

## **KHILAFAH STATE VERSUS NATION-STATE: Genealogy, Contestation, and Relation in Post-New Order Indonesia**

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### **Abstract**

*This article aims to discuss the discourses and debates on Khilafah system in Muslim countries and how it transforms to a nation-state system, specifically in Indonesia. These discourses and debates include the contestation and trends in the connection between Islam as a religion and Indonesia as a nation-state, which reemerged after the ban of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) in 2017 and The Front of Islamic Defenders (Front Pembela Islam/ FPI) in 2020 accordingly under President Jokowi's administration. This article employs descriptive qualitative analysis to investigate the historical sequences of the discourses and debates on the genealogy, contestation and relation between the Khilafah system and the nation-state system in Indonesia to uncover the fundamental ideology which underlines the conflicting interests in the debate. It operates the historical-sociological approaches to examine the data collected from books, articles, journals, and newspapers which contain the opinions of the prominents Muslim scholars gearing the dynamic discourses and debates on the nation-state system and Khilafah system. This article, therefore, attempts to demonstrates how Khilafah system idea emerged after the death of the prophet Muhammad and how*



*this idea was contested by Muslim scholars and leaders today. This article suggests that in the struggle of ideology, thought, and movement inside the Muslim countries including Indonesia, the Khilafah system and the system of nation-state came into conflict. Further, the two forms of engagement between Islam and nation-state are driven by nationalism.*

*[Artikel ini bertujuan mendiskusikan wacana dan perdebatan tentang sistem Khilafah di dunia Islam dan bagaimana ide tersebut bertransformasi menjadi sistem negara-bangsa khususnya di Indonesia. Wacana dan perdebatan ini meliputi kontestasi dan tren dalam hubungan antara Islam sebagai sebuah agama dan Indonesia sebagai negara-bangsa yang kembali muncul pasca pembubaran Hizbut Tabrir Indonesia (HTI) pada 2017 dan Front Pembela Islam pada 2020 secara berurutan di bawah kepemimpinan presiden Jokowi. Artikel ini menggunakan analisis deskriptif-kualitatif untuk menginvestigasi urutan sejarah wacana dan perdebatan tentang asal mula, kontestasi dan hubungan antara sistem Khilafah dan sistem negara-bangsa di Indonesia untuk mengungkap ideologi dasar yang melatarbelakangi perbenturan kepentingan pada perdebatan tersebut. Artikel ini menggunakan pendekatan sejarah dan sosiologi untuk menganalisis data yang dikumpulkan dari buku, artikel, dan koran yang berisi pandangan tokoh-tokoh muslim terkemuka yang meningkatkan wacana dan perdebatan yang dinamis tentang sistem negara-bangsa dan sistem Khilafah. Oleh sebab itu, artikel ini berusaha untuk mendemonstrasikan bagaimana ide sistem Khilafah muncul sepeninggal Muhammad sebagai nabi-utusan dan bagaimana ide ini dikontestasikan di kalangan ilmuwan dan tokoh Islam hari ini. Artikel ini beragumen bahwa dalam pencarian dan perjuangan ideologi, pemikiran, dan gerakan di dalam negara-negara Islam di dunia termasuk Indonesia, sistem Khilafah dan negara-bangsa mulai konflik. Lebih jauh lagi, dua bentuk sistem pemerintahan tersebut didorong oleh ide semangat nasionalisme.*

**Keywords:** *Khilafah, Nation-State, Discourse, Indonesia*

## **Introduction**

In the context of nations associated with Islam, such as Indonesia, there is a very strong intersection between the *Khilafah* system and the nation-state. The battle between the *Khilafah* system and the nation-state has emerged since the beginning of the formulation of the nation's

ideology which reaped a lot of polemics and disputes among national figures. The battle between the *Khilafah* system and the nation-state has given rise to various kinds of resistance and rebellion against the existence of the nation-state system which is considered incapable of solving the nation's problems. Efforts to restore the caliphate system in national ideology are the biggest challenge for the nation-state not to be trapped by various movements.<sup>1</sup>

In the Indonesian context, the *Khilafah* system can't be applied in Indonesia, which is known as a plural or heterogeneous country. Even though Indonesia is referred to as a country with the largest number of Muslims in the world, the caliphate system is impossible to implement. The *Khilafah* is a global form of government that unifies politics and religion, making the state both a political and a religious institution. It governs the complete Islamic world. The ideal *Khilafah* system has the potential to unify the Islamic world, but it is an ideal that is challenging to attain. Islam does not mandate the use of the *Khilafah* structure. It is not required of Muslims to create a *Khilafah* in any passage of the Qur'an or hadith.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, even though Indonesia implements a system of democracy and Pancasila as the nation's ideology, the emergence of international political movements that advocate the application of Islamic law must be watched out for by all elements of the nation. The emergence of HTI,<sup>3</sup> MMI, and the Muslim Brotherhood which spread into various regions is a separate thread for this nation to constantly monitor the movements carried out by this Islamic fundamentalist group. Islam as a religion is not only used as a tool of legitimacy but also becomes the

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<sup>1</sup> Moh. Toriquddin, "Mapping Fiqh Siyasi: Islamis versus Sekularis dan Khilafah versus Nation States," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2013, pp. 50–66.

