



REVIEW *MAŞLAĦAH* AGAINST GBHN IN THE PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM

Rooby Pangestu Hari Mulyo
UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta
rooby.pangestu@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

This article examines GBHN in the perspective of *Maşlahah*. This research uses a research method with a historical approach. The method of analysis used is the deductive method. The result of this research is that currently Indonesia does not need a GBHN, because Law Number 17 of 2007 concerning the National Long-Term Development Plan and Law Number 25 of 2004 concerning the National Development Planning System have been in effect and have become important development references, it is only how a President organizes the structures under him in development affairs so that the expected development can be achieved. On the other hand, in terms of the concept of *Maşlahah*, the discourse of reviving the GBHN will have an impact on the lack of responsibility of a state leader towards his people and of course it will be a problem because there are citizens' rights that are not fulfilled.

Keyword: *Maşlahah*, Presidential, GBHN Discourse

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini mengkaji GBHN dalam perspektif Maşlahah. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian dengan pendekatan historis. Metode analisis yang digunakan adalah dengan metode deduktif. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah saat ini Indonesia tidak membutuhkan GBHN, karena Undang-Undang Nomor 17 Tahun 2007 tentang Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Nasional dan Undang-Undang Nomor 25 Tahun 2004 tentang Sistem Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional telah berlaku dan menjadi acuan pembangunan yang penting, tinggal bagaimana seorang Presiden mengorganisir struktur di bawahnya dalam urusan pembangunan agar pembangunan yang diharapkan bisa tercapai. Di sisi lainnya, ditinjau dari sisi konsep Maşlahah, maka adanya wacana menghidupkan kembali GBHN ini akan berdampak pada kurangnya tanggung jawab seorang pemimpin negara terhadap rakyatnya dan tentu saja itu akan menjadi suatu problem dikarenakan ada hak-hak warga negara yang tidak terpenuhi.

Kata Kunci: *Maşlahah*, Presidensial, Wacana GBHN



INTRODUCTION

Discourse reviving the Outline of the State Direction (GBHN) appeared and became a never-ending discussion. The discourse on reviving GBHN as the main guideline in national development became one of the materials discussed. One of the factors considered a factor is the failure of the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) to integrate national development planning. So far, RPJPN has only been systematically structured so far because it is followed up by the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). At the regional level, Regional Long-Term Development Plans (RPJPD) and Regional Medium-Term Development Plans (RPJMD) are formed, which refer to the RPJPN. But in reality, since the RPJPN was formed in 2005 and is valid until 2025, national development could be more coherent. This is because the RPJMN is a general description of the vision and mission of the President, so that when the President changes, automatically, the vision and mission contained are also replaced by the vision and mission of the new President (Mahdi 2017).

In addition to the above problems, the preparation of RPJPD and RPJMD, which should refer to RPJPN and RPJMN in reality, is not negated. This is due to the background of regional heads, not all of whom have the same party background as the President and his vision and mission. As a result of more than one view, it eventually led to unsustainable development between the center and the regions.

This discussion continued after the Chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), Zulkifli Hasan, reappointed GBHN at the 2016 MPR

Annual Session. Previously, it was raised by the Indonesian Rector's Forum and carried by Megawati Soekarno Putri in the 2016 PDI-P National Meeting, which was finally decided politically. In his official speech before the 2016 MPR Annual Session, President Jokowi emphasized the need for Indonesia to have a clear direction forward because, according to him, the official directive will make development planning more integrated (Ansori 2019).

We can read the seriousness of reviving GBHN from the efforts made by the MPR to continue discussions related to conversations about reviving GBHN. The People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) will soon propose minor changes to the 1945 Constitution to revive the State Guidelines (PPHN) as the guiding principles of national development, according to the speech of the Chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly at the Annual Session (16/8/21). He stated that the following three goals need to be achieved: The Preamble to the 1945 Constitution lays out the aims and objectives of the State, which must be defended first. Second, it developed into an ideological and constitutional framework along with the preparation of more technical SPPN, RPJP, and RPJM. Third, it serves as the basis for all government strategic plans (Irlandi n. d.).

