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**IDEAL COUNTRY ACCORDING TO AFIFUDDIN MUHAJIR: ANALYSIS OF THE  
SCIENTIFIC SPEECH OF THE HANOURIS CAUSA DOCTORAL AWARD  
AT UIN WALISONGO SEMARANG INDONESIA**

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**Abstract**

*Afifuddin Muhajir's background concerning the Ideal State cannot be separated from the strengthening of the demands of some Indonesian Muslims who are members of the 212 movements to uphold NKRI Bersyariah. Starting from their success in tackling the political career of Basuki Cahaya Purnama (Ahok) in the 2017 DKI Pilkada. This movement strengthened in the 2019 Presidential election. They supported the Prabowo subianto-Sandiaga Uno pair who were considered more Islamic and capable of realizing their political ideals. Afifuddin Muhajir considered the Political Identity movement in the name of religion to be a very dilemma in Indonesian society which is multi-ethnic, ethnic, cultural, and religious. Politics as a product of Jurisprudence and Muamalah has space for ijtihad and has becomes a common consensus to build the life of the nation and state. This research is a Research Library, that examines Afifuddin Muhajir in his speech conferring the Honorary Doctorate at the Walisongo Islamic State University, Semarang, Central Java. This study focuses on the concept of the Ideal State according to Afifuddin Muhajir with sub-discussions, namely: Political Islam, Pancasila, NKRI, and the State Constitution. This discussion sub-section will answer the concept of an ideal state according to Afifuddin Muhajir from the point of view of Jurisprudence and Ushul Fiqh who are experts in their expertise. This research is certainly interested in answering extremist Islamic groups who want a state form at the level of sharia or Islamic law.*

**Keywords:** *Ideal State, Political Islam, Pancasila, Form of State, Constitution.*

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## INTRODUCTION

The 2017 DKI Jakarta regional head election ended the victory of the Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno pair and the imprisonment of Basuki Cahaya Purnama (Ahok) in connection with the Surat Al-Maidah case shows that the political identity movement in Indonesia is increasingly crystallizing. This incident became the entry point for playing Islamic identity politics in the next Pilkada election and the 2019 presidential election. The 212 groups succeeded in bringing Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno back to carrying out similar politics in the presidential election. The FPI and HTI groups that carry NKRI Bersyariah joined forces with the Prabowo Subinato-Sandiaga Uno pair. The themes raised were religious on the Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin pair such as blasphemy against ulama, insulting religion, and allowing the rise of the PKI in Indonesia under the leadership of President Joko Widodo. They use the power of Social Media and political actors to gain public support and influence it to win.

The 212 group is a representation of the political identity movement driven by power by religious organizations that have a power orientation such as FPI and HTI to form an Islamic State known as Islamic NKRI. Ideologically, its political fervor is at odds with the older mass organizations such as Muhammadiyah and NU accepting Pancasila. Meanwhile, organizations such as FPI and HTI emphasize the application of Islamic Sharia by restoring the Jakarta Charter as an authentic ideology for this purpose.

However, in the political development, NU is the religious mass organization that most opposes the concept of NKRI Bersyariah which is offered by FPI and other mass organizations that share their ideas, such as Jamaah Islamiyah, Jundulah, Mujahid Islam Indonesia. That is why they tried to destroy nu with accusations of being a blasphemous mass organization and considered that they had deviated from the Ahlusunnah Wal-Jama'ah line when they introduced the concept of 'Islam Nusantara' in 2015 in Jombang, East Java. The Islamic groups that fight for the Sharia Unitary Republic of Indonesia have the right moment to destroy NU from within through their approach to NU on behalf of NU straight lines, and from outside through Mass Media which has been set nationally, that NU is far from Islamic law.

The presence of Afifuddin Muhajir is academic. As a scholar whose entire time is donated for education in Islamic boarding schools and is devoted to NU as a Syrian, PBNU certainly has very good ijtihad capabilities. As a scholar of Fiqh and Ushul Fiqh experts, Afifuddin Muhajir was able to explain various oblique accusations against the ideas raised by PBNU with references to the Koran, Hadiths, and classical literature which became his area of expertise, including when discussing political issues.

