



Tracing the Roots of Muhammadiyah Thought on the Concepts of *Dār Al-'Ahdī Wa Al-Syahādah*

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Article	Abstract
<p>Keywords: Dār Al-'Ahd Wa Al-Syahādah; Baldatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur; Al-Maun; Muhammadiyah</p> <p>Article History Received: Jan 11, 2022; Reviewed: Jan 12, 2022; Accepted: Apr 27, 2022; Published: Apr 29, 2022;</p>	<p><i>This paper aimed to discuss the concept of Dār Al-'Ahdī Wa Al-Syahādah initiated by Muhammadiyah, which requires strong historical-normative legitimacy, so it does not necessarily lose its genealogy to be applied into legal and constitutional system in Indonesia. The big question is how is the relation between historical aspects and the concept of Dār Al-'Ahdī Wa Al-Syahādah so that it has strong foundations to be implemented later in the state and nation. This normative-conceptual research is a historical reflective study that focuses on literacy aspects as the basis to build normative and conceptual constructions. The result reveals that the idea of Dār Al-'Ahdī Wa Al-Syahādah in the constellation of Pancasila is a strategy to realize Baldatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur state with the principle of Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar. The concept of Dār Al-'Ahdī Wa Al-Syahādah has a reference in Al Maun Theology which from the beginning became the basis of the movement pioneered by KH Ahmad Dahlan. Therefore, this strategy must be directed to a more concrete form and a more concrete movement to realize Baldatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur state.</i></p>



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INTRODUCTION

The culture of Indonesian, an archipelago country (formerly called Nusantara) is inextricable from spiritual, mystical, and transcendental understandings (Al-Fatih, Hidayah, & Anggraeny, 2021). Sriwijaya is an example of how the dynamics of the state are based on religious and transcendental values. This can be seen in the king's gift called Haji with the title Dapunta Hiyang Jaya Naga which indicates a name incarnation of a god (Hariri, 2019). Not only in titles, the existence of religious centers such as Borobudur and Prambanan is also evidence. Even Sriwijaya is a center for religious teaching. This tradition was then continued in the Majapahit era which was also heavily

influenced by religion. its statutory book called the Kutawaramanawadharmasastra (Darmawan, 2020) was even the result of the merging of two religious books, the kutara and the manawa.

The perspective to assimilate religious reasoning into law also developed in the era of the Islamic kingdom, such as Samudera Pasai in Aceh which accommodated the existence of religious law into kingdom law even the Malacca Law which became the initial written regulation to accommodate fiqh - which was prominently related to jinayar fiqh – later known to have had influence in the Simbur Cahaya (Palembang Sultanate), Papakem Cirebon (Cirebon Sultanate) and Surya Alam (Demak Sultanate) (Junaidi, 2014).

After Indonesia's independence, this religious perspective could not be separated from the tradition of the state, if in the past the state method was dominated by Hinduism, Buddhism, the original religion of Tantrayana and Islam, in the Indonesian era, the perspective is more emphasized on Islam. This transcendental and religious value is clearly seen in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, especially in the third paragraph which states "By the grace of God Almighty and driven by a noble desire, to live a free national life, the Indonesian people hereby declare their independence".

The rationale in the third paragraph shifts the anthropocentric to theocentric understanding, where independence is not solely by the strength of the warriors, but this is a grace that comes from God with all his omnipotence. Even within the Indonesian legal system itself, the basis for this transcendental understanding is clearly seen in the judge's decisions, namely "Justice Based on the One Godhead" not justice based on law or others. That is, the existence of God is still in a higher position and a judge decides based on religious rules and beliefs (Samosir, 2019).

The concept of thinking of a state based on religion was later shifted due to various forms of procedural formalities, so that the barometer is based on the basics of standard established procedures, not a state based on morality and religious rules that have been the foundation of national life since the beginning of Indonesia. Muhammadiyah as one of the community organizations that has made a major contribution to implementing the concept of a state as *Dār Al-'Ahd Wa Al-Syahādah*. *Dār Al-'Ahd* means 'a treaty state or agreement state' and *Dār Al-Syahādah* means 'state of witness' (Bachtiar, 2019a). Several articles that examine the concept of *Dār Al-'Ahd Wa Al-Syahādah* always relate to the understanding of the 'Pancasila state' not to the 'State of the Republic of Indonesia'. This is interesting, because the nomenclature emphasized on the word 'Pancasila' seems want to carry its own historical message. Taking from Ibn Khaldun's explanation, this concept is similar to Bay'ah which is a kind of contract between the people and the leader (Amir) in the Islamic tradition. (Khaldun, 2015: 268-269), this can be placed as a social contract (Sumardi, 2017). This adds the fact that the idea of social contract has been known in the Islamic tradition which Ibn Khaldun called Bay'ah and of course long before J.J. Rosseau stated the theory of social contract which had an impact on democratization in various parts of the world. (Ruslan, 2013). Second, what is interesting is the concept of witness, which is the basis of commitment by generations to build the nation.