The emergence of the issue also reaped counter-opinions from some circles of society. For those who objected, they reasoned that: *First*, it would reduce the Presidential system of government; *Second*, Restore the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) as the holder of people's sovereignty; *Third*, eliminate ongoing democratic participation; *Fourth*, it would interfere with the freedom of the State's

independent institutions because the responsibility is no longer to the President, but to the People's Consultative Assembly (Fudika 2021).

In Islam, the sources that can be used as postulates as a guide in solving a problem are twofold: *nash* and *ra'yu* (Ratio). *Nash* consists of the Qur'an and hadith, While those who are classified as *Ra'yu* are *Maşlahah*. *Maşlahah* comes from the Arabic term *al-maslahat* meaning "good," "useful," and the opposite of "bad" or "damage." Directly Outline, *Maşlahah* means the benefit that is the goal of care. Benefits do not depend exclusively on human preferences. Because the purpose of shari'a legislation is to help the community in all aspects of life to avoid various forms that can be harmful. *Maşlahah* is one of the crucial foundations of Tasyrian, according to Imam Malik, and allows the development of moral principles (Pasaribu 2016).

RESEARCH METHODS

This study examines *Maşlahah's* views on the Outline of the State Direction in the Presidential system. Legal and historical normative research methodologies are used. Research strategies that take a historical perspective consider everything that has happened. This approach can be applied in comparative-historical, legal, and bibliographic types of research. Historical research aims to produce reconstructions of the past and uncover generalizations by collecting, analyzing, confirming, and synthesizing data to support known facts and evidence to reach firm conclusions (Mulyanti 2018). While the normative juridical method in legal research is carried out by examining existing library and secondary materials (Mulyanti 2018), in this

case, it means that this method departs from laws and regulations and seeks to review its legal norms, namely Law No. 17 of 2007 and Law No. 25 of 2004, both discuss the National Long-Term Development Plan from 2005 to 2025.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Gbhn Overview

1. GBHN at a Glance

The product of the previous MPR was the State Direction Outline (GBHN). At this time, it was abolished after the fourth amendment of the 1945 Constitution. GBHN, a statement of the will of the people and set by the People's Consultative Assembly every five years, is the country's blueprint for the country's growth direction and goals. GBHN contains a discourse on the path that must be taken by the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia to progress. This discourse was made for this MPR to be carried out by the President using all available resources and powers. The establishment of GBHN is intended to provide direction to the Indonesian nation in fighting for the independence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which is undergoing intensive development to achieve the desired development within the next five years or more in the long term (Marbun, Nasution, and Apriani 2021).

Since the New Order, Indonesia has just started serious development planning. Planning methods needed to be adequately established throughout the previous regime. The National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) oversees the current development planning. State governance underwent several major modifications throughout the New Order era. It can be divided into three stages of development

planning and implementation, in this order: the initial stage (1965-1970), among the government began to disseminate the attitude of “desire to plan.” At that time, the development concept began to be directed by the formation of planning documents, including RPJP, which was then elaborated in the Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita). At the regional level, a planning unit was also formed (Mahdi 2017).

The next period was the New Order stability period (1970-1980); government conditions during this period were stable and controlled as well as strong in stabilizing development; this period resulted in GBHN, strengthening Bappenas, Law No. 5 of 1974, sectoral plans and regional planning and others. The New Order’s development period (1980-1990) was when the New Order was at the peak of its success. The role of the private sector in the form of investment is increasing, and the government is more focused on facilities and infrastructure issues and poverty alleviation. At this time, economic success was felt by only a few, posing social problems and decentralization that were carried out half-heartedly. The final period (1990-1998) was a period of decline of the New Order. The principles of development are further away from the words justice and democracy, and the orientation of development is always associated with political interests. It is also further exacerbated by the need for more control regarding using funds (Mahdi 2017).

2. Pros and Cons of the GBHN Discourse

The People’s Representative Assembly (MPR) plans to make limited amendments to the 1945 Constitution, including reviving the GBHN. The debate about this

amendment has been ongoing for a long time, but the MPR still needs to learn about it. The MPR has formed an ad hoc committee for 2014 to 2019 regarding this change plan. However, until the end of his administration, this had yet to be achieved, and what was offered was only a suggestion that minor changes be made to the 1945 Constitution in the future.