NU figures who are very consistent in discussing political and national issues are Abdurrahman Wahid and Said Aqil Siraj. Both use the approach of culture, theology, and Sufism. These two figures view that the Almighty God is a form of recognition of the diversity of religious people who cannot hurt each other in the name of religion. The consequence of

believing in God means that every religious believer must be able to implement noble values such as being fair to fellow humans. Respect for the rights and obligations of fellow nations is a hallmark of moderate Islamic teachings as a hallmark of Nusantara Islam in Indonesia. Islam sees national life from the point of view of the substance of religious values that have become an integral part of the life of the Indonesian nation.

Afifuddin Muhajir tends to study by at the Indonesian political system. This of course departs from the fact that *Siyasah Fiqh* is part of human activities that historically cannot be denied from the journey of Muslim civilization. Besides, history also presents historical facts that the political system at the time of Islamic civilization also has various forms, both related to the State system and the Government System. This shows that in the context of *fiqh siyasah*, there is room for continuous *ijtihad* to find a format that can protect five things, namely: religion, spirit, descent, economy, and thinking. This basic sharia framework is the gateway for Afifuddin Muhajir in understanding an Ideal State in four ways; 1) Political Islam, 2) State Ideology, 3) Form of State, and 4) obedience to the constitution made by the State.

### SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF AFIFUDDIN MUHAJIR

Afifuddin Muhajir was born on May 20, 1955, in Jerengoan, Sampang, Madura, East Java. His parents Kyai Muhajir and Nyai Zuhriyah are figures or scholars from Jerengoan Sampang. These scholars from Madura are experts in Nahwu, Sharaf, Fiqh, and *Ushul Fiqh*. He is known as the Kyai of Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School. Syafiiyyah is a scholar who has a very deep insight into national fiqh and upholds the values of diversity. This thinking refers to the classical books that are often called "the yellow book" which have been studied since he was still in Islamic boarding schools. Some of the important books that Kyai Afif studied included the works of Abdul Wahhab Khlafah, Abu Zahrah, Muhammad Khudhori Bik, Wahbah Az-Zuhaili, 'Allal Al-Fasi, Ahmad Ahmad Ar-Rasyuni, and Jasir Audah. In the field of *ushul fiqh*, Kyai Afif made his expertise responding respond to contemporary Islamic issues such as the Pancasila State, Islam Nusantara, and others from the point of view of *Ushul Fiqh*.

The depth of his knowledge is certainly increasing in considering the main task every day, namely to educate the students at the pesantren until now. He became one of the ulama at the Islamic boarding school which was the forerunner of Nadhlatul Ulama (NU). That is why apart from being a scholar, educator, he is also a major administrator of the nu as one of the Central PBNU Syuriah Chairmen. His position as Syuriah shows that Afifuddin Muhajir understands sharia law. His expertise as a scholar in the fields of fiqh and *ushul fiqh* does not change the simplicity of his life. He was very simple and kept away from the hustle and bustle of the clerical model who answered every question as did Ustadz on Social Media. He followed the model of his predecessor scholars, who answered every question that could be answered and delaying the answer if he had not found a legal basis for that answer. He wanted to show the public that the answer requires mature *ijtihad* and does not just answer every question This cautious nature is a hallmark of this.

The attitude of simplicity and prudence in carrying out a legal fatwa does not actually diminish his fame in the field of religious science as was the admiration of Shaykh Ibrahim Shalah Al-Hud-Hud, a former Vice-Chancellor of Al-Azhar University to him when giving scientific speeches at the Salafiyah Syafiiyah Sukorejo Islamic Boarding School, throughout

his life, Afifudiin Muhajir only studied religion at the Sukorejo Islamic Boarding School, and devoted himself to educating students from morning to night. As a result, there was little time for writing. There are several writings documented in the form of books, among others: First, NU Fiqh Reasoning Criticism, published by Lakpesdam. Second, anti-corruption Jurisprudence, the title of Book: Corruption of Religious People, publisher: P3M. The three Fiqh claim direct elections, publisher: Pena Salsabila. Fourth, Fathul Mujib Al-Qarib Syarah At-Taqrif Li Abi Syuja ', publisher: Maktabah As'adiyah. Fifth, Al-Luqman As-Sa'igah, publisher: Maktab As'adiyah. Sixth, Fiqh Study Methodology, publisher: Ibrahim Press.

