

AHMAD SYAFII MAARIF'S JOURNEY OF THOUGHT: FROM FUNDAMENTALIST TO INCLUSIVISM

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Abstract

This article aims to provide a historical narrative about the journey of thinking of one of the leaders of Islamic thought in Indonesia named Ahmad Syafii Maarif. Syafii Maarif experienced a fundamental thought change from a fundamentalist admirer of the Islamic State of Indonesia to becoming an inclusive person who fights for human values. The track record or range of points of intellectual development is divided into three stages. The first turning point or the phase of intellectual formation of Syafii Maarif's thoughts occurred when he received an education at the Muhammadiyah Mu'allimin Madrasah at Balai Tengah, Lintau, West Sumatra. The second point, or phase of intellectual growth, occurred after continuing his studies at Madrasah Mu'allimin Yogyakarta and finished in 1956. The third point, or phase of intellectual development, happened when he attended a doctoral program at the University of Chicago, United States, completed in 1983. At the university, he experienced a significant intellectual turning point by experiencing a new spiritual and intellectual awakening under Fazlur Rahman (1919-1988). This article uses the historical theory of Kuntowijoyo's thoughts, as a form of thought study methodology in which it examines the text, context, and the relationship between the text and society. This article uses a biographical approach to analyze the genealogy of thought and environmental conditions of Ahmad Syafii Maarif.

Keywords: *Ahmad Syafii Maarif; Muslim intellectual; history of thought.*

INTRODUCTION

Comprehensively mapping Syafii Maarif's thinking requires high historical rigor. This is because his thinking is fragmented into two patterns: 1) exclusive thinking, occurring before taking a doctoral program at the University of Chicago; 2) inclusive thinking, which occurred after he attended the University of Chicago, more precisely after struggling with Fazlur Rahman. It is not surprising that his Islamic writing and views, before meeting Fazlur Rahman, seemed exclusive, fierce, and loud. R. William Liddle, his lecturer at Ohio University, once said his opinion led to the figure of Syafii Maarif quoted in the introduction to his book *Mencari Autentitas dalam Kegalaan* it's not wrong (Maarif, 2004, pp. xv-xx). R. William Liddle felt that there was a fundamental change of thought in Syafii Maarif. Therefore, when reading the works of Syafii Ma'arif must be observant, intelligent, and able to distinguish the historical context of his thoughts. In other words, the reader must know when the works of Syafii Maarif were written, whether before studying at the University of Chicago who still wanted the establishment of an Islamic state in Indonesia, during the Chicago period, struggled with Fazlur Rahman, who later changed his thinking from a fundamentalist to a moderate. It is crucial to avoid misperceptions and *misunderstandings* of his thoughts.

METHOD

This article aims to provide a historical narrative about the journey of thought of one of the figures of Islamic thought in Indonesia named Ahmad Syafii Maarif. Syafii Maarif

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underwent a fundamental change of thought from a fundamentalist admirer of the Islamic State of Indonesia to becoming an inclusive person who fights for human values.

This article uses a biographical approach to analyze family background, educational history, career journey, and thoughts in already written works. And the state of the environment of a Syafii Maarif. This article uses the thought history research method issued by Kuntowijoyo that the history of thought uses the approach of text study and the study of historical context. The text approaches include eight aspects: thought genesis, consistency of thought, the evolution of thought, systematic thinking, development and change, variants of thought, communication of thought, and continuity of thought. Context studies cover four aspects: historical context, political context, cultural context, and social context. The research stages include data collection (heuristic), source criticism (verification), interpretation (interpretation), and historical writing (historiography) (Kuntowijoyo, [2003](#)).

The first stage is heuristic. In the heuristic, the source used is a written and unwritten source. Written sources use primary and secondary sources. Primary sources use written works from Syafii Maarif, among others: *Islam dalam Bingkai Keindonesiaan dan Kemanusiaan: Sebuah Refleksi Sejarah* ([2009](#)); *Islam dan Politik: Teori Belah Bambu Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin (1959-1965)* ([1996](#)); *Memoar Seorang Anak Kampung* ([2013](#)); *Mencari Autensitas dalam Kegalauan* ([2004](#)); *Titik-titik Kisar di Perjalananku* ([2006](#)). Unwritten sources by digging up data sourced from interviews with Ahmad Syafii Maarif. Source criticism or verification is the next step of the historical method. Verification is a step to finding out the authenticity and validity of the source by using internal criticism and external criticism. Internal critics compare primary sources, namely the writings of Syafii Maarif, with documents or other sources of contemporaries to obtain the truth. At the same time, external criticism is the criticism of sources by looking in terms of sources such as paper used, ink, writing style, language, sentences, and the appearance of the source. The next method is interpretation, which is the interpretation of history. In historical interpretation, approaches and theories are used to determine the process of occurrence of an event which in this study is the evolutionary process of Ahmad Syafii Maarif's thought. The final stage of this research is the writing of history in the form of writings that contains historical events, namely the process of evolution of Ahmad Syafii Maarif's thought.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

His Thought Journey

As a figure of Indonesian Islamic thought, Syafii Maarif has his views, interpretations, and ideas about Islam and nationality. Discussing Islamic thought and the nationality of a Syafii Maarif can not be separated from the track record of intellectual development, which he calls the points of the journey of thought. Therefore, Syafii Maarif's thought development is divided into three stages based on his scientific development and experience in Indonesia and the United States during his life and study.

