

The Implication of Mohammed Arkoun's Political Ethics in the Practical Politics

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Abstract

The writing of this article was at least motivated by several reasons: *first*, Mohammed Arkoun is one of the postmodern/contemporary Moslem scholars (21st century) –after the era of Modernist Moslems such as Abduh and Ridha—who owns authority to re-establish the ‘submerged iceberg’ of the rich potential of Islamic thought. *Second*, in comparison with other scholars, Arkoun is a Moslem philosopher with the ability to combine “Islamic authenticity” and the broad knowledge of contemporary social sciences. From within his academic visions, he gave birth to the Applied Islamology. *Third*, Arkoun is a Moslem scholar who experienced a life among two traditions—since his childhood—Islam (Aljazair) and France (western) that definitely had great influence on his attempt at creating future Islamic study which aims to link many facets of both aforementioned civilizations, whereas at the same time many other Moslem philosophers—with few exceptions—would rather conflict the two instead.

Several methodologies presented here include descriptive, historical, comparative and synthetical analysis methodologies. Meanwhile, data gathering is based on *library research*, covering both the writings of Mohammed Arkoun himself and other writings by different people relevant to this study. Data gathering technique relies on documentation of Arkoun’s works either primary or secondary that contains relevance. All of the resources received thorough review accompanied with data selection. The description process culminates in this written textual



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narration, in accord with data analysis and with its following theories. Based on a philosophical-critical research over all available data, a verifiable conclusion is drawn. In all, the entire processes were conducted in systematic orders, continuous and in certain circumstances, several none-Arkounian views are presented as a point of comparison.

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Introduction

Already many articles on *siyāsah* Islam are written by other researchers.¹ Nevertheless, generally, they don't focus on the intellectual reflection over political ethics as Arkoun has proposed. If other *siyāsah* Islamic studies tend to be only analytic-descriptive-historic, Arkoun's analysis gets down to the core of ethical-political reasoning that has deconstructive-epistemological nature within the scope of such *siyāsah* Islamic studies. Based on this research, therefore, a philosophical criticism toward Islamic-political thought commonly fall under the hegemony of Political-Islamic discourse (*Daulat ilāhiyyah*) with idealistic-fundamentalist-theocratic pattern can be proposed.^{2,3,4}

The birth of religious oligarchy or tyranny that seek to secure theocratic authority, are due to the lack of mastering of contextual-integrative methodologies in the Islamic field of study and their respective instruments, as well as knowledge of Theo-humanistic ethics.

And since there is an absence of any concrete, contextual formulation, a distinct separation between responsibilities within the religious field and responsibilities within political field, conflicts have arisen between scholars who believe in critical freedom and the power that be who often suppresses. Turkey's secularism experience in the past can serve as a constructive lesson for other Moslem countries. Likewise the negative outcomes of marginalizing politics toward religious values in the west, like what happened in France, and in Indonesia during the New Order era.³

The richness of classical Islamic-ethical thought needs critical review, as well as contextualization with the present situation. Political-ethical thought model like what Ibnu Khaldun, Fazlur Rahman,⁴ M. Sa'id al-'Asymawy,⁵ and Mohammad Arkoun⁶ have proposed still seem relevant to receive furtherance and development, especially for the progress of political-ethical thought in Indonesia, which is plural-

istic. Pancasila as an ideology has humanistic qualities, within its principles rest religious values, universality and eternity of humanity, and serve as a symbol of the relevance and significance of the development of *Theo-humanistic*, political-ethical ideas, through the advancement of the religious democratic system. For this, Pancasila ideology must always be maintained as an inclusive ideology, not as an exclusive ideology instead. The same goes for apologetic political studies that seen in various Sunni and Shia literature, along with the use of positivistic reasoning of some of the orientalist philosophers, which are due for critical re-evaluation. Various methodologies under the scope of *Islamic Studies* and study of politics should remain open for critical and academic assessment throughout the history.