## **POLITICAL ISLAM**

Concerning Islamic law, there are two, laws relating to the relationship between humans and God and human relations with fellow humans. One form of human relationship with fellow humans is political issues. Broadly speaking, there are three political issues in the view of Islamic scholars, namely: integralism, symbiosis and secularism. First, Integralistic Politics views that religion and politics are as inseparable unity. Religion has perfectly provided political tools in the form of a State Administration System, Ideology, Constitution, and all other aspects of life. This has been exemplified by the friends of Khulafa Al-Rashidin, and the Islamic Khilafah such as the Umayyad, Abbasid, and Turki Uthmani dynasties. This political stream considers that following this system is an obligation and that enforcing sharia is a must in a country. That is why fighting for the Khilafah system is part of upholding the religious law itself. The two symbiotic political currents mean that religion does not completely regulate the political apparatus in the state administration system, but has a positive relationship with politics.

Religion and State are intertwined. Religion needs the State to support the existence of religion, and the State needs religion so that the constitutional system can become a system that is in harmony with religious teachings in the aspects of life. The state called the Islamic State is not an issue of constitutional form, but more importantly, is the ability to practice Islamic law in everyday life. Aspect the most important thing of the State is the ability of religion to color goodness values in important aspects such as economy, politics, education, law, and socio-culture. Third, the secularistic politics of religion and the state have their territories. Religion deals with the issues of worship of Allah, morals, and universal social relations.

Meanwhile, the State is a set of operating systems that can be made by Muslims in various forms according to mutual agreement. The state can and exist without religion, and religion can run well without the state. Religion in this case acts as a motor of universal values needed by the State in building a just life order, respects equality among human beings, and has an orientation for the welfare of society. Therefore, the secularistic meaning here actually refers to two things: a) A leader and a community do not lie in spiritual piety alone, but can manifest social piety in translating God's words into real forms; b) Religion is a strong buffer to produce a constitution that is strong, dignified and able to be applied fairly to all society.

These Islamic political streams are built on the following grounds: First, Equal Degrees. Islam teaches that men and women have the same right to improve their quality, not specifically for Muslims, but for all mankind. The concept of equality can be well developed through *ta'aruf* or communicating through speech, writing, and reading as a symbol of human

civilization; Second, Law Enforcement. Islam teaches that law enforcement is born in the form of a Muslim faith in Allah SWT. When a Muslim believes in Allah, he will respect His creation. The deep and perfect belief has given birth to human values to respect and respect human rights that they are equal before the law; Third, freedom. Islam teaches that freedom is a form of individual responsibility towards oneself in carrying out positive values in national life. Freedom is measured as the ability to commit oneself to obey everything they say and do. Because both will be held accountable before God; Fourth, Nationalism. Islam teaches Nationalism or Love for the Fatherland as a form of political agreement that was exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad when he built Yasrib which later changed to Medina. And the protection of minorities. Islam teaches that humans, as God's creation, must protect their rights and obligations in law. Islam does not differentiate between religious status, race, ethnicity, or skin color in life. Fifth, Brotherhood. Islam teaches that Islamic politics upholds brotherhood based on religion and also togetherness in political views as exemplified by the Ansor and Muhajirin, as well as non-Muslims in Medina, and friendship is built between them and has a shared commitment to maintaining security when enemy attacks occur from the outside.

### **POLITICAL ISLAM ACCORDING TO AFIFUDDIN MUHAJIR**

Afifuddin Muhajir as an Ulama, an original product of the Situbondo Islamic Boarding School, has profoundly mastered the classical book literature which is often called the Yellow Book. Referring to the generality of the Traditional Islamic Boarding School tradition among the Nahdlatul Ulama or NU organizations, there are limitations to the Ahlusunnah Wal-Jama'ah ideology in various aspects as follows: First, in the field of Islamic law it adheres to the teachings of one of the four schools of thought; Hanafi, Maliki, Hanbali, and Syafi'i. Second, in the field of Tawhid, adhere to the teachings of Imam Abu Hasan Al-Asy'ari and Imam Abu Mansur Al-Maturidi. The third is in the field of Sufism, adopting the basics of the teachings of Abu Qasim Al-Junaidi. This foundation of thought is the foundation of NU which is often referred to as Ahlusunnah Wal-Jama'ah An-Nahdhiyah.

