



Islam and state relation: Integralistic, Symbiotic, and Secularistic Paradigm

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Abstract

Islamic political thought is constructed with various paradigms. This is based on the differences in the foundations of thought and the intellectual traditions of the initiators. Broadly, Islamic political thinkers were born from two mainstream of intellectual tradition, namely the philosophical tradition and the *fiqh* tradition. There is a big difference between jurisprudence and philosophy in approaching political objects. That difference can be seen in several ways, including First, in the discipline of jurisprudence, political thought is reached as a series of historical events about the formation of the state and the absence of the state. In contrast, in the discipline of philosophy, political thought is understood as the ideal of community ideas. Secondly, jurisprudence emphasizes a lot of historical ideas in the past, whereas philosophy discusses many matters relating to theoretical thinking in the future. Third, political thought in the *fiqh* tradition dwells on the political tradition that occurs within the scope of Islamic society. In contrast, political thought in philosophy is more open to universal political ideas (especially the influence of Hellenism). This article states that the different foothold of Islamic thinkers in approaching political objects results in the birth of a diverse paradigm of Islamic political thought.

Keywords: Islam, state, discourse, integrality, symbiotic, secularistic

Introduction

In the past, before becoming an essential topic in the discussion of the jurists (jurisprudents), political issues were the business of theologians. There are at least three schools of theology that have political attitudes that occurred in the early days of Islam. First, Shiite followers who consider that Imamah (political leadership after the Prophet Muhammad, PBUH.), is the exclusive right of the Prophet's family (*ahl al-bayt*)^[1], secondly, Muawiyah followers who believe that Imamah is a human choice and God's intervention^[2], third, khawarij followers who consider the question of Imamah should be returned to what the Qur'an says^[3]. In its history, these three theological schools continued to develop, giving rise to new schools of more variety.

Until the third century of Hijriyah (8th century AD), the discourse of Islamic political thought was almost exclusively a field of theological studies. What is meant by Islamic political thought at the time, was the thought of how to uphold and practice Imamah or khilafah. The discipline of jurisprudence only emerged in the first half of the 2nd century H. and experienced its maturity at the end of the 3rd century H., when four schools of jurisprudence known as the Syafiiy, Malikiy, Hanafiy, and Hanbaliy schools were formed and began to spread widely. The first book of jurisprudence that specifically addresses political issues (*Al-Ahkam al-Shulthaniyah wa al-Wilayat al-Diniyah*) was only written in the early fifth century Hijriyah^[4]. Al-Mawardi, the author of this

¹See Hamid Enayat, "Modern Islamic Political Thought", 1st ed. *Modern Middle East Series*, (Austin Texas: University of Texas Press, 1982.)

² extreme form of this group of thought then gave birth to another theological school, the Jabariyah school (Predeterminism) which held that everything was predetermined by God, while humans were destined just to follow what was set by the almighty.

³ The Khawarij groups are often considered the first fundamentalist group in Islam. The characteristic of this group is their unwillingness to follow developments in the political world according to the age of reason. According to them, everything must be measured and decided based on the fundamental teachings of Islam, namely the Qur'an.

⁴See Al-Mawardi, *Al-Ahkam al-Shulthaniyah wa al-Wilayat al-Diniyah* (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-Islamiy, 1996).

book, was later considered to be the foundation of what is now known as the "*Siyasah fiqh*".

Al-Mawardi is a *faqih* who was known to be close to the Islamic ruler. He wrote his famous book at the request of the sultan Buwaihid who was in power at that time. Some writers assume that Al-Mawardi is not a political philosopher (political philosopher). However, he is more accurately described as a historian who tries to tell how the Islamic political community stood, and not how it should stand. Some western writers, including Bernard Lewis, consider Al-Mawardi's work as a treatise on royal history, and not a book on political theory or philosophy. It may be that Lewis's judgment undermines al-Mawardi, but overestimating al-Mawardi and especially the discipline of jurisprudence (from where then the term "Fiqh Siyasah" originated) as the primary source or even considered the sole source of Islamic political thought, is also a mistake that must be revised. A few years before al-Mawardi wrote his magnum opus, Muslim philosophers such as Ibn Sina and Al-Farabi had earlier discussed Islamic political thought through philosophical studies, which were more appreciated by modern Western thinkers then ^[5].

There is a big difference between jurisprudence and philosophy in approaching political objects. If we compare the writings of the fuqaha and philosophers, the difference can be seen in several ways, including First, in the discipline of jurisprudence, political thought is reached as a series of historical events about the formation of the state (state) and the absence of the state (anarchy), whereas in the discipline of philosophy, political thought is understood as the idea of an ideal society (utopia). Second, fiqh emphasizes much on historical ideas in the past, whereas philosophy discusses many matters relating to theoretical thinking in the future. Third, political thought in the fiqh tradition dwells on the political tradition that occurs within the scope of Islamic society. In contrast, political thought in philosophy is more open to universal political ideas (especially the influence of Hellenism).

We can see, for example, how *siyasa fiqh* books emphasize the mechanism of state leadership rather than state formation ^[6]. It can even be said that the *khilafah* (state leadership) is the central theme of all discourse of Islamic politics in *fiqh siyasa*. On the contrary in the philosophical tradition, although the problem of state leaders is also a concern, this issue is not central, the main issue is the mechanism of state formation and how a country can become an ideal community. Al-Farabi, for example, is more concerned with what he calls the "Special State" (*al-Madinah al-Fadilah*). Even his entire work in the field of political thought, centred on the ideals of the formation of this utopian concept ^[7]. Instead, al-Mawardi was more interested in discussing the ideal leader (caliph) and in accordance with religious teachings. Once the importance of this teaching for al-Mawardi, he put the discussion at the beginning of his book. Since the era of the rise of the first Islam (early 19th century), the tradition of critical political thought began to grow among

Muslims. Many Muslim thinkers study the tradition of philosophical thought, both Islamic philosophy and Western philosophy. The leaders of the first Islamic revival include Rifa 'al-Tahtawi (1801-1873) in Egypt, Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) in India, and Cokroaminoto (1882-1935) in Indonesia. Critical traditions of philosophical thought gradually began to colour their perspective on the religious traditions they professed. Do not wait long, at the rise of the second generation Islam (early 20th century), political thought from the tradition of philosophical thinking emerged. Abdul Rahman al-Kawakibi, for example, is the second generation Islamic revival intellectual who specifically studies political thought. He wrote two political books that are thick with philosophical nuances, namely *Umm al-Quraa'* (Capital City) ^[8], which contain ideas about the ideal state model for modern Muslims. The second is titled "*Taba'I al-Istibdad*" (Character of Tyranny) ^[9], which has a lot to say about the emergence of the symptoms of authoritarianism and tyranny in the Islamic world.