<sup>2</sup> Irfan Ardian Syah, "Pergeseran dari Sistem Khilafah ke Nation-State Dunia Islam," *UIR Law Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2017, pp. 201–212.

<sup>3</sup> Asep Muhamad Iqbal and Zulkifli, "Islamic Fundamentalism, Nation-State and Global Citizenship: The Case of Hizb Ut-Tahrir," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2016, pp. 35–61.

spirit behind the spirit of nationalism.

The issue of implementing the *Khilafah* system is one of the major issues in political Islamic discourse in Indonesia because it relates to the future of the nation's ideology. There are several important studies relevant to the issue of the caliphate in the context of its relationship with nation-states, such as Indonesia. Studies have been done on how Islamic nations' constitutions have changed over time, from the time of the Prophet to the present. The absence of specific laws regarding state administration in Islamic sources, the centralist and absolute power of the *Khilafah*, the participation in the development of traditions at the time, and the influence of western nations through colonialism in the Islamic world are the four factors that contribute to the diversity of constitutions in Islamic countries.<sup>4</sup>

There is research about Indonesian Islamic revivalist movements' perspectives on the system of the nation-state and democracy. The Islamic revivalist movements studied in this research include Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Front Pembela Islam (FPI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), and Forum Umat Islam (FUI). This research explained that this violent activism stems from different versions of the concept of the nation-state and democracy, which disagree with broadly accepted definitions. This research was conducted against this backdrop to analyze each movement's perspectives on the concept of nation-state and democracy and argues that, despite each movement advocating the implementation of sharia, their understandings of the concepts of the nation-state and democracy differ.<sup>5</sup>

Other research relates to the contestation of Indonesian ideology,

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<sup>4</sup> Ali Sodikin and Anwar M Radiamoda, "Dinamika Konstitusi Islam: Dari Periode Kekhilafahan Hingga Nation-State," *JIL: Journal of Islamic Law*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021, pp. 138–167.

<sup>5</sup> Fahlesa Munabari et.al., "Islamic Revivalism in Indonesia: The Caliphate, Sharia, NKRI, Democracy, and the Nation-State," *Jurnal Politik*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2020, pp. 281.

namely from democratic cosmopolitanism to religious nationalism. This research shows ideological developments in Indonesia over the past 20 years, tracking a change in the ideological axis from a conservative and inward-looking religious nationalism to the adoption of democratic norms in the immediate post-Suharto era. The issue of the Islamic political order was brought up by the anti-colonial independence movements, in which Islam served as a unifying factor, and the emergence of different Muslim states. It makes the case that Islamist ideologies were slow to take hold in contemporary Indonesia and long outlasted Indonesians' conceptions of what their country ought to stand for and accomplish. It does observe, however, that if respectful pluralism and mutual tolerance are to be kept, Indonesia's deepening Islamization has resulted in a sense of growing sectarianism and a developing accommodation of Islamic agendas by Indonesia's pseudo-secular state.<sup>6</sup>

This article aims to elaborate on the contestation of Islam as a religion that is always colored by debates about the basic philosophy of the state, whether it adheres to a secular or religious system. In the final part of this article, the researcher attempts to present a pattern of relations between Islam and the nation-state which forms a system of government within the framework of democracy, and Pancasila as the philosophy of the Indonesian state. By presenting a debate between the *Khilafah* system and the nation-state, it is hoped that common ground and harmony will emerge in uniting all religions and religious groups to prioritize the spirit of unity and oneness amidst the plurality of this nation.

### **Genealogy of the Concept of the Islamic *Khilafah***

If we look at the early history of the *Khilafah* system's emergence,

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<sup>6</sup> David M. Bourchier, "Two Decades of Ideological Contestation in Indonesia: From Democratic Cosmopolitanism to Religious Nationalism," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. 49, No. 05, 2019, pp. 713–733.

we can see that it began with the creation of the post-Prophet government known as the Khulafaurrasyidin era, which was presided over by four caliphs: Abu Bakar Ash-Shiddiq, Umar bin Khattab, Usman bin Affan, and Ali bin Abi Talib. According to the Sunni political perspective, the legitimacy of the caliphate and the political elite agreement serve as its two main pillars. The dynamics of Islamic politics make this a fact, so the political elite tends to decide what is used and only then is it approved by the general populace.

The word *Khilafah* was first used in an Islamic context when Abu Bakr Ash-Shiddiq was chosen to serve as the community's leader following the Prophet Muhammad's passing. He introduced himself as "the caliph of the Prophet" in his opening comments (substitute for the Prophet). Umar bin Khattab, Ustman bin Affan, and Ali bin Talib, the Prophet's other three companions, were also referred to as caliphs or replacements for the Prophet's leadership in guarding and carrying on the Prophet's struggle to spread Islam to the Arabian Peninsula and various other uncharted areas.