However, many literatures that discuss the concept of *Dār Al-'Abd Wa Al-Syahādah* have not provided a satisfactory answer in relation to the context of constitutional relations. Hasan Bachtiar wrote quite a lot the concept of *Dār Al-'Ahd Wa Al-Syahādah* within the framework of diversity. (Bachtiar, 2019a) until globalization (Bachtiar, 2019b) and the position of Progressive Islam in the pillars of thinking (Bachtiar, 2020), while Yayuk Kusumawati focused more on the role of Muhammadiyah figures in guarding independence (Junaedi, Muharram, & Yani, 2021), and Wildan Nurul Fajar, et al also wrote the history of *Dār Al-'Abd Wa Al-Syahādah* but in the construction of education. It can be concluded that from some of these studies no one has really focused on constitutional construction. The Indonesian constitutional blueprint which was built based on the 'Republic of Villages' by Soeopomo (Fatmawati, 2005) needs to be a touchstone for the concept of *Dār Al-'Abd Wa Al-Syahādah*. Later it will be clear whether the concept of *Dār Al-'Abd Wa Al-Syahādah* is in accordance with the Indonesian constitutional system or even criticism of a better form of it. Here, the roots and concepts of *Dār Al-'Abd Wa Al-Syahādah* must be re-opened from a constitutional perspective.

METHOD

Basically, there is no definitive method in legal research, so a 'scientific method' in research is very dependent on the formal object of the concerned science (Bakker & Zubair, 1990:28). As Peter Mahmud Marzuki said, legal research basically always leads to normativistic (Sonata, 2015). This normativistic view must be viewed in a broad perspective, not only on laws and regulations but also on various kinds of norms. Based on this analysis, this study emphasizes the orientation of norms and their concepts based on historical analysis and legal (Isdiyanto, 2018). The historical approach is important to recognize the soul (*volksgeist*) of the legal system that is in harmony with society (Cahyad, 2005). Therefore, this research is normative-conceptual research that aims not only at juridical analysis (existing regulations) but also other norms and ontological aspects of emerging and developing concepts in terms of understanding the Indonesian state administration. The data collection method is more on literary studies, not on empirical or field data collection. The tools used in this research are not primary data, but secondary data in the form of primary legal materials, secondary legal materials and non-legal materials.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Influence of Islamic Thought in the History of State Administration in Nusantara

The correlation between religion and the state is not new in the culture of Nusantara, in fact both are part of the cultural intimacy that produces a noble civilization to create social order. The concept of correlation between religion and the state is often identified with the theocracy discourse, where theocracy itself refers to government by God or the kingdom of God (Wally, 2014) or a system of government led by a king whose power comes from God or is led by Prophets and Pastors

(Abdullah, 2017). The Sriwijaya and Majapahit kingdoms were the two major kingdoms which incidentally had close ties to religion, even making it transcendental legitimacy to gain social legitimacy.

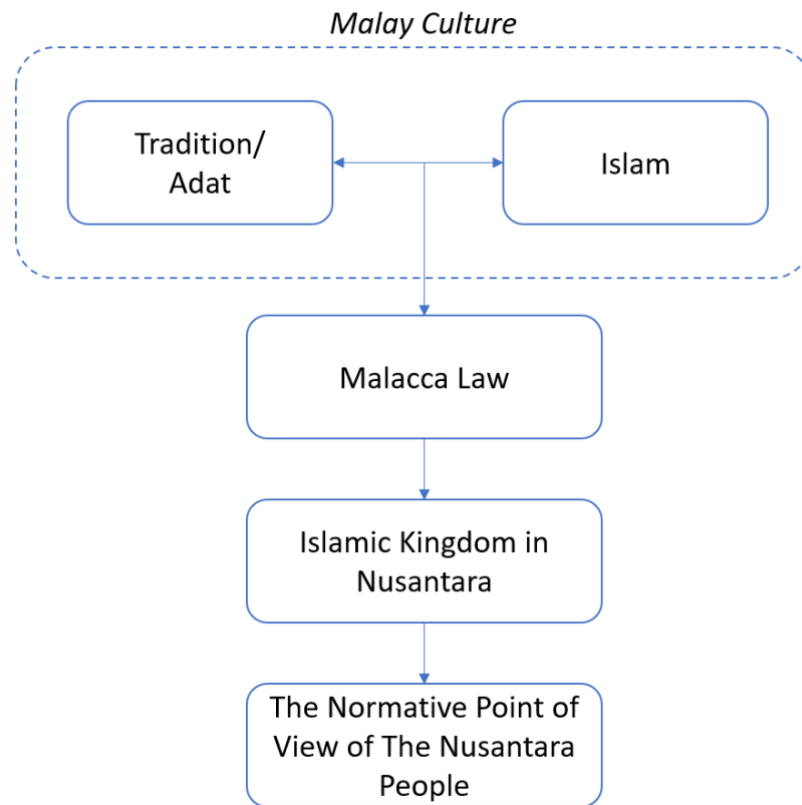
In the Sriwijaya era, kingdom law was closely related to religious aspects, even in this era various temple masterpieces were built such as Prambanan and Borobudur. Sriwijaya's influence is indeed the strongest in Buddhism, even many monks from China who will deepen their religious knowledge will come to Sriwijaya which already has Nalanda University (Hariri, 2019). It is not surprising that in this era, Sriwijaya in terms of Buddhism gave its light to Southeast Asia (Marsono, 2011). During the Majapahit era, religious positions were syncretized with each other, as stated in Empu Tantular's *Kakawin Sutasoma*, who is famous for the term "Bhineka Tunggal Ika tan Hana Dharma Mangrwa" (Tantular, 2009:17). Majapahit is even very open. Moreover, the book of law called *Kutaramanawadharmasastra* comes from the Book of Religion in India which has been adapted to a local perspective.