From the above focus of research, the author felt the deep urgency for *an attempt of reconstructing Islamic understanding through the use of academic reasoning instead of ideological-political-theocratic reasoning*. From here a new political-ethical thought can be brought to existence. New Islamic-political ethics cannot be developed on the base of old Islamic Studies'methodologies but should arise from the foundation of a new scientific-Islamic methodology called *Postmodern Islamic Study Methodology*. Based on such methodology establishment of a Theo-humanistic political ethics can receives differentiation from the theocratic-political ethics and the humanistic *a sich*. From a practical political point of view, this paper will reveal that the broad knowledge of Arkoun's political ethics is generally still within the discursive border, not yet be aiming at the field of practical politics. In other words, researchers on Arkoun's political ethics are limited to individual ethics, instead of covering social, procedural and institutional political ethics already.

In this research paper, the author too would like to propose an urgent appeal to formulate *ushūl as-siyāsah al-mu'ashirah*, with a touch of Theo-humanistic color through a concept of religious democracy, as a scientific contribution to the contemporary political study in Islamic world.

Generally speaking, the writing of this article will surely have some implications, both philosophically, theoretically and in praxis. In accordance with the formulation of the problem, the research is more concentrated on the field of ethics (read: thought) of Islamic politics, with the focus of study revolves around the vision of Mohammed Arkoun on political ethics, viewed through philosophical and historical approach.

Applied Islamology as the Foundation of Political Ethics

Philosophically, Arkoun's political ethics and reasoning lie on the foundation of his own Applied Islamology theory, which in principle aims no to negate differing methods of many Islamic studies, but rather tries to be comparative in nature, while maintaining scientific cooperation with multidisciplinary Islamic study model. Applied Islamology also does not assume itself as the only correct methodology and remains open towards scientific critique. To Arkoun, Islam is not a lifeless matter or abstract ideas but is widely influenced by historical, sociological contexts and as such. Therefore, every intellectual product of Islamic thought – including any of its derivation in political field – is very limited to a certain epistemological frame. To Arkoun, Islamic study for the next era should employ contemporary *episteme* in place of Middle Ages episteme. In other words, Arkoun tries to emphasize that Islamic study is supposed to not only centered on substance or material texts (*content analysis*) but is also capable of perceiving both the contexts and historical reality as well as a mental limitation (*logocentrism*) prevalent during the Middle Ages.⁷

Future Islamic studies – including sub-Islamic political studies – should not revolve around the formative era of Islam (*early Islamic period*) or reforming *Salafiah* era only, but should also elaborate on the later phenomena of reformative ideas. In Arkoun's perspective in his *Applied Islamology*, there is a conviction that every intellectual tradition must be accompanied by two things: the *unthought-of* and the *unthinkable*. Meaning, the study of Islamic politics can always be renewed or revised, according to the developing socio-historic context.

Islamic thought must be liberated from old taboos, mythology, and ideologies born later. In reality, Islamic thought is often convoluted with various stumbling blocks, especially when integrating the “originality” in Islam and principle of modern open-mindedness supported by the change in material-industrial aspects.

As regards the relation between Islam and western civilization, one must be able to see that two civilization interacting with each other (Greek, Byzantium, and Arab), does not necessarily mean two opposing fractions per Samuel P. Huntington's explanation. For this, a comprehensive re-evaluation on the relationship between Islamic and modern western history particularly around 12th-19th centuries is necessary. Moslem Islamologists need to be aware that the West itself today is undergoing self-criticism progress concerning their own intellectual

ideas. And Islamic thought, on the other hand, needs not be limited to western modern logic only (pre critique era).

From many above explanations on Arkoun ideas, it is evident that Mohammed Arkoun' originality lies in his research model that employs methodologies and theories of social science *post-positivism* era. Besides, Arkoun also longs for the return of *Islamic humanism (Theo-Humanistic)* which is innovative and creative as what happened during 2nd and 3rd *Hijriyah* era that can serve as an ideal, after a long period of decline since the 11th century.

