP3ES, 2006, 205-208.

¹⁰³Zakiyuddin Baidhawy, "Pancasila, Tauhid Sosial dalam Kehidupan Berbangsa dan Bernegara," *Maarif*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2016), 41-78.

¹⁰⁴Zakiyuddin Baidhawy, "Pancasila, Tauhid Sosial dalam Kehidupan Berbangsa dan Bernegara"..., 43-48.

brotherhood (ukhuwwah) and others.¹⁰⁵ All these values, according to the official documents of Muhammadiyah, are summarised in the concept of religious humanism (kemanusiaan religius).¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, the idea of reconciliation-or in Nashir's word, the integration¹⁰⁷-of Pancasila and Islam, claimed as a part of *tawhid*, should be realised and materialised in the life of the nation. In considering this idea, Maarif critically argues that "it is irrelevant to claim that we have believed in *tawhid* while at the same time we all have witnessed certainly that the justice has been hanged far away in the cloud. Since we have understood that justice should be one of the manifestations of *tawhid* in the world, it should be concretely materialised in daily life."¹⁰⁸ In this context, Din Syamsuddin argues that Muslims need to express two kinds of witness (shahādah): the first is theological witness and the second is cultural and civilisational witness.¹⁰⁹ In dealing with the latter witness, Haedar Nashir argues that Muhammadiyah is not only a religious organisation, but also a social movement that aims to encourage social transformation (alharākah al-ijtimā'iyyah al-'Islāmiyyah).¹¹⁰

Therefore, theologising democracy is a mechanism of contemporary *ijtihād* within Muhammadiyah, reformulated from foundational arguments. These include the history of the conceptualisation of Pancasila ($d\bar{a}r al$ -'ahd), the history of Muhammadiyah's contributions to the nation ($d\bar{a}r al$ -shahādah), the idea of religious moderatism among the majority of Muhammadiyah activists, its concept of

¹⁰⁵Zakiyuddin Baidhawy, "Pancasila, Tauhid Sosial dalam Kehidupan Berbangsa dan Bernegara"..., 43-48.

¹⁰⁶Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, Negara Pancasila sebagai Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah..., 13.

¹⁰⁷Haedar Nashir, "Muhammadiyah Membangun Integrasi Keislaman dan Kebangsaan Menuju Indonesia Berkemajuan", in Faozan Amar et.al. (eds.), *Darul-Ahdi Wasy-Syahadah...*, 19-32.

¹⁰⁸Ahmad Syafii Maarif, "Pancasila dan Islam sebagai Dasar Negara", in Muamaroh and Benni Setiawan (eds.), *Negara Pancasila, Darul 'Ahdi Wasy-Syahadah…*, 75-76.

¹⁰⁹Din Syamsuddin, Muhammadiyah untuk Semua..., 131.

¹¹⁰Haedar Nashir, Dinamisasi Gerakan Muhammadiyah..., 257-263.

religious secularisation of Pancasila, and its idea of the social manifestation of *tawhid*.

Conclusion

The key concept that is essential to be emphasised here is, in connecting between the notion of *Negara Pancasila sebagai* and *Dār al*.'Ahd wa al-Shahādah, Muhammadiyah conducted *ijtihād*. However, it is not *ijtihād* as it was formulated in the classical tradition of Islamic legal thought. What Muhammadiyah has formulated is contemporary *ijtihād*, which is both collective (*jamā'i*) and interdisciplinary.

In conducting this contemporary $ijtih\bar{a}d$, it has been argued that Muhammadiyah seeks to theologise democracy. Its intent is to transform theological arguments so that democratic values such as $sh\bar{u}ra$ (people's sovereignty or consultation), ' $ad\bar{a}lah$ (justice), $mus\bar{a}wah$ (equality), and hurriyyah (freedom) are seen as fully consistent with Islamic values. Theologising democracy has been undertaken through objectification and substantialisation of Islam. While the former means making Pancasila as an objective language of Islam that can be understood, discussed, debated and affirmed rationally and critically by people beyond their religious, racial, ethnic and cultural identities, the latter means perceiving Pancasila as a manifestation of the central values of Islam.