What is the *Khilafah* terminological significance in connection to the modern form or system of government, then? The term of *Khilafah* is more well-known among Sunni groups.<sup>7</sup> The *Khilafah* itself is an Islamic form or system of government that unites politics and religion to make the state both political and religious. The *Khilafah* is a practical governmental structure that seeks to put Islamic law into effect and uphold it as the best law. Islamic law must be implemented in nations where the majority of the populace is Muslim because it is essential to the spread of Islam globally.<sup>8</sup> The application of Islamic law must be supported by a system called the *Khilafah* to facilitate its implementation in the field and there are no groups that oppose the existence of regulations

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<sup>7</sup> Said Aqil Siradj, *Islam Kebangsaan: Fiqih Demokratik Kaum Santri* (Jakarta: Pustaka Gijanjur, 1999), p. 63.

<sup>8</sup> Taqiyuddin Al-Nabhani, *Nidham Al-Hum Fi Al-Islam* (Beirut: Daar al-Umah, 1996), p. 18-19.

or laws that apply in a country.

Some scholars believe that the establishment of a *Khilafah* state is a shared responsibility of Muslims to uphold Islam so that it can continue to be sustained and upheld by Muslims around the globe. Without an Islamic state or a *Khilafah* system that governs all public affairs and numerous ancillary laws, religion cannot be upright. However, academics also believe that creating a *Khilafah* state is a means of warding off evil and bringing in the good. It was referred to as the *Khilafah* during the Prophet's sole reign, and the royal order thereafter. During the royal period, the term *Khilafah* may have been used as part of a title to strengthen power and authority in leading the people.<sup>9</sup>

The *Khilafah* structure is essential in Muslim nations, and the Shari'a must be applied consistently as well. In other words, the *Khilafah* is a constitutional order founded on Islamic law, and it is presided over directly by a caliph who acts as the sole person with the authority to decide and carry out policies about both religion and state laws at the same time.<sup>10</sup> The *Khilafah*, according to Ibn Khaldun, is a system of government in a nation founded on Islamic law, or sharia, and is the primary requirement for upholding Islamic values globally. Therefore, the *Khilafah* is present to serve as the sharia's representative and to manage global affairs through a variety of means that do not contradict Islamic teachings. It is not unexpected that maintaining the *Khilafah* is a necessary component of religious duty.<sup>11</sup> The *Khilafah* implements a system that must be replicated by all Muslims to provide benefit and prosperity for everyone.

The application of the *Khilafah* system in Islam itself is not explained in detail, not even an explanation regarding the provisions of

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<sup>9</sup> Munawwir Sjadzali, *Islam dan Tata Negara: Ajaran, Sejarah, dan Pemikiran* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1993), p. 82.

<sup>10</sup> Abdul Rashid Moten, "Khilāfah: The Islamic Political Order," *Political Science: An Islamic Perspective*, 1996, pp. 82–106. law, and society in Islam is reflected in its emphasis on the vocation of a Muslim, as khalīfah of Allah (SWT)

<sup>11</sup> Ibnu Taimiyyah, *Al-Siyasah Asy-Syar'iyah Fi Ishlah Al-Ra'i Wa Al-Raiyyah* (Mesir: Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, 1951), p. 182.

the form of government that must be based on the *Khilafah*. According to Ali Abdul Raziq, both the Qur'an, hadith, and *ijma'*, which talk about *bai'at*, law (governance), or orders to obey *ulil-amr*, are not directed towards establishing a *Khilafah*. The command to *bai'at*, or to obey *ulil-amr*, is not at all talking about the theory of imamate, and is not a religious obligation. Nor does it mean that Allah has ordained a specific law for priesthood matters. Meanwhile, *ijma'* is difficult to find its backing and its authenticity.<sup>12</sup>

### **Debate on the *Khilafah* State vs Nation-State in Indonesia**

The Islamic *Khilafah* discourse that resonates in political dynamics in Indonesia is a consequence of the country with the largest Muslim population in the world. Almost every decade, Indonesia has been preoccupied with the question of whether Indonesia deserves to become a *Khilafah* state as desired by fundamentalist Islamic groups. In fact, since the emergence of the formulation of the nation's ideology, the debate over the relationship between religion and the state, has increasingly focused on the issue of the interests of certain groups that seek to fight for Indonesia as a *Khilafah* state or based on religion in the practice of daily life.

The polemic between Soekarno and Mohammad Natsir regarding the position of religion and the state is still being debated and resonates in several events. This debate arises because there are groups of people and religious organizations who are trying desperately to replace Pancasila with Islamic ideology. Several Islamic factions wish to apply for the return of the Jakarta Charter in Pancasila. This is of course an acute problem because extremist religious groups are trying their best to achieve their goals with the establishment of a *Khilafah* state as the ideal goal of a country that wants peace and prosperity.