The first thought journey (1947-1953 AD) was when he attended school at Madrasah Mu'allimin Muhammadiyah Balai Tangah, Lintau, West Sumatra, after three

years of not attending school after *Sekolah Rakyat* in 1947 (Maarif, 2006, p. 12). Syafii Maarif's person began to take shape in this environment, and Syafii Maarif's insight into Islam began to be nurtured. During this time, Syafii Maarif got acquainted and began to study religion according to Muhammadiyah because, at that time, Muhammadiyah had just entered his village. From this place, the intellectual activity of Syafii Maarif began. Muhammadiyah Madrasah became the only place of learning because, during the national revolution, state-owned educational institutions could not be run.

In that period, Muhammadiyah organizations filled by using their socio-religious movements, so this movement had contributed to solving community problems. Muhammadiyah organizations are present at the right time to spread their influence. This understanding then influenced the intellectual spirit of Syafii Maarif, who became the initial provision of the formation of his personality and influenced his mindset to become a modernist.

The education obtained at Madrasah Muallimin more or less affected his intellect. Syafii Maarif learned about the various forms of rational Islamic approaches by finding out through questions about the various traditions in Muhammadiyah. At these times, Syafii Maarif asked about the tradition of grave pilgrimages in his village, which he considered heresy by people who agreed with Muhammadiyah. On the other hand, Syafii Maarif holds these traditions tightly. At this point began to appear opposition and restlessness in his mind. Because Syafii Maarif's position is not so strong culturally, he is more likely to be influenced by Muhammadiyah ideology. It is also supported by the association of Syafii Maarif, who is more spent in the Muhammadiyah education environment than in his father's family environment. With the knowledge of religious science that is still basic, he has also dared to argue in the mosque facing the elite community of Sumpur Kudus about the discussion on the issue of *khilafiah* at the village level (Maarif, 2013, p. xiv).

From that event, Syafii Maarif began his life as a Muhammadiyah who got an education through the Islamic teaching process in a modern way. The group so readily adopted the Western model but was so far removed from the local tradition that they often regarded it as heresy. This tradition makes Muhammadiyah an organization considered a "cultural bulldozer" by traditionalists. Islam is directed towards a path of fulfillment of needs that is very instrumental in the style of modern Western organizations. Therefore, the group is seen as a poor modern Islamic organization with symbolic and ritual elements. Muhammadiyah put Islam to fulfill sterile living needs from traditions that are considered irrational (Putra, 2014, p. 55). Then if observed from the education he has achieved, Madrasah Muallimin and Muhammadiyah have contributed to achieving this goal. This educational provision was used when first migrating to Yogyakarta to enter madrasah Muallimin Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

The second thought journey (1953-1980 AD) began when Syafii Maarif continued his education at Madrasah Mu'allimin Yogyakarta and was completed in 1956 AD. In this second phase, his broader insights have not been able to change his impulse as a fundamentalist, and even he still brought when studying history at Ohio University, Athens, United States. His religious outlook still hasn't changed much. His political ideals remained strong to conquer Indonesia to become an Islamic country, even though, at that time, it was more than 40 years old (Qorib, 2017, p. 68).

When he first arrived in the United States, Syafii Maarif was still fixated on social, political, and religious thought, especially Islam brought from Indonesia. He is still struggling with the thought that expects the establishment of the Islamic State in the country. His intellectual introduction by reading the works of Abul' Ala al-Maududi and Maryam Jameelah, converts from the United States who was also a student of Abul' Ala al Maududi in Pakistan, further confirmed his fundamentalist thinking. Muslim Brotherhood figures influenced the two figures in his views regarding the establishment of the Islamic State, including in Indonesia. In his language, he even said, "anyway with the Islamic state, and our world governs." (Maarif, [2006](#), p. 211).

His thinking still hadn't changed when he studied at Ohio University until before continuing to study at the University of Chicago. Islamic thought of Syafii Maarif is still confined to the model of formalization of Islamic sharia. He greatly admired the thoughts of Abul' Ala al-Maududi and Maryam Jameelah and even several times translated the writings of Abul' Ala al-Maududi to be contained in *Suara Muhammadiyah*. Moreover, some of Abul' Ala al-Maududi's writings were used as west Asian history lecture material when he was a lecturer at FKIS IKIP Yogyakarta (Maarif, [2006](#), p. 195). At that time, his thinking was again still beset by great ambitions to establish an Islamic state of Indonesia. Here's his talk about his big change of thinking in him.