The issue of GBHN was brought up again at the PDI-P V Bali conference in 2019. Of course, this elicited many responses, one of which was conveyed by the Deputy Secretary General of Golkar, Maman Abdurrahman, who said, “Making amendments is not something that is taboo, but it is a commonplace as long as it can lead to something better, but considering what we want to amend is the 1945 Constitution, we cannot be hasty and hasty.” PKB DPP chairman Abdul Kadir Karding also considered this too risky: “The problem today is that we are in the political area. This amendment is not without risk; although we agree that it is limited, it can go anywhere” (Mashabi 2019).

Ahmad Basarah, Chairperson of the PDIP DPP, attempted to clarify the goals of his party, which drew various comments. Thus I declare that PDI-P has never offered limited amendments to the 1945 Constitution but has only advocated for the continuation of limited amendments in the 2019-2024 MPR.

Political observer Veri Junaedi also rejected the discourse class. According to him, there are several developing issues regarding this amendment. The GBHN also aims to elevate the MPR to become the highest state institution and use it to re-elect the President. He said that the Constitution had been regulated through the National

Development Planning Law; further, according to him, we will return to the old system when the MPR is in the highest position (Mashabi 2019).

3. Urgency GBHN

As stated at the beginning of the second and fourth paragraphs of the 1945 Constitution, Indonesia has national goals and aspirations. The second paragraph makes it clear that an Indonesian state that is autonomous, united, sovereign, and prosperous is Indonesia's ideal. And in the fourth paragraph, Indonesia outlines its four main goals, including safeguarding the country and ending all acts of violence within its territory, educating its people, improving people's welfare, and contributing to realizing a just and sustainable international order (Republik Indonesia 2004).

Before the amendment to the 1945 Constitution, the position of the MPR was the highest. The MPR is the sole implementing agency for people's sovereignty; this is stated in Article 1 paragraph (2), which reads, "Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and fully implemented by the People's Consultative Assembly." And before the amendment, the MPR had the authority to form the GBHN, amend the Constitution, and elect a President and Vice President.

At the time before the amendment, the MPR held the highest state power, and the President was responsible for carrying out state orders by the outline approved by the MPR. The MPR appoints a President who is responsible to the MPR (Setya Nugraha 2019). However, after the amendment, according to the Constitution, the MPR only has the authority to amend and enact

the Constitution, appoint the President and Vice President, and dismiss the President and Vice President only during their term of office (Republik Indonesia 2004).

After the amendment, the MPR can no longer claim that the President is the MPR mandataries because the President is not solely responsible to the MPR but directly to the people. And by Article 1 paragraph (2), the amendment results say that "Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and the exercise of people's sovereignty and is carried out according to the Constitution." GBHN is a state political tool related to statehood in general as the people's collective will; of course, the position of GBHN has a strategic place. The existence of GBHN and the direction and purpose of implementing the wheels of government are more clearly understood. The difficulty of assessing the success rate of governance is affected by the abolition of GBHN. Only attempts to limit the responsibility and authority of the MPR, previously the highest institution of the State, led to GBHN's demise (Fudika 2021).

Presidential System

1. Understanding and Characteristics of the Presidential System

The Presidential system of government is a system of government that is centralized in the position of the President as Head of Government as well as head of State. In this system, the Head of State and Head of Government are not separated (Mulyanti 2018). The division of power and interaction between state institutions that hold state power to take care of the interests of the people is another interpretation of this presidential system of government. This presidential form of government

provides executive control and frees it from legislative oversight. Thus, The President holds the same role as the legislative and judicial branches under this system. Because of horizontal interdependence, the three branches of government cannot overthrow each other unless the Constitution requires it (Arman 2018).

The authority of the President in this form of presidential government serves to prevent the emergence of dictatorship, so there is a need for checks and balances between high state institutions; this is then called checking power with power (Anangkota 2017).

As for the characteristics of a country with a presidential system: The President is the head of State as well as the head of government; he is elected by the electorate rather than by the representative body; He is not a member of the legislature; The legislature cannot remove the President except through an indictment, which is rare; the President cannot dissolve the legislature and then call new elections; The President is a constitutional monarchy (Wardhani 2019).

2. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Presidential System

The governance of the executive branch is generally stable and operates within the confines of constitutional time limits. The elitist-representative mindset is prioritized over the participatory-populist mindset, which is the system's vulnerability because every government policy results from negotiations between the legislature and the President.

In this system, the executive, legislative, and judicial branches have rigidly different powers, preventing one agency from influencing another. The President may

only dismiss ministers with legislative approval because they are not accountable to the legislature but rather to the President, who appoints and appoints them (Anangkota 2017).

Maslahah Concept

1. Explanation of *Maslahah*

Maslahah is Arabic for "benefit," "goodness," and "usefulness." The word *Maslahah* or better known as *maslahat* (opposite of *mafsadat*), means something that brings good. At the same time, benefit means profit, interest, goodness, and usefulness.

According to al-Buthi, *Maslahah* has benefits and then creates pleasure (Rosyadi 2012). It has been designed by al-Shari' (Allah and His Messenger) for the benefit of His people, including defending their religion, soul, reason, offspring, and property in a specific order under the maintenance field.

From the explanation above, we can conclude that *Maslahah* is everything that can be achieved based on the objectives of the Shari'a. The essence of *Maslahah* is to attract expediency and reject all forms of harm or damage (Rosyadi 2012).

There are at least three factors to consider when calculating benefits to humans: (1) *Dharuriyyah* (obligatory things), (2) *Hajjiyyah* (obligation), and (3) *Tahsiniiyyah* (improvement). The *Dharuriyyah* aims to provide the benefits needed by the lives of those who build and maintain a just and sustainable society for their people. If these benefits do not exist, the system of human existence becomes flawed. *Maslahah dharuriyyah* includes guarding honor (*Hifdzud karomah*), maintaining security (*Hifdzud*

amn), guarding religion (*Hifdzud diin*), guarding the soul (*Hifdzun nafsi*), guarding reason (*Hifdzun aqli*), guarding offspring (*Hifdzun nash*), guarding property (*Hifdzul mal*), preserving treasure (*Hifdzul amn*) (Chasanuddin and Nafisah 2019).

To study *Maslahah* is to investigate the reasons behind adopting Islamic Law. According to scholars, the purpose of Islamic Law is to serve humanity as a whole and bring happiness both in this life and in the Hereafter. Al-Shathibi, in his work entitled *al-Muwafaqat fi Ushul al-Sharia*, classifies the realization of benefit through five elements, namely: Religion, soul, offspring, reason, and property, which are further formulated in terms of *Maqasid shari'ah* (Anshor 2022).

2. Division and Types of *Maslahah*

Maslahah, when viewed in terms of quality and importance of its benefit, it is divided into three, namely (Hidayatullah 2018); *first, Maslahah Al-Dharuriyah* or benefits related to basic human needs in this world and the Hereafter. The benefits are fivefold: preserving property, nurturing reason, nurturing children, and nurturing faith. The name of this benefit is *Al-Maslahah Al-Khamsah*. *Second, Maslahah Al-Hajiyah* is the benefit needed to increase the previous basic benefit in the form of leniency to uphold and uphold the essential needs of man. For example, in places of worship, travelers can break their fast and summarize prayers (*qasr*). *Third, Maslahah Al-Tahsiniiyah*, or additional advantages, such as flexibility, can reinforce the advantages above. For example, eating healthy food is recommended, such as dressing attractively and using various means to remove impurities from the human body.

Meanwhile, when viewed from the content of *Maslahah*, it can be divided into two: First, *Maslahah Al'Ammah*, or overall benefits that affect the interests of several individuals. Although the term "common good" does not necessarily mean "for the benefit of everyone," it may mean "for the vast majority of people." Second, *Maslahah Al-Khashshah*, or personal gain. This rarely happens, as well as the benefits of ending someone's marriage that is considered a loser.