The state's thinking about Islam is certainly a crucial problem in the

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<sup>12</sup> Ali Abdul Raziq, *Khilafah dan Pemerintahan dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Pustaka, 1985), p. 22.



life of the nation and state. Abdurrahman Wahid was one of the figures who rejected the establishment of a *Khilafah* state or the application of Islamic law in the Indonesian context. Gus Dur's views, which outspokenly opposed the *Khilafah* state, were unquestionably intertwined with those of Ibn Khaldun, who clarified the interrelationship between faith and the state in his writings. For him, having a shared religious identity is insufficient to find a religious state or an Islamic *Khilafah*. The establishment of an Islamic state involves more than just enforcing sharia law; it also involves fostering inter-ethnic harmony. Gus Dur also acknowledged that because Indonesia is a pluralistic nation when it comes to religion, it would be impossible for it to create a religious state.<sup>13</sup>

Gus Dur's thinking about the concept of the state is the fruit of his idea to reject all discourse that is contrary to the ideology of Pancasila. Even though Indonesia is predominantly Muslim, it does not mean that Islamic law is appropriate to be implemented in this motherland. This is because many religions live in Indonesia and the people are very diverse, so it is impossible to voice and strive for a caliphate state as is often echoed by fundamentalist Islamic groups. Gus Dur looked more at religion substantially, not at its very rigid and exclusive formalization. What is the goal of religion must be seen from the side of its substance, not matters related to its formal application related to that religion.<sup>14</sup>

Gus Dur believes that there are at least a few instances that can be used as examples when discussing the debate over the Islamic nation-state and the *Khilafah*, which are both commonly used in Muslim nations, including Indonesia itself. First, there is no concept of a state in Islam. This reason shows that the formation of an Islamic state or *Khilafah* system does not have a solid foundation. Gus Dur gave an excuse regarding the absence of the concept of a state in Islam so that

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<sup>13</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, *Tabayun Gus Dur, Pribumisasi Islam, Hak Minoritas, dan Reformasi Kultural* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1998), p. 235.

<sup>14</sup> Listiyono Santoso, *Teologi Politik Gus Dur* (Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2004), p. 234.

the formalization of an Islamic state or the application of Islamic law must be rejected and opposed. Whatever the form of the state, as long as it still carries out the life goals of the people, then the state must be maintained by the character and noble values of the nation. Gus Dur said that for us what is important is the arrangement.<sup>15</sup> Second, Islam does not accept the idea of a state or a permanent form of administration.

### **Contestation of the Application of Islamic State in Indonesia**

Before Indonesia embraced Pancasila as the state philosophy, the debate about the formulation of the nation's ideology had long been a sensitive issue in uniting all religious groups in Indonesia. As a country with the largest population in the world, Indonesia deserves to be a religious country with a sharia system and rules that must be applied in people's lives. For Islamic groups who are very active in promoting the application of Islamic law in the state structure, they consider that Indonesia should make Islam the state religion that must be implemented and followed by all people.

In the history of the debate about the formulation of the nation's ideology, there are several reasons put forward by Islamic groups which are very strong in pushing for the formation of an Islamic state in Indonesia. First, Islamic law contained in the Qur'an and hadith, as a blessing for the universe, must be implemented and practiced by all Muslims in Indonesia for the benefit of the world and the hereafter. Second, from a philosophical standpoint, the establishment of an Islamic state in Indonesia does not undermine the nation's Pancasila and national character. Islam is a product of God and is the way for mankind to find security and happiness. Pancasila is a creation of humans. Thus, Muslims must back the implementation of Islamic law in Islamic nations. Third, Indonesian Muslims and Islam have enormous resources and the capacity to create an Islamic state. Islamic law is seen as having tremendous

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<sup>15</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, *Mengurai Hubungan Agama dan Negara* (Jakarta: Grasindo, 1999), p. 86.

potential to be applied as the foundation of the state in the capital of Indonesia, where 90% of the population is Muslim.<sup>16</sup>

The relationship between Islam, the majority religion in Indonesia, and the Republic of Indonesia, which is founded on Pancasila, was not expressly stated in the law at that time. Additionally, the formation of the Investigative Body for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence (BPUPKI) on April 9, 1945, gave all parties the chance to take part in creating the foundation of the Indonesian state. Masyumi, NU, PSII, and Perti, four Islamic parties that have joined forces to fight for the establishment of an Islamic state in the nation, took advantage of this chance. However, the Islamic faction did not reach 2/3 of the 534 members of the 362 Constituent Assembly, so the Muslims could not achieve their goals.

One of the reasons Indonesia must be founded on Islamic law is the circumstance that gave rise to Islamic parties' desire to found an Islamic state. Many groups, particularly secular nationalists who did not want Indonesia to turn into a religious state, opposed this, though. Even though Indonesia is primarily a Muslim country, the extraordinary variety of its population makes it impossible to apply Islamic law. Given the variety of cultures and faiths in Indonesia, it is unlikely that one religion will be able to influence the sharia or the laws that must be followed.