"...for too long, my brain "danced" on a less enlightening Islamic stage. Muhammadiyah emphasizes more pious charity and less on thinking. The political virus of an Islamic State in Indonesia has drained many people's energy, but that failed. But none of this needs to be regretted because the process and development of thought do not come suddenly. It requires time and radical and intellectually serious fishing and fishing from various parties and sources. This kind of fishing is what I didn't get before going to Chicago." (Maarif, [2006](#), p. 155).

Syafii Maarif still believes this thought. This is also recognized by William Liddle, Professor of Political Science from Ohio University, a lecturer who taught Syafii Maarif while studying at Ohio University. According to him, Syafii Maarif, during his studies at Ohio University, brought his background as a Sumatran, modernist Islam (Muhammadiyah), and Masyumi. Syafii Maarif praised Mohammad Hatta, the founder and defender of democracy in Indonesia in the 1950s, and derided Sukarno for resisting and overthrowing him. The leaders of Masyumi, the largest Islamic party banned by Sukarno, were defended as righteous and unequivocal. Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) politicians who represent traditional Islam are labeled as opportunists because they are willing to cooperate with Sukarno and his guided democracy which is not a democracy. Javanese culture is denounced as a hierarchical philosophy of life in the political and social fields and too loose in morality. Many illegal acts are legalized by Javanese culture.

From Liddle's narration, it can be concluded that Syafii Maarif was an admirer of Hatta as a democracy fighter. Then in terms of religious thought and practice, Syafii Maarif is a true Muhammadiyah cadre. He represented modernist traditions and Muhammadiyah renewal, especially in terms of *khilafiah*. The combination of modernist thought and egalitarian culture that he brought made him considered bad Javanese culture, which existed in NU religious practices and was used by Sukarno and Suharto to govern the country.

The third thought journey (1980-Present) takes place in a Chicago neighborhood. In this Chicago, Syafii Maarif experienced a period that provided extraordinary experiences and influenced the formation of his thinking structure. Syafii Maarif felt a new spiritual and intellectual consciousness. His mind and heart gained a "virus" of enlightenment after he met Fazlur Rahman. With all his criticism of the teacher, very large strategy, and approach, he used to be able to weigh the entire wealth of classical and modern Islamic treasures with the Qur'an as the main source of his teacher in Chicago. In his typical story expression, Syafii Maarif said that.

"I studied Islam since Ibtidaiyah Muhammadiyah but became very steady after studying prof. Fazlur Rahman for four years in Chicago. Rahman introduced me to the message of the universalism of the Qur'an through several courses I participated in, including the interpretation of the Qur'an he gave. I became very critical of various Islamic thoughts, both classical and modern, after studying the Qur'an on Rahman. Therefore it is good if someone wants to know my thoughts, please also read Rahman's works, although I cannot match his scientific authority in Islamic matters." (Maarif, [2006](#), p. 207).

As already mentioned above, the thought of Syafii Maarif was influenced by the patterns of his Islamic Neo-Modernism approach Fazlur Rahman. Fazlur Rahman also explained that his reform movement was based on three things. The first is the formulation of the worldview of the Qur'an. The second is to create a systematic analysis of the moral teachings of the Qur'an and, in turn, will create the ethics of the Qur'an. The third is to formulate legal systems and formulas aligned with contemporary needs based on such ethics (Damanhuri, [2016](#), p. 79). Fazlur Rahman's movement aims to take a picture of his hypothesis of the world's spreading Islamic revival emerging as a strong answer to the weakness of traditional *ulama* and the failure of the Islamic state in overcoming Western influence.

While on the other hand, in his thinking, Syafii Maarif gained influence from the thoughts of Toynbee, Iqbal, and Mohammad Hatta, who provided the initial basis for the birth of critical thinking (Damanhuri, [2016](#), p. 80). This can be seen from his four statements. First, religion is not always powerless to control the behavior of power deviations carried out by Muslim rulers, so it needs a critical attitude to be honest with the past. Second, in history, bitter things must be conveyed and opened boldly and responsibly, even if stripping oneself, because history is also a guideline for acting within the constraints of time and space. Third, man often hides his interests behind the scriptures as a historical actor with all his subjective tendencies and worldly interests. Fourth, leave a happy attitude in appearance by using accurate references to see yourself critically, and it is forbidden to hide your weaknesses and be prepared to laugh at yourself (Damanhuri, [2016](#), p. 80).

After returning from Chicago, Syafii Maarif's thinking matured. According to him, Islam is the main and first source of morals. The Qur'an is a scripture with a clear common thread of worldview as the highest guideline and grip on all things, including the basis in politics. Syafii Maarif argues that Indonesian Islam and humanity should be in the same breath. Islam, followed by the majority of the people, is forbidden to be egoistic; compatriots who have differences in faith must remain protected and treated fairly and proportionally (Maarif, [2006](#), p. 404).