In the era of the two great kingdoms, Islam had indeed entered but it had not yet become a royal religion. However, the influence of Islam has entered through smaller kingdoms. Samudra Pasai was noted to be the first kingdom known as the Islamic kingdom (Armia, 2013) where the Islamic view of this kingdom was influenced by Sufistic views with its mystical character (Hall, 2001). This mystical influence is none other than the thick understanding of Sufism taught in the palace environment and the dignitaries and the people taught by Maulana Sadar Jahan based on the *Darul Mazlum Book*.

Samudra Pasai has an important role in the spread of Islam in Nusantara because of its position in the Malacca Strait which incidentally is the main route of sea trade with an open system until there are 84 types of languages used in commerce (Samin, 2015) In the legal aspect, in this era, the Malacca Law emerged or known as the Melaka Kanun Law. The study conducted by Ali Abubakar in his book "Law of Melaka" is one of the most complete references to the Malacca Law. According to his study, the Malacca Law is basically the result of the transformation of the oral tradition with Islam (Abubakar, 2018:57-59). Islam itself became an element of "law" in the formation of the Malacca tradition (Abubakar, 2018:60). This tradition later developed throughout Nusantara through trade routes.

The influence of the Malacca Law is very broad, Malacca Law has at least 14 (fourteen) names and more than 50 (fifty) manuscripts (Ayang, 2016) and was adopted by many kingdoms such as Kedah, Pahang, Riau, Pontianak and quoted by Brunei (Liw Yock Fang, see in Abubakar, 2018:64). Besides being frequently adopted by other kingdoms, the Malacca Law also greatly influenced the law in other kingdoms, such as the Simbur Cahaya Law in the Palembang Sultanate, the Riau Law during the Sultan Sulaiman, Papakem Cirebon (Cirebon Guidelines), and Surya Alam in the Demak Sultanate (Ali, 2014).

Figure 1. The Influence of the Malacca Law in the History of the Islamic Kingdom in Indonesia



Samudra Pasai is not only known as a center for the spread of Islam in the archipelago, but also has a strong scientific tradition or center for scientific development, especially religious ones, so that there is a strong relationship between Ulama (religious leaders) and Umara (King) (Gazali, 2016). The development and dissemination of knowledge from Samudra Pasai to a wider area is equal to the spread of Islam itself. The knowledge that is spread through Malay literature supports the expansion of Islam, and vice versa. This light also reached Java, which incidentally had the strongest Hindu-Buddhist influence which was difficult to penetrate. Until the era of Islamic Mataram, the influence of Malay literature with the theme of Malay Sufism such as Hamzah al-Fansuri, Nurrudin ar-Raniri and so on was known by Javanese poets.

Entering the Colonial era, the influence of Islam that had been ‘entrenched’ could not be negated. Even in this era, there are many theories that try to explain the correlation between Islam and adat, such as the *Receptio in Complexu* Theory introduced by C.F. Winter and Salomon Keyzer (1823-1868) who integrated Islam and Adat correlation, then the *Receptie* Theory introduced by Snouck H, followed by van Vollenhoven who put Islamic and Adat law in a diametrical position. There is also the *Receptio a Contrario* theory introduced by Hazairin which places the enforcement of Adat

law that should not contravene Islamic law (Soemadiningrat, 2011: 75-81). These three theories are often known by scholars in Indonesia, but apart from that, there are other theories such as those developed by de Josselin de Jong, namely the *Penetration Pasifique, Tolerante et Constructive* theory which sees Islam entering Nusantara in a peaceful, tolerant, and constructive way so that it is accepted. There is also the Theory of Syncretism introduced by MB Hooker, who explained the accommodative nature of Islam resulted in a close relationship between Islam and Adat, especially in Java (Soemadiningrat, 2011 : 81-83).

In general, the existence of Islamic law in the colonial era was strongly influenced by the theories as mentioned above. During the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), the famous *Compendium Friejer* was the result of D.W Friejer's research related to marriage law and inheritance law which was later ratified by the VOC in 1760 (Soemadiningrat, 2011: 87). Friejer's Compendium is very tendentious in the aspect of Islamic law compared to Adat law, and according to the author's opinion, it was then developed into the *Receptio in Complexu* Theory. Basically, the Friejer Compendium was like an 'Islamic law compilation' at that time, especially in the field of civil law (Zaelani, 2020).

When the VOC went bankrupt and the Dutch Colonial Government continued its colonialism program in Nusantara by officially changing the name of its colonies to the Dutch East Indies and at the beginning of its government, it still accommodated Islamic law well. The influence of the *Receptio in Complexu* Theory which was also followed by van de Berg had brought Islam into one of the applicable law at that time, even formally gaining legitimacy through the *Regeering Reglemen* (RR) in 1885 which was previously preceded by the Decree of the King of the Netherlands (*Koninkelijke Besluit* No. 19 dated January 24, 1882) (Fadhly, 2017) and announced in *Staatblad* No. 152 of 1882 concerning the Establishment of Religious Courts in Java and Madura (Azizy, 2002: 154)