On the practical level of implementation, the efforts of both objectification and substantialisation of Islam have not always been accepted. Conservative and radical Islamists have been infatuated with the trends of formalisation of *Sharī'ah*, Maududian political thought, and *takfiri* interpretations. These trends have seemed to reject any idea of Western democracy, the Indonesian democracy of Pancasila, and even Islamic democracy as formulated by Muhammadiyah.

However, in implementing its *ijtihād*, Muhammadiyah has maintained its point of view. As, Moeslim Abdurrahman argues, Muhammadiyah has struggled to fight against the dangers that result from a religiously-moulded authoritarianism.¹¹¹ Historically, as we have seen, prominent figures of Muhammadiyah directly contributed to the process of conceptualisation of Pancasila (as al'and or the national consensus). In addition, since its establishment in 1912, Muhammadiyah has been involved in the development of Indonesia, mainly in social, political, cultural, and educational fields (as alshahādah or witness). Sociologically, the majority of Muhammadiyah activists have agreed with and appreciated moderatism in religious thinking (wasatiyyah), although they have not expressed it in particularly loud voices. As a consequence, the notion of Negara Pancasila sebagai Dar al'Ahd wa al-Shahadah seems to be accepted by the majority. In political terms, Muhammadiyah views that the democracy of Pancasila is neither secular nor Islamist, but a democracy inspired by religious understanding. For Muhammadiyah, it is a kind of Islamic secularity. Finally, Muhammadiyah's theological interpretation joins together the Islamic and the national, the religious and the 'secular,' in arguing that Islam contains democratic values and that a pluralist, non-Shari'ah Pancasila was formulated based on Islamic sources and inspired by Islamic thought.

As a matter of reflection, it is clear, however, that Muhammadiyah's efforts, both in reconciling Pancasila and *Siyar* and in understanding the relation between its idea of reconciliation and its view of Indonesian democracy, have not always been successful. Important challenges to Muhammadiyah's core beliefs, and those of the state itself, are present today. Yet, to adapt and control the current challenging realities, it depends on how the progressive groups in the circle of Muhammadiyah activists (those who are pro-democratisation) have dealt with the challenges and

¹¹¹Moeslim Abdurrahman, "Menghadang Kemungkaran Sosial"..., xi-xx.

become the winner in struggling for democracy in the country. What has happened remains to be seen and it invites us to conduct further research on the mentioned groups.

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Interviews

An interview with a Muhammadiyah activist (who asked for anonymity), 30 August 2018.

- An interview with Abd. Rochim Ghazali, the Executive Director of the Maarif Institute (2004-2005), and the Secretary of the Division of Politics and Public Policy of Muhammadiyah (*Lembaga Hikmah dan Kebijakan Publik Muhammadiyah*). 30 August 2018.
- An interview with Abdul Munir Mulkhan, a leading intellectual within Muhammadiyah. 22 September 2018.
- An interview with Azaki Khairuddin, the General Secretary of the Central Board of Muhammadiyah Student Association (*Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah*, IPM), and a moderator of the group of *Islam Berkemajuan*. 28 August 2018.
- An interview with Hajriyanto Thohari, one of the Chairmen of the Central Board of Muhammadiyah, and the Deputy of the Chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) from 2009 to 2014. 21 August 2018.
- An interview with Mu'arif, a journalist of Suara Muhammadiyah, 20 August 2018.
- An interview with Saad Ibrahim, the Chairman of Muhammadiyah Provincial Branch of the East Java, and also the Chairperson of the Commission in the Muktamar Muhammadiyah in Makassar in 2015. 23 August 2018.
- An interview with Zuly Qodir, an activist of the *Dakwah* Division (*Majelis Tabligh dan Dakwah Khusus*) of the Central Board of Muhammadiyah. 30 August 2018.