The difference felt by young Syafii Maarif with Syafii Maarif, who has experienced the peak of thinking maturity, is hard and unwilling to compromise nature replaced with a more accommodating nature with NU and interfaith circles. Syafii Maarif is close friends with Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) and *kiai* from among NU. Even with Nurcholis Madjid, Syafii Maarif has been close friends since college days in the United States. Then look at the final form of Indonesia as the basis of a unitary state with the form of a republic no longer an Islamic state. In addition, the spirit of nationalism and democracy championed by Mohammad Hatta has been renewed with courtesy and tolerance.

Perhaps, it is true what Kuntowijoyo said that a person's thoughts are greatly influenced by the previous thoughts he gets and circles them (Kuntowijoyo, 2003, p. 192). The thoughts of Syafii Maarif, who has more or less been influenced by the thoughts of Fazlur Rahman, the teacher. He admitted to experiencing "brainwashing" and "leaps of thought" after attending lectures and various discussions with Fazlur Rahman at the University of Chicago, United States.

Syafii Maarif seems to be also influenced by the thoughts of Mohammad Iqbal and Qamaruddin Khan. He said that Fazlur Rahman, Muhammad Iqbal, and Qamaruddin Khan had done the right *ijtihad* with the political ideals and principles of the Qurani, especially the explanation of the relationship between Islam and the concept of statehood as well as the basis of *shura* and its relationship with democracy. Based on the frame of mind of the three thinkers, according to M. Syafi'i Anwar, Syafii Maarif has formulated his political thoughts. Qur'an's position on the theory of the state, according to Syafii Maarif, does not agree with the specific theory of the state that Muslims should use. Principal value of the Qur'an is the establishment of the values of justice and morality in society or the state.

In addition to being influenced by the thoughts of the three figures above, it seems that Muhammad Hatta strongly influences the thoughts of Syafii Maarif. In his various writings, he often flattered the figure of Hatta and instead often scorned Soekarno (Maarif, 2004, pp. xvi–xvii). This can be seen, among other things, in one of his articles entitled "Bung Hatta: Integritas Pribadi yang Luar Biasa" in the book *Mencari Autentitas dalam Kegalaan*. He claimed to admire Hatta. The reason is that Hatta has a strong and consistent commitment to democracy. Another reason, according to him, Hatta is an intellectual who has theoretical and practical abilities (Maarif, 2004, pp. 229–232). His admiration for Hatta was also described by M. Syafi'i Anwar in a book entitled *Muhammadiyah dan Politik Islam Inklusif: 70 Tahun Ahmad Syafii Maarif*. M. Syafi'i Anwar noted that Syafii Maarif agreed with Hatta's interpretation of Pancasila. Syafii Maarif considers that Hatta's interpretation of Pancasila is the most reasonable and imbued with an inclusive Islamic spirit in a plurality of Indonesian society (Anwar, 2005, p. 31).

Yogyakarta-Athens Period

Syafii Maarif's Islamic knowledge is growing. Yogyakarta is where Syafii Maarif gave birth to his views and thoughts. A place close to the center of Muhammadiyah makes it closer to various Islamic debates that are being the main conversation in the Muhammadiyah body. At that time, Syafii Maarif supported the idea of establishing an Islamic state. He became a Masyumi participant who was active in various party

campaigns and one of the winners of the first election in 1955. He sees no more answers for this nation than an Islamic state. Big names such as M. Natsir, Abu A'la al-Maududi, Rashid Ridha, al-Afghani, and various other advocates of the idea of the Islamic state are his idols (Putra, [2014](#), p. 56).

At the time, his political stance on the state leaned more towards the Islamist concept of Natsir rather than the nationalist Hatta. In his autobiography admits, "My political ideals still want to conquer Indonesia to become an Islamic country, even though my age stem at that time was over 40 years old." Even when he was studying at the University of Chicago, his neo-revivalist spirit was still bubbling by saying, "Professor Rahman, please give me one-fourth of your knowledge of Islam. I will convert Indonesia into an Islamic state." (Maarif, [2006](#), p. 227).

As a defender of the Islamic state and the bitter sharia, Syafii Maarif put Abu A'la al-Maududi as a role model. He also stated that he was a big admirer of Maududi in the early phases of his struggle. Maududi's hopes and desires have been widely established and inspired the young Syafii Maarif to continue and implement the ideals of the Islamic state in Indonesia. He believed that Islam was perfect teaching. The nation's decline so far is due to the ignorance of sharia by the state. Therefore, upholding the Islamic state and sharia as a whole is a thing that is not bargained over (Arizandy, [2018](#), p. 4).

The strong view of Syafii Maarif toward the solution of the establishment of the Islamic state was influenced by the figure of Abul Ala al-Maududi. Al-Maududi was one of the leading figures in the Islamism movement. Maududi was born in 1903 in the city of Aurangabad. Al-Maududi was born and raised in an environment plagued by infighting. The great dispute involved figures such as Mohandas K. Gandhi, and Nehru wanted the unification of India with the organizers of the separation of the country led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Muhammad Iqbal. The raging confection eventually gave birth to a new state called the Islamic State of Pakistan, with Muhammad Ali Jinnah as its leader. Through his *Rabithah Islamiyah* party, Ali Jinnah freely put his power in Pakistan under the shade of the Islamic State (Arizandy, [2018](#), p. 4).