For Arkounian thinking model to become real, there are -at least - two challenges to tackle: *first*, the focus of the study in researching the crux of the Koran and Hadith. *Second*, the presence of separating layers of Islamic thought or historic sedimentation among the Moslems (holy mission of the Prophet has turned into various remnants of *aqidah*, *fiqh*, *tarekat*, and so on). In turn, Islam has become more partial and is teeming with political interests, causing the rise of *ideologization* and *mythologization* over Islamic teaching. Virtues of prophetic morality erode, and the history of Islam undergoes value distortion (particular interest against universal values). Here there is a definitive problem where religion needs to be particularized before it is ready to delight. But careless particularizing can ultimately reduce the universal message of prophecy. Moving on, on the foundation of Arkoun's methodology of Islamic study which is integral, an Islamic political ethics and reasoning can be brought to existence along with some Theo-Humanistic color, differing itself from both theocratic political ethics and reasoning as well as the Humanistic *a sich*.

Academic Discourse on Religious Politics

Based on many previous explanations above, in this sub chapter, the author would like to elaborate further on several basic differences between discursive patterns or reasoning which is ideological-theological-political and reasoning which is ethical-academic. Several important points regarding the difference of the two are as follows:

From textual to contextual reasoning

Studies of Islamic thought in the future can no longer be appropriately done using textual patterns by ignoring context, and even more than this it is very urgent now to examine the relation between text and context, text and historical reality, the background of the text or *aes-*

thetic reception (the psychological, cultural and intellectual context of the situation). Borrowing Al-Jabiri's theory, moving from *bayāni* (philological), and move to *burhāni* (rational-empirical), from the "curtain" of a closed corpus (*mushaf*) to the "screen" of an open corpus (*kalam*).

Interrelationship model with classical texts considered final and ready to use is due for retirement. Researches on Islamic politics must always question the accuracy aspect and validity or relevance of the understanding of classical Islamic-political texts to today's generation while reassessing the background and historicity of the rise of such idea (*ratio legis*). Reading Islamic political texts with *reproduction of meaning* (*qirā'ah mutakarrirah*) approach must be replaced with *production of meaning* (*qirā'ah muntijah*). For instance, the reading model of Anwar Jundi, al-Maududi,⁸ and generally politics scholars of Ikhwanul Muslimin.

In the reality of Islamic thought, many Moslems scholars were trapped into at least two matters (*mythologization* and *ideologization*). As the results, most works of Moslems become static and fragmentary. There is a need for construction projects around historical criticism and epistemology (principles, definitions, comprehensions, conceptual means, and discursive and logical reasons in the study of Islamic politics). In other words, there is a need for a *rethinking of Islamic politics*.

The rises of various political conflicts are caused by static religious understanding. A new interpretation of religious understanding to reduce the tension of the existing conflict is needed. It must be separated between normative teaching and dimensions of history, politics, and economy. Many existing textual holy verses (*ta'wīl-tafsīr*) are under the hegemony of classical theologists and Moslems scholars. Words of God during the era of the Prophet existed as *kalām/bil lafz*, instead of as a writing which retained *positivism* since the 19th-century era, the closed corpus era, immanent, written text (written words became tools of legitimization since *Umayyah* regime). "Islam" (capital I) is closer to the model of Islam in the era of "Medina experience" or open corpus era (*lafadz*).

From Ideological-Theocentric Reasoning to Philosophical-Anthropocentric-Academic Reasoning

Model of understanding Islamic politics which is narrow, frightening and under a *siege mentality*, needs some transformation to reach a more spacious, inspiring, intriguing and leading Islamic understanding. In

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other words, *authoritarian* Islamic politics should be turned into *authoritative* Islamic politics. Talking about religion and politics essentially is not speaking on behalf of God, but on what God actually wants. Not a monopoly, but a free market approach in the world of idea.

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Study model of Islamic politics focusing solely on comprehension of *ahl al-kitāb* that seems like coming from the Middle Ages, sacred and normative can be transformed into a new form such as 'holy book society'. For this to happen, a fundamental appraisal *das sein* over the Prophet and the historical aspect and review on the words of God as *das sollen* or normative is also vital. In other words, leaving behind the model of study based on one religion (*ahl al-kitāb*)⁹ and move to the territory of all-religion learning model – this might include pagan faith as well – by implementing the holy book society approach. In essence, the truth of any idea needs to be persuasively communicated to the public. It can be said that within the field of Islamic politics, faith approach, *believer, fideistic-subjectivism, truth claim, exclusive-a priori attitude* are due for replacement with a new historic-scientific, a posteriori, *open-ended, dialogic, and tolerant model*, as to allow it to respond globalization accordingly.