Based on the background above, in this article, the author tries to answer the question of how should relations between Islam and the State be built.

Geneology of Islamic political thought

Konstruksi pemikiran politik Islam, setidaknya berpuast pada dua aspek pokok, yaitu agama dan masyarakat (politik). Dewasa ini, secara umum ulama dan intelektual muslim dalam merespon isu modernitas, khususnya yang berhubungan dengan agama dan politik (negara), terbagi ke dalam dua kelompok besar, yakni; *Intelektual atau ulama liberal melahirkan Islam liberal*, dan *intelektual atau ulama Islamis, melahirkan Islamisme*. Penulis selanjutnya akan menunjukkan secara ringkas pandangan mereka yang saling bertentangan mengenai hubungan Islam dan politik tersebut. The construction of Islamic political thought at least is based on two main aspects, namely religion and society (politics) ^[10]. Today, in general, Muslim clerics and intellectuals in response to the issue of modernity, especially those relating to religion and politics (state), are divided into two major groups, namely; *Liberal intellectuals or scholars give birth to liberal Islam*, and *intellectuals or Islamic scholars, give birth to Islamism*. In the next section, the authors will briefly show their conflicting views on the relationship between Islam and politics.

The intellectual source of a liberal political outlook in contemporary Muslim society can be traced at least to Muhammad Abduh from Egypt, a prominent thinker who made a valuable contribution to the renewal of Islam or modernism. Inspired by Western social thought and the flow of Mu'tazilah's rational theology, Abduh argues that the Qur'an emphasizes the importance of reasoning ('*aql*'). He believes that the rational calculation for making decisions for the good of humans in a changing society is genuinely Islamic. Therefore, besides the Qur'an and Sunnah, the reason

⁵Bernard Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁶ The examples of his works, among others: Ali Bin Muhammad al-Mawardi, *Al-Ahkam al-Sulthaniyah wa al-Walayah al-Diniyah* (Beirut: al Maktabah al-Islamiyah, 1996); Ali Bin Muhammad al-Mawardi, *Al-Tuhfah al-Mulukiyyah fi al-Adab al-Siyasiyah* (al-Iskandariyah : Muassasat Shababal-Jamiah, 1997); Ali Bin Muhammad al-Mawardi, *Al-Wizarah: Adab al-Wazir, al-Tabah 1.ed.* (Iskandariyah: Dar al-Jamiat al-Misriyah, 1976); Nizam al-Muluk, *Siyasetname: (Syar al-Mulk)* (Istanbul: Dergah Yainlar, 1987); Ibnu Taimiyah, *Al-Siyasah al-Syariyyah fi al-Islah al-Ra'iy wa al-Ra'iyah* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Arabiyyah, 1966).

⁷ Al-Farabi and Richard Walzer, *Al Farabi on the Perfect State: Abu Nashr Al Farabi Mabadi Ara Ahlu al-Madina al-Fadhilah: A Revised Text in Introduction Translation, and Commentary* (New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1985).

⁸ Abdul Rahman Al-Kawakibi, *Umm al-Qurra* (Beirut: Dar al-Raid al-Arabi, 1982).

⁹ Abdul Rahman Al-Kawakibi, *Taba'I al-Istibdad wa Masari al-Istibdad* (Halab: n.p., 1957).

¹⁰Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Moderen Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996), p. I.

is essential for the development of Islamic law. He further argued that if the norms or law of the law in the Qur'an and the Sunnah conflict with reason, then reason must take precedence.^[11]

This rational tendency was the basis for Islamic modernism under Abduh's intellectual leadership. Ali Abd.al-Raziq, one of Abduh's students, explored further the liberal tendency in understanding the relationship between Islam and politics. His criticism was mainly aimed at the opinion which said that the prophet Muhammad was a model of Islamic political leaders, with Medina as the Islamic political community under his leadership. Here religion and politics cannot be separated. For this view, Ali Abd Razik commented:

"The authority [of revelation] brought down the heavens from Allah to [Muhammad]. God's revelation was conveyed to him by the celestial angels. This holy power ... in it does not contain royal meaning, nor resembles the power of kings, nor does the sultan [authority] of all sultans who approach him. It is a message of religion; it is the government of the prophet and not the government of the sultans ... once again we remind the reader not to confuse the two types of government 'and not to combine the two types of guardianship, the guardianship of the apostles according to his apostolic story, and the guardianship of the ruling kings. The apostolic guardianship of his people is a spiritual guardianship whose origins originate from faith in the heart. On the other hand, the ruler is a material trusteeship. The trusteeship depends on submissive bodies that have nothing to do with the heart. The first refers to guardianship towards God, while the second is guardianship to regulate life and population matters on earth. The first is the guardianship of religion, and the latter is the guardianship of the world. The first is divine, and the second is humanitarian. The first is religious leadership; the second is political leadership - and there is a considerable difference between politics and religion".^[12]

Khalaf-Allah, another Egyptian Muslim thinker claims that Islam not only supports but also requires democracy. After stressing that Islam requires a separation between religious and world affairs, he stated that worldly affairs must be decided by humans, not by revelation, through shura or deliberation. While quoting the Quranic verse which states "And deliberate in all matters"^[13], he further stated that the Qur'an requires the formation of legislative authority to decide on affairs of affairs. He argued that:

"The benevolent Al-Qur'an requires the prophet to consult with his friends in deciding matters relating to the public interest and to carry out the decision without having to wait for revelation. Moreover, with this, the Word of God "And if you have made a decision, then rely only on God",

means carry out this decision without having to wait for God's opinion."^[14]

However, according to the Khalaf-Allah, the institutionalization of shura must be arranged in more specific rules, which can regulate behaviour and are historical. In modern politics, constitutionalism (the parliamentary system, general elections, majority law, etc. is regulated based on the constitution), is an ideal political and governance system, therefore according to him, Muslims have no other choice but to build the system. The system is in accordance with the values and soul of Islam.