However, Ali Jinnah's power desire is considered to have deviated from the spirit of Islam. He was accused of being a Western agent who used Islam as a shield. On that basis, Maududi, with his party *Jamaah Islamiyah* held an uprising and resistance. According to Maududi, the Islamic State of Pakistan under Jinnah at that time was no different at all from the infidel state. The skeleton is dressed in Islamic clothes, but its contents are empty of Islamic values. This is based on Maududi on the lifestyle of state officials who like to live luxurious lives and enjoy enriching themselves. Therefore, Maududi gathered the strength to do all the resistance.

The *Jamaah Islamiyah* fronted by Maududi lives isolated from the wider community. They adopt a rigid lifestyle, practice strict religious sharia, and separate themselves from other groups. As a result of rigid teachings and tend to be formalistic, it is not uncommon for *Jamaah Islamiyah* to get rejected everywhere. There is a wide difference in understanding between the child and his parents at the extreme stage. Children who get a reservation in *Jamaah Islamiyah* do not hesitate to fight and reprimand their parents, are considered apostates, and do not carry out Islamic teachings according to sharia. Threatened parents also carry out expulsions of their children who are considered to have deviated.

In his works, such as *Nazhariyyah al-Islam al-Siyasah and Minhaj al-Inqilab al-Islami*, Maududi uses dialectical-dichotomous thinking methods. This method puts the two poles opposite each other and is unwilling to take the middle ground. As a result, such a move would deny the existence of others and resist change. The perspective of this model confirms conflicting principles. Truth is absolute and does not change, and neither does evil. Islam is true and is unlikely to turn into a vanity, and neither will the *jahiliyyah* civilization forever be true (Arizandy, 2018, p. 5).

So on that basis, according to Maududi da'wah taught, Islam, includes three things. First, the invitation to all men to worship God and stay away from shirk. Second, every human being must purify his religion only because of God and avoid the dangerous *disease of nifaq*. Third, is the call to fight and destroy the state systems created by *thaghut* and replace them with Islamic rule. Systems of government other than Islam must be burned. If necessary, it is permissible to do anything to raise the banner of Islam under the *khilafah* system. For Maududi, *al-hakimiyyah al-ilahiyah* is absolutely true while *al-hakimiyyah al-basyariyah* is clearly heretical.

Therefore, the main purpose of establishing a sharia-based state is the implementation of *al-hakimiyyah al-ilahiyah*. With the system, it is hoped that a state government will be created based on the values of divinity by the Qur'an. Because according to Maududi, the Islamic state must be based on principles directly made by God. As a servant and representative of God on earth, man must obey him. Man must not submit other than to the laws and rules of God, and to achieve all that inevitably must be through political force. Government derived from God is not only intended to maintain the purity of godhead understanding on the face of the earth but also to withstand the occurrence of disputes and disputes of understanding among humankind.

From such a meaning, it can be underlined that the concept of tawhid referred to by Maududi is not just a ritualistic aspect of the creed but, more than that, also a social system that is subject to God's rules. Therefore, man must only submit to the divine will, and the law is unlawful to obey his fellow man. For Maududi, the Islamic government plan became the only choice worldwide to uphold the authenticity of tawhid teachings. At the same time, the concept of *al-hakimiyyah al-basyariah* incarnated in a country whose democracy, nationalism, and liberalism result from the *thaghut* system that must be destroyed.

In addition to being a religion, Maududi viewed Islam as an ideology that must be transmitted into the state system. If there is interference from those who hinder the "noble" mission, Maududi calls for *jihad fi sabilillah*. According to him, jihad must depart from theological motivations where it must be sole because of Allah (*fi sabilillah*), not for personal or class interests. The attribution of the word *jihad* with *fi sabilillah* so that the struggle to establish Islamic sharia does not come out of the corridor of the benefit of the ummah without expecting anything but the blessing of God. Because *jihad fi sabilillah*, according to Maududi, is all efforts to carry out the holy commandments of God. In other words, *Jihad fi sabilillah* for Maududi is a war aimed at raising the banner of the Islamic caliphate globally.

Dichotomously, Maududi only divided the world into two: Islam and *jahiliyyah*. Everything contrary and outside Islam is directly categorized as *jahiliyyah*. He also

concluded that Western civilization was a metamorphosis of "modern *jahiliyah*." Maududi condemned the West for harassing and endangering Islam, and Muslims are forbidden to adopt systems and cultures originating from the West. According to him, during the multidimensional crisis that hit Muslims, precisely the first step that must be taken is to return to the teachings of Islam that are pure as once exemplified by the Prophet and friends.