Regarding political views, Afifuddin Muhajir certainly follows the basic ideas of Ahlusunnah Wal-Jama'ah An-Nadhiyah, namely not being involved in a practical political party that is only oriented to power alone. Good politics, namely national politics in the sense that it is for the benefit of the entire nation, not only for the interests of parties or groups that refer to three *ukhuwah* or brotherhood, namely: brotherhood with fellow Muslims; brotherhood with fellow nations; and brotherhood with fellow humans. The basis of the three brotherhoods as the basis for the formation of the State, comes from his understanding of the Al-Qur'an and Hadith. I quote the following from his speech when he received the Honorary Doctorate Award as follows:

It can be understood together by the Santri at the Islamic Boarding School that what is said in the texts of the Al-Qur'an and the sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad is actually to guide people receive guidance on the truth in the life of the World and the Hereafter. The Prophet has explained that a human's error can be overcome if he follows the two holy books of Islam which serve as guidelines in daily life as described by the Prophet in his hadith.

The meaning of the sentence is very strong based on Afifuddin Muhajir's political thinking with Nash Al-Qur'an and Hadith's views. According to him, whatever is done both in

communicating with God and carrying out socio-political activities cannot be separated from the teachings of Islam as stated in the two Scriptures. Politics as a form of two-way communication, namely God and fellow human beings, is part of a very open activity that includes religious, ethnic, ethnic, and cultural diversity. This diversity which is naturally impossible to eliminate is a realistic basis for forming a State system based on the agreement of the people. This pattern of agreement gives birth to various forms and systems of the State which bind it either in the name of religion, ethnicity, or ethnicity, as well as patterns of the collective agreement as a form of the social contract.

The diversity of social contract patterns from the existing forms of the Islamic State such as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, sultanates such as Brunei Darussalam, and the Republic such as in Indonesia departs from the universality of God's word which has the opportunity to produce various political interpretations. The language of the Qur'an is rich in Arabic literature and grammar which often contains *majaz* meanings that require deep understanding to produce certain meanings. In addition, the verses in the Qur'an have a relationship with one another, whether between verse by verse, verse with hadith, or hadith, which allows a different meaning to be born when a *munasabah* occurs between verse by verse, verse with hadith and hadith. by verse. This later gave the law a different color in political matters. Apart from that, when viewed from history, Indonesian Islam is well known for its tolerant character and highly appreciates religious diversity. This is because departing from history before Islam came, there were Hindu and Buddhist religions that could coexist for centuries. That is why this character is not easily swayed by the presence of the Masjumi modernist political movement. The Indonesian people still maintain a tolerant character that respects diversity in religion, as it was applied 14 centuries ago when establishing the State of Medina.

So it can be understood Afifuddin's thinking that the question of the form of the State is a technical problem, not the essence of Islamic teachings. Meanwhile, Islamic teachings on social life are built on the values of goodness and the principles of benefit to the entire community. If so, Afifuddin did not question any form of Islamic State. Given the historical reality, that Islam once had a variety of forms of the State from the time of the Prophet to the present.

## PANCASILA IN AFIFUDDIN MUHAJIR'S VIEW

Pancasila is indeed a debate that never runs dry. Since the amendment to the Jakarta Charter was stipulated as the State Ideology by PPKI on August 18, 1945, some modernist Islamic groups who wanted the establishment of an Islamic State continued to fight, including in West Java in 1949-1962; in Central Java in 1965; in Sulawesi which ended in 1965; in Kalimantan, it ended in 1963 and Aceh in 1953 which ended with a compromise in 1957. This movement has increasingly gained a place since the reform era, and the peak of the 212 movements in the 2017 regional elections and the 2019 presidential election. They participated in the Khawarij Democracy process, namely the process of freedom of thought to express interests politics which aspires to kill the democratic system itself by not accepting the results of the 2019 presidential election.

Referring to the political thought above, in fact, the struggle of the modernist Islamic group has no problem forming an Islamic State considering the historical fact that there was an

Islamic State system that applied Islamic laws as the state constitution. However, when a state has been established and it is part of a collective agreement and wants to change it without the support of all components of society, it is not allowed in Islam.