The secular understanding of the relationship between Islam and politics is also reflected in the interpretation of al-Ashmawy, another Egyptian cleric, about shari'a. He argues that "Sharia does not refer to legal norms, but routes or roads." Therefore, he states:

"Out of more than 6000 verses of the Koran, only about 200 of them have legal aspects, that is, about thirty of the entire verses of the Koran, including verses that were texted (abolished) by the verses afterwards. This shows that the primary purpose of the Qur'an is moral. He wants to explain the deficiencies in the souls of believers, to increase awareness and morality so that he becomes normal sharia in the sense of the path to Allah. Likewise, even if an al-Qur'an law can be applied, it must be put in the context of faith and justice, beyond any legal alignments or any deviation. On the other hand, concerning legal norms that are naturally local and temporary, God more often submits the work to humans to give freedom to humans to see the rules again with a view that allows replacing them with other rules following the circumstances and time. "

Muhammad Sa'id al-Asymawi^[15] (the former head of the Egyptian high court) further states more specifically about sharia as follows: "The word sharia appears only once in the Qur'an^[16], and two other words are found which originate from the same root word.^[17] In both verses, the word sharia does not refer to legal norms, but to the understanding of the Islamic way.

Fazlur Rahman further views that sharia means "the path to water, that is the path to the source of life", that is, Allah SWT Fazlur Rahman further defines more technical sharia as religious values expressed functionally and in tangible terms, to direct human life to a path that has been determined by God, where humans must live life by manifesting God's will. Sharia includes all spiritual, mental and psychological behaviour.^[18] As such, it includes faith and charity. In this view, sharia cannot be seen as a legislative product that is ready for use in Muslim societies, but rather moral and religious values that can inspire legislative processes and products in specific historical contexts.

Another group of scholars gives the opposite argument. They

¹¹See Charles C. Adam, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt: A Study of Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muhammad 'Abduh* (New York: Russel&Russel, 1933), p. 77.

¹²Ali Abd al-Raziq, Edited by Charles Kurzman, "Message Not government, Religion Not State" *Liberal Islam A.Source Book*, Oxford Univesity Press, 1998, p. 31.

¹³See Q.S. Al Imran [3]:159

¹⁴ Muhammad Ahmad Khalaf-Allah, *Al-Qur'an wa al-Daulah*, (Mesir: Maktabah al-Injilu al-Mishriyyah, 1973), p.39.

¹⁵Muhammad Sa'id al-Asymawi, "Shari'ah: the Codification of Islamic Law" *Liberal Islam. A.Sourcebook*. Edited by Charles Kurzman. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.50.

¹⁶Q.S. al-Jaasiah [45]:18.

¹⁷Q.S. al-Maidah [5]:48, dan Q.S. al-Syuura [42]:13.

¹⁸Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1979), p.100.

argue that the sunnah is never wrong in its historical context. However, if the context changes as it happens in any society, the sunnah is no longer sufficient to guide the behaviour of Muslims. These social changes open a personal role for the scholars to interpret the Qur'an and al-Hadith. This personal opinion which came to be known as Fiqh is open to be wrong possibilities. The *ahlul hadith* cannot accept this argument, and always emphasize the sunnah of the pilgrims as an exact model for Muslim societies without having to consider the historical dynamics of Muslims.

Different from the liberal interpretation of the relationship between Islam and the state, Islamist intellectuals state that in Islam, religion and state, or religion and politics, cannot be separated. Influenced by the concept of a "nation-state" from modern political thought, Ras yid Rida introduced the idea of an "Islamic state" (*al-Hukumat al-Islamiyah*) as an alternative to the caliphate which ended with the collapse of the Uthmani caliphate and the establishment of the secular republic of Turkey.^[19]

In Rasyid Rida's concept of an Islamic state which is quite influential, shari'a plays an important role. Furthermore, the authority that has the authority to interpret this is only those *ahlul halli wal aqdi*, namely religious authority or ulama. Nevertheless, Rida differentiated the Shari'ah into two regions; the worship area and the muamalah region (social relations and worldly transactions), the latter being the territory of decision-makers, and therefore the product is human law.^[20]

A more theoretical political interpretation of Islamists can be found in the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt with the main characters Hasan al-Banna and Saiyyed Qutb. In his political thinking, they both base their ideas on the concept of monotheism which he interprets not only about the teachings of monotheism, but also the unity of the Ummah under the law of God. He believes that there are no rulers and lawmakers except Allah, and therefore God is the final regulator of life on earth. They ignore human complexity and reduce it into two categories of Islam or not Islam. Their ideas are well recorded in the Muslim Brotherhood ideology as follows:

1. Islam is a comprehensive system, complete by itself, and Islam is the final path of life with all its spheres.
2. Islam is radiated and is based on two primary sources of al-Qur'an and al-Hadith of the prophet.
3. Islam can be applied to every era and place. The Islamic state is based on this set of beliefs, and Muslims must struggle to establish an Islamic state. If not, all Muslims sin before Allah the Almighty.

The Muslim Brotherhood's ideology is in line with the concept of al-faqih (Ulama's rule) by Imam Khomeini in Iran. In his work *The Pillars of an Islamic State*, Khomaeni stated:

"If the nomenclature of a country can be labelled, then it is known as "the rule of law", and the law is not human-made or made by a group of humans, but made by their

creator, the almighty God. This law can be applied to heads of state, members of parliament, executive bodies, judiciary bodies, and the people ... Allah's law has been revealed in the language of the Qur'an."^[21]

Furthermore, Khomaeni in his other works; *The Necessity of Islamic Government*, explicitly Khomeini states:

"Sharia law covers a variety of different legal and regulatory bodies, which form this legal system, all human relations are regulated; relations between neighbours, common people, and tribes, as well as children and families; matters relating to personal life and material life; rules relating to war, peace, and relations between nations, criminal and commercial law; and rules on trade and agriculture ... Therefore, it is clear how Islam attaches importance to government and matters relating to the politics and economy of society, intending to create conditions conducive to the formation of righteous morals and the good of humans ... al- The Qur'an al-Karim and sunnah include all the laws and rules that are needed by humans to achieve happiness and perfection of their country"^[22]

Khomeini stated that an Islamic head of state must know the law as a whole. The extent of human knowledge about the law is a matter of level. In the Shiite case of the majority of Iranians, the leader of the community should be an imam. Unfortunately, in Shi'ite view, the priest is still missing (unseen), and therefore a person who is in charge of the law must lead while awaiting the arrival of the priest, and that person is an ulama. Khomeini's ideas about the area of al-faqih were developed from this belief.