From political reasoning to reasonable politics

Political thinking patterns related to the implementation of *formalistic sharia*, as expressed by radical-fundamentalist group needs the transformation to reach a *substantive-accommodative* and *applicative* shape. The textual model form of this Islamic political reasoning should be altered into another model namely reasonable politics which involves rationalization process over sharia.

What becomes Arkoun's main concern in the future development of Islamic civilization is the serious focus on the *effort to reconstruct Islamic understanding through the use of academic reasoning in place of ideological-political-theocratic reasoning*. Moslems generally speaking, in Arkoun's perspective, have the liking for an ideological-political-theocratic reasoning especially when dealing with modern life phenomena. The use of such ideological-political-theocratic approach often reduces rational parts of Islamic thought related to political discourse. Jargons of ideological Islam by fundamentalist people were meant to serve their temporary political interest, and tend to ignore the richness of humanity, Islamic wisdom, and spirituality on the whole.

Arkoun's Political Ideas

More specifically, in author's own opinion, Arkoun's political ethics can be laid out in six main different subthemes as seen in the several principles as follows: *first*, dimensions of authority and power in Prophet Mohammad reflects correlation between the field of *authority* (Mecca Era) which happens to be *transcendental-prophetic* and field of *power* (Medina Era) with its *historical-empiricism* color.¹⁰

Second, as concerns the idea of social development and change, the stress is on the importance of religious, political-moral principles which is *liberatory-transformative*, not limited to the narrative-interpretative. Various liberalizations upon religious-political thought should end in a definitive social transformation purpose. Besides, every plan of social development must be based on juridical-constitutional legitimation. In the context of state bureaucracy, humanity principles cannot be put aside during the provision of social service. And as the consequence of these principles, state bureaucracy, as well as the society, should be kept within the safe distance from administrative and managerial practice that is merely technical and positivistic, which in turn will alienate the rich potential of *local wisdom* and *local knowledge*, as well as marginalize social participation. The similar approach will work for the industrial development system. Case in point, building factories in Indonesia will have to assess the possibility for ecological safety and poisoning and comfort for civil area.

Third, the concern for state-religion relation. Several religious-political thinking patterns that merely contain ideological-political color should be put to end. Relational pattern between religion and state cannot deny plurality principle of religious understanding among the Moslems. Much discourse on political and religious issues like *khilāfah*, implementation of sharia and so on, is to be understood under the framework of pluralistic-religious politics, instead of the monolithic one. In addition, *religious-political independence* is to be kept alive, nourished and continuously under guard from possible state intervention (*etatism*). Not least since the relation of religion and state are very prone to three things such: religious politicization, homogenization of religious understanding and political collusion between *ulama* and *umara*.¹¹

Fourth, on the concept of holy book society and pluralism. Philosophically and empirically, plurality principles of understanding as well as the religious existence both of the internal and external sides are supposed

to follow universal humanism principle. Such principle can avoid unnecessary sectarianism and *parochialism* from happening in religions and politics. Thus, elements of *criticism* and *ijtihad* sustainably practiced are vital here for a system of social justice, open and democratic.

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Fifth, democracy and modernity. For a democratic and modern social system to keep afloat, confession of equality principle and similarity in experience among Islamic and western civilization alike is unavoidable. The presence of tension between Islam and the West for so long was triggered by many conflicts including economy, military and political hegemony of prominent states over the weak ones. Besides, similar problem rose from the field of political and religious literature written in polemic-apologetic tone. Principle of *intercommunication* (Habermas model)¹² or *munāzharah* – not *mujādalah* or *mukābarah* - in Islamic tradition, with equality principle, will gradually eliminate dominating tendency and one-sided hegemony. Many political-religious literatures that sound polemic-apologetic should be critically reexamined with *production of meaning* approach, and not *reproduction of meaning* instead.