For Maududi, Islam and all its teachings are complete as guidelines for life. Therefore, Islam has reached perfection to regulate all life, from political, economic, social, to cultural. Because of its completeness, Muslims are believed to live happily and prosperously away from humiliation. To complete the perfectness, Islam must appear in the form of power. It must appear as the state's ideology so that the policies rolled out will not deviate from Islamic values. Such views are the main doctrine of Neo-revivalists, whose seeds have been sowed and disseminated by Abul Ala Maududi since the 20th century (Arizandy, [2018](#), p. 7).

In general, it can be drawn a common thread that the neo-revivalist spirit exhaled by Maududi plays an important role in influencing religious discourse in the Muslim world, not least in Indonesia. The whole Maududian-style perspective (mode of thinking) above is still held firmly by Syafii Maarif until he reaches more than 40 years old. Maududi's ideas became his main inspiration in walking life, as Syafii Maarif wrote in his autobiography.

"During the Athens period (1976-1978), there has been no meaningful development in terms of my Islamic thought. I'm still stuck in the status quo of thought. I am still struggling with Maududi, Maryam Jameela, brotherhood figures, Masyumi, and the idea of an Islamic state. Iqbal, the great Pakistani thinker and poet I have indeed followed. However, his spirit of *ijtihad* has not stopped steadily in my brain, which is still an activist pattern and has not been reflective and contemplative. I am active in the Muslim Student Association (MSA), which still really longs to establish an Islamic state in a country. It's as if everything will be sorted out." (Maarif, [2006](#), p. 209).

Chicago-2018 period

Ahmad Syafii Maarif was one of the advocates and fighters of Islamic formalization. However, after getting along a lot with Islamic sciences, Indonesian and western culture, he changed his mind to become one of the contextual Islamic fighters who prioritize values about people and humanity. One of them is known as a fighter of pluralism and a fighter who grounded Islam in Indonesian society. The purpose of grounding here does not mean that Islam is converted into Indonesian Islam. However, the values that have no definite reason in the Qur'an are contextualized into the culture and traditions that develop in Indonesian society. Islam still displays universality and locality where Islamic values grow.

This is evident in the growing thinking of Syafii Maarif. His thinking is based on his belief in the Islamic Qur'an, which is getting stronger and more intact. Syafii Maarif also uses the basis of this belief in his historical thought. In his historical thinking about a historian having the right to give or no moral consideration to human experience in the past. He tends to follow a closer flow to a view that bases the Qur'anic exhortation so that man has the intelligence to capture moral teaching signals from the last journey of humankind (Maarif, [1996](#), p. 7). Through that rationale, Syafii Maarif experienced a

wider development of thought. Her thinking developed in various fragments, such as the Islamic state, tolerance between religious people, democracy, the position of women in politics, and the schools that are rife in the history of Muslims.

One of the fragments of Syafii Maarif's thoughts in the post-Chicago period that most felt to have undergone fundamental changes was his view of the Islamic state. Syafii Maarif said that the discourse of the birth of thought about the Islamic state is more often caused by the reactive attitude of the ummah towards political developments in the 20th century, not by their seriousness to create a completely intact substantial Islamic life system. According to Syafii Maarif, they pay more attention to shapes and symbols than their content (Maarif, 2004, p. 140). Syafii Maarif added this is where the tragedy of dynamic movements that are fierce to create an Islamic state.

Syafii Maarif's view of the Islamic State of Indonesia is that the naming of the Islamic State is no longer needed. However, that Islamic morals must illuminate the whole society is a certainty. Indeed, Indonesia hopes to become a just and prosperous country. One way that can be done is that the device of Islamic laws can be combined with the national legal system through democratization (Maarif, 2004, p. 130).

Therefore, the approved Pancasila must be a very wide door for the entry of the light of revelation. The charge that Indonesia based on Pancasila is no different from the secular state will be prevented. Pancasila, which is only respected in words, but lied to in behavior, will only prolong the disaster of this nation, while the endpoint of independence in the form of the establishment of a just and prosperous society will be further away. According to Syafii Maarif, with this step, the issue of Islamic and state relations that still leads to a debate will be reduced and eliminated.

According to Syafii Maarif, the emergence of small groups of extremists who aim to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia, even in Southeast Asia, is a form of thought process that is ancient and unrealistic and a vain political delusion. Halunization is evidence of a person's failure to deal with a rapidly changing reality. Islam in the hands of those who hallucinate will be very dangerous for the future of Islam (Maarif, 2013, p. 22).

Syafii Maarif believes that it is a pity that at the beginning of the 20th century, there has not been a single Islamic state that could be used as an example. All of them have problems. Islam is often used to seek and obtain worldly benefits. In other languages, the name of God is often used for low-key purposes. Syafii Maarif considers the Islamic state project that emerged at the beginning of the 20th century, none of them based on comprehensive and in-depth research by making the Qur'an a foundation with its shura concept that puts people in an equal and equal position (Maarif, 2006, p. 231).