However, the existence of Islam began to decline with the spread of the *Receptie* Theory which received support from van Vollenhoven - an anthropologist trusted by the Dutch East Indies Government. Van Vollenhoven is more about supporting the Adat aspect than the Islamic aspect, because as an anthropologist, he departs from the behavioral realities of the existing society. This view was also supported by Ter Haar who incidentally was a leading legal expert in the Dutch East Indies, including a professor at *Rechtshoogeschool te Batavia* (RHS). According to Ter Haar, the possibility of Adat Law and Islam Law to unite is none because Adat Law departs from human reality while Islamic Law departs from books - which are studied - as a reference (Fadhly, 2017). The strong influence of van Vollenhoven and Ter Haar then made the Dutch East Indies Government change several policies, one of which was the replacement of RR to *Wet op de Staatsinrichting van Nederlands Indie* (IS) which was followed by the revocation of the Islamic Law from the Dutch East Indies legal system through *Staatblad* No. 212 of 1929 (Fadhly, 2017). In 1922, the Dutch East Indies government then formed a Commission to review the authority of the Religious Courts in Java and Madura in terms of adjudicating inheritance and other cases. As a result,

through Staatsblad 1937 No. 116, the authority was finally revoked and delegated to the *Landraad* (District Court). This clearly triggered criticism from Islamic leaders and scholars in many areas, but this situation continued until Indonesian independence (Azizy, 2002: 157).

Receptie theory basically can be assumed as a 'strategy' of the Dutch East Indies government in stemming the path of Islamic thought that was already rooted in the culture and mysticism of the people of Nusantara at that time. So, with the emergence of this theory, it is hoped that there will be a polarization between Adat and Islam from the aspect of culture and legitimacy. This phenomenon is called *adatrecht-politiek* by Ratno Lukito as where they took a provision that placed Islamic law under Adat law, and the union of the two as a harmonious solution was seen as impossibility by the Dutch government (Lukito, 2003: 79). This polarization is an 'idea' that does not come from the native Indonesian, but from the perspective of Western scholars who see it in a sacred way. In fact, the credibility of Snouck H's role as the originator of the *Receptie* Theory was later doubted because he was accused of being a spy and serving as an Advisor to the Minister of Colonies (Hendriani, 2020). The concept brought by Snouck H is to separate religion in a purely religious, social and political context (Hendriani, 2020).

Snouck H rejected the Dutch government's method of prohibiting worship activities for Moslem in the Dutch East Indies, this would be a boomerang because the Dutch government was fighting Islam as a whole. The implementation of worship related to pure religion is not something that interferes with Dutch power, so this should not be a problem. With the exception of the social aspect, according to Snouck H, the religious aspect must be separated. Therefore, it is more emphasized on the cultural side so that it can limit or stem the influence of Islamic law ((Hendriani, 2020). To realize this strategy, Snouck H then created the *Receptie* Theory so as to separate aspects of Adat from religion. Separating Islam from social aspects means trying to distance Islam as a social system or basic principle in social institutions. Something that seems impossible to do because the teachings of Islam itself cover the multidimensionality of people's lives.

The last strategy is to keep Islam away from political dynamics. One of the concerns of Snouck H is the strengthening of fanaticism and pan-Islamism movements which can affect the stability of the Dutch East Indies (Hendriani, 2020). The experience of the war in Aceh seems to have given an impression where religion has become an encouragement to ignite a stable war as described by Ibrahim Alfian in his book "War in the Way of Allah" as follows (Alfian, 1987:151):

Through the ideology of Sabil War, the ulama tried to inspire the people to be more dynamic in dealing with the enemy. The strategy implemented is to cultivate a strong will to fight based on the word of God and the sunnah of the Prophet. This is supported by the ulama's allies, the *uleebalang*, who are still loyal to the struggle to expel the *kaphe*, in this way the ideology of sabil war can be planted as a driving force in war. Then comes the courage that enables people to be willing to endure suffering in order to maintain the

principles of life. Besides that, there is also an incomparable hatred for the enemy and a deep love for religion and nation.

Basically this is impossible because the history of Nusantara in which there is a history of the Islamic community itself from the beginning is politically centric, where Islamic history has colored the dynamics of kingdoms or community organizations since long time ago (Nurchayono & Yulianto, 2021). This political movement with Islamic principles became stronger when ethical politics and the return of scholars who studied from abroad (Netherlands, Mecca/Arabic, Egypt, and Turkey) returned with various ideas for the development of Islam, especially in realizing independence. The thought of Pan-Islamism that was often echoed by Abdul Hamid II influenced and inspired Dutch East Indies scholars who studied in Turkey (Supratman, 2016), and more specific thoughts from the concept of Pan Islamism or "*al-wahdah al-Islamiyah*" from Jamaluddin Al Afghani become the most interesting reference where the concept of unity from various countries gathers in the *Ummah* (Bistara, 2021).

The emergence of Sarekat Islam is one clear proof of the power a la 'Pan Islamism' that the Dutch government should be worried about. Although at first Cokroaminoto did not popularize the concept of Pan Islamism in the Sarekat Islam Movement, he eventually realized that the benefits of a wider political movement were especially in dealing with the crisis and in terms of the struggle for Indonesian independence, so that in 1930 he later accepted the idea of Pan Islamism (Ridlo, 2019).