In addition, acceptance to globalization as one effect of modernity does not necessarily imply a neglect of *locality*, especially in Moslem countries. The rational, positivistic, hedonistic, consumerist-capitalistic Western Modernity needs a corrective attitude. The Similar thing already takes place in the western world, particularly with the rise of postmodernism discourse.

Sixth, as concerns secular, secularization and secularism. It is requisite here to underline the difference between westernization and modernization. Modernization could appropriately mean an effort of *rationalization over Islamic teaching* as both Thaha Husein and Mohammed Arkoun have argued for. The same goes for the term secularization which requires particular understanding under either theological or political umbrella (relation of Islam and state). Secularization is not an attempt to deny religious spirituality concept, as to let meaninglessness takes place in our social life like what currently happens in the West, but it's more like trying to let go some of the out of date patterns of religious understanding in today's contemporary setting. In this case *secularization* can walk hand in hand with *contextualization* of Islamic virtues.

A nation aspiring of moving forward and becoming modern needs to brace itself with strong traditional root, cultural, Islamic, rational,

egalitarian and democratic. Its economic system favors even distribution principle and not mere growth. The advancement of Islam in the future does not solely rely on the truth of its teaching, but on how strong its believers (especially from among the *ulama* and Moslem philosophers) manage to afford a bridge between Islamic textualism and modern contextualization, as not to allow *value vacuum* among its modern society. Therefore, the effort to establish Islamic values becomes the responsibility of modern Moslems. To accomplish this, the universality aspect of Islam should be promoted above the parochial, sectarian and primordial.

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The Relevance of Arkoun's Thought to The Islamic World

According to Mohammed Arkoun' visionary perspective, untrodden field (*unthought-of*) in the realm of *Islamic studies* should receive continuous attention. The critical appraisal can be done by leaving behind classical Islamic epistemology and moving forward to contemporary Islamic epistemology. As the consequence, there is a need for academic reassessment of Islamic history.¹³ The next era of Islamic study, therefore, must be able to accommodate contemporary *social and cultural studies*.

Arkoun also expresses the need for new understanding of secularization. Secularization that does not mean a separation between state authority and religion (political connotation), but more like a materialization effort of Islamic virtues across space and time, as well as the need for accommodating society's demands that differ from time to time according to the context (*episteme*) of their era. Hence the traditional return to religion is not an alternative for the future.

Islamic politics per Prophet's practice (spiritual authority model *Makkiyyah* and political authority model *Madaniyyah*), is the middle-of-the-road alternative that Arkoun offers as a counter measure against secularist Moslems' thinking /*Makkiyyah a sich* (humanistic reasoning) as well as Islam of the political-fundamentalist/*Madaniyyah* (theocratic reasoning).

Arkoun also argues for the necessity of establishing religious tolerance, this must be started by replacing the old *ahl al-kitāb* understanding and moved on with the new *Masyarakat Kitab*. Arkoun still believes in the existence of Meta text (with emphasis on *mistic-majāzi* (*mythical discourse*) of the Koran) or like field of *kauniyyah*, but unlike Derrida who solely believes in historical text. If Arkoun already enters

postmodernism realm, Derrida is still trapped around modernist-understanding model within textual study/philology.

Besides, Arkoun states that Islamic theology which has undergone metamorphosis at any rate still requires the critical appraisal by Moslem philosophers. The religious and political interpretation which is monolithic/*truth claim* needs also some diversifications (the one who errs can be a follower of the uncritical mass, or possibly of the *truth claim*). The example of Syafii's criticism toward his teacher Imam Ma-liki can be taken as an example. *Rahbaniyah* or *cultism* tendency in the Moslems' world should also receive extra attention and be avoided.

The implication of Arkoun's vision is the rise of multiple interpretations of religious text and the more visible 'ideological mask' among religious communities, either internal or external. In the long term, this should have the positive impact on the communal ego of the Moslems, that they could be more critical, rational, and democratic and nourish respectful attitude toward each other.