Mushtafa al-Salabi separated it in two while considering whether *Maslahah* had changed, namely; First, *Maslahah Al-Tsubitsh*, Permanent profit is constant all the time. The second is *Maslahah Al-Mutaghayyirah*, or merit that changes when circumstances, circumstances, and legal issues change. Whereas considering the existence of *Maslahah* is classified into three categories, per Shara, namely; First, *Maslahah Al-Mu'tabaroh*, or the benefits supported by Shara. The main idea is that the form and nature of benefits are based on unique arguments. Second is *Maslahah Al-Mulghah*, which is a problem that Shara rejects because it is contrary to the rules of Shara. Third, *Maslahah Al-Mursalah*, or the benefit of which neither acceptance nor rejection is determined. This problem is called absolute because it is not limited by the proposition of recognition or the proposition of cancellation; this problem is called absolute. Examples include mandating the construction of prisons, creating money, obtaining the Koran, and other measures (Aris 2013).

3. *Maslahah* Limitations

Efforts to realize the benefit between Abu Zahrah and Izzu al-Din ibn Abdu al-Salam have the same view, which must be

accompanied by scientific research whose purpose is to eliminate the element of attraction or impulse of lust in efforts to extract the Law. That is why the *maqashid* schools of these two figures are in line, namely that benefit can only be achieved through two paths, namely through dhahir nash (the text of the Qur'an and al-Hadith) and the balance of *ra'yu* (reason). That is why Izzu al-Din ibn Abdu al-Salam sets the limit that the rule of Law is considered *Maṣlaḥah* if: it is reasonable (realistic), measurable (*miqdar al-aql*), and does not contradict the nash. He said that prioritizing something more beneficial for the greater good and rejecting all evil because there is greater evil is an obligation (Syamsuddin n. d.).

Shaykh Izzu al-Din ibn Abdu al-Salam's methodology in looking at benefits briefly is: (1) visible, (2) there is a cause that arises greater benefit, (3) clear differences between the two benefits, and (4) measurable. Nothing can be considered *ashlah* (more benefit) without measurement, and this measurement only exists in research methodology. Thus, something that is considered a benefit if there is data that points to more benefit (Syamsuddin n. d.).

4. Basic Application of the Concept of Benefit of Izzu al-Din ibn Abdu al-Salam

This concept is based on the prophetic history (*Sirah nabawiyah*) that once the Prophet said, "If only Fatimah (the Prophet's daughter) stole, then I would have cut off her hand." He said by the Qur'an that the limit (penalty) for thieves is cutting off hands. However, Sayyidina Umar ibn al-Khattab *radliyallaahu 'anh* did another *ijtihad* by abolishing the Law of cutting off hands in times of famine and

famine. He preferred imprisonment instead of chopping off hands. Although dhahir Nash indicates that "hunger is '*illat al-bukm*,'" "*A thief of man and woman, (the law) then cut off his hands.*" (Q. S. Al-Maidah:38).

In this regard, Sayyidina Umar repeatedly performed similar *ijtihad*. Umar's *ijtihad* in obtaining profits included paying the troops' salaries, collecting the spoils of war in Bait al-Mal, dividing the territory between the natives, and not distributing the conquered territory of the war among the soldiers. The following hadith applies in this situation: "From Umar, *radliyallah* 'anhu: I heard the Prophet (peace be upon him) say: "I asked my Lord about the sincerity that will happen to my beloved friend when I die, so He revealed to me: O Muhammad! Indeed, the friends by your side are as brilliant as the stars in the sky. They differ in how bright they shine. Every star emits light. Anyone who follows their counsel in a contentious matter is one of those who gets instruction from Me. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: "My companions are like stars. To whom you follow, then you get guidance". Hadith narrated by Razin. From this hadith, we can conclude that it is not beyond *syara'* to consider the advantages when making legal judgments. In shari'a, proper consideration of benefits is needed, and the essence of benefit is the essence of *syara'* (Syamsuddin n. d.).

***Maṣlaḥah's* Analysis of GBHN in the Presidential System**

The discourse of reviving GBHN must, of course, be studied in depth from various points of view, of course. In this discussion, the author discusses this discourse from the review of Islamic Law,

namely *Maṣlahah*. GBHN, which contains the provisions of the will of the people set by the People's Consultative Assembly every five years, is a state guide for the direction and goals of state development. GBHN contains a discourse on the path that must be taken by the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia to move forward. This discourse was made for this MPR to be carried out by the President using all available resources and powers. The establishment of GBHN is intended to provide direction for the struggle of the Indonesian people to maintain the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, which is currently undergoing intense development to realize the desired development both in the next five years and in the long term.