However, during the struggle for Indonesian independence, there were various biases that led to polarization due to the development of various ideologies brought from scholars, including nationalism and communism. This polarization then made it difficult to unite politically during the independence movement. From this, Soekarno realized from a young age when discussing with Alimin that the defeat of every form of independence struggle was due to a lack of unity (Adams, 2014:49). Soekarno's next effort was to try to become a pattern of syncretism from various existing ideological forms by developing the discourse of Nationalism, Islamism, and Marxism-Communism since the 1920s which he wrote in *Suluh Indonesia Muda* in a series and later also became part of the main article of his book titled *Under the Flag of the Revolution*. Soekarno's concept of Nationalism, Islamism, and Marxism-Communism was later shortened to Nasakom which means the soul of three forces that can stand together in the frame of unity (Agustina, 2019). This is nothing but a compromising way of conflict management strategy tried by Soekarno as a form of 'middle way' to realize Indonesian unity (Sjuchro & Besman, 2020). Not only Soekarno, another figure who tried to carry out syncretism of thought was Haji Misbach or known as Sang Haji Merah who combined the teachings of Islam and Communism. According to him, the similarity between Islam and Communism lies in both upholding rights and opposing oppression and violence (Kuswono, Saputra, & Agustono, 2019). The figure of Indonesian Marxism, Tan Malaka, even defended the logical consequences between Pan Islamism and Communism in the IV International Communist Congress as well

as protested against the results of the II International Communism Congress for opposing Pan-Islamism.

In fact, the patterns of syncretism or the unification of various ideologies have not worked well, especially among Islam, and the issue of atheistic communism cannot be simply negated, while among the Nationalists, the issue of internationalism as the goal of Communism is also imprinted, while Islam and Nationalism are focused on the issue of secularism or Islamism. This suspicion between groups is often a potential for disintegration, not only during the struggle for independence but also after independence.

Polarization between ideologies has again escalated in the editorial determination of the first principle of Pancasila. Pancasila was formulated by the Small Committee consisting of representatives of the nationalist group, involving Soekarno, Mohammad Hatta, Muhammad Yamin, A. Maramis, and Subardjo and representatives of the Islamic group, including K.H. Wahid Hasyim, K.H. Kahar Muzakkir, Agus Salim, and R. Abikusno Tjokrosuyoso. This is the second small committee that formed because the first small committee consisting of the Nationalists was represented by Soekarno, Mohammad Hatta, Muhammad Yamin, A. Maramis, M. Sutardjo Kartohadikusumo, and Oto Iskandardinata, while the Islamic group was only represented by Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, and KH Wahid Hasyim is considered disproportionately representing the Islamic group. Ki Bagus Hadikusuma should have been included in this second small committee not because previously his name was included as a representative on the first Small Committee, but because he was in a hurry to return to Yogyakarta so he could not attend the session. The results of this Small Committee then gave birth to a consensus editorial of Pancasila which was included in the preamble of the fundamental law (the 1945 Constitution) (Kusuma, 2004:21):

....in a Constitution of the Indonesian state which is molded in the form of the Republic of Indonesia, resting upon the people's sovereignty and founded on (the following principles): The Belief in God, with the obligation to carry out the Syariah Islam for its adherents in accordance with the principle of righteous and moral humanitarianism; the unity, and a democracy led by wise policy of the mutual deliberation of a representative body and ensuring social justice for the whole Indonesian people.

This became known as the Jakarta Charter where the role of Islamic figures was very large. Previously, the role of Islamic leaders actually existed when Soekarno would read a speech the night before Soekarno read a phenomenal speech on June 1, 1945. Soekarno, who that night came to Muhammad Yamin's place to discuss the contents of the speech on June 1, 1945, met with K.H. Wahid Hasyim, Kahar Muzakkir, and K.H. Masjkur who is strongly suspected of having contributed to putting the precepts of 'divinity' on Pancasila in Soekarno's speech on June 1, 1945 (Hariri, 2019).

The Jakarta Charter also faced a new dilemma, where the afternoon after Soekarno-Hatta proclaimed Indonesia's independence, Hatta was visited by a Japanese Kaigun (Navy) officer who brought a message that representatives of Protestants and Catholics in Eastern Indonesia objected to the first principle of Pancasila as the result

of the Jakarta Charter (Hatta, 1966:66). On August 18, 1945 before the PPKI session was held, Hatta finally summoned several Islamic figures namely Ki Bagus Hadikoesoemo, Wahid Hasyim, Kasman Singodimedjo and Teuku Hasan for a short meeting (about 15 minutes) to decide the fate of the nation, and they finally agreed on the first precepts changed to "Belief in the one and only God" (Hatta, 1970: 68-69). There is a debate here because this meeting does not represent the composition of the Second Small Committee, and even according to Prawoto's statement, Wahid Hasyim actually did not participate in the meeting because he was traveling to East Java (Anshari, 1997:52). It is clear how the sacrifices of Moslem were extensive in the history of independence until the Indonesian revolution, not only for Indonesian independence but also for maintaining and realizing Pancasila (Hariri, 2019).

The ideological polarization has not stopped, which has led to the agreement of the first precepts of Pancasila. Until the formation of the Constituent Assembly, this debate has not yet ended. The Islamic faction in the Constituent Assembly expects a vote to amend the Constitution, the intent being that the Islamic faction can fight for the contents of the Jakarta Charter again as agreed by the second Small Committee at the outset. However, on June 1 1959 a vote was held, resulting in 201 votes in favor of the amendment, but 265 against the amendment. The deadlock of the Constituent Assembly is on the basic question of the state, whether Indonesia will be brought in the state similar to the idea of an "Islamic State" or a "Pancasila State". Because the two were roughly balanced, a two-thirds majority vote was not met for a decision (Faiz, 2005): xiii).