The authority of the ulema was also found in al-Maududi's concept of *theo-democracy* in his work *The Political Theory of Islam*. In this theory, he detailed three main principles:

- First, no person, class or group, even all citizens as a whole, can claim power. Only Allah is the real ruler; apart from being only a creature of Allah;
- Second, God is the true lawgiver, and the absolute power of legislation is only in him. Believers cannot make rules genuinely free, nor can they modify any law that has been revealed by Allah, even if there is a desire to enact such a law, or change the law of God unanimously;
- Third, an Islamic state must be based on the laws that God has established through its prophet. A government which runs such a country deserves to be obeyed in its capacity as a political agent formed to implement the law of God and only to the extent that the state acts. If the country disregards the law which God has revealed, the commandments are not binding on believers.^[23]

Al-Maududi stated that the ulama were the people who knew the law of God the most and that the ulama had to be a member of the legislature. There are many scholars, and among them who knows best about God's law? Al-Maududi

¹⁹Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1982).

²⁰*Ibid*, h.79.

²¹Imam Ruhullah Khomeini, "The Pillars of an Islamic State" Edited by Mansour Muaddel and Kamran Talatof. *Contemporary Debates in Islam: An Anthology of Modernist and Fundamentalist Thought* (New York: St.Martin's Press,2000), p. 284.

²²Imam Ruhullah Khomeini, "The Necessity of Islamic Government", Edited by Mansour Muaddel and Kamran Talatof, *Contemporary Debates in Islam: An Anthology of Modernist a Fundamentalist Thought* (New York: St.Martin's Press, 2000), p. 253-254.

²³Abu al-A'la al-Maududi, "The Political Theory of Islam", Edited by Kurshid Ahmad, *Islam: It's meaning and Massage* (London: Islamic Council of Europe, 1976), p. 271

stated that Muslims must choose among scholars who are considered the most masters of Allah's law. The involvement of Muslims in choosing clerics makes the concept of theocracy "democratic". In this concept of democracy, the legislative members-only consist of ulemas, and the people elect legislative candidates from the ulama circles.^[24]

Abu al-'Ala al-Maududi also understood that recognition of the leadership and authority of Allah^[25] Furthermore, His Messenger in the field of legislation is absolute. This means that every Muslim must give up all legislative power and the highest legal sovereignty to the leadership and authority of Allah. The Khalifah, as mentioned in the Qur'an, according to him, is everything on this earth, in the form of power and ability that is obtained by a human being, is merely a gift from Allah. Furthermore, Allah has made man in his position as the caliph, can use the gifts and gifts that Allah has given. Therefore, man is not the ruler or owner himself, but only the caliph or representative of the real owner. A leader who runs the rules with a system that is free from the law of God governs because of their interests or groups, then he is not a caliph but is a rebellion or "rebellion" against the truth of the universe Ruler.^[26]

Thus, this view automatically gives an understanding that humans only exercise power on the face of the earth which is a representative of God on earth to regulate and carry out Allah's laws based on Shariah guidance. Humans have absolutely no authority to carry out, let alone make a rule based on the desires of themselves or groups.

In contrast to Maududi's thought, Ibn Taimiyah considered that in the Qur'an and Sunnah found the basis of the traditional caliph's theory and the theory of absolute Imamah. While al-Maududi mentioned that caliphate has a constitutional basis in the Qur'an. Ibn Taimiyah then attacked and criticized the opinions of al-Maududi and the Sunnis, because of that, he saw Islam as a social system that has the highest law, namely the law of God. That is because, Ibn Taimiyah was not at all interested in the state and its formation even though it accepted the country as a spiritual need. That is, an Islamic state that is considered to meet the requirements is a government that makes sharia as the highest legal footing.

For Ibn Taimiyah whatever the law of God which contains various commands to the Muslims is a heavy responsibility and cannot be carried out without the help of political mechanization known as the state. However, again Ibn Taimiyah objected if the responsibility received was considered to be the Divine authority represented to us.^[27]

Ibn Taimiyah strongly rejected al-Maududi's opinion by proposing that the main problem in Islam was not the institution of the caliph, but the shari'a law. Even though the caliph is said to stand on the shari'a, in history, the

development of the institution which is recognized as the only acceptable political organization in Islam, precisely delivers it to certain legitimacy with various intentions that are not always in line with the basic teachings of the shari'a.^[28]

It seems that Ibn Taimiyah's criticisms of the caliph's theory later formed a political version of conservative reformism which required the promotion of ijtihad in religious thought and firmly rejected uncritical procedures let alone *taqlid*.^[29] On the other hand, Jamaluddin al-Afghani views that the form of state and government in an Islamic perspective requires the form of a republic. Because in it, there is freedom of opinion and the head of state must submit to the Basic Law. This view is seen as something new in the history of Islamic politics. Because before, even up to the time of Afghani, the thought of the state only recognized the form of the caliph who had absolute power. Afghani's opinion was clearly influenced by Western thought, which indeed knew the republic's government first, and from its understanding of the principles of Islamic teachings relating to society and state.^[30]

In absolute autocratic government, there is no freedom of opinion. Freedom only on the king or head of state to act that is not regulated by law. For this reason, Afghani wants the style of absolute government and autocracy to be replaced by the style of democratic government.^[31] Democratic government is one of the identities of republican government as developed in the West and was established by Mustafa Kemal Attaturk in Turkey in exchange for the caliphate government.^[32]

The above is also in line with Nurcholish Madjid's view that basically in socio-political issues, Islam inspires its adherents to open their insights on various aspects of social politics. History also shows that the religion of Islam gives excellent leeway in matters of socio-political form, regulation, and technicality. Likewise, with the formal form of statehood, it has nothing to do with the problem of the legitimacy of its rulers. The main thing is the vision of the state from the standpoint of principle consideration of social ethics.^[33]

These two different beliefs about the nature of sharia above affect the way that contemporary Muslim clerics and activists imagine Muslim societies, including their perceptions about the relationship between religion and politics. In dealing with religious and state relations (politics), in general, Muslim intellectuals are divided into two groups, namely: first, groups that base their arguments on the fiqh (scripturalist) approach are called Islamists (political Islam), and second, groups that base their arguments with philosophical approaches and rational Mu'tazilah words, known as Islamic liberals (Islamic politics).