One example of the failure of a luxury project of the Islamic State that failed in Pakistan. Pakistan, founded in August 1947, is officially a constitutional form of Islamic State. However, nothing interesting has been found in terms of the idea of an Islamic state, except for ways to make a nuclear bomb, while the culture of corruption is on the same level as the Indonesian state, which has a population with Muslims as the majority in it (Maarif, 2004, pp. 140-141).

Syafii Maarif concluded that the people are forbidden to rush to think about establishing a state called the Islamic state if the software is not perfectly prepared, earnestly, and historically resistant, and resistant to history, and why we are still fascinated by the shape and skin. At the same time, the contents are empty, chaotic, and full of reckless corruption. The answer is because these people have not been accustomed to thinking deeply, broadly, intelligently, and integratively for too long. Islam hopes to see the success of a building of people's lives that are integrative, fair, and can be used as guidelines by other people, not people who are the spectacle of people because the quality is substandard. I don't know how long longer Muslims live in this kind of phenomenon. It depends on their seriousness in earnestly living the universal moral message of their religion and then bringing it down to earth, in fact, as *rahmatan li al-'alamin*. Any political element that does not reflect this universal message becomes illegitimate in the eyes of the Qur'an, even if it is designed with a blazing spirit and by using excessive signs. If necessary, through weapons by punishing and even killing sesame brothers who are not in one idea, as happened in various episodes of the people's history (Maarif, 2004, p. 141).

Fragments of Syafii Maarif's thoughts in this phase relate not only to power but also to thoughts on the issue of interfaith tolerance. In the issue of religious tolerance, Syafii Maarif gave a wise view in responding to forms of differences, especially religious differences, namely "different in brotherhood and brothers indifference" (Maarif, 2006, p. 233). Departing from the phrases "there is no compulsion in religion" and "the Prophet does forbid forcing others to believe," the right step for a Muslim in community life is to develop a culture of tolerance. This is because the Qur'an strengthens it with a verse that explains various tribes, nations, religions, and history. All this is only possible in a state of harmony, safety, and peace if there the airy culture of the chest is used as the main adhesive (Maarif, 2013, p. 12).

Abou El Fadl divided the school of thought in Islam in the contemporary era into puritan Islam and modern Islam. Puritan Islam is a group that adheres to a single, monolithic truth, and almost no place for a culture of tolerance in it. Modern groups, commonly called moderates, even though they are convinced of the truth of their religion, are chest-crossed enough to let the other party have a claim to the truth without being interested in intervening. What needs to be maintained is that each side respects the other's differences. The monopoly attitude of truth without giving similar opportunities to others to differ is a source of chaos in society.

In Syafii Maarif's presentation on the formulation of religious tolerance, there are two very dominant approaches he uses. The first is the historical approach, and the second is the sociological approach. Specifically, Syafii Maarif explained the religious tolerance of Muslims in the historical traffic that his people had passed through with various advantages and disadvantages that brought influence in the building of Islamic life thinking in the present era. Islam, in his view, is a major source of morals. The Qur'an is a holy book used to view the world clearly and also serves as the highest guide and point of interest in all respects (Tualeka, 2019, p. 23).

Religious tolerance in the view of Syafii Maarif is based on his thoughts on religious pluralism based on two verses in the Qur'an, namely *surah* Al-Baqarah: 256 and Yunus: 100, so that the tolerance in his view is universal. Syafii Maarif likened the

difference between Muslims and atheists to an atheist, even if they differ in opinion and understanding of religion from Muslims. They do not deserve to be dwarfed but must still be given the freedom to do if they can respect and respect the government's constitution and state regulations. This tolerance is meant as universal tolerance because it views this tolerance from the viewpoint of humanity regardless of the element of one's beliefs.

The subsequent development of Syafii Maarif's thought was viewed on democracy. According to Syafii Maarif, in his understanding of *shura* (mutual consultation), the principles of democratic politics are more appropriately used in a modern context. Democracy and human rights in the modern era are interrelated with each other. Muslims on a global trajectory do not have the same attitude and language in the face of democratic issues and human rights.

Syafii Maarif quotes Khaled Abou El Fadl, who views the two groups facing each other in response to democracy and human rights issues: puritans and moderates. Each group has a reason to feel like the right party. Puritans have lately crystallized in the Taliban format in Afghanistan and among the Wahabis in Saudi Arabia. This understanding is also exported out, supported by abundant petro-dollar funds. His agents in some countries exist only because it is also the source of their search (Maarif, 2009, p. 154).

Puritans are anti-Western systems, especially democracy and human rights, but enjoy the technological output. In their eyes, democracy, and human rights as products of the West must be hostile because they can destroy Islam. They aspire to create a world based on their monolithic interpretation of the Qur'an and the history of the Prophet. This group is spread almost throughout the Islamic world with the sole ideology of wanting to change the world boldly and quickly, even if it must be paid for with drops of blood. The group had no clear idea of civilization but was relatively bound by a single fascist ideology. Among the doctrines that bind them is the doctrine of obedience to the leader, almost without reserve. Therefore, some classify them as part of a totalitarian group with the umbrella of shari'ah. According to their vision and interpretation, they view death as lighthearted if dying is part of an effort to seek God's pleasure.