As a result of the deadlock in the Constituent Assembly in the formulation of the state's constitution which affected various fields, the Army urged Sukarno to take a step back to the 1945 Constitution. In fact, from the beginning Soekarno had invited the Constituent Assembly to return to the 1945 Constitution, so that the state basis which was made temporarily could be established, but this proposal was not followed up by the Constituent Assembly.

The discourse of Islam as the basis of the state in those years was indeed very strong. Almost all parties belonging to the Islamic Faction such as NU, Masyumi, PSII, Perti, PPTI, and AKUI agreed to reject Pancasila and make Islam the basis of the state. At least, there are 3 (three) basic state discourses that are debated in the Constituent Assembly, namely Islam, Pancasila and Socio-Economy (Isdiyanto, 2019a: 293). The view of Islam as the basis of the state is to see the universality of Islam for all mankind (*rahmatan lil alamin*), not limited to the fanaticism of one's own group. Speech from K.H. Achmad Zaini from NU in the Constituent Assembly openly offered Islam as a support, which, with its implementation, would not harm the views of Pancasila and Socio-Economic as the basis of the state because both of them are enshrined in Islam (Konstituante, 2008:200).

Tracing the Concepts of *Dār Al-'Ahd Wa Al-Syahādah*

Ethical Politics plays an important role in the process of independence in Indonesia, this is the starting point towards national awareness. Van Deventer's article

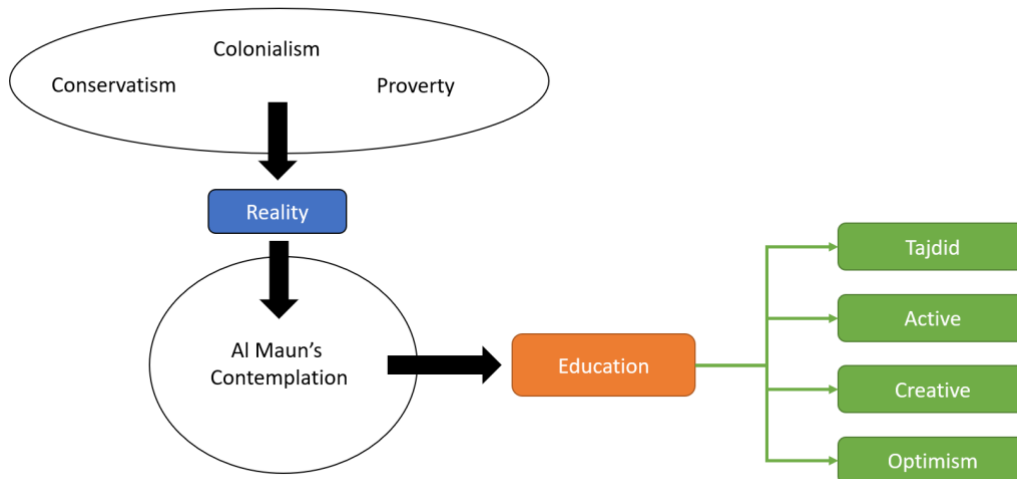
entitled *Een eereschuld* (A Debt of Honor) on the politics of Dutch exploitation of the people of the Dutch East Indies has opened a different perspective on how the Netherlands should contribute to the people of the Dutch East Indies (Susilo & Isbandiyah, 2018). Based on those, the Ethical Policy or the politics of reciprocation was then applied by providing western-style education at the end of the 19th century or around 1893. The Ethical Policy itself was not purely as a return of favor, because in fact it was merely to repay the favor, but there was also the intention of the Dutch East Indies government to increase profits. By educating the indigenous, the Dutch East Indies could certainly empower them well to fill administrative positions without having to spend a lot of money to bring in workers from the Netherlands.

Through this educational awareness, indigenous people are moved and awakened about "who are they?" and what they should do for their "people". R.A. Kartini is perhaps the most appropriate representation of the emergence of national awareness (*nation bewustzijn*) or the 'beginning of national awareness', while Budi Utomo can be called the 'beginning of the national movement' (Susilo & Isbandiyah, 2018). From here, the enthusiasm for education from ethical politics is growing with various forms of adjustment, and there is even an acculturation of educational methods between the traditional Islamic model (Surau or Pesantren) and the Dutch model. Dutch-style education itself provides color and makes Islamic-style education more developed. The figures who have the strongest influence in developing education using the Western-Traditional Islamic combination method are Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan and Wahab Khasbullah (I. S. Setiawan, 2018), but in this case the author will focus on Ahmad Dahlan as the basis for developing the concept of *Dār Al-'Abd. Wa Al-Shabadah*.