The secular-nationalist party has a significant influence on the ideological discussion surrounding the application of Islamic law. They believe that due to Indonesia's diversity, it is impossible to apply Islamic rule there. Supomo, a member of the secular-nationalist group, claimed that the requirements of contemporary society could not be met by the application of Islamic law. According to him, Islamic law must be rejected and resisted because it cannot be applied in Indonesia.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Agussalim Sitompul, *Usaba-Usaba Mendirikan Negara Islam dan Pelaksanaan Syariat Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: CV. Misaka Galiza, 2008), p. 279.

<sup>17</sup> Fahri Ali & Bachtiar Effendy, *Jalan Baru Islam: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam Indonesia Masa Orde Baru* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), p. 82.

The Islamic circles themselves adopted a compromising attitude to accept Pancasila, which Soekarno started as the foundation of the state through an agreement formulated in the Jakarta Charter until the time came to preserve the unity and integrity of the country. In the meantime, as a means of reaching a compromise to ease the conflict and tension between Islamic groups and secular nationalists, the seven words mentioned in the formula “Divinity with the obligation to uphold Islamic law for its adherents” were dropped.

From the Old Order, and New Order, to the reform era, the debate over national ideology has always been a never-ending debate. The concept of the *Khilafah* system and philosophy has given rise to numerous discussions that have gone on for too long to be finished. Several people agree that the *Khilafah* state and way of living are ideal. Many, particularly in Indonesia, contended that the *Khilafah* system is no longer applicable when it is integrated into a perfect system of state administration.<sup>18</sup> Some parties do not accept the formulation of Pancasila as the state ideology and try to revive the spirit to establish an Islamic state and enforce Islamic law in people’s lives.

It is reasonable to assume that the ideological movement they started was an endeavor to impose Islamic law or to replace Pancasila’s finalized ideology. In addition to religious groups with political ties, there are also international religious groups that are openly advocating for the application of Islamic law in the framework of national politics. At least three religious groups, the Muslim Brotherhood (IM), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI),<sup>19</sup> and the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI), which are allegedly part of an international political movement, should be on the lookout for in connection with their significant political activities carried

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<sup>18</sup> Jejen Jaelani, “Kontroversi Khilafah: Islam, Negara, dan Pancasila,” *Jurnal Sosioteknologi*, Vol. 14, No. 02, 2015, pp. 201–202.

<sup>19</sup> Mujahiduddin, “Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia’s View toward Democracy and Nation State and Its Implication in Indonesian Democracy,” *JICSA (Journal of Islamic Civilization in Southeast)*, Vol. 01, No. 01, 2012, pp. 78–106.

out in various Indonesian provinces (international political movement).

Among the things that the Indonesian Mujahidin Council is most wary of is born out of concern from Islamic figures about the weakness of Muslims in building the Indonesian nation towards significant progress. This was marked by the fall of the New Order, in which efforts to establish an Islamic state strengthened again and appeared in the context of the public sphere. The 1st Congress of the Indonesian Mujahidin Council in Yogyakarta on 5-7 August 2000 with the theme “Enforcing Islamic Sharia” was considered the rise of the followers of Kartosuwiryo, the founder of the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) on 7 August 1949.<sup>20</sup>

The MMI group denied claims that it was creating an Islamic state in Indonesia. They contend that Islamic law does not have to deal with governmental authority explicitly. The most crucial issue is how to uphold Islamic rule without resorting to violence. Although the denial is veiled in nature, it must be looked out for as part of a movement to convince the public to support the application of Islamic law in Indonesia.<sup>21</sup>

### **The Concept of the Nation-State in the Prophetic Perspective and Its Relevance to the Indonesian Political System**

In the Islamic concept, a nation must exist to show a shared vision of achieving welfare and prosperity in life. A state’s foundational components can at least be understood from a variety of angles. First, when a nation is founded, faith cannot be separated from its role as a moral code or administrative framework. Although the state already has set norms and laws, it still requires controllers who fortify the societal pillars to foster prosperity, prosperity, and peace throughout society. Second, a country must have leaders who are wise and prudent in

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<sup>20</sup> Chiara Formichi, *Islam and the Making of the Nation: Kartosuwiryo and Political Islam in 20th Century Indonesia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2012), p. 4-5.

<sup>21</sup> Endang Turmudi & Reza Syahbudi, *Islam dan Radikalisme di Indonesia* (Jakarta: LIPI Press, 2005), p. 283.

controlling and running their government as well as being protectors for their people. Third, a leader who runs the wheels of government must be fair and uphold justice to all its citizens without exception. Justice is a prerequisite for creating a harmonious and prosperous life among all citizens. Fourth, a favorable environment and security will always give people a sense of peace, which will allow them to create a life that is more comfortable and less susceptible to being upended by the uncertain circumstances that characterize every country's journey.<sup>22</sup>

Then what about the process of formation and goals of the state in the Islamic context, as was practiced by the Prophet Muhammad in building the state of Medina so that it became a region in the Arabian that was respected and received recognition from other regions? Before entering into a discussion of the concept of the state from a prophetic perspective, it is important to explain the process of formation and goals of the state according to the views of competent Islamic figures regarding the development of certain countries or regions in various parts of the world. This was a turning point in the application of the nation-state system or Pancasila as the state ideology in Indonesia.