According to Afifuddin Muhajir when talking about the relationship between Pancasila and Islamic Sharia, there are three possibilities: First, Pancasila does not conflict with Islamic Sharia because based on *istiqra* 'is not found in the Nash Al-Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet which contradict the five precepts in Pancasila. Second, Pancasila is following the Shari'a because it is based on *istiqra* 'also found several verses and hadiths that are in line with the five principles. Third, Pancasila is sharia itself.

Afifuddin Muhajir considered that Pancasila which consists of divinity, humanity, unity, democracy, and justice does not contradict the Shari'a. The five keywords in Pancasila, both textually and contextually, will be easy to find these teachings both in the Al-Qur'an and in Al-Hadith. Likewise, these values do not conflict with the universal teachings of various religions in Indonesia such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Confucianism. It becomes a meeting point between religions that unite in one Pancasila ideology container and become the answer to bind oneself in one unified view of the state. The binding ideology is not something sacred. Because in Islamic teachings, absolute truth belongs to God, while ideology and politics are the processes of political *ijtihad* as a requirement to form a state system. However, the existence of this ideology must be maintained together as a form of commitment in the life of the state to create common welfare.

Affifudin argued that Pancasila as the State Ideology is not an ideal alternative, but rather a degradation of the aspirations of what the two groups strive for. God's revelation as a form of ideal ideals when on earth in a variety of lives will find diverse realities as well. This often occurs in various problems in today's Kontermporer life. The jurisprudence experts argue that the requirement for *ijtihad* to know the arguments in detail is currently very difficult to find someone who understands this. So that precisely understanding this will cause problems that harm society. That is why making decisions that were not ideal for the ulama and the nation's founders when choosing Pancasila as their ideology gave birth to an ideal form as a means to unite diversity.

According to Affifuddin Muhajir, the presence of the State in the view of Islam is not as a goal, but as a means to achieve goals. The purpose of the establishment of a country is for the benefit of mankind, both in the world and in the hereafter. This is a form of very urgent benefit that must be fulfilled in human life. Because of the position as a means to achieve goals, the words of God do not explain the Islamic political system in detail. Islamic Sharia in the Al-Qur'an and Hadith describes subnational values related to the ethics of social life in running the state. So, whatever form a country is included in a democratic system with the Pancasila ideology, there is no problem with Islamic teachings. When values are implemented in a State ideology, it means that the State ideology does not conflict with Islamic law. Because the highest Islamic Sharia is the sentence of Tawhid. And the sentence is written in the first precept, namely the Godhead in One God. Likewise, when viewed from the issue of *muamalah*, politics is part of a social agreement that is not bound by argument. It can be done as long as it is not against the law.

From this, it can be understood that Afifuddin Muhajir stated that the ideal ideology in a country that has a pluralistic society like Indonesia, which is diverse in ethnicity, culture, and

religion is an ideology that can unite all these components. Because the most important thing in the establishment of a State is unity and integrity. There is no meaning to a religious ideology if it only creates conflicts continuously. The first is the internal conflict between the Sunni, Shia, Mu'tazilah, and Khawarij groups. Even the exclusivity of understanding religious ideology among them has given birth to extremism which forces other groups to follow it as part of political and religious struggles. Second, ideology is a way of seeing society achieve common goals, not only belonging to the majority group but also the minority. If religious ideology is applied, there will be a dictatorship of the majority and discrimination against minorities. Of course, this is very bad in the life of the nation and state and has dire potential in social life, and a real threat to the disintegration of the State and nation. So sacrificing the concept of religious ideology towards the ideology of Pancasila by becoming the One Divine Precepts finds a common ground for religious communities and the value of Tauhid Islam stands out more.