Understanding Muhammadiyah and Ahmad Dahlan cannot be separated from understanding education (Cahyani & Al-Fatih, 2020). Ahmad Dahlan lives in an atmosphere of religious conservatism and colonialism. The situation is getting more difficult when the majority of people are uneducated. In this educational process, Ahmad Dahlan saw that there was a fundamental problem, such as how the effectiveness of Western education could be combined with the religiosity of Islamic education in a pattern accepted by society. His interest in education has been apparent since he was young, where Ahmad Dahlan founded Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, managed in a modern way following the Dutch Colonial pattern (S. Setiawan & Sujati, 2019). It was from here that Ahmad Dahlan founded an Islamic organization focused on education called Muhammadiyah in 1912. Muhammadiyah emerged as an answer to the pattern of acculturation of the Dutch Colonial (Western) educational style with Islam (Aprilianti, Avilia, & Romelah, 2022), so that the weaknesses of the Dutch Colonial educational style which were ignorant of religion, orientation to individualism, and a focus only on intellectuality would be overcome with the presence of Islam which provided the value of religiosity, social orientation, and the balance between intellect and morality (Idris, 1975: 166-169). This is where the goal of Muhammadiyah through education is to form Moslem to have a strong character, have skills, independence, and be able to contribute to society (Idris, 1975:171). For this reason, in terms of education,

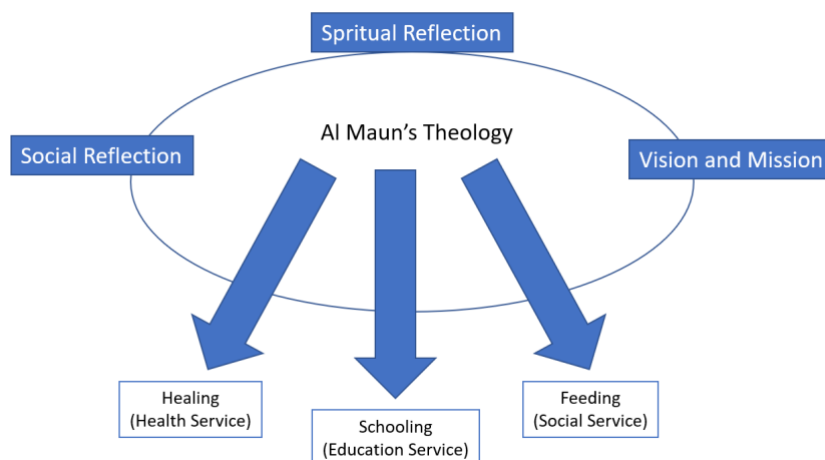
Muhammadiyah then reformed its educational principles, namely: 1) *Tajdid* (reformation); 2) Active; 3) Creative; and 4) Optimism (Idris, 1975:171).

Figure 2. Ahmad Dahlan's Contemplation Model in Realizing the Educational Model



All of them are the result of Ahmad Dahlan's reflection on Al-Maun's theology. The results of this reflection are then translated into three basic pillars, namely: healing (health services), schooling (education) and feeding (social services) (Gunawan, 2018). From the construction of Al-Maun's theological values, he then brought the Muhammadiyah community in Yogyakarta to develop various business charities under Majelis Pembina Kesengsaraan Umat which was later changed to the name Majelis Pembina Kesejahteraan Rakyat.

Figure 3. Three Basic Pillars of Al-Maun's Theology



Muhammadiyah's organizational focus is on education and poverty alleviation – health. Ahmad Dahlan in fact has understood wisely that education is an important root in the formation of awareness as individual beings, society, state and religion. However, it does not mean that Muhammadiyah does not take part in politics. Muhammadiyah's position also plays a very important role in participating in political dynamics in Indonesia. If Ahmad Dahlan is the main character who brings the basic principles of Muhammadiyah to be great in the world of education, then Ki Bagus Hadikusumo is a Muhammadiyah figure who synergizes with practical political life.

As a great ulama figure, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo positioned himself as a supporter of a state based on religious values. This idea was clearly seen from his speeches at the BPUPKI/PPKI session which encouraged the placement of religion as the basis of state life – anti-secularism. He believed that the political model in Indonesia is basically divided into three models, namely a) a model of Islamic democracy that expects the formation of an Islamic state, b) a model of a religious democracy, which is more open to all religions but does not negate the role of religion towards the state, and c) a secular model that separates state and religion (Lestariningsih, Aminati, Khoiriyah, & Fatonah, 2021a). Of the three models, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo prefers the second model: how the state remains neutral towards religion but does not negate the existence of religion as the basis of the state. This can be clearly seen in the initial discussion of the first precepts of Pancasila, from the beginning he rejected the words "for his adherents" with the argument that these words were awkward and could cause conflicts which meant that in the formation of the country there was a specificity for Muslims (Lestariningsih, Aminati, Khoiriyah, & Fatonah, 2021b).

Although the proposal was rejected, it turned out that Ki Bagus Hadikusumo was destined to decide the most important matter in Indonesia as a representative of Moslem. He is the key to Pancasila to this day, which still exists, and he gave permission to cross out the 7 words of the Pancasila Unity Principle and replace them with Belief in One God, following the persuasion by Kasman Singodimedjo (Lestariningsih et al., 2021a). The position of Ki Bagus Hadikusumo is indeed very central in the political scope of post-colonialism. The consequence that he places religion as the basis of the state was not only in terms of religious doctrine but also in his visionary to see the framework of the state, which will be difficult to realize if religion is not the motor. This is because the majority of the Indonesian population who are Muslim will be cold, passive, and not pro-active in development if they do not place Islam as their basis (Lestariningsih et al., 2021a).