The Ideal Relation between Religion and The Future State

As a *contribution to knowledge* in the writing of this article, some consideration can be given to these following propositions: *first*, Moslems need to continuously commit themselves to political and cultural transformation, from system of political ethics with *traditional-subjective-symbolic-doctrinal* patterns to *progressive-objective-substantive-rational* political ethics.¹⁴

Second, the use of religious symbols in political field should be eradicated for the sake of political dialectics that is more objective-rational, progressive and fair. The use of religious symbols will only serve to enlarge the chance for further manipulation of said religious symbols for temporary political benefits, in short term. Regarding the fact that traditional religious symbols are also often exploited for sheer politic mobilizations, this at the same time could minimize the chance for enlightening political participation.

Third, Moslem (not Islam) countries which are multicultural – like Indonesia—should free itself from religious and political symbols that sound theocratic – like *khilāfah*, *syariah Islam* or *Negara Islam*, and so on. Everybody, every citizen, and religious followers should be motivated to struggle in sportive and elegant terms, using the *fastabiq al-khairāt* principle in the articulation of their religious values through political approach and in *progressive, ethical, academic*,

objective, substantive-rational ways along with a strong emphasis on *participation*; instead the otherwise – that is due to symbolic influence of religious fanaticism –in various patterns tending to be *speculative-repressive, ideological-political, subjective, formalistic*, and full of *mobilization*.

Fourth, for Indonesia case, the relevant political vision (read: ethics) is in the Theo-Humanistic state, in the sense that the development of state-politic discourse through the manifestation of spiritual values and democracy as the rational and evolutionary medium. Various efforts driving toward religious etatism—on symbolic and formal level—should be avoided, while substantially accommodate elements of religious virtues. This way in the future day's issues like “Islamization” or “Christianization”¹⁵ would no longer be relevant to carry on or to discuss. Political articulation and participation in rational manners through democracy as the medium – definitely its system and regulation need further development– could be the melting pot of various states' components, especially the religious communities.

Fifth, considering Indonesia has tribal, religious and communal pluralities, the very idea of establishing Islamic Sharia should be inclusive, not exclusive. Among the Moslems, thought on Islamic sharia already gave birth to plural *fiqh* understanding. Thus *fiqh* which is more rational and substantial will be more prospective to be implemented in Indonesia, since this is conducive to the conflux of many ideas, both among the Moslems themselves and other religious communities. The effort to implement sharia in a substantive manner like this should be openly and sincerely made public, and with democratic approach – like the bill of anti porn case, permission to build the house of worship, and so on – and without any secret political agenda hidden from the eyes of all religious and other communities.

Sixth, the Pancasila ideology¹⁶ and Constitution of 1945 should receive unanimous agreement from the public as the last and final effort of our founding fathers to unite all state's components regardless their faith and tribes. Yet fresh effort at reinterpretation – something like amendment – devoted to the two above national binders should always be nourished in the most open and democratic manner. The basic problem of state foundation is, therefore, can be said to be almost completely done, while the follow up to both above national binders such what their formal-juridical fundamant should still require some finishing touch to reach fixed form.

Seventh, an important political discourse regarding *fit and proper test* system. The time has come for it to be implemented not only to test executive and judicial candidates but also and more importantly to test parliamentary members (*ahl hall wa al-'aqd*).

CEJISS 4/2018 *Eight*, state authority of Moslem Countries – including the Republic of Indonesia—should be able to end or at least eliminate foreign political hegemony in their country, so as the community of the radical-fundamentalist cannot attain further legitimization for their scriptural political articulation.

Ninth, political regulatory system should be evaluated critically and receive enhancement as to anticipate the rise of religious jargons in the field of practical politics in the future

Tenth, administrative and bureaucratic system of political parties which are more objective, rational, accountable and transparent should be developed continuously.

Eleventh, for the materialization of many above points, it is urgent for all political and religious philosophers to sit together and reformulate ideal epistemology and methodology concerning the relationship between religion and politics (*al-üsûl al-siyâsah al-mu'âshirah*) in the future. This recommendation is also an effort to reach that point. For the Moslems of Indonesia context, the researcher here would like to re-emphasise the need for implementing objective-rational-transformational political reasoning¹⁷—instead of political subjective-doctrinal reasoning—in understanding the Islamic political thought for the next era.