Afifuddin Muhajir's acceptance of Pancasila as the State Ideology is a firm answer to Muslim groups who want a religious ideology as a state ideology. Acceptance of the Pancasila ideology and rejecting religious ideology does not mean rejecting religion as an ideology. However, the issue of the diversity of religious understanding of Muslims means that political and religious relations cannot be united in Indonesia's diverse society. The potential for conflict between religions and followers of different religions is very open when the Religious Ideology is imposed by a particular religion. On the other hand, the bitter experience within the Nahdiyin (NU) community from the first independence to the New Order during the Soeharto Era, NU citizens were always marginalized when there was a merger of Islamic politics, such as when they joined the Old Order Era Masyumi and the New Order Era PPP. Besides, the history of the struggle for independence of the Indonesian nation is the struggle of all components of society who are of various ethnicities, cultures, and religions. As a religion that upholds moral values and respects diversity, Islam certainly does not teach political discrimination to build political egoism in the name of religion. Because whatever the form of the state is, what is desired is of course the freedom to carry out the teachings of their respective religions and there is no coercion of the majority group on the minority. And this is already in the State system and the prevailing law in Indonesia.

## **FORM OF STATE ACCORDING TO KYAI AFIFUDIN**

Afifuddin Muhajir is certainly familiar with classical to modern Islamic thinkers such as Al-Mawardi, Al-Ghazali, Al-Farabi, Sayid Qutb, Al-Maududi, Hasan Al-Banna, and Taqiyudin An-Nabhani discussing the form of an Islamic State, namely the Khilafah. Although in various operational forms, they consider the Islamic caliphate to be the best Islamic government system. This has also been done by ulama before and after Indonesian independence, including NU's political ideals. However, in the course of history, the fact that the Indonesian State was founded by a variety of people who differ in ethnicity, ethnicity, and religion has defined the Indonesian caliphate. That is why the change from the precept: "Divinity, with the Obligation to Carry Out Islamic Shari'a for Adherents to Become God Almighty" shows the sincerity and greatness of the soul of Muslims who is more concerned with equality and national unity rather than group interests.

On this basis, Afifuddin Muhajir said in his speech at UIN Walisongo as follows:

I conclude several points as follows: First, NKRI which is based on Pancasila is *syar'iy*, which is following Islamic law in both the texts and *maqashid*. Second, Pancasila is not a barrier (*mani'*) from implementing Sharia regulations in the State based on it. Third, the consequence of making Pancasila the basis of the State is that all State laws must not conflict with one of the Pancasila principles. Fourth, the Republic of Indonesia is an agreed State which consists based on the agreed upon.

Afifuddin Muhajir's opinion about the Republic of Indonesia is no different from state systems such as kingdoms, sultanates, Khilafah, and others. When a constitution provides space for implementing Islamic teachings, the State can already be called an Islamic State. Saudi Arabia, Brunei Darussalam, and Malaysia can be called Islamic countries not because of the shape of the country, but the constitution provides space and protects them and has the openness to get positive influences from Islam itself. The constitution provides space for religious life to live. It has been proven that the freedom of religious communities to carry out worship by its teachings. Besides, the constitution also protects the existence of those who have the same rights and obligations to carry out all activities, both privately and publicly, concerning the lives and interests of many people, including in politics. Likewise, the constitution provides openness to every Muslim to carry out its *muamalah* program with the enactment of state institutions such as the ministry of religion, banks, economics, and sharia banking, and others. All are accommodated in the State as a form of State ideology, namely Pancasila. Therefore, NKRI does not contradict Islamic sharia.

Afifuddin Muhajir's thought by accepting the Republic of Indonesia as a form of the State shows that he is classified as a scholar who follows a symbiotic political stream, namely the State's obligation to protect religion and the benefit of the community. The Republic of Indonesia as a form of upholding nationalism has often been debated, but the historical reality that the only thing that can unite a country in one bond is the existence of equality in having a State. Because this method is a way to continue the sustainability of the country as a way to create common ideals.

Afifuddin Muhajir's thoughts are in line with NU's national politics, placing Islam as a moderate religion that loves peace and provides goodness to the entire universe whose existence cannot be separated from local wisdom in the form of culture and tradition. Islam as a religion that covers all religions certainly has a flexible understanding of teachings in public spaces in social life, namely: freedom of religion, freedom of worship, recognition of human dignity based on protection, freedom to convey and explain one's faith and spirituality, and participation in social, political activities, the economy in his living space.