²⁴ *Ibid*, h. 89.

²⁵ That view is based on Q. S. Al-Maidah [5]: 48, "And We had sent down to you the Koran by bringing the truth, confirming what was before, Namely the Books (which were revealed earlier) and the touchstone of the other Books; Then decide on their case according to what Allah sent down and did not follow their lust by leaving the truth that has come to you. For each of you, we give clear rules and paths. If God wills, surely you will be made into one people (only), but God wants to test you against His gifts to you, so you are competing to do good. only God returns all of you, and He tells you what you have disputed." See also Abul A'la al-Maududi, *al-Khilafah wa al-Mulk*, Translated by Muhammad al-Baqir "Khalifah dan Kerajaan" (Cet. IV; Bandung: Mizan, 1998), p. 168.

²⁶ Abul A'la al-Maududi, *op.cit.*, p. 66.

²⁷ Qamaruddin Khan, *The Political Thought of Ibn Taimiyah*, (Translated by Anas Mahyudin) "Pemikiran Politik Ibn Taimiyah" (Cet.II; Bandung: Pustaka, 1995), p. 143.

²⁸ Khalid Ibrahim Jindan, *The Islamic Theory of Government According to Ibn Taimiyah*, (Translated by Mufid) "Teori Pemerintahan Islam menurut Ibn Taimiyah" (Jakarta: PT. Rineka Cipta, 1994), p. 121.

²⁹ Qamaruddin Khan, *The Political..... op.cit.*, p. 144.

³⁰ J. Suyuthi Pulungan, *Fiqh Siyash Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1995), p. 281-282.

³¹ Harun Nasution, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

³² J. Suyuthi Pulungan, *Fiqh Siyash, op. cit.*, p. 285.

³³ Nurcholish Madjid, "Agama dan Negara dalam Islam: Telaah Atas Fiqh Siyasi Sunni", in Budhy Munawar-Rachman (Ed.), *Kontekstualisasi Doktrin Islam dalam Sejarah* (Jakarta: Yayasan Paramadina, 1994), p. 588.

The impact of islamic thoughts on islamic and state relations

Islam and functional power have a symbiotic relationship, although the nature of the two is diametrically different. Religion encourages the formation of moral authority, and vice versa the morality of power also strengthens the religious soul. Therefore, it is not surprising that the figure from Pakistan, Fazlur Rahman said that "if the Koran talks about fasting in just one verse, then almost one-third of the Koran is devoted to building a capable power machine. ^[34] Thus, most Muslim writers claim that separating religion from the insight of power is that it has no solid foundation and cannot be justified. ^[35] This fact can be traced by looking at two main trends; First, sociologically Islam is understood as extensive political participation among the Muslim population. Second, theologically Islam can be seen as a divine instrument for understanding the world.

Qamaruddin Khan argued that there is a wrong view in the minds of Muslims, when the Qur'an is understood as a book that contains a comprehensive explanation of everything based on the Qur'anic verse, QS. al-Nahl ^[16]: 89. This verse, according to Khan, in principle, is meant that the Qur'an contains an explanation of all objects of life. The Qur'an does not contain anything related to general knowledge.

In this study, the authors need to emphasize various theories regarding the relationship between religion and the state which have coloured the lives of Muslims. At least there are three paradigms in the pattern of religious and state relations that are expressed and defended by their respective inspirational figures. The three paradigms are; integralistic, symbiotic, and secularistic.

Integralistic Paradigm

This first paradigm proposes the concept of the union of religion and state. Religion (Islam) and the state; in this case, cannot be separated (integrated), the area of religion also includes politics or the state. Therefore, according to this paradigm, the state is both a political and religious institution. The government of the country is held based on Divine sovereignty (divine sovereignty), because sovereignty indeed originates and is in the hands of God.

For this reason, this view is theocratic. ^[36]

As a political institution based on religious legitimacy and functioning to hold "God's Sovereignty", the state in the perspective of the shari'a is theocratic which implies that absolute power is in the hands of God. Moreover, the state constitution is based on God's revelation (shari'a). Some conservative Sunnis also share the same opinion regarding the relationship between religion and the state. A further consequence of this view is that state rules must be carried out according to God's laws (shari'a).

For this group, sharia is always understood as the totality par excellent ("*kaffah kamilah*") for the order of social life and

humanity. While the state functions to run sharia. Because the political legitimacy of the state must be based on sharia, the state system, according to this system is theocratic. ^[37] Shi'ites and Sunni Islamic fundamentalists mostly share this view.

The Shiite political thought paradigm views that the state (Imamah) or leadership is essentially a state institution and has a religious function. According to Shi'a, too, the relationship of religious legitimacy comes from God and is passed down through the lineage of the Prophet Muhammad. ^[38] The concept of the unification of religion and state has also become a role model for "Islamic fundamentalists" ^[39] Who tend to be oriented towards Islamic values which they consider to be fundamental and principle. The paradigm of fundamentalism emphasizes the totality of Islam, namely that Islam encompasses all aspects of life. ^[40] The prominent figure of this group is Al-Maududi (1903-1979 AD).