Currently, GBHN is no longer implemented. And the development of the State of Indonesia is based on Law No. 25 of 2004 concerning the National Development Planning System and Law No. 17 of 2007 concerning the National Long-Term Development Plan. By Law No. 25 of 2004, one of the considerations for making this Law is to ensure that development activities run effectively, efficiently, and targeted. In addition, it is also so that national development plans can be prepared to ensure the achievement of state goals (Republik Indonesia 2004).

The Goals and Principles state that national development is based on democracy and is guided by the values of independence, togetherness, justice, sustainability, and environmental insight. National development planning is prepared methodically, orderly, integrated, comprehensive, and responsive to change. This strategy has been developed using the

basics of state administration. Supporting coordination among development actors, ensuring integration, synchronization, and synergy between regions, space, time, government functions, and between the Center and Regions, as well as maximizing community involvement, are some of the objectives of this plan. Long-term, medium-term, and annual development plans are the three types of development planning (Republik Indonesia 2004).

The National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) and Regional Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPD), also by Law No. 17 of 2007, are national development documents for 20 years from 2005 to 2025. At the same time, the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) is a national development planning document for five years. In addition, the Regional Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMD), a regional development planning document for five years, outlines the vision, mission, and programs of regional heads based on the RPJPD and pays attention to the RPJMN (Republik Indonesia 2004). With the characteristics of the presidential system that have been outlined, in this presidential system, the President is no longer the MPR mandataries, and the positions between executive, legislative, and judicial in this government system are equal.

Furthermore, if viewed from the concept of *Maṣlahah*, if the core point of *Maṣlahah* is to find and measure whether something that will be done causes more harm or more harm, then based on several reasons behind the rejection of this GBHN discourse, it has become imperative to reject the GBHN revival discourse. The necessity of rejecting the discourse to revive GBHN

is because it involves several issues in it, such as regarding the position of the President in the government structure. If a president is again under the MPR, then automatically, the President is not the highest leader in the country; the President is only a symbol of the State. Furthermore, a president who should be the head of State and head of government, which means having full responsibility to his people both regarding public and private matters such as religion, soul, reason, heredity, and property, will not be able to be fully responsible to the people, because there is still a structure above the President, namely the MPR. Of course, this is something wrong; the author believes that if this happens, then the *Maṣlahah al-Dharuriyah* will not be achieved. Instead, it will violate it.

CONCLUSION

From the described descriptions, the author concludes that Indonesia does not need GBHN. Several reasons underlie it, namely; Currently, we still have Law No. 25 of 2004 concerning the National Development Planning System and Law No. 17 of 2007 concerning the National Long-Term Development Plan to be used as a benchmark for development; in fact, it is only a matter of how a President organizes the structure under him in development affairs so that the expected development can be achieved.

But if you will still turn on GBHN, then what appears more is the benefits than the benefits. It is based on several reasons, namely; (1) Indonesia already has Law No. 25 of 2004 concerning the National Development Planning System and also Law No. 17 of 2007 concerning the

National Long-Term Development Plan as a reference material for development; (2) With the implementation of the Presidential system, where the positions between the Executive, Legislature, and Judiciary are equal, inter-institutions will certainly focus more on carrying out their duties and functions in a focused manner. Because if we re-apply GBHN, where MPR will be in the highest position, the author believes that later MPR performance will be divided; (3) The laws of 2004 (Law No. 25) and 2007 (Law No. 17) in content already cover aspects of the requirements of *mashlahat*, namely; reasonable, scalable. This 3rd aspect also does not contradict the Nash, and with the highest source of Law in Indonesia, namely the 1945 Constitution, the 3rd aspect of the author directs to the 1945 Constitution, and both laws do not contradict the 1945 Constitution. With the two laws still relevant, GBHN is currently unnecessary. The basis of rejection (4) is that making a president only a symbol of the State will cause a serious problem in safeguarding the *Maṣlahah al-dharuriyah*, which is related to safeguarding religion, soul, reason, posterity, and property. A president, if it becomes a symbol, cannot directly guarantee the rights of his people, even though a state leader must maintain and guarantee all the rights of his citizens.

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