Consistency in da'wah and education does not then subside in political dynamics, because in fact this education is one of Muhammadiyah's efforts to form awareness in state life to be more participatory based on Islamic values. Therefore, Muhammadiyah figures played an important role in the establishment of political Islamic movements. Before independence, in 1938 Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Mas Mansur, Dr. Sukiman Wiryosanjoyo and Abdul Kahar Muzakir founded the Indonesian Islamic Party (PII) then during the Japanese occupation era in 1943 the Indonesian Muslim Syuro Council (Masyumi) was founded which later became the Masyumi Political Party and succeeded

in uniting Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama (NU) (Lestariningsih et al., 2021a). The basis of Muhammadiyah in politics is none other than the da'wah movement within the framework of carrying out *Da'wah Amar Ma'ruf Nabi Munkar* (Article 4 paragraph (1) jo Article 7 paragraph (1) Articles of Association of Muhammadiyah, 2010).

Muhammadiyah places the concept of *Amar Ma'ruf Nabi Munkar* not in the framework of a theological doctrine, but as a doctrine of action which is then manifested in various peaceful and modern ways – commonly called da'wah (Syeikh, 2018). The concept of *Amar Ma'ruf Nabi Munkar* is sometimes associated with the idea of the Islamic Paradigm developed by Koentowijoyo, they are liberation, humanization, and transcendence. Abdul Karim S even put the three of them as the basic pillars of *Amar Ma'ruf Nabi Munkar* in Muhammadiyah. (Syeikh, 2018). These three foundations are what Kuntowijoyo calls the pillars of Prophetic Social Science which is translated as: *amar ma'ruf* (humanization), *nabi munkar* (liberation), and *tu'minuna billah* (transcendence) (Kuntowijoyo, 2006:99).

In addition to *Amar Ma'ruf Nabi Munkar's* framework which encourages Muhammadiyah in building the life of the nation and state, the basic matter about this moral-political responsibility is the concept of *Baldatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur* which means a beautiful, clean, holy and prosperous country under the protection of the Most Forgiving God. From here, Muhammadiyah has a major role in the life of the nation and state which is then manifested in strategic and tactical steps according to personality, beliefs and ideals of life as well as the guidelines for struggle. To realize this, divine values emerged, attached to and enforced along with the upholding of human values, justice, peace, order, togetherness and civility (Zarro, Yunani, & Dhita, 2020).

According to Muhammadiyah, Moslem in Indonesia have a big responsibility in realizing Indonesia as *Baldatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur*, a state that is good in Allah's forgiveness (QS Saba: 15) where the population is faithful and devoted so that they are blessed by Allah (QS Al 'Araf: 96), and build a land without damage (QS Al-Baqarah: 11, 60; Ar-Rum: 41; Al-Qashash: 77)(Ridwan, 2017). This responsibility is not only moral, but also spiritual – as Moslem.

Baldatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur can be said to be an ideal of a state that wants to be built based on Islamic values, but to make it happen it requires a strategy, a method, the formulation of which cannot be separated from existing values. For this reason, it is necessary to clearly choose what paradigm you want to build, not only the mention of the Islamic Paradigm which can still be translated in general. As stated by Guba and Lincoln, that paradigm is a basic belief or a worldview that is used as a model or method (Irianto, 2002). In Muhammadiyah, this paradigm is referred to as "Progressive Islam", an Islam whose understanding and practice, according to Din Syamsudin, are moderate, progressive, enlightened, democratic, and can be implemented at local, national, and global levels (Ali, 2015). For Muhammadiyah, Progressive Islam is a form of revitalization of the enlightenment idea of KH Ahmad

Dahlan in the condition of society at that time, which was in a slump (Darojat & Chair, 2019).

This Progressive Islamic Paradigm continues to develop how to encourage Moslem to participate in building the nation. From here, the idea of a Progressive Islamic Paradigm gave idea to what is known as a Progressive Indonesia. Indonesian Moslem must 'witness' the development of civilization in Indonesia (Bachtiar, 2019b), where this civilization is imbued with Islamic spirit and values. From this big picture, a strategy then needs to be raised. This is how to realize the idea of a Progressive Indonesia through the Progressive Islamic Paradigm so that the realization of the *Baladatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur* state whose people are based on *Amar Ma'ruf Nabi Munkar*. The strategy which was then carried out with *ijtihad* is then represented through the concept of "Pancasila State *Dār Al-'Abd Wa Al-Syabādah*" (Bachtiar, 2019b).

CONCLUSION

In the historical aspect, Muhammadiyah can't be separated from the political aspect as part of its participation in building the nation and state. *Dār Al-'Abd Wa Al-Syabādah* is none other than Muhammadiyah's strategy in realizing the *Baladatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur* state by applying the principle of *Amar Ma'ruf Nabi Munkar*. In the state administration system, this becomes a principle to encourage the realization of state goals, especially the basic role of institutions. Al-Maun's theology which is used as the motor of the Progressive Islam paradigm is indeed based on three pillars of the movement, namely health, education and social matter, but it must be realized that all of them are vital assets in building awareness of the nation and state. This is the reason why Muhammadiyah can't be separated from the political side which is the way to build the nation's civilization. The embodiment of the Pancasila state was then interpreted by Muhammadiyah through the *Dār Al-'Abd Wa Al-Syabādah* strategy. Thus, it became an ideological binder as well as an obligation for every Muslim to take part in building and developing national civilization.

Finally, the idea of the Pancasila *Dār Al-'Abd Wa Al-Syabādah* state should have been internalized in laws and regulations and actualized through concrete policies to allow for the realization of the goal of realizing *Baladatun Thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur* which is in line with the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia based on *Amar Ma'ruf Nabi Munkar* as the basis and principle of morality. This concept is universal, so it should be accepted by a wider audience.

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