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Notes

- 1 See in *Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, AIPPI-LIPI and Gramedia (Jakarta: No.7/1990), p. II; Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Etika Politik, Prinsip-prinsip Moral Dasar Kenegaraan Modern* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1994), p. x.
- 2 Muhammad Azhar, “Dialektika Din-Daulah-Dunia dalam Politik Islam”, *jurnal Perspektif*, Vol. 3, No.1, Oktober 2007.
- 3 Bernard Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam* (Chicago & London: Chicago University Press, 1988), p. 3. About “secularization”, see: Robert N. Bellah, *Beyond Belief* (New York: Harper & Row, paperback edition, 1976), p. 150-151. In other concept, well know with “the desacralitation” which is announce

- by Harvey Cox, *The Secular City*, p. 139, 141. Also, Ali Abd. Ar-Raziq, *al-Islam wa Ushul al-Hukm* (Egypt: Mathba'ah Mishr Syirkah Mushamah Mishriyyah, 1925), p. 64-80.
- 4 Fazlur Rahman *Islam & Modernity, Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1982).
- 5 Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban (ed.), *Against Islamic Extremism* (USA: University Press of Florida, 1998), p. 7.
- 6 Mohammed Arkoun, *al-Islām, al-Akhlaq wa al-Siyāsah*, terj. Hasyim Shalih (Beirut: Markaz al-Inma' al-Qaumy, 1990), p. 45.
- 7 Mohammed Arkoun, *The Unthought in Contemporary Islamic Thought*, New York: The Institute of Ismaili Studies 2002, p. 179-203.
- 8 Abu al-'Alā al-Maududi, *The Islamic Law and Constitutions*, translated and edited by Khursid Ahmad (Lahore: Islamic Publications Ltd., 1975), hlm. 157.
- 9 Mohammed Arkoun, "Pemikiran tentang Wahyu: Dari *Ahl al-Kitāb* sampai Masyarakat Kitab", dalam *Ulumul Qur'an* no.2, vol. IV, 1993, p.46.
- 10 Mohammed Arkoun, *Nalar Islami dan Nalar Modern: Berbagai Tantangan dan Jalan Baru*, terj. Rahayu S. Hidayat (Jakarta: INIS, 1994), hlm. 210-211, dalam subjudul "Wewenang dan Kekuasaan dalam Islam".
- 11 About the phenomenon of the tension between religion and state in classical Islamic history, see Mahmoud M. Ayoub, *The Crisis of Muslim History: Religion and Politics in Early Islam* (Oxford, England: Oneworld Publications, 2003); and Karen Armstrong, *Islam A Short History* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000).
- 12 See, Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Vol. 1, *Reason and the Rationalization of Society*, Boston: Beacon Press (1984).
- 13 Compare with Mahmoud M. Ayoub, (2003). *The Crisis of Muslim History: Religion and Politics in Early Islam*. Oxford, England: Oneworld Publications.
- 14 Compare with Kuntowijoyo's thought on *Obyektiviasi Islam* which needs translation into contemporary Islamic discourse. See Kuntowijoyo, (2004). *Islam sebagai Ilmu*. Bandung: Teraju-Mizan.
- 15 Anthony Reid, "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: the Critical Phase, 1550-1650". IN Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief, ed. Anthony Reid. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp.151-79.
- 16 Pancasila is five principles which complete each other, fill each other, toward the realization within Indonesian sphere all which are true, just, good, happiness and prosperity, under the warmth of brotherhood. See, Mohammad Hatta, "Tanggungjawab Moral Kaum Intelektualis", in Aswab Mahasin and Ismet Natsir. (1984). *Cendekiawan dan Politik*. Jakarta: LP3ES, p. 9.
- 17 Compare with Francis Fukuyama, (2000). *The Great Disruption, Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order*. New York: Touchstone Rockefeller Center 1230 Avenue of the American, p. 188-189.

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- b Saahar S, Sulman I, Hashim MA and Mohamed WAW (2017), 'Political Advertising and Young Voters Information Needs,' *International Journal of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences* 3(5), p. 215-222.
- 4 Arkoun, Mohammed, (1993). "Pemikiran tentang Wahyu: Dari Ahl al-Kitāb sampai Masyarakat Kitab", dalam *Ulumul Qur'an* no.2, vol. IV, p.46.
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