For Al-Maududi shari'a do not recognize the separation between religion and state. Shari'a is the perfect life scheme and covers all social order. So according to him, Islam must be built on shari'a legislation that the Prophet brought from God and must be applied under any conditions. ^[41] Shari'ah is what governs people, their behaviour and relationships with each other in all aspects, whether it is individual, family, community, and relations with the state. ^[42] Because of the necessity of upholding the law of Allah, the mission of the Islamic state must be upheld to achieve this mission. Moreover, in this case, according to Al-Maududi, it must be based on four basic principles, namely recognizing God's sovereignty, accepting the authority of the Prophet Muhammad, having the status of 'representative of God', and implementing deliberation. ^[43]

According to Al-Maududi, the basic principle of Islam is that humankind, both individually and collectively, must relinquish all rights of the land, the making of laws and the exercise of sovereignty over others. Sovereignty in Islam, according to al-Maududi, not in human hands, but the hands of God. Moreover, God's sovereignty covers all areas of life. ^[44] Thus the main principles of an Islamic state according to Maududi are; full sovereignty is in the hands of God, where the others are His servants; the applicable law is only the law of Allah, and only he is authorized to make or change it; the Islamic state must be led by a government that is genuinely obedient in its position as a political institution formed to enforce Allah's laws. ^[45]

Then, the more appropriate name for an Islamic state, according to Maududi, is "the kingdom of God", which in English is called a theocracy. However, Al-Maududi added, Islamic theocracy is different from the Western culture, which suppresses and enforces its laws in the name of Allah. According to Maududi, such a government is devout, not

³⁴ Fazlur Rahman, in John J. Donohue and John Esposito (eds), *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspective*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 268

³⁵ M. Syafi'i Maarif, *Islam dan Politik, Teori Belah Bambu Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin 1959-1965* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1996), p. 181.

³⁶ Ahmad Suaedy (Ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 89.

³⁷ Ahmad Suaedy (Ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 90.

³⁸ The Imamah is a movement and political principle of the Shi'ites which obliges the ruler of the country to be an imam and believes that the priest is ma'shum and is still a descendant of Ali Ibn Abi Tholib. See Mochtar Effendy, *Ensiklopedi Agama dan Filsafat* (Cet. Ke-1; Palembang: Universitas Sriwijaya, 2001), p. 435.

³⁹ Certain groups give the term 'fundamentalism' to Muslims who want to treat all Islamic sharia teachings in their lives. See Mochtar Effendy, *op. cit.*, p.197.

⁴⁰ M. Din Syamsuddin, "Usaha Pencarian Konsep Negara....." *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴¹ Ahmad Suaedy (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁴² M. Yusuf Musa, *op. cit.*, h. 23.

⁴³ M. Din Syamsuddin, "Usaha Pencarian Konsep Negara" *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴⁴ Sudirman Tebba, *Islam Menuju Era Reformasi* (Cet. Ke-1; Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana Yogya, 2001), p. 6.

⁴⁵ Abul A'la al-Maududi "Teori Politik Islam" in Khurshid Ahmad (ed.), *Pesan Islam* (Bandung: Pustaka, 1983), p. 193.

divine (satanic rather than divine).^[46] All Muslim people govern theocracy in Islam. Where all Muslims run the wheels of state following the instructions of the book of Allah and examples of the practice of His Messenger. Al-Maududi named this system of government theocracy; namely a democratic government based on divinity because, in this government, the people of Islam were given sovereignty under the authority of Allah.

Theoretically, the ruler of an Islamic state does not have absolute power, neither does the parliament nor the people, because that absolute power belongs only to God, and his law must remain in power. Using the current terminology, the Islamic constitution only has two vital organs: the executive and the judiciary. The third possible organ - the legislative - is constitutionally not given any restriction, because the law has been established in the Qur'an by Allah.^[47] The task of the government is to implement it, and not change it for its own sake.

Another view of the Islamic government system came from Taqiuddin An Nabhani (1909-1977 AD). He argued that an Islamic government is not a monarchy, not a republic, not an empire and not a federation. However, an Islamic government system is more appropriately called the khilafah.^[48] Taqiuddin further explained that establishing the Khilafah was mandatory for all Muslims throughout the world while carrying out it as a law carrying out other obligations (*fardlu*), which has been required by Allah SWT.^[49] For the sake of upholding the law of Allah and Islamic sharia, Muslims must not ignore it, because this has become the stipulation of the Prophet's sunnah. Likewise, its implementation in government must be based on the Qur'an and the Hadith as a guide.

So thick is the variety of thought with the authority of God's sovereignty, and considers the teachings of Rosulullah as a comprehensive religion. The term "*al-Islam huwa al-din wa al-daulah*" arises in the political arena of Islam. Moreover, as a logical commitment of this integralistic paradigm, an Islamic state must be upheld for the implementation of the laws of God under the direction of an imam or caliph.

This integralistic paradigm, according to James P. Piscatory -as quoted by Marzuki Wahid-gave birth to an understanding of the state of religion, in which state life was regulated by using religious principles, thus giving birth to the concept of Islam din wa al-daulah (Islamic religion and at the same time the state). Therefore, the source of positive law is the source of religious law. As a result, people are unable to distinguish between state rules and religious rules because they are fused. Thus, in this understanding, the people who obey all the provisions of the state means that they obey the religion, on the contrary rebel and against the state means against religion which also means against God.

This is where Western thinkers and authors, as far as Islam is concerned, often see that the religious state is not compatible

with democracy. The democratic state that departs from Anthropocentric understanding requires humans to be the centre of all things, including the centre of sovereignty so that the head of state must submit to the will and control of the people. In contrast, the religious state that departs from theocentric understanding makes God the centre of all things.

Symbiotic Paradigm

In this view, the relationship between religion and state includes mutual interaction and mutual need. Religion needs a state, because with the state religion can develop.^[50] Religion will work well through state institutions, while in other positions, the state also cannot be allowed to walk alone without religion, because with the state religion can develop in the spiritual and moral guidance. Separation of religion from the state can lead to chaos and morals.^[51]

Ibn Taymiyah (1263-1328 AD), a salafi Sunni figure, said: "religion and the state are truly interconnected; without the power of the state which is forcing religion in danger. Moreover, a country without the discipline of divine revelation must be a tyrannical organization".^[52] He also said that the area of political organization for the issue of human social life was an essential religious necessity. Because without it, religion will not stand firmly.^[53] Ibn Taymiyah's opinion seemed to legitimize that between religion, and the state is two different entities, but they need each other and cannot be separated.