The existence of a country is a means to realize the common aspirations of every citizen so that all the goals to be achieved can be carried out properly. The state is also the most fundamental container in regulating or controlling the problems faced by every citizen with full responsibility. And this is the dream of every citizen to get a decent life according to what they want. After the emergence of the state, it became imperative for every citizen to live in a society to create an orderly and prosperous life for the sake of greater interests in the future. With the existence of a state, every citizen has the opportunity to organize their life together for the good and benefit which is everyone's dream.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Suyuti Pulungan, *Fiqih Siyasah: Ajaran, Sejarah, dan Pemikiran* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 1999), p. 227.

<sup>23</sup> Miriam Budardjo, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik* (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1981), p. 38.

In Ibn Khaldun's view, the formation of a state is due to the desire of humans to live in solidarity to complete and perfect their unfulfilled needs, either to defend themselves or to survive in a life full of challenges. The human need to live together is a nature that cannot be denied so that it allows them to work together in all things, including meeting their own needs in life. This is because, the more association or interaction and the increase in a person's needs, the more a person's need for his country will provide protection and security guarantees for all his activities every day. People can exist happily with a state that controls all aspects of their lives because the state has a vested interest in providing for its people.<sup>24</sup>

Fazlur Rahman asserts that a state can be established if a group of people declares their willingness to obey Allah's orders, as was the case in Medina, where the Prophet Muhammad and his adherents established their state. They have created a Muslim society that can look out for and assist one another thanks to the group's willingness. From Fazlur Rahman's perspective, this illustrates how a nation is created based on a shared desire to make the same success in this life. The establishment of a state unquestionably results from the Muslims' desire to carry out Allah's directives and uphold a community that was created by the teachings and ideals of the Prophet Muhammad, who serves as the primary arbiter of policy. The idea of a state established by the Prophet is an effort to uphold Muslim organizations' safety and integrity to spread religion through nonviolent means.<sup>25</sup>

The presence of Islam in Arab lands has become a beacon for civilization because there have been extraordinary changes in creating a better order of life than before. Although Arab society is known for being hard-headed and resistant to compromise, it has evolved into a very gentle society that is not readily offended by the presence of Islam, which promotes world peace. With all of his power, the Prophet Muhammad

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<sup>24</sup> Ibnu Khaldun, *Muqaddimah* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1979), p. 139.

<sup>25</sup> Fazlur Rahman, "Implementation of the Islamic Concept of State in Pakistani Milieu," *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 06, No. 01, 1967, pp. 205.

was also able to alter the culture of the Arabs, who enjoyed fighting and lived in violent strife with the neighboring clans. In addition, the Aus and Khazraj tribes experienced an extraordinary upheaval during the Yathrib (pre-Medina) period that lasted for a long time and never finished.<sup>26</sup>

The Prophet Muhammad was not only the bearer of religious treatises whose job was to convey God's message through *dakwah* carried out to the Arab community but also the founder of a state that was able to dominate and control the global life order for centuries. Muhammad is the leader of the country with extraordinary strength because he is supported by friends who are very loyal in accompanying him in running the wheels of government.<sup>27</sup> Muhammad managed the affairs of Arab society with wisdom, regardless of religious heritage, both Muslim and non-Muslim, despite his position as the head of the state.

Islam, which the Prophet Muhammad brought into the world, is not a faith that demands that people live life with total responsibility; rather, it is a state system that governs its citizens to enable them to fulfill all of their obligations as *Khalifah* on earth. Every Muslim community needs to have a state in charge of all decisions regarding the well-being and prosperity of its citizens. Muhammad is the true creator of the nation, which was established with the help of the entire Ummah.

One of the models for the emergence of the state concept around the globe, including the concept of the nation-state used in Indonesia, was the history of state formation during the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Indonesia, a democratically run nation, accepted the Prophet Muhammad's form of government, which has since been used as the foundation for governing people's lives. The Arab societies' circumstances and state under the Prophet Muhammad's leadership underwent significant changes that enhanced their morality and moral

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<sup>26</sup> M. Zuhri, *Potret Keteladanan Kiprah Politik Muhammad Rasulullah* (Yogyakarta: LESFI, 2004), p. 29.

<sup>27</sup> Khalid Abdul Karim, *Negara Madinah: Politik Penaklukan Masyarakat Arab* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005), p. 8.



standards. The Prophet implemented a democratic system that provided opportunities and opportunities for everyone to enjoy freedom in carrying out their activities without feeling pressured or pressured by the state.

### **The Relation Pattern of Islam and the Nation-State in Political Dynamic in Indonesia**

Islam's presence in the country has evolved into a platform that unites all aspects of the people to uphold local values that serve as a benchmark for maintaining Indonesian customs and culture. Islam is a prevalent faith in Indonesia and is one that can work in harmony with the political and social structure of the country. The nation's ideology can be a power that unites all of its components, as demonstrated by the relationship between Islam and Pancasila. Even though most of Indonesia has a Muslim population, Islam does not necessarily become the state religion or apply Islamic law as the law that must apply.

This section, which covers the nationalism of society in different traditions and cultures that color the dynamics of a nation's life, is crucial for examining the relationship pattern between Islam and the nation-state. From this moment, religious and national fervor will converge, fostering the development of flexible relationships amidst the existing cultural diversity. So how does the connection between Islam and the nation-state that is bound by the desire to come together and embrace diversity by the national ideals fare?

Islam as a religion is not only interpreted normatively from sacred texts which cannot be touched at all but it is also understood contextually with different traditions and cultures. Islam was born in an environment of Arab society that experienced a moral crisis and tried to become a more civilized society. Islam is a modern faith that in no way disparages the existence of a democracy that is presently forming in the context of people's actual lives. Islam is a universal religion that covers many aspects, including state affairs in the context of discussions about doctrine and

its foundation in the life of the country and state. Islam is not a religion that rejects worldly affairs or matters related to the state or power.

Islam is a political system that governs societal interactions as well as religion. This demonstrates that Islam continues to value religious principles as a way of governing society and the state. This is because Islam is not just a theological system; it also includes social norms and a way of life that influences both society and the political system. Because there is no distinction in the Islamic context between the holy and the profane, regulating inter-religious relations does not present a significant challenge. To manage the affairs of a plural community, many Muslim nations today have embraced a democratic system or nation-state.<sup>28</sup>

Then what happens when nationalism, the driving force behind the establishment of the nation-state structure in Indonesian society, is linked to Islam? What do we mean when we say that nationalism is a spirit that unifies people from all walks of life? And in the context of Indonesia, which upholds the nation-state system, how do we understand the pattern of relations between Islam and nationalism? And how does Islam perceive nationalism, the ideology that inspired Indonesia to create its first nation-state?

Before explaining the relationship between Islam and nationalism as the spirit of the establishment of the nation-state system in Indonesia, the researcher tries to elaborate on the concept of nationalism as the basis for unity and oneness among nations. As it is known that the concept of nationalism became the forerunner or embryo of the birth of a constitutional system called the nation-state. The birth of a nation-state cannot be separated from the influence of religious community nationalism in accommodating aspirations and the need to unite regardless of religious or cultural background in the life of society. Islam as a religion is not only used as a tool of legitimacy but also becomes

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<sup>28</sup> Masykuri Abdillah, *Islam dan Dinamika Sosial Politik di Indonesia* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2011).

the spirit behind the spirit of nationalism. In this context, Islam and nationalism work together and take the positive side of each.<sup>29</sup>

This study wishes to emphasize that there is no significant conflict between practicing Islam and nationalism, which is the driving force behind the creation of the nation-state system. In reality, however, there are always ongoing discussions about Islam and the nation-state. According to Azyumardi Azra, several variables contribute to the conflict between Islam and the nation-state. First, because it has its roots in the Western tradition, the nation-state is regarded as having no Islamic past. Second, a nation-state conceptually derives from cultural, regional, linguistic, and ethnic ideals rather than from religious teachings. Third, the nation-state is institutionally in opposition to the *Khilafah* system, which mandates that all branches of Islam follow a superstate-based faith.<sup>30</sup>

Even though the nation-state structure originated in Western thought, it can foster unity among all aspects of the country. In actuality, despite differences in ethnicity, culture, customs, and religion, Indonesia can bring all religious groups together in one frame of brotherhood and kinship by fostering nationalism among all elements of the country. For all of its people, Indonesia has been able to unite the nation, the language, and the archipelago through the use of nationalism as a tool to create a nation-state system. To unite all differences within the context of union, Indonesia, a democratic nation, also forbids the teachings of Pancasila in the third precept and nationalism in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution.

Islam as a normative religion, in essence, has regulated the concept of nationalism comprehensively in the Qur'an. Everything is constructed by a nationalistic attitude that disregards ethnic and religious differences

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<sup>29</sup> Robitul Firdaus, "Nasionalisme 'Jalan Tengah': Mengurai Potensi Benturan Ideologi Nasionalisme Dan Sentimen Ummah di Era Nation State," *Akademika: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2018, pp. 307.

<sup>30</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Pergolakan Politik Islam dari Fundamentalisme, Modernisme, Hingga Post-Modernisme* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996), p. 11-12.

when Islam stands as a religion that defends its followers or as a state that protects its citizens. Islam-compliant nationalism is evident in the very pluralistic Medina Charter, which the Prophet and the entire Arab society adopted. This further demonstrates the ideological link between nationalism and Islamic principles and the role it plays in the spread of Islam around the globe.

Several reasons prove that the nation-state system with the teachings of nationalism is an integral part of the Islamic tradition. First, some verses explain the creation of humans in different conditions. The verse reads “O you who believe, indeed We created you consisting of male and female, and We made you nations and tribes so that you would know each other. Indeed, the most honorable among you before Allah is the most pious among you.” This verse proves that God wants every human being to live together in differences because it becomes an instrument to know and respect one another.

Second, God’s command is to love the homeland or country. This command emphasizes that love for the motherland is part of the faith so every Muslim is obliged to defend his country as he loves his religion. Love for the motherland or nationalism is part of the *jihad* resolution as initiated by *Kiai* Hasyim Asy’ari to defend the country from all forms of colonialism. The spirit of nationalism as part of religious teachings is an instrument to unite all elements of the nation from various backgrounds.

Third, God’s instruction for all Christians to cling to His rope at all times. This is following the Qur’anic verse that says, “Hold fast to the rope (religion) of Allah, all of you, and do not be separated.” This verse stresses that a person’s level of faith can be judged by how much importance he places on maintaining unity and oneness as a shared value in creating a peaceful future. This country will become more developed and prosperous in the name of nationalism, to the advantage of all citizens. In other words, all aspects of the country are founded on Islam to respect individual variations and prevent conflict among Indonesians.

There are many ways to explain the relationship between Islam and nationalism as a manner of creating a system of nation-states. The pattern of integrative connections comes first. This connection demonstrates the compatibility or complementarity between nationalism, or nation-state, as a form of administration used in Indonesia. Islam and nationalism have an integrating connection, demonstrating how Islam is frequently linked to power in all spheres, including power over the laws that govern it.

Second, the relationship pattern is progressive. This Islamic and nation-state relationship does not refer to the notion that a nation-state with a spirit of nationalism is a secular ideology that expands Western imperialism and colonialism.<sup>31</sup> The relationship between Islam and the nation-state is evidence that this system is not a problem if implemented in Muslim countries, such as Indonesia. Indonesia is a democracy and Pancasila can build a just society regardless of religious background. Even Muslim scholars say that the Medina Charter initiated by the Prophet supports the nation-state system or modern nationalism, not nationalism based on religious law.<sup>32</sup>

With this relation between Islam and the nation-state, the *Khilafah* system that Islamic fundamentalist groups want to strive for is irrelevant in the context of Indonesia, which has made Pancasila the national ideology and glue for unity for all citizens. The *Khilafah* system cannot be enforced in a country that has many religions, such as Indonesia. The nation-state system with the ideology of Pancasila has become the national ideology that embodies all religious groups without exception with the spirit of nationalism in defending the country from various threats from transnational ideologies.

The *Khilafah* system currently has no place in a nation like Indonesia where there is religious diversity. This is so that the nation-state system,

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<sup>31</sup> Muhammad Iqbal, *Fiqh Siyasah: Kontekstualisasi Doktrin Politik Islam* (Jakarta: Prenadamedia, 2014), p. 201-211.

<sup>32</sup> Yusdani, *Fiqh Politik Muslim Progresif* (Yogyakarta: Kaukaba Dipantara, 2015), p. 230.

which serves as the foundation for administering the government, does not conflict with Islam, the country's predominant faith, and fully embraces all other religions. Because nationalism is a very suitable relationship for creating a more peaceful and harmonious existence, the nation-state and Pancasila are extraordinary forces that are the spirit of unity among all citizens regardless of religious heritage. The Indonesian people can coexist in peace with current pluralism thanks to Pancasila. Therefore, Pancasila is the only ideology that can cover this void and serve as the cornerstone of the Indonesian nation.<sup>33</sup>

## Conclusion

This article confirms that the genealogy of the *Khilafah* system emerged during the post-Prophet Muhammad reign. The term *Khilafah* is more popular among Sunni. In the Sunni political view, the *Khilafah* system is based on two important aspects, namely the consensus of the political elite and the granting of legitimacy. The *Khilafah* is a system of government based on Islamic law that integrates religion and politics as one unit. The *Khilafah* is implemented in Muslim countries that enforce Islamic law as a law that must be applied by all Muslims.

The contestation between the *Khilafah* system and the nation-state has emerged since the beginning of the formulation of the nation's ideology which reaped a lot of polemics and disputes among national figures. Many parties want Indonesia to be an Islamic state because the majority of Indonesia's population is Muslim. However, on the other hand, several figures want to fight for the foundation of a nation-state, because Indonesia is known as a pluralistic country with different religious backgrounds. This contestation between the *Khilafah* system and the nation-state has given rise to various resistances and rebellions against the existence of the nation-state system which is considered incapable

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<sup>33</sup> Priyo Handoko and Anis Farida, "In the State Administration System of Indonesia: No Space for Khilafah!," *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, Vol. 77, No. 4, 2021, pp. 2–9.

of solving the nation's problems.

In the Indonesian context, the practice of Islam and the nation-state which is motivated by the spirit of nationalism is not contradictory. There is a pattern of relations between Islam and the nation-state which is the main force for the creation of a peaceful and harmonious life between all religious groups. First, the pattern of integrative relationships. This integrative relationship between Islam and nationalism shows that Islam can be affiliated with power, even in every dimension of power over the law that manages it. Second, the relationship pattern is progressive. The pattern of relations between Islam and the nation-state is evidence that this system is not a problem if implemented in Muslim countries, such as Indonesia.

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