On the other hand, moderates say the Qur'an guides them, but the world seen by them is completely different from that seen by puritans. They generally accept and approve of the idea of democracy and human rights. They don't worry whether the idea comes from the West or the East. As long as those principles support the Qur'anic ideals for the solidity of justice, peace, morality, and good relations among fellow human beings, why should they be rejected?

Khaled Abou El Fadl argues that based on human life, only in a democratic constitutional system of government can justice be used straight because the people have access to institutions of power and accountability in public office. Conversely, in a non-democratic system, it would be very difficult for the ruler to be held accountable for the abuse of power. Moderates have sought to reinterpret the concept of consensus (*ijma*) to support the idea of democracy based on the wishes of the majority of the people.

According to Syafii Maarif, this reality itself confirms that the political system that curbs human freedom as has been practiced for hundreds of years in various Arab countries has begun to be demanded and questioned seriously by those who are very critical of the dynastic-authoritarian political system with the clothes of the caliphate, sultanate, kingdom, emirate, or imamah because the substance is the same, namely anti-openness and anti-populism. Syafii Maarif believes that theoretically, through democracy, the ideals of society and statehood are easier to fight. The substance of democracy is the guarantee of the independence of the people to choose leaders or formal political systems freely and at the same time to bring them down in case of irregularities in the implementation of the constitution (Maarif, [2009](#), p. 148). In a democratic system, a citizen has the right and obligation to participate in the decision-making process, something that is taboo in the royal system or pseudo-democratic system.

Syafii Maarif underlined, when it comes to democracy, at least understood in a picture of "just democracy." Without the values of justice, any political system is nothing more than a show play on behalf of the people. There have been many examples in history that democracy is only used as a clone to benefit certain individuals and groups. If this is true, the conclusion is that people have lied under the pretense of democracy (Maarif, [2013](#), p. 123).

Another development of Syafii Maarif's thought is his views on the position of women in political life. Syafii Maarif believes that there are no problems and disturbances when a woman is elected as a leader in public relations, such as being a regent, governor, and president, which used to be a form of prohibition in the classical treasures of Islam. Not only in classical times, in modern times and civilizations, but some Muslim scholars also forbid women to be leaders for various reasons (Maarif, [2006](#), p. 236).

Syafii Maarif's view of women's leadership is based on the Quran about the opening of the door of glory by Allah to the most devout man, male and female. In front of God, women are equal to men. These two types of people can be directly related to God without intermediaries. If the two do good, God will not distinguish the value of the reward reserved for them. The Qur'an in Surah Al-Nahl: 97 explains the just reward, as quoted from the following meaning.

"Whoever does virtue, both men and women in a state of faith, then surely We will give him a good life, and we will reward him with a reward better than what they have done."
(Departemen Agama Republik Indonesia, [2011](#), p. 279).

Based on this verse, a woman of faith who has good is no different before God from a man who also has charity. Therefore, the discriminatory treatment given to women over a long period is the same as against the command of the Qur'an. Thus patriarchal culture must be buried once and for all eternity (Maarif, [2009](#), p. 179). Even if there is a difference, it is a personal achievement that is open to everyone, not because of differences in types.

According to Syafii Maarif, this verse affirms the teaching of equality (egalitarianism) among all human beings, both men and women. A Muslim man and an afraid woman are guaranteed this verse to get glory by Allah's side as long as it is fought

earnestly. The position of a formal leader (male and female) will be noble in the eyes of the people if he is afraid of upholding justice and is ready to work hard to promote mutual prosperity and prosperity without favoritism. Fair is putting something in its right place. Instead, despotic is putting something in the wrong place. A fair male or female leader must meet the criteria sufficient to base this. (Maarif, 2013, pp. 228–229).

CONCLUSION

From the results of this writing, the author concludes two things. First, Ahmad Syafii Maarif is one of the figures of Islamic thought in Indonesia who participated in creating the dynamics of Islamic thought. This is based on the educational background he took in various places. Basic education in Muhammadiyah made him a fundamental Islamic thinker. His horizons grew wider until he went on to study at Ohio University in Athens, USA. Here he read the works of Abul' Ala al-Maududi and was influenced by Ikhwanul Muslimin figures which further confirmed his thoughts related to the establishment of the Islamic State, including in Indonesia. Second, Ahmad Syafii Maarif experienced a change from fundamental to inclusive (moderate) thinking. This happened when he studied in Chicago and met Fazlur Rahman, an inclusive Islamic thinker. According to Ahmad Syafii Maarif, fundamentalists are incapable of interpreting the Qur'an explicitly and only dwell on the textuality of the Qur'an. Ahmad Syafii Maarif agreed with Fazlur Rahman's critical method of the Qur'an, which should be able to answer the challenges of the times with a contextual method. On the one hand, Ahmad Syafii Maarif explained that the Qur'an serves as a guide to the life of the people, not precisely as a sacred object that is outside of human thought.

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