## STATE CONSTITUTION

Referring to Afifuddin Muhajir's line of thinking about the state constitution, it is a continuation of the realities of Islamic politics that have been difficult to unite since the establishment of the Indonesian State. The Masjumi party's inability to reconstruct the format of the Ideal State constitution. The traditional group wants to think about the state-nation, while the modernist group wants the application of Islamic law in the state constitution. And in the era of

reformation, their ideals are continued by radical Islamic groups such as FPI, HTI is often involved in mass mobilization movements that are not necessarily oriented towards da'wah alone, as well as practical political movements that have aspirations of implementing Islamic sharia as an alternative. So more persistently Afifuddin Muhajir presented a scientific argument that the meaning of sharia is not limited to textual, but contextual based on the understanding of the purpose of sharia being revealed to humans. God's word is interrelated (*munasabah*) to understand the law completely and correctly. Because understanding texts only textually and uprooting *maqashid al-shari'ah* makes it impossible and difficult to integrate the reality of life. whereas the Shari'a applies across places and ages. Therefore understanding the context is imperative to understand the Qur'an completely and correctly. The failure to understand Nash Al-Qur'an and prefer understanding.

According to him, a constitution cannot be separated from *maqashid al-shari'ah* which takes the basics from fundamental principles or universal principles such as the principle of giving youth, the principle of dispensation, and leniency. The principle of rejecting hardships and difficulties. The principle of rejecting harm. The principle of protection of humans. The principle of justice. The principle of upholding the general welfare in economic equality and protecting the poor.

These principles when looking at the contents of the constitution of the Indonesian State which want to create justice and prosperity in the form of distributive justice, namely a justice that the State meets the needs of its citizens in the economy, education, and other needs. Legal justice where both the ruler and citizens have the same position in law. And commutative justice is a reciprocal relationship between citizens.

Referring to the contents of the Constitution in the preamble to the 1945 constitution, Afifuddin Muhajri's thoughts regarding the State constitution are in harmony and accept the 1945 Constitution as a manifestation of the values of Islamic teachings contained in the Al-Qur'an and Al-Hadith. This means that it is in line with the political guidelines for the citizens of nu, namely: politics must be carried out with honesty, conscience and religious morals, constitutional, fair, under agreed rules and norms, and can develop deliberation mechanisms in solving common problems. Politics for nu is carried out to strengthen national consensus and is carried out following Akhlakul Karimah as the practice of the Islamic teachings of Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah. The practice of this teaching is of course based on the essence of the teachings of Jurisprudence which originated from the four schools and the beliefs of Imam Asy'ari and Al. -Maturidi who is flexible in understanding law, and Sufism in Junaidi and Al-Ghozali who can accept a variety of beliefs. In contrast to the Khawarij who were very extreme and harsh and did not accept other opinions, the Shia who were more inclined to the concept of *Din wa Daulah* was very exclusive with the concept of *wilayatul faqih*, and *mu'tazilah* which gave more freedom in understanding politics which tended more to the thoughts of the Secular State.

## CONCLUSION

The concept of the Ideal State of Afifuddin Muhajir departs from the legal studies contained in the Al-Qur'an and Hadith. The state at the level of scientific studies is included in the Muamalah Fiqh area. This is an opportunity to carry out ijtihad continuously to find the format of an ideal

form of state, things to do. Afifuddin Muhajir's ideal meaning of the State was born because in reality there is no textual firmness in the Al-Qur'an and Hadith regarding the form of an Ideal State. However, al-Quran and hadith provide a set of universal values about the social order of life that is very much in harmony to form an ideal country. The form of an Ideal State must refer to the social aspects of society that are diverse in ethnicity, ethnicity, and religion. So that there will be found an ideal of a diverse state in other Islamic countries in the form of various states as well.

An ideal country for the Indonesian State cannot be made an ideal country such as the form of Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, and Saudi Arabia. The study of the verses of *ahkam kullli* (general), when compromised on *juzi* (specific) verses, will find a form of Islamic politics that gives birth to ideology, the form of the State, and the enactment of the constitution. Political Islam as a means to maintain religion and prosper society can be found in the Pancasila ideology and the 1945 Constitution. Both give birth to laws and other regulations that give birth to distributive justice related to justice in the fields of education, economy, and other social accesses, legal justice related to equality the law of all citizens and commutative, namely fairness in the occurrence of a harmonious reciprocal relationship among humans. If this can be realized, the State can be called the Ideal Country as a meeting point for compromises of all citizens of various ethnicities, cultures, and religions.

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