This symbiotic view of religion and state can also be understood in al-Mawardi's thought (975-1059 AD). In his book *Al-Ahkam al-sulthaniyyah wa al-wilayat al-diniyyah*, he asserted that state leadership (Imamat) is an instrument to continue the prophetic mission to preserve the religion and world order.^[54] The maintenance of religion and world regulation are two different types of activities but are symbiotically related. Both are two dimensions of the prophetic mission. He positioned the country as a political institution with religious sanctions.^[55] Furthermore, in the country, there must be a single leader as a substitute for the Prophet to maintain the implementation of religious teachings and hold political control and make policies based on religious sharia.^[56] As quoted in Ahmad Suaedy (ed.), He explicitly said:

"Indeed, God has delegated to one community, a leader whom he has appointed as the successor to the leadership of the Prophet. Through it (head of state), he protects religion. God entrusted him with governmental arrangements (statehood) so that all the rules that were applied were in accordance with religion and so that the opinions and thoughts of the people followed the views that were accounted for authoritatively."^[57]

Another thinker who agrees with al-Mawardi is al-Ghazali

⁴⁶M. Amin Rais, "Pengantar" dalam Abu A'la al-Maududi, *Al-Khilafah wa Al-Mulk*, Translated by. Muhammad Al-Baqir "Khilafah dan Kerajaan: Evaluasi Kritis atas Sejarah Pemerintahan Islam" (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), p. 22.

⁴⁷ Hakim Javid Iqbal, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴⁸ Taqiuddin An-Nabhani, *Nidham al-Hukmi fi al-Islam*, Terj. Moh. Maghfur Wahid "Sistem Pemerintahan Islam: Doktrin Sejarah dan Realitas Empirik" (Bangil: Al Izzah, 1996), p. 31-35.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰M. Arskal Salim G.P., "Islam dan Relasi Agama-Negara di Indonesia" dalam Abdul Mun'im D.Z. (ed.), *Islam di Tengah Arus Transisi* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2000), p. 8.

⁵¹ Ahmad Suaedy (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³ Ahmad Syafi'i Maarif, *Islam dan Politik: Teori Belah Bambu Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1996), p. 180.

⁵⁴ Imam al-Mawardi, *Al-Ahkam al-sulthaniyyah wa al-Wilayat al-Diniyyah*, (Translated by Abdul Hayyie dan Kamaluddin Nuridin) "*Hukum Tata Negara dan Kepemimpinan dalam Takaran Islam*" (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2000), p. 15.

⁵⁵ Miftah AF., "Hubungan Negara dan Agama dalam Perspektif Fiqh Siyaasi" dalam Jurnal *Al-Ahkam*, Volume XIII, No. II, 2001, p. 26.

⁵⁶ Al-Mawardi, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁵⁷ Ahmad Suaedy (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 93.

(1058-1111 AD). He hinted at the parallel relationship between religion and state as exemplified by the parallelism between prophets and kings. According to al-Ghazali, If God has sent prophets and given revelations to them, then he has also sent kings and given them "divine power". Both have the same goal, namely the benefit of human life. ^[58] The parallelism between the Prophet and the king shows a symbiotic relationship between the two. A king or leader of a country has a high status concerning the Prophet. This means that state leaders have a strategic position in creating nuances of unity in state institutions.

This view also arises in Ibn Taymiyah's thoughts. According to him, religion cannot be established without government, and the government should be led by someone trustworthy and responsible for carrying out God's laws. ^[59] In determining and appointing the head of state, it must be based on the people's choice. In another sense, the people have significant sovereignty to determine a state's political system. ^[60]

At first glance, this view is no different from the concept of integralistic state as previously stated above. However, a critical reading of this discourse will find a significant difference. The symbiotic theory allows the demands of a growing socio-political reality, but religion then justifies it. Religion does not have to be the basis of the state. State, in this view, remains an independent political institution. Thus, the symbiotic paradigm, on the one hand, is theological, but on the other hand, is pragmatic. Thus, a symbiotic view still provides opportunities for the rights of the people, even though religious norms still limit them. It needs to be stated that the people's rights to determine the head of state because of this paradigm, are pursued through a representative institution called *ahl halli wal aqdi*, with certain conditions which are fair, expert *ra'yi* (scientists) and have the moral qualifications of a leader. According to al-Mawardi also must meet special requirements, for example; good five senses, no defective limbs, and have good ideas in developing people's welfare. ^[61]

Therefore, in this symbiotic paradigm, there is still a desire to "privilege" the majority of religious adherents to enforce the laws of their religion under state legitimacy. Or at the very least, because of its symbiotic nature, religious laws still have the opportunity to give colour to state laws, even in certain cases it does not rule out religious law being made state law.

Secularistic Paradigm

This paradigm rejects both integralistic and symbiotic relations between religion and the state. ^[62] Instead, the secularistic paradigm proposes a separation between religion and state. In the context of Islam, the secularistic paradigm rejects the state's foundation on Islam or at least rejects the Islamic determination of a particular form of state. ^[63]

According to this paradigm, Islam only regulates human relations with God. Whereas matters relating to community and state life, the arrangements are entirely left to humankind.

Each entity of the two has arable in their fields so that its existence must be separated and must not intervene with each other.

Based on this dichotomous understanding, the positive law that applies is the law that comes from a human agreement through a social contract and has nothing to do with religious law (sharia). ^[64] One of the initiators of this paradigm was Ali Abdul Raziq (1888-1966 AD), a Muslim scholar from Egypt. ^[65] In 1925, Ali Abdul Raziq published a treatise entitled *Al-Islam wa Ushul al-Ahkam*, which caused much controversy. The central issue of his treatise, as cited by Muhammad Diya al-Din Rais, is that Islam has nothing to do with the caliphate's governance system, including the Caliphate of Khulafa 'al-Rashidiin, not a religious or Islamic political system, but an worldly system. ^[66] In this context, Ali Abdul al-Raziq intends to distinguish between religion and politics. He gave a great enough reason from a theological and historical perspective to prove that the Prophet Muhammad's political actions such as waging war, were not related and did not reflect his function as Allah's messenger. ^[67] Therefore, according to Ali Abdul al-Raziq, the assumption that states the need to establish a state with a system, legislation and governance that is 'Islamic ways' is something that is wrong and deviates far from history. ^[68] What is, for example, said as the 'caliphate system', 'the Imamate system' is not all that is necessary for Muslims to establish it, because it is not part of Islam. He also stated that the Prophet did not build a country while in Medina. Pure authority is spiritual. The Prophet Muhammad, according to him, was merely a messenger of God, not as head of state. Although in reality, the Prophet became the head of state in Medina, solely due to the demands of a reasonable and humane situation. ^[69] On this issue, Ali Abdul al-Raziq said:

"...Muhammad, PBUH. It is nothing but an apostle who purely preaches religion; there is no tendency for power, not preaching dawlah. The Prophet did not have a kingdom and government, the Holy Prophet. Do not lay the foundations of the kingdom of mamlakah - in a sense understood in politics from this word and its synonyms. He is no more than an apostle like other apostles. He is not a king, nor is it the foundation of the Daulah, nor is he the one who calls for the monarchy." ^[70]

Still, according to al-Raziq, in another part, he also added that al-Qur'an was revealed by Allah explaining that the Prophet Muhammad did not have any rights over his people other than the right of the treatise. ^[71] The task of the prophet over humanity is only as a prophet who conveys the shari'a of Allah. ^[72] Even according to Abdur Raziq, in the Koran and the Hadith, there is nothing to convince us that the Messenger of Allah. With his religious treatise, calling to the political state. For al-Raziq, the formation of a state is not recommended by religion (shari'a) but is based on

⁵⁸M. Din Syamsuddin, "Usaha Pencarian Konsep Negara" *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁵⁹ Ahmad Shalaby, *Studi Komprehensif Tentang Agama Islam* (Surbaya: PT. Bina Ilmu, 1988), p. 249.

⁶⁰J. Suyuti Pulungan, *Fiqh Siyarah Ajaran, Sejarah, dan Pemikiran* (Jakarta: PT. RajaGrafindo Persada, 1995), p. xii.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 252.

⁶²M. Arskal Salim G.P., "Islam dan Relasi Agama-Negara....." *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴Dede Rosyada, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 63-64.

⁶⁵ Ali Abdul al-Raziq, *Al-Islam wa Ushul al-Ahkam*, Mesir, 1925, (Translated by Jendela "Islam dan Dasar-Dasar Pemerintahan" (Yogyakarta: Jendela, 2000).

⁶⁶M. Din Syamsuddin, "Usaha Pencarian Konsep Negara" *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Ali Abdul al-Raziq, *op. cit.*, p. xiv

⁶⁹Ahmad Suaedy (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 96-97.

⁷⁰Ali Abdul al-Raziq, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 86.

consideration of the minds of the ummah. ^[73] At the time of the Prophet in Medina, from whatever angle he thought, it was not political unity. There does not contain the meaning of the Daulah or the government, but pure religious unity that does not interfere with political taints. The unity of faith and religious views is not the unity of the state and power view. ^[74] All teachings brought by Islam, according to him are purely religious rules and for the sake of humanity's religious benefit. Because the prophet never mentioned or mentioned about state administration. Throughout his life, he never mentioned the term *Daula Islamiyyah* or *Daula 'Arabiyyah*. ^[75]

The indications of secular thought patterns from al-Raziq's thesis are; Islam does not require the ummah to appoint the highest priest or leader who regulates their interests. This is because indeed in the Qur'an, the hadith and the *ijma'* nobody said that, as a clear argument and foundation; Carrying out religious sharia, shari'a laws and the benefit of society, all of it does not depend on the presence or absence of Imamah or caliph. However, it depends on the form of a model government regardless of its constitution or system because Islam does not explicitly determine certain forms of governmental affairs. ^[76]

This view is controversial with most existing scholars. So that not a bit of criticism is directed at him and shows his weaknesses. Because in reality, many religious matters require a government (or the state) intervention and vice versa.

Finally, another secular view was expressed by Botrus al-Bustani. In an article cited by al-Jabiri, he argued that a strict demarcation was needed between religious power (spiritual power) and political power (civilization power). This is because the nature and essence of religious leadership are related to inherent problems that do not change with changing times and conditions. While politics is related to birth problems that are not permanent and can change and can be corrected according to the demands of circumstances, space and time. Thus, mixing between two powers which are different in nature and have conflicting relations and terms, of course, will cause a real division and threat to the laws. So it is no exaggeration to say that under such conditions, civilization cannot live and grow. ^[77] It is also said that in Islam there are sharia laws' which its implementation requires the existence of "authority holders". However, there are no texts that determine or even confirm the type of government that must be followed by Muslims; otherwise, there is also no text that prohibits following specific types of government. ^[78]

Conclusion

Looking at various Islamic ideas in the relationship between religion and the State, it can be understood that all views related to this term are purely a matter of ijtihad. Ijtihad, with its various problems, is left to the Muslims who almost certainly will experience differences that are very much determined by the time and situation behind the birth of that thought. Therefore, based on the discussion above, it can be concluded as follows:

First, Islamic political thought is an intellectual treasure that focuses its study on how the relationship between Islam and

politics (the State) should be built. This study is the result of an exploration of the texts and traditions of the Islamic Ummah in response to the stages of social transformation that surrounds it.

Second, the construction of Islamic political thought is built from intellectual traditions based on reason and philosophy in approaching political objects. This can be traced in various portraits of Islamic political thinkers from classical to modern times. In the discipline of jurisprudence, political thought is reached as a series of historical events about the formation of the state and the absence of the state, emphasizing historical ideas in the past, and dwelling on political traditions that occur within the scope of Islamic society. While in the discipline of philosophy, political thought is understood as the ideal of community ideas, discuss matters relating to future theoretical thought, and is more open to universal political ideas (especially the influence of Hellenism).

Finally, genealogy Islamic political thought at least is based on two main aspects, namely religion and society (politics). Today, in general, Muslim clerics and intellectuals in response to the issue of modernity, especially those relating to religion and politics (state), are divided into two major groups, namely; Liberal intellectuals or scholars give birth to liberal Islam, and intellectuals or Islamic scholars, give birth to Islamism. The split paradigm of Islamic political thought has an impact on the shift in the typology of Islamic political thought and movement in the practical domain. The change in the typology of Islamic thought and political movement is aimed at the emergence of integralistic, symbiotic, and secularistic Islamic political thoughts and movements.

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⁷³J. Suyuti Pulungan, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

⁷⁴ Ali Abdul al-Raziq, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶M. Yusuf Musa, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁷⁷ Abid al-Jabiri, *al-Diin wa al-Daulah wa Tathbiq al-Syari'ah*. (Translated by Mujiburrahman) "*Agama, Negara dan Penerapan Syari'ah*" (Yogyakarta: Fajar Pustaka Baru, 2001), p. 91.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